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A NEW NAVAL HISTORY:

OR,

Compleat VIEW of the *Britiſh* MARINE.

IN WHICH
The ROYAL NAVY and the MERCHANT'S SERVICE
ARE TRACED THROUGH
All their PERIODS and different BRANCHES:
WITH
The LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS,
who have Honour'd *this Nation*, and Diſtinguiſh'd *Themſelves*
BY THEIR
CONDUCT, COURAGE, VICTORIES, and DISCOVERIES.
INCLUDING
The moſt conſiderable NAVAL EXPEDITIONS, and SEA-FIGHTS:
OUR RIGHT TO
The DOMINION of the SEA, and the DIGNITY of the BRITISH FLAG:
THE
LAWS and REGULATIONS
FOR
The *Government* and *Oeconomy* of HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY;
AND
The BUSINESS and MANAGEMENT of the ſeveral ROYAL YARDS and DOCKS in this Kingdom.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
Our RIGHT and TITLE to the BRITISH COLONIES in *North-America*:
AND
An Abſtract of the LAWS now in Force for regulating our TRADE and COMMERCE.

Illuſtrated with COPPER PLATES.

By *JOHN ENTICK*, M. A.

LONDON:
Printed for R. MANBY, near *Ludgate-Hill*; W. REEVE, near *Serjeant's Inn*, in *Fleetſtreet*; W. BIZET, in *St. Clement's* Church-yard; P. DAVEY and B. LAW, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*; and J. SCOTT, in *Pater-noſter-row*. M. DCC. LVII.

TO THE HONOURABLE

EDWARD VERNON, Eſq;

ADMIRAL of the *White*,

ELDER-BROTHER of the *Trinity-Houſe*, and Member of Parliament for *Ipſwich*.

HONOURED SIR,

IN paying this Tribute to your illuſtrious Actions, I have this Advantage, above other Writers, that I am ſupported by the unanimous Voice of all grateful *Britons*, who have rejoiced at your Conduct and Courage, bewail the national Loſs of ſo brave and ſucceſsful a Commander, and teach their Children to revere your Memory.

The Subject of this Hiſtory, and the Luſtre, which the Expeditions and other Services, under your Command, have added to the Marine of GREAT-BRITAIN, make it my Duty, as well as Inclination, to prefix the Name of ſo great an Admiral, who carried the Glory of the *Britiſh* Flag to a Height, not equalled by any Atchievements of the Ancients, and which has been declining in its Dignity from the Time, Miſrepreſentation or Envy deprived GREAT-BRITAIN of your Service.

To repeat the Conqueſt of PORTO-BELLO with *Six Ships only*, and the intire Suppreſſion of the Piracies of the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*, after the inactive and inglorious Expeditions of *Hoſier* and others; to celebrate your extenſive Schemes formed, and which, had they been effectually ſupported by thoſe in Power, would have reduced the Iſland of *Cuba*, put *Britain* in Poſſeſſion of the *Havanna*, or Key of the *Weſt-Indies*, and driven the *French* and *Spaniſh* out of thoſe Seas, or made them Tributaries to the *Britiſh* Monarch; and to recollect how much *Jamaica*, and her neighbouring Iſlands, and even *England* itſelf, are indebted to your Watchfulneſs, Diligence, Activity, and Superiority of Judgment, in preſerving them from the Power and Policy of *France*; is a moſt agreeable Entertainment for every Well-wiſher to the *Britiſh* Diadem; but theſe are more largely commemorated in the following *Naval Hiſtory*, than could poſſibly be collected within the Compaſs of this Addreſs.

We

DEDICATION.

We admire thoſe Services, which reduced the Pride of *Spain*; recovered a free Trade, and curbed the Ambition of *France*: But what might we not expect from your Activity, Knowledge, or Reſolution, had you not been obſtructed by the Pride, Ignorance, and Hatred of thoſe, with whom you was connected in Council abroad; and diſcharged by the Intereſt of ſuch, as were jealous of your ſuperior Abilities, at home.

It was you, SIR, that the Lords of the Admiralty in the Year 1745, under the greateſt Apprehenſions of an Invaſion, careſſed, and intreated to accept of a Command to counter-act the *French* Embarkation at *Dunkirk*: Then they declared it to be their Inclination to ſee you at the Head of the whole Fleet of the Kingdom: It was your Conduct and Judgment that intimidated the Enemy, and totally defeated their Reſolutions to make a Deſcent on *England*; though you had no more than four Ships of the Line, ſix from 50 to 20 Guns, and nineteen Sloops, Privateers, and Tenders. Yet how were theſe eminent Services rewarded? Your Honour was hunted out of that Command by the operative Hand of ſome malicious and induſtrious Agent: But not till you had the pleaſing Satisfaction of ſeeing a whole Nation pay a due Reſpect to that Merit, which was contemptuouſly treated by thoſe, from whom the greateſt Regard was naturally to be expected.

Permit me therefore, honoured SIR, to preſent this *Hiſtory of the* BRITISH MARINE for your Approbation and Acceptance, in the Name of thoſe *Britons*, who are not only ſenſible of the Value of the Services you have done for your King and Country, but alſo of the Loſs they now ſuſtain by your Retirement: And, wiſhing you the Enjoyment, which every great and noble Mind has in being conſcious of having lived and laboured for the public Good, I, with the greateſt Pleaſure and Reſpect, inſcribe this Work to your Memory, and beg Leave to profeſs myſelf to be,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

JOHN ENTICK.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The Advantages ariſing from Navigation and Shipping.

BY Navigation the whole World is connected, and the moſt diſtant Parts of it correſpond with each other. And it is this Correſpondence which introduces new Commodities, and propagates the moſt advantageous Manufactures. It not only enables the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries where it flouriſheth, to export what they have in Abundance, and to import what they want; but it enables them to procure foreign Commodities, and, after manufacturing them at Home, to export them again with great Profit.

While *England* remained a Stranger to Navigation, our People were thin, and they lived, as it were, upon the main Stock. A few Staple Commodities, and a very few Manufactures were all we had; and when they were taken off by Foreigners, they furniſhed us with what they thought fit, and almoſt at their own Rates. But when Navigation grew into Requeſt, and began to thrive; when, inſtead of freighting Ships of other Nations, we bought Veſſels of our own, and the Natives became inured to the Sea, there followed an entire Change in our Commerce. We imported the Product of other Countries on our own Bottoms, at a ſmall Expence, in compariſon of what they had coſt before; and, by opening different Markets, found means to vend Wares we exported, at much higher Rates.

This Improvement of our Commerce with foreign States ſoon introduced an Alteration of Manners, a Change in Habit, Furniture, Buildings, and Way of Living: It multiplied our Wants, or rather increaſed our Deſires; and the Willingneſs to ſupply and to ſatisfy them begot Plenty. As we brought home many Things that were entirely new and ſtrange, ſo we found many Things of ſmall Value amongſt ourſelves, which were highly eſteemed abroad. Then looking more narrowly into the Methods by which other Nations had enriched themſelves, we began to imitate their Manufactures, and to improve them. From one Nation we learned to weave; from another to dye; and from a third to vary our Manufacture from Cloths into Stuffs. From the *Germans* we learned Printing and Clock-Work; from *Italy* the Art of making Glaſs; and from the *Indies* the Cotton and Silk Manufactures.

It is Navigation that has realized and ſecured to us theſe Advantages, which Nature has inveſted us with by our Situation in the Midſt of the Ocean. By this Art every little Port, Inlet and Creek opens a Paſſage for what we want to ſend abroad, and an Entrance for what we would bring home. To this we owe the happy Diſtribution of our Trade; ſo that every Branch of it is, or may be managed to the utmoſt Advantage; as it is ſcarce poſſible for any Wind to blow, that does not carry Veſſels from one Port and bring them into another: So that Navigation may be conſidered, as the Channel through which all our Commerce circulates. And from hence we muſt perceive of how great Importance it is, that it ſhould be free and undiſturbed: That whatever clogs or obſtructs it, muſt be an univerſal Detriment; and that whatever promotes Navigation muſt be allowed to promote the general Intereſt of the Nation: For thereon depends our Trade; and upon Trade depends the Value of our Houſes, Lands and Produce.

To enter here minutely into the Hiſtory of our Shipping would interfere too much with the main Deſign of this Work: However, it may be very proper to premiſe, that the Marine of *England* was a long time before it arrived to its preſent Grandeur. For in 1575 the whole Royal Navy conſiſted of no more than 24 Ships; the largeſt of which, called the *Triumph*, exceeded not the Burthen of 1000 Tons; and the ſmalleſt, the *George*, was under ſixty Tons. And according to a Survey then made of all the Shipping belonging to *England* at that Time, the whole Number employed in the Merchants Service, meaſuring from 40 to 100 Tons, amounted only to Six Hundred and Sixty-ſix Veſſels; and thoſe of 100 Tons and upwards, to no more than One Hundred and Thirty-five. The whole of our Naval Force, computing the Queen's Ships, thoſe ſhe hired, and ſuch as were fitted out at the Expence of the Sea-Ports and private Perſons, to defend the Coaſt againſt the *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1588, amounted only to One Hundred and Forty-three Ships, including Tenders, Storeſhips, and Veſſels of all Sizes. At the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Royal Navy was computed at ſixteen Thouſand Tons. During King *James* I's Reign, naval Architecture was greatly improved by the Study of the famous *Phinæas Pett*; and the Royal Navy, at his Demiſe, was increaſed to the Burthen of Twenty-three Thouſand Tons. And from this Æra, as our Trade and Navigation conſiderably increaſed, our Shipping was augmented in Proportion, notwithſtanding the great Diſcouragement which the mercantile Part of the Nation ſuffered during the Civil Wars. For the Uſurper, rightly judging the Advantage a Superiority at Sea would give his Politics over his Neighbours, almoſt doubled the National Fleet, as the King found it at the Reſtoration: And the *Dutch* War, which ſoon followed, occaſioned ſo large an Augmentation, that Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman* in 1670 reported that for ten Years paſt, the annual Charge of the Navy amounted to Half a Million. In 1678 the Royal Navy conſiſted of Eighty-three Ships, of which Fifty-eight were of the Line of Battle: At which time, according to Sir *William Petty*, the Exports of this Nation were computed at Ten Millions Sterling *per Ann.* And according to Dr. *Davenant*, the Balance of our Trade was fixed to Two Millions, at leaſt. King *William*, at his coming to the Crown, found the Royal Navy to conſiſt of One Hundred Seventy-three Sail, great and ſmall, carrying, in the whole, 6930 Guns, and 42,003 Men. Since that time, it has been continually increaſing. In 1748, at the Concluſion of the laſt War, the *Britiſh* Fleet amounted to Three Hundred Twenty-two Sail, carrying Twelve Thouſand Two Hundred and Seventy Pieces of Cannon; which, if all in Commiſſion, and completely mann'd, would employ 83,400 Seamen. At preſent it ſtands, as follows.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Guns.*
6	100	600
12	90	1080
12	80	960
43	74 and 70	3094
35	60	2100
40	50	2000
148		
Frigates.		
1	44	44
44	40	1760
58	20	1160
103		
Sloops, &c.		
57	16	912
18 *Bombs*		
10 *Fireſhips*		13,710

336 Total of the *Britiſh* Navy, beſides *Yatchts*, *Tenders*, *Storeſhips*, &c.

From this ſhort Narrative, it may be inferred that *Britain* has but very little Foundation for a Claim to the Sovereignty or Dominion of the Seas: And therefore, in order to obviate ſuch an Inference, it will be neceſſary to inform the Reader, that notwithſtanding we date the Riſe of that glorious Navy, in which *Great-Britain*, at this Time, greatly excels every other Nation, it muſt not thereby be underſtood, That *England* was never poſſeſſed before of a naval Power, which intitled her to the Sovereignty of the Seas; but only that the Marine, which had for ſeveral Reigns been neglected, was then reſtored, and put on a better Footing. For on the Credit of the beſt Authors, it may be affirmed, [a] that long before the Birth of *Chriſt*, the *Britons* accompanied the *Cimbrians* and *Gauls* in the memorable Expedition into *Greece*. And it was from that Center, in all probability, that the mighty *Ceſar* firſt drew his Line, and reſolved on ploughing the Ocean, to find out that warlike People to face his victorious Legions. It is true, that there is no Mention of a *Britiſh* Fleet to defend the Coaſt, when the *Romans* firſt landed in this Iſland. But the learned *Selden* [b] is convinced, even from *Ceſar*'s Writings, that the ancient *Britons* had a conſiderable Sea-force, which had been either much weakened or entirely deſtroyed in the Defeat of the *Veneti*, a People in *Gaul*, their Allies. And if we allow *Brute* any Part in the Settlement of this Nation, which is atteſted not only by the fabulous Monk [c] *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, but by Authors [d] of the beſt Repute (amongſt whom, [e] *Ammianus* writes, that Part of the flying *Trojans* landed in *Gaul*; from whence our ancient Hiſtory records their Arrival in *Britain*) they certainly poſſeſſed this Iſland, in right of their naval Power. We ſhall lay no ſtreſs upon the ſacking of *Rome* by King *Belinus*, nor of his Son *Gorguntius*'s Conqueſt of *Denmark* (*A. ante Chriſtum* 375). But it is certain, that the *Scots*, who kept the adjacent Iſles in the North under Subjection, long before the Coming of *Ceſar*, muſt have had a conſiderable Naval Force. And the Trade, which the *Britons* drove with the *Carthaginians*, and the northern Nations, is a Proof that their Commerce in thoſe early Times muſt have been very conſiderable, and required a Number of Ships to protect and carry it on. As for thoſe Authors who would debaſe their Fleets, as compoſed of Veſſels built of Wicker covered with Hides, they are confuted by that Aid ſent to the *Veneti*, above-mentioned, which muſt have been ſtout Ships, and not leathern Boats, tho', perchance, there might be ſuch for the Fiſhery on their Coaſt. Be this as it will, *Ceſar* having landed, and finding it a Place adorned by Nature beyond any Thing that could be called great, taught us to maintain a Superiority of Dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas. For what could that Conqueror intimate, by conſecrating to *Venus* a military Ornament embroidered with *Britiſh* Pearl [f]; but that he, by the Acquiſition of *Britain*, claimed the Sovereignty of the Ocean? *Vincula dare Oceano*, *i. e.* to give Law to the Ocean; and *Britannos ſubjugare*, *i. e.* to ſubdue the *Britains*, became from thence convertible Terms in ſubſequent Authors; who all endeavour to place *Ceſar*'s *Britiſh* Expedition in this Light, as far the moſt glorious. The Folly of the Emperor *Caligula*, who commanded his Army to fill their Helmets with Sea-ſhells on the Shore; and the placing of a *naval* Crown near the *Civic* by *Claudius*, among the Spoils of his Enemy, confirm that the *Romans* accounted the Dominion of *Britain*, and the Empire of the Ocean, to be the ſame Thing [g].

The firſt Fleet we read of, to be fitted out by the *Roman* Governors of *Britain*, was by *Julius Agricola*, under the Emperor *Titus*, about the Year of our Lord 72 [h]; in order to ſubdue *Ireland*, and the *Orcades*, and to annoy the *Caledonians*: which, having ſailed Northwards, after harraſſing the *Caledonians*, ſubduing the *Orkneys*, and alarming *Ireland*, returned to *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*.

From this Time, it is probable, that the *Romans* kept up a Fleet in *Britain*: For in 142, here was an Admiral named *Sejus Saturninus*. And about this Time, Men of deſperate Fortunes taking Advantage of the Diſtractions in the *Roman* Empire, the Seas being greatly infeſted by Pirates, *Caius Carauſius* was placed (*A. D.* 288.) at the Head of the *Roman* Fleet, to ſcour the Coaſt [i]. He executed this Charge with equal Courage and Conduct. But diſcovering an Order of *Maximian*, the Emperor, to cut him off privately, this Admiral wrought ſo powerfully on the Affections of his Sailors, and the *Roman* Army in *Britain*, that they proclaimed him Emperor, and ſupported him in that Dignity, againſt all the Power that his Rivals could bring againſt him. He ſeized alſo upon *Bulloigne*, and the adjacent *French* Coaſt; and ſo harraſſed *Gaul*, *Italy* and *Spain*, with his Fleets, as to force *Maximian* to acknowledge him Emperor of *Britain*. In which Dignity, *Carauſius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his Juſtice, Equity, and Maintenance of the Dominion of the Sea againſt all Competitors: And being always jealous of the Friendſhip of *Rome*, he took Care to increaſe his naval Power; and, like a wiſe and politic Prince, entered into a ſtrong Alliance only with ſuch States, as were grown famous on the *Thracian Boſphorus*, for their Power by Sea; that, if ever he ſhould be diſturbed in his Government or Navigation by the *Romans*, they ſhould ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, and paſſing thro' the Straits of *Gibraltar*, join his Navy in the *Britiſh* Seas, and act in Conjunction againſt his Enemies.

This Alliance greatly alarmed the *Romans*. And to prevent the fatal Conſequences thereof, it was reſolved, that the Emperors *Conſtantius* and *Maximian*, ſhould immedidiately attack *Carauſius*. *Conſtantius* undertook the Land-forces, and beſieged him in *Bulloigne*; while *Maximian* fitted out a Fleet of 1000 Sail, from the naval Magazines on the *Rhine*. In the mean Time, *Carauſius* made his Eſcape to *Britain*, where he had a ſtrong Fleet, and a powerful Army. But *Conſtantius* having Time to draw together all the Ships from every Part of his Dominions, prevented his coming out, by ſtrong Squadrons, ſtationed in the *Britiſh* Channel [k]; and with the reſt of his Fleet, ſteering thro' the Straits of *Gibraltar*, encountered and defeated the *Franks*, his Confederates, ſo abſolutely, that there was not a Man of them left. And while *Carauſius* was preparing the beſt he could to defend *Britain*, he was treacherouſly murdered by one *Alectus*, his Boſom-friend.

(*A. D.* 294.) *Alectus* aſſumed the Purple; and though he acted more like a Pirate than a Prince, he augmented his Fleet, as the beſt Security againſt his Enemies. This Fleet, which rendezvouſed off the *Iſle of Wight*, ſailed in queſt of *Conſtantius*, upon the firſt Intelligence of the Departure of the *Roman* Fleet; and, to all Appearance, would have beat it, had not the *Romans* ſlipt by him in a Fog, landed in *Britain*, and ſet Fire to their Ships; that, as they were not ſtrong enough to fight *Alectus*'s Fleet, they might not fall into his Hands [l]. This Miſchance drove *Alectus* into ſuch Deſpair, that he, truſting to the Strength of a raw Army,

[a] Strabo, lib. III. [b] Mare Clauſum, lib. II. c. 2. [c] Hiſt. Britan. lib. I. & III. c. 2. [d] Alured Beverl. Ann. lib. I. p. 10, &c. Rich. Viti Hiſt. Brit. lib. I. & III. Hen. Huntington. Proem. Hiſt. & in Epiſt. ad Guerin. Girald. Cambrenſis Deſcriptio Cambriæ, c. 7. apud Camden, Ang. Norman, &c. [e] Ammian Hiſt. lib. XV. [f] Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 54. [g] Sueton. in Calig. cap. 44. Oroſius, lib. VII. c. 5. Sueton. in Claud. c. 17. Dio. Hiſt. lib LX. [h] Tacit. in Agricol. [i] Aurel. Vict. c. 39. [k] Eutrop. lib IX. Bed. lib. I. c. 6. Oroſ. lib. VII. c. 25. Paulus Diac. lib. X. c. 41. Aurel. Vict. cap. 39. [l] Aurel. Vict. in Ceſar. Speed's Chron. p. 255. Lewis's Hiſt. Brit. p. 120.

Army, compoſed of hireling Foreigners, from ſeveral Nations, was entirely routed and ſlain (*A. D.* 296.)

The Advantage of a ſuperior naval Force grew ſo evident, from theſe late Armaments, that in the Settlement of the military Government in *Britain*, due Care was taken of naval [a] Affairs, and Garriſons were placed in *Haſtings*, *Dover*, *Hythe*, *Brancheſter*, *Yarmouth*, *Reculver*, *Richborough*, *Newenden*, and *Aldrington*, or *Elderington*, near *Shoreham*, then accounted the beſt Sea-ports on that Side of *Britain*, which was moſt infeſted by Pirates. But when that mighty Empire began to decline; and Sloth, Luxury and Idleneſs invaded our Shores; the Navy dwindled away; the floating Caſtles, the Bulwarks of our Kingdom, were ſuffered to rot in their neglected Brine; and the Ports became an eaſy Prey to our ambitious Neighbours (*A. D.* 463.) However *Vortimer*, a Branch of the old *Britiſh* Stem, reſtored the Fleet, and defeated the *Saxons*, near the Iſle of *Thanet*, in a Sea-fight. But ſuch were the Intrigues of *Vortigern* with the *Saxons*, and the civil Diſſentions of the Nation, about fixing the Sovereignty, after the *Romans* gave up the Government of *Britain*, that the Marine ſuffered greatly; till Prince *Arthur*, convinced by the Miſmanagement of his Predeceſſors, that he, who would maintain his Sovereignty on Land, muſt be ſupreme at Sea, equipped a formidable Fleet, with which he not only guarded his own Coaſts, but conquered and annexed to his Obedience *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gothland*, the *Orkneys*, *Norway* and *Denmark* [b].

From this Time, tho' the *Britons* kept up a Shew of maritime Strength, they were ſo overpowered by the *Saxons*, who drove them into the narrow Bounds of *Wales*, that they were not able to maintain any conſiderable Fleet. Nor do we find that the *Saxons* paid that Regard to marine Affairs, as they, in good Policy, ought to have done; till they were convinced by the formidable Fleet, with which *Offa*, the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, uſurped and maintained a Sovereignty over his Neighbours, and ſecured his Dominions from foreign Invaſions; that they who would be ſecure on Land, muſt be ſupreme at Sea [c].

By this Means, *Offa* made himſelf alſo reſpected abroad; inſomuch that *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, and afterwards Emperor, ſought his Friendſhip and Alliance: And the *Danes*, who, in the Year 787, made their firſt Attempt on the *Engliſh* Shore, were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs. But thoſe Rovers, informed of his Death, in 795, made a Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Northumberland*, with incredible Miſchief; then ſailed for another Place; and what, thro' favour of the *Britons*, whoſe innate Hatred towards the *Saxons* engaged them to aſſiſt and join theſe new Invaders, and the Decay of *Offa*'s Fleet, which the *Saxons*, contrary to that unerring Maxim in Politics, That Power is beſt preſerved, by the Uſe of thoſe Means, by which it was obtained; they were encouraged, and permitted to carry Rapine, Murder and Deſolation, into many Parts of the Iſland; till *Egbert*, or *Ecgbryt*, King of the Weſt *Saxons*, having acquired the Sovereignty of *England*, reſtored the Marine, and defeated 35 *Daniſh* Ships off *Charmouth*, in *Dorſetſhire*.

The *Saxons*, after the Death of *Egbert*, changing their Syſtem of Politics, let their Navy drop; and, by a Fatality, to which none but a People reſerved for Puniſhment by an over-ruling Providence would have yielded, reſolved to leave their Coaſts naked, to fortify their Cities, and to fight the Enemy after they ſhould land. This fatal Miſtake, permitting the Enemy to land without Interruption, enabled the *Danes* to unite their Forces; and, at laſt, to drive the Inhabitants from the Coaſts, and to gain Settlements for themſelves. In one of their Expeditions, they ſailed up the *Thames* with 350 Veſſels; burnt all the Towns on the Shore; landed their Men, and laid the Country, for many Miles within Land, waſte with Fire and Sword. It is true, that *Ethelwolf* did, at laſt, force them to retire: But they returned, and landed in the Weſt, with a more powerful Fleet; and committed ſuch Ravages, that when *Alfred* aſcended the Throne of *England*, the Country lay deſolate, the Cities and great Towns were demoliſhed, and the People conſumed by continual War, and fighting nine or ten Battles in a Year, which exhauſted their Wealth, their Strength, and their Spirits; ſo that, inſtead of reſolving to make any futher Stand in Defence of their Liberty and Property, they ſeemed determined to ſubmit to the Yoke of Slavery, rather than to expire with a precarious Freedom.

Such was the ruinous Condition of the *Saxons*, when *Alfred* began his Reign over them. However, this wiſe and magnanimous Prince preſently infuſed new Spirits and better Hopes into his bleeding Subjects. He repreſented to them the Iniquity of thoſe Councils in former Reigns, which preferred a Land to a Sea-war; and engaged them, as the beſt Security againſt Invaſions, to build Ships of a proper Conſtruction, to defend the Coaſt againſt the naval Force of their Enemies. And, in conſequence of this Advice, we find they immediately ſet about a Reſtoration of their naval Affairs, and to build Ships of War of a new Conſtruction, deviſed by the King himſelf, capable of holding ſixty Rowers, and, in all reſpects, double to the largeſt Ships then in Uſe. When this Navy was completed, *Alfred* took ſpecial Care to have it mann'd by experienced Sailors, and commanded by Officers of untainted Courage and Fidelity; and ordered them to put to Sea, with an expreſs Prohibition either to receive or give Quarter. By which he releaſed himſelf from the Incumberance and Hazard, which ariſe from a Number of Priſoners on board of a Ship; and intended to ſtrike Terror into thoſe Rovers, who, as they kept no Faith in their Treaties, he thereby declared were unworthy of Mercy.

The firſt Encounter between this Navy and the *Danes* was off the *Iſle of Wight*. The King, informed that ſix Pirates of an unuſual Size infeſted thoſe Parts, he ordered nine of his new Ships to ſail in queſt of them; and his Commands were ſo punctually executed, that they were all (except one) either ſunk or taken; and the Men, that ſurvived, were hanged, as Pirates, at *Wincheſter* (*A. D.* 897.) In this ſingle Year, the *Saxons* deſtroyed not leſs than twenty Ships, and all their Men, on the South Coaſt only.

Alfred's Attention towards the maritime Power was not confin'd to the martial Strength of his Dominions. For, as he very judiciouſly inferr'd, that a naval Power could by no means be kept up without a continual Supply of able Seamen, he naturally concluded that the Merchant's Service would be the beſt Nurſery for them; and therefore ſet about the Improvement of the Navigation, to extend the Commerce of his Subjects, and to diſcover far-diſtant Countries: Of which we have the moſt authentic Proofs in his Commiſſion to certain Perſons to diſcover the utmoſt Extent of the *Artic* Regions, and to attempt a Paſſage to the North Eaſt on that Side; as alſo in his Correſpondence with the *Eaſt-Indies*. Sir *John Spelman* mentions [d] the Voyage for the Diſcovery of a *North Eaſt* Paſſage, and ſays, that the King employ'd one *Octher* or *Ohther*, a *Dane*, in that Service. But the *Saxon* Verſion of *Oroſius*, made by King *Alfred* himſelf, a Copy of which is preſerved among *Junius*'s MSS. in the *Bodleian* Library, ſays that *Ohthar* was a Native of *Halgoland*, which lies in 66° N. Lat. a Man of great Subſtance, of more than ordinary Skill in Navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the Commerce of the North. Whoſe accurate Deſcription of the Coaſts of *Norway* and *Lapland*, and Account of Whale-fiſhing, encouraged the King to ſend *Neulfſtan*, an *Engliſhman*, to viſit the ſame Coaſts, in order to prevent any Impoſition from foreign Intelligence. If this Voyage did not fully anſwer the Intention of that Prince, the very Attempt, nay the very Thought, is enough to endear his Name to Poſterity, and to record his wonderful Genius. And what did he come ſhort of thoſe Navigators, who have ſince, in more enlighten'd Ages, fail'd in the ſame Attempt?

This Voyage may be aſcrib'd to the King's Curioſity, or to a deſire of extending the national Commerce, improving Navigation, and diſcovering ſtrange Lands. But his *Indian* Voyage is recorded [e] as a Monument of his Faith and Charity; for hearing of the Diſtreſs of the *Chriſtians* of *St. Thomas*, his Majeſty reſolved to ſend them Relief. The King's Agent in this Affair was one *Sigelmus* or *Suithelm*, a Prieſt, afterwards created Biſhop of *Sherburn*, who returned with an immenſe Treaſure of *Indian* Goods, Perfumes, and precious Stones, of which *Alfred* made Preſents to foreign Princes, who were ſtruck with Amazement at the Relation of this Voyage.

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[a] Camden Hiſt. Brit. lib. V. cap. 4. Vit. Hiſt. lib. V. Speed and Lewis, ut ſupra.

[b] Hiſt. Brit. lib. IX. cap. 10. Vit. Hiſt. lib. VIII.

[c] Cronicon. Saxon. p. 65.

[d] Spelman's Life of *Alfred the Great*, p. 151. Hackluyt's and Purchas's Voyages.

[e] Gulielm. Malmeſ. de gent. Pont. Angl. lib. II. p. 247.

(*A. D.* 901.) The Uſe and Importance of the naval Force being once again re-eſtabliſhed in *England*, *Edward*, who ſucceeded his Father *Alfred*, though his Reign was diſturb'd by the inteſtine Diviſions, in favour of his Couſin *Ethelwald*, who pretended to the Crown, fitted out one hundred Sail of Ships on the *Kentiſh* Coaſt to oppoſe the new Swarms of northern Rovers, invited over in hopes of gaining ſome Advantage in their Conteſt for Dominion. With theſe he forced the greateſt Part of the Enemy to run their Ships aſhore; and then landing his own Men, he entirely routed them, and killed moſt of their Commanders on the Spot. His Brother *Ethelſtan*, who ſucceeded to the Throne on *Edward*'s Death, (*A. D.* 925.) kept up a powerful Fleet, as well as an Army by Land; with which he invaded *Scotland* by Sea and Land to revenge himſelf of *Conſtantine*, the King of that Country, for his Breach of Faith. *Conſtantine*, not prepar'd againſt this Event, was obliged to ſubmit: But *Ethelſtan* was no ſooner retir'd, but the *Scot* leaguing with the diſcontented *Britons* and *Anlaff*, a powerful *Dane* ſettled in *Ireland*, *England* was invaded by a powerful Army of *Britons* and *Scots*, and a more numerous Fleet commanded by *Anlaff*, than had ever been ſeen in the *Britiſh* Seas. However they met with ſuch a warm Reception, that after the Fall of five Kings and ſeven *Daniſh* Chiefs, they were entirely vanquiſh'd in Battle both by Sea and Land[a].

Theſe Advantages highly recommended the Support of the Navy; which therefore became ſo formidable under the following Reigns of *Edmund*, *Edred* and *Edwy*, that they were not plagued with any of thoſe Invaſions from the North, which had ſo much diſturbed former Reigns; and was ſo increaſed, that King *Edgar*, who ſucceeded *Edwy*, (*A. D.* 957.) had a Fleet of three thouſand ſix hundred Ships, at leaſt[b]; with which he vindicated the Right, deriv'd from the Sovereigns of this Iſland, in all Ages, to the *Dominion of the Sea*, and acquired to himſelf the juſt Title of *Protector of Commerce*: For which we need only recite the following Record; "I *Edgar*, King of *England*, and of the Iſlands adjacent, and of the Ocean lying round about *Britain*, and of all the Nations that are included within the Circuit thereof, ſupream Lord and Governor, do render Thanks to Almighty God, my King, who hath enlarged my Empire, and exalted it above the Royal Eſtate of my Progenitors; who, although they arriv'd to the Monarchy of all *England* ever ſince *Athelſtan*, yet the Divine Goodneſs hath favoured me to ſubdue all the Kings of the Iſlands in the Ocean, with their moſt ſtout and mighty Kings, as far as *Norway*, and the greateſt Part of *Ireland*, together with their moſt famous City of *Dublin*[c]."

This Navy was divided into three Fleets, each of twelve hundred Sail, which he kept in conſtant Readineſs for Service, one on the eaſtern Coaſt, another on the weſtern, and the third on the northern Coaſts of the Kingdom, to defend them againſt the Depredations of the *Daniſh* and *Norman* Pirates, and ſecure the Navigation of the adjacent Seas: Which that he might the more effectually do, he every Year, after the Feſtival of Eaſter, went on board the Fleet on the eaſtern Coaſt, and ſailing weſtward with it, ſcoured the Channel of Pirates; and having looked into all the Ports, Bays, and Creeks between the *Thames* Mouth and the Land's End, quitted this Fleet and ſent it back; and going on board the weſtern Fleet did the like in thoſe Parts, as alſo on the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and among the *Hebrides*, or weſtern Iſlands; where being met by the northern Fleet, he went on board the ſame, and came round to the *Thames* Mouth. Thus encompaſſing all his Dominions, and providing for the Security of their Coaſts, he render'd any Invaſion impracticable, and kept his Sailors in continual Exerciſe. This he did for the whole ſixteen Years of his Reign. And as a more ſignal Declaration of his Power at Sea, going once to keep his Court at *Cheſter*, he ſummoned thither *Kenneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuſe* of the *Iſles*, and five Kings of *Wales*, his feuditory Princes, and, going on board his Barge, cauſed each of them to take an Oar, and to row him down the River *Dee*, while he himſelf ſate in the Stern, and held the Rudder: thus, in a ſort of ſolemn Triumph, aſſerting his Right to that Sea-Dominion, derived from his Anceſtors, which has been from him ſo happily tranſmitted down (with the Conſent of all the neighbouring Nations) to his lateſt Succeſſors, and I hope, ſhall continue with them ſo long as the Sea itſelf ſhall endure.

(*A. D.* 978.) The *Danes* were very cautious in this Reign; but as ſoon as his Son *Ethelred*, by the Murder of his Brother *Edward*, came to the Throne, they renewed their Hoſtilities; and coming over in Swarms, committed great Spoil on the Coaſts: Againſt whom *Ethelred*, after the Example of his Father, prepared a powerful Navy, cauſing of every three hundred and ten Hides of Land in the Kingdom a Ship to be built; a noble and wiſe Scheme for preſerving and augmenting the Navy: But ſo badly executed; and what Ships were fitted out met with ſuch bad Weather, that the grand Fleets left him by his Father, and all his own Improvements, were render'd ſo unſerviceable againſt the Enemy, that in ſix Years after the Death of *Edgar*, a *Daniſh* Squadron of ſeven Ships only inſulted the Coaſt, and plunder'd *Southampton*[d].

The *Danes* having nothing more to fear from an *Engliſh* Fleet, in a few Years committed ſuch Robberies and Murders all along the Coaſt, that in 991 they extorted a Tribute of 10,000 *l.* to forbear Plundering, which the King raiſed on the Subject by the Name of *Danegeld*[e]. But this Expedient was ſo far from relieving the Kingdom from the Miſchiefs propoſed, that it rather increaſed them: for, when it is diſcovered that the national Councils are weak and intimidated, new Enemies will ſhew themſelves. Thus in 993 the Coaſt was infeſted by a Fleet of ninty-three Ships under the Command of one *Anlaff*, a famous Pyrate, who committed great Outrages in the River *Thames*, as far up as *Staines*, on both Sides the River; and then on the Coaſt of *Kent*, and afterwards in the Mouth of the *Humber*. In 994, *Anlaff* Duke of *Norway*, with a Fleet of ninety-four Sail, appear'd before *London*, without Succeſs; but marching an Army into *Kent* and *Hampſhire*, he, by horrid Devaſtations, wreſted from the King the Sum of 16,000 *l.* on Condition he ſhould never more ſet Foot in *England*. Another Fleet of Strangers in 997 enter'd the *Savern*, and robbed all that and the Coaſt of *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, and carried off their Booty, leaving every Place deſtroyed by Fire and Sword. The like Outrages were done in *Dorſetſhire* in 998; and in 999 they ſail'd up the *Thames*, and landing, march'd through *Kent*, and defeated the King's Forces near *Canterbury*. This Loſs put the Nobles upon vigorous Reſolutions; and it was immediately determin'd to raiſe a numerous Army, and to equip a ſtrong Fleet. But theſe mighty Preparations, without Alteration of the former Management, ſerved only to exhauſt the Purſes, and to break the Spirits of the People. So that after three Years Armament, to the great Loſs and Diſſatisfaction of the Subjects, the King was driven to purchaſe an inglorious Peace for 24,000 *l.* at one time, (*A. D.* 1002.) and with 30,000 *l.* at another time (*A. D.* 1007.)

About the Year of Chriſt 1013, the *Saxons* having added to their Puſillanimity the Maſſacre of the *Danes* throughout *England*, *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, to revenge that barbarous Expedient to root out his Countrymen, laid claim to the Crown of this Iſland, and, preſuming on his Superiority by Sea, invaded the Realm, drove *Ethelred* into *Normandy*, got himſelf elected King in his Stead, and would in all probability have kept Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *England*, had not Death deprived him thereof in the next Year. From which Incident, we have another Example, that this Iſland is never longer ſafe, than while it is the firſt maritime Power; and that, as our Freedom flows only from our Conſtitution, ſo both muſt be defended by our Fleets.

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[a] Chron. Saxon. p. 112, 113, 114.

[b] Roger. Hoveden. p. 429. Florent. Wigorn. ad Ann. 975.

[c] Seld. mare Clauſum, lib. II. c. 10 to 16. Gulielm. Malmeſ. lib. II. c. 8.

[d] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 981.

[e] Ibid. ad A. D. 991. Gulielm. Malmeſ. de geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. II. c. 10. Alured. Beverl. lib. VIII.

Upon the Death of *Swain*, his ſon *Canute* was recognized his Succeſſor by the *Danes* ſettled in *England:* But the *Saxons* recalled *Ethelreld.* Thus the Kingdom was divided between theſe two, and [a] continued ſo till the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, *Ethelred*'s Succeſſor, in the Year 1016, when the whole Kingdom, as it had been agreed, fell under the Government of *Canute*, by Survivorſhip, who in the 2d Year of his Reign raiſed a Subſidy of 72000 *l.* on the reſt of the Kingdom, and eleven thouſand Pounds on the City of *London* to pay off his Fleet, that they might return to *Denmark*, except 40 he reſerved to guard the Coaſt. This Subſidy was raiſed under the Name of *Danegeld*; which was become a general Term for a Tax impoſed for the Maintenance of the Fleet.

Canute with a Fleet of 50 Ships, manned with *Engliſh* Tars in 1027, ſailed to *Norway*, and drove out *Olaf* [b], who had uſurped the Crown of that Country; and two Years after he invaded *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, and obliged that King to ſubmit to his Terms. And throughout his whole Reign *Canute* carried his Perogative in naval Affairs ſo high, that he is thought to have therein exceeded all his Predeceſſors, and has been emblematically expreſt, ſitting on the Shore in his royal Choir, while the Sea was flowing, with theſe Words in his Mouth, *Tu meæ ditionis es*, &c.

In the latter Part of this Reign, there being nothing to fear from abroad, the Nation being now entirely under a *Daniſh* Monarch, *Canute* reduced the *Danegeld*, or Money raiſed on the People for the Maintenance of a Fleet, to the Support only of ſixteen Ships; which was not (*A. D.* 1039.) increaſed by *Harold-Harefoot*, his Son and Succeſſor: But *Hardiknute* coming [c] at his Demiſe to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, with a large Fleet, he raiſed it to ſixty-two Ships; though in the next Year he levied no more than 21099 *l.* and fixed the Subſidy for the future at 32 Ships.

(*A. D.* 1041.) *Edward*, ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, ſucceeded his Half-brother *Hardiknute*, who in the Beginning of his Reign kept up a Fleet of thirty-five Sail; but through his Inactivity, and Neglect of the natural Defence of his Dominions; and by the Quarrels he had with Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons, the Nation was diſtracted with Factions, and the Navy was ſo infeebled, that in 1046, a pyratical Squadron of 25 Ships caſt Anchor at *Sandwich*, and after committing great Outrages, carried off to *Flanders* a great Booty from the Coaſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and the Iſle of *Thanet*; the King's Ships not being in a Condition to face the Enemy; though we find that upon a freſh Rupture with Earl *Godwin*, who had recourſe to a naval Defence, *Edward* fitted a Fleet of fifty-Sail; which immediately brought about a Reconciliation.

(*A. D.* 1066.) Upon the Death of *Edward*, *Harold*, Son of Earl *Godwin*, ſeized on the Crown, without any Title, and without the Affections of the People. He was rivaled in this Uſurpation by *William* Duke of *Normandy*; by *Toſtigo* his own Brother; and by *Harold Harfagar*, King of *Norway*. *Toſtigo* appeared on the Coaſts of *Yorkſhire* and *Northumberland*, with a Fleet of fifty Sail; but Earl *Edwin* encountered him on his Landing, defeated his Army, deſtroyed a great Part of his Fleet, and forced him to fly away with twelve Ships, and ſeek for Refuge in *Scotland* [d]. This Rival to his Brother's Dignity, afterwards joined his ſcattered Forces with *Harold Harfagar*, whoſe Armament conſiſted of three hundred Sail of Ships, and a numerous Army on board. Theſe Invaders ſailed up the *Humber*, landed their Forces, took the Rout of *York*; defeated the two great Earls *Edward*, and *Morker*, who had raiſed a Power to oppoſe them; and ſeized upon the City of *York* for their Head-quarters. But King *Harold*, reſolved to maintain his Uſurpation, fitted out a Fleet, as well as a powerful Army; with which he attacked his Competitors with ſuch Succeſs that he gained a compleat Victory, both by Land and Sea; ſlew *Harfagar* and *Toſtigo* [e] in the Field of Battle, and forced *Olaf*, *Harfagar*'s Son, to ſurrender the *Norwegian* Fleet (except 20 Ships allowed to tranſport the Remains of his Army) and to give up the vaſt Spoils they had taken: But *Harold* had a more powerful Enemy to face before the Crown could ſit eaſy upon his Head. The Duke of *Normandy* embarked with a numerous Army of *Normans*, *Flemings*, *Frenchmen*, and *Bretons*, on board a prodigious Fleet of ſmall Tranſports, which, upon his landing (*Sept.* 28th, *A. D.* 1066.) at *Pevenſey* in *Suſſex*, he ordered to be burnt, as unable to engage the *Engliſh*; and engaging *Harold*, near *Haſtings*, on *Saturday* 14th of *October*, deprived him both of his Life and Crown, after a moſt obſtinate Battle; in which the *Engliſh* loſt 67974 private Men; beſides *Harold*, and his two Brothers *Gritbus* and *Leofrick*. However greateſt Part of the Fleet ſeparated, and retired to the Coaſt of *Norway*, under the Command of *Godwin*, *Edmund*, and *Magnus*, who were thereby enabled to make many Attempts on the *Normans* afterwards.

The Commerce of the SAXONS.

It now remains, before we enquire into the naval Hiſtory under the *Norman* Race, to add ſome Obſervations on the *Saxon* Commerce, and to ſhew what Uſe was made of the Dominion of the Sea, down to this Time. If we infer from the Silence of the *Saxon* Hiſtorians, in this Point, that *England* carried on little or no foreign Trade, what Reaſons can be aſſigned, why the greateſt Princes of *Europe* entered into Treaties and Alliances with many of the *Saxon* Princes after their Settlement in this Iſland? Did not *Charles the Great* ſeek the Friendſhip of King *Offa*? Did not *Charles the Bald* give his Daughter in Marriage to King *Ethelwolf*? And the moſt illuſtrious Sovereigns in the neighbouring Nations made Queens of the Princeſſes of *England*. But the Worth and Quality of theſe great Perſonages could never have been known in thoſe diſtant Places, had there not been an extenſive Commerce between the Subjects of the *Engliſh* Kings and thoſe States. And how can we account for the Grandeur of *Alfred*'s Court, which was conſtantly crowded with Foreigners of Diſtinction; with Artiſts of all Kinds from different Nations; or for the Elegancy of the public and private Buildings of the *Saxons*, if we deny their extenſive Commerce, or Traffic, with the curious and polite Parts of the World? From whence came the Silver, that in thoſe Days employed ſo many Mints, and occaſioned the making of ſo many Laws for regulating the Coinage? Silver was never accounted a Commodity of our own; and therefore this Coinage muſt be aſcribed to the Balance of Trade carried on with foreign Nations, in our Favour. What could induce King *Edgar* to reduce all Weights and Meaſures to one Standard; but to remedy the Inconvenience in thoſe Particulars, crept in by trading with different Nations? Another general Reaſon ariſes from the Claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea. What would that Power avail a Nation, who drove none, or at leaſt an inconſiderable Trade thereon? for they only deſire this Superiority, who experience the Importance of it: And as this Claim is more ancient, and more explicit, than thoſe of any other *European* Nation, it is reaſonable to infer that the Value of this Right was earlier underſtood here, than elſewhere. Beſides, they had greater Opportunities of underſtanding naval Affairs in this Iſland than perhaps any other Nation ever had: For before the *Roman* Invaſion, the *Britons* are allowed to have had ſome Skill in Navigation, and to have fitted out conſiderable Fleets; and when they were better cultivated and improved in this, and all other Arts, by their Intercourſe with *Rome*, we find them under *Carauſius*, &c. able to bear up againſt all the maritime Force of the *Roman* Empire. That the *Saxons* were acquainted with naval Affairs may be fairly aſſerted from their ſeveral Armaments [f] with which they invaded *Britain*; and from their Manner of diſtinguiſhing Time, before their Settlement here, by the ebbing and flowing of the Tides; a Knowledge unknown to the *Greeks*, who invaded *India* under *Alexander*; and to the *Romans*, when *Ceſar* firſt arrived on the *Britiſh* Coaſt. It was, therefore, highly natural when theſe different People were in ſome meaſure mixed together, and alſo blended with the *Danes*, another maritime Power, to puſh their Genius for naval Affairs, as far as it could be done by People in their Circumſtances

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[a] Chron. Saxon. p. 144. 145.

[b] Pontan. hiſt. Dan. lib. V. Malmeſb. degeſt. reg. Angl. lib. II. c. 2. Mare Clauſ. lib II. c. 12.

[c] Chron. Saxon. p. 154, 155.

[d] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Rog. Hoved. p. 447. Hen. Hunting. hiſt. lib. VI.

[e] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Guliel. Malmeſb. de gent. reg. Ang. lib. II. p. 94. Ingulph. hiſt. Rog. Hoveden. p. 448.

[f] Sidon. Apollinar. lib. VIII. Ol. Worm. in Faſtis Danicis, lib. I. c. 2.

cumſtances and advantageous Situation. Now could it ever have been poſſible for their Sovereigns to maintain and mann a continual Fleet, which at certain Periods far exceeded the Numbers of Ships in the Navy of later Princes, had there not at the ſame Time been carried on an extenſive Commerce by Shipping? the only and effectual Method of training up a Generation of good and able Seamen, for the national Service.

Thus I have traced through the dark Ages of Hiſtory, the moſt material Accounts of the naval Affairs, from the earlieſt Times among the native *Britons* of this Iſland, to the Conqueſt thereof by the Duke of *Normandy*; firſt, to expoſe the Ignorance or Careleſſneſs of thoſe Writers, who daſh out that valuable Part of our Hiſtory; either becauſe their Capacities are deficient in ancient Records, or to eaſe themſelves of that infinite Labour of conſulting the numerous Writers of more than a thouſand Years: and that I might furniſh the Reader with ſuch Proofs of the *Britiſh* Right to the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Sea, as may help him better to underſtand that Claim, ſo often aſſerted in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

The SOVEREIGNTY *of the* SEA *aſſerted and vindicated.*

They that have inſiſted upon an abſolute, unlimited, and excluſive Right to the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, firſt ſettle the Bounds of thoſe Seas in this Manner: The eaſtern and ſouthern Coaſts of *Britain* are waſhed by the *German* Ocean, and that which *Ptolemy* calls particularly the *Britiſh* Sea, and which according to *Mela*, in his Treatiſe *de Situ Orbis*, lib. II. cap. 3, reaches as far as the northern Coaſt of *Spain*. And the *Arabian* Geographer (Clim. 4. part 1.) ſays, Towards the North, *Andaluſia*, by which Name the *Arabians* comprehend all *Spain*, is waſhed with the *Engliſh* Sea; adding, there are nine Stages from *Toledo* to St. *James*'s, which Place he ſays (Clim. 5. part. 1.) is ſituated on a Promontory of the *Engliſh* Sea. St. *James*'s is a Town in the Province of *Galicia*. On the weſt Side of *Britain* lies the *Vergivian* Sea, which, where it waſhes the Coaſt of *Scotland*, takes from thence the Name of the *Deucaledonian* Sea: Of this *Vergivian* Sea, the *Iriſh*, or St. *George*'s Channel, is a Part. Upon the north of *Britain* flows the *Caledonian* Sea, in which are ſituate the *Orcades*. Thus the *Britiſh* Sea, or the Channel lying between *England* and *France*, the *Vergivian*, the *Deucaledonian*, and the *Caledonian* Seas, are properly called the *Britiſh* Seas, and as ſuch are ſubject to the *Britiſh* Empire.

Then they quote the Authority of *Hugo Grotius*: "The " bare Poſſeſſion of the Shore is not ſufficient to intitle " any People to a Right to the adjoining Sea: Nor is it " enough for a Prince to imagine, or write himſelf Lord " of the Sea, without proclaiming himſelf by ſome *Overt-* " *Act* to be ſo." And argue from thence in this Form: By this he certainly means, that it is not from a bare Occupation or Poſſeſſion of the neighbouring Land, but from an actual and peculiar Uſe and Enjoyment of the Sea itſelf, and exerting all the Functions of a Sovereign upon it; ſuch as preſcribing Rules of Navigation to thoſe that frequent it, puniſhing Delinquents, protecting of others, and receiving from all that Homage and Advantage due to every lawful Sovereign, that ſufficient Arguments can be derived for proving a lawful Title to the Dominion of it. Now, if we make it appear, that the Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Sea was at firſt acquired, and ever ſince aſſerted, in the very Manner ſpecified by that Author, though he wrote againſt it, we hope there will be no Room for Objection, by which the Argument can be invalidated.

Before we proceed further, it may be proper to obſerve, that the Extent of the *Britiſh* Dominions in the Eaſtern and Southern Seas was ſettled by a Treaty concluded in the Year 1674, between King *Charles* II. and the *States-General*; by which it was to reach from the Middle-point of the Land *Vanſlaten* in *Norway*, to Cape *Finiſterre*. The Dominion of the Sea intitles the lawful Poſſeſſors to the ſix following Prerogatives.

(1.) The Royalty of granting the Liberty of fiſhing for Pearl, Coral, Amber, and all other ſuch precious Commodities.

(2.) To grant Licences to fiſh for Whale, Sturgeon, Pilchard, Salmon, Herring, and all other Sorts of Fiſh whatſoever, as is uſual in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and ſeveral other Places.

(3.) To impoſe Tribute and Cuſtom on all Merchants Ships, and Fiſhermen fiſhing and trading within the Limits of the Sea that is ſubjected to any particular Dominion.

(4.) The regular Execution of Juſtice for protecting the Innocent, and puniſhing the Guilty for all Crimes committed within the Extent of ſuch Sea Dominions.

(5.) To grant free Paſſage through any ſuch Sea to any Number of Ships of War belonging to any other Prince or Republic, or to deny the ſame, according to Circumſtances and Occaſion of ſuch Paſſage, in the ſame Manner as any Prince or State may grant or deny free Paſſage to foreign Troops through their Territories by Land, even though the Prince or State to whom ſuch Ships or Land-forces belong, be not only in Peace, but in Alliance, with the Prince or Republic of whom Paſſage is deſired.

(6.) To demand of all foreign Ships whatſoever within thoſe Seas, to ſtrike the Flag, and lower the Topſail, to any Ships of War, or others bearing the Colours of the Sovereign of ſuch Seas.

All which Prerogatives do unqueſtionably belong to the Kings and Queens of *Great-Britain*. And although the Duty of the Flag is but an indifferent honorary Ceremony, yet it is a ſignificant Acknowledgement that the abſolute Sovereignty of the Seas in which the Colours are required to be ſtruck, is veſted in the Prince to whom that Duty is paid. And ſuch is the high Regard that the *Britiſh* Nation puts upon the Execution of this ceremonious Homage, that, a Contempt thereof, according to the marine Laws, is puniſhable as open Rebellion or High-treaſon.

That this Acknowledgment was always taken for a Confeſſion of the abſolute Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* Seas, appears by a memorable Record among the marine Laws, about the End of the Reign of King *John*, viz. [a] "That " if a Lieutenant in any Voyage being ordained by common Council of the Kingdom, do encounter upon the " Sea any Ships or Veſſels, laden or unladen, that will not " STRIKE AND VEIL THEIR BONNETS, at the Commandment of the Lieutenant of the King, but will fight " againſt them of the Fleet, that, if they can be taken, " they be reputed as Enemies, and their Veſſels, Ships, " and Goods taken and forfeited as the Goods of Enemies, though the Maſters or Poſſeſſors of the ſame " would come afterwards and allege that they are the " Ships, Veſſels, and Goods of thoſe that are Friends to " our Lord the King, and that the common People in the " ſame be chaſtiſed by the Impriſonment of their Bodies " for their Rebellion, at Diſcretion."

The Claim of this *Britiſh* Sovereignty at Sea has the Sanction of no leſs than 17 or 18 Centuries to countenance and uphold the like uninterrupted Practice; and even ſo long ago as *Ceſar*'s Time, the *Britons* aſſerted and maintained the like Dominion, as may be ſeen in his Commentaries, lib. IV. where he ſays [b], "That before his firſt " Deſcent in *Britain*, having ſummoned the Merchants, " and other ſeafaring *Gauls* together, and made a diligent " Enquiry concerning the Situation of the *Britiſh* Shore " and Ports, he found that none dared to croſs the Seas " to go into *Britain*, without Permiſſion, but Merchants, " and that they too were ſo ignorant of thoſe Shores (as " being deprived of a free Uſe of the Sea) that he was " obliged to ſend *Voluſenus*, in a long Ship, to ſound the " *Britiſh* Coaſts." Whence it may be rationally inferred, that ſince the ancient *Britons* excluded the *Gauls* and others, at their Pleaſure, from the free Enjoyment of the Sea, they muſt certainly have been the Lords of it. And that this was not a bare Prohibition of coming into the Iſland of *Britain*, but even of navigating within the Extent of their maritime Dominion, is plain from hence; that the Merchants

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[a] Inter Leg. Marina, ſub fine anni regni Henrici Secundi le Ordinance called Haſtings.

[b] —quæ omnia ferè Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere præter mercatores, illò adit quiſquam; neque iis ipſis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ ſunt contra Galliam, notum eſt, &c.

chants themſelves, who were allowed to go thither, ſeem to have only had the Liberty of coming to an Anchor, and diſpoſing of their Goods upon the Coaſts, without being admitted into the Ports but very ſeldom; ſince thoſe that *Ceſar* had ſummoned to conduct his Navy into *Britain*, could not undertake to do it, as being intirely ignorant of the Situation of their Ports. If they were permitted to come to any Place, it is conceived to be *Gaul*'s Town, near *Yarmouth*. They had a naval Force to defend this naval Dominion, which, when *Ceſar* ſaw, he preferred their Ships to the *Romans*; theſe Ships coming to the Aſſiſtance of the *Gauls*, were the occaſion of his Expedition to *Britain*, to revenge himſelf for the Succours the Inhabitants had ſent their Neighbours, his Enemies; as obſerved before.

To this Authority they add a Variety of ſimilar Proofs, from the naval Power of the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, already mentioned; and poſitively aſſert, that whenever the Dominion of the Iſland was ſettled, that of the Sea was always an Appendant to it: And that from the *Norman* Conqueſt, the civil and natural Poſſeſſion of this Sovereignty has been veſted in the Crown of *England*.

To begin with *William* the *Norman*. It appears by ſeveral Paſſages in *Domeſday-book*, that he maintained the maritime Affairs of *England* in a very flouriſhing State. And other Hiſtories ſpeak largely of his powerful Navies, which, by the Addition of the *Norman* Fleet, muſt have been ſufficient to ſecure the Dominion of the Sea; and though the *Danes* appeared in the Northern Parts, and committed ſome Piracies in the Weſtern, yet they dared not to engage the royal Navy of *England*; but what they performed was by Stealth and Surprize. The *Norman*'s immediate Succeſſors, *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. were as careful of maintaining their Empire at Sea, as their Father the firſt *William* had been. *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Hoveden* relate, That being about to declare War againſt *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who was then preparing for an Expedition into *England*, he commanded his *Butſecarli*, a ſort of Sea-officers, then known by that Name, to guard the Seas, and take care that no Perſon ſhould paſs over from *Normandy* towards the *Engliſh* Coaſts. Beſides, this being a ſufficient Proof of his Strength at Sea, the very Office of theſe *Butſecarli* proves, that he looked upon himſelf as lawful Sovereign of it; they being no other than *cuſtodes ipſius maris*, or Guardians of the Sea, as will be ſhewn more fully hereafter.

The Confuſions that happened in *Stephen*'s Reign, hindered the Growth of the *Engliſh* Strength at Sea; and, indeed, his Dominion by Land was rendered precarious, by the Intereſt of *Maud* the Empreſs, and her Son *Henry* II. in whoſe time, *Ireland* being conquered, the Weſtern Sea was added to the maritime Empire of the Kings of *England*; and that theſe Kings have expreſly vindicated and aſſerted their Title to the Dominion of thoſe Seas, appears among other *Iriſh* Statutes, by an Act made in the Reign of *Edward* IV. ſtat. *Hibern.* cap. 6. forbidding fiſhing there without Licences, and laying a Tax on all Boats and Veſſels coming thither to fiſh. Since which, King *James* I. did, by a ſolemn Proclamation, poſitively forbid all Fiſhing upon the *Iriſh* Coaſts to Foreigners, without Permiſſion.

Many other Inſtances might be given to prove, that the Kings of *England* have, from time to time, aſſerted their Right to the Sovereignty of the *Iriſh*, as well as of their other Seas. Which warrants us, from the Reign of King *John*, when *Ireland* was annexed to the Crown of *England*, to reckon them a Part of the *Britiſh* Seas; the Empire of which was alſo a part of the Sovereignty of *Britain*.

King *John*, in the Paſſage before cited, challenged the Homage of the Flag near 500 Years ago, by that memorable Ordinance at *Haſtings*, whereby this Duty was required, not barely as a Mark of Courteſy, but as a Matter of undoubted Right, *cum debita reverentia*, and all that refuſed it were to be treated as Enemies. This Homage of the Flag is a conſecutive Acknowledgment, that the Right and Dominion of the Seas are in him, to whoſe Flag they ſtrike and pay that Homage; implying, that the Prince grants a general Licence for Ships to paſs through his Seas, that are his Friends, paying him that Duty: Like thoſe Services when Lords grant out Eſtates, reſerving a Pepper-corn, or ſome ſuch Trifle, the Value of which is not regarded, but is only a ſignificant Mark of the Remembrance and Acknowledgment of their Benefactor's Right and Dominion. This Salutation is to be paid, not only by Foreigners, but alſo by natural-born Subjects; and ſuch as refuſe to do it, may be brought to the Flag to anſwer the Contempt.

King *John* aſſerted his Title to this Homage, by a Fleet of no leſs than 500 Ships, in a Voyage-royal of his, when he ſailed to *Ireland*, commanding all Veſſels, which he met in his Way, to pay that Duty and Acknowledgment; and our ſucceeding Kings have done the ſame, with more or leſs Vigour and Succeſs, according to the Circumſtances of their Affairs.

His Son *Henry* III. was too much involved in his Wars with the Barons, to mind his naval Dominion: but then *Henry*'s Son *Edward* I. coming to the Crown about the Year 1272, and entering into a War with *Philip the Fair* of *France*, both Princes agreed upon a Freedom of Commerce (then called Sufferance of War) and each appointed Commiſſioners to take Cognizance of all Things relating to this Agreement, which they were to decide, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of Merchants, as far as it was allowed by the aforeſaid Treaty of Commerce.

When theſe two Kings concluded a Peace, they mutually obliged themſelves to be Enemies to each others Enemies, except ſome Princes expreſly mentioned in the Treaty of Peace and Alliance[a]. But ſeveral Complaints ariſing concerning Injuries done, and Violences offered to Merchantmen upon that Sea, not only during the Sufferance, but after the Peace; and the two Kings foreſeeing the Differences between the King of *France* and the Earl of *Flanders*, might give occaſion to other Complaints of that Nature, they appointed each four Commiſſioners, with full Power to decide all Controverſies of that kind that had happened, or might happen. Upon which a very remarkable Remonſtrance was exhibited to them, not only in the Name of the whole Body of the People of *England*, but there alſo joined in it the Procurators of all the Nations in *Europe*, that then were in any manner conſiderable for Trade and Navigation, who all unanimouſly acknowledged the Kings of *England* to have been time out of Mind (*quatenus* Kings of *England*) the LAWFUL SOVEREIGNS OF THE ENGLISH SEAS[b].

To theſe Teſtimonies they add ſome others, as early as the Reign of *Edward* III. one of which is a Commiſſion to *Geofrey de Say*, Admiral of his Weſtern and Southern Seas, in which is this Paſſage: "We calling to mind that our " Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, have in former " Times been LORDS OF THE ENGLISH SEAS on every " Side, and defended the ſame againſt all Invaders; and " conſidering, that it would extremely grieve us, if (which " God forbid) our royal Honour ſhould, in any manner, " be impaired, or ſhould ſuffer any Diminution of this " Nature in our Time, and deſiring," &c. And the Commiſſion given at the ſame Time to *John de Norwich*, Admiral of the Northern Seas of *England*, is in the ſame Form. They alſo inſiſt upon an Action of the ſame *Edward* III. which is his coining of thoſe ancient Pieces of Gold called Roſe-nobles, in which he has been imitated by ſeveral of our Kings of later Date. Upon this Piece is ſeen the Repreſentation of a Ship floating in the Sea, there being ſeated in the Ship, as on a Throne, a King armed with a Shield, having a royal Diadem on his Head, and a Sword in his Hand; by which, doubtleſs, ſay they, that great Prince intended to denote, that the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* Seas belonged to him: nor was it ever ſubject to a Maſter that defended it better. For King *Edward* is ſaid to have entertained 1100 Ships of War, ſuch as were uſual in his Time for preſerving the Freedom of the ENGLISH SEAS.

They further urge, that our Kings have frequently forbidden Hoſtilities between Foreigners at War with one another, within ſuch Diſtances from the Ports and Harbours of thoſe Iſlands, as to them ſeemed convenient: And we ſhall ſee, by a Patent granted by *Edward* VI. to the Inhabitants of *Jerſey*, that he gave them the Privileges contained in it, from no other Principle than as he was Maſter of the BRITISH SEAS. This Patent was confirmed by Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. By which, "all " Merchants, Natives or Strangers, and Enemies as well " as Friends, are allowed, in time of War, freely, lawfully, and ſecurely, to ſail into and about, and frequent " the ſaid Iſland and the Coaſts thereof, with their Ships " and Goods, as well for Shelter againſt foul Weather, as " upon any other lawful Occaſions; and there to uſe free " Traffic and Commerce, and to abide with all Security " and Safety, and to come thence and return thither at " Pleaſure," *&c.*

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[a] Selden de Dom. Maris, lib. II. c. 14, 27, 28.—Rolls 2 Parl. 174.

[b] See Coke Inſtit. 142.

Another Point, in relation to the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* to the Dominion of their Seas is, the Practice very much uſed of old by them, to extend their Embargoes all over the BRITISH SEAS, and ſeize foreign Ships paſſing there, as well as if they had been within their own Harbours, and employing them in their own Service, as will appear by the following Mandate, iſſued out by King *John* to this Purpoſe.

"The King to all STUREMANNI (Sea captains and " Officers) and MARINELLI (Mariners or Sea-ſoldiers) " and Merchants of *England* uſing the Sea, greeting: " KNOW YE, that we have ſent *Alanus Juvo* of *Sorham*, " *Walter Staltun*, *Vincent* of *Haſtings*, and *Wimund* of " *Winchelſea*, with others of our Barons of the Cinque " Ports, *&c.* four faithful STUREMANNI and MARINELLI " of our Gallies, to arreſt and ſafely bring into *England* " all Ships that they can find, with all that ſhall be found " in them: And therefore we command you to be aiding " to them in this Buſineſs, ſo that ye be in *England* with " your Ships and Goods at ſuch Ports as they ſhall appoint: And if any ſhall attempt to reſiſt them, contrary " to our Command, YE our Liege-men are required to " aſſiſt them with all your Power, as you tender yourſelves " and your Chattels, and your Quiet and Reſidence, and " that of all your Kindred within our Dominions."

Much the ſame Order was given by *Edward* III. to *Thomas de Wenlock*, Vice-admiral of his Weſtern Fleet, to ſeize and arreſt all Ships for his immediate Service. However, a competent Hire was always allowed for Ships ſo impreſt, according to their Burthen, and the Number of their Hands.

That it was cuſtomary for the Kings of *England* to grant Paſſports, or Safe-conducts, to ſuch Foreigners as deſired Liberty to paſs through their Seas, may alſo be ſufficiently proved, out of the Records of Parliament, where will be found the conditional Clauſe of ſuch Paſſports, "That the " Perſons who had obtained them ſhould not convey, or " cauſe any Thing to be conveyed, nor in any manner " relieve nor impart any Thing to be conveyed, nor in " any manner relieve nor impart any Thing to the King's " Enemies in *France*." And in *Edward* the Iſt's Time, it was always a peculiar Injunction laid upon his Sea-commanders, That they ſhould take ſpecial Care to vindicate and maintain the Sovereignty, which his Predeceſſors, the Kings of *England*, were wont to have in the SEA, concerning the Explication and Amendment of the Laws, which had been by them inſtituted for the Government of all Nations and People navigating in the *Engliſh* Seas; than which nothing can more explicitly demonſtrate that they poſſeſſed the Dominion of them.

In a Paſſport granted by *Henry* IV. of *England*, to *Ferrando Urtis de Sarachione*, a *Spaniard*, that King permits him to ſail freely from the Port of *London* through his Kingdoms, Dominions, and Juriſdictions, to the Town of *Rochelle*. And what can be meant by DOMINIONS and JURISDICTIONS here, but thoſe of the Seas flowing between *London* and *Rochelle*? And the Ambaſſadors of *Charles* VI. of *France*, and *Robert* III. of *Scotland*, in the Paſſports they obtained of the ſame King *Henry*, are therein allowed free Paſſage through all the Places, Territories, and Dominions under his Power, by Sea as well as by Land.

The [*] *Hamburghers* and the *Hanſe*-Towns petitioned for Licence to tranſport Corn thither about the ſame Time, and were poſitively forbidden, being told plainly, That ſuch as ſhould preſume to go beyond a former Licence, " ſhould for that bold Preſumption ſuffer the Loſs of all " their Goods and Effects, in caſe they fell into the Hands " of any of her Majeſty's Ships of War, or others."

Witſeldius and *Bernſcovius*, Ambaſſadors from *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, deſiring the ſame Liberty of tranſporting Corn to Spain, by order from their Maſter, were anſwered, "That her Majeſty could by no means conſent " to the King of *Denmark*'s Demands; neither would ſhe " grant ſuch a Liberty to her own Subjects, or any elſe, " till the War between her and the *Spaniards* was at an " End."

We find in the Rolls of Parliament, in the Reign of King *Edward* I. a Protection was granted by that Prince for the Men of *Holland*, &c. to this Purpoſe:

"The King to his truſty and well-beloved *John de Buteturtu*, Warden of the Port of *Jernemouth*, greeting: " Being informed that Men of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and " *Friezland*, who are now in Amity with us, deſign to come " and fiſh in our Sea, near *Jernemouth*, we require you to " cauſe public Proclamation to be made once or twice a " Week, forbidding all manner of Perſons whatſoever employed in our Service, to preſume to do, or cauſe to be " done, to theſe Men any Injury or Damage," *&c.*

The Records are full of ſuch Protections in the Reigns of that King's Succeſſors, *Edward* II. *Edward* III. *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. *Henry* V. and *Henry* VI; the laſt of whom, as appears by *Rot. Franciæ*, 38 *Henry* VI. *mem.* 9 and 14. frequently gave Licences, eſpecially to the *French*, to fiſh in HIS SEAS, preſcribing a certain Time, as well as the Size of the Boats, they or others were to fiſh in. So jealous have our Princes always been of this Prerogative, that *Edward* VI. appointed *cuſtodes*, *conductores*, and *waſtores*, Guardians, Conductors, and Waſters, with a ſpecial Power to protect the FISHERMEN upon the Coaſt of *Suffolk*; for which Protection a Tribute was levied on the Fiſhers, according to their Burthen. The Words of their Commiſſion will ſhew us what their Office was: They had Power to "raiſe and collect all Coſts, Charges, and Expences, to arreſt and apprehend all Perſons who ſhould " pretend to protect, conduct, or waſte the Fiſhermen, " and to commit them to the next Goal, there to be kept " ſecurely, till the King ſhould be pleaſed to give Order " for their Delivery." And in the Patents of that Nature granted by *Richard* III. and *Henry* VII. theſe Officers were impowered to exact this Tribute, "even though any one " or more of the ſaid Fiſhermen may have obtained Letters " of Safe-conduct from any other King, Prince, Potentate, " or Governor whatſoever."

Queen *Mary* I. being married to *Philip* II. of *Spain*, granted, for a Fine and a yearly Revenue of 1000 *l.* to be paid into the Treaſury of *Ireland*, a general Licence for the NETHERLANDERS TO FISH ON THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THAT KINGDOM. Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia*, ſpeaking of the Northern Sea, which waſhes the Coaſts of *Yorkſhire*, ſays, "The *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* firſt obtaining Leave, according to the ancient Cuſtom, of the " Governor of *Scarborough* Caſtle, made a very plentiful " and advantageous HERRING-FISHING: The *Engliſh* reſerving only the Honour and Privilege to themſelves, " have, by a very condemnable Negligence, always reſigned the PROFIT TO STRANGERS." This Liberty of FISHING in the ENGLISH SEAS, has been always requeſted by STRANGERS, and particularly by the FRENCH, though they would gladly uſurp a Share of the MARINE SOVEREIGNTY, if they had Power to maintain it. *Henry* IV. of *France*, his Admirals uſually aſked of our Queen *Elizabeth*, Licences for the FRENCH FISHERMEN TO FISH IN THE NEIGHBOURING SEAS FOR SOLES, FOR THAT PRINCE'S OWN TABLE.

Theſe and many more Authorities, and ſome of more modern Date, as you'll find hereafter, are quoted in Defence of *England*'s Right to the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas: But for want of a proper Diſtinction between Matter of Right, and Matter of Fact, there appears a great Obſcurity in the Debate on this Subject with our neighbouring maritime Powers: And therefore Sir *Philip Meadows*, an eminent Civilian, at the Time when this Claim was carried to its higheſt Pitch, and the Refuſal of a Salute to the *Engliſh* Flag was made a ſufficient Ground for a bloody

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[*] June 30, anno 1598.

War, did by Command of King *Charles* II. endeavour to ſettle the Claim in a legal and juſt Light, after this Manner.

In order, ſays he, to arrive at a right Underſtanding of what is meant by the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Sea, I ſhall carefully diſtinguiſh between the Queſtion of Right, and the Queſtion of Fact; betwixt the Pretenſions of the Crown of *England*, and the Poſſeſſions of it; betwixt what it has continually claim'd and demanded as an ancient Right, and what it has been actually ſeized of by a long, peaceable and uninterrupted Enjoyment, which implies a Conſent and an Acknowledgment on the Part of other Nations. And by this it will be eaſily diſcern'd, whether the Crown of *England* maintains its Ground, or whether it has loſt any Thing of what it formerly had. In the Diviſion of Lands or Countries, Occupancy, and Property was obtain'd by Conſent, as a Reward for their Skill and Labour, by which any People improved the ſame. But as the wide Sea is not capable of Cultivation, or Improvement, by Art or Induſtry, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed never to have been impropriated by Conſent, but left to its primitive and natural Communion. For, though the *Athenians*, *Carthaginians*, *Rhodians* and *Romans* were Lords of ſeveral Seas, none of them could claim any Property or Right; and maintain'd thoſe Poſſeſſions by Force, which they had gain'd by Uſurpation. However, it muſt not be conceal'd, that the *Venetians* are by the Conſent of ſome Nations inveſted with the Property of the Gulph: Of which we have the following Account.

The *Ottoman* Power extending itſelf into *Europe*, to the Subverſion of the Eaſtern Empire, conquering all *Greece*, with *Macedon* and *Epirus*, and penetrating to the very Banks of the Gulph, almoſt within Sight of *Italy*; the *Italian*, and other neighbouring Princes, to interpoſe the beſt Skreen they could, betwixt themſelves and the near approaching Danger, did, by a concurring Intereſt, impatronize the *Venetian* in the Gulph, who, by reaſon of their Potency in Shipping, and the immediate Concern of their own imminent Peril, were the moſt proper State to be made the Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* at Sea[a]. Thus the Pope, by the Ceremony of a Ring, wedded their Duke every Year to the *Adriatic*. And in the general Council of *Lions*, in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadors of ſeveral Princes, upon Complaint made againſt the *Venetians*, for laying Impoſitions upon all Ships ſailing within the Gulph, Judgment was given in Favour of the Republick, upon Conſideration of their guarding that Sea againſt the Courſes of the Pirates and *Saracens*. And the neighbouring Princes would not ſo much as ſend a Galley, without aſking Leave of the Senate: which Reſpect was ſo providently managed by that wiſe Council, the better to aſſert their marine Sovereignty, that ſometimes they would give Leave under ſome Reſtrictions and Conditions, as in the Caſe of the Siſter of *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*[b]; ſometimes they denied Leave, as in the Caſe of *Mary*, Siſter of *Philip*, King of *Spain*, in the Year 1630, whom the Senate would not permit to be tranſported from *Naples* to *Trieſte*, in the Galleys of *Spain*, but in thoſe only of the Republick. But 'tis to be conſidered alſo, that the Gulph of *Venice* is not a wide Sea or Ocean, nor a Streight or narrow Sea, called in Latin *Fretum*, but a *Sinus*, a Bay or Gulph, cloſed at one End; in the Bottom whereof, the City of *Venice* is ſituate, upon ſeveral ſmall Iſles or Inſulets. The Seas of *England* are of a different Nature and Condition, they are open both above and below, and they are the Midway-paſſage betwixt all the northern and ſouthern Nations. The Wares and Merchandiſes of *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, are conveyed by Shipping to *France*, *Spain*; *Italy*, the *Levant*, &c. and ſo back again from the South to the North, through the North-eaſt Sea betwixt *England* and *Germany*, and the Weſtern Channel betwixt *England* and *France*; which ſhews of what Influence and Import this Dominion, on the Part of *England*, is to the reſt of the World.

And here it will be neceſſary alſo to define what we are to underſtand when we diſcourſe or write concerning *Dominion* and *Sovereignty*[c].—By Dominion is meant Property, or the Right of poſſeſſing and uſing any Thing as one's own, and of excluding all others from a promiſcuous and equal Uſe of the ſame. And this Property may be either public or private: the former excludes Communion among Nations; private Property excludes Communion among Perſons.—*Sovereignty* is the ſupreme Rule and Juriſdiction in and over the latter, and is the public Property of the King in Right of his Crown.—By Sea or Seas, we are not to underſtand ſuch a collective Body ſingly and ſolely, as Waters; becauſe the moveable and inconſtant Waters, whether of Sea or River, barely as ſuch, are not a capable Subject of Property: but as Waters are contain'd within a fix'd and certain Boundary, and ſupported by a ſtanding Bottom: Hence it is collected, that by Dominion is meant the public Property of the *Britiſh* Seas, which the Kings of *England* enjoy as Part of the Territory of the Realm of *England*, excluſive of all other Princes and People, not from all Uſes, but from an equal Uſe of them. And by Sovereignty is meant that ſole ſupreme Rule and Juriſdiction, which the Kings of *England* ſucceſſively have over the whole Realm of *England*, of which thoſe Seas are a Part. If it be further aſk'd, How does this Right in the Crown of *England* appear, and by what Proofs is it evidenced? I would refer him to Mr. *Selden*, whoſe Proofs and Arguments, whether they come up to the Height of ſuch a Dominion as I have here deſcribed, which they ought to do, or elſe will fall ſhort of the Mark, is not for me to ſay; I leave that to the Judgment of his Reader, wiſhing they were ſo convincing and demonſtrative, that all other Nations, as well as our own, would reſt ſatisfied therewith. But if he aſks me of Matter of Fact, whether the Kings of *England* have for any long Time been in the actual and peaceable Poſſeſſion of ſuch Dominion, as a Right acknowledg'd by the expreſs or implied Conſent of other Nations, this I ſhall examine by and by.

But whereas I hinted before, that the Dominion of the Crown of *England* in the *Britiſh* Seas, did not exclude other Princes and States from all Uſe, but from an equal Uſe of thoſe Seas, this needs a little Explication. In order to which, 'tis to be conſidered, that as all Property firſt began by human Pact and Conſent, antecedent to which was Communion: So in this Conſent was implied a Reſervation and benign Exception of ſuch Uſe, as might be of great Benefit to others, without any conſiderable Damage to the Proprietor; a River, as a Fiſhery, is a private Dominion, no Man may fiſh there without the Owner's Leave, becauſe it would be a Diminution of his Profit; if navigable, as a Way, 'tis publick to all the Subjects of that Prince, who is Lord of the Territory[d]; as 'tis running Water, 'tis common to Man and Beaſt to drink of it, and waſh with it. A Field is a private Property, but the Market-path over it is publick; and when it was firſt made a Property, it was with Reſervation of a Path. For Fields were not diſtinguiſh'd by Metes and Bounds to their reſpective Owners, with deſign to confine every Man to his own home, but with Exception of Liberty to paſs and repaſs in a harmleſs Manner, over each others Properties in purſuance of their lawful Occaſions. The Sea, ſay we, is the publick Property of the Crown of *England*; but yet as 'tis a Way, 'tis common to the peaceable Traders of all Nations. A Path over a Field is of ſome Damage to the Soil, though compenſated with a greater Utility, but a Way over the Sea is of no Damage to the Water; and the Sea being a fluid Body is all Path, where a Ship can ſail, and a common Highway from one Nation to another. Since therefore the Dominion of the Sea in one Prince does not exclude another from all Uſe of it, it may be demanded, what are thoſe proper Uſes, which are ſo peculiarly reſerved to the Crown of *England*, as that all other Nations are excluded from them?

What Things are incident to the Dominion of the Sea.

Firſt, All Foreigners are excluded by virtue of ſuch Dominion from a general Liberty (without firſt aſking and obtaining ſpecial Licence) of putting out upon the *Britiſh*

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[a] Flav. Blond. Decad. 2. 8.

[b] Joan. Palat. de Domin. Mar. l. 2. c. 6.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Quid prohibetis aquas? uſus communis aquarum eſt. Ovid.

Seas Ships fitted and equipp'd for War, when and in what Number they pleaſe, becauſe it is the Territory of another Prince: And to enter it without Leave with an armed Force, and in ſuch Numbers as may juſtly create Fear and Suſpicion of Danger, is a publick Hoſtility.

Secondly, From the juridical Cognizance of all Cauſes, civil and criminal, for and concerning all Matters and Things done and committed in and upon thoſe Seas, the Perſons whom thoſe Cauſes concern there abiding. The Reaſon is, becauſe Juriſdiction is an eſſential and inſeparable Part of the Sovereignty, which a Prince has within his own Territory. All Foreigners, whilſt in it, owe him a local Obedience, and are triable by his Laws, and before his Judicatories only as the ſole ſupreme Judge of the Place.

Thirdly, From a Right of fiſhing within thoſe Seas, without ſpecial Licence firſt obtained from the Lord of the Seignory, and under ſuch Conditions and Conſiderations as he ſhall think fit. The Reaſon is, becauſe this is the patrimonial Property of his Crown, and the Fiſhery is in a manner all the Profit that his great Sea-Territory yields him.

Thus he who affirms a Sea-Dominion, and by it underſtands any thing leſs than Property, embraces a Cloud for *Juno*. To ride actual Maſter at Sea with a well-equipp'd Fleet, or to have ſuch a Plenty of naval Stores in conſtant Readineſs, as ſhall be ſufficient to anſwer all Occaſions, is not the Dominion of the Sea: This is Power, not Property; though the Property and Honour too, eſpecially of an Iſland-Prince, are beſt ſecured and ſupported by ſuch Power. Neither is the Honour of the Flag, and of requiring foreign Ships to lower their Sails, and do a Reverence, any Part of the Dominion of the Seas. Much leſs do ſuch uſual Expreſſions and Words as theſe, the *Britiſh* Seas, the Sea of *England*, our Seas, import any legal Dominion, but only denote a geographical Deſcription, as *Mare Flandricum*, *Mare Normannicum*, *Mare Aremoricum*, *Mare Aquitanicum*, and a hundred others do. And nothing more uſual, than for Seas to receive their Denominations from the Shores they rowl upon: and our Seas are the Seas which rowl upon our Shores. But that which occaſions the ordinary and moſt frequent Miſtake, is the word *Dominion*, it being equivocal and of a doubtful Senſe, as the *Latin* words *Imperium* and *Dominium* likewiſe are. For ſometimes they are taken ſtrictly and legally, denoting Property; and thus *Imperium* and *Dominium* are the ſame with publick and private Property, according to that of *Seneca*[a], *Rex omnia poſſidet Imperio, ſinguli Dominio*, The King poſſeſſes all by his Sovereignty, and yet particular Perſons have their private Poſſeſſions too. But then again, ſometimes they are taken looſely and hiſtorically, denoting Power only and Command, as *Pompeio datum eſt Imperium Maris intra Herculis columnas*, the *Roman* People gave *Imperium Maris* to *Pompey*, the Command of the Sea, not the Property of it; they commiſſioned him their Admiral or General at Sea, as far as the *Streights Mouth*. Thus ſome of the *Roman* Emperors were intitled *Terræ Mariſque Domini*, Lords or Deſpots of Sea as well as Land; ſo is *Veſpaſian* called by *Joſephus*: And yet they were but Lords in Power, not in Property; for by the very Text of the *Roman* Law[b], as it was afterwards compiled by *Juſtinian*, the Sea is accounted as common as the Air, and that by natural Right. And thus ſome Men underſtand no more by Dominion of the Sea, than what our uſual Sea-phraſe imports, to ride Maſter at Sea, or of the Sea. But 'tis one thing to be Maſter of it in an hiſtorical and military Senſe, by a Superiority of Power and Command, as the General of a victorious Fleet is; another thing to be Maſter of it in a legal Senſe, by a poſſeſſory Right, as the true Owner and Proprietor of it is. In like manner we ſay of a General at Land, that he is Maſter of the Field, Maſter of it in Power, not Owner of it in Title. Property is a fix'd and permanent Right; a Man may loſe his Seiſin, and yet retain his Title; an Uſurper is no Owner, but Power is flitting and tranſitory, and ſo ſoon as the Poſſeſſion is loſt, the Power is gone. If we confound Power and Property, *Poteſtas & Proprietas*, by a promiſcuous Uſe of the one for the other, the Dominion of the Sea will be like that of our *Corniſhmens* Ball at one of their Hurlings, 'tis his who can catch it, ſo long as he can keep it, till another gets it from him.

I ſhall add one Quotation more, out of the *Roman* Story, not wholly unworthy of Obſervation: *Tacitus* ſays[c], *Italiam utroque Mari duæ Claſſes Miſenum apud & Ravennam præſidebant*, Two Fleets guarded *Italy* on both Seas, one at *Miſenum*, the other at *Ravenna*. And *Suetonius*[d] aſcribes the firſt Inſtitution thereof to *Auguſtus*, *Claſſem* Miſeni *& alteram* Ravennæ, *ad Tutelam ſuperi & inferi Maris collocavit*. The Fleet at *Miſenum* was for the Safety of the Upper Sea towards *Gaul* and *Spain* weſtwards, the other at *Ravenna* was for the Safety of the Lower Sea towards *Epirus* and *Greece* eaſtwards. Our Kings in *England* have ſo exactly followed this Model of *Auguſtus*, that one would think they had copied from his Original. Has *Italy* an upper and lower Sea? ſo has *England*; our upper Sea is that northwards betwixt *England* and *Germany*, our lower Sea that South-weſtward betwixt *England* and *France*. Had the *Roman* Emperors their diſtinct Fleets, one for each Sea? Our Kings had their diſtinct Admiralties, one for the North, and another for the South, reckoning North and South from the Mouth of the River *Thames*. Their Fleets were *ad Tutelam Maris*, ſays *Suetonius*, for the Safety of the Sea. Ours *ad Cuſtodiam*, ſay our Records, for the Cuſtody or Safe-keeping it, from being infeſted by Pirates, (a Trade frequent in former Ages amongſt the northern People) and conſequently for ſecuring the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects and Allies. The two Fleets did *præſidere Italiam*, ſays *Tacitus*, guard *Italy* as a Garriſon-town does a Frontier. Ours were alſo called *Naves Præſidiariæ*, Garriſon-ſhips, to guard the open Shores, and Landing-places of a large Iſland, againſt the hoſtile Inſults and Deſcent of Foreigners. They are our moveable Garriſons, our floating Caſtles, fifty of which will defend an Iſland better then five thouſand ſtanding ones built round the Shores.

Beſides the two Admiralties of the North and South, the Books of our municipal Laws[e] make frequent Mention of the *quatuor Maria*, the four Seas, environing *England* to the Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South. For *England*, as diſtinct from *Scotland*, is a Peninſula, bounded on the North by an Iſthmus of Land and the northern Sea. And 'tis obſervable, that to be *infra* or *intra quatuor Maria*, within the four Seas, is in Conſtruction of our Law to be within the Kingdom of *England*; and to be *extra quatuor Maria*, out of the four Seas, is equipollent to being out of the Kingdom of *England*. And 'tis to be further noted, that not only he who is upon the Land, but he alſo who is upon the Sea, is in our Law ſaid to be *intra Mare*, within the Sea, becauſe he has Sea ſtill before him, till he be arrived on the oppoſite Shore; and then, and not till then, he is *extra Mare*, out of the Sea, or beyond it.

The Uſe our Law makes of this technical Phraſe, or artificial Form of Speech, *intra* or *extra quatuor Maria*, within or without the four Seas, is this; partly to eſſoin or excuſe Men from Appearance in Courts upon Writs of Summons, but principally to be a certain and regulated Diſtance, within which our Law will admit of ſome Preſumptions, which, beyond that Diſtance, it will not. Where it is ſaid[f], the Sea is within the Liegeance of the Crown of *England*, this is to be underſtood extenſively of the Liegeance of the Crown of *England*, that it reaches to Sea as well as Land, not excluſively of the Liegeance of other Crowns, as if no Crown had Liegeance at Sea, but that of *England* only; or, as if no Foreigner, aboard his own Veſſel within any the four Seas, were within the Liegeance of his own natural Sovereign, for this is manifeſtly repugnant to daily Fact and Experience.

As to the Expreſſion of the Seas[g], being Parcel of the Crown of *England*, we underſtand, that 'tis Parcel of the Inheritance of the Crown of *England*. Thus Jetſam, Flotſam, and Lagan, appertain to the King by his Prerogative. Goods thrown over-board to lighten a Ship, in Diſtreſs by Weather, are called Jetſam; Goods of a wrecked Ship floating upon the Waters, are called Flotſam;

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[a] Sen. de Benef l. 8. c. 5.

[b] Jure naturali communia ſunt omnium, aër, aqua profluens, & Mare. Inſt. de Rer. Div. Par. 1.

[c] Tacit. Annal. 4.

[d] Sueton. Vit. Auguſti.

[e] Of the quatuor Maria.

[f] Co. 7. Rep. Calvin's Caſe, fol. 6.

[g] Co. in Conſtabl. Caſe, ut ſupra.

ſam; Goods ſunk, with a Cork or Buoy tied to them, to direct to the Place, are called Lagan or Ligan: All theſe Goods, if the Ship periſhes, and no Owner can be proved, belong to the King in Right of his Crown, as Treaſure *Trove* and *Eſtrais* at Land do; and all Derelicts, whoſe Property is loſt, the Law adjudges them to the King, as Owner Paramount. Alſo royal Fiſhes, as Whales, Sturgeons, &c. taken by the King's Subjects on the Seas of *England*, appertain to the King by his Prerogative [a].

Thus far I have endeavoured to clear the true Notion of Sea Dominion, neither extending it to impeach the free Navigation and Commerce of peaceable Traders due to them of natural Right, and by the Law of Nations, notwithſtanding ſuch Dominion: Nor yet making it a verbal Notion only conſiſting in Words and Forms of Speech, without any real Fruit and Effect, but have inſtanced in three weighty Things, as the inſeparable Incidents of it. I ſhould now proceed to the Matter of Fact; but foraſmuch as ſome without Examination take it for granted, that the accuſtomed Salutation at Sea by the Flag and Topſail, is an Act of Recognition and Acknowledgment of the ſovereign Dominion of the Sea inherent in that Prince, to whom ſuch Salutation is performed, I ſhall examine this in the firſt Place.

The SALUTATION *at Sea by the* FLAG *and* TOPSAIL.

The Salutation at Sea by the Flag and Topſail, was never covenanted in any publick Treaties, betwixt *England* and other Nations, but in thoſe with the *United Netherlands* only. And never in any of them till the Year 1654. And I am inclinable to believe, that there were particular Reaſons, why it was then covenanted; partly, becauſe at that Time the royal Dignity of *England* was debaſed and diſguiſed under the obſcurer Name of a Protectorate; and they who had not refuſed it to an anciently crowned Head, might make ſome Scruple to do it to a new Republick. And partly, becauſe that War began upon a Diſpute for the Honour of the Flag. I cannot ſay, it was the ſole Cauſe of the War, but it was the firſt Occaſion of it. For whilſt *Blake* was at *Dover* Road with the *Engliſh* Fleet, *Tromp* with double the Number of Ships, but not equal in Goodneſs, ſtood over from the Coaſt of *Calais*, directly towards him, and came up cloſe with him, with his Flag aloft, Jacks and Pendants flying, and all the Bravery he could diſplay. (*A. D. May* 1652.) *Blake* was too ſtout to brook the Affront, and ſo in plain *Engliſh* the two Generals fell together by the Ears, neither of them knowing how ſoon he might be called to a ſevere Account by his Superiors, for what he had done. But they juſtified themſelves by caſting the Blame one upon the other, and thus the Servants Quarrel ſoon became the Maſters, and both Nations engaged in a fierce War; which ended in 1654, and in the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace then concluded, to prevent the like Diſputes for the future, it was covenanted, "That the Ships of the *United Provinces*, as well thoſe "fitted for War, as others, which ſhould meet in the *Briti*"*ſh* Seas any the Ships of War of *England*, ſhould ſtrike "their Flag, and lower their Topſail, in ſuch Manner, as "had been any Time practiſed before, under any former "Government." But whereas ſome think, that this was prejudicial to *England*, to take that by Covenant, which they held before by Preſcription, I am not ſo clear in that Opinion. For what ſtood before upon the Foot of Courteſy, or of Cuſtom at the beſt, was now confirmed by a ſupervening Contract, and paſſed into a national Law, founded upon mutual Conſent. And from the Treaty in 1654, it paſſed into that made at *Weſtminſter* by his then Majeſty in 1662; and from thence, into that made at *Breda* in 1667, in which, as in the former, the Flag and Topſail are expreſly covenanted for in the *Britiſh* Seas. But by a later Treaty, *viz.* 1673, inſtead of the *Britiſh* Seas, there is an Enlargement to the Seas, betwixt *Cape Finiſterre*, to the middle Point of the Land *Van Staten* in *Norway*.

Here 'tis to be obſerved, that in the forementioned Treatiſe the Salutation by the Flag and Topſail is no where ſaid to be an Acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, in and over the *Britiſh* Seas, nor ſo much as intimated or implied; but on the contrary, as it were on purpoſe to prevent ſuch a Conſtruction, 'tis expreſly ſaid to be a Reſpect. The Words of the Treaty 1673, are theſe: "In Acknowledgment of the King of "*Great-Britain*'s Right to have his Flag reſpected, They, "i. e. the *Dutch*, ſhall ſtrike their Flag, and lower their "Topſail, in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Re"ſpect, as hath at any Time, or in any Place, been for"merly practiſed." 'Tis true, it has been offered at, to make this Reſpect paſs into an Acknowledgment of Sovereignty, but it was but an Offer, and ſo vaniſhed; for in the Project or Concept of 27 Articles, delivered in the Year 1653, by the then *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, in the 15th Article it was thus propoſed: "That the *Dutch* Ships, both Men of War, and Mer"chants, (beſides ſtriking the Flag) ſhould ſuffer them"ſelves to be viſited, if required, and ſhould perform all "due Offices of Honour and Acknowledgment to *Eng*"*land*, to whom the Dominion and Sovereignty of the "*Britiſh* Seas of Right appertained." But this Article was rejected by the *Dutch*, as were ſeveral other Propoſals of a high Nature; for it was then urg'd, and for ſome Time inſiſted on, that there ſhould be a Coalition of *England*, and the *United Provinces*, into one and the ſame Republick; not an Union only, but an Adunation; not a mere Coition into a ſtricter Bond and League of Friendſhip, but a Coalition of both into one Government. But this was rejected too, as impracticable.

If the Queſtion were only concerning the Antiquity of this Ceremony, how long it has been practiſed amongſt theſe *European* Nations, (for it had a Time when it firſt began, and it does not obtain univerſally) we have a Record in our Admiralty, which would be pertinent to this Purpoſe. It is that Edict or Proclamation, publiſhed by King *John* (*A. D.* 1200.) at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, more than 500 Years ſince, and is tranſcribed by Mr. *Selden* out of the Records of the Admiralty, to the following Purport: "That if any Ships or "Veſſels, laden or unladen, refuſed to lower their Sails at "the Command of the King's Lieutenant or Admiral, or "of his Lieutenant, then to be compelled to do it by "fighting them, and, if taken, their Ships and Goods to "be confiſcated;" as may be ſeen more at large in the Place noted in the Margin [b]. But the Proclamation ſays not, that this lowering their Sails was to be done, as an Acknowledgment of the King's Dominion in the weſtern Channel, to which Sea it eſpecially relates; and yet none could have better required it than King *John*, for he was at that Time in actual Poſſeſſion, both of *England* and *Normandy*, and conſequently was actual Lord of both Shores, and might have reckoned the Channel as an Appendant and Acceſſion to the Land, and to have followed it as the Acceſſory does the Principal; as he is Lord of the intermediate River, who is Lord of both the Banks. But as this Proclamation expreſſes no ſuch Thing, ſo neither does the penning of it ſeem to incline that Way: For it mentions not Ships of War, who, as ſuch, ought the rather to be obliged to make ſuch Acknowledgment, as being moſt likely to diſpute it; but only Ships laden or unladen, *Neſs ou Veſſeaulx chargés ou voide*, referring to Merchants and Traders, be their Ships light or freighted; and theſe Merchant-men are to do it, not at the Command of every Body, but, *au Commandement du Lieutenant du Roy, ou d'Admiral du Roy, ou ſon Lieutenant*, at the Command of the King's Lieutenant, or the King's Admiral, or his Lieutenant, intimating a perſonal Reſpect due to their Rank and Quality, eſpecially from ſimple Traders.

However, 'tis certain, that this honorary Reſpect or Civility, call it what you will, is no natural Expreſſion of a Subjection to a Sovereign; for 'tis not founded in Nature, but in Inſtitution, and is a Practice peculiar to the weſtern Nations; and the Modes of Reſpect are ſo various in different Countries, that what in one is a Civility, in another is a Rudeneſs. And as it is no natural Expreſſion of Subjection, ſo neither is it a neceſſary one, as if it muſt neceſſarily ſignify that or nothing; for lowering the Flag, or Sails, is but like uncovering the Head, by vailing the the Hat or Bonnet [c], which, amongſt us, is uſed as a

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[a] Co. Rep. 7. Caſe de Swans, f. 16.

[b] Mar. Clauſ. lib. II. cap. 26.

[c] 'Tis ſo called in the Journal of King Edw. 6. wrote with his own Hand, the words are theſe: The Flemings Men of War would have paſſed our Ships without vailing Bonnet, which they ſeeing, ſhot at them, and drove them at length to vail Bonnet. See p. 11. of K. Edw. Journal, in the 2d Part of Dr. Burnet's Hiſt. of Reform.

Token of Subjection to our King, of Reſpect to our Superiors, of Civility to our Equals, of Courteſy to our Inferiors. Thus we ſee one and the ſame ſpecifick Act of uncovering the Head, as it relates to Perſons of different Orders and Degrees, admits of divers Significations. Some of our Sea-Captains, though irregularly enough, and for Want of explicite Orders, have required of the *Dutch* the Honour of the Flag and Topſail in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, where the Crown of *England* never pretended Sovereignty. And as in the forementioned Treatiſe of 1673, 'tis particularly named a Reſpect, ſo 'tis covenanted to be done, not only within the *Britiſh* Seas, but every where betwixt the Capes *Finiſter* in *Spain*, and *Staten* in *Norway*, beyond the Limits of the Sea-ſovereignty of *England*, and conſequently has no Relation to it. Beſides, this Honour to the King's Flag is required from his own Subjects, but 'tis needleſs to require from them an Acknowledgment of Sovereignty, to whoſe Benefit it redounds; the Import is, that Foreigners would acknowledge it, to whoſe Profit 'tis oppoſed.

However, if this Ceremony does not relate to an Acknowledgment of a Sovereignty in the Sea, what is it that it relates to? And what is the true Import and Signification of it? I anſwer, it imports theſe two Things: 1. 'Tis a Reverence or Reſpect performed to a Perſon of ſuperior Quality and Degree. 2. 'Tis a Sign, or ſymbolical Expreſſion of Peace and Friendſhip. Sometimes it ſignifies both theſe together, and ſometimes but one of them, according to the different Degrees of the Perſons performing it; but it always ſignifies one of them, and never any Thing more. The *Dutch*, and other ſmaller Republicks, perform it, both as a Reſpect to the Crowned-head of *England*, and as a Salutation of Peace and Friendſhip alſo. But Crowned-heads cannot perform it as to one of a ſuperior Order, becauſe they are in a Parity and Equality of Degree; but they do it upon the latter Accompt only, as 'tis an Expreſſion of Peace and Amity. The *Dutch*, and others, do not, by the Flag and Topſail, recognize the King of *England*, as Sovereign of the four Seas, nor acknowledge themſelves thereby his local Subjects, and their Perſons, Ships, and Goods, to be under his immediate Juriſdiction and Protection, whilſt in and upon thoſe Seas; but they acknowledge him as præ-eminent in Order and Quality, not as Sovereign over them, but a Superior to them in Dignity and Degree. Were I to expreſs it in *Latin*, I would do it by that old *Roman* Phraſe of *comiter colere*, or *obſervare Majeſtatem*, They pay Honour or Reſpect to the Majeſty of a Crowned-iſland. And as to the Crowned Heads, though they cannot pay Reſpect to a Superior, becauſe of the Parity of their Degree; yet, as to the Sea-ſalutation by the Flag and Topſail, there is a Peculiarity on the Part of *England*, even in Reference to them. A foreign King, when Ships of War of another Nation approach his Havens, and come within Reach of his Caſtles, will expect, and juſtly may, that the Comer ſhould ſalute him firſt; the Gueſt or Stranger give the firſt Salute to the Maſter of the Houſe, who thereupon re-ſalutes him, and bids him welcome. And what does this Salutation ſignify, be it by lowering Flag and Topſail, or by firing Guns, but that they are come armed before his Doors, only as Friends, and without Intention of doing him Hurt? But the Peculiarity on the Part of *England*, conſiſts in this; *England* is an Iſland, whoſe Frontier is the Sea, whoſe Forts and Caſtles are the Ships of the Royal Navy, which bear Analogy and Proportion to the Frontier Towns, and fortified Places of inland Dominions; and therefore, when met within the Seas of *England*, by the Ships of War belonging to any other Crowned-head, theſe latter ought not to approach the Ships of War of *England*, who are in their Stations upon their Guard and Duty, with a Flag aloft, in a Poſture of Challenge and Defiance; but do, in their Courſe and Paſſage, call to the Guard-ſhips of *England*, to tell them, "They are Friends;" and what they cannot do by Words at a Diſtance, they do by mute Signs, by ſtriking their Flag or Topſail, which in effect expreſs thoſe Words. And when they ſalute thoſe Guarders, by diſcharging their Guns, it is in effect to tell them, they were not charged againſt them; and though they ſteer their Courſe along the Coaſts of an open Iſland, yet they deſign no Hoſtility. This is no Diminution to the Majeſty of any Monarch, how great ſoever.

I am now to conſider the Queſtion of Fact; how far this Dominion and Sovereignty in the Seas has been acknowledged, as a Right in the Crown of *England*, by any of the neighbouring Nations, either expreſly in publick Treaties and Tranſactions of State, or impliedly, by an immemorial, peaceable, and uninterrupted Poſſeſſion, commonly called Preſcription. This I call the Queſtion of Fact, and diſtinguiſh it from that of Right to which 'tis ſubſequent. For a Right to any Thing in one, is antecedent to the Acknowledgment of it by another; and though his Non-acknowledgment may render it controverted, yet it may be a juſt Right and legal Claim notwithſtanding. The Right of the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Seas, I meddle not with, it ſtands as it did unmoveable, like *Terminus* in the Capitol with a *cedo nulli*, it gives place to none. But the Enquiry is, whether in fact it has been conſented to by foreign Nations; by which Teſt, we ſhall be able to diſcover, whether the Crown of *England* has loſt any Thing in matter of Sea-ſovereignty, which it formerly poſſeſs'd. In order to which, I ſhall diſtinctly handle and examine the three great and inſeparable Incidents of the Sovereignty, which I before named.

The firſt Enquiry is, whether any ſovereign Prince or State having occaſion to enter upon any the Seas of *England*, whether Men of War, either in entire Fleets, or as Convoys to Merchants, have firſt aſked Leave ſo to do of the King of *England*, as the ſupreme Lord of the Territory?

I have often met with a traditional Story, that Queen *Elizabeth* having Intelligence that *Henry* the IVth of *France* had a Deſign to increaſe the naval Strength of his Kingdom, and to equip a conſiderable Fleet of War, not only for the *Mediterranean*, but for the Seas alſo toward *England*, ſhe ſent to bid him deſiſt from it. That the Queen might requeſt him not to put out upon theſe Seas with an unuſual Fleet, as that which might occaſion Jealouſy in her Subjects, and oblige her to an extraordinary Expence in arming proportionably, and conſequently tend to weaken the Amity and good Aſſurance betwixt the two Crowns, is neither morally impoſſible, nor wholly diſagreeable to the Practice amongſt Princes. But that ſhe did *pro jure* interdict and forbid him ſo doing, as an Intrenchment and Invaſion of her Right, by entering with an armed Force upon the Territories of her Crown, without her Leave, it does not ſo clearly appear.

There is another current Story, That Queen *Elizabeth* ſeized in the Bay of *Caſcais* in *Portugal*, ſixty laden Ships belonging to the *Hans Towns* of *Germany*, and afterwards confiſcated both Ships and Goods, "for having preſumptuouſly paſs'd over her Seas, without firſt obtaining her Royal Permiſſion." In this, ſeveral Miſtakes are complicated, one in Law, and two in Fact. That in Law is this, ſuppoſing the Dominion of the Seas to have been univerſally acknowledged as the Queen's undoubted Right, yet ought not the *Hanſeatics*, who were Friends, and peaceable Traders, and purſuing their lawful Occaſions, to have been confiſcated, for not aſking Leave of Paſſage over theſe Seas, had there been nothing more in the Caſe, becauſe they needed not in Law ſo to-have done: No more than a Market-man needs aſk Leave of the Owner to paſs his Field, over which the Market-path lies. The two Miſtakes in Fact are theſe:

1. The ſaid ſixty Sail of Ships did not in fact paſs the Seas of *England*, and therefore could not be confiſcated upon that Acount. Mr. *Camden*, our faithful Annaliſt, ſays expreſly [*], and ſo does *Thuanus* too, That they paſs'd on the North of *Scotland*, by the *Orcades*, *Hebrides*, and great weſtern Ocean on the Backſide of *Ireland*, a long and dangerous Paſſage, to avoid being intercepted in the Channel by the Queen's Ships.

2. The ſole Reaſon why they were confiſcated is this, becauſe they carried Goods of *contrabanda*, prohibited Goods, *viz.* Corn, which at that time *Spain* wanted, and naval Proviſions, to the Relief of an Enemy, who at that time was preparing a new Fleet for the Invaſion of *England*,

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[*] Camd. ad An. 1589. Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. 95.

land, in revenge of the Diſgrace he had received the Year before, *viz.* in 88. And this they did, contrary to the Queen's Proclamation and monitory Letters to the *Hans Towns*, whereby ſhe forbad them to ſupply *Spain*, her declared Enemy, with ſuch Proviſions, under the Penalty of forfeiting Ships and Goods.

If we conſult the publick Treaties, which have been betwixt *England* and other Sovereigns, concerning Ships of War paſſing theſe Seas, we ſhall find the Manner to have been, as followeth: The uſual Covenants are, and have been, That the Ships of War, of either Side, may freely come into the Roads, Havens, and Rivers, each of other, provided they be not in ſuch Number as may occaſion Suſpicion; and therefore the Number is aſcertain'd, and not to be exceeded, unleſs to avoid imminent Danger; and in ſuch Caſe, Notice to be given thereof. For Example: In the Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, in the Year 1630, betwixt *Charles* the Firſt of *England*, and *Philip* the Fourth of *Spain*, which Treaty was but a Renewal of the former made with King *James*, in the Year 1604, it is in the 8th Article agreed, "That it ſhall be lawful to have acceſs "unto each others Ports with Ships of War, whether they "ſhall arrive there, either by Force of Tempeſt, or for "neceſſary Repairs, or for Proviſion of Victuals, ſo they "exceed not eight, when they come of their own accord, "nor ſtay longer than they ſhall have cauſe. And when any "greater Number ſhall have occaſion of acceſs, they not "to enter the Port, without the Privity or Conſent of the "King." This is the Form of all the Treaties; and Articles, like to this, have been agreed betwixt *England* and *France*, and *England* and *Holland*, but they are always reciprocal; and as their Ships of War are reſtrained from Acceſs to the *Engliſh* Ports, ſo are the *Engliſh* from Acceſs to theirs in equal Manner. And 'tis to be noted, that the Reſtraint is only from Acceſs to each others Ports, but never any Reſtraint of foreign Ships of War from entering, in what Number they pleaſe, the Seas of *England*. Thus in the Year 1639, which was but nine Years after the Treaty aforementioned at *Madrid*, a *Spaniſh* Fleet, of above ſixty Sail, equipped for War, entred the weſtern Channel, without Leave firſt aſked, bound for *Oſtend*, to ſupply the *Spaniſh* Netherlands with Men, Munition, and other Neceſſaries, and paſs'd the Channel to the Height of *Dover*. And the *Dutch* Fleet put out in like manner upon the North-eaſt Sea, and fought the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the *Downs*. 'Tis true, that Sir *John Pennington*, who then commanded the *Engliſh* Guard, endeavoured to hinder them from fighting ſo near the Ports, to the Diſturbance of the Security and Protection of them, and troubling the Commerce and Entercourſe of the King's Lieges and Allies. But no Complaint was made, either then or afterwards, of the two Fleets of War entering the Seas aforeſaid, Parcel of the Dominion and Territory of the Crown of *England*, without a ſpecial Licence firſt aſk'd and obtain'd.

I paſs now to the ſecond Incident of the Sovereignty, to examine the Matter of Fact as to the marine Juriſdiction.

'Tis commonly affirmed by *Engliſh* Writers, that our King *Richard* the Firſt (the *French* give a different Account) did, in his return from the Holy-land, make and declare certain marine Laws, for the better Regulation of Commerce, which from the Place of their firſt Publication were called the Laws of *Oleron*. A ſmall Iſland ſituate in the Bay of *Aquitain*, and a Member of that great and wealthy Duchy, which was in the actual Poſſeſſion of King *Richard*, as his maternal Inheritance, for it came to his Father *Henry* II. by Marriage with *Eleanor* Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Aquitain*. Theſe Laws of *Oleron*, as to the main of them, are but a Tranſcript of the old *Rhodian* Laws, with ſome new Additions and Amendments, accommodated to the Practice of that Age, and the Cuſtoms of the Weſtern Nations; who thereupon might rea- y conform to them, as to a common Standard and Mea- e, like a Law of Nations, for the more equal Diſtribu- on of Juſtice amongſt the People of different Governments. ut to infer from hence an univerſal Monarchy at Sea, and hat King *Richard*, in right of his imperial Crown of *England*, and ducal Crowns of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, did, as ſole or ſupreme Legiſlator for the Marine, authoritatively impoſe Sea-laws upon the People and Subjects of other Nations, is but a ſtrained Inference. The *Romans* were far enough from yielding a Sea-ſovereignty to the little Republic of *Rhodes*; and yet were ſo well ſatisfied with the Equity of their Sea-laws, that they not only conformed to them, but incorporated them into the Body of their Digeſt. And as the *Rhodian* Laws obtained in the *Mediterranean*, and the Laws of *Oleron* in the Weſtern and *Engliſh* Seas; ſo the Laws of *Wiſbuy* (a Town ſituate upon the little Iſle of *Gotland*, in the Eaſtern Part of the *Baltic*, formerly under *Denmark*, now under the Crown of *Sweden*) called from thence *Leges Wiſbuicenſes*, were received by the general Conſent of the Northern Traders, as a common Meaſure for all nautic Affairs, to the Northwards of the *Rhine*, and throughout the whole *Baltic*[a].

That the Sea is within the Juriſdiction of the King of *England*, is a Matter unqueſtionable, not at Home only, but amongſt all Nations. His Admiral has, and ever had, through a long Series of Ages, the Conuſance of all Contracts, Pleas, and Querrels made upon the Sea, out of the Body of any County of *England*. Which Power is inlarged by the Statute of 15 *Rich.* II. *cap.* 3. to Death, and Mayhem upon great Ships in the main Stream of great Rivers. And by the Statute of 28 *Henry* VIII. *cap.* 15. a Court of Commiſſion may be held under the great Seal *coram Admirallo*, &c. to hear and determine all Treaſons, Felonies, Robberies, *&c.* done or committed upon the Sea. But then 'tis evident and undeniable alſo, that the neighbouring Kingdoms and States, who border upon the Sea, have their diſtinct Admiralties likewiſe, and have long ſince had; where their Subjects and People receive final Sentence in all maritime Cauſes, without Exception of any Seas, or without Appeal to the Admiralty of *England*, as the laſt Reſort, or as having ſupreme Conuſance of all Things done and committed in and upon the *Britiſh* Seas. If a *French* or *Dutch* Veſſel take a Pirate of what Nation ſoever, who has committed a Robbery upon the *Engliſh* Seas, they do not remit him to the Admiralty of *England*, as to the ſole Tribunal of the Place, where the Fact was done, to receive Sentence there; but they carry him before their own Judicatories, and judge him as an Enemy of Mankind by the Law of Nations. If one Foreigner does any Injury to another, be it Fraud or Violence, upon the *Britiſh* Seas, the Party injured makes not his Complaint to the Admiralty of *England*, as the proper Court, and as having the ſole juridical Conuſance of his Plea; but reſorts to the Juriſdiction of his own Sovereign, or to that of the Sovereign of the Wrong-doer, and there impleads him, and prays for Juſtice. If a *Frenchman* kill a *Frenchman*, one Alien another, upon the Land of *England*, the Fact is committed within the local Liegeance of the King of *England*, and againſt the Peace and Protection of his Crown, and therefore triable before his Courts. But if two *Engliſhmen* be under the Pay and Service of the *French* King, and one of them kill the other, aboard a *French* Man of War, within the four Seas, the *French* King's Judicature will have the Conuſance of the Crime, as done within his Liegeance, and againſt the Peace and Protection of his Crown.

Thus ſtands the Matter of Fact, as to the marine Juriſdiction, and thus it has been for many Ages; but yet there is an ancient Preſident, which ſeems to imply ſomething that has been ſaid, and not to take Notice of it, were to report Things unfaithfully. 'Tis a Bundle or Roll in the *Tower* of *London*, ſuperſcribed *De Superioritate Maris* Angliæ *& Jure Officii Admiralitatis in eodem*; and Mr. *Selden* highly inſiſts upon it[b].

When *Philip the Fair*, the *French* King (*A. D.* 1303.) ſent forth certain Gallies and other Ships in Aid of the *Flemings*, againſt *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and Marſhal of *Namure*, unto *Zurickzee*, under the Command of *Reyner Grimbaltz*, a *Genoeſe*, creating him by his Commiſſion his Admiral, and he, by Virtue of his ſaid Commiſſion, beginning to exerciſe ſovereign Juriſdiction in the narrow Sea, then called, even by the *French* themſelves, *La mier d'En-*

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[a] Peck. in Comment. ad Tit. Dig. & Cod. de Re nautica, p. 190. Clauſ. lib. II. cap. 27.

[b] Coke Inſtit, 4 Part. cap. 22. the Admiralty. Seld. Mar.

d'Engleterre, the Sea of *England*, and in *Latin*, *Mare Angliæ*, Complaint was thereupon made both to the King of *France* and to the King of *England*, and certain Commiſſioners or Auditors, as the Record calleth them, were appointed by both Kings, to hear and redreſs ſuch Wrongs as had been done to the Paſſengers on the ſaid Seas, to which Auditors the ſeveral Agents of divers Nations preferred a Bill of Complaint or Remonſtrance (in the *French* of thoſe Times) to the Purpoſe following, *viz.*

" To you the Lords Commiſſioners, deputed by the " Kings of *England* and *France*, to redreſs the Damages " done to their Subjects by Sea and Land, in time of the " late Peace and Truce, do moſt humbly remonſtrate the " Procurators of the Prelates and Nobles, and of the Ad- " miral of the *Engliſh* Seas, and of the Communities of " Cities and Towns, as alſo of the Merchants, Mariners, " Meſſengers, Inhabitant-ſtrangers, and of all others be- " longing to the Kingdom of *England*, and other Terri- " tories ſubject to the ſaid King of *England*; as likewiſe " the Inhabitants of other maritime Places, *viz.* *Genoa*, " *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Frizeland*, " *Denmark* and *Norway*, and many other Places of the " Empire; that whereas the Kings of *England*, by right " of the ſaid Kingdom, have from time to time, whereof " there is no Memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable " Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* Seas, and of " the Iſlands ſituate within the ſame, with Power of or- " daining and eſtabliſhing Laws, Statutes, and Prohi- " bitions of Arms, and of Ships otherwiſe furniſhed than " Merchant-men uſe to be, and of taking Security, and " giving Protection in all Caſes where Need ſhall require, " and of ordering all other Things neceſſary for the main- " taining of Peace, Right, and Equity, among all manner " of People, as well of other Dominions as their own, " paſſing through the ſaid Seas, and the ſovereign Guard " thereof; and alſo of taking all manner of Cognizance " in Cauſes, and of doing Right and Juſtice to High and " Low, according to the ſaid Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, " and Prohibitions, and all other Things, which to the " Exerciſe of ſovereign Juriſdiction, in the Places afore- " ſaid, may appertain. And whereas [*] *A de B*, Admiral " of the ſaid Sea, deputed by the ſaid King of *England*, " and all other Admirals deputed by the ſaid King of " *England*, and his Anceſtors formerly Kings of *England*, " have been in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the ſaid ſovereign " Guard, with Power of Juriſdiction, and all the other " Powers before-mentioned (except in caſe of Appeal and " Complaint made of them to their Sovereigns the Kings " of *England*, in default of Juſtice, or for evil Judgment) " and eſpecially of making Prohibitions, doing Juſtice, " and taking Security of good Behaviour from all manner " of People carrying Arms on the ſaid Sea, or ſailing in " Ships, otherwiſe fitted out and armed than Merchant- " ſhips uſe to be, and in all other Caſes, where a Man " may have reaſonable Cauſe of Suſpicion towards them " of Piracy, or other Miſdoings. And whereas the Maſters " of Ships of the ſaid Kingdom of *England*, in the Abſence " of the ſaid Admirals, have been in peaceable Poſſeſſion " of taking Cognizance, and judging of all Facts upon the " ſaid Sea between all manner of People, according to the " Laws, Statutes, Prohibitions, Franchiſes and Cuſtoms. " And whereas in the firſt Article of the Treaty of Alli- " ance, lately made between the ſaid Kings at *Paris*, the " Words following are ſet down, *viz.* Firſt of all it is " agreed and concluded between us the Envoys and Agents " above-mentioned, in the Names of the ſaid Kings, that " they ſhall be to each other for the future, good, true " and faithful Friends and Allies, againſt all the World " (except the Church of *Rome*) in ſuch manner, that if " any one or more, whatſoever they be, ſhall go about to " interrupt, hinder or moleſt the ſaid Kings in the Fran- " chiſes, Liberties, Privileges, Rights or Cuſtoms, of " them, and their Kingdoms, they ſhall be good and " faithful Friends, and aiding againſt all Men living, and " ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain, the above- " mentioned Franchiſes, Liberties, Rights and Cuſtoms, " &c. And that the one ſhall not be of Counſel, nor " give Aid or Aſſiſtance, in any Thing whereby the other " may loſe Life, Limb, Eſtate or Honour. And whereas " Monſieur *Reyner Grimbaltz*, Maſter of the Ships of the " ſaid King of *France*, who calls himſelf Admiral of the " ſaid Sea, being deputed by his Sovereign aforeſaid, in " his War againſt the *Flemings*, did (after the above-men- " tioned Alliance was made, and ratified, and againſt " the Tenor and Obligation of the ſaid Alliance, and the " Intention of thoſe who made it) wrongfully aſſume and " exerciſe the Office of Admiralty in the ſaid Sea of " *England*, above the Space of a Year, by Commiſſion " from the ſaid King of *France*, taking the Subjects and " Merchants of the Kingdom of *England*, and of other " Countries, paſſing upon the ſaid Seas, with their Goods, " and did caſt the Men ſo taken into the Priſons of his " ſaid Maſter the King of *France*, and by his own Judg- " ment and Award did cauſe to be delivered their Goods " and Merchandizes to Receivers, eſtabliſhed for that Pur- " poſe in the Sea-ports of the ſaid King, as forfeit and " confiſcate to him; and his taking and detaining the ſaid " Men with their ſaid Goods and Merchandizes, and his " Judgment and Award on them as forfeit and confiſcate, " hath pretended in Writing to juſtify before you the Lords " Commiſſioners, by Authority of the aforeſaid Commiſſion " for the Office of Admiral by him thus uſurped, and " againſt the general Prohibition made by the King of " *England* in Places within his Power, in purſuance of the " third Article of the before-mentioned Alliance, con- " taining the Words above written." This Article being in the Record omitted, it is therefore neceſſary for the Underſtanding of this ſecond Plea of Monſieur *Grimbaltz*, concerning the Prohibition, to obſerve, that it was by the ſaid Article agreed, That neither of the contracting Parties ſhould give any Aid or Aſſiſtance to the Enemies of the other, nor ſuffer the ſame to be given in any manner of way in any of their Territories or Places within their Power, and that they ſhould forbid the ſame to be done, on pain of Forfeiture of Body and Goods in the Offenders; which King *Edward* having accordingly forbid on his Part, Monſieur *Grimbaltz* pretended that all ſuch as, after that Prohibition, relieved the *Flemings* by Merchandize or otherwiſe, were to be eſteemed as Enemies, of whatſoever Nation they were; and that he having taken none but the Perſons and Goods of ſuch, conceived himſelf to have Permiſſion ſo to do by Virtue of the aforeſaid Prohibition, whereby the King had in effect declared (as he interpreted it) that he would not take it for an Injury to himſelf, during that Alliance and Prohibition, although the *French* ſhould fall upon any of their Enemies in his Dominion, or which is all one here, though they ſhould be taken in his Sea by the *French* King's Officers. " And hath therefore " required that he may be acquitted and abſolved of the " ſame, to the great Damage and Prejudice of the ſaid " King of *England*, and of the Prelates, Nobles, and others " before-mentioned. Wherefore the ſaid Procurators do, " in the Names of their ſaid Lords, pray you the Lords " Commiſſioners before-mentioned, that due and ſpeedy " Delivery of the ſaid Men, Ships, Goods, and Merchan- " dizes, ſo taken and detained, may be made to the Ad- " miral of the ſaid King of *England*, to whom the Cog- " nizance of this Matter doth rightfully appertain, as is " above-ſaid, that ſo, without Diſturbance from you, or " any elſe, he may take Cognizance thereof, and do what " belongs to his aforeſaid Office; and that the aforeſaid " Monſieur *Reyner* may be condemned, and conſtrained to " make due Satisfaction for all the ſaid Damages, ſo far " forth as he ſhall be able to do the ſame; and in default " thereof, his ſaid Maſter the King of *France*, by whom " he was deputed to the ſaid Office; and that after due " Satisfaction ſhall be made for the ſaid Damages, the ſaid " Monſieur *Reyner* may be ſo duly puniſhed for the Vio- " lation of the ſaid Alliance, as that the ſame may be an " Example to others for time to come."

This Acknowledgment (as *Selden* obſerves) is poſſibly the moſt remarkable Authority of Antiquity of the like Nature which any Prince can produce; by which it appeareth that the Kings of *England* had then been by Preſcription of Time immemorial, in the actual Poſſeſſion of the ſovereign Dominion of the narrow Sea, both in preſcribing Laws, granting of ſafe Conducts, keeping of the Peace, and judging of all kind of Perſons and Actions, as well their own Subjects as Strangers, within the ſaid Sea; and that this Dominion does inſeparably belong to the Kings of *England* (*par raiſon du dit Royaume*, ſays the Record) by right of the ſaid Kingdom; and that, under the ſaid Kings, their ſeveral Admirals were to judge of all Facts, and Perſons within the Sea aforeſaid, from whom lay no Appeal, but only to their Sovereign Lords the Kings of *England*; and that in the Abſence of the ſaid Admirals, the Maſters of the King's Ships were to be Judges as aforeſaid: As alſo that the Kings of *France*, who of any other might beſt pretend a Right, could not juſtify ſo much as the making of an Admiral, but only a Maſter of his Navy in theſe Seas: And thus (ſays *Burchett*) is the Claim of the Kings of *England* to the Dominion of this Part of the *Britiſh* Sea made good by the unanimous Acknowledgment of divers neighbouring Nations, *viz. Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Frizeland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and others.

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[*] Coke Inſtit. lib. IV. cap. 22. ſays his Name was De Botetort.

However, Sir *Philip Meadows* ſtiles this Record a ſilken Curtain of ſpecious Words, drawn artificially before the Eye, and eaſy to be put back by the Hand. For, ſays he, all this is no more than a Plea or Action, a ſupplicatory Libel or Bill of Complaint, without any definitive Sentence. The Libel was formed by *Engliſh* Council, as is evident from mentioning the King of *England* firſt in the Addreſs or Direction: And the Allegation of the Kings of *England* having been Time immemorial in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty of the Seas, was not made by the *French* Delegates, but by the *Engliſh* Advocates. *Grimbald* exerciſed Juriſdiction at Sea, arreſted and confiſcated Ships and Goods, and impriſoned Perſons by a Commiſſion from the King of *France*, for carrying Relief to the Earl of *Flanders*, his Enemy. *Grimbald* juſtifies his Actions by his Commiſſion: And had the *French* King acknowledged the Admiralty of *England* the only competent Judge of ſuch Things done and committed on the Sea of *England*, he would never have propoſed to decide the Controverſy by Delegates appointed by both Nations.

The Art in penning the ſaid Libel, is remarkable; it affirms the marine Juriſdiction of the Admiral of *England*, but it does not except againſt a Power in the King of *France*, to conſtitute an Admiral with the like Juriſdiction, and that upon the Sea towards *Flanders*. For 'tis certain[a], that the Crown of *France* had Admirals, before the time of *Philip the Fair*. But the Exception is partly againſt the Perſon of *Grimbald*, and partly againſt his illegal Practices and Seiſures, contrary to the Alliance made betwixt the two Kings. Now this *Grimbald* was a Foreigner, and a Mercenary; he was a *Genoeſe*, whom the King of *France* had hired, with ſeveral Gallies of that *Republic*, to ſerve him in his War againſt *Flanders*. The Plaintiffs, in their Libel, call him, *Maiſtre de la Navy du Roy de France*, Maſter or Commander of the *French* Fleet, but would not vouchſafe him the Title of an Admiral, only *Que ſe dit eſtre Admiral*, that he called himſelf an Admiral; and craftily reclaim the Conuſance of their Cauſe from him, as an incompetent Judge, to the Admiralty of *England*, as an undoubted Authority, and before whom they were ſure to gain their Proceſs.

I proceed now to the third and laſt Incident of the Dominion of the Sea, and which inſeparably follows it, and that's the ſole Fiſhing; without which, it would be a Property without Profit, a Name without a Thing. He, who has the Soil, or Ground, has the Herbage, and other Growth of it, or elſe a Rent for it; if others may freely depaſture with him, it is a Common. The Enquiry is upon the Matter of Fact, as to fiſhing upon the Seas about *England*; in which, our public Treaties, made betwixt our Kings and other Sovereigns, will be our beſt Direction. And they ſtand thus: All the ancient Treaties, I could meet with, concluded betwixt the ſeveral Kings of *England*, and their old Confederates the Dukes of *Brittany* and *Burgundy*, which in thoſe Ages were the moſt powerful Neighbours they had at Sea, are of the ſame Tenor, and run in the ſame Form, *viz.* They covenant on both Sides, that their reſpective Subjects ſhould freely, and without the Let or Hinderance one of another, fiſh every where upon the Seas, without aſking any Licences, Paſſports, or Safe-conducts. This is the general Form of them all. For Example: In the Treaty betwixt *Edward* the IVth of *England*, and *Francis* Duke of *Brittany*, the Article in the *French* of that Time runs thus. That the Fiſhermen, both of the Kingdom of *England*, and Duchy of *Brittany*, "Purront peaceablement aller par tout ſur Mer pour peſcher & gaigner leur vivre, ſans impeachement, ou diſturber de l'une partie ou de l'autre, & ſans leur ſoit beſoigne ſur ceo requirir ſauf Conduct." And the ſame Form hath been uſed before, in the Treaty betwixt *Henry* the VIth, and the then Ducheſs of *Burgundy*. Thus alſo in the famous Treaty, called *Intercurſus magnus*, made in the Year 1495, betwixt *Henry* the VIIth of *England*, and *Philip* the IVth, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, in the 14th Article 'tis agreed, "Quod Piſcatores utriuſque Partis poterint ubique ire, navigare per Mare, ſecure piſcari, abſque impedimento Licentia ſeu ſalvo Conductu." And this Form is alſo kept to, in the Treaty made betwixt *Henry* the VIIIth, and *Charles* the Vth, Emperor and Duke of *Burgundy*. In the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, after that ſeven of the ſeventeen Provinces had ſet up diſtinct Sovereignties of their own, they ſtill enjoyed the ſame Freedom of Fiſhing, as they had done before, when united with the Houſe of *Burgundy*. And in the Treaty made betwixt King *James* of *England*, and *Philip* of *Spain*, in the Year 1604, the ancient Treaties of Entercourſe and Commerce, betwixt the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and Princes of the *Low-Countries*, are revived and reconfirmed. From whence it appears, upon the whole Matter of Fact, That the Kings of *England*, in their Treaties with other Sovereigns, not once or twice, but in a Succeſſion of Ages, not by Surprize, but deliberately, and when the Buſineſs of the Fiſhery came under ſpecial Conſultation, did not challenge to themſelves the ſole Right thereof, excluſively of all others, as being appropriated to the Crown of *England*; For had they eſteemed the Fiſhery the Property of their Crown, and all Aliens excluded from it, they would not have admitted the Subjects of *Brittany* and *Burgundy* to a promiſcuous Fiſhing with their own Subjects, without ſome valuable Conſideration had been given for it; or, at leaſt, ſome Licence obtained, as a beneficiary Grant derived from them, or ſome Acknowledgment made by way of a *ſalvo Jure*, a Saving, to the Right of the Crown of *England*. Elſe it would be as unreaſonable, as if a Man ſhould throw down the Incloſures of his own Ground, and lay that common, which before was his Property; which is too groſs a Reflection upon the Wiſdom of thoſe Ages.

Nor does it appear that any annual Payment, Fee-farm, or Conſideration for a Liberty of Fiſhing in our Seas, has ever been reſerved by any of our Leagues or Treaties with *Burgundy* or *Auſtria*, ſince the Union of thoſe two Houſes; or with the States-general, ſince their Diſunion from both. As for the 1000 *l.* ſaid by Sir *John Boroughs* to have been paid by *Philip* II. of *Spain*, for his Subjects to be licenſed to fiſh on the North of *Ireland*, it is grounded on no better an Authority than a Hear-ſay from Sir *Edward Fitton*, Son of Sir *Henry Fitton*, ſome time Treaſurer of *Ireland*. Could this have been proved, the ſagacious Ambaſſadors of Queen *Elizabeth*, who treated at *Bremen*, with the Ambaſſadors of *Denmark*, upon Complaint of that King's forbidding Foreigners the Freedom of Fiſhing between *Norway* and *Iceland*, would never have alledged, That the Kings of *England* had never forbid the Freedom of Fiſhing in the *Iriſh* Seas, altho' they were Lords of both Banks, as much as the Kings of *Denmark* were of the Banks of *Norway* and *Iceland*. As to the Caſe of my Lord of *Northumberland*, in 1636, it cannot be quoted as a Preſident. He exerted the Power of the Admiralty in proportion to his Power by Sea; and by a well-appointed Fleet, forced the *Dutch* Buſſes to retire, or take Licences from him, for Fiſhing in the Northern Seas. But the *States-general* were ſo far from acquieſcing under this Act of Violence, that they remonſtrated and complained heavily againſt it. However, Mr. *Selden* quotes a Grant in Parliament[b], in the Reign of *Richard* II. to take of all Veſſels paſſing or fiſhing within the Admiralty of the North, *i. e.* from the *Thames*-mouth Northwards, the following Rates:

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[a] Forcat. de Gall. Imp. lib. II.

[b] Mar. Clauſ. lib. II. cap. 15. Rot. Parl. 2. Rich II. art 39. in Schedula.

1. To take of every Ship, going and coming upon that Sea, Six-pence a Ton for the Voyage.

2. To take of every Veſſel fiſhing for Herring, Six-pence a Ton by the Week.

3. To take of Veſſels fiſhing for other Fiſh, Six-pence a Ton for every three Weeks.

4. Of Ships laden at *Newcaſtle* with Coals, Six-pence a Ton for every three Months.

5. To take of all other Ships paſſing the Sea within the ſaid Admiralty, laden in *Pruſſia*, *Norway*, *Sconen*, or elſewhere in thoſe Parts, Six-pence a Laſt for the Voyage.

But as the Roll itſelf informs us, that this Impoſt was laid for defraying the Expence of two Barges and two Billengers, armed and arrayed for War, for the Guard and Security of the Sea, and of the Coaſts of the Admiralty of the North; conſequently nothing can be inferred from thence in ſupport of the Dominion of the Sea; becauſe the Impoſition was not in right of the Crown, for paſſing over the Diſtricts, or for fiſhing within the Royalty of it; but in conſideration of a Charge, which ſome Perſons ſuſtained; and that by Contract for the Preſervation and Defence of the Freedom and Security of Navigation and Commerce.

Thus the *Romans* impoſed a Tax upon all Ships ſailing in the *Erythræan* or *Red Sea*[a], towards the Maintenance of a maritime Force, for the Repreſſion of piratical Excurſions. And the *Athenians* did the ſame in the *Helleſpont*[b]. Thus the Duties in the *Sound*, payable to the Kings of *Denmark*, began at firſt, not on account of any Sovereignty over that Sea, but becauſe thoſe Kings were at the Charge of maintaining continual Fires upon the *Col* and *Annot*, and floating Tuns or Buoys upon the Sands, as a Direction to Merchants in that dangerous Entrance into the *Baltic*. However,

In the ſeventh Year of King *James* (*Anno* 1609) a Proclamation was publiſhed of high Importance, inhibiting all Perſons, of what Nation or Quality ſoever, not being natural-born Subjects, from fiſhing upon any the Coaſts and Seas of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the Iſles adjacent, without firſt obtaining Licenſes from the King, or his Commiſſioners authoriſed in that behalf, and thoſe Licences to be renewed yearly.

A PROCLAMATION *touching* FISHING.

JAMES by the Grace of God, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all and ſingular Perſons to whom it may appertain, Greeting:

“Although we do ſufficiently know by our Experience in the Office of regal Dignity (in which, by the Favour of Almighty God, we have been placed and exerciſed theſe many Ages) as alſo by the Obſervation which we have made of other chriſtian Princes exemplary Actions, how far the Abſoluteneſs of ſovereign Power extendeth itſelf; and that, in regard thereof, we need not yield Account to any Perſon (under God) for any Action of ours, which is lawfully grounded upon that juſt Prerogative; yet ſuch hath ever been, and ſhall be our Care and Deſire, to give Satisfaction to our neighbouring Princes and Friends, in any Action which may have the leaſt Relation to their Subjects Eſtates, as we have thought good, by way of Premonition, to declare to them, and to whomſoever it may concern, as followeth:

“Whereas we have been contented, ſince our coming to the Crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiſcuous kind of Liberty, to all our Friends whatſoever, to fiſh within our Streams, and upon any of our Coaſts of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and other adjacent Iſlands, ſo far forth, as the Permiſſion or Uſe thereof might not redound to the Impeachment of our Prerogative Royal, nor to the Hurt and Damage of our loving Subjects, whoſe Preſervation and flouriſhing Eſtate, we hold ourſelves principally bound to advance, before all worldly Reſpects: So finding that our Continuance therein hath not only given Occaſion of over-great Encroachments upon our Regalities, or rather queſtioning our Right, but hath been a Means of daily Wrongs to our own People that exerciſe the Trade of Fiſhing; as either by the Multitude of Strangers which do pre-occupy thoſe Places, or by the Injuries they receive moſt commonly at their Hand, our Subjects are conſtrained to abandon their Fiſhing; or, at leaſt, are become ſo diſcouraged in the ſame, as they hold it better for them to betake themſelves to ſome other Courſe of Living; whereby not only divers of our Coaſt Towns are much decayed, but the Number of Mariners daily diminiſh, which is Matter of great Conſequence to our Eſtates, conſidering how much the Strength thereof conſiſteth in the Power of Shipping, and Uſe of Navigation; We have thought it now both juſt and neceſſary (in reſpect we are now, by God's Favour, lineally and lawfully poſſeſſed, as well of the Iſlands of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Iſlands adjacent) to bethink ourſelves of good and lawful Means to prevent thoſe Inconveniences, and many others depending upon the ſame. In conſideration whereof, as we are deſirous that the World may take Notice that we have no Intention to deny our Neighbours, the Allies, thoſe Fruits and Benefits of Peace and Friendſhip, which may juſtly be expected at our Hands, in Honour and Reaſon, or are afforded to other Princes in point of Commerce, and Exchange of thoſe Things which may not prove prejudicial to them; ſo becauſe ſome ſuch convenient Order may be taken in this Matter, as may ſufficiently provide for thoſe important Conſiderations; we have reſolved firſt, to give Notice to all the World, that our expreſs Pleaſure is, That from the Beginning of the Month of *July* next coming, no Perſon, of what Nation or Quality whatſoever, being not our natural born Subjects, be permitted to fiſh on any of our Coaſts, and Seas of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Iſles adjacent, where moſt uſually heretofore hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained Licences from us, or ſuch of our Commiſſioners as we have authoriſed in that Behalf, *viz.* at *London*, for our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*; and at *Edinburgh*, for our Realm of *Scotland*; which Licences, our Intention is, ſhall be yearly demanded, for ſo many Veſſels and Ships, and the Tonnage thereof, upon any of our Coaſts and Seas, as aforeſaid, upon the Pain of ſuch Chaſtiſement, as ſhall be fit to be inflicted on ſuch Offenders.” Given at our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, the 6th of *May*, in the ſeventh Year of our Reign of *Great-Britain*, Anno 1609.

This was the firſt that ever I could meet with of this Nature: Not but that particular Fiſhermen of *Diep*, *Calais*, *Bruges*, &c. have ſometimes, both before and ſince, taken Licenſes here in *England* for their fiſhing; but then they did it, either as an abundant Caution, or to gain an indefinite Liberty of Fiſhing every where, cloſe upon the *Engliſh* Shores, and within the Fryths, Bays, and Havens, without Fear of Moleſtation; and they did it *ex proprio motu*, without the Privity and Knowledge of their Sovereigns; and paid nothing for it to the Treaſury of *England*, only gave Fees and Gratuities to the Secretaries, and others, for diſpatch of their Licences. But here is a Royal Edict, or Law, by way of Premonition to all the neighbouring Princes and States, together with their Subjects, to take Licences of the King, or his Commiſſioners, for fiſhing upon any of the Coaſts and Seas of *Great-Britain*, the Number of their Ships and Veſſels, together with their Tonnage, to be ſpecified, in order to a rateable Compoſition to be paid yearly into the Exchequer of *England*. And King *Charles* the Firſt, in the 12th Year of his Reign (*Anno* 1636) publiſhed another Royal Proclamation to the ſame Tenour alſo: which ſerved to ſpeak the Intent of thoſe naval Preparations made in the Year 1635, and were ſo numerous, and well provided, that our *Netherland* Neighbours were apprehenſive of ſome great Deſign in hand, for the Honour and Intereſt of *England*, by Sea; as may be diſcovered by a very ingenious Letter of Secretary *Coke*'s, that was written to

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[a] Plin. lib. XIX. & lib. VI. cap. 22.

[b] Demoſth. in Leptin.

Sir *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident, then at the *Hague*; in which Letter he ſets forth the Grounds and Reaſons of preparing that royal and gallant Navy; with the King's Reſolution to maintain, and defend the Right, derived from his royal Progenitors, in the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, and the Iſlands adjacent; of which this is a true Copy.

SIR,

“BY your Letters and otherwiſe, I perceive many Jealouſies and Diſcourſes are raiſed upon the Preparations of his Majeſty's Fleet, which is now in ſuch Forwardneſs, that we doubt not, but within this Month it will appear at Sea. It is therefore expedient, both for your Satisfaction and Direction, to inform you particularly what was the Occaſion, and what is his Majeſty's Intention in this Affair.

“Firſt, We hold it a Principle not to be denied, (as it may be proved from undeniable Record,) that the King of *Great Britain* is a Monarch at Land and Sea, to the full Extent of his Dominions; and that it concerneth him as much to maintain his Sovereignty in the *Britiſh* Seas, as within his three Kingdoms; becauſe without that, thoſe cannot be kept ſafe, nor he preſerve his Honour and due Reſpect with other Nations. But commanding the Seas, he may cauſe his Neighbours, and all Countries to ſtand upon their Guard whenſoever he thinks fit.

“And this cannot be doubted, that whoſoever will encroach upon him by Sea, will do it alſo by Land, when they ſee their Time. To ſuch Preſumption [a] *Mare Liberum* gave the firſt Warning-piece, which muſt be anſwered with a Defence of [b] *Mare Clauſum*; not ſo much by Diſcourſe, as by the louder Language of a powerful Navy; to be better underſtood, when over-ſtrain'd Patience ſeeth no Hope of preſerving her Right by other Means.

“The Degrees by which his Majeſty's Dominions at Sea hath of latter Years been impeached, and then queſtion'd, are as conſiderable, as notorious.

“Firſt, To cheriſh, and, as it were, to nouriſh our unthankful Neighbours, we gave them leave to gather Wealth and Strength upon our Coaſts, in our Ports, by our Trade, and by our People: Then they were glad to invite our Merchants Reſidence with what Privileges they would deſire: Then they offer'd us the Sovereignty of their Eſtates, [c] and then they ſued for Licence to fiſh upon our Coaſts, and obtain'd it under the Broad Seal of *Scotland*, which now they ſuppreſs.

“And, when thus by Leave, or by Connivance, they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of our Fiſhings, not only in *Scotland*, but in *Ireland* and *England*, and by our Staple had raiſed a great Stock of Trade; by theſe Means they ſo increaſed their Shipping, and Power at Sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any Diſtance; nay, they are grown to that Confidence, to keep Guards upon our Seas, and then project an Office, and Company of Aſſurance, for the Advancement of Trade; and withal, prohibit free Commerce within our Seas, and take our Ships and Goods if we conform not to their Placarts. What Inſolencies and Cruelties they have committed againſt us in *Ireland*, in *Greenland*, and in the *Indies*, is too well known to all the World.

“In all which, though our Sufferings may ſeem forgotten, yet the great Intereſt of his Majeſty's Honour is ſtill the ſame, and will refreſh their Memories, as there ſhall be Cauſe.

“For, though Charity muſt remit Wrongs done to private Men, yet the Reflection upon the Public may make it a greater Charity to do Juſtice on crying Crimes. All this notwithſtanding, you are to conceive that the Work of this Fleet is not only Revenge, or Execution of Juſtice for thoſe great Offences paſt, but chiefly for the future, to ſtop the violent Current of that Preſumption, whereby the Men of War, and free Booters of all Nations (abuſing the Favour of his Majeſty's peaceable and moſt gracious Government) whereby he hath permitted all his Friends and Allies to make uſe of his Sea-ports at a reaſonable and free Manner (according to his Treaties) they have taken upon them the Boldneſs, not only to come confidently at all times into all his Ports and Rivers; but to convoy their Merchant-ſhips ſo high as his chief City, and then to caſt Anchor cloſe upon his Magazines, and to contemn the Command of his Officers, when they have required a further Diſtance.

“But, which is more intollerable, they have aſſaulted and taken one another within his Majeſty's [d] Chamber, and within his Rivers, to the Scorn and Contempt of his Dominion and Power; and this being of late Years an ordinary Practice, which we have endeavoured in vain, to reform by the way of Juſtice, and Treaties; the World, I think, will be ſatisfied, that we have Reaſon to look about us. And no wiſe Man will doubt, but it is high time to put ourſelves in this Equipage upon the Seas; and not to ſuffer that ſtage of Action to be taken from us for want of our Appearance.

“So you ſee the general Ground upon which our Council ſtands; in particular, you may take Notice, and publiſh as Cauſe requires, That his Majeſty, by his Fleet, intendeth not a Rupture with any Prince or State, nor to infringe any Point of his Treaties, but reſolveth to continue and maintain that happy Peace, wherewith God hath bleſſed his Kingdom, and to which all his Actions and Negotiations have hitherto tended, as by your Inſtructions you may finally underſtand.

“But withal, conſidering that Peace muſt be maintained by the Arm of Power, which only keeps down War by keeping up Dominion; his Majeſty, thus provoked, finds it neceſſary for his own Defence and Safety, to reaſſume, and keep his antient and undoubted Right in the Dominion of theſe Seas, and to ſuffer no Prince, or State, to encroach upon him, thereby aſſuming to themſelves or their Admirals, any ſovereign Command; but to force them to perform due Homage to all his Admirals, and Ships, and to pay them Acknowledgments, as in former times they did.

“He will alſo ſet open, and protect the free Trade both of his Subjects and Allies, and give them ſuch ſafe Conducts and Convoy, as they ſhall reaſonably require.

“He will ſuffer no Fleets, nor Men of War, to keep any Guard upon his Seas, or they to offer Violence, to take Prizes, or Booties, or to give Interruption to any lawful Intercourſe.

“In a Word, his Majeſty is reſolved, as to do no Wrong, ſo to do Juſtice, both to his Subjects and Friends, within the Limits of his Seas.

“And this is the real and royal Deſign of his Fleet, whereof you may give Notice, as you find Occaſion, to our good Neigbours in thoſe Parts, that no Umbrage may be taken of any hoſtile Act, or Purpoſe to their Prejudice in any kind. So wiſhing you all Health and Happineſs, I reſt,

“*Your aſſured Friend, and Servant,*

Whitehall, 16 April, 1635.
Our Stile.
“JOHN COKE.”

By which Acts, thoſe two Kings kept up the continual Claim of the Crown of *England*, to a ſole and appropriate Fiſhery in the *Britiſh* Seas, and conſequently to the Sovereignty and Dominion thereof; but neither of thoſe public Edicts produced the deſired Effect upon any of our neighbouring States.

This is a fair State of the Caſe; and ſhews both what the moſt ſanguine and partial have contended for; what the Crown of *England* has a juſt Right to demand and expect; and what the Œconomy and Strength of the *Britiſh* Navy will always be able to ſupport.

The great Improvement of our Navy is chiefly owing to the Skilfulneſs, Honeſty, Diligence, and Prudence of thoſe, to whoſe Care the Management thereof has been from time to time intruſted, which is ſtiled the Board of Admiralty.

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[a] Vide Hugo Grotius.

[b] Vide Selden's Mare Clauſum.

[c] In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[d] The Downs.

Admiralty *of* Great-Britain.

The Admiralty of *Great-Britain* was formerly under a great Officer of the Crown, who was ſtiled *Lord High-admiral*, and *Capitaneus Nautarum & Marinellorum*, in reference to his deciding all Differences among thoſe in the King's Service. And, as the Place was great, ſo the Power was extenſive, eſpecially in all Things belonging to the royal Navy. He ſat formerly in the King's Houſe, and there kept his Court, as the *French* Admirals do at this Day at the *Marble-table* in the King's Houſe at *Paris*. But, at preſent, this Office is adminiſtered by a Number of Commiſſioners, appointed by the Sovereign of *Great-Britain*: they are ſtiled, *Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.* By the Statute 2 *Will. & Mar.* ſeſſ. 2. cap. 2. ſect. 2. it is declared, "that all Juriſdictions and Power, which by Act of Parliament, or otherwiſe, are inveſted in the Lord High-admiral of *England*, have always appertained to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, as if they were Lord High-admiral." But the Perquiſites are, of late Years, on every new Commiſſion being made out, reſigned, by ſome Deed or Writing, to the Crown.

When the Office of Lord High-admiral is in Commiſſion, the Number is not fixed; but, at preſent, it conſiſts of a firſt Commiſſioner, who preſides at the Board, and ſix more, who take Place in the Order in which they are named in the Commiſſion. The next immediate Officers under them are the Vice and Rear-admirals of *England*, who are generally the two ſenior Admirals. The Perſons who do Buſineſs under them, are two Secretaries, a Solicitor, ſeven Clerks in Ordinary, beſides Supernumeraries, Door-keepers, Meſſengers, *&c.* The firſt Lord, or Commiſſioner, of the Admiralty, is, in effect, Lord High admiral, having the ſupreme Direction of the Board, except that no Orders or Commiſſions are valid when ſigned by him alone, it being neceſſary for two more to ſign with him; notwithſtanding which, he is not to be controuled by them.

Under this Authority are all the naval Officers and Shipping; as the Navy-office, Victualling-office, Sick and Wounded-office; *Deptford*, *Woolwich*, *Chatham*, *Sheerneſs*, *Plymouth*, and *Portſmouth* Dock-yards; as are alſo all the Ships and Veſſels of War, their Admirals, Commanders, Lieutenants, Officers, and Men.

The Juriſdiction of the Lord High-admiral, or of the Lords Commiſſioners, is over *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, with the Dominions and Iſlands belonging to them; as alſo *New-England*, *New-York*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſey*, *Jamaica*, *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Nevis*, *Montſerrat*, *Bermudas*, *Antigua*, *Newfoundland*, in *America*; and *Guinea*, *Benin*, and *Angola*, in *Africa*; and all and ſingular of the Plantations, Dominions, and Territories whatſoever, in Parts beyond the Seas, in the Poſſeſſion of any of his Majeſty's Subjects.

The Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty have the general Direction of the Affairs of the Navy; though ſometimes the Sovereign interferes by his Secretaries of State, and directs the Motions of the Fleet.

The Admiralty grants their Commiſſion to ſuch Perſon as his Majeſty directs, whereby he is appointed Admiral and Commander in chief of the Fleet, for the Expedition which is deſigned; and ſuch Admiral, when out of the *Britiſh* Channel, appoints all Officers, as Vacancies happen, who are generally confirmed by the Admiralty, unleſs any very material Objection occurs. An Admiral is uſually furniſhed with full Powers to hold Courts-martial, and commonly appoints his Secretary the Judge-advocate; yet any Officer may hold Courts-martial whom the Admiralty impower, though he be a private Captain only: But the Judge-advocate at Home is appointed by the Admiralty. See the Act 22 *Geo.* II. as hereafter recited.

When any naval Buſineſs is to be tranſacted, as building, repairing, fitting out, or victualling Ships of War, the Admiralty direct their Orders to the proper Officers. They likewiſe direct their Warrant to the Maſter-general of the Ordnance, for ſuch naval Stores as are wanting on board the Ships of War.

They alſo, by their Warrant, direct the Commiſſioners of the Navy to appoint Officers in the Dock-yards, Rope-yards, *&c.* as likewiſe all ſtanding Officers aboard Ships of War; as Purſers, Gunners, Boat-ſwains, and Carpenters; but the Maſters, Surgeons, and Cooks are appointed by Warrants of the Commiſſioners of the Navy. Admirals, Captains, Lieutenants, Chaplains, Volunteers, and Schoolmaſters are appointed by the Board of Admiralty.

Before the Meeting of the Parliament, the Admiralty preſent their Memorial to the King in Council, praying his Majeſty to declare the Number of Seamen proper to be employed for the current Year; and the Commiſſioners of the Navy and Victualling-office are directed to make out ſuitable Eſtimates, which being approved of, and the general Sanction of the King and Parliament had, Orders are iſſued accordingly.

When War is declared, the Admiralty, by Memorial preſented to the King and Council, pray his Majeſty to direct the Advocate for the Office of High-admiral in the Court of Admiralty, to prepare and lay before his Majeſty, for his royal Approbation, the Draught of a Commiſſion, authorizing him the High-admiral (or the Lords Commiſſioners) to impower the Court of Admiralty, in the foreign Governments and Plantations, to take Cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all manner of Captures, Seizures, Prizes, and Reprizals of all Ships and Goods ſeized; and to adjudge and condemn the ſame, according to the Courſe of the Admiralty, and Law of Nations; as alſo all Ships and Goods liable to Confiſcation, purſuant to the reſpective Treaties between his *Britannic* Majeſty and other Princes and States.

As alſo to deſire his Majeſty's Direction in Council, to his Advocate-general in the High-court of Admiralty, and to the Advocate-general of the High-admiral in the ſame Court, to prepare and lay before his Majeſty a Commiſſion, authorizing him the High-admiral, or the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, to iſſue forth Letters of Marque and Reprizals to thoſe whom he or they ſhall deem fitly qualified, to ſeize all Ships or Veſſels of the Enemy, *&c.* as alſo to direct the Advocate of the ſaid Court to prepare, for his royal Approbation, Inſtructions to Commanders of Merchants-ſhips, to whom ſuch Letters of Marque and Reprizals ſhall be granted; the Subſtance of which Inſtructions are as follows:

Instructions *to* Private Ships *of* War.

I. They are impowered to ſeize all Ships of War, and other Veſſels whatſoever, as alſo the Goods, Merchandizes, Veſſels, or Subjects of the Prince, or State, againſt whom War ſhall be declared; as likewiſe all other Ships and Veſſels that may have contraband Goods on board; but to take Care, that not any Hoſtilities be committed, nor Prize taken, within the Harbours of Princes and States in Amity with his Majeſty, or in Rivers or Roads within the Reach of their Cannon.

II. To bring ſuch Prizes as they take either to ſome Port of this Kingdom, or to carry them to any of his Majeſty's foreign Colonies and Plantations, where there are Courts of Admiralty, as it may be moſt convenient for them, in order to their being legally adjudged. And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that there is no other Appeal from the ſaid Courts of Admiralty abroad, with relation to Prizes, than to a Committee of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, particularly appointed to hear and determine therein.

III. They are to produce before the Judge of the High-court of Admiralty, or the Judges of the Admiralty-courts in the foreign Governments, three or four of the principal Perſons who belonged to the Prize, that ſo they may be examined and ſworn, touching the Intereſt and Property of ſuch Ships, Goods, and Merchandizes; as alſo to deliver to the Judge all Papers found on board ſuch Prize, and to produce ſome Perſon who can make Oath that thoſe Papers were actually found on board at the time of Capture.

IV. To take Care that not any thing belonging to the Prize be embezzled, before Judgment be given in the High-court of Admiralty, or by the Courts abroad, that the ſaid Ship, Goods, and Merchandizes are lawful Prize;

and not to kill any Perſon belonging to ſuch Ship in cold Blood, or to treat them otherwiſe than according to Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes.

V. They are forbid to attempt or do any Thing againſt the true Meaning of any Article, Treaty, or Treaties, depending between the Crown of *Great-Britain* and its Allies, or againſt the Subjects of ſuch Allies.

VI. It is declared lawful for the Captors, after Condemnation, to ſell or diſpoſe of ſuch Prizes, with the Goods and Merchandizes on board them, ſuch only excepted, as by Act of Parliament ought to be depoſited for Exportation.

VII. They are required to aid and aſſiſt any Ship or Veſſel of his Majeſty's Subjects, that may be attacked by the Enemy.

VIII. Such Perſons who ſhall ſerve on board Merchant-ſhips, with Commiſſions of Marque, or Repriſal, are in no wiſe to be reputed or challenged as Offenders againſt the Laws of the Land.

IX. The Merchants, or others, before their taking out ſuch Commiſſions, are to deliver in Writing, under their Hands, to the Lord High-admiral, or to the Commiſſioners for executing that Office, or to the Lieutenant, or Judge, of the High-court of Admiralty, an Account of the Name and Burden of the Ship, with the Captain and Owner's Names, her Number of Guns and Men, and for how long time ſhe is victualled.

X. The Commanders of ſuch Ships are to hold a conſtant Correſpondence with the Secretary of the Admiralty, and to give an Account of the Deſigns and Motions of the Enemy's Ships, as far as they can diſcover, or be informed thereof, as alſo of their Merchant-ſhips and Veſſels, and whither bound, either out or home.

XI. They are reſtrained from wearing the King's Colours, commonly called the Union Jack, and Pendant; but, beſides the Colours borne by Merchant-ſhips, they are allowed to wear a Pendant, together with a red Jack, with the Union Jack deſcribed in a Canton, at the upper Corner thereof, next the Staff.

XII. They are required, upon due Notice given them, to obſerve all ſuch other Orders and Inſtructions as his Majeſty ſhall think fit to direct.

XIII. It is alſo further declared, that thoſe who violate theſe Inſtructions ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, and be obliged to make full Reparation to Perſons injured.

XIV. Before Letters of Marque, or Reprizal, are iſſued, it is required that Bail be given in the High Court of Admiralty, before the Judge thereof, in the Sum of 3000 *l.* if the Ship carries about 150 Tons; and, if a leſſer Number, 1500 *l.* to make good any Damages that ſhall be done contrary to the Intent and true Meaning of their Inſtructions; and (in caſe the Whole of the Prizes is not given to the Captors) to cauſe to be paid to his Majeſty, or to ſuch Perſon as ſhall be authorized to receive the ſame, the full Tenth Part of the Prizes, Goods, and Merchandizes, according as the ſame ſhall be appraiſed, as alſo ſuch Cuſtoms as ſhall be due to the Crown. His preſent moſt gracious Majeſty *George* II. was pleaſed to give up, during the late War, theſe royal Advantages, which his Prerogative entitles him to, for the Benefit of the *Britiſh* Seamen of this Kingdom.

The Admiralty, on the entering into a War, give Directions to the Navy and Victualling-Offices, for the getting ready and victualling ſuch Ships and Veſſels as, by the Report of the Commiſſioners to their Lordſhips, are found fit for Service, and to rebuild or repair the reſt, as they direct, and to contract with Maſter-builders in the Merchants Yards for ſuch Purpoſes, *&c.* but it is to be obſerved, that nothing of Importance can be done, or any Contracts made, by ſuch inferior Officers, without a Report by them firſt delivered in, and an Order thereupon obtained from the High-admiral, or from the Commiſſioners, who have before them a Liſt of all the Navy ſhips and Veſſels fit for Service, or otherwiſe, with their Rates, Tunnage, Complement of Men, and Guns.

ADMIRALTY COURT *of Great-Britain.*

The Admiralty-Court is held at *Doctors-Commons* in *London.* The Lord High Admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing that Office for the Time being, are ſupreme in this Court. Under them are a Deputy-judge (uſually a Doctor of the Civil Law) two Regiſters, Advocates, Proctors, and a Marſhal. The Judge is conſtituted by the King's Letters Patents, and holds his Place, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit,* i. e. during good Behaviour.

This is not eſteemed a Court of Record, the Lawyers ſay, becauſe it proceeds by the Civil Law, the Judge having no Power to take ſuch a Recognizance as a Court of Record may: yet it is thought this Court may fine and impriſon for a Contempt in the Face of the Court. The Proceſs and Proceedings are in the Name of the Lord High Admiral, and by Libel: the Plaintiff and Defendant enter into a Stipulation, or Bail, by a kind of Recognizance, for Appearance, and to abide the Sentence.

This Court is generally ruled by the Civil Law, and the maritime Laws of *Oleron.* It has Power to determine all maritime Cauſes ariſing wholly upon the Sea, out of the Juriſdiction of a County.

The Juriſdiction of the Admiral, or of the Commiſſioners for executing that Office, is declared by ſeveral Statutes, which cannot be diſpenſed with by any *non obſtante,* becauſe all the King's Subjects have an Intereſt in the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty.

By the 13th *Richard* II. chap. 5. "The Admirals and "their Deputies ſhall not meddle with any Thing done "within the Realm; but only with Things done upon the "Sea." By the 15th *Richard* II. chap. 3. "The Court "of Admiralty has no manner of Cognizance of any Con-"tract, or any other Thing, done within the County, "either by Land or Water, nor of Wreck of the Sea: "but of Death of Man, or of Mayheim, done in great "Ships, being and hovering in the main Stream of great "Rivers only, beneath the Points of the ſame Rivers, the "Admirals ſhall have Cognizance. And alſo to arreſt "Ships in great Fleets, for the Voyages of the King and "Kingdom; and ſhall alſo have Juriſdiction in ſuch Fleets "during ſuch Voyage." By the 2d *Henry* IV. chap. 2. the 13th *Richard* II. chap. 5. is confirmed; and "the "Party grieved againſt the Form of that Statute ſhall (by "Action upon his Caſe) recover double Damages againſt "the Proſecutor in the Admiralty, and the Proſecutor "ſhall alſo forfeit 10 *l.* to the King." By the 5th of *Elizabeth,* chap. 5. p. 30. "The Offences before-mentioned, "which hereafter ſhall be done upon the main Sea, or "Coaſt of the Sea, being no Part of the Body of any "County, and without the Juriſdiction of the Cinque "Ports, and out of any Haven, or Pier, ſhall be tried "and determined before the Admiral."

Appeals from the Admiralty are to a Court of Delegates[a], appointed by Commiſſion, whoſe Sentence is final.

From inferior Admiralty-courts, the Appeals lie to the Lord High Admiral[b], or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in this Court: but the Warden of the Cinque Ports is ſupreme Admiral within his own Juriſdiction. Piracies and Felonies, committed within the Admiral's Juriſdiction[c], may be tried at Sea, or on Land, according to the Court of the Admiralty.

Perſons in actual Service and Pay aboard his Majeſty's Ships of War[d], committing any Crimes upon the Shore in foreign Parts, may be tried and puniſhed for the ſame, as if the Offences had been committed on the main Sea[e], or on board any Ships or Veſſels of War.

Within the Cognizance of this Juriſdiction are all Affairs that particularly concern the Lord High Admiral, or any of his Officers, as ſuch; all Matters relating to the Navies of the Kingdom, the Veſſels of Trade, and the Owners thereof, as ſuch; all Affairs relating to Mariners, whether Ship-officers or common Seamen, their Rights and Privileges reſpectively; their Office and Duty; their Wages; their Offences, whether by Wilfulneſs, Caſualty, Ignorance, Negligence, or Inſufficiency, with their Puniſhments: alſo all Affairs of Commanders at Sea, and their under Officers, with their reſpective Duties, Privileges, Immunities, Offences, and Puniſhments. In like manner, all Matters that concern Owners and Proprietors of Ships, as ſuch; and all Maſters, Pilots, Steerſmen, Boatſwains, and other Officers; all Shipwrights, Fiſhermen, Ferrymen, and the like: alſo all Cauſes of Seizures and Captures made at Sea, whether *jure belli publici*, or *jure belli privati*, by way of Repriſal, or *nullo jure*, by way of Piracy. Likewiſe, all Charter-parties, Cocquets, Bills of Lading, Sea-commiſſions, Letters of Safe-conduct, Factories, Invoices, Skippers Rolls, Inventories, and other Ship-papers. Alſo all Cauſes of Freight, Mariners Wages, Load-manage, Port-charges, Pilotage, Anchorage, and the like: alſo all Cauſes of maritime Contracts *indeed, or, as it were*, Contracts, whether upon or beyond the Seas; all Cauſes of Money lent to Sea, or upon the Sea, called *Fœnus nauticum, Pecunia trajectitia, Uſura maritima, bomary Money, the groſs Adventure*, and the like. All Cauſes of pawning, hypothecating, or pledging, of the Ship itſelf, or any Part thereof, or her Lading, or other Things, at Sea; all Cauſes of *Jactus*, or caſting Goods over-board; and Contributions either for Redemption of Ship or Lading, in caſe of Seizure by Enemies or Pirates, or in caſe of Goods damnified, or diſburdening of Ships, or other Chances, with Average: alſo all Cauſes of Spoil, Depredations at Sea, Robberies and Piracies; alſo all Cauſes of naval Conſortſhips, whether in War or Peace; Inſurance, Mandates, Procurations, Payments, Acceptilations, Diſcharges, Loans, or Oppignorations, Emptions, Venditions, Conventions, taking or letting to Freight, Exchanges, Partnerſhips, Factorage, Paſſage-money, and whatever is of a maritime Nature, either by way of Navigations upon the Seas, or of Negociation at or beyond the Sea, in the way of marine Trade or Commerce: alſo, the nautic Right which maritime Perſons have in Ships, their Apparel, Tackle, Furniture, Lading, and all Things pertaining to Navigation; likewiſe all Cauſes of Outredders, or Outriggers, Furniſhers, Hirers, Freighters, Owners, and Part-owners, of Ships, as ſuch. Alſo all Cauſes of privileged Ships or Veſſels in his Majeſty's Service, or his Letters of Safe-conduct: all Cauſes of Shipwreck at Sea, Flotſon, Jetſon, Lagan, Waifs, Deodands, Treaſure-trove, and Fiſhes-royal, with the Lord Admiral's Shares, and the Finders reſpectively. Alſo all Cauſes touching maritime Offences, or Miſdemeanors; ſuch as cutting the Buoy-rope, or Cable, Removal of an Anchor, whereby any Veſſel is moored, the Breaking the Lord Admiral's Arreſt, made either upon Perſons, Goods, or Ship; breaking Arreſts on Ships for the King's Service, being puniſhable with Confiſcation, by the Ordinance made at *Grinſby* in the Time of *Richard* I. Mariners abſenting themſelves from the King's Service after being impreſſed, impleading upon a Contract, or in a maritime Cauſe elſewhere than in the Admiralty, contrary to the Ordinance made at *Haſtings* by *Edw.* I. and contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Admiralty of *England*. Foreſtalling of Corn, Fiſh, *&c.* on Ship-board; Regating and Exaction of Water officers; the appropriating the Benefit of Salt-water to private Uſe, excluſively to others, without his Majeſty's Licence: Kiddles, Wears, Blind-ſtakes, Water-mills, and the like, to the Obſtruction of Navigation in great Rivers, falſe Weights or Meaſures on Ship-board; concealing of Goods found about the Dead within the Admiral's Juriſdiction, or Flotſons, Jetſons, Lagans, Waifs, Deodands; Fiſhes-royal, or other Things, wherein the King's Majeſty, or his Lord Admiral, have Intereſt. Exceſſive Wages claimed by Shipwrights, Mariners, *&c.* Maintainers, Abettors, Receivers, Concealers, or Comforters of Pirates: tranſporting prohibited Goods without Licence; Draggers of Oyſters and Muſcles at unſeaſonables Times, *viz.* between *May-day* and *Holyrood-day*; Deſtroyers of the Brood or young Fry of Fiſh: ſuch as claim Wreck to the Prejudice of the King or Lord Admiral: ſuch as unduly claim Privileges in a Port: Diſturbers of the Admiral's Officers in execution of the Court-decrees: Water-bailiffs and Searchers not doing their Duty: Corruption in any of the Admiral-court Officers: Importers of unwholſome Victuals to the People's Prejudice: Freights of Strangers Veſſels contrary to the Law: Tranſporters of Priſoners, or other prohibited Perſons, not having Letters of Safe-conduct from the King, or his Lord Admiral: Caſters of Ballaſt into Ports or Harbours, to the Prejudice thereof: unſkilful Pilots, whereby Ship or Man periſh: unlawful Nets, or other prohibited Engines for Fiſh: diſobeying Embargoes, or going to Sea contrary to the Prince's Command, or againſt the Law: furniſhing the Ships of Enemies, or the Enemy with Ships: all Prejudice done to the Banks of navigable Rivers, or to Docks, Wharfs, Keys, or any thing whereby Shipping may be endangered, Navigation obſtructed, or Trade by Sea impeded: alſo Embezzlements of Ship-tackle or Furniture; all Obſtructions of Mariners Wages; all defrauding of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, or other Duties at Sea; all Prejudices done to or by Paſſengers on Ship-board, and all Damages done by one Ship or Veſſel to another: alſo going to Sea in tempeſtuous Weather, ſailing in devious Places, or among Enemies, Pirates, Rocks, or other dangerous Places, not being neceſſitated thereto: all clandeſtine Attempts, by making private Cork-holes in the Veſſel, or otherwiſe, with Intent to deſtroy or endanger the Ship. Alſo the ſhewing of falſe Lights by Night, either on Shore or in Fiſhing-veſſels, or the like, on purpoſe to intice Sailors to the Hazard of their Veſſels: all wilful or purpoſed entertaining of unſkilful Maſters, Pilots, or Mariners, or ſailing without a Pilot, or in leaky or inſufficient Veſſels: likewiſe, Overburdening the Ship above her Birth-mark, and all ill Stowage of Goods on Ship-board; all Importation of contraband Goods, or Exportation of Goods to prohibited Ports, or the Places not deſigned; together with a great many other Things, relating to the State or Condition of Perſons maritime, their Rights, their Duties, or their Defaults.

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[a] 8 Eliz. c. 5.

[b] 5 Eliz.

[c] 2 Will. & Mar. Seſſ. 2. c. 2.

[d] 13 Car. II. c. 9.

[e] 6 Geo. c. 19. and 22 Geo. II.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Juriſdiction of the Court of Admiralty is ſometimes interrupted by a Writ, which in our Law is called a *Prohibitio*, and may be properly defined to be, "A Writ, forbidding to hold Plea in any Matter or Cauſe, ſuppoſed to be without the Juriſdiction and Cognizance of the Court where the Suit depends."

But, in all Caſes where the *Admiralty* have legally an original or concurrent Juriſdiction, the Courts of *Common Law* will be well informed, before they will take Cognizance of them.

From hence it is to be obſerv'd, that the Judge of the ſaid High Court of Admiralty is by his Patent empower'd,

1. To take Cognizance of, and determine all Cauſes whatever that are civil and maritime, *viz.* all Contracts, Offences, Complaints, *&c.* that do any ways concern Shipping; as alſo Injuries, Extortions, and all civil and maritime Dealings whatſoever, between Merchants and Owners of Ships, or Veſſels employed within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty of *England*, or between any other Perſons had, committed, or contracted, not only upon the Sea, or in publick Rivers, but alſo in freſh Waters, Rivulets, Havens, Creeks, and all Places overflowed, and within the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, or high Tide of the freſh Waters; as alſo on the Shores or Banks of the ſame, below the firſt Bridge towards the Sea, within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or in any other Places beyond the Seas.

2. To receive Appeals from inferior Courts of Admiralty, and to inhibit their Proceedings in Cauſes depending before him.

3. To arreſt Ship, Perſons, and Goods, in Caſes of Debt, or other Forfeitures, provided the Perſons and Goods be found within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty.

4. To enquire, by Oath of honeſt and lawful Men, into all Things which by the Laws or Cuſtoms of the Court uſed to be enquired into; and to puniſh, fine, or impriſon Contemners of his Juriſdiction, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Admiralty, or the Statutes of the Realm.

5. To look after the Conſervation of the publick Rivers, Rivulets, Havens, and Creeks within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty, as well for the Preſervation of the Navy, as other Ships, and alſo of the Fiſh; and to puniſh ſuch as make uſe of Nets which are too narrow, or other unlawful Engines, or Inſtruments for fiſhing.

6 To judge and determine of Wrecks at Sea, and alſo of dead Bodies found within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty, according to the Statute concerning Wrecks, and of the Office of a Coroner, made in the third and fourth Years of *Edward* the Firſt, and the Statute about Goods coming to *England* being plundered at Sea, in the twenty-ſeventh Year of *Edward* the Third.

7. To judge of Caſes of Maheim, (*i. e.* Maim, or Loſs of Limb) and to puniſh the Delinquents.

8. To depute and ſurrogate a Subſtitute, or Subſtitutes, and to revoke all ſuch Deputations at Pleaſure, and to hold his Place, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit.*

The Lord High-Admiral alſo appoints his Vice-Admirals as well in the maritime Countries of theſe Kingdoms, as in his Majeſty's foreign Governments and Plantations; and this by Warrants to the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, to iſſue Commiſſions under the Great-Seal of the ſaid Court, by which they are empowered, I mean the Vice-Admiral abroad,

1. To proceed on, and determine (with the Aſſiſtance of the Judge of the Admiralty, who with the Regiſters, and Marſhals, are appointed by the Lord High-Admiral) all civil and maritime Cauſes.

2. To make Enquiry into, by a Jury, according to ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, the Goods and Chattels of all Traitors, Pirates, Murderers, and Felons, treſpaſſing within the Juriſdiction of their Vice-Admiralties, together with the Goods, Debts, and Chattels of their Acceſſories and Accomplices, and of Felons *de* Sea, Fugitives convict, attainted, excommunicated, and out-lawed: But ſuch Goods and Chattels of Pirates ought not to be proceeded againſt and condemned, until they have been in the Poſſeſſion of the High Court of Admiralty, or the Vice-Admiralty Courts abroad, for the Space of one Year and a Day, which Time is allowed to ſuch Perſons who pretend a Right to them to put in their Claims.

3. To enquire into all Goods of Ships that are Flotſon, Jetſon, or Lagon, and all Shares, Treaſure found, and to be found, and Deodands; and alſo all Goods found in the Seas, Shores, Creeks, and within the freſh Waters, on Places overflowed by the Sea.

4. To inſpect into Anchorage and Ballaſtage, as alſo all royal Fiſhes, ſuch as Sturgeons, Whales, Porpuſſes, Dolphins, Grampuſſes, and, in general, all large Fiſhes, and to hear, and determine in the ſame, either by themſelves, their Lieutenants, or Deputies, and to levy, collect, and preſerve whatever is adjudged, mulcted, or forfeited, for the Uſe of the King, (when thoſe Things are reſerved by the Crown to its own Diſpoſal) or the Lord High-Admiral.

5. To arreſt Ships, Goods, and Perſons within the Juriſdiction of their Vice-Admiralties, according as the Caſe ſhall require, and conformable to the maritime and civil Laws, upon any Applications or Complaints that ſhall be made to them; and to compel Perſons to appear, and anſwer in their Courts, and to puniſh, mulct, or impriſon thoſe who refuſe ſo to appear.

6. To put in Execution all Laws, Orders, and Cuſtoms, for the Preſervation of the Ports, Rivers, and Fiſhes within the Diſtrict of their Vice-Admiralties.

7. To take away all Nets that are too ſcanty, and all unlawful Engines and Inſtruments for catching Fiſh, and to puniſh thoſe who uſe them.

8. To proceed in Judgment on Bodies found dead on the Water, and to appoint Deputies, and other Officers, for the better inſpecting into, and Management of the Matters committed to their Charge; with a Proviſo that nothing ſhall infringe the Rights of the High Court of Admiralty of this Kingdom; and any Perſon, or Perſons, who ſhall think themſelves aggrieved by the Sentence of their Court, their appealing to the aforeſaid High Court of Admiralty.

9. They hold their Places, as Vice-Admirals, with all the Profits and Perquiſites belonging thereunto, during Pleaſure; and they are enjoined to tranſmit in every Year, if demanded, between the Feaſts of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and All-Saints, an exact Account of all their Proceedings, and of what doth remain in their Hands, purſuant to the aforeſaid Directions in their Commiſſions, which, in default thereof, are to become void, as thoſe are alſo to the Vice-Admirals at home.

The LAWS *and* CUSTOMS *of the* SEAS.

The Multiplicity of Laws enacted from Time to Time for the Sea-ſervice, having been found by Experience not to be ſo full, ſo clear, ſo expedient or conſiſtent with each other as they ought to be; the Parliament (22 *Geo.* II.) paſſed the following Act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea; whereon, as it is therein affirmed, under the Providence of God, the Wealth, Safety, and Strength of this Kingdom chiefly depend.

By which it is enacted, that in Time of Peace as well as War;

I. All Commanders, Captains, and Officers, in or belonging to any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, ſhall cauſe the publick Worſhip of Almighty God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law, to be ſolemnly, orderly, and reverently performed in their reſpective Ships; and ſhall take Care that Prayers and Preaching, by the Chaplains in holy Orders of the reſpective Ships, be performed diligently; and that the Lord's Day be obſerved according to Law.

II. All Flag Officers, and all Perſons in, or belonging to his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, being guilty of profane Oaths, Curſings, Execrations, Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, or other ſcandalous Actions, in derogation of God's Honour, and Corruption of good Manners, ſhall incur ſuch Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall think fit to impoſe, and as the Nature and Degree of their Offence ſhall deſerve.

III. If any Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other Perſons of the Fleet, ſhall give, hold, or entertain Intelligence to, or with any Enemy or Rebel, without Leave from the King's Majeſty, or the Lord High-Admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral, Commander in Chief, or his Commanding-officer, every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and being thereof convicted by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

IV. If any Letter or Meſſage from any Enemy or Rebel, be conveyed to any Officer, Mariner, or Soldier, or other in the Fleet, and the ſaid Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other as aforeſaid, ſhall not, within twelve Hours, having Opportunity ſo to do, acquaint his ſuperior Officer, or the Officer commanding in Chief, with it; or if any ſuperior Officer being acquainted therewith, ſhall not in convenient Time reveal the ſame to the Commander in Chief of the Squadron, every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Nature and Degree of the Offence ſhall deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

V. All Spies, and all Perſons whatſoever, who ſhall come, or be found, in the Nature of Spies, to bring or deliver any ſeducing Letters or Meſſages from any Enemy or Rebel; or endeavour to corrupt any Captain, Officer, Mariner, or other in the Fleet, to betray his Truſt, being convicted of any ſuch Offence by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as the Nature and Degree of the Offence ſhall deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

VI. No Perſon in the Fleet ſhall relieve an Enemy or Rebel with Money, Victuals, Powder, Shot, Arms, Ammunition, or any other Supplies whatſoever, directly or indirectly, upon Pain of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Court-martial ſhall think fit to impoſe, and as the Nature and Degree of the Crime ſhall deſerve.

VII. All the Papers, Charter-Parties, Bills of Lading, Paſſports, and other Writings whatſoever, that ſhall be taken, ſeized, or found aboard any Ship or Ships which ſhall be ſurprized or taken as Prize, ſhall be duly preſerved, and the very Originals ſhall, by the commanding Officer of the Ship which ſhall take ſuch Prize, be ſent intirely, and without Fraud, to the Court of Admiralty, or ſuch other Court or Commiſſioners, as ſhall be authorized to determine whether ſuch Prize be lawful Capture, there to be viewed, made uſe of, and proceeded upon according to Law, upon Pain that every Perſon offending herein, ſhall forfeit and loſe his Share of the Capture, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch further Puniſhment, as the Nature and Degree of his Offence ſhall be found to deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

VIII. No Perſon in, or belonging to, the Fleet, ſhall take out of any Prize, or Ship ſeized for Prize, any Money, Plate, or Goods, unleſs it ſhall be neceſſary for the better ſecuring thereof, or for the neceſſary Uſe and Service of any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, before the ſame be adjudged lawful Prize in ſome Admiralty Court; but the full and intire Account of the whole, without Imbezzlement, ſhall be brought in, and Judgment paſſed intirely upon the whole without Fraud, upon Pain that every Perſon offending herein, ſhall forfeit and loſe his Share of the Capture, and ſuffer ſuch further Puniſhment as ſhall be impoſed by a Court-martial, or ſuch Court of Admiralty, according to the Nature and Degree of the Offence.

IX. If any Ship or Veſſel ſhall be taken as Prize, none of the Officers, Mariners, or other Perſons on-board her, ſhall be ſtripped of their Clothes, or in any ſort pillaged, beaten, or evil-intreated, upon Pain that the Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, ſhall be liable to ſuch Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall think fit to inflict.

X. Every Flag Officer, Captain, and Commander in the Fleet, who, upon Signal or Order of Fight, or Sight of any Ship or Ships which it may be his Duty to engage; or who, upon Likelihood of Engagement, ſhall not make the neceſſary Preparations for Fight, and ſhall not in his own Perſon, and according to his Place, encourage the inferior Officers and Men to fight courageouſly, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as from the Nature and Degree of the Offence, a Court-martial ſhall deem him to deſerve; and if any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall treacherouſly or cowardly yield or cry for Quarter, every Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death.

XI. Every Perſon in the Fleet, who ſhall not duly obſerve the Orders of the Admiral, Flag Officer, Commander of any Squadron or Diviſion, or other his ſuperior Officer, for aſſailing, joining Battle with, or making Defence againſt any Fleet, Squadron, or Ship; or ſhall not obey the Orders of his ſuperior Officer, as aforeſaid, in Time of Action, to the beſt of his Power; or ſhall not uſe all poſſible Endeavours to put the ſame effectually in Execution, every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as from the Nature and Degree of the Offence a Court-martial ſhall deem him to deſerve.

XII. Every Perſon in the Fleet, who through Cowardice, Negligence, or Diſaffection, ſhall in Time of Action withdraw or keep back, or not come into the Fight or Engagement, or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every Ship which it ſhall be his Duty to engage, and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his Majeſty's Ships, or thoſe of his Allies, which it ſhall be his Duty to aſſiſt and relieve, every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death.

XIII. Every Perſon in the Fleet, who through Cowardice, Negligence, or Diſaffection, ſhall forbear to purſue the Chace of any Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, beaten or flying; or ſhall not relieve and aſſiſt a known Friend in View to the utmoſt of his Power; being convicted of any ſuch Offence by the Sentence of a Court-martial ſhall ſuffer Death.

XIV. If when Action, or any Service ſhall be commanded, any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall preſume to delay or diſcourage the ſaid Action or Service, upon Pretence of Arrears of Wages, or upon any Pretence whatſoever, every Perſon ſo offending, being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as from the Nature and Degree of the Offence a Court-martial ſhall deem him to deſerve.

XV. Every Perſon in or belonging to the Fleet, who ſhall deſert to the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, or run away with any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, or any Ordnance, Ammunition, Stores, or Proviſion belonging thereto, to the weakening of the Service, or yield up the ſame cowardly or treacherouſly to the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, being convicted of any ſuch Offence by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death.

XVI. Every Perſon in or belonging to the Fleet, who ſhall deſert or intice others ſo to do, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Circumſtances of the Offence ſhall deſerve, and a Court-martial ſhall judge fit: And if any commanding Officer of any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, ſhall receive or entertain a Deſerter from any other of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels, after diſcovering him to be ſuch Deſerter, and ſhall not with all convenient Speed give Notice to the Captain of the Ship or Veſſel to which ſuch Deſerter belongs; or if the ſaid Ships or Veſſels are at any conſiderable Diſtance from each other, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, or to the Commander in Chief; every Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall be caſhiered.

XVII. The Officers and Seamen of all Ships appointed for Convoy and Guard of Merchant Ships, or of any other, ſhall diligently attend upon that Charge, without Delay, according to their Inſtructions in that Behalf; and whoſoever ſhall be faulty therein, and ſhall not faithfully perform their Duty, and defend the Ships and Goods in their Convoy, without either diverting to other Parts or Occaſions, or refuſing or neglecting to fight in their Defence, if they be aſſailed, or running away cowardly, and ſubmitting the Ships in their Convoy to Peril and Hazard; or ſhall demand or exact any Money or other Reward from any Merchant or Maſter for convoying of any Ships or Veſſels intruſted to their Care, or ſhall miſuſe the Maſters or Mariners thereof, ſhall be condemned to make Reparation of the Damage to the Merchants, Owners, and others, as the Court of Admiralty ſhall adjudge, and alſo be puniſhed criminally according to the Quality of their Offences, be it by Pains of Death, or other Puniſhment, according as ſhall be adjudged fit by the Court-martial.

XVIII. If any Captain, Commander, or other Officer of any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels, ſhall receive on-board, or permit to be received on-board ſuch Ship or Veſſel, any Goods or Merchandizes whatſoever, other than for the ſole Uſe of the Ship or Veſſel, except Gold, Silver, or Jewels, and except the Goods and Merchandizes belonging to any Merchant, or other Ship or Veſſel which may be ſhipwrecked, or in imminent Danger of being ſhipwrecked, either on the High-ſeas, or in any Port, Creek, or Harbour, in order to the preſerving them for their proper Owners, and except ſuch Goods or Merchandizes as he ſhall at any Time be ordered to take or receive on-board by Order of the Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral for the Time being; every Perſon ſo offending, being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall be caſhiered, and be for ever afterwards rendered incapable to ſerve in any Place or Office in the naval Service of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors.

XIX. If any Perſon in or belonging to the Fleet ſhall make or endeavour to make any mutinous Aſſembly upon any Pretence whatſoever, every Perſon offending herein, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of the Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death: And if any Perſon in or belonging to the Fleet ſhall utter any Words of Sedition or Mutiny, he ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall deem him to deſerve: And if any Officer, Mariner, or Soldier, in or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall behave himſelf with Contempt to his ſuperior Officer, ſuch ſuperior Officer being in the Execution of his Office, he ſhall be puniſhed according to the Nature of his Offence by the Judgment of a Court-martial.

XX. If any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall conceal any traiterous or mutinous Practice or Deſign, being convicted thereof, by the Sentence of a Court-martial, he ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall think fit; and if any Perſon, in or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall conceal any traiterous or mutinous Words ſpoken by any, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty or Government, or any Words, Practice, or Deſign, tending to the Hindrance of the Service, and ſhall not forthwith reveal the ſame to the commanding Officer, or being preſent at any Mutiny or Sedition, ſhall not uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, he ſhall be puniſhed as a Court-martial ſhall think he deſerves.

XXI. If any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall find Cauſe of Complaint of the Unwholeſomeneſs of the Victual, or upon other juſt Ground, he ſhall quietly make the ſame known to his Superior, or Captain, or Commander in Chief, as the Occaſion may deſerve, that ſuch preſent Remedy may be had as the Matter may require; and the ſaid Superior, Captain, or Commander in Chief, ſhall, as far as he is able, cauſe the ſame to be preſently remedied; and no Perſon in the Fleet, upon any ſuch or other Pretence, ſhall attempt to ſtir up any Diſturbance, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall think fit to inflict, according to the Degree of the Offence.

XXII. If any Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other Perſon in the Fleet, ſhall ſtrike any of his ſuperior Officers, or draw, or offer to draw, or lift up any Weapon againſt him, being in the Execution of his Office, on any Pretence whatſoever, every ſuch Perſon being convicted of any ſuch Offence, by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death; and if any Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other Perſon in the Fleet, ſhall preſume to quarrel with any of his ſuperior Officers, being in the Execution of his Office, or ſhall diſobey any lawful Command of any of his ſuperior Officers; every ſuch Perſon being convicted of any ſuch Offence, by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as ſhall, according to the Nature and Degree of his Offence, be inflicted upon him by the Sentence of a Court-martial.

XXIII. If any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall Quarrel or Fight with any other Perſon in the Fleet, or uſe reproachful or provoking Speeches or Geſtures, tending to make any Quarrel or Diſturbance, he ſhall, upon being convicted thereof, ſuffer ſuch Puniſhment as the Offence ſhall deſerve, and a Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

XXIV. There ſhall be no waſteful Expence of any Powder, Shot, Ammunition, or other Stores in the Fleet, nor any Embezzlement thereof, but the Stores and Proviſions ſhall be carefully preſerved, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Offenders, Abettors, Buyers, and Receivers (being Perſons ſubject to naval Diſcipline) as ſhall be by a Court-martial found juſt in that Behalf.

XXV. Every Perſon in the Fleet, who ſhall unlawfully burn or ſet Fire to any Magazine or Store of Powder, or Ship, Boat, Ketch, Hoy, or Veſſel, or Tackle or Furniture thereunto belonging, not then appertaining to an Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, being convicted of any ſuch Offence, by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death.

XXVI. Care ſhall be taken in the Conducting and Steering of any of his Majeſty's Ships, that through Wilfulneſs, Negligence, or other Defaults, no Ship be ſtranded, or run upon any Rocks or Sands, or ſplit or hazarded, upon Pain that ſuch as ſhall be found guilty therein, be puniſhed by Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Offence, by a Court-martial, ſhall be judged to deſerve.

XXVII. No Perſon in or belonging to the Fleet ſhall ſleep upon his Watch, or negligently perform the Duty impoſed on him, or forſake his Station, upon Pain of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall think fit to impoſe, and as the Circumſtances of the Caſe ſhall require.

XXVIII. All Murders committed by any Perſon in the Fleet, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, by the Sentence of a Court-martial.

XXIX. If any Perſon in the Fleet ſhall commit the unnatural and deteſtable Sin of Buggery or Sodomy with Man or Beaſt, he ſhall be puniſhed with Death, by the Sentence of a Court-martial.

XXX. All Robbery committed by any Perſon in the Fleet, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or otherwiſe, as a Court-martial, upon Conſideration of Circumſtances, ſhall find meet.

XXXI. Every Officer, or other Perſon in the Fleet, who ſhall knowingly make or ſign a falſe Muſter or Muſter-book, or who ſhall command, counſel, or procure the Making or Signing thereof, or who ſhall aid or abet any other Perſon in the Making or Signing thereof, ſhall, upon Proof of any ſuch Offence being made before a Court-martial, be caſhiered, and rendered incapable of further Employment in his Majeſty's naval Service.

XXXII. No Provoſt-martial belonging to the Fleet ſhall refuſe to apprehend any Criminal, whom he ſhall be authorized by legal Warrant to apprehend, or to receive or keep any Priſoner committed to his Charge, or wilfully ſuffer him to eſcape, being once in his Cuſtody, or diſmiſs him without lawful Order, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall deem him to deſerve; and all Captains, Officers, and others in the Fleet, ſhall do their Endeavour to detect, apprehend, and bring to Puniſhment all Offenders, and ſhall aſſiſt the Officers appointed for that Purpoſe therein, upon Pain of being proceeded againſt, and puniſhed by a Court-martial, according to the Nature and Degree of the Offence.

XXXIII. If any Flag Officer, Captain, or Commander, or Lieutenant belonging to the Fleet, ſhall be convicted before a Court-martial of behaving in a ſcandalous, infamous, cruel, oppreſſive, or fraudulent Manner, unbecoming the Character of an Officer, he ſhall be diſmiſſed from his Majeſty's Service.

XXXIV. Every Perſon being in actual Service and full Pay, and Part of the Crew in or belonging to any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War, who ſhall be guilty of Mutiny, Deſertion, or Diſobedience to any lawful Command, in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions on Shore, when in actual Service relative to the Fleet, ſhall be liable to be tried by a Court-martial, and ſuffer the like Puniſhment, for every ſuch Offence, as if the ſame had been committed at Sea on-board any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War.

XXXV. If any Perſon who ſhall be in actual Service and full Pay in his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels of War, ſhall commit upon the Shore, in any Place or Places out of his Majeſty's Dominions, any of the Crimes puniſhable by theſe Articles and Orders, the Perſon ſo offending ſhall be liable to be tried and puniſhed for the ſame, in like manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid Crimes had been committed at Sea, on-board any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War.

XXXVI. All other Crimes not capital, committed by any Perſon or Perſons in the Fleet, which are not mentioned in this Act, or for which no Puniſhment is hereby directed to be inflicted, ſhall be puniſhed according to the Laws and Cuſtoms in ſuch Caſes uſed at Sea.

Provided always, That no Perſon convicted of any Offence ſhall, by the Sentence of any Court-martial to be held by virtue of this Act, be adjudged to be impriſoned for a longer Term than the Space of two Years.

Provided alſo, That nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to impower any Court-martial to be conſtituted by virtue of this Act, to proceed to the Puniſhment or Trial of any of the Offences ſpecified in the ſeveral Articles contained in this Act, or of any Offence whatſoever (other than the Offences ſpecified in the Fifth, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-fifth of the foregoing Articles and Orders) which ſhall not be committed upon the main Sea, or in great Rivers only, beneath the Bridges of the ſaid Rivers nigh to the Sea, or in any Haven, River, or Creek within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty, and which ſhall not be committed by ſuch Perſons as at the Time of the Offence committed ſhall be in actual Service and full Pay in the Fleet or Ships of War of his Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, ſuch Perſons only excepted, and for ſuch Offences only, as are deſcribed in the Fifth of the foregoing Articles and Orders.

Provided alſo, That nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to impower any Court-martial to be conſtituted by virtue of this Act, to proceed to the Puniſhment or Trial of any Land-officer or Soldier on-board any Tranſport Ship, for any of the Offences ſpecified in the ſeveral Articles contained in this Act.

And it is hereby further enacted, That from and after the twenty-fifth Day of *December*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, the Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain* for the time being, ſhall have full Power and Authority to grant Commiſſions to any Officer commanding in Chief any Fleet or Squadron of Ships of War, to call and aſſemble Courts-martial, conſiſting of Commanders and Captains; and that in caſe any Officer commanding in Chief any Fleet or Squadron of Ships of War (who ſhall be authorized by the Lord High-admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral for the time being, to call and aſſemble Courts-martial in foreign Parts) ſhall happen to die, or be recalled, or removed from his Command, then the Officer upon whom the Command of the ſaid Fleet or Squadron ſhall devolve, and ſo, from time to time, the Officer who ſhall have the Command of the ſaid Fleet or Squadron, ſhall have the ſame Power to call and aſſemble Courts-martial, as the firſt Commander in Chief of the ſaid Fleet or Squadron was inveſted with.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That no Commander in Chief of any Fleet or Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, or Detachment thereof, conſiſting of more than five Ships, ſhall preſide at any Court-martial in foreign Parts, but that the Officer next in Command to ſuch Officer commanding in Chief, ſhall hold ſuch Court-martial, and preſide thereat; any Law, Cuſtom, or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And it is hereby further enacted, In caſe any Commander in Chief of any Fleet or Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War in foreign Parts ſhall detach any Part of ſuch Fleet or Squadron, every Commander in Chief ſhall, and he is hereby authorized and required, by Writing under his Hand, to impower the chief Commander of the Squadron or Detachment ſo ordered on ſuch ſeparate Service (and in caſe of his Death or Removal, the Officer to whom the Command of ſuch ſeparate Squadron or Detachment ſhall belong) to hold Courts-martial, during the Time of ſuch ſeparate Service, or until the Commander of the ſaid Detachment for the time being ſhall return to his Commander in Chief, or ſhall come under the Command of any other his ſuperior Officer, or return to *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*.

Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted, That if any Five or more of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels of War ſhall happen to meet together in foreign Parts, then, and in ſuch Caſe, it ſhall be lawful for the ſenior Officer of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels to hold Courts-martial, and preſide thereat, from time to time, as there ſhall be Occaſion, during ſo long Time as the ſaid Ships or Veſſels of War, or any Five or more of them, ſhall continue together.

Provided nevertheleſs, and be it alſo enacted, That where any material Objection occurs, which may render it improper for the Perſon who is next in Command to the ſenior Officer or Commander in Chief of any Fleet or Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships of War in foreign Parts to hold Courts-martial, or preſide thereat, in ſuch Caſe it ſhall be lawful for the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral for the time being, as alſo the Commander in Chief of any ſuch Fleet or Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships in foreign Parts reſpectively, to appoint the third Officer in Command to preſide at, or hold ſuch Court-martial.

And it is hereby further enacted, That it ſhall be lawful for the Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral for the time being, and they are hereby reſpectively authorized, from time to time, as there ſhall be Occaſion, to direct any Flag Officer, or Captain of any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, who ſhall be in any Port of *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, to hold Courts-martial in any ſuch Port, provided ſuch Flag Officer or Captain be the Firſt, Second, or Third in Command in ſuch Port, as ſhall be found moſt expedient, and for the Good of his Majeſty's Service; and ſuch Flag Officer or Captain, ſo directed to hold Courts-martial, ſhall preſide at ſuch Court-martial; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And it is hereby further enacted, That no Court-martial, to be held or appointed by virtue of this preſent Act, ſhall conſiſt of more than thirteen, or of leſs than five Perſons, to be compoſed of ſuch Flag Officers, Captains, or Commanders then and there preſent, as are next in Seniority to the Officer who preſides at the Court-martial.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to authorize or impower the Lord High-admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral, or any Officer impowered to order or hold Courts-martial, to direct or aſcertain the particular Number of Perſons of which any Court-martial, to be held or appointed by virtue of this preſent Act, ſhall conſiſt.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That in caſe any Court-martial ſhall, by virtue of this Act, be appointed to be held at any Place where there are not leſs than three, nor yet ſo many as five Officers of the Degree and Denomination of a Poſt Captain, or of a ſuperior Rank to be found, then it ſhall be lawful for the Officer, at the Place appointed for holding ſuch Court-martial, who is to preſide at the ſame, to call to his Aſſiſtance as many of the Commanders of his Majeſty's Veſſels, under the Rank and Degree of a Poſt Captain, as, together with the Poſt Captains then and there preſent, will make up the Number of five, to hold ſuch Court-martial.

And it is hereby further enacted, That no Member of any Court-martial, after the Trial is begun, ſhall go on-ſhore till Sentence be given, but remain on-board the Ship in which the Court ſhall firſt aſſemble, except in caſe of Sickneſs, to be judged of by the Court, upon Pain of being caſhiered from his Majeſty's Service; nor ſhall the Proceedings of the ſaid Court be delayed by the Abſence of any of its Members, provided a ſufficient Number doth remain to compoſe the ſaid Court, which ſhall and is hereby required to ſit from Day to Day (*Sunday* always excepted) until the Sentence be given.

And it is hereby further enacted, That upon all Trials of Offenders by any Court-martial, all the Officers preſent, who are to conſtitute the ſaid Court-martial, ſhall, before they proceed to ſuch Trial, take ſuch Oath as is herein after-mentioned, upon the Holy Evangeliſts, before the Court; which Oath the Judge Advocate, or his Deputy, or the Perſon appointed to officiate as ſuch, is hereby authorized and required to adminiſter in the Words following (that is to ſay)

> "I *A. B.* do ſwear, That I will duly adminiſter Juſtice according to the Articles and Orders eſtabliſhed by an Act paſſed in the twenty-ſecond Year of the Reign of his Majeſty King *George* the Second, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea, without Partiality, Favour, or Affection; and if any Caſe ſhall ariſe, which is not particularly mentioned in the ſaid Articles and Orders, I will duly adminiſter Juſtice according to my Conſcience, the beſt of my Underſtanding, and the Cuſtom of the Navy in the like Caſes; and I do further ſwear, That I will not upon any Account, at any Time whatſoever, diſcloſe or diſcover the Vote or Opinion of any particular Member of this Court-martial, unleſs thereunto required by Act of Parliament.
>
> "*So help me God.*"

And ſo ſoon as the ſaid Oath ſhall have been adminiſtered to the reſpective Members, the Preſident of the Court is hereby authorized and required to adminiſter to the Judge Advocate, or the Perſon officiating as ſuch, an Oath in the following Words:

> "I *A. B.* do ſwear, That I will not upon any Account, at any Time whatſoever, diſcloſe or diſcover the Vote or Opinion of any particular Member of this Court-martial, unleſs thereunto required by Act of Parliament.
>
> "*So help me God.*"

And it is hereby further enacted, That in caſe any Perſon in the Fleet, being called upon to give Evidence at any Court-martial, ſhall refuſe to give his Evidence upon Oath, or ſhall prevaricate in his Evidence, or behave with Contempt to the Court, it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch Court-martial to puniſh every ſuch Offender by Impriſonment, at the Diſcretion of the Court, ſuch Impriſonment not to continue longer than three Months, in caſe of ſuch Refuſal or Prevarication, nor longer than one Month in the caſe of ſuch Contempt; and that all and every Perſon and Perſons, who ſhall commit any wilful Perjury, in any Evidence or Examination, upon Oath at any ſuch Court-martial, or who ſhall corruptly procure or ſuborn any Perſon to commit ſuch wilful Perjury, ſhall and may be proſecuted in his Majeſty's Court of *King's-Bench*, by Indictment or Information; and ſhall be tried by good and lawful Men of the County of *Middleſex*, or ſuch other County as the ſaid Court of *King's-Bench* ſhall direct; and being lawfully convicted, ſhall be puniſhed with ſuch Pains and Penalties, as are inflicted for the like Offences reſpectively, by two Acts of Parliament, the one made in the fifth Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, intitled, *An Act for Puniſhment of ſuch Perſons as ſhall procure or commit any wilful Perjury*; and the other made in the ſecond Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing and further Puniſhment of Forgery, Perjury, and Subornation of Perjury; and to make it Felony to ſteal Bonds, Notes, or other Securities for Payment of Money.*

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in every Information or Indictment to be proſecuted by virtue of this Act for any ſuch Offence, it ſhall be ſufficient to ſet forth the Offence charged upon the Defendant, without ſetting forth the Commiſſion or Authority for holding the Court-martial, and without ſetting forth the particular Matter tried or to be tried, or directed or intended to be tried before ſuch Court.

And it is hereby further enacted, That no Sentence of Death given by any Court-martial held within the narrow Seas (except in Caſes of Mutiny) ſhall be put in Execution till after the Report of the Proceedings of the ſaid Court ſhall have been made to the Lord High-admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral, and his or their Directions ſhall have been given therein; and if the ſaid Court ſhall have been held beyond the narrow Seas, then ſuch Sentence of Death ſhall not be carried into Execution but by Order of the Commander of the Fleet or Squadron wherein Sentence was paſſed; and in Caſes where Sentence of Death ſhall be paſſed in any Squadron, detached from any other Fleet or Squadron upon a ſeparate Service, then ſuch Sentence of Death (except in Caſes of Mutiny) ſhall not be put in Execution, but by Order of the Commander of the Fleet or Squadron from which ſuch Detachment ſhall have been made, or of the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral; and in Caſes where Sentence of Death ſhall be paſſed in any Court-martial held by the ſenior Officer of Five or more of his Majeſty's Ships, which ſhall happen to meet together in foreign Parts, purſuant to the Power herein before given, then ſuch Sentence of Death (except in Caſes of Mutiny) ſhall not be carried into Execution but by Order of the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral.

And be it further enacted and declared, That the Judge-advocate of any Fleet for the time being, or his Deputy, ſhall have full Power and Authority, and is hereby required to adminiſter an Oath to any Witneſs at any Trial by Court-martial: And in the Abſence of the Judge-advocate and his Deputy, the Court-martial ſhall have full Power and Authority to appoint any Perſon to execute the Office of Judge-advocate.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all the Powers given by the ſeveral Articles and Orders eſtabliſhed by this Act, ſhall remain and be in full Force with reſpect to the Crews of ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as ſhall be wrecked, or be otherwiſe loſt or deſtroyed; and all the Command, Power, and Authority given to the Officers of the ſaid Ship or Ships, ſhall remain and be in full Force as effectually as if ſuch Ship or Ships to which they did belong were not ſo wrecked, loſt, or deſtroyed, until they ſhall be regularly diſcharged from his Majeſty's further Service, or removed into ſome other of his Majeſty's Ships of War, or until a Court-martial ſhall be held, purſuant to the Cuſtom of the Navy in ſuch Caſes, to enquire into the Cauſes of the Loſs of the ſaid Ship or Ships: And if upon ſuch Enquiry it ſhall appear by the Sentence of the Court-martial that all, or any of the Officers or Seamen of the ſaid Ship or Ships did their utmoſt to preſerve, get off, or recover the ſaid Ship or Ships, and ſince the Loſs thereof have behaved themſelves obediently to their ſuperior Officers, according to the Diſcipline of the Navy and the ſaid Articles and Orders herein before eſtabliſhed, then all the Pay and Wages of the ſaid Officers and Seamen, or of ſuch of them as ſhall have done their Duty as aforeſaid, ſhall continue and go on, and be paid to the Time of their Diſcharge or Death; or if they ſhall be then alive, to the Time of the Holding of ſuch Court-martial or Removal, into ſome other of his Majeſty's Ships of War; and every ſuch Officer and Seaman of any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, who after the Wreck or Loſs of his Ship, ſhall act contrary to the Diſcipline of the Navy, and the ſeveral Articles and Orders herein before eſtabliſhed, or any of them, ſhall be ſentenced by the ſaid Court-martial, and puniſhed as if the Ship to which he did belong was not ſo wrecked, loſt, or deſtroyed.

And be it further enacted, that all the Pay and Wages of ſuch Officers and Seamen of any of his Majeſty's Ships as are taken by the Enemy, and upon Enquiry at a Court-martial ſhall appear by the Sentence of the ſaid Court, to have done their utmoſt to defend the ſaid Ship or Ships; and ſince the taking thereof, to have behaved themſelves obediently to their ſuperior Officers, according to the Diſcipline of the Navy, and the ſaid Articles and Orders herein before eſtabliſhed, ſhall continue and go on, and be paid, from the Time of their being ſo taken, to the Time of the holding of ſuch Court-martial, or until they ſhall be regularly diſcharged from his Majeſty's Service, or removed into ſome other of his Majeſty's Ships of War, or (if they ſhall die in Captivity, or not live to the Time of the Holding of ſuch Court-martial) to the Time of their Death, in ſuch Manner, and not otherwiſe, as if the ſaid Ship or Ships to which they did belong reſpectively, was not, or were not ſo taken.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That no Perſon or Perſons, not flying from Juſtice, ſhall be tried or puniſhed by any Court-martial for any Offence to be committed againſt this Act, unleſs the Complaint of ſuch Offence be made in Writing to the Lord High-admiral, or to the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral for the Time being, or any Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Squadrons or Ships impowered to hold Courts-martial, or unleſs a Court-martial to try ſuch Offender ſhall be ordered by the ſaid Lord High-admiral, or the ſaid Commiſſioners, or the ſaid Commander in Chief, either within three Years after ſuch Offence ſhall be committed, or within one Year after the Return of the Ship, or of the Squadron, to which ſuch Offender ſhall belong, into any of the Ports of *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, or within one Year after the Return of ſuch Offender into *Great Britain* or *Ireland*.

And whereas by the ſaid Act, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of Piracy*; it is amongſt other Things enacted in the following Words, That the ſaid Captain, Commander, or other Officer of the ſaid Ship or Veſſel of War, and all and every the Owners and Proprietors of ſuch Goods and Merchandizes, put on-board ſuch Ship or Veſſel of War as aforeſaid, ſhall loſe, forfeit, and pay the Value of all and every ſuch Goods and Merchandizes ſo put on-board as aforeſaid; one Moiety of ſuch full Value to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall make the firſt Diſcovery, and give Information of or concerning the ſaid Offence; the other Moiety of ſuch full Value to and for the Uſe of *Greenwich Hoſpital*; all which Forfeitures ſhall and may be ſued for and recovered in the High Court of Admiralty: Now for making the ſaid in Part recited Act more uſeful and effectual; be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That from and after the twenty-fifth Day of *December* One thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, if Captain, Commander, or other Officer of any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels, ſhall receive on-board, or permit or ſuffer to be received on-board ſuch Ship or Veſſel, any Goods or Merchandizes, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the eighteenth Article in this Act before mentioned and hereby enacted, every ſuch Captain, Commander, or other Officer ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, over and above any Puniſhment inflicted by this Act, forfeit and pay the Value of all and every ſuch Goods and Merchandizes ſo received or permitted, or ſuffered to be received on-board as aforeſaid, or the Sum of five hundred Pounds of lawful Money of *Great Britain*, at the Election of the Informer, or Perſon who ſhall ſue for the ſame, ſo that no more than one of theſe Penalties or Forfeitures ſhall be ſued for and recovered by virtue of this and the ſaid in part recited Act, or either of them, againſt the ſame Perſon, for one and the ſame Offence; one Moiety of which Penalties or Forfeitures ſhall be forfeited and paid to the Perſon who ſhall inform or ſue for the ſame, and the other Moiety thereof, to and for the Uſe of the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*; which Forfeiture ſhall be ſued for, and recovered by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majeſty's Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, or in the High Court of Admiralty, at the Election of the Informer, or Perſon who ſhall ſue for the ſame; and the Court ſhall award ſuch Coſts to the Parties, as ſhall be juſt; and in all Caſes where Judgment or Sentence ſhall be given againſt any ſuch Offender, the Court where ſuch Judgment or Sentence ſhall be given, ſhall, with all convenient Speed, certify the ſame to the Lord High-admiral, or to the Commiſſioners for executing the ſaid Office.

Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to take away from the Lord High-admiral of *Great Britain*, or the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of *Great Britain*, or any Vice-admiral, or any Judge or Judges of the Admiralty, or his or their Deputy or Deputies, or any other Officers or Miniſters of the Admiralty, or any others having or claiming any Admiral Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority within this Realm, or any other the King's Dominions, or from any Perſon or Court whatſoever, any Power, Right, Juriſdiction, Pre-eminence, or Authority, which he or they, or any of them, lawfully hath, have, or had, or ought to have and enjoy, before the making of this Act, ſo as the ſame Perſon ſhall not be puniſhed twice for the ſame Offence.

Now amongſt thoſe Claims of Power, Juriſdiction, and Authority referred to in this laſt Clauſe, we find the following ancient Laws and Cuſtoms.

1. The Lord High Admiral, by virtue of the Authority he derives from the Crown, may, and doth require the Commanders of our Ships of War to demand ſeafaring Men, who are natural-born Subjects, from foreign Ships, and upon Refuſal, (which is a palpable Injury to the Prince whoſe Subjects they are) to take them by force. This is an undoubted Right of all maritime Princes whatſoever, and hath been an ancient Cuſtom.

2. Ships belonging to the Subjects of a neutral Prince may be detained by another in actual War, if they have Goods on board proper for the Service of that Prince or State with whom he is in Hoſtility, in caſe the Maſters of ſuch Ships produce not Paſſes to ſhew that they are bound to the Port of an Ally. And it is a received Opinion, that if upon failure of a legal Proof, that they do actually belong to the Subjects of that Prince from whoſe Dominions they ſhall pretend to have come, they may, although actually bound to ſome Port of an Ally, as aforeſaid, be proceeded againſt, and condemned as lawful Prize.

3. By the civil, as well as common Law, the tranſporting of Powder, or warlike Inſtruments to Infidels, is prohibited; but yet thoſe Laws are become void by common Uſage and Practice: and although by the Statute of the 12th of King *Charles* the Second, the ſupplying Powder, Muſkets, *&c.* is admitted to be lawful, by way of Merchandize, the Crown may, by virtue of that Statute, prohibit the ſame when there ſhall be a juſt and neceſſary Occaſion ſo to do; and if taken, they are by the Law of Nations confiſcable: Nay, even by Treaties between one Prince and another, Proviſion is made that no warlike Implements ſhall be carried by Neutrals for the Supply either of one or other who are in actual War.

4. Admitting that *England* and *Holland* were in Confederacy againſt *France*, and a *Dutch* Ship to have been plundered, and afterwards left by the *French*, but recovered by ſome of the Subjects of *England*, and forcibly taken from them by thoſe of the States General, and being afterwards brought into ſome Port of *England*, is claimed by a Lord of a Manor, in Right of his Royalty, ſuch Ship is neither a Perquiſite of Admiralty, nor doth ſhe belong to the Lord of the Manor, but ought to be reſtored, upon paying Salvage to the Perſons who recovered her, by thoſe who had the Property when ſeized by the *French*.

5. The Vice-admirals of the maritime Countries of *Great-Britain* have not any manner of Right or Intereſt to detain Prizes, brought in by the Ships of War of this Kingdom, or by Ships which have private Commiſſions. Ancient Records recite a Cuſtom of dividing Wrecks, and all other Caſualties, taken within the Precinct of Vice-admirals, as follows, *viz.* "One Moiety to the Lord High-admiral; and in conſideration that Vice-admirals had no Fees for holding their Courts, the other half was divided thus. To the Vice-admiral, Judge, and Under-officers, two Parts, and the other to the Regiſter and Marſhal. Theſe Caſualties were, by Order of the Vice-admiral, to be appraiſed, and ſworn to by honeſt Men, and the ſaid Vice-admirals to tranſmit to the Lord High-admiral an Account thereof at *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas* every Year."

6. The Method of proceeding to the Condemnation of Prizes hath been thus. The Captors tranſmit to the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty all Papers found on board them, whereupon the Proctor to the Crown, in the ſaid Court, takes out Monitions, to call all Perſons pretending Intereſt in the Ships and Goods, to ſhew Cauſe why the ſame ſhould not be condemned as lawful Prize; which being done, the Proprietors, on the other hand, put in their Claim, according to the regular Courſe, and thereupon, after a full Hearing, the Ship is either cleared or condemned, upon Proof legally and judicially made; and after ſuch Adjudgment in the High Court of Admiralty, no Claims can be admitted otherwiſe than before the Lords of Appeals, who have often heard ſuch Caſes, and reverſed the Judgment. But if their Lordſhips decree a Reſtitution, and the Claimers to pay the Expences of the Law, they, and not the Court of Admiralty, ought to adjudge the ſame to be paid. And as to the Trial of Prizes in the *Weſt-Indies*, it was, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William*, propoſed by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, as alſo by his Majeſty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, that the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, ſhould (as they are at this Time) be inveſted with the like Power in *Ireland*, and all the foreign Plantations, as they had in *England*; as alſo that a Clauſe might be inſerted in their Patents, empowering them to give Authority to the reſpective Vice-admirals there, or the Judges of thoſe Courts, to take Cognizance of Prizes. Beſides which, an Article was added to the Inſtructions to the Commanders of Privateers, giving them liberty to carry their Prizes to any Place where there ſhould be a Court of Admiralty, whereby, and by the Vice-admirals their taking out Patents under the Great Seal of the High Court of Admiralty, they were ſufficiently empowered to condemn Prizes in their reſpective Courts.

7. In caſe a Prize is actually taken in Port, the Captor hath a Right to no more than the Crown, or the Lord High-admiral ſhall think reaſonable, the ſame being a Perquiſite of Admiralty, if the Crown doth not reſerve it to itſelf.

8. If a Ship of the Royal Navy of *Great Britain* happens to be taken by an Enemy, and is retaken by another *Britiſh* Ship of War before ſhe can be carried into Port, or the Enemy's Fleet, the Captors have a Right to no other Reward than what the Crown ſhall think fit.

9. If a *Britiſh* Ship, or a Veſſel of War, happens to be taken by an Enemy, and to be re-taken after ſhe hath been upwards of two Years in their Poſſeſſion, there is no legal Courſe of returning her into the Service of the Crown, otherwiſe than by buying her, when condemn'd, of the Commiſſioners for Prizes, when ſuch a Commiſſion is ſubſiſting, or of the Captors, when the Whole is given unto them by the Crown.

10. If a Ship or Veſſel, belonging to the Subjects of *Great Britain*, is retaken from an Enemy by any of our Ships of War, the Owners ought to pay one eighth Part for Salvage, without any regard to the Time ſhe was in the Enemy's Poſſeſſion, which Salvage, or Part thereof, as the Crown hath thought fit, hath been beſtowed on thoſe who retake the Ship; but in ſtrictneſs the Whole is a Perquiſite of Admiralty, when the Crown doth not reſerve the ſame to itſelf.

11. If the Captain of a Ship of War of *Great Britain* ſeizes any Ship or Veſſel of an Enemy, and releaſes her

after taking out Part of her Loading, he is guilty of an high Miſdemeanour, and Breach of Truſt, and may be puniſhed for the ſame in the Court of Admiralty, by a Court-martial, or in the Exchequer, and the Offender may be incapacited, fined, or impriſoned: Nay, the Puniſhment may be Death at a Court-martial; or if tried by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, according to the ſixteenth Paragraph of the Satute of the thirteenth of King *Charles* the Second. But as to the Trial in the Exchequer, it muſt be by Information, where the Offender incurs the Penalty of 500 *l.* together with the Loſs of his Share, according to the Privateer Act. Yet if a Ship is taken from an Enemy, and ſhe ſhall appear to be ſo diſabled by the Captors, as that they ſhall have no Hopes of bringing her into Port, ſhe may be ranſomed. See 22 *Geo.* II. Art. vii, viii. p. xxi.

12. The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports hath no Right to Wrecks, if chaſed on-ſhore within his Juriſdiction by Ships of War, or Privateers; nor hath he a Power excluſive to the Lord High-admiral in the *Downs*, or any other Place, which is eſteemed the uſual Rendezvous, Road, Harbour, or Station of Ships of the Royal Navy; not but that he hath Admiralty Juriſdiction within the Limits of the Cinque Ports; but how far thoſe Limits extend hath not been decided, tho' often diſputed. And although there be a concurring Juriſdiction, yet the Lord Warden may have an excluſive Right to wrecked Goods taken up within the Limits of the aforeſaid Ports: But if ſuch Goods happen to be taken up by the Officers under the Lord High-admiral, the Lord Warden ought to ſue for them in the High Court of Admiralty. And when any Droits are ſeized by the Officers of the Cinque Ports within their Limits, and happen afterwards to be wreſted from them by the Officers of the Admiralty, or Ships of War, they ought to be reſtored to the Officers of the Cinque Ports; but by no means is it proper for the Lord High-admiral to order Commanders of Ships of War to aſſiſt in the Execution of the Warrants of the Lord Warden, becauſe it derogates from his own Authority and Juriſdiction.

13. If an Enemy's Ship is chaſed by a *Britiſh* Ship of War, and ſtrikes to her, but happens to be taken and poſſeſſed by any Ship of War belonging to a Prince or State in Alliance with his Majeſty, which lies fairly in the Way, and ſuch Prize is brought into any Port of *Great Britain*, a Warrant ſhould iſſue out of the High Court of Admiralty to arreſt her at the Suit of the Crown; but if ſhe is carried into *Holland*, or any Place in Alliance with his Majeſty, the Commiſſioners for Prizes, (when ſuch a Commiſſion is ſubſiſting) ſhould have Notice of it, and they, and the Captors, proſecute for the King's, and their own Intereſt therein, before the Admiralty, where the Prize is carry'd in.

14. When a Diſpute happens between a Vice-admiral of one of the maritime Counties of this Kingdom, and a Lord of a Manor relating to Wrecks, a Suit ought to be commenced in the High Court of Admiralty, in order to condemn the Goods as a Perquiſite of the Lord High-admiral, which will oblige the Lord of the Manor to produce his Title; and the Lord High-admiral's Proctor is the proper Perſon to concern himſelf in, and manage that Affair.

15. If during War a Veſſel be fitted out as a Privateer in an Enemy's Dominions, and is manned with *Engliſh* Men, with a Commiſſion from the Enemy, ſuch Perſons, if taken, ought to be puniſhed as Traitors; but if no Commiſſion can be produced, their Crime will be adjudged Piracy.

16. Letters of Marque, or Repriſals (which are as effectual as any others) have been often granted in Time of ſettled Peace, and are allowed by the Law of Nations; for as they do not depend on the Civil Law, ſo whenſover a Prince, or any of his Subjects have received Damage from another Prince, or from his Subjects, and Satiſfaction having been demanded, the ſame hath been refuſed, or unreaſonably delayed, ſuch Letters of Marque or Reprizals may be granted, without Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between ſuch two Princes.

17. If any one belonging to a Merchant Ship, coming under the Stern of a Ship of War to ſalute, happens, by firing a Shot into her, to kill any Perſon, he is to be tried at an Admiralty Seſſions, but in the mean time may be admitted to Bail.

18. If a Court-martial condemns any Perſon for Mutiny, the ſaid Court hath Power to award Execution, even in the narrow Seas; but if they ſubmit the Time and Place to the Lord High-admiral, his Pleaſure ought to be ſignified therein. And if a Court-martial awards a Fine to the Uſe of the Cheſt at *Chatham*, the Truſtees being thereby inveſted with it, the ſame cannot be remitted. Likewiſe, if a Court-martial gives Sentence of Death in the narrow Seas for a Crime committed in remote Parts, although the Intention of the Act be to prevent haſty Executions, yet, if the Commander in Chief gives Orders for its being done, the Purpoſe of the Statute is anſwered.

19. As to the regimented maritime Officers and Soldiers, they cannot, for Offences committed on ſhore, be puniſhed by a Court-martial of Sea-officers, although they receive their Commiſſions from, and are under the immediate Directions of the Lord High-admiral; but they may be tried and puniſhed by a Warrant from the Crown, directed to their chief Officer, or any other appointed by ſuch Warrant, according to the Articles of War for Land-ſoldiers; and for Offences at Sea, they may be tried at a Court-martial, as Sea-officers and Mariners are.

20. No Priſoner at War is ſubject to any Action for what he doth by virtue of the Commiſſion of that Prince whoſe Subject he is.

21. In caſe a Perſon belonging to one Ship is accidentally killed on firing Guns, as a Salute, from another, and the Widow of the Perſon ſo ſlain, after Trial at an Admiralty Seſſions, deſigns to proſecute elſewhere for Damages, it ought to be in her own Name, by way of a civil Action: But the maritime and civil Laws will, in ſuch Caſe, allow Damages againſt thoſe through whoſe Neglect or Careleſſneſs the Accident happened; and if it cannot be fixed on particular Perſons who are reſponſible, the Maſter and the Ship will be liable.

22. The Maſter of a Merchant Ship hired by Charter Party to carry publick Proviſions, or Stores, cannot, for Breach thereof, be tried at a Court-martial, becauſe he is not in actual Service or Pay in the Fleet as a Ship of War.

23. A Priſoner againſt whom a Bill is found for High-Treaſon, for Crimes committed on the Seas, cannot be admitted to Bail.

24. If an Action, either civil or maritime, be commenced againſt any Sea-officer in the High Court of Admiralty, and he gives in Bail, it ought not to interrupt his going to Sea.

25 Thoſe who reſcue deſerted Seamen, ought for their Offence to be tried at an Admiralty Seſſions, Information upon Oath being firſt made; and they may be committed by Warrant from the Court of Admiralty.

26. If a Maſter of a Merchant Ship takes out a Letter of Marque, and, being in foreign Parts, meets with a Ship more fit for his Purpoſe, and with her takes ſeveral Prizes by virtue of the ſaid Letter of Marque, thoſe Prizes will, upon Trial, be condemned as Perquiſites of the Admiralty, but ſome Allowance be made to the Captor for his Service.

27. When Piracies or Robberies are committed on the Seas, and the Offenders are taken, they are tried at an Admiralty Seſſions, by a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer under the Great Seal, at which Trials ſome of the Judges of the common Law aſſiſt; and if the Lord High-admiral, or the Commiſſioners for executing that Office, are preſent in Court, he, or they preſide, otherwiſe the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, who, in either Caſe, gives Sentence.

28. All Ships and Goods taken from Pirates are Perquiſites belonging to the Lord High-admiral, in caſe the Crown doth not reſerve them to itſelf, whoſe Advocate and Proctor ought to proceed againſt them in the Court of Admiralty, and obtain Sentence for Condemnation.

29. If Pirates are taken abroad, and carried to any of his Majeſty's foreign Governments, they may be properly and legally tried by the Admiralty Courts there, by virtue of a Commiſſion under the Great Seal empowering the proper Officers of ſuch Courts to do the ſame.

30. If a Merchant Ship, after her being taken, and legally condemned as good Prize, be bought by the Subjects of another Prince, ſhe is not ſeizable by the Law of Nations; or if ſeized, ſhe ought to be reſtored to the Purchaſers; but if ſhe ſhall not be condemned, thoſe who buy ſuch Ship have no Right to her.

31. If Veſſels be taken by Pirates, Sea-Rovers, or others who have not lawful Commiſſions, they can have no juſt Property in them; and if retaken, they ought to be reſtored to their Owners, upon due Proof of their Title to them.

32. If the Lord High-admiral ſuſpects that any Ship belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects is going on an unjuſtifiable Deſign, he may, before ſhe is permitted to proceed, cauſe the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty to take ſufficient Bail of her Owners for the good Behaviour of her Maſter and Men; and even the Judge himſelf may cauſe her to be detained, if, upon Information, he ſhall deem it reaſonable.

33. If a Warrant is iſſued out of the High Court of Admiralty for arreſting a Merchant Ship or Veſſel, and Reſiſtance is made, upon the Application of the Perſons intruſted with the ſaid Arreſt to the Commander of one of his Majeſty's Ships of War, he ought to aſſiſt them in the Execution.

34. All Sentences in civil and maritime Caſes in the Plantations are, upon Appeals from thence, to be determined by the High Court of Admiralty here, and upon failure of Juſtice in the ſaid Court, the final Determination is in the Court of Delegates. But in the Caſe of Prizes, the Appeal lies directly from the Courts of Admiralty in the Plantations to the Lords of the Council.

35. If the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty ſhould be infringed in any of his Majeſty's foreign Governments by the Courts of common Law, in Caſes purely cognizable in the Courts of Admiralty, in which thoſe Courts of Judicature have no Right to prohibit, the Parties aggrieved ought to ſeek Remedy by an Appeal to his Majeſty in Council.

36. If any Seaman, a Subject of *Great-Briain*, ſhall enter himſelf into the Service of any foreign Prince or State, and be taken in ſuch Service by the *Algerines*, or others, they have not any Right to expect their being reclaimed by the Crown, as Subjects of this Nation.

REGULATIONS and INSTRUCTIONS relating to his Majeſty's Service at SEA.

The FLAG-OFFICER, *or Commander in Chief*

1. Is to inform the Secretary of the Admiralty of all his Proceedings that relate to the Service.

2. To correſpond with the ſeveral publick Offices, about ſuch Matters as relate to them; and to ſend an Account to them, as well as to the Admiralty, of all Directions given by him, which concern the ſaid Offices.

3. Never to give Orders to any Captain to bear Supernumeraries, unleſs there be juſt Cauſe for it; which is to be expreſſed in the Body of the Order.

4. At Sea, he is frequently to exerciſe the Ships under his Command, and draw them into Lines of Battle, when the ſame can be done, without Interruption to the Voyage.

5. To viſit the Ships under his Command, and to muſter the Men as often as he ſhall think neceſſary.

6. In foreign Parts, where naval or other Officers are eſtabliſhed, he is to conform himſelf, as much as poſſible, to the ſtanding Rules of the Navy; and never to put them upon any extraordinary Expences, unleſs the Service ſhall abſolutely require the ſame.

7. Never to intereſt himſelf in the Purchaſe of any Stores or Proviſions in foreign Parts, where there are proper Officers appointed for that Service, except there ſhall be an abſolute Neceſſity to make uſe of his Credit or Authority to procure ſuch Proviſions or Stores as are wanted.

8. At the End of the Voyage he is to attend the Lord High-admiral, or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, to give an Account of the Expedition; and ſhall leave a Copy of his Journal with the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Of COURTS-MARTIAL.

1. All Courts-martial are to be held, Offences tryed, Sentence pronounced, and Execution of ſuch Sentence to be done, according to the Articles and Orders contained in an Act of Parliament made in the 22d Year of the Reign of King *George* the Second, entitled, "For amending, "explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, "the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's "Ships, Veſſels, and Forces at Sea:" Which Act is recited on p. xxi, *&c.* and all Officers concerned are duly to peruſe the ſame for their Inſtruction.

2. When the Court is ſitting, the Judge-advocate is to take Minutes of their Proceedings, and to adviſe them of the proper Forms, when there ſhall be Occaſion; and to deliver his Opinion in any Doubts or Difficulties in their Methods, that may ariſe in the Courſe of the Tryal.

3. When the Court ſhall have gone through the Examinations, and heard all Parties, the Perſon accuſed ſhall be removed, and the Standers-by ordered to withdraw; after which, the Matters being fully conſidered and debated by the Court, the Preſident is to ſtate and put the ſeveral Queſtions agreed by them; in which the youngeſt Officer ſhall vote firſt, proceeding in Order up to the Preſident, who, having delivered his own Opinion, is to collect the Numbers, and ſettle the Determination of the Court, according to the Majority of Voices.

4. The Judge-advocate is to draw up in Writing the Sentence of the Court; which being approved and ſigned by them, all Perſons ſhall be admitted; and the Party accuſed being preſent, the Judge-advocate, by Direction of the Preſident, is to pronounce the ſame. See Act 22 *Geo.* II.

5. When Sentence of Death is to be executed upon any Criminal, Notice is to be firſt given from the Ship by a Signal, and firing a Gun; upon which, the Captains of all the Ships preſent ſhall ſummon their Companies upon Deck, to be Spectators thereof, and ſhall make known to them the Crime, for which the Puniſhment is inflicted.

Of RANK *and* COMMAND.

1. The eſtabliſhed Number of Flag officers of the Navy ſhall be as follows, *viz.* One Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet; one Admiral of the White, and one Admiral of the Blue; one Vice-admiral of the Red, one of the White, and one of the Blue; one Rear-admiral of the Red, one of the White, and one of the Blue. And no Brevet Commiſſions ſhall be allowed.

2. Admirals, Vice and Rear-admirals, Captains and Lieutenants, ſhall rank in their reſpective Claſſes, according to the Seniority of their Commiſſions.

3. When there is a ſufficient Number of Flag-officers together, all Councils of War ſhall be held by them only. The firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet ſhall, on ſuch Occaſions, be eſteemed as a Rear-admiral, and take Place at all Councils of War, and alſo at Courts-martial next to the Junior Rear-admiral.

4. But if the Number of Flag-officers be leſs than three, the Commander in Chief ſhall call, to Councils of War, ſuch of the ſenior Captains as he ſhall in his Diſcretion think neceſſary, of whom his own Captain is to be one. See 22 *Geo.* II. on p. xxiv.

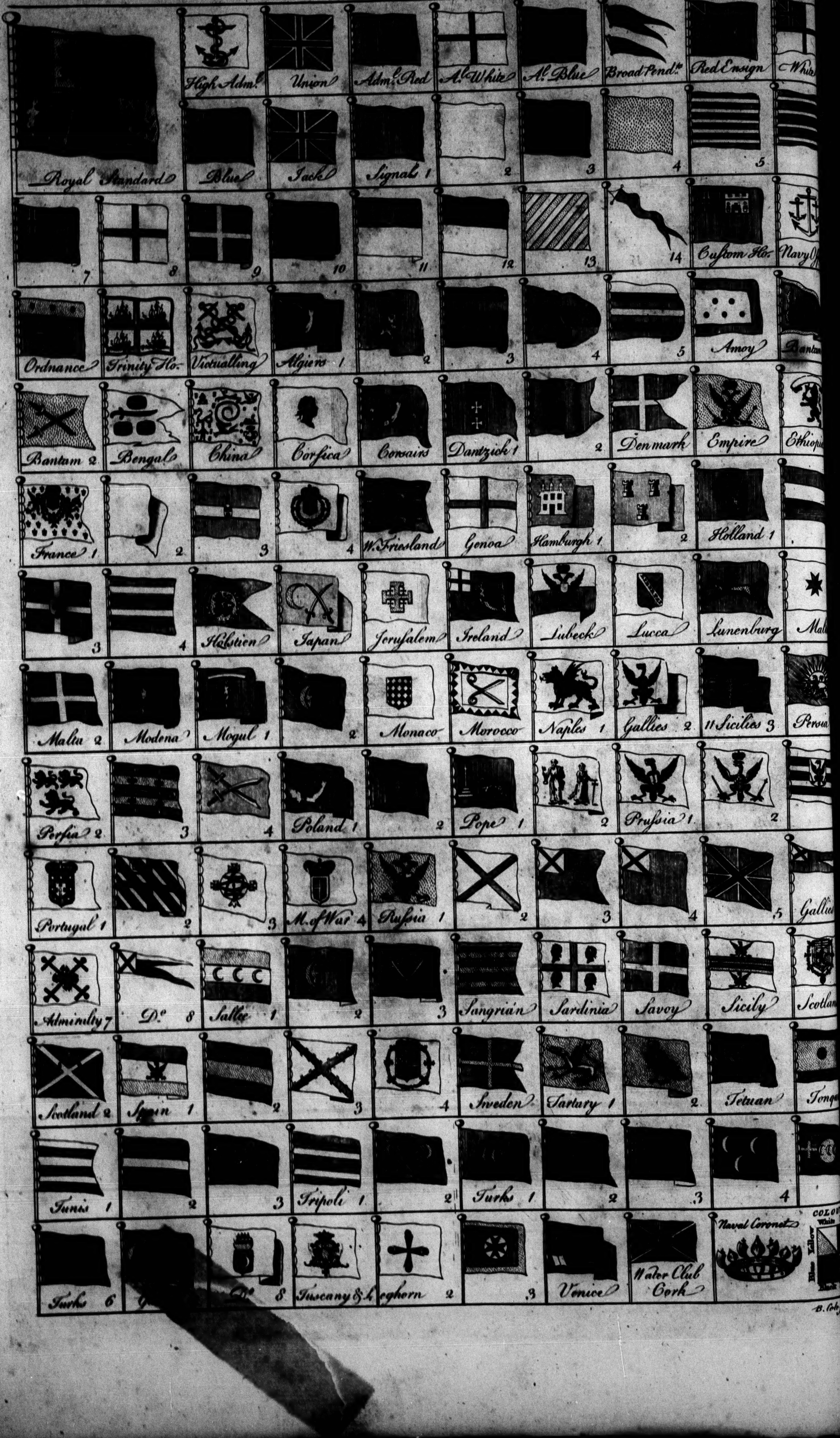
5. None are to have the Rank of Captains, who have not commanded a Frigate of twenty Guns, or more.

6. Commanders of Fire-ſhips, Sloops, Yachts, Bomb-veſſels, Hoſpitals, Store-ſhips, and other Veſſels, though they may have commanded Ships of Poſt before, ſhall be commanded by junior Captains in Ships of Poſt, while they keep Company together, either in Port, or at Sea; but without Prejudice to their Seniority afterwards.

7. When any Flag-officer, or Captain, ſhall meet at Sea, or in foreign Parts, with a ſuperior or ſenior Officer, he ſhall ſhew him the Orders he is under; and if ſuch Officer ſhall take upon him to give him other Orders for his Majeſty's Service, he ſhall obey them.

8. No ſuperior or ſenior Officer ſhall detain a Junior, or give him any Delay, or divert him from purſuing his Inſtructions, unleſs it ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary for his

The STANDARDS, FLAGS, COLOURS, &c. of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, and of all NATIO


Royal Standard
High Adml.
Union
Adml. Red
Al. White
Al. Blue
Broad Pendt.
Red Ensign
White
Blue
Jack
Signals 1
2
3
4
5
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
Custom Ho.
Navy Off
Ordnance
Trinity Ho.
Victualling
Algiers 1
2
3
4
5
Amoy
Bantam
Bantam 2
Bengal
China
Corsica
Corsairs
Dantzick 1
2
Denmark
Empire
Ethiopi
France 1
2
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W. Friesland
Genoa
Hamburgh 1
2
Holland 1
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4
Holstien
Japan
Jerusalem
Ireland
Lubeck
Lucca
Lunenburg
Mal
Malta 2
Modena
Mogul 1
2
Monaco
Morocco
Naples 1
Gallies 2
II Sicilies 3
Persia
Persia 2
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Poland 1
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Pope 1
2
Prussia 1
2
Portugal 1
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3
M. of War 4
Russia 1
2
3
4
5
Gallies
Admiralty 7
Do. 8
Sallee 1
2
3
Sangrian
Sardinia
Savoy
Sicily
Scotland
Scotland 2
Spain 1
2
3
4
Sweden
Tartary 1
2
Tetuan
Tonq
Tunis 1
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3
Tripoli 1
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Turks 1
2
3
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Turks 6
Do. 8
Tuscany & Leghorn
2
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Venice
Water Club Cork
Naval Coronet
COLOU
White
Yellow
Blue
Black
B. Cole s

Majeſty's Service; and in ſuch Caſe, he ſhall ſend, by the firſt Opportunity, a Copy of the Orders he has given him, with his Reaſons for ſo doing, to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

9. When the Admiral or commanding Ship, in any Port or Road, begins to beat the Drum, in order to the ſetting the Night-watch, all the Ships in Company are to do the ſame, and to ceaſe beating, as ſoon as the ſaid commanding Ship has fired the Gun. But when the Watch is to be relieved in the Morning, the commanding Ship is firſt to fire the Gun, and the Drum to beat afterwards.

10. When any Flag-ſhips are in Company with the Commander in Chief, each is to diſcharge a Volley of Small-arms in her Turn, as ſoon as the Gun is fired.

11. But in the Abſence of a ſuperior Officer, the eldeſt Captain of Guard-ſhips in his Majeſty's Ports to fire the Watch-gun.

12. In the Abſence of the Captain of any of his Majeſty's Ships, the ſenior Lieutenant ſhall have Charge of the Ship, and be anſwerable for the Duty of the Captain. If there be no Lieutenant, the Maſter ſhall command, and after him the ſecond Maſter; but if, by Loſs in Battle, or other Accident, all theſe Officers ſhall be wanting, the Command ſhall devolve in Succeſſion, upon the Boatſwain, Gunner, Carpenter.

Of Marks of Ceremony and Reſpect.

1. When Flag-officers go on-board any of his Majeſty's Ships, they ſhall be received with a Guard under Arms, the Drum beating a March for the Admiral or Flag-officer commanding in Chief, three Ruffles for an Admiral, two for a Vice-admiral, and one for a Rear-admiral.

2. The firſt Captain to the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, ſhall be received by a Guard, without a Drum.

3. When a Flag-officer, commanding in Chief, paſſes by any Ship, with his Flag at the Head of the Boat, the Ship is to be manned with the Watch, and the Drum to beat, as in the firſt Article.

His Majeſty's ORDER *relating to the* RESPECTS *to be paid to* FLAG-OFFICERS *and* COMMODORES, *from the Troops in Forts and Garriſons.*

GEORGE R.

"Whereas we have thought fit to order, that the ſeveral Admirals of our Fleet ſhall have, upon all Occaſions, the ſame Reſpects paid to them from our Troops, when they come into any of our Forts and Garriſons where our Forces are, as the reſpective Generals of our Army have paid them from our Forces; our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, that the following Rules be duly obſerved and put in Execution.

"That the Admirals, with the Flags on the main Top, have the ſame Reſpects from the Troops with Generals of Horſe or Foot; that is, upon all Occaſions to have the March beat to them, and to be ſaluted by all the Officers, the Colours excepted.

"That Vice-admirals have the ſame Reſpects as Lieutenants-general of Horſe or Foot; that is, upon all Occaſions to be ſaluted by all the Officers in the Garriſon, and to have three Ruffles given them.

"That Rear-admirals have the ſame Reſpects as Majors-general; which is, to have two Ruffles, and not to be ſaluted by any Officer.

"That Commodores with broad Pendants have the ſame Reſpects as Brigadiers-general; which is, to have one Ruffle. Given at our Court at *Kenſington*, the 27th Day of *June* 1734, in the eighth Year of our Reign.

"*By his Majeſty's Command,*

"William Strickland."

Of COLOURS.

1. Flag-officers, and Captains, are ſtrictly forbidden to wear any other Flag or Pendant, than what belongs to their proper Rank.

2. If any Officer, wearing a Flag or broad Pendant, ſhall happen to be ſlain in Fight with the Enemy, the ſaid Flag or Pendant ſhall nevertheleſs continue flying, and not be taken in, whilſt the Enemy is in Sight; but the Admiral, who commands in Chief, as alſo the Flag-officer, to whoſe Squadron or Diviſion he belonged, ſhall immediately be acquainted with it; and if it be the Commander in Chief who is killed, the next commanding Officer is to be forthwith informed of it, who ſhall immediately repair on-board the Ship of the deceaſed Commander, and give the neceſſary Orders, leaving his Flag, or broad Pendant, flying in his own Ship.

3. For the better Diſtinction of Flag-officers paſſing in their Boats, the following Regulation is to be obſerved; the Admiral of the Fleet, the Admirals of the White and Blue, and the Vice-admiral of the Red, may carry their proper Flags at the Head of their Boats, when they think proper; but there ſhall be in the other Flags the following Diſtinction, *viz.* a white Ball in the Flag of the Rear-admiral of the Red; a blue Ball in the Flag of the Vice of the White; and two blue Balls in the Flag of the Rear of the White; a white Ball in the Flag of the Vice of the Blue, and two white Balls in the Flag of the Rear of the Blue: The ſaid Balls to be in a Canton, at the upper Corner of the Flag, next the Staff.

4. Merchant-ſhips are to wear a red Enſign, with the Union-jack in a Canton at the upper End next the Staff; and a white Jack, with a red Croſs, commonly called St. *George's-Croſs*, paſſing quite through the ſame.

5. Ships having private Commiſſions, or Letters of Mart or Reprizals, are to wear the ſame Enſign as Merchant Ships; and a red Jack, with the Union-jack in a Canton, at the upper Corner next the Staff.

6. Ships or Veſſels in the Service of any publick Office, are to wear the ſame Enſign and Jack as Ships having Letters of Mart, only that in the Body of the Jack or Enſign, ſhall be likewiſe deſcribed the Seal of the Office they belong to. And all Ships wearing prohibited Colours ſhall be proceeded againſt in the Admiralty-court.

7. The Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships are not to ſuffer any foreign Ships to ride in any of his Ports or Roads with falſe Colours; and if they perſiſt therein, after being admoniſhed, they are to put the ſaid Ships under Arreſt, and ſend an Account thereof to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

RULES *to be obſerved in the* APPOINTMENT *of* OFFICERS *in foreign Parts.*

1. Commanders in Chief not to appoint Officers in the Channel.

2. Nor to prefer any to be Lieutenants in foreign Parts, but ſuch as have paſſed their Examination; which if they have not already done at the *Navy-Office*, they may authorize any three of their principal Commanders to examine them; and if it ſhall appear, by their Certificates, that they have ſerved ſix Years at Sea, and have been rated two of the ſaid ſix Years as Midſhipmen, or Mates, in ſome of his Majeſty's Ships, and that they do produce regular Journals and good Certificates from the Commanders they have ſerved with, and are in all Reſpects qualified for that Employment, and not under twenty Years of Age, they may prefer them, and not otherwiſe, taking Care to ſend the ſaid Certificates of Examination to the Secretary of the Admiralty, to be depoſited in that Office.

3. Commanders in Chief may appoint ſuch of their Officers as may happen to be Members of *Trinity-Houſe*; or, if there be none, ſuch of their Commanders or Maſters, as they think proper to examine Maſters, or their Mates, or others, applying for the Employment of Maſters; and according to their Certificates, may promote them to any Vacancies in the Voyage; but, after their Return home, they are to be re-examined before the Corporation of *Trinity-Houſe*, and ſhall not be employed again, without their Certificates of Approbation; but in caſe there are ſecond Maſters on-board any of the Ships of the Squadron, they are firſt to be provided for according to their Seniority and Qualification, before any new one is made; and no other ſecond Maſters are to be created in their Room.

4. Surgeons, and their Mates, are to be examined by ſome of the principal Surgeons of the Fleet or Squadron, if they have not already paſſed their Examination at *Sur-*

geons-Hall, and ſhall not be preferred to higher Ships, than they are qualified for by their Certificates: If a Phyſician is in the Fleet, he ſhall preſide at the Examination; but, upon their return Home, they are to paſs a freſh Examination before the Governors of the *Surgeons* Company, and are not to be employed again, without their Certificates of Approbation.

The Captain *or* Commander.

1. When a Captain, or Commander, receives a Commiſſion to command one of his Majeſty's Ships, he is immediately to repair on-board, and viſit her throughout, in Company with his Officers, and ſuch of the Officers of the Yard, as the Commiſſioner of the Navy, or, in his Abſence, the chief Officers of the Yard ſhall appoint, and inform himſelf of her Condition, and in what Manner ſhe is to be fitted out for the Sea.

2. He is to give his conſtant Attendance on-board, and inſpect into the Works doing to the Ship, and to quicken the Diſpatch thereof: He is to ſend to the Admiralty and Navy-offices weekly Accounts, or oftner, if neceſſary, of the Progreſs made in fitting her out, and her Circumſtances, as to Men, Stores, and Proviſions.

3. He is not to lye out of the Ship, from the Day of his coming on-board to the Day of his Diſcharge, unleſs by Leave from the Admiralty, or from his Commander in Chief.

4. All Applications concerning the Ship to the Commiſſioner of the Navy reſiding at the Port, are to be made in Writing under his Hand, when he cannot apply in Perſon.

5. He is to apply to the Navy-board for an Account of the Qualities of the Ship; but if ſhe be a new Ship, he is to adviſe with the Maſter Shipwright who built her.

6. He is to demand from the Clerk of the Survey, a Survey-book, with an Inventory of the Stores committed to the Charge of the Boatſwain and Carpenter, and a Supplemental one for a foreign Voyage; and a like Book from the Office of Ordnance, of the Gunner's Stores. He is likewiſe to require from his Boatſwain, Gunner, Carpenter, and Purſer, Counterparts of their reſpective Indents, which they are to deliver to him forthwith after ſigning.

7. He, or his Lieutenant, is to be preſent at the coming on-board of the Ordnance Stores, and to ſee the Cannon, Firelocks, Swords, and other Weapons carefully ſurveyed and examined before him, and to inform the Officers of the Ordnance of ſuch as ſhall appear to be defective, and not fitting for Service, in order to their being exchanged. He is likewiſe to take Care, that his Clerk be preſent, and take an Account in Writing of all Stores and Proviſions that come on-board, and when. And if he obſerves any Fraud or Neglect, he is to repreſent the ſame to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and alſo to the Office it immediately concerns.

8. He is to keep Counter-books of the Expence of the Ship's Stores; to audit the Accounts of the Officers entruſted with Stores once a Week, and to ſign ſuch Allowances as he makes thereupon. And, at the End of the Voyage, he is to deliver the ſeveral Books, which he has kept of the Expence of Stores, into the proper Offices, ſigned by himſelf, the Maſter, and by each Officer to his reſpective Counterpart.

9. He is to uſe his utmoſt Application to get his Ship mann'd, and to be very careful to enter none but Men of able Bodies, and fit for Service. He is never to proceed from the Place where the Ship fits out, with more Men than the Complement, unleſs by order from the Admiralty, or from a Commander in Chief.

10. He is to apply to the Clerk of the Acts, at the Navy-office, for a ſufficient Number of Blank Muſter-books, which will be delivered to him ruled, and to keep an exact Muſter-book, ſetting down therein the Names of all Perſons entered to ſerve in the Ship, with every Circumſtance relating to them, as is ſpecified in the ſeveral Columns. When the Ship arrives at the Port where ſhe is to be laid up, he is to ſend the original general Muſter-book to the Comptroller of the Navy, ſigned by himſelf.

11. He is to be preſent at all Muſters of the Ship's Company by the Clerk of the Cheque or Muſter-maſter, and to make the ſame Annotations, as they do againſt the Mens Names, on his own Books. He is to be aſſiſting to them in the Execution of their Office, and ſee that the Purſer do furniſh them with perfect Muſter-books.

12. He is to demand from the Clerk of the Cheque at the Port where the Ship is, before ſhe departs from his Diſtrict, a perfect Muſter-book of the Mens Names, with their Entries and Cheques againſt the Abſent.

13. He is himſelf to muſter the Ship's Company, and uſe no Fraud in his Muſters. And if any Perſon ſhall abſent himſelf from his Duty without Leave for three ſucceſſive Muſters, he is to be marked as a Runaway on the Ship's Books, according to the ancient Practice of the Navy, expreſſing the Day he left the Ship.

14. He is to ſend, once in every two Months, two Muſter-books to the Navy-office, ſigned by himſelf and the Officers who ſign Tickets, and to take great Care, that ſuch Books be full and perfect, and every Circumſtance relating to the Men plainly noted therein, according to the Method preſcribed in the ſeveral Columns; and that the Times of Muſtering, and the Muſter-letters be duly ſet off. He is to keep a Book of all Men ſent ſick out of the Ship, mentioning in proper Columns, their Number on the Ship's Book, Names, when and where ſent, when returned or diſcharged, the Number of Days abſent; which is to be delivered into the Office of Comptroller of the Navy.

15. At the End of the Muſter-books he is to make a Liſt of ſuch Seamen as are made Run, diſtinguiſhing whether they ran away from the Ship, or the Boat, or from Sick-quarters; or if they had Leave to go a-ſhore, and for how long; as alſo the Manner, and by what Opportunity they made their Eſcape; and whether he thinks they deſerve to be relieved, or not, and his Reaſons for it.

16. If the ſaid Deſertion happens in any of the Ports of this Kingdom, he is to ſend up to the Secretary of the Admiralty, the Names of the Run Men, their Deſcription, Place of Abode, and all the Circumſtances of their Eſcape.

17. He is to apply to the Clerk of the Acts for a competent Number of Blank printed Tickets, which he is carefully to keep by him, uſing them (and none other) as there ſhall be Occaſion. He is to make out Tickets for all ſuch Seamen as ſhall be diſcharged from his Books, which are to be ſigned by himſelf, the Maſter, Boatſwain, and Purſer, or Reaſon ſhewn upon the Ticket of the Omiſſion of any of their Hands; and the Gunners and Carpenters are likewiſe to ſign for their reſpective Crews. He is to deliver the Ticket to none but the Party; but if he be dead, or abſent, he is to ſend the Ticket forthwith to the Navy-office. At the End of the Voyage, he is to give an Account to the Clerk of the Acts, how many Tickets have been delivered out, with the numeral Letter and Number by which each is diſtinguiſhed; the Day of Signing; the Perſon dead, or diſcharged; and to whom they were delivered; and to return the Remainder into the Office.

18. He is not to diſcharge any Man, but for one of the following Reaſons, *viz.* Death; Preferment in ſome other of his Majeſty's Ships; Unfitneſs for Service; Officers Servants rated; or by order from the Admiralty, or his Commander in Chief; and to expreſs the Cauſe upon the Ticket. At the Beginning of every Month, if the Ship is in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, he is to ſend to the Admiralty-office, a Liſt of all Men diſcharged in the preceding Month, with the Time, Place, and Reaſons thereof, as alſo their Qualities.

19. He is not to ſuffer any of the Stores to be miſapplied to private Uſes, nor any Waſte to be made, nor ſhall any Stores be changed or converted, but upon abſolute Neceſſity, and with the Advice of his Officers.

20. He ſhall make no Alteration in the Maſts, Yards, Sails, or Furniture of the Ship; nor alter any Cabbins, Bulk-heads, Store-rooms, or ſet up any new Accommodations; nor ſhall he cut down any Part of the Ship, or cauſe Scuttles to be made or enlarged in her Sides.

21. He is to keep a Centinel conſtantly poſted at the Scuttles leading down into the Boatſwain's, Gunner's, and Carpenter's Store-rooms (as alſo into the Powder Light-rooms)

rooms) which Centinel is to be ordered not to ſuffer any Perſon to paſs down the ſaid Scuttles with a Light, but by Leave from the Captain, or the commanding Officer of the Watch. He is to take Care, that no Perſon whatſoever do lie in any of the ſaid Store-rooms, and that no Wine, Brandy, or any thing elſe be lodged therein, but the Ship's proper Stores.

22. He is not to ſpare any Proviſions or Stores to any of his Majeſty's Ships, but where the Neceſſity is evident, and by Direction of his commanding Officer, and always to give his Officers a Warrant in Writing for it.

23. He is to obſerve ſeaſonable Times in ſetting up his Shrouds, and other Rigging, eſpecially when they are new, and apt to ſtretch; and to be very careful to favour his Maſts, and not to hazard them in blowing Weather, except upon a Chaſe, or ſome other preſſing Occaſion.

24. When there ſhall be a Neceſſity to caſt any Rigging, or other Stores, he is firſt to order a Survey to be taken thereof.

25. He is to cauſe ſuch of the Stores as require it, to be frequently brought upon Deck, to be ſurveyed and aired, and their Defects repaired; and the Store-rooms are to be cleaned, aired, and put into good Condition, and made as ſecure as poſſible againſt Rats.

26. He is never to make Uſe of the Ship's Sails for covering Boats, or for Awnings.

27. He is not to ſuffer the Ship's Decks or Gratings to be ſcraped oftner than ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary, but take Care that they be well waſhed and ſwabbed once a Day, and the Air let into the Hold as frequently as may be.

28. He ſhall permit every Officer to poſſeſs the Cabbin allotted to him by the Cuſtom of the Navy, and not make any Variation therein.

29. No Perſon is to lie upon the Orlop, but by Leave from the Captain; nor is any Body to go amongſt the Cables with Candles, but when the Service ſhall require it, by Order of the Captain, or the commanding Officer of the Watch, and under the Care of a Quarter-deck Officer.

30. Such as ſmoak Tobacco are to take it in the Forecaſtle, and in no other Place.

31. Care is to be taken every Night, that immediately upon the ſetting of the Watch, both Fire and Candle be put out in the Cook-room, Hold, Steward-room, Cockpit, and every where between Decks, the Maſter at Arms, or ſome other careful Officer, being ſent about to ſee the ſame performed; nor are Candles to be uſed in any other Part of the Ship, but in Lanthorns, without the Captain's Leave.

32. He is not to ſuffer any Perſon whatſoever to ſuttle, or ſell any ſort of Liquors to the Ship's Company, nor any Debts for the ſame to be inſerted in the Slop-book, under pretence of Cloaths or Tobacco iſſued to the Seamen.

33. Before the Ship proceeds to Sea, or as ſoon after as poſſible, he is to call together his Firſt Lieutenant, Maſter, and Boatſwain, and take their Aſſiſtance, (as alſo the Gunner's and Carpenter's for their Crews) in Examining and Rating the Ship's Company according to their Abilities, which he is to do without Partiality or Favour, and particularly not to rate any as inferior Officers, but thoſe who are properly qualified; and to take ſtrict Care that every Perſon in the Ship, without Regard or Diſtinction, do actually perform the Service for which he is rated. None ſhall be rated Able, but who have ſerved three Years (at leaſt) at Sea, and are capable of doing the Duty of an able Seaman; nor Midſhipmen, till they have ſerved four Years, and are in all Reſpects qualified for it; nor will they be paid as ſuch, unleſs they produce regular Journals to the Commiſſioner, who comptrolls the Payment of the Ship. And the ſame is expected from the Maſter's Mates.

34. None are to be rated Midſhipmen Ordinary, but ſuch as have ſerved as Voluntiers by Order; and they who are ſo rated, ſhall receive the Pay of an able Seaman, upon their producing a Certificate from their Captain, that they are qualified, and did the Duty of Midſhipmen. The Number each Ship is allowed to bear, is as follows, *viz.*

	Rate.		No.
On-board a	3d	— —	4
	4th	— —	3
	5th	— —	2
	6th	— —	1

35. Before the Ship ſails, the Captain is to make a Regulation for Quartering the Officers and Men, diſtributing them to the great Guns, ſmall Arms, Rigging, &c. He is not only to cauſe a general Table, expreſſing the Mens Names, and their reſpective Quarters, to be hung up in ſome public Place of the Ship, but alſo particular Bills of Parchment to be fixed in every Quarter, and over every Gun, containing the Mens Names appointed to each Quarter. And he is to diſcipline the Ship's Company frequently in the Exerciſe of the great Guns and ſmall Arms, to render them more expert in Time of Battle, and to ſet down in his Journal the Times he exerciſes them.

36. If any Officers are abſent from their Duty, when the Ship is under Sailing-orders, he is timely to ſend their Names up to the Secretary of the Admiralty, with the Cauſe of their Abſence, that (if it ſhall be thought proper) other Officers may be ſent down in their Room.

37. He is to carry his full Number of Boats to Sea, and to take Care to ſecure them before blowing Weather; he is to huſband the Ship's Colours, and not to keep them abroad in windy Weather, the Pendant being a ſufficient Mark of Diſtinction.

38. He is not to carry any Woman to Sea, nor to entertain any Foreigners to ſerve in the Ship, who are Officers or Gentlemen, without Orders from the Admiralty.

39. When he is to ſail from one Port to another in Time of War, or Appearance of War, he is to give timely Notice to the Maſters of Merchant-ſhips bound his Way, and take ſuch of them under his Care and Protection, as ſhall be deſirous and ready to accompany him, but not to make any unneceſſary Stay, or deviate from his Orders upon that Account. See 22 *Geo.* II. Art. XVII.

40. He is from the Time of his going on-board to keep a Journal, and to be careful to note therein all Occurrences, *viz.* Place where the Ship is at Noon; Changes of Wind and Weather; Salutes, with the Reaſons thereof; Remarks on unknown Places; and, in general, every Circumſtance that concerns the Ship, her Stores, and Proviſions. At the End of every ſix Months, he is to ſend a Copy of his Journal for the ſaid Time, to the Secretary of the Admiralty; and, at the Expiration of the Voyage, to deliver a general Copy of his Journal, ſigned by himſelf, into the Admiralty and Navy-offices.

41. He is to inform the Secretary of the Admiralty of his Proceedings, and Condition of the Ship; and to correſpond with the proper Offices.

42. He is not to go into any other Port, than ſuch as his Orders direct him, unleſs by inevitable Neceſſity, and then to make no unneceſſary Stay there: He is to ſend in Writing the Reaſons thereof to the Secretary of the Admiralty, as alſo to the Commander in Chief, if any ſuch be there, and to put to Sea again, ſo ſoon as the Ship's Wants are ſupplied.

43. Upon all Occaſions of Anchoring, he is to be very careful in the Choice of a good Berth, and when he is at Anchor in Roads, where he is a Stranger, to cauſe the Maſter, or ſome other careful Officer, to ſound, at leaſt, as far as two or three Cables diſtance round the Ship, in order to inform him of the Nature of the Ground, and to diſcover if any hidden Rocks or Shoals be near; and he is to note down in his Journal the moſt proper Places for Anchoring, with the Depth of Water, Bearings of Points, and Lands, and ſuch other Remarks as he ſhall judge neceſſary.

44. When any Cuſtom-houſe Officer ſhall come on-board, upon the Arrival of the Ship, in any of his Majeſty's Ports, they are not to be obſtructed or ill-treated in the Execution of their Duty; and if they ſhall be in Need of the Ship's Proviſions during their Stay on-board, he is to order them to be victualled as the Ship's Company.

45. When he meets with any foreign Ship or Veſſel, he is to ſend a Commiſſion-officer to enquire if any Seamen, who are his Majeſty's Subjects, be on-board her, and to

demand all ſuch, obliging their Maſters to pay them their Wages to that Day.

46. When the Ship is in foreign Parts, where there are no naval Officers, and there ſhall be an abſolute Neceſſity to careen her, the Captain is to do it with the beſt Huſbandry, and not to hire any Maſter-ſhipwrights to ſuperviſe the Work, which is to be done by the Carpenter of the Ship.

47. He is not to hire any Veſſels for careening the Ship, or receiving her Stores or Proviſions, unleſs the ſame be abſolutely neceſſary; and in that caſe, not to take up more Tunnage than is needful; nor to keep the ſame longer than the Service will want.

48. He is never to cauſe the Ship to be painted either within board or without, nor to bring any Charge in his Accounts for Commiſſion-money, nor to bream the Ship with old Junk, old Ropes or Tar, when Bruſh or other Materials can be had; and what old Maſts, Spars, Deals, and other Things remain after the Cleaning is over, are to be charged on the proper Officers for future Uſe.

49. None are to be employed, but the Company of the Ship, in Careening and Refitting her; but if, by reaſon of Death or Sickneſs, there ſhall be an abſolute Neceſſity of hiring any Sort of Artificers from the Shore, their Names are to be entered on a Liſt, and they are to be daily muſter'd, and kept to their Works, and diſcharged as ſoon as they can be ſpared: And as they are to be hired on the cheapeſt Terms, ſo they are to be paid by the ſaid Liſt, in the Preſence of two, or more Commiſſion or Warrant-officers, who are to atteſt the ſaid Payments.

50. And to encourage ſuch Carpenters, Shipwrights, and Caulkers, as ſerve in his Majeſty's Ships in foreign Parts, and ſhall be employed in working, either on their own or other Ships of his Majeſty, while they are refitting, the Captain of the Ship, which they work upon, ſhall make them the following Allowance by the Day, *viz.*

	Eaſt-Indies, Jamaica, and Coaſt of *Africa.*			*Barbadoes, Antegoa*, and other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies.*			All other Foreign Parts.		
	Sterling.			Sterling.			Sterling.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
To Maſter Carpenters, Carpenters Mates, Shipwrights and Caulkers, for working on-board the Ship they belong to, in caulking and fitting her for the Careen, and careening, and graving or tallowing her, —	0	1	6	0	1	0	0	1	0
For working on-board any other of his Majeſty's Ships, — —	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	6

51. But to prevent any Abuſe of this Encouragement, it is here declared, that there ſhall be no more allowed for Caulking a Ship, fitting her for the Careen, Graving or Tallowing her, and other neceſſary Works for each Careening or Cleaning, than what Amounts to the Labour of the following Number of Men for one Day, *viz.*

Rate.		Men for a Day.
For a 1ſt		570.
2d		500.
3d	of 80 Guns	440.
	70	308.
4th	60	252.
	50	200.
5th	40	160.
	30	140.
6th	20	90.
Sloops		32.

52. When there ſhall be an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of taking up Money for the Uſe of the Ship, the Captain is to make his Intentions of doing it publickly known, and to negociate it at the beſt Exchange, which he is to get certified by the Governor or Conſul, where there are any, or elſe by two or three of the moſt eminent Merchants of the Place. And he is to give timely Advice to the proper Office, of what Bills he draws upon the ſame, with the Reaſons thereof, and to ſend home with the ſaid Bills, or as ſoon after as may be, Duplicates of his Accounts, and Vouchers for the Diſburſements of the ſaid Money, taking care that all Payments be witneſſed by two or more Commiſſion or Warrant-officers, and that the Receipts do expreſs the Quality, Quantity, and Price of each Species bought, with the exact Size, Length and Weight of Cordage; and that the Governor, Conſul, or Merchants as aforeſaid do certify, that the Bargains were according to the Market-price.

53. He is to take care that all bought Stores be delivered into the Cuſtody of the proper Officers, taking their Receipts, and to charge the ſame againſt them in his Books, and to ſend Copies of the ſaid Charge, by the firſt Opportunity, to the proper Office.

54. Upon the Death of any Officer, he is immediately to cauſe an Inventory to be taken of all his Books and Papers, as well publick as private, in the Preſence of (at leaſt) two of the ſigning Officers, and to have the ſame atteſted by them: He is to ſee the ſaid Books and Papers carefully ſealed up, and preſerved for the Uſe of the Executors, or ſuch as ſhall have a Right to demand them; to whom, with the Inventory, they are to be delivered.

55. When any Officer, who has the Cuſtody of Stores or Proviſions, ſhall die, or be removed or ſuſpended from his Employment, he is to cauſe an exact Survey to be forthwith taken of the Remains of ſuch Stores or Proviſions, and an Inventory of the ſame, in Words at Length, to be atteſted and ſigned by the Succeſſor, (who is to keep a Duplicate thereof) and alſo by the ſurveying Officers, (who are to be ſo exact and careful in taking the Survey, as to be juſtified on Oath, if required) which he is to tranſmit, by the firſt Opportunity, to the proper Office, to remain there as a Charge againſt him. If the Ship is in Company with other Men of War, he muſt apply to the Commander in Chief, or to the ſenior Officer, to order the ſaid Survey.

56. In caſe he ſhall be removed himſelf into another Ship, he is to ſhew the Originals of all ſuch Orders as have been ſent to him, and remain unexecuted, to his Succeſſor, and leave with him atteſted Copies of the ſame, which ſhall be ſufficient Warrant to his ſaid Succeſſor to put them in Execution.

57. He is likewiſe to leave with the ſaid Succeſſor one compleat Muſter-book, with all the Columns duly filled, and to ſend up all the other Books and Accounts under his Charge to the Offices they reſpectively relate to, in order to the paſſing his Accounts.

58. When a Captain is removed by Commiſſion from one Ship into another, he is allowed to carry along with him the following Number of Men, including his Servants, *viz.*

Rate.	Men.
From a 1ſt	80.
2d	65.
3d	50.
4th	40.
5th	20.
6th	10.

59. In caſe of Shipwreck, or other Diſaſter, whereby the Ship may periſh, the Officers and Men are ſtrictly charged to ſtay with the Remains of the Ship, (when the ſame can be done) and to employ themſelves in ſaving what they can of her Hull, Furniture, Stores, Proviſions, *&c.* And, for their Encouragement, they ſhall continue in Pay, during their Attendance on that Service. If the Proviſions of the Ship are loſt, the Captain is to ſubſiſt them, and may draw Bills upon the Commiſſioners of the Victualling for the ſame.

60. When the Ship comes to the Port where ſhe is to be laid up, the Captain is to aſſemble the proper Officers together, and draw up an Account of the Obſervations that have been made, during the Voyage, of the Qualities of the Ship; the Standing of her Maſts; Quantity of Balaſt; Draught of Water; beſt ſailing Trim; Stowage; Manner

ner of Sailing; and ſuch other Circumſtances as may be neceſſary for the Information and Guidance of thoſe who may command her afterwards; which Account, ſigned by himſelf and the Officers, he is to deliver to the Commiſſioner of the Navy at the Port, and tranſmit a Duplicate of the ſame to the Navy-board.

61. When Orders ſhall come for laying up the Ship, he is, before he leaves her, to prepare five Pay-books, with the Aſſiſtance of his Purſer, together with three Alphabets, taking Care, that the Pages of the Pay-books do agree together in the Number of Names, and to tranſmit the ſame, without any Delay, to the Navy-board, ſigned by himſelf and ſigning Officers; and he, and his Officers, are to attend the Payment of her.

62. If there be occaſion to diſcharge any of the Men, when the Ship is under Orders to be paid off, they are to be carried to a Flag-officer, or to a Commiſſioner of the Navy at the Out-ports, or to the Commiſſioners of the Navy at their Office in *London*, who are to examine their Qualifications; and if they find them agreeable to their Rating, to ſign their Tickets, otherwiſe they will be paid Ordinary. And all Men who ſtand open upon the Pay-books, at the Time of any Ship's Payment, and do not appear in Perſon to receive their own Wages, ſhall likewiſe be paid but Ordinary, unleſs it ſhall appear to the Commiſſioner who comptrols the Pay, that they are duly rated on the Ship's Books.

63. He is to be very diligent in clearing the Ship from all her Stores and Proviſions, and neither to depart from her himſelf, nor ſuffer the Officers or Men to go aſhore, until the Ship is paid, and wholly unrigged and clear, and to deliver her ſo into the Charge of the Officers of the Yard.

64. Laſtly, Whereas the Charge and Command of the Ship, and of the Officers and Men ſerving therein, are entirely entruſted to the Captain, and the Welfare and good Management of the Whole does in eſpecial Manner depend upon his Œconomy and Prudence, he is to underſtand, though the ſeveral Rules contained in the following Pages of this Book, are ſorted into different Chapters, for better Order and Clearneſs, that neverthelesſ he is himſelf reſponſible for the whole Conduct and good Government of the Ship, and for the due Execution of all Regulations here ſet down, which concern the ſeveral Duties of the Officers and Company of the Ship, who are to obey him in all Things, which he ſhall direct them for his Majeſty's Service.

And whereas, by the Eſtabliſhment of the Navy, he is allowed a Clerk, he is to look upon himſelf to be accountable for all Errors or Frauds committed by the ſaid Clerk, who is regarded no otherwiſe than as his Inſtrument, and one appointed to ſerve him in the Execution of his Office.

And, as he is not to receive his Wages, without producing Certificates from the Secretary of the Admiralty, and from the Navy, Victualling, Ordnance, and ſick and wounded Offices, that they have nothing to object againſt him, ſo is he to expect to make good out of his Wages any Damage his Majeſty may have ſuſtained from his Neglect or Irregularity; and in caſe of the Ship's being paid off before ſuch Diſcovery is made, to anſwer the ſame out of his Half-pay, or be otherwiſe accountable, as the Lord High-admiral, or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, ſhall judge proper.

Rules of DISCIPLINE *and* GOOD GOVERNMENT *to be obſerved on-board his Majeſty's Ships of War.*

1. In the firſt Place, the Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships are ſtrictly required to ſhew in themſelves a good Example of Honour and Virtue to their Officers and Men; and next, to be very vigilant in inſpecting the Behaviour of all ſuch as are under them, and to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all diſſolute, immoral, and diſorderly Practices, and alſo ſuch as are contrary to the Rules of Diſcipline and Obedience, and to correct thoſe who are guilty of the ſame, according to the Uſage of the Sea.

2. The Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships are to take care, that divine Service be performed twice a Day on-board, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and a Sermon preached on *Sundays*, unleſs bad Weather, or other extraordinary Accidents, prevent it.

3. If any ſhall be heard to ſwear, curſe, or blaſpheme the Name of God, the Captain is ſtrictly required to puniſh them for every Offence, by cauſing them to wear a wooden Collar, or ſome other ſhameful Badge of Diſtinction, for ſo long Time as he ſhall judge proper. If he be a Commiſſion-officer he ſhall forfeit one Shilling for each Offence, and a Warrant or inferior Officer Six-pence. He who is guilty of Drunkenneſs, if a Seaman, ſhall be put in Irons until he is ſober; but if an Officer, he ſhall forfeit two Days Pay.

4. No Commander ſhall inflict any Puniſhment upon a Seaman, beyond twelve Laſhes upon his bare Back with a Cat-of-nine-tails; if the Fault ſhall deſerve a greater Puniſhment, he is either to apply to the Commander in Chief, or inform the Secretary of the Admiralty, if the Ship is at home, in order to the Offender's being brought to a Court-martial, and in the mean time he may put him under Confinement.

5. The Captain is never, by his own Authority, to diſcharge a Commiſſion or Warrant officer, nor to puniſh or ſtrike him; but he may ſuſpend or confine them; and when he comes in the way of a Commander in Chief, apply to him for holding a Court-martial; otherwiſe he is to acquaint the Secretary of the Admiralty therewith.

6. The Officer who commands on-board by Accident of the Captain's Abſence, (unleſs he abſent for a Time by Leave) ſhall not order any Correction, but Confinement; from which however he is not to releaſe the Offender, before the Captain's Return on-board, and then give him an Account of the Reaſons for his ſo doing.

7. The Captain is to cauſe the Articles of War to be hung up in ſome publick Places of the Ship, and read to the Ship's Company once a Month.

INSTRUCTIONS *relating to the Execution of two Acts of Parliament paſſed Anno* 1^mo^ George II. *in favour of* SEAMEN *employed in his Majeſty's Service.*

1. When any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhall be in Want of Men, and any Seaman, or able-bodied Landman, ſhall enter voluntarily with a Commiſſion-officer of the Fleet appointed to raiſe Men, and ſhall repair on-board within fourteen Days, if the Place where he enters be not above one hundred Miles diſtant from the Ship; or within the Space of twenty Days, if the Ship be at a greater Diſtance than one hundred Miles; or within the Space of thirty Days, if the Diſtance be more than two hundred Miles, the Captain ſhall enter his Name on the Ship's Books for Wages from the Day of his Entry, and for Victuals from the Time of his Appearance; and ſo ſoon as the Ship is fully mann'd, he ſhall ſend three Liſts of the Names of all ſuch Voluntiers to the Navy-board, in order to their being paid Conduct-money, (to be computed from the Place of Entry) and an Advance of two Months Wages, before the Ship proceeds to Sea.

2. In caſe any of the ſaid Seamen or Landmen ſhall, at their Requeſt, be ſupplied with Slop-cloaths or Bedding at their coming on board, the Captain is carefully to ſet off the Value of the ſame againſt their Names in the Liſts he ſends to the Navy-board for Payment of the two Months Advance of Wages, in order to their deducting the ſame.

3. When a Captain is removed from one Ship to another, and takes along with him his Servants, or any others out of the Ship; (who ſhall not be turned over by Order from the Admiralty, but ſhall voluntarily go) it is here declared, that all ſuch Perſons, and alſo Seamen entring in Exchange for others diſcharged at their own Requeſt, have no Title to the Advance of two Months Wages.

4. When the Ship ſhall have been in Commiſſion ſix whole Months, if ſhe be then in any Port of *Great Britain*, or on the Coaſt thereof, and not under Orders to be paid off, the Captain ſhall make out three Pay liſts, containing the Names of all the inferior Officers and Seamen, belonging to the Ship under his Command, ſpecifying in ſuch Liſts the Days on which every particular Man was entered on the Ship's Books, and ſend the ſaid Liſts, ſigned

by himſelf and the ſigning Officers, to the Navy-board, in order to their paying them two Months Wages.

5. But if, at the End of the ſaid ſix Months, the Ship ſhall be on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, or in foreign Parts, the Captain ſhall then muſter his Company, and ſet down in Liſts as aforeſaid, the Names of ſuch inferior Officers and Seamen only, who ſhall deſire to have two Months Wages paid in *London* to their Attorneys, and ſend the ſame home, by the firſt ſafe Opportunity, to the Navy-board.

6. When the Ship ſhall have been twelve Months in Sea-pay, the Captain is to make out other Pay-liſts as aforeſaid, of the Names of the inferior Officers and Seamen belonging to the Ship under his Command, and tranſmit the ſame to the Navy-board, and ſo from Time to Time to obſerve to do the ſame at the End of every enſuing ſix Months, until the Ship ſhall be finally paid off.

7. As to the Term, inferior Officers, the Captain is to take Natice, that the ſame does not include any Commiſſion Officer, nor any Warrant Officer, except the ſecond Maſter, Surgeon's Mates, Cook, Armourer, Gunſmith, Schoolmaſter, Maſter at Arms, Corporal, and Sail-maker.

8. But notwithſtanding what is before directed, for the making out Pay-liſts, at the End of every ſix Months, for the inferior Officers and Seamen only, in order to their being paid two Months Wages, yet if it ſhall ſo happen, that at the End of eighteen Months, the Ship ſhall be in any Port of *Great-Britain*, or on the Coaſts of the ſame, the Captain ſhall then make out Pay-books for twelve Months, containing the Names of all the Officers and Seamen of the Ship, and tranſmit the ſame to the Navy-board, it being directed by the Act, that the whole Company ſhall then receive twelve Months Pay, including what may have been advanced.

9. The Captain is to make out the like Pay-books every Time that the Ship ſhall have been eighteen Months in Sea-pay, beyond the Time ſhe has been cleared to, in order to the Officers and Company being paid twelve Months Wages again, as before.

10. The Captain is to take Care, when any inferior Officers or Voluntier Seamen are turned over into the Ship under his Command from any other Ship, not to rate them on the Ship's-books in a worſe Quality, or lower Degree or Station, than they ſerved in the Ship they were removed from; and for his Guidance, he is to demand from the Commander of the Ship from which they are turned over, a Liſt under his Hand of their Names and Qualities. He is to ſend Liſts of the ſaid Men to the Navy-board, in order to their receiving two Months Wages Advance, before the Ship proceeds to Sea. But if there be more inferior Officers than the Eſtabliſhment of the Ship allows, he is immediately to acquaint the Secretary of the Admiralty therewith.

11. When a Captain is ordered to turn over any inferior Officers or Voluntier Seamen from the Ship under his Command into any other of his Majeſty's Ships, he is to ſend alſo complete Pay-liſts to the Navy board.

12. If any Ship is by Accident diſabled from going to Sea, and her whole Company is removed into another Ship, the ſame is not to be taken to be a Turning-over, within the Meaning of the Act.

13. If any Seamen who ſhall ſerve his Majeſty voluntarily, can at any Time get better Preferment in any other of his Majeſty's Ships, the Captain he ſerves with is hereby required to diſcharge him to the Captain deſiring him, upon the ſaid Captain's giving him a good Man in his Room.

14. No Letters of Attorney made to empower Perſons to receive Wages, are valid, unleſs they be made revocable, and ſigned before, and atteſted by the Captain or Commander, and one other of the ſigning Officers of the Ship to which they belong; or by the Clerk of the Cheque of ſome of the Dock-Yards; or by the Mayor, or chief Magiſtrate of ſome Corporation.

15. The Captain is to diſcourage the Seamen of his Ship from ſelling any Part of their Wages, and never to atteſt to the Letter of Attorney of any Seaman, until he is fully ſatisfied that the ſame is not granted in Conſideration of Money given for the Purchaſe of his Wages.

16. When any inferior Officer or Seaman dies, the Captain is forthwith to make out a Ticket for the Time of his Service, and ſend the ſame, by the firſt ſafe Conveyance, to the Navy-board, in order to the Wages being forthwith paid to the Executors or Adminiſtrators of the Deceaſed.

17. When any of his Majeſty's Ships are in foreign Parts, and his Majeſty's Governors, Miniſters, or Conſuls, or any two or more *Britiſh* Merchants, ſhall apply to the Captain to receive any Seafaring Men or Boys, Subjects of *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, who ſhall, by Shipwreck, Capture, or other unavoidable Accident, be driven into thoſe Parts, he is to receive them on-board, and to bear ſuch as come within his Complement for Wages and Victuals, and the reſt for Victuals only: He is ſtrictly charged, upon his meeting with any of his Majeſty's Ships, to inform himſelf from the Captain, if ſhe is ſhort of her Complement, and to put as many of his Supernumeraries on-board her, as ſhall make up her Complement, and to continue to do the the ſame, until they are all diſpoſed of; but if he ſhall not meet with any of his Majeſty's Ships, he is then to diſcharge and ſet aſhore the ſaid Supernumeraries at any Port in *Great-Britain*, that he ſhall be bound to.

RULES *for the Cure of* SICK *or* HURT SEAMEN *on-board their own* SHIPS.

1. A convenient Place ſhall be ſet apart for ſick or hurt Men, to be removed with their Hammacoes and Bedding, when the Surgeon ſhall adviſe the ſame to be neceſſary. And ſome of the Crew ſhall be appointed to attend and ſerve them, and to keep the Place clean. The Cooper ſhall make Buckets with Covers, and Cradles if neceſſary for their Uſe.

2. All Ships of War, furniſhed with Fiſhing-tackle, being in ſuch Places where Fiſh is to be had, the Captain is to employ ſome of the Company in Fiſhing, to be diſtributed daily to ſuch Perſons as are ſick, or upon Recovery; and the Surplus, by Turns amongſt the Meſſes of the Officers and Seamen, without Favour or Partiality, and *gratis*, without any Deduction of their Allowance of Proviſions on that Account.

RULES *to be obſerved in ſending* SICK *or* HURT SEAMEN *out of his* MAJESTY'S SHIPS *for* CURE.

1. None are to be ſent into the Hoſpitals, either attending the Fleet, or aſhore, but whoſe Diſtempers or Hurts are ſuch, as may make it inconvenient to have them kept on-board their own Ships.

2. When any Men are ordered into the Hoſpitals aſhore, their Cloaths and Bedding are to be ſent along with them, together with a Ticket directed to the Agent, expreſſing their Names, Entry, and Numbers on the Ship's Books, with the Quality of their Diſeaſe or Hurt; which Ticket is to be ſigned by the Captain, Surgeon, and other ſigning Officers of the Ship.

3. The Captain may order them Slops, if needful;

4. And is to take Care to ſend them aſhore under the Charge of a diſcreet Officer, accompanied by the Surgeon or one of his Mates; and thoſe Officers are to ſee them ſafely conveyed to the Hoſpital, with proper Carriages, or otherwiſe, at the Expence of the Hoſpital.

5. The Captain is to ſend a Commiſſion-officer to the Hoſpital twice a Week (on the Muſter Days) with a Boat, to receive ſuch of his own Men from the Agent, as may be recovered. And he ſhall likewiſe receive ſuch other recovered Men (whoſe Ships are not in the Way) as the Agent ſhall deſire, unleſs any appear to be unfit for Service; in which Caſe, he is to give a Certificate thereof to the Agent, for his Juſtification.

6. He is likewiſe to receive ſuch recovered Men, as an Agent of the Sick and Wounded ſhall ſend to him.

7. If the Captain, who receives recovered Men belonging to another Ship, ſhall meet with that Ship, he ſhall return them to their own Ship, bearing them only for Victuals; but if their proper Ship ſhall at that Time have her full Complement of Men, he is then to enter them as Part of his own Ship's Company, if he be in Want of Men, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of them to ſuch of his Majeſty's

Ships as may not have compleated their Complements, where they are to be borne for Wages, from the Time they were received from ſick Quarters.

8. If the Agent ſhall certify to the Captain, that he has ſupplied any ſick Men with Cloaths, whilſt they were in Quarters, of which they were abſolutely in Want, he is to charge the ſame againſt their Names on the Ship's Books, in order to its being defalked out of their Wages; provided the Ship is not in Port.

9. If any Man, who is put aſhore for Cure, does not return on-board his Ship ſo ſoon as he is diſcharged from ſick Quarters, or is left in ſick Quarters when the Ship departs, a Query is to be put againſt his Name.

10. The Captain is to correſpond with the Commiſſioners of the Sick and Wounded, to know whether any of his Men in Quarters are dead, run, diſcharged, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, in order to his noting the ſame upon his Books.

11. Admirals and Commanders in Chief, as alſo the Commiſſioner of the Navy, at the Ports where Hoſpitals are eſtabliſhed, are to viſit them frequently, and to ſee how the Men under Cure are treated, as well with reſpect to the Attendance of the Phyſician and Surgeon, as alſo to their Food, Lodging, and other Circumſtances. They may redreſs little Irregularities upon the Spot; but if they diſcover any wilful Miſmanagement, they are to repreſent it to the Admiralty.

12. In caſe there ſhall be a Neceſſity of putting ſick or wounded Men aſhore for Cure in foreign Parts, where there are none of his Majeſty's Hoſpitals, nor any Correſpondents of the ſick and wounded Office to take Charge of them, the Captain is to provide them with proper Food, Lodging, and other Neceſſaries, (the Surgeon of the Ship, and his Aſſiſtants, attending on them in what relates to their Duty) and may draw Bills on the Commiſſioners of the Sick and Wounded for what Expence he ſhall be at, paſſing his Accounts thereof at the End of the Voyage. But he is, before he ſails on a foreign Voyage, to inform himſelf thereof from the ſick and wounded Office, and receive from thence what Rules and Inſtructions may be proper for his Knowledge and Guidance.

Of the PROVISIONS.

1. There ſhall be allowed to every Man ſerving in his Majeſty's Ships, a daily Proportion of Proviſions, according as is expreſſed in the following Table, *viz.*

	Biſcuit Pounds Averdupoiz.	Beer Gallons Wine Meaſure.	Beef Pounds Averdupoiz.	Pork Pounds Averdupoiz.	Peaſe Pint *Winchester* Meaſure.	Oatmeal Pint *Winchester* Meaſure.	Butter Ounces	Cheeſe Ounces.
Sunday - -	1	1	—	1	1 half	—	—	—
Monday -	1	1	—	—	—	1	2	4
Tueſday - -	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Wedneſday	1	1	—	—	1 half	1	2	4
Thurſday -	1	1	—	1	1 half	—	—	—
Friday - -	1	1	—	—	1 half	1	2	4
Saturday -	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—

2. It is left to the Diſcretion of the Commanders of Squadrons to ſhorten the aforeſaid Allowance of Proviſions, according to the Exigence of the Service, taking Care that the Men be punctually paid for the ſame. The like Power is given to Captains of ſingle Ships, in Caſes of abſolute Neceſſity.

3. In caſe it ſhall be thought for the Service to alter any of the aforeſaid Particulars of Proviſions in Ships employed on foreign Voyages, it is to be obſerved, that a Pint of Wine, or half a Pint of Brandy, Rum, or Arrack, hold Proportion to a Gallon of Beer; four Pounds of Flower, or three Pounds of the ſame with a Pound of Raiſins; half a Pound of Courants, or half a Pound of Beef-ſuet pickled, are equal to a four Pound Piece of Beef, or two Pound Piece of Pork with Peaſe; half a Pound of Rice is equal to a Pint of Oatmeal; a Pint of Olive Oil is equal to a Pound of Butter, or to two Pounds of *Suffolk* Cheeſe; and two Thirds of a Pound of *Cheſhire* Cheeſe, is equal to one Pound of *Suffolk*.

4. The Beef, provided for his Majeſty's Ships, is to be cut into four Pound Pieces, and the Pork into two Pound Pieces; and no unuſual Pieces are to be put up, ſuch as Leg Bones, Shins of Oxen, Cheeks of Hogs, Ox Hearts, *&c.* and every Caſk of Proviſions is to have the Contents thereof marked on the Head.

5. Every twenty-eight Pieces of Beef, cut for four Pound Pieces, taken out of the Caſk as they riſe, and the Salt ſhaken off, are to weigh one hundred Pounds *Averdupoiz*; and every fifty-ſix Pieces of Pork, cut for two Pound Pieces, and taken out and ſhaken in the like Manner, are to weigh one hundred and four Pounds; and therefore if there ſhall be found a Deficiency of Weight, the Captain may order the Purſer to iſſue to the Seamen ſo much more Beef or Pork, as ſhall make up the Deficiency; and he ſhall have Credit for the ſame upon his Accounts.

6. If there ſhall be a Want of Pork, the Captain is to order three Pounds of Beef to be iſſued to the Men, in Lieu of a two Pound Piece of Pork.

7. One Day in every Week ſhall be iſſued out a Proportion of Flour and Suet in lieu of Beef, for the Seamen; but this is not to extend beyond four Months Victualling at one Time, nor ſhall the Purſer receive any Allowance for Flour or Suet kept longer on-board than that Time. And there ſhall be ſupplied once a Year, from the Victualling-office, a Proportion of Canvas for Pudding Bags, after the Rate of one Ell to every ſixteen Men.

8. In the victualling his Majeſty's Ships for foreign Voyages, there ſhall be only ſupplied three Months Butter and Cheeſe, the Remainder of thoſe Species being to be made up in Olive Oil; but for the *Mediterranean*, the Purſers are to be ſupplied with Credit, or foreign Money (if Credit cannot be had) for procuring Oil abroad.

9. There ſhall be allowed to every Ship, in home Voyages, one Tun of Caſk for Water Caſk, Iron bound, with one Bundle of Wood Hoops, and one of Flags (if required) for every hundred Men *per* Month, and ſo proportionably; but in foreign Voyages, there ſhall be allowed ſuch farther Quantity of Water Caſk, as the Ship can conveniently ſtow, or ſhall be thought neceſſary.

10. In Ships employed in home Service, half the Quantity of Beer taken on-board ſhall be contained in Iron-bound Caſk; but in foreign Voyages, three Fourths of the Beer Caſk ſhall be Iron-bound. And no Caſks ſhall be uſed for Beer, but what have been gauged by a ſworn Gauger, who is to mark on the Head the Contents in Gallons, *Wincheſter* Meaſure.

11. If any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhall happen to come into Port in Want of Proviſions, the Warrant of a Commander in Chief ſhall be ſufficient to the Agent, or other Inſtrument of the Victualling, to ſupply the Quantity wanted; and, in urgent Caſes, where Delay may be hurtful, the Warrant of the Captain of the Ship ſhall be of equal Effect.

12. When any Veſſels come on-board with Proviſions, or other Stores, they are not to be ſuffered to loiter by the Ship's Side, but forthwith to be unladen and ſent away; nor ſhall the Captain of one Ship ſtop a Veſſel that is conſigned to another Ship, or take out any Part of her Lading.

13. All Supplies of Proviſions are to be put on-board the Ships without any Charge to the Purſer for Lighterage, Porterage, or otherwiſe, and with all the Diſpatch poſſible; and the Maſters of the Veſſels, or Lighters, by whom the Proviſions are ſent, ſhall ſee the ſame put into the Slings or Tackles of the Ship they are conſigned to, by careful Men belonging to the Ship; and ſhall likewiſe deliver to the Captain a perfect Bill of Lading under the Hand of the Victualling-officer, that he may ſee if the whole is brought on-board.

14. If any Proviſions ſlip out of the Slings, or are otherwiſe damaged, or loſt, by Malice or Careleſſneſs of the Ship's Company, the Captain is to charge the Value againſt the Wages of the Offender, and give a Certificate to the Purſer, expreſſing how the ſame happened, with the Name of the Offender, and the Sum charged againſt him, that the Purſer may be allowed it on his Accounts.

15. No Proviſions, ſent off for the Supply of his Majeſty's Ships, ſhall be refuſed on Pretence of their being old and unfit for keeping, unleſs there ſhall be reaſonable Ground to object againſt any ſuch Proviſions; and in that

Caſe, the Captain or Commanding-officer ſhall firſt cauſe the ſame to be ſurveyed by the proper Officers.

16. The Captain is frequently to order the proper Officers to inſpect into the Condition of the Proviſions, eſpecially in foreign Voyages, and if the Bread proves damp, to have it aired upon the Quarter-deck or Poop; and alſo to examine the Fleſh-caſk; and if any Pickle be leaked out, to have new made and put in, and the Caſk made tight and ſecure.

17. If the Purſer of a Ship ſhall have ſupplied the Purſer of another Ship at Sea with Proviſions, the Captain's Order ſhall be ſufficient Warrant to the Agent, at the next Port the Ship ſhall put into, to ſupply him with the like Quantity, upon producing the ſaid Order and Receipt.

18. When any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhall come into Port, either at Home or Abroad, where there is an Officer of the Victualling, they ſhall be ſupplied two Days in the Week with Freſh-beef or Mutton, one Day in lieu of Salt-beef, and the other in lieu of Salt-pork, when it can be conveniently done, for which the Captains are to ſend their Boats. And it is to be obſerved, That three Pounds of Mutton are to be accounted equal to a four Pound Piece of Beef, or to a two Pound Piece of Pork with Peaſe.

19. When any Prizes ſhall be taken from an Enemy in foreign Parts, and it ſhall be judged neceſſary by the Commander in Chief to ſupply the Wants of his Majeſty's Ships out of their Proviſions, the ſame ſhall be firſt regularly ſurveyed, and ſuch Quantities thereof as ſhall be found good in their Kind, may be iſſued to the Purſers, and they be charged therewith.

Of the PAYMENT *of* SHORT-ALLOWANCE MONEY.

1. When Money is ordered for the Payment of Short-allowance, or the Ship comes into Port to be laid up, the Captain, with the Aſſiſtance of the Purſer, is to cauſe three Liſts to be made out, with an Alphabet thereto, containing the Names of the Officers and Seamen belonging to the Ship, within the Time of Short-allowance; and, after comparing the ſame with the Muſter and Sick-books, and being ſatisfied that they agree together, he is to ſend them, ſigned by himſelf, the Purſer, Maſter, and Boatſwain, to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, or to their Officer appointed to pay the ſame.

2. But if the Ship is in foreign Parts, where there is no Agent-victualler, the Captain ſhall cauſe the ſaid Liſts to be made out every three Months, and duly examined and ſigned; and, after caſting the Sums, due to thoſe only who are then belonging to the Ship, into Money, he is to preſent the ſaid Liſts to the Commander in Chief, or ſenior Captain, who ſhall give his Warrant to the Purſer to take up ſo much Money as the Total ſhall amount to, upon the beſt Exchange, and draw Bills upon the Commiſſioners of the Victualling for the ſame.

3. The Commander in Chief is to atteſt Bills, and comptroll the Payment.

4. If there be a Surplus of Money, it is to go to the next Payment.

5. The Captain is to do as the Commander in Chief, if alone.

6. The Purſer is, by the firſt Opportunity after a Payment, to tranſmit Home to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling one of the Liſts, and another by the next ſafe Conveyance.

7. All Money paid to Seamen in foreign Coin for Short-allowance, ſhall be paid them according to Sterling Value, and they ſhall have the Benefit of the Exchange.

8. It is ſtrictly forbid to all Officers or others, to concern themſelves directly or indirectly in buying the Seamens Short-allowance Money; and the Officer, who has the Payment of the ſame, is charged to pay the Parties themſelves, without any Regard to Notes, or any other Obligation whatſoever.

Of SLOP-CLOATHS.

1. Slops to be provided in due Time, and ſuch as do not agree with the Sample, to be rejected.

2. Seamen may have Slops as far as a Month's Wages, in Time of Preſs.

3. None are to receive a ſecond Supply, until they ſhall have ſerved full two Months, and then not to above the Value of ten Shillings, whether it be in Slops or Bedding; and ſo in Proportion every two Months ten Shillings more, if they ſhall want Neceſſaries, to the End of the Voyage.

4. All Slop-cloaths, Dead-mens Cloaths, and Bedding, are to be iſſued out to the Men publickly upon Deck, in the Preſence of the Officers and Company.

5. The Captain is to take Care to note upon his Muſter and Pay-books the Value of the Cloaths or Bedding every Man ſhall have been ſupplied with; and likewiſe to keep a ſeparate Slop-book; and before the Payment of the Ship, or on his Removal, he is to ſend the ſaid Book to the Comptroller of the Navy, ſigned under his own Hand, and alſo by the Maſter, Boatſwain, and Purſer, or any two of them.

6. Upon the Diſcharge of any Man by Ticket, the Captain is to take Care that there be noted on the Ticket, in Words, the Value of the Cloaths he has been ſupplied with.

7. In caſe the Neceſſities of the Men ſhall require the Buying of Cloaths in foreign Parts, the Captain is to ſee that they be as near the Kinds uſed in the Navy as poſſible, and that moderate Rates be ſet upon them. He is to ſend, by the firſt Opportunity, an Invoyce of the ſaid Goods, with the Prices, to the Navy-board, and to charge them diſtinctly in his Books, as he does the other Slops, under the Head of the Perſon ſupplying them.

8. Contractors for Slops are to allow to the Purſer Twelve-pence in the Pound, for his Pains in keeping and iſſuing out their Cloaths, and managing their Accounts.

9. The Purſer, or other Officer entruſted, ſhall enter into Bond to the Contractors for the faithful Diſcharge of his Truſt, and at the End of the Voyage, and before the Payment of the Ship, to render them a juſt Account of the Goods committed to his Charge; and he is not to receive the Payment of his Wages, without Certificates from them, of their having no Claims upon him.

10. Bedding being furniſhed by his Majeſty, the Captain muſt demand no more Beds than he foreſees will probably be iſſued.

11. When any one dies aboard, his Cloaths and other Effects in the Ship may be ſold by Auction, for the Uſe of the Executors or Adminiſtrators of the Deceaſed. The Purſer is to be allowed Twelve-pence in the Pound for his Pains, who is to give the Executors or Adminiſtrators of the Deceaſed a particular Account of the Cloaths ſold, and to whom, *&c.* in order to its being examined and certified from the Pay-books, for Payment.

12. No Seaman ſhall be permitted to bid for dead Officers Cloaths that are above their Wear, or be ſuffered to bid for any Effects beyond their real Value, according to the Judgment of the Maſter and Purſer, who ſhall be preſent; nor to purchaſe more than the Wages due to them can anſwer, agreeable to the Allowance of Slop-cloaths.

13. Upon the Death or Removal of a Purſer, a Survey is to be taken by the ſame Officers who ſurvey the Proviſions and Stores, of the Slops, Dead-mens Cloaths, and Bedding that remained in his Hands, which are to be delivered over to the ſucceeding Purſer by Inventory, in which are to be diſtinguiſhed ſuch as are damaged and unſerviceable, and a Copy entered in the Slop-book, ſigned by the Officers employed in the Survey.

Of PILOTAGE.

1. When any of his Majeſty's Ships are bound out of the River of *Thames*, or from the *Nore*, the Captain is to apply timely to the Navy-board for a Pilot, and not to employ any other Perſon, but who ſhall be ſent to him from the *Trinity-houſe* of *Deptford-ſtrond*. But when the Ship is to depart from the *Downs* to the River of *Thames*, or *Medway*, the Captain is to employ a Pilot belonging to the Society of Pilots at *Dover*.

2. The Captain is never to take a Pilot on-board, but when the ſame is abſolutely neceſſary, nor to bear him longer than is requiſite for the Safety of the Ship; and when the Service is over, he is to diſcharge him, and give him a Certificate of the Time he was employed.

3. But when the Service the Ship is employed on, is of that Nature as to require the conſtant Attendance of a Pilot on-board, the Captain is then to bear him within the allowed Complement, and to rate him Pilot upon the Books.

4. When the Ship comes into Pilot-water, where Pilots are neceſſary, and have been uſually allowed, and no Pilots can poſſibly be got, the Maſter or Mate of the Ship may, with the Conſent of the Captain, undertake the Pilotage of the Ship, and ſhall be allowed, for his Encouragement, half the Allowance that is made to a Pilot.

Of Convoys.

1. When any Commander is appointed to convoy the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to any Place, he muſt apply to the Secretary of the Admiralty for a ſufficient Number of printed Books of Inſtructions; and, after ſetting down therein the private Signals to be made upon meeting after Separation, and ſuch other additional Rules as he ſhall think proper, he is (before he ſails) to deliver them out *gratis*, dated and ſigned by himſelf, to the Maſters of all the Merchant-ſhips, or other Veſſels, that are to go along with him.

2. He is to inform himſelf exactly, and ſet down in a Liſt, the Names of all the Merchant-ſhips, or other Veſſels, that are to proceed under his Convoy; and to ſend a Copy of the ſaid Liſt to the Secretary of the Admiralty, before he ſails.

3. He is ſtrictly forbid to receive any Money, or other Gratification, from any Maſters of Ships under his Convoy, on any Pretence whatſoever, or to ſuffer any one elſe in the Ship to do the ſame.

4. All Commanders, who have Merchant-ſhips under their Care, are ſtrictly forbidden to chaſe out of Sight of their Convoys, but they are to be watchful in defending them from any Attack or Surprize; and if any of them ſhall be diſtreſſed by Weather, or other Accident, to afford them all neceſſary Aſſiſtance; and ſhall inform againſt Maſters of Ships miſbehaving themſelves.

5. The Captain commanding a Convoy, ſhall carry a Top-light in the Night, the better to prevent Separation.

6. The Commander in Chief of a Convoy may direct his Signals to be repeated by as many of the Ships of War under his Command, as he ſhall think fit, when he has ſuch a Number of Merchant-ſhips under his Care, as may make the ſame convenient.

7. When different Convoys ſail at the ſame Time out of Port, or join at Sea, they are to keep Company ſo long as their Courſes lie together, for the general Good. And on thoſe Occaſions, the eldeſt Commander of a Convoy, ſhall command in the firſt Poſt; the next eldeſt Commander of a Convoy, in the ſecond Poſt, and ſo on; to the Number of Convoys that may happen to ſail together.

8. He who commands in the firſt Poſt, ſhall wear the Lights of that Poſt, and make Signals in Sailing. The Captains commanding in the ſecond and third Poſts, ſhall wear the Lights of thoſe Poſts; and all repeat the Signals in Order, as is done by the Flag-officers.

9. When different Convoys ſail in Company, each Commander is to lead his Convoy, and they are all to keep together, like Diviſions of a Fleet. And when they come to ſeparate, the Commander, who leaves Company, is to put abroad his Colours, and fire four Guns, all of a Side, at the Diſtance of time uſed in a Fog, as a Signal of Separation.

10. Commanders of Convoys to take Care of the Ships of Friends or Allies.

Of Salutes.

1. When a Flag-officer ſalutes the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, he is to give him fifteen Guns; but when Captains ſalute him, they are to give him ſeventeen Guns.

2. The Admiral or Commander in Chief of the Fleet is to return two Guns leſs to Flag-officers, and four leſs to Captains.

3. Flag-officers ſaluting their ſuperior or ſenior Officer, are to give him thirteen Guns.

4. Flag-officers are to return an equal Number of Guns to Flag-officers bearing their Flags on the ſame Maſt, and two Guns leſs to the reſt, as alſo to Captains.

5. When a Captain ſalutes an Admiral of the *White* or *Blue*, he is to give him fifteen Guns; but to Vice and Rear-admirals, thirteen Guns.

6. When a Flag-officer is ſaluted by two or more of his Majeſty's Ships, he is not to return the Salute, till all have finiſhed, and then to do it with ſuch a reaſonable Number of Guns, as he ſhall judge proper.

7. In caſe of the meeting of two Squadrons, the two Chiefs only are to exchange Salutes. And if ſingle Ships meet a Squadrom conſiſting of more than one Flag, only the principal Flag is to be ſaluted.

8. No Salutes ſhall be repeated by the ſame Ships, unleſs there has been a Separation of ſix Months at the leaſt.

9. A Flag-officer commanding in Chief ſhall be ſaluted, upon his firſt hoiſting of his Flag, by all the Ships preſent, with ſuch a Number of Guns, as is allowed by the Firſt, Third, or Fifth Articles.

10. When any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhall meet with any Ship or Ships belonging to any foreign Prince or State, within his Majeſty's Seas (which extend to Cape *Finiſterre*) it is expected, that the ſaid foreign Ships do ſtrike their Topſail, and take in their Flag, in Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's Sovereignty in thoſe Seas; and if any ſhall refuſe or offer to reſiſt, it is enjoined to all Flag-officers and Commanders to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to compel them thereto, and not ſuffer any Diſhonour to be done to his Majeſty. And if any of his Majeſty's Subjects ſhall ſo much forget their Duty, as to omit ſtriking their Topſail in paſſing by his Majeſty's Ships, the Name of the Ship and Maſter, and from whence, and whither bound, together with Affidavits of the Fact, are to be ſent up to the Secretary of the Admiralty, in order to their being proceeded againſt in the Admiralty-court. And it is to be obſerved, That in his Majeſty's Seas, his Majeſty's Ships are in no wiſe to ſtrike to any; and that in other Parts, no Ship of his Majeſty's is to ſtrike her Flag or Topſail to any Foreigner, unleſs ſuch foreign Ship ſhall have firſt ſtruck, or at the ſame Time ſtrike her Flag or Topſail to his Majeſty's Ship.

11. If a foreign Admiral meets with any of his Majeſty's Ships, and ſalutes them, he ſhall receive Gun for Gun. If he be a Vice-admiral, the Admiral ſhall anſwer with two Guns leſs. If a Rear-admiral, the Admiral and Vice-admiral ſhall return two leſs. But if the Ship be commanded by a Captain only, the Flag-officers ſhall give two Guns leſs, and Captains an equal Number.

12. When any of his Majeſty's Ships come to an Anchor in a foreign Port or Road, within Cannon-ſhot of its Forts, the Captain may ſalute the Place with ſuch a Number of Guns as have been cuſtomary, upon good Aſſurance of having the like Number returned, but not otherwiſe.

13. But if the Ship bears a Flag, the Flag-officer ſhall firſt carefully inform himſelf how Flags of like Rank, belonging to other Crowned Heads, have given or returned Salutes, and to inſiſt upon the ſame Terms of Reſpect.

14. It is allowed to the Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships in foreign Parts, to ſalute the Perſons of any Admirals, Commanders in Chief, or Captains of Ships of War of foreign Nations, and foreign Noblemen or Strangers of Quality, as alſo the Factories of the King's Subjects, coming on-board to viſit the Ship; and the Number of Guns is left to the Diſcretion of the Commander, as ſhall be ſuitable to the Occaſion, and the Quality of the Perſons viſiting; but he is nevertheleſs to remain accountable for any Exceſſes in the Abuſe of this Liberty.

15. If the Ship viſited be in Company with other Ships of War, the Captain is not to make Uſe of the Civilities allowed in the preceding Article, but with Leave and Conſent of the Commander in Chief, or the ſenior Captain.

16. Merchant-ſhips, whether Foreigners, or belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, ſaluting the Admiral of the Fleet, ſhall be anſwered by ſix Guns leſs; when they ſalute any other Flag-ſhips, they ſhall be anſwered by four Guns leſs; and if they ſalute Men of War commanded by Captains, they ſhall be anſwered by two Guns leſs.

17. If ſeveral Merchant-ſhips ſalute in Company, no Return is to be made, 'till all have finiſhed, and then by ſuch a Number of Guns as ſhall be thought proper; but though the Merchant-ſhips ſhould anſwer, there ſhall be no ſecond Return.

18. When any Perſons of Quality, or of a public Character, embark on-board any of his Majeſty's Ships, they may be ſaluted at their coming on-board, and alſo at their Departure, with the following Number of Guns, *viz.*

A Duke, or an Ambaſſador, with — — — — } 15 Guns.

Other publick Miniſters, or Perſons of Quality, with — } 11 { or leſs, according to the Degree of their Quality.

The Royal Family are always to be ſaluted by Guns, at the Diſcretion of the Commander in Chief.

19. The Anniverſary Days of the Birth, Acceſſion, and Coronation of the King, of the Birth of the Queen, of the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, and of *Gunpowder Treaſon*, ſhall be ſolemnized by his Majeſty's Ships, if they are in Port, with ſuch a Number of Guns as the Chief-officer ſhall think proper, not exceeding twenty-one each Ship.

20. All Salutes are to be made with the Guns of the Upper-deck.

21. None of his Majeſty's Ships of War ſhall ſalute any of his Majeſty's Forts or Caſtles in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, on any Pretence whatſoever.

22. When a Flag-officer, or Commander in Chief, dies at Sea, or in a Road; at the putting of the Corpſe into the Sea, or carrying it from the Ship to be interred aſhore, the Commanding-officer ſhall cauſe ſuch a Number of Guns to be fired, Funeral-wiſe, from the Ships in Company, as he ſhall think proper, and the Flag ſhall be ſtruck half Maſt.

23. If a Captain of any his Majeſty's Ships dies at Sea, or in a Road, in Company of a Fleet or Squadron, the Commander in Chief ſhall, upon the Diſpoſal of his Corpſe as before, appoint ſuch a Number of Guns as he ſhall think fit, not exceeding twenty, to be fired, Funeral-wiſe, from the Ship he commanded, and the Pendant of the Ship to be lowered down. But if the Ship be alone, the next ſurviving Officer is to cauſe the ſame to be done.

24. A Lieutenant dying at Sea, or in a Road, there ſhall be fired, three Vollies of Small-arms, by Direction of the Commander in Chief. But if the Ship be ſingle, the Captain is to cauſe the ſame to be done.

25. No Merchant-ſhip is to fire Guns in any Road or Port after the Watch is ſet, if any of his Majeſty's Ships be there.

Of PRIZES.

1. When any Ship or Veſſel is taken from the Enemy, the Hatches are to be immediately ſpiked up, and her Lading and Furniture ſecured from Embezzlement, 'till Sentence is paſſed upon her in ſome Court of Admiralty, impowered to take Cognizance of Cauſes of that Nature. See the Act. 22 *Geo.* II. Art. VII. VIII. IX.

2. The Captain is to cauſe the Officers of the Prize to be examined, and three or more of the Company, who can give beſt Evidence, to be brought to the ſaid Court of Admiralty, together with the Charter-parties, Bills of Lading, and other Ship-papers found on-board.

3. If any of his Majeſty's Subjects are found amongſt the Priſoners, he is to order three or four of his own Ship's Company to take particular Notice of them, and to ſet down in Writing their Names, and Circumſtances of their being taken, in order to help their Memory, in caſe they ſhall be produced as Evidence againſt them.

4. He is to carry the ſaid Priſoners, being his Majeſty's Subjects, before ſome Magiſtrate, to be examined, together with his own Witneſſes, and to ſend the Copies of the Declaration they make, to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

5. When a Privateer is taken, great Care is to be had to ſecure all the Ship's-papers, eſpecially the Commiſſion; but if there be no legal Commiſſion found on-board, then all the Priſoners are to be carried before ſome Magiſtrate, in order to their being examined, and committed as Pirates.

The LIEUTENANT.

1. The Lieutenant upon Receipt of his Commiſſion is to repair on board, and diligently execute all ſuch Orders as he ſhall receive from his Commander for his Majeſty's Service, and never to be abſent from the Ship without his Leave.

2. He is to keep a Liſt of the Officers and Men in his Watch, to be always preſent with the Watch, and preſent to the Captain the Names of ſuch as ſhall be from their Duty.

3. In the Night he is to viſit the Ship between Decks, and to ſee that there be no Diſorder among the Men, nor any Fire or Candle burning any where, nor Tobacco ſmoaked between Decks.

4. He is never to change the Courſe of the Ship at Sea, without the Captain's Directions, unleſs to prevent an immediate Danger.

5. No Boats are to come on board, or go off, without the Lieutenant of the Watch being acquainted with it.

6. In Time of Action, he is to ſee that the Men be at their proper Quarters or Stations, and that they do all perform their Duty.

7. It is expected, that he keep a Journal, and, at the End of the Voyage, to deliver Copies thereof ſigned by himſelf, into the Admiralty and Navy-offices.

8. The youngeſt Lieutenant (beſides his common Duty) is to have the particular Care of the Seamen in the Exerciſe of the ſmall Arms, and frequently to diſcipline and inſtruct them in the Uſe thereof; and, in Time of Action, his Station ſhall be chiefly with them.

9. He is particularly to ſee that the ſmall Arms be not loſt nor embezzled, and that they be kept in good Condition for Service.

The MASTER.

1. When a Maſter is warranted he is to repair on-board, and obſerve the Orders of his Captain.

2. He is to inſpect the Proviſions and Stores ſent aboard, and if any of the ſaid Stores or Proviſions are not good, to repreſent the ſame to the Captain or chief Officer on-board, in order to their being ſurveyed and returned.

3. He is to obſerve whether the Hoys, which bring Balaſt on board, be laden up to their Marks, and are clear of Water; and to ſee the Balaſt all taken into the Ship, and that it be clean, ſweet, and wholſome, and no Fraud committed therein; and to ſign the Quantity delivered. He is to take care in returning Balaſt, that the Veſſels do carry away their full Lading.

4. He is to be preſent, and give his Directions, in ſtowing the Hold, and to ſee the ſame done ſkilfully, as well for making the moſt Room, as with regard to the Trim of the Ship, and alſo for preſerving the Proviſions from Damage; and the oldeſt Proviſions are to be ſtowed ſo, as to be firſt expended.

5. He is frequently to inſpect into the Condition of the Rigging and Sails; to be preſent at all Converſion of Stores; and to ſign to the Boatſwain's and Carpenter's Expence-book. He is to take care that the Compaſſes, Glaſſes, Log and Lead-lines be preſerved in good Order; that the Cables be well coiled upon the Orlop; and, when convenient Opportunities offer, to wet them in Salt-water, if the ſame ſhall be neceſſary.

6. He is to have the Care of navigating the Ship, under the Directions of his ſuperior Officer, and to ſee that the Log and Log-book be duly kept, and to keep a good Look-out.

7. He is to apply himſelf to obſerve the Appearances of Coaſts, and how they ſhew themſelves in different Points of View; and if he diſcovers any new Shoals or Rocks under Water, to note them down in his Journal, with their Bearings and Depth of Water.

8. When the Ship is at Anchor, he is to be watchful that the Hawſe be kept clear, and to be very careful to keep the Anchor clear, when ſingle.

9. It is expected, that he keep an exact and perfect Journal; and when the Ship is ordered to be laid up, he is to deliver a Copy of the ſame into the Navy-office, together with his Log-book, ſigned by himſelf.

The BOATSWAIN.

1. The Boatſwain is to receive into his Charge the Rigging, Cables, Cordage, Anchors, Sails, Boats, and other Stores, committed to him by Indenture from the Surveyor of the Navy.

2. He is every Morning to inſpect into the State of the Rigging; he is not to cut up any Cordage or Canvas, or convert or lend any Part of the Stores under his Charge, but by Order in Writing, under the Hand of the Captain, for the publick Uſes of the Ship, and under the Inſpection of the Maſter; and in every Reſpect to be very frugal in the Expence of Stores; and he is likewiſe to take care always to keep a ſufficient Quantity of ſmall Platts by him, for Security of the Cables, to prevent the extravagant Expence of new Hammacoes.

3. He, and his Mates, are to be diligent in aſſiſting to relieve the Watch, and ſee that the Men attend upon Deck, and that the Working of the Ship be performed with as little Noiſe and Confuſion as poſſible.

4. At the End of the Voyage, he is to preſent to the Surveyor of the Navy, an Account of the Expence that has been made of Stores under his Charge, audited and vouched by the Captain and Maſter.

MASTER-SAILMAKER.

1. The Maſter Sailmaker is to be appointed by Warrant from the Navy-board.

2. He is, together with his Mate and Crew, to examine carefully all Sails that are brought on-board, and alſo conſtantly to attend all Surveys and Converſions of Sails.

3. He is timely to repair and keep the Sails fit for Service.

4. He is to ſee that the Sails be perfectly dry when put into the Store-room, and frequently to examine and remove them in the Store-room, and ſee that they are there ſecured from Drips, Damps, and Vermin, as much as poſſible.

5. When any Sails are to be returned into Store, he is to attend the Delivery of them.

The GUNNER, ARMOURER, *and* GUN-SMITH.

1. The Gunner is to receive Stores into his Charge, and object againſt ſuch as are bad.

2. He is to viſit the Powder-rooms, and ſee that they be well ſecured, clean, and in right Order, before the Powder is brought into the Ship.

3. Ships which fit out at *Plymouth*, *Portſmouth*, or *Sheerneſs*, are to take in their Powder at ſome of the outermoſt Moorings; if at *Chatham*, at *Blackſtakes*; and if in the River of *Thames*, at *Galleons*, or *Long-reach*.

4. In the Stowage of the Powder, the Gunner is to take care, that the Powder in Copper-hooped Barrels be lodged in the Ground-tier, and laſt expended; and when the whole Quantity is laid in, he is to ſee the Doors of the Powder-rooms faſt locked, the Skuttles well ſhut and covered, and to deliver the Keys to the Captain.

5. He is to give timely Notice to the Captain, upon all Occaſions of bringing Powder on-board, and not to remove any out of the Ship, or from one Part of her to another, or fill Cartridges, or prepare Fuzees, Fire-works, *&c.* without the Captain's Directions, that he may give Orders for extinguiſhing the Fire and Candles, and poſting Centinels at all proper Places, to prevent Accidents; and the Decks are immediately after to be thoroughly ſwabbed, and cleaned of the looſe Powder that may have fallen.

6. He is never to go, or ſend any one into the Powder-rooms, but by Leave from the Captain; and to take care, that no body enters with ſuch Things about him, as may ſtrike fire in falling.

7. He is to keep but three Rounds of Parchment-cartridges filled at a time, Paper being found more durable, as well as leſs expenſive.

8. If he receives any additional Proportion of Match, Parchment and Paper-cartridges, Oil, *&c.* they are not to be uſed till the Ship's firſt eſtabliſhed Proportion is all expended.

9. When any of the Parchment-cartridges, or other periſhable Stores, ſhall become unfit for Service, and condemned by a regular Survey, he is not to throw them overboard, but return them into the Stores.

10. He is not, on any Pretence, to ſtave or any ways convert empty Powder-barrels, but to preſerve them, in order to ſhift ſuch as may be decayed.

11. He is to allow, by the Direction of his Captain, once a Week for the firſt two Months, and once a Month afterwards, ſix Charges of Powder to each Man in every Exerciſe of the ſmall Arms, and four Pounds of Muſquet-ſhot for them all once a Fortnight; and alſo five Charges of Powder and five Shot, once a Month, for the Exerciſe of the Upper deck Guns.

12. As to the Proportion of Powder to be ſpent on the Occaſion of Service or Scaling, he is to obſerve the Regulation ſet down in this Table.

A Table of Powder for Service and Scaling.

	Pounders.	Service.		Scaling.	
		L.	Oz.	L.	Oz.
Natures of Guns	42	17	0	3	4
	32	14	0	2	12
	24	11	0	2	0
	18	9	0	1	8
	12	6	0	1	0
	9	4	8	0	12
	8	4	0	0	10
	6	3	0	0	8
	5 ¼	2	10	0	8
	4	2	0	0	6
	3	1	8	0	4
	2	1	0	0	3
	1 ½	0	12	0	2
	1	0	8	0	1
	½	0	4	0	1

13. After firing five or ſix Rounds on warm Service, he is to reduce the Allowance of Powder proportionably, until the ſame is leſſened to one third of the Weight of the Shot. And he is not to wet a Gun with a Swab, when it grows warm with frequent firing.

14. He is to take particular Care, that the Guns be all put into their proper Carriages to which they are number'd, and place N° 1, the foremoſt Gun on the Larboard-ſide on each Deck, and the higheſt Number the aftermoſt Gun on the Starboard-ſide; by obſerving which Rule, all the Guns will fit their Carriages, and ſtand a proper Height from the Sill of the Ports.

N. B. *The Guns of every Ship have a Number engraved on them over the Trunnion, and have their proper Carriages marked with the ſame Number on the Bracket, under or near to the Trunnion. The Guns and Carriages for the Larboard-ſide of each Deck are numbered and marked on the Larboard ſide, and thoſe of the Starboard-ſide are numbered and marked on the Starboard-ſide.*

15. He is to ſcale the Guns no oftner than the Ship is refitted, unleſs by the Captain's Orders. And when they are loaded for Service, he is to ſee them well tampioned, and fidded at the Vents with Ocham.

16. When the Captain has ſignified his Orders for ſtriking good Guns into the Hold, he is to pay the Guns all over with a Coat of warm Tar and Tallow mixed together, and place a good full Wad, dipped in the ſame, a Foot within the Muzzle, and a Tampion well fixed therein; alſo a Cork, as well as Ocham, put into the Vent, to prevent their receiving Damage.

17. He is to take care, that all the Stores committed to his Charge be kept clean, and ſecured from Embezlement, or Damage.

18. He is to keep his Book of Expences not in Figures, but in Words at Length.

19. He is to take care, that the Boxes, containing the Grape-ſhot and Hand-granades, be kept in a dry Place, to prevent their being damaged; the Numbers and Sorts of Shot uſed in the Grapes, according to the different Natures of Guns, are ſet down in this Table.

A Table of the Number and Sorts of Shot in the Grapes for the following Natures of Guns.

	Pounders.	Nature of Shot in the Grape.	Number in each.	Number in each Box.
		Lb.		
Natures of Guns	42	4	9	4
	32	3	9	4
	24	2	9	6
	18	1½	9	8
	12	1	9	10
		Ounces.		
	9	13	9	10
	6	8	9	20
	4	6	9	20

20. He is to take Notice, that there will be placed on all Cannons for Sea-ſervice, Notches or Sights on the Baſe and ſecond Reinforced or Muzzle-rings, for horizontical and vertical Directions, for the better guiding the Aim; and the Notches are to be marked with White-lead.

21. It appearing by Experience, that firing double-round Shot, round and double-headed Shot, or round and grape Shot together, is dangerous, and more to the Detriment than Good of the Service, he is to take care to prevent that Practice in Time of Action, and to ſee that the Guns are not loaded with ſuch Mixtures, unleſs it be by the Captain's Order, nor to ſuffer any Iron-crows to be put into them, ſince it is experienced, that they can do little or no Execution by themſelves, and being put after a round Shot, do greatly endanger the Splitting of the Gun.

22. He is never to ſtart the Hand-granades, but return ſuch as ſhall remain at the End of the Voyage, fixed in their Boxes, in the ſame Manner that he received them.

23. When there is occaſion to cut up any Cordage into Breechings, Tackles, Muzled-laſhings, Port-ropes, or Portacle-falls, after receiving the Captain's Orders for it, he is to take care to conform to the Lengths ſet down in the following Table; and at the ſame Time that he diſcharges himſelf of the Cordage expended, to charge himſelf with the Breechings, Tackles, *&c.* into which it ſhall be converted. The like Method is to be uſed in the Converſion of any other Stores. As to the Rope-ſpunges, they are to be made out of old Breechings of the ſame Natures of Guns.

A Table ſhewing the Number and Lengths, &c. of Breechings, Tackles, Muzzle Laſhings, Port Ropes, and Port Tackle Falls, for the ſeveral Rates of Ships under-mentioned.

Rates of Ships.	Number of Guns.	Natures.	Length.	N°. on each Deck.	What Decks they are on.	Breechings.			Tackles.			Muzzle Laſhings.			Port Ropes.				Port Tackle Falls.			
						Size on each Deck.	Length in Feet.	N°. on each Deck.	Size on each Deck.	Length in Fathoms.	N°. on each Deck.	Size.	Length in Fathoms.	Number.	Size on each Deck.	Length in Feet.	N°. on each Deck.	Total for each Ship.	Size on each Deck.	Length in Feet.	N°. on each Deck	Total for each Ship.
						In^s.			In^s.			In^s.			In^s.				In^s.			
1ſt.	100	42	10	28	Lower	6	30	28	2½	10	56	2½	4	28	2½	21	32	76	2	24	32	72
		24	10	28	Middle	6	30	28	2½	10	56	—	—	—	2	16	26	—	2	21	26	
		12	9½	28	Upper	5	28	28	2	8	56	—	—	—	2	14	14	—	2	18	14	
		6	9	16	Qua^r. and Forecaſtle	4	27	16	2	7	32	—	—	—	2	10	4					
2d.	90	32	9½	26	Lower	6	28	26	2½	10	52	2½	4	26	2½	21	32	74	2	24	32	70
		18	9½	26	Middle	5	28	26	2½	9	52	—	—	—	2	16	24	—	2	21	24	
		9	9½	26	Upper	4	28	26	2	8	52	—	—	—	2	14	14					
		6	9	12	Qua^r. and Forecaſtle.	4	27	12	2	7	24	—	—	—	2	10	4					
3d.	80	32	9½	26	Lower	6	28	26	2½	10	52	2½	4	26	2½	21	32	64	2	24	28	52
		12	9½	26	Middle	5	28	26	2	8	52	—	—	—	2	16	24	—	2	21	24	
		6	9 8½	28	Upper and Quarter	4	27 25	28	2	7	56	—	—	—	2	10	8					
3d.	70	24	9½	26	Lower	6	28	26	2½	10	52	2½	4	26	2½	21	30	46	2	21	28	40
		12	9	26	Upper	5	27	26	2	8	52	—	—	—	2	16	12	—	2	21	12	
		6	9 8	18	Qua^r. and Forecaſtle	4	27 24	18	2	7	36	—	—	—	2	10	4					
4th.	60	24	9½	24	Lower	6	28	24	2½	10	48	2½	4	24	2½	21	28	42	2	21	28	38
		9	9	26	Upper	4	27	26	2	8	52	—	—	—	2	16	10	—	2	18	10	
			9 8	10	Qua^r. and Forecaſtle	4	27 24	10	2	7	20	—	—	—	2	10	4					
4th.	50	18	9	22	Lower	5	27	22	2½	9	44	2½	4	22	2½	21	24	40	2	18	24	24
		9	8½	22	Upper	4	25	22	2	7	44	—	—	—	2	16	12					
		6	9 8	6	Qua^r. and Forecaſtle	4	27 24	6	2	7	12	—	—	—	2	10	4					
5th.	40	12	9	20	Lower	5	27	20	2	8	40	2	3	20	2	18	22	30	2	18	20	20
		6	8½	20	Upper	4	25	20	2	7	40	—	—	—	2	10	8					
	30	9	8½	8	Lower	4	25	8	2	7	16	2	3	8	2	18	10	18	2	18	8	8
		6	8	20	Upper	4	24	20	2	7	40	—	—	—	2	10	8					
		4	7½	2	Quarter	4	22	2	2	6	4											
6th.	20	6	7½	20	Upper	4	22	20	2	6	40	—	—	—	2	10	20	20	2	18	20	20

24. When the Ship is in Want of a Supply of Stores, he is to draw out an Account of the Expence which has been made, with the Occaſion thereof, and an Inventory of what remains, and preſent the ſame to the Captain, who is to audit the ſaid Account, and (if it be juſt) to ſend the ſame, certified by himſelf, to the Board of Ordnance, in order to their directing a new Proportion of Supplies.

25. He is to make an Abſtract of his Accounts of Receipts, Iſſues, and Remains, at *Midſummer* and *Chriſtmas*, and to deliver the ſame ſigned to the Captain, who is to audit the ſaid Accounts, and to ſend them up certified to the Office of Ordnance.

26. He is to keep good Order in the Gun-room, and ſuffer none to lye there, but ſuch as have a Right thereto by their Places, or whom the Captain ſhall direct. He is to cauſe a careful Man of his Crew to watch there every Night, with a Candle in a Lanthorn.

27. He is not to burn any Match in the Day-time, except in a Flag-ſhip, or one that commands in Chief; nor more than two Lengths in the Night at once, which are always to be kept hanging over Tubs of Water; but he is to keep a ſufficient Quantity armed, againſt any Surprize.

28 After an Engagement the Remains of Powder, as well laden, as in Barrels or Cartridges, muſt be ſurveyed by Order of the Commander in Chief.

29. When any Detachment of Seamen ſhall be ſent from the Ship on Service, he is to draw out an Inventory of the Arms and Utenſils they are to carry with them. And when the ſaid Detachment returns on-board, he, with the Captain's Clerk, is to examine and ſee, if any of the ſaid Arms or Utenſils are miſſing, and to repreſent the ſame to the Captain, who is to examine the Officer that commanded, and if he cannot give a good Account how they came to be loſt, the Expence is to be noted againſt his Name on the Ship's Books, and an Account thereof ſent to the Ordnance-office.

30. When the Ship comes into Port to be refitted or laid up, he is to apply timely to the Officer of the Ordnance at the Port, to have her cleared of her Powder, Guns, and other Ordnance Stores.

31. On return of the Stores out of the Ship, he is to ſee that the Carriages, and other Stores, be lowered carefully; and, together with the Armourer, is to attend the Store-keeper and other Officers belonging to the Ordnance, when his Stores ſo returned are ſurveyed on-ſhore, and he (the Gunner) to ſign the Remains.

32. At the End of the Voyage, he is to deliver his Accounts into the Office of Ordnance, audited and vouched by the Captain; and he is not to receive his Wages, without a Certificate from that Board, that he hath faithfully diſcharged his Truſt.

33. No Perſon ſhall be warranted as Gunner of any of his Majeſty's Ships, or, if made Abroad, have his Warrant confirmed, before he has paſſed an Examination through the ſeveral Parts of Gunnery, touching his Qualifications to ſerve as Gunner in his Majeſty's Navy, before a Mathematical-maſter, and three able Gunners of the Navy, choſen by the Commiſſioner of the Navy reſiding at the Port, and produces a Certificate from them, that he is fitly qualified to ſerve in that Station.

34. The Armourer and Gunſmith are to be appointed by Warrant from the Board of Ordnance.

35. They are to be aſſiſting to the Gunner in the Survey and Receipt of the Small-arms.

36. Their Station is to be in the Gun-room, where they are to obſerve the Gunner's Orders; they are particularly to be diligent in keeping the Small-arms clean, within, as well as without, by frequent oiling them.

37. The Gunner is to receive from the Office of Ordnance, Tools for his Uſe. And the Gunner is to account for the ſaid Tools at the End of the Voyage, in the ſame Manner that he does for the other Stores under his Charge.

38. The Armourer or Gunſmith is to be preſent while thoſe Repairs of Small-arms are performing in foreign Parts, to ſee the ſame well executed, and the Abuſes they are liable to, in the Hands of the Country Workmen, prevented.

39. When the Small-arms are to be returned into Store, the Armourer and Gunſmith are to take care that they be all clean and in good Order.

The CARPENTER.

1. The Carpenter is to take upon himſelf the Care and Preſervation of the Ship's Hull, Maſts, Yards, Bulkheads, and Cabbins, *&c.* and to receive into his Charge the Sea-ſtores committed to him by Indenture from the Surveyor of the Navy.

2. At Sea, he is to viſit daily all the Parts of the Ship, and ſee, if the Ports are well ſecured, and Decks and Sides be well caulked, and whether any Thing gives Way; and if the Pumps are in good Order; and from Time to Time to inſpect into the Condition of the Maſts and Yards, and to make a Report of every Thing to the Captain.

3. In an Engagement he is frequently to paſs up and down the Hold with his Crew, and to be watchful againſt all Leaks from Shot under Water.

4. As often as the Ship comes into Port, he is to draw up in Writing an exact and particular Account of the Condition of her Hull, Maſts, and Yards, and what Works are wanting to be done to her, and to preſent the ſame ſigned to the Captain, and alſo to the Maſter-ſhipwright of the Yard, when ſhe is to be refitted.

5. He, at the End of the Voyage, is to deliver juſt Accounts of the Stores under his Charge, to the Surveyor of the Navy, audited and vouched by the Captain and Maſter; and he is not to receive his Wages until the ſaid Accounts are paſſed.

The PURSER.

1. The Purſer being the Officer who is entruſted with the keeping and diſtributing the Proviſions out to the Ship's Company, is every three Days, or as frequently as may be, to procure Warrants ſigned by the chief Officer on-board, and the Clerk of the Cheque, for the Number of Men muſtered, during the Time that the Ship ſhall continue in *extra* Petty-warrant; which Warrant he is to deliver to the Agent for Victualling, and to ſee that the Ship be duly ſupplied; and he is to take Care that no Part of the Sea-proviſions be expended, while the Ship is in *extra* Petty-warrant, nor Petty-warrant Proviſions in Sea-victualling.

2. He is not to enter any Man's Name on his Books, nor ſupply him with Proviſions, but by Note in Writing from the Clerk of the Cheque, or the Commanding-officer on-board.

3. He is to inform himſelf, from the Captain, of the Time the Ship is ordered to be victualled for, and to get the full Quantity of Proviſions, Water, Caſks, Neceſſaries, *&c.* on-board; and to take Care, that all the Proviſions be ſweet and good.

4. If the Ship cannot contain all her Proviſions, he is to bring a Certificate, under the Hands of the Commander and Maſter, to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling or their Agent, ſpecifying the Quantity of each Species received ſhort of the Proportion ordered, and the Incapacity of the Ship to receive any more, to the End that the Remainder may be put on-board other Ships, or made good to him by Credit, Bills, or foreign Coin.

5. He is to procure Certificates, under the Hands of the Commander, Maſter, and Boatſwain, of the Quantity of Proviſions received into the Ship.

6. He ſhall not diſcount any Part of the Proviſions due on Credits upon his Indents, for Money; nor be furniſhed with freſh Proportions of neceſſary Money, before he is intitled thereto.

7. He is to provide the Ship ſufficiently at all Times with Coals, Wood, Turnery-ware, Candles, Lanthorns, and other Neceſſaries; to enable him to do which, his Majeſty allows Twelve-pence a Man a Month, whilſt the Ship is in *extra* Petty-warrant, and Fourteen-pence in Sea Victualling, unleſs the Complement be ſixty Men, or under; in which Caſe he ſhall have Seventeen-pence a Man a Month during the Time of Sea Victualling. There is likewiſe allowed him Four-pence a Ton for Drawage of Beer, and two Shillings a Month loading Charges; and if the Ship bears more than ſixty Men, Ten-groats a Month Adz-money; all which will be immediately paid him, after ſigning his Indent.

8. He is to be very careful in looking into the good Order, Stowage, and Preſervation of the Proviſions; and to iſſue out firſt ſuch Part thereof as he ſhall perceive to be moſt liable to Decay, or which have the Marks of old Proviſions, before he ſpends upon the new.

9. In caſe any of the Proviſions prove defective and unfit for Uſe, he is to apply to the Captain, for them to be ſurveyed.

10. No Officers of the Ship ſhall be employed in the Survey, if any other Ships be in Company. And if the Ship be alone in a Port where there are Naval-officers, then the Captain is to apply to have a Naval-officer joined in the Survey.

11. If the Ship, at the Time of the Survey, is at or near any Victualling Port, he is not to ſuffer any of the condemned Proviſions to be thrown over-board, except Cheeſe, but to return the ſame to the Agent of the Victualling. The like he is to do, if the Ship be at Sea, and an Agent with victualling Veſſels be in Company. But if there be no Agent, or he ſhall refuſe to receive the condemned Proviſions, and the Suveyors ſhall give their Opinion, that the ſame are not fit to be kept on-board (the Reaſons whereof they are likewiſe to certify under their Hands) he is then, being directed thereto by a Warrant from the Commander in Chief (or from his own Captain if the Ship be alone) to cauſe the ſaid Proviſions to be flung over-board (Beer-caſk being firſt filled up) taking the Certificate of the Surveyors, of the Quantity ſo thrown away; which is to be written in Words at Length, at the Foot of the ſaid Warrant; and either himſelf, or his Steward, is to make Oath to the Truth of the ſame, the firſt Opportunity they ſhall have of doing it; alſo when, where, and from whom the ſaid Proviſions were received.

12. Condemned Butter is never to be flung over-board, but to be returned into his Majeſty's Stores, unleſs the Boatſwain ſhall want any for the Ship's Uſe; in which Caſe he may be ſupplied with what is neceſſary, and ſhall be charged therewith.

13. If any Caſk of Beer ſhall have leaked out a Quantity, it ſhall be ſurveyed; and the Cooper ſhall likewiſe make Oath to the Truth of the ſaid Leakage, and that no Beer was drawn or pumped out of any of the ſaid Caſks, with his Knowledge, before the Time of Survey.

14. He is never to expect any Allowance for Leakage of Wine, Oil, Brandy, Rum, or Arrack, but to ſee that the Caſk be ſound and full, at their coming on-board, and to be anſwerable for the Care of them afterwards.

15. He is to procure Duplicates of all Orders, Reports, Certificates, &c. relating to Surveys, atteſted under the Hands of the Surveyors, and to tranſmit the ſame by the firſt Opportunity to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, reſerving the Originals in his own Hands, for the paſſing his Accounts.

16. If any Species of Proviſions falls ſhort, and the Want thereof is ſupplied to the Men out of another Species, he is to take Care, when the Ship receives a Supply, to iſſue out the like Quantity of the Species that was wanting, and for the ſame Number of Days, inſtead of the other Species that was before iſſued in lieu thereof.

17. If any Caſk of Beef, or Pork, ſhall fall ſhort of the Contents marked on the Head, he muſt apply to the Captain for his Warrant to the Maſter, and to one or more of the Mates, who ſhall ſurvey the ſame; and either himſelf, or his Steward, is to make Oath, at the Foot of the Survey, to the Truth thereof.

18. He is not to ſell or make any undue Uſe of the Proviſions or Stores under his Charge. And in thoſe Years, where the Price of any Species ſhall exceed the Sum uſually charged on Purſers in Debt, the Purſer ſhall be obliged to pay the full Value his Majeſty gave for the Proviſions.

19. He is not to purchaſe any Proviſions in Places where there is an Agent or Contractor, or when there is a Likelihood of coming in their Way; but, in caſe the Ship is in Want of Proviſions in foreign Parts, where there is no Agent or Contractor, he ſhall apply to the Captain, who is to cauſe the Remains to be ſurveyed by his Officers; and, upon their certifying what is abſolutely neceſſary to be ſupplied, and the Reaſon of the Deficiency, ſhall give his Warrant to the Purſer to procure the ſame, which he is to do with the beſt Frugality, taking Care that the ſaid Proviſions be good and wholeſome. The Receipts of Payment for the Proviſions are to be witneſſed by two Commiſſion or Warrant-officers, and to expreſs the Quantity and Prices of each Species, and he is to procure a Certificate from the Governor or Conſul, where there are any, or elſe from two or three of the moſt eminent Merchants upon the Place, that the ſaid Bargains were according to the Market Price.

20. He is to take Notice, that there will not be allowed on his Accounts any Charge for Storehouſe-room, or Commiſſion. And as to Sloops or Boats, they are never to be hired but upon an indiſpenſible Neceſſity, and by his Commander's Orders.

21. If it ſhall be neceſſary for the Purſer to draw Bills of Exchange upon the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, either for Monies taken up abroad to purchaſe Proviſions, or for the Payment of Proviſions ſupplied by Merchants, the Money is to be taken up by Publication; and the Captain is to atteſt the Bills, that they are drawn upon Account of the neceſſary Victualling of the Ship, and by his Order; and the Purſer is to procure Certificates from the Governor, Conſul, or Merchants as aforeſaid, of the Currency of the Exchange at that Time, which he is to tranſmit home with the Bills; and at the ſame Time, or as ſoon after as poſſible, to ſend to the Victualling-office a diſtinct Account how the ſaid Money has been laid out, with a Certificate from the Commander, Maſter, and Boatſwain, that the Proviſions, charged therein to have been bought, were received on-board.

22. When he returns home, he is to deliver into the Victualling-office an Account-current of all his Diſburſements in foreign Parts for the Service of the Ship, ſetting forth the Quantity and Price of every Species of Proviſions bought, together with the particular Charge attending the ſame, reduced into *Engliſh* Money, with his Affidavit at the Foot of the Account, that the ſeveral Sums therein mentioned were actually paid as againſt each Article expreſſed, without any Profit to himſelf, or to any Perſon on his Account, by Exchange or otherwiſe; and that the Quantity of Proviſions charged therein, was the full Quantity *Engliſh* Weight and Meaſure, and was all received on-board in Kind; and that he has not procured Proviſions of any Sort (except what hath been ſaved by the Ship's Company out of their daily Allowance) at the ſame Time and Place, on his own Account.

23. If the Ship ſhall happen to be at any Place abroad, where Water cannot be had without Money, he is, upon a Warrant from the Captain, to purchaſe what is neceſſary, taking Receipts witneſſed by two Commiſſion or Warrant-officers, and a Certificate from the Captain of the Quantity brought on-board.

24. If the Caſk ſhall prove defective in foreign Parts, the Purſer ſhall employ his Cooper to repair and new trim the ſaid Caſk. He ſhall keep a diſtinct Account of the Waſte of Staves or Iron-hoops, in making the Remainder ſerviceable; and himſelf, or the Cooper, ſhall make Oath to the Truth thereof; upon producing which, with the Captain's Certificate of the Badneſs of the Caſk, the Neceſſity of trimming the ſame, and the Quantity ſo trimmed, it will be allowed him on his Accounts.

25. He is not to ſuffer any Caſk to be expended, or cut for *extra* Service, without an Order from the Captain in Writing, who is to give him likewiſe a Certificate, expreſſing the Quantity expended, when, and for what Service. But he is to take Notice, that no Caſk uſed for Waſhing-tubs, Steep-tubs, or by the Cook, will be allowed as an *extra* Expence, they being to be included in the ordinary Allowance for Waſte; and all Caſks made uſe of in the Tops, or on the Quarters, that are not cut, are not to be looked upon as expended, nor the Iron-hoops on the Caſk that are cut to ſtand between the Guns.

26. If any Loſs happens in the Proviſions or Stores, he is to produce a Certificate from the Captain of what was ſo loſt, with the Occaſion of it; and himſelf, or ſome other who was preſent, is to make Oath, that it did not happen through any Neglect or Default.

27. He is to keep an exact Muſter-book of the Time of Entry, Diſcharge, Deſertion, Death, Attendance and Abſence of every Perſon belonging to the Ship, and to ſet off againſt their Names the Slop-cloaths, Dead-mens Cloaths, Beds and Tobacco, they have been ſupplied with. He is carefully to note down, on the Front of the ſaid Book, the Times of beginning and ending Petty-warrant or Sea-victualling, as alſo Short-allowance, and the Nature and Quality of the ſaid Allowance, and what Money has been paid on that Account.

28. It is allowed to him, at ſuch Times as the Captain ſhall appoint, and in ſome public Place upon Deck, to iſſue out to ſuch Seamen as do ſmoak, and ſhall deſire it, cut and dried ſweet-ſcented Tobacco, not exceeding two Pounds *per* Month to a Man, at the Rates ſettled by the Navy-board.

29. He is not to victual any Supernumeraries, but by Warrant in Writing from the Captain.

30. When he victuals any other Ships Men, by his Captain's Order, he is to demand Repayment for the ſame from the Purſer of that Ship (unleſs they are chequed there out of Victuals) and in caſe of Refuſal, to ſend by the firſt Opportunity a perfect Liſt of the ſaid Mens Names, and Time of Victualling, certified by his Captain, to the Victualling-office.

31. He is not to ſpare any Proviſions or Stores, to any other Ship, but by his Captain's Warrant in Writing, upon the Back of which he is to take the Purſer's or Steward's Receipt, mentioning the Quantity of each Sort in Words at Length, with the Time when, and Place where; and he is, by the firſt Opportunity, to ſend a Copy of the ſaid Receipt to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling.

32. He is to keep a Book of all Men ſent ſick out of the Ship. He is likewiſe to keep a perfect Slop-book, Book of Dead-mens Cloaths, and a Tobacco-book, which he is to deliver into the reſpective Offices, before the Pay of the Ship.

33. When any Ship returns from her Voyage into Port to be laid up, upon the Purſer's ſending Notice to the Victualling-office, there will be immediately ſent off Veſſels or Lighters, to bring away the Remainder of the Ship's Proviſions, together with the Caſk, Iron-hoops, and Biſcuit-bags; and the Purſer is to ſend, with the ſaid Proviſions, his Steward, or ſome careful Perſon, to ſee the ſafe Delivery of them to the Agent, or other Officer appointed to receive them.

34. Touching the Number of Staves, of which each Sort of Caſk ſhall be reputed to conſiſt when returned, it is to be obſerved, that each Butt returned, if ſhaken, ſhall conſiſt of no leſs than twenty-ſix Staves; every Puncheon of twenty-two; every Hogſhead of twenty; and every Barrel of ſeventeen Staves, Heading included, whereof two Pieces are to be reckoned a Stave; always accounting each Stave above forty-four Inches long, for a Butt Stave; from forty-four to thirty-eight Inches, for a Puncheon Stave; from thirty-eight to thirty-two Inches, for a Hogſhead Stave; and from thirty-two to twenty-eight Inches, to be reckoned a Barrel Stave.

35. No Receipts ſhall be given for Proviſions returned into Store, until a regular Survey be taken thereof.

36. He is to deliver in his Books and Papers ſo timely, that his Victualling-account may be paſſed within ſix Months after the Ship's being paid off at fartheſt; and, when he delivers in the ſaid Accounts, he is to produce his Affidavit, that the particular Quantities of every individual Species of Proviſions, therein mentioned, were actually delivered on-board the Ship in Kind, and that he did not receive any Money, or other Conſideration, in lieu of any Part thereof, nor was ſupplied with any more Proviſions or Stores, on the public Account, than what is there charged.

The Surgeon.

1. When a Surgeon is warranted to ſerve in any of his Majeſty's Ships, he is to provide himſelf with Inſtruments and a Cheſt of Medicines, according to the Rules of the Navy, and preſent the ſame to be viewed by the Phyſicians in the Commiſſion of Sick and Wounded, or (if there be none) by the Phyſician of *Greenwich* Hoſpital, in Conjunction with the Governors of the Surgeons Company; who are to take Care, that all the Inſtruments, Drugs, and Medicines, be of the Sorts, Goodneſs, and Quantity required, and to give him a Certificate thereof. And when the Survey is over, the Cheſt is to be locked, and the Seals of the Phyſician and of the Surgeons Company to be affixed thereto in ſuch Manner, as to prevent its being afterwards opened, before it comes on-board; nor is the Captain to admit any Cheſt into the Ship, without thoſe Marks upon it.

2. The like Method is to be taken in ſurveying the Remains, and recruiting the Cheſt in *London*; but in the Out-ports, the Phyſician and Surgeon of the Sick and Wounded at the Port are to make the Survey; or, if there be none ſuch, the Surgeon of the Yard is to do it ſingly, and to obſerve the ſame Methods as in the preceding Article, taking care to deſtroy all ſuch Medicines or Drugs, as ſhall be found in the Cheſt, not fit for Uſe.

3. He is to provide himſelf, before his going on-board, with a competent Number of printed Sick-tickets, which will be delivered to him at the Sick and Wounded-office; and a ſufficient Number of Smart-tickets from the Office of the Clerk of the Acts.

4. He is to examine the Neceſſaries ſent on-board for the Uſe of the ſick Men, and if they are not good in their Kind, to acquaint the Captain. He is to keep the ſaid Neceſſaries in his Cuſtody, and take care that they be duly ſerved out for the Relief of the ſick Men.

5. He is to viſit the Men under his Care (at leaſt) twice a Day; and oftner, if their Circumſtances require it; and at other Times, to diſtribute his Mates and Aſſiſtants amongſt them, that none may want due Attendance and Relief.

6. In Caſes that are difficult, if there be a Phyſician in the Squadron, he is to reſort to him for Advice, and follow his Preſcriptions.

7. He is to inform the Captain every Day of the Condition of his Patients.

8. When any ſick Men are ordered aſhore to the Hoſpital, or on-board the Hoſpital-ſhip attending the Squadron, he is to ſend along with them to the Surgeon, an Account (in Writing) of the Time and Manner of their being taken ill, and the Methods uſed towards their Recovery.

9. In an Engagement, he is to keep himſelf in the Hold, where a Platform is to be prepared for the Reception of the wounded Men; and himſelf, and his Mates and Aſſiſtants, are to be ready and have every Thing at-hand for ſtopping their Blood, and dreſſing their Wounds.

10. He is to keep a Day-book of his Practice, noting therein the Names of the Men that come under his Care; their Hurts or Diſtempers; the Day they were taken ill, and the Day of their Recovery, Removal, or Death; together with his Preſcriptions and Methods of Treatment while under Cure.

11. He is, from the ſaid Day-book, to compoſe two Journals, the one of his Phyſical Practice in Diſeaſes; the other of his Chirurgical Operations in Caſes of Wounds or Hurts; and, at the End of the Voyage, to deliver the firſt to the Phyſicians in the Commiſſion of Sick and Wounded, or (if there be no ſuch) to the Phyſician of *Greenwich* Hoſpital, and the latter to the Governors of Surgeons Company, who are to examine the ſame, and certify their Judgment thereupon.

The Master at Arms; *and the* Corporal.

1. None ſhall be admitted to ſerve as Maſter at Arms on-board his Majeſty's Ships, but ſuch as are appointed by Warrant from the Lord High-admiral, or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and they are to be Men of Service, and well ſkilled in martial Diſcipline.

2. The Maſter at Arms, is daily to exerciſe, at Small-arms, the Petty-officers and Ship's Company by Turns, as the Captain ſhall appoint.

3. He is to place and relieve the Centinels; to mount with the Guard; and carefully to ſee, that the Fire-locks, and other Arms, be conſtantly preſerved clean, and in good Repair; and to obſerve all ſuch Directions, as the *Lieutenant at Arms* ſhall give him.

4. He is to ſee that the Fire and Candles are put out in proper Seaſon, according to the Orders of the Captain; and to acquaint him when the ſame is done.

5. He is to viſit all Veſſels and Boats permitted to bring Proviſions and neceſſary Refreſhments to the Ship, and to prevent the Seamen going from the Ship without Leave.

6. He is to acquaint the Officer of the Watch with all Miſdemeanors and Irregularities committed in the Ship, which ſhall come to his Knowledge.

7. The Corporals are to act in Subordination to the Maſter at Arms; and to perform the ſame Duty themſelves, where a Maſter at Arms is not allowed.

The SCHOOLMASTER.

1. No Perſon ſhall be warranted to ſerve as Schoolmaſter in any of his Majeſty's Ships, who has not been firſt examined before the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the *Trinity-houſe* of *Deptford-ſtrond*, and produced a Certificate under their Hands, of his being well ſkilled in the Theory and Practice of the Art of Navigation, and qualified to teach Youth therein, and another, under the Hands of Perſons of known Credit, teſtifying the Sobriety of his Life and Converſation.

2. He is to employ his Time on-board in inſtructing the Voluntiers in Writing, Arithmetic, and the Study of Navigation; and in whatſoever may contribute to render them Artiſts in that Science.

3. He is likewiſe to teach the other Youths of the Ship, according to ſuch Orders as he ſhall receive from the Captain, and with regard to their ſeveral Capacities, whether in Reading, Writing, or otherwiſe.

4. He is to be early every Morning at the Place of Teaching, and to repreſent the Names of ſuch as are idle, or averſe to Learning, to the Commander, in order to his taking Courſe for their Correction.

5. He is not to receive his Wages or Allowances, without a Certificate from the Captain of his Diligence in his Buſineſs; nor to be employed again in another Ship, without depoſiting in the Admiralty-office a like Certificate.

The COOK.

1. The Cook is to have the Charge of the Steep-tub, and to be anſwerable for the Meat put therein, if any Part thereof ſhall be loſt through his Want of Care.

2. He is to ſee the Meat duly watered, and the Proviſions carefully and cleanly boiled, and iſſued to the Men, according to the Practice of the Navy.

3. Upon the Appearance of ſtormy Weather, he is to be careful to ſecure the Steep tub ſo, that it may not be waſhed over-board; but if, through any unexpected Accident, which he cannot prevent, the ſame ſhall happen to be loſt, which the Captain is to certify, he is to make Oath to the Number of Pieces loſt, that it may be allowed on the Purſer's Accounts.

Of HOSPITAL-SHIPS.

1. Ships, appointed for Hoſpitals, ſhall have the Gundeck entirely ſet apart for the Reception of ſick Men, which ſhall be fluſh, without any Cabbins or Bulkheads, except a Deal or Canvas one, (to roll up) for ſeparating ſuch as have malignant Diſtempers from the reſt. The ſaid Deck is to hold all the neceſſary Cradles, with the Bedding; and two Pair of chequer'd Linen ſheets ſhall be allowed for every Bed, and Scuttles ſhall be made in the Sides, in convenient Places, for Inlets of the Air.

2. Beſides the Phyſician, there ſhall be in the Hoſpital-ſhip an able and experienced Surgeon, with four Mates, and ſix Men-aſſiſtants, a Servant to the Surgeon, a Baker, and four Waſhermen; all ſupernumerary to the Complement.

3. The Captain of the Hoſpital-ſhip ſhall ſubſiſt the Men under Cure, out of the beſt and neweſt Proviſions in the Ship; and with freſh Meat as often as the ſame can be procured.

4. When any Men are well enough recovered to return to their Ship, the Captain of the Hoſpital-ſhip ſhall put abroad their Ship's Signal and a Weſt, that a Boat may be ſent to them.

The PHYSICIAN.

1. The Phyſician is to embark and reſide in the Hoſpital-ſhip, if there be any; or in ſuch other Ship as the Commander in Chief ſhall appoint.

2. He is to viſit the Ships of the Squadron or Diviſion he belongs to, as often as the Circumſtances of the ſick and hurt Men in them ſhall make it needful, taking the Surgeon of the Ship with him in his Viſitation, and preſcribing to him the Remedies to be applied for their Cure.

3. He is impowered at any Time, with the Approbation of the Admiral or Commander in Chief, to go on-board any Ship of the Squadron or Diviſion he belongs to, and inſpect into the Cheſt of the Surgeon, deſtroy ſuch Medicines, *&c.* as are unfit for Uſe; call for his Journal, and enquire into his Method of Practice, and repreſent his Failures to the Commander in Chief.

4. He is to obſerve all ſuch Orders and Directions as he ſhall receive from the Admiral or Commander in Chief, relating to the Service; and to demand no Fee or Reward from any Perſon under his Care.

An Eſtabliſhment of SEA-WAGES, *and of the Number of* OFFICERS *allowed to his Majeſty's Ships.*

	per Diem.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. The Pay of the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, is — —	5	00	0
Of an Admiral — — —	3	10	0
Of a Vice-admiral — — —	2	10	0
Of a Rear-admiral — — —	1	15	0

2. The firſt Captain to the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, ſhall have the Pay of a Rear-admiral. The ſecond Captain to the ſaid Admiral, and the Captains to other Admirals, ſhall be allowed the Pay of a Captain of a firſt Rate.

3. The Captains to Vice-admirals ſhall be allowed the Pay of a ſecond Rate, and the Captains to Rear-admirals, the Pay of a third Rate. But if a Vice or Rear-admiral ſerves in a Ship of a firſt or ſecond Rate, the Captain ſhall have the proper Pay of the Ship.

4. Flag-officers are to give Certificates to their Captains of the Number of Days they have ſerved under them, that they may be paid accordingly.

5. Secretaries or Clerks of Flag officers ſhall have the following Allowances of Pay, *viz.*

	per Annum.		
The Secretary of the Admiral of the Fleet	£.300	0	0
Of the Admiral of the White, or Blue, commanding in Chief — —	200	0	0
Of a Vice or Rear-admiral, commanding in Chief — — — —	150	0	0
Of a Commander in Chief with a Captain under him — — —	100	0	0

But if they ſerve under Flag-officers not having the chief Command, they ſhall have the following Allowances, *viz.*

	per Annum		
Clerks of the Admirals of the White and Blue — — — —	100	0	0
Clerks of Vice and Rear-admirals —	50	0	0

Which Salaries are to be in full of all *extra* Allowances, not only for themſelves, but for all ſuch Clerks as ſhall be employed under them; and to be paid them upon Certificates of their being ſo employed, from the Flag-officers or Commanders under whom they ſerve.

6. When a Phyſician or Deputy-treaſurer ſhall be appointed to the Fleet, or any Squadron thereof, the Pay of the former is to be Twenty-ſhillings, and of the latter, Six-ſhillings and Eight-pence, by the Day.

7. When Courts-martial ſhall require the Aſſiſtance of a Deputy Judge-advocate, or a Provoſt-martial, the Pay of the former is to be Eight-ſhillings, and of the latter Four-ſhillings by the Day, for the Times only for which the ſaid Courts ſhall be ſubſiſting.

8. The Schoolmaſter ſhall receive the Pay of Midſhipman, and the Captain is to keep open the Vacancy of a Midſhipman for that Purpoſe; but if there be no Vacancy, when the Schoolmaſter appears on-board, he ſhall nevertheleſs be paid as Midſhipman, and enter'd into the firſt Vacancy. And for his farther Encouragement, he ſhall be allowed at the Rate of twenty Pounds a Year, payable by Bill upon the Treaſurer of the Navy.

9. The Wages of other Officers, and of Seamen, with the Number of Officers allowed to a Ship of each Rate, are as follows:

Officers.	Wages in each Rate.						Number of Officers in each Rate.												
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	Fireships 5th Rate's Pay.	Hospital-Ships, 5th Rate's Pay.	Store-Ships, 5th Rate's Pay.	Sloops from 100 to 60 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Bomb-Veſſels and Sloops from 50 to 40 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Yatcht of 50 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Yatchs from 40 to 30 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.
	l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*													
CAPTAIN *per Diem*	1 0 0	0 16 0	0 13 6	0 10 0	0 8 0	0 6 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
LIEUTENANT *per Diem*	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	6	6	4	3	3	1	1	—	1	1			
MASTER *per Menſem*	9 2 0	8 8 0	6 6 0	5 12 0	5 2 8	4 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1				
Second ditto and Pilot of the Yachts, at	3 10 0 *per Menſem.*																		
CHAPLAIN *per Menſem*	0 19 0 in all Rates.																		
Maſter's Mate	3 6 0	3 0 0	2 16 2	2 7 10	2 2 0	2 2 0	6	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1		
Midſhipman	2 5 0	2 0 0	1 17 6	1 13 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	24	24	16	10	6	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Schoolmaſter	—	—	1 17 6	1 13 9	1 10 0	—	—	—	1	1	1								
Captain's Clerk	2 5 0	2 0 0	1 17 6	1 13 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quarter-maſter	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	8	8	6	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Quarter-maſter's Mate	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	6	6	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	—	1	
BOATSWAIN	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Boatſwain's Mate	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yeoman of the Sheets	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	4	4	4	2	2	1							
Coxſwain	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Maſter Sailmaker	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Sailmaker's Mate	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1	1	1	1	1	1							
Sailmaker's Crew	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
GUNNER	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gunner's Mate	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yeoman of the Powder Room	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	
Quarter Gunner	1 6 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	One to every 4 Guns	One to every 4 Guns.	One to every 4 Guns.	One to every 4 Guns.	One to every 4 Guns.	One to every 4 Guns.	—	—	2	1	—	1	
Armourer	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Gunſmith	1 5 0	1 5 0	—	—	—	—	1	1											

Officers.	Wages in each Rate. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	Number of Officers in each Rate. 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	Fireſhips 5th Rate's Pay.	Hoſpital-Ships, 5th Rate's Pay.	Store-Ships, 5th Rate's Pay.	Sloops from 100 to 60 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Bomb-Veſſels and Sloops from 50 to 40 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Yatcht of 50 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.	Yatchts from 40 to 30 Men, 6th Rate's Pay.
	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.													
CARPENTER	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carpenter's Mate	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carpenter's Crew	1 6 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	12	10	8	6	5	4	1	1	2	2	1		
PURSER	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	1			
Steward	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 3 4	1 0 8	1 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Steward's Mate	1 0 8	1 0 8	1 0 8	1 0 8	—	—	1	1	1	1									
COOK	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 4 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1			
SURGEON	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Surgeon's First Mate	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	5	4	3	2	2	1	—	4	1	1			
Ditto Second Mate	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	—													
Ditto 3d, 4th, and 5th Mate	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	—	—	—													
Maſter at Arms	2 5 0	2 0 0	1 17 6	1 13 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	1	1	1	1	1	1							
Corporal	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	—	1	1			
Trumpeter	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 4 0	1	1	1	1	1	1							

Midſhipman Ordinary — — —
Cook's Mate — — — — —
Coxſwain's Mate — — — —
Yeoman of the Boatſwain's Store-room —
Swabber — — — —
Cooper — — — —
Able Seaman — — —
Captain's Cook — — — —
Ordinary Trumpeter — — —
} l. s. d. At 1 4 0 per Menſem.

Ordinary Seamen — — —
Shifter — — — —
Barber — — — —
Gunner's Taylor — — —
} l. s. d. At 0 19 0 per Menſem.

9. Flag-officers ſhall commence Pay from the Date of their Commiſſions, or Orders to repair to their Squadrons, and continue in Pay to the Day that they ſtrike their Flag by Order, or that it is ſignified to them the Expedition is ended.

10. Captains and Lieutenants ſhall commence Pay from the Date of their Commiſſions, unleſs they are appointed in the Place of an Officer removed, who is to enjoy his Pay until he is relieved by his Succeſſor.

11. A Lieutenant ſucceeding to the Command of the Ship, upon the Death of the Captain in foreign Parts, ſhall receive the Pay and Allowances of a Captain, until he is ſuperſeded by another Captain appointed to command her.

12. All Commiſſions to Captains and Lieutenants ſhall be entred in the Navy-office.

13. Commiſſion or Warrant-officers quitting their Employments abroad, without ſuch Reaſons as ſhall be ſatisfactory to the Lord High-admiral, or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, ſhall be diſmiſſed from the Service.

Of the NUMBER *of* MEN, *or* SERVANTS, *allowed to* OFFICERS.

1. When the Lord High-admiral goes to Sea in Perſon, there is allowed him ſuch a Number of Men, or Servants, above the Complement of the Ship, as he thinks proper, in regard to the Dignity of his Office.

	Men.
2. The Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, is allowed — — — —	50
Admirals, — — — — —	30
Vice-admirals, — — — —	20
Rear-admirals, — — — —	15

3. Out of which Number there may be borne on the Ship's-books, as Servants, *viz.*

	Servants.
To the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, — — — —	16
To Admirals, — — — — —	12
To Vice and Rear-admirals, — — —	10

4. There is allowed to the Captain of every Ship, four Servants in every hundred Men of the Complement. To the Lieutenant, Maſter, Second-maſter, Purſer, Surgeon, Chaplain, and Cook, in all Ships down to 60 Men incluſive, each one Servant. To the Boatſwain, Gunner, and Carpenter, in all Ships down to 100 Men incluſive, each two Servants; and from 100 to 60 Men, one Servant.

5. The Allowances of Men or Servants to Flag-officers, are to be reckoned over and above the Complement of the Ship; but the Servants of Captains, and all other Officers, are to be included in it.

6. No Servant ſhall be allowed to any Officer on the Ship's-books, who is under thirteen Years of Age, unleſs he be the Son of the Officer, and he not to be under eleven.

7. No Servants ſhall be allowed to ſuch Warrant-officers, who, by the Conſtitution of the Navy, are ſtanding in the Ship, and are allowed Servants in Ordinary, but who are bound to them by Indenture for (at leaſt) five Years, the ſaid Indentures to be enrolled in the Navy-office.

8. All Officers are ſtrictly charged not, by Miſratings, or colluſive Powers, to receive the Wages of any more than their proper Servants.

Of TABLE-MONEY.

1. The Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet ſhall be allowed twenty Shillings a Day for his Table, both in home and foreign Voyages.

2. Admirals and Vice-admirals ſhall be allowed the ſame Table-money, when they command in Chief.

3. The Allowance of Table-money to the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, ſhall begin and end with his Sea-pay; and to the others, from the Date of their Commiſſions, or Orders to command in Chief, to the Day of the Expiration of that Command.

Of GRATUITIES *to the* RELATIONS *of* OFFICERS *and others ſlain in Fight with the* ENEMY.

1. The Allowance to the Widow ſhall be a full Year's Pay, according to the Poſt her Huſband ſerved in at the Time of his Death.

2. The Allowance to each Orphan ſhall be one-third in Proportion to the Allowance to the Widow; and poſthumous Children ſhall be eſteemed Orphans. But no Allowance ſhall be made to any Orphan married at the Time of the Father's Death.

3. If the Party ſlain ſhall have no Widow, but leave a Mother that is indigent, a Widow, and above fifty Years of Age, at the Time that her Son was ſlain, ſhe ſhall be allowed Bounty equal to a Widow.

4. The Relations of Officers ſlain in Fireſhips ſhall receive the ſame Bounty as thoſe of Officers of the like Rank, ſlain in Ships of the fourth Rate.

5. This Bounty extends as well to thoſe, who ſhall be ſlain in Tenders, or in Boats, or on Shore, as to thoſe ſlain on-board the Ships; and alſo to ſuch as ſhall be ſlain in Fight with Pirates, or who ſhall happen to encounter with the Ships of Friends by Miſtake. And Perſons dying of their Wounds, after Battle, ſhall be eſteemed as *Perſons ſlain*.

6. The Captains of his Majeſty's Ships are to ſet down at the End of their Muſter-books a diſtinct Account of the Officers or Men ſlain, and on what Occaſion, that, upon Application of the Parties entitled to this Bounty, the Navy-board may cauſe them to be paid.

Of GRATUITIES *to* OFFICERS *wounded in Fight with the* ENEMY, *and to* SEAMEN *hurt in the* SERVICE.

1. When any Commiſſion or Warrant-officers, ſerving in the Navy, ſhall be wounded in Fight with the Enemy; and the Wound received ſhall happen to occaſion the Loſs of an Eye, or a Limb, or the total Loſs of the Uſe of a Limb, or be ſuch, as ſhall, upon Search made by the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Company of Surgeons in *London*, be by them certified to be, in its Effects, of equal Prejudice to the Habit of the Body with the Loſs of a Limb, the Party ſhall receive a Gratuity in Money of one full Year's Pay, and be farther allowed ſuch Expences relating to his Cure (if it is not performed at his Majeſty's Expence) as ſhall be certified to be reaſonable, under the Hands of the ſaid Company, upon Examination of the Vouchers, which he is to lay before them. And he ſhall beſides continue in Pay during the Time he ſhall, by good Proof, appear to have lain under Cure.

2. Officers ſerving in Ships under the Third-rate at the Time of receiving Wounds, ſhall be eſteemed (as to the Meaſure of a Year's Gratuity) as Officers of a Third-rate.

3. Voluntiers by Warrant ſhall be eſteemed (with reſpect to the Year's Gratuity) as Lieutenants.

4. If the Wounds received amount not to the Loſs of a Limb, nor are of equal Prejudice to the Body; the Charges of Cure only, and the Continuance of the Party in Pay, are allowed, as is expreſſed in the ſecond Article.

5. Under the Term, *Wounded in Fight with the Enemy*, ſhall be comprehended all the ſeveral Caſes included in the fifth Article of the preceding Head, concerning the *Slain in Fight with the Enemy*; and ſuch as are ſo wounded, ſhall be paid the Gratuities and Charges here allowed them, upon their Application to the Navy-board.

6. When any Warrant or Inferior-officer, Seaman, or other in Sea-pay, ſhall receive any Hurt, or be maimed or diſabled in any Service of the Ship, whether it be on-board or aſhore, the Captain is to cauſe a Certificate to be made out, and deliver'd to him (printed Forms of which will be given him at the Navy-office) expreſſing the Nature of the Hurt, and on what Occaſion it was received; which Certificate ſhall be ſigned by himſelf, a Lieutenant, the Maſter, Surgeon, and one or more of the other Warrant-officers of the Ship, to the End that he may receive the Benefit of the Cheſt at *Chatham*, according to the Rules and Conſtitutions of the ſame.

Of Pensions *to* Superannuated-officers.

1. Boatſwains, Gunners, Carpenters, Purſers, and Cooks, (whoſe Employments are conſtant) ſhall have ſerved full fifteen Years; Maſters, and Surgeons, (whoſe Employments are not conſtant) eight Years in their reſpective Offices, before they ſhall be entitled to apply for Superannuation.

2. Every Officer applying to be ſuperannuated, ſhall be examined by the Phyſicians in the Commiſſion of Sick and Wounded, (or in default of ſuch Commiſſion, by the Phyſician of the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*) in Conjunction with the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Surgeons Company in *London*, who are to inſpect into, and make Judgment of the State of his Body, or Mind, and of his Unfitneſs to ſerve his Majeſty, and to make Report thereof under their Hands.

3. Officers, whoſe Employments are conſtant, being admitted to Superannuation, ſhall receive an annual Penſion equal to their Pay in the Ship of the higheſt Rate they have ſerved in.

4. The Penſions to be allowed to Maſters, ſhall be equal to half their Pay, according to the aforegoing Rule. Surgeons in this Reſpect ſhall be eſteemed as Maſters; that is to ſay, a Surgeon ſuperannuated from a Ship of the firſt Rate, ſhall enjoy a Penſion equal to a Maſter ſuperannuated from a Firſt rate, and ſo on.

5. His Majeſty is pleaſed to reſerve to himſelf to conſider the Merits and Pretenſions of Commiſſion-officers, who ſhall be worn out or diſabled in his Service, as their Caſe ſhall be repreſented to him by the Lord High-admiral, or Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and to ſettle ſuch Allowances or Penſions upon them, as his Majeſty ſhall think fit.

The Oeconomy of the Navy; containing the ſeveral Duties of the Commiſſioners and principal Officers of the Navy-office, and of the Officers, and the *Management* of his *Majeſty*'s Docks or Yards; eſtabliſhed firſt by JAMES Duke of YORK, on the 28th of *January*, 1661, then Lord High-admiral of England and Ireland.

The Duty *of the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's* Navy, *jointly and ſeparately, conſider'd.*

1. They are to conſult and adviſe together how to tranſact all Affairs, tending either to the Well-governing of his Majeſty's Navy, and all ſubordinate Miniſters thereof, wherein they are to proceed by Common-council and Argument of moſt Voices, endeavouring jointly to advance his Majeſty's Service, without any private or indirect End.

2. They are to propoſe to their Conſiderations the preſent State and Condition of the Navy, either in reſpect of the Number of Ships, their Tonnage, Manner of Building, Age, Defects, *&c.* or of the Magazine of Stores of all ſorts whatſoever, how furniſh'd, in the general, or diſtributed to each particular Yard, where the Service may require their Expence.

3. They are to conſider what Cordage is fit and requiſite for twice Mooring and Rigging, and ſetting to Sea, all his Majeſty's Navy for ſix Months for Home-ſervice, and to ſtate the Number of Tons required as a competent Quantity for a Magazine of that ſort. Proviſions to be always in Store for a Supply of all Services. In like Manner they are to proportion a certain Quantity of Maſts, Yards, Sails, Anchors, Cables, Timber, Planks, Roſin, Tar, Deals, *&c.* to be either belonging to each Ship, or remaining in Store as a ſufficient Magazine of each kind for the Supply for any ſudden Service.

4. They are to take a Survey in all his Majeſty's Yards, Ships and Store-houſes, of all Proviſions then in Store, and compare the Magazine required, and the Survey together, ballancing what Part of each Proviſion is in Store, and what is wanting; and contracting with the Merchants for ſupplying of what is wanting of the full Magazine, if they have Eſtimates to bear it, or if there be no Eſtimates to maintain the Supply, then to preſent to the Lord Admiral the Ballance of the Magazine, with the Survey and Demand, in way of an Eſtimate for Supply of the Magazine, of all Stores that ſhall appear to be wanting, to be rated and put into Money, as the Market of thoſe Proviſions may then be rated to be.

5. They are to take care that no Proviſion of any conſiderable Quantity or Price be ſerved into his Majeſty's Stores, without Contract made for the ſame in a public Meeting, where both the Proviſions, their Quality, Quantity, Dimenſions and Price may be maturely ſcanned, and accordingly ſpecified in the Contract, which, being once paſſed, they are to ſend its Copy to the Clerk of the Cheque, ſubſcribed by the Clerk of the Records; with their Commands to them, to compare the Proviſions with the Contract, as they ſhall be from time to time ſerved into the Stores; and if in Point of Quantity, Quality or Dimenſions, it ſhall not agree with the Contract, then to refuſe its Receipt, and certify their Reaſons, under their Hands, unto the Officers, of their Refuſal.

6. When the Magazine is ſtated, and the Defects of it ſupplied by Contracts, they are to conſider of an equal Diſtribution thereof unto all and every of his Majeſty's Yards, according to the Number of Ships, either riding in each Harbour, or repairing, or in likelihood of Repair, in each Dock or Yard, that ſo Abundance may not glut the Stores, and waſte the King's Treaſure for want of a preſent Uſe in one Yard, or by Want and Neceſſity either in unneceſſary Charge of Supply from another Yard, or the Supply of more than the Magazine, at an exceſſive Rate, from a private Perſon's Store or Yard.

7. They are by themſelves or Purveyors, at the Seaſon of the Year when the *Eaſt* Country Commodities come into the River, to enquire the Market-price of all thoſe Proviſions, as Maſts, Yards, Deals, Spars, Hemp, Tar, Pitch, *&c.* and to buy where is beſt and beſt Cheap, not tying themſelves unto any particular Man; nor to ſuffer the Goods to be firſt delivered into the Yards before the Contract made, but to inſpect, to be in the Yards after, to ſee whether they be according to Contract; leſt after the Delivery in, the Merchant may, by undue Means, induce the inferior Inſtruments in the Yards (which he will then have Knowledge of) to give ſuch Teſtimony of them as may delude the Officers in their Contract, and induce the giving exorbitant Rates.

8. They are to order that an Invoice be Weekly brought them from the Cuſtom-houſe, of ſuch Goods as are to be, or have been entred, and are uſeful to the Navy, with the Names of the Merchants who enter them, that ſo the Purveyor may not delude them with Pretence of Scarcity when Choice may be had, or oblige them to one Merchant, when divers may be had to afford more Choice, and at eaſier Rates.

9. They are from the ill Conſequences of it, to take care that neither themſelves, nor any inferior Officer in the Navy, do preſume to trade in any ſuch Commodities, or any way go Sharers with any Merchant, in any way whatſoever, for ſuch Commodities as are ſold to the Navy; and if any ſhall be detected of ſuch fraudulent Practices, upon Information given unto the Lord Admiral, ſuch Officers for the ſaid Offence ſhall be diſmiſſed the Service, and rendred incapable of ever holding any Employment for the future, ſince it is more than probable, that ſuch Practices (if allowed) would make way for ſerving in, and receiving, unfit Commodities at an exorbitant Price.

10. Once every Year they are ſeaſonably to preſent unto the Lord Admiral an Eſtimate of the whole Charge of all his Majeſty's Navy in Harbour, both for Victuals and Wages, diſtinguiſhing the particular Charge of each Yard, that ſo the Aſſignments of Payments may be ſettled by the Lord Treaſurer to the Treaſurer of the Navy, and thereby all Clamour from poor Men for want of their Wages be prevented. In like manner, upon all extraordinary Services in ſetting to Sea all or any of his Majeſty's Ships, diſtinguiſh Time and Place of Service, home or remote, according as they ſhall receive Orders from the Lord High-admiral.

11. They are from time to time to direct, by Inſtructions under their Hands, all inferior Officers of the Navy, ſuch as the Clerk of the Stores, Cheque, Maſter-attendant, Maſter-ſhipwright, and their Aſſiſtants, Purſers, Boatſwains, Gunners, Cooks, Porters, &c. how to govern themſelves in their ſeveral Places for the beſt Advantage of his Majeſty's Service and Welfare of the Navy, and at all times to carry a ſtrict Watch over them, that they obſerve their Commands therein, and upon all Demands to be ready and able to render an Account to them of their ſeveral Demeanours in each ſeveral Service, falling within the Compaſs of their ſeveral Places and Duties; wherein they are to uſe their utmoſt Care and Power, as to enable themſelves in the particular Duties of each Officer acting under them, ſo to diſcover who are honeſt, diligent and active in, and for his Majeſty's Service, and who are careleſs and unfaithfully remiſs; and accordingly to recommend the one to the Lord Admiral for Preferment, as Places may fall, and certify the other for the Cheque, Suſpenſion or Diſmiſſion from the Service, as to the Lord Admiral ſhall ſeem fitting.

12. They are to iſſue all Warrants to the Victuallers for Supply of all ſorts of Victuals for all *extra* Services; and at the End of each Service, or the Year, to cancel the Warrants, and ſign his Accounts, which muſt be fairly written and digeſted in a Leidger-book, giving him Allowance according to the Article ſet down in his Contract, of all Victuals expended either upon their own Warrants for Sea-victuals, or Clerks of the Cheques for the ordinary or extraordinary. They are to take great Care to be able to trace out themſelves, and not their Clerks, firſt the Accounts by the Warrants, then the Warrants by the Sea-books, and then the Sea-books by the Muſter-book, which oftentimes vary, leſt the want of Care and Experience in the Officers, to ſearch out or find thoſe Savings of the King, ſhould procure much Damage to the King in the Victuallers Account. They are alſo to charge Victuallers with all Remains returned, all Rents received, and all other Abatements whatſoever, which on the King's Behalf are to be made on the Victualler's Account.

13. They are for the more Benefit of the Subject to live as near together as conveniently they can, and appoint and publiſh certain and known Times of their Meetings at the Navy-office, twice every Week, at the leaſt, to hear, determine, conſult, and adviſe upon all Affairs and Cauſes whatſoever, recommended by the Lord High-admiral to their Care, or otherwiſe proper to their Power and Truſt. And for the more eaſy and methodical carrying on his Majeſty's Service (the late Inlargement of the Navy-office permitting it) the Comptroller, Surveyor, and Clerk of the Acts, are to keep diſtinct Offices within the Navy-office, where they are to keep all Tranſactions belonging to their particular Duties methodically digeſted in Books, that ſo the ſeveral Officers, as they ſhall have Occaſion, may the better inſpect the Tranſactions of each Officer relating one to the other; and they are alſo to meet all convenient Times and Seaſons of the Year, in all or any of his Majeſty's Yards, to tranſact all Affairs proper to each Yard, and take an Account.

14. They are to attend all Payments, to rate and comptrol the Rate of Men and Wages, make Contracts, take Account of all Purveyors, and give Rewards for all Piloting, Land and Water-carriage, Travelling-charges, &c. warrant the Treaſurer in all Iſſues of his Majeſty's Treaſure, at the End of every Year ſign his Accounts, and cancel their own Warrants; warrant Storekeepers for the Receipt, and iſſuing all Proviſions, and once every Year to ballance and adjuſt their Accounts.

15. They are not to paſs any Bill, be it never ſo ſmall, for any Proviſions whatſoever, without the ſame Bill be firſt drawn to their Hands by the Clerk of the Cheque of that Yard, where the ſaid Proviſion is ſerved, and the ſame Bill vouched both by the Clerk of the Cheque and Storekeeper, theſe attending, ſignifying the Receipt into his Majeſty's Storehouſe, excepting the Caſe of Purveyance, where in regard the ſame Purveyor may and oftentimes doth ſerve Timbers, Planks, &c. into ſundry of his Majeſty's Yards, and is to have other Allowances more than the Price of his Proviſions ſerved, the Certificate of the Storekeeper, and Clerk of the Cheque, is ſufficient to lead the Officers to give Allowances for that Proviſion by making the Bills themſelves, provided they take Care to affix the Storekeeper's Certificate to the Bill, and to charge the Storekeeper upon the Ballance of his Accounts, ſo to be at all times ſhewed as the Ground of their paſſing the Purveyor's Bill.

16. They are not to paſs any Bill, or pay any Wages by way of Innovation, beyond the Precedent of the Office, without either firſt acquainting the Lord Admiral with it, or a ſerious Debate thereof at a public full Meeting, weighing the Equity of all Circumſtances either for or againſt it.

17. No Proviſions whatſoever ought to be paid for by Bill from all or any of the Officers, without a Certificate from the Storekeeper and Clerk of the Cheque of thoſe Yards where it is ſerved, of the Goodneſs of that Proviſion, if ſold without a Contract; or if ſerved by a Contract, both of the Goodneſs, Length, Breadth, Depth, Size, Colour or Defects thereof, and all other Circumſtances whatſoever, which may, or do vary the Goodneſs, and ſo the Price of that Material.

18. They are to be able to trace one another in their diſtinct Duties, having as a particular Truſt of ſuch an Officer, *viz.* the Treaſurer, Comptroller, &c. ſo the general Truſt of ſuch an Officer, which extend (in point of Truſt and Ability to trace) to the Duties of each Officer; ſo as, if need be, the Surveyor may, or ought to comptrol the Comptroller in point of Rating or Allowances, if he conceives him, either out of Friendſhip or other Ends, to give more than is fitting; ſo alſo the Treaſurer may refuſe Payments of Bills, ſufficiently warranted; thus likewiſe the Comptroller may conſult all Survey-books, and ballance all Boatſwains and Carpenters Accounts. And ſo all may inſpect each others Actions by their general Power as Officers, there being no Difference in their Truſt, tho' otherwiſe a Diſtinction in their Places, and particular Duties and Employments.

19. They are by themſelves and their Clerks, once every Year and Quarterly, to muſter all Ships employed in the narrow Seas, or in any other Service wherein there is not a particular Muſter-maſter ſtated by Warrant from the Lord High-admiral to execute that Duty, returning under their Hands, or Hands of their Clerks, exact Muſters to the Treaſurer, or his Pay-maſter, according to which he may, from time to time, trace Tickets or Papers for Men diſcharged before the Pay, and at the Pay the Purſer's Sea-books for all Mens Names, Entries and Diſcharges, and Attendances that ſhall come to receive their Pay, and thereby right the King in all Arrearages that may happen, either by the Ignorance, Neglect, or Wilfulneſs of the Purſers.

20. In like manner they are by themſelves or Clerks, to take and keep Muſters and Counter-books with the Clerk of the Cheque, for all *extra* Men entred upon all or any of his Majeſty's Ships commanded to the Seas during the Time they are in Petty-warrant, vouching together with the Clerks of the Cheque according to their ſaid Muſters, all Petty-warrants, Warrants of Increaſe, &c. for Victuals for *extra* Men ſerving in each Ship reſpectively.

The TREASURER'S *Duty.*

1. To receive and pay his Majeſty's Treaſure, as by his Patent or ſufficient Warrant, he ſhall be enabled to receive and iſſue for his Majeſty's Naval-affairs, whether ordinary or *extra*, remote or home Services.

2. To ſign all Eſtimates and Contracts, as thereby to induce the Lord Admiral and his Fellow-officers to warrant his Payments according to their particular Demands and Agreements, ſo to ſignify both to the Lord High-

admiral and them, his own Judgment and Conſent therein, in caſe of future Queries, either for their making, appraiſing, or Payments.

3. At the End of every Year to digeſt his Accounts for that Year in Leidger-books, fairly writ for the reſt of the Officers ſigning, ſtating all Books and Bills, either for Wages or for Proviſions, upon the proper Heads and Titles of each Service proper to that Year, what is yet to pay, why it is not paid, &c. ſuch Courſe to be taken as ſhall, upon Conſideration, be thought fit for the Receipts or Payments.

4. Upon the paſſing of all Eſtimates for ordinary or *extra* Service, to ſolicit the paſſing of the Privy-ſeals proper to each Eſtimate, and ſetting either the Payments or Aſſignates for the Payments of ſuch Sums of Money, as are by the Privy-ſeals warranted to be paid to him out of his Majeſty's Treaſure.

5. Once every Year, or oftner if need be, to remonſtrate under his Hand to the Lord High-admiral, the State of all Services, and of his Aſſignments, and time of Payments of all Monies proper to thoſe Services for the preſent Year, that ſo the Lord High-admiral may be enabled to ſatiſfy his Majeſty upon all Commands, in all Points reſpecting his particular Truſt and Place, and take ſuch Order for more ſpeedy Payments, certain Aſſignments or further Demand of Surcharges, as upon View thereof ſhall appear to be requiſite for his Majeſty's Service.

6. He ſhall not by himſelf, or Deputy, pay or ſuffer to be paid, any Bill or Allowance whatſoever, where either the King or the Party to whom the ſame is due, may be damnified, tho' the ſame Allowance may be warranted by one or two of his Fellow-officers, according to the Tenor of his Patent or uſual Courſe of the Navy.

7. To be preſent at all or moſt Payments, either of Ships or Wages, ſo as to right the Subject in all lawful Demands, and to ſee his Majeſty's Treaſure punctually paid.

8. At the End of every Year he is to charge himſelf on the Front of his Leidger-book, with all Abatements, or other Receipts of Diſcount of Money paid to him out of any Allowance proper to the Year's Account, that the Auditor may add the ſame to his other out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, and ſo ballance his Account accordingly.

The COMPTROLLER'*s Duty.*

1. To attend all Payments of Ships Wages, Shipwrights, Caulkers, &c. and with Advice of his Fellow-officers (if they be there) to trace, or otherwiſe comptrol the rating of all Wages rateable either by his Fellow-officers, Maſter-ſhipwright, Maſter-caulker, Joyner or Carver, in caſe upon Sight of the Parties rated, he finds too little or too much given them in the King's or their own Wrong.

2. To inform himſelf and the other Officers, from time to time, at what Rates all Proviſions are ſold in the Markets, and what is commonly paid by the Subject for Battalage, Workmanſhip, Labourers-hire, Attendance, and ſuch like Charges, and to ſee thoſe uſual Prices be not exceeded in rating any Bills of Payment to be made by the King.

3. To peruſe and examine the Store-keepers Books at the End of every Quarter, and at the End of every Year to take a general Audit of their Accounts of all Proviſions received, iſſued, and expended upon all Works and Services proper for that Year, diſtinguiſhing the Warrants, both for Receipts and Iſſues upon every particular Head, proper to each Service, and preſenting to his Fellow-officers the Ballance, both of the general Stores, and each Service's particular Expence, that ſo the ſame may be either allowed by the Board, and kept in the Office recorded as reaſonable and according to Warrant, or further ſcann'd and debated as the Service may require.

4. To be preſent at all Meetings, and particularly at all Ratings or Allowances of Services to be given as a Reward to Pilots, or others, for Travelling-charges, Water-carriage, Purveyance, &c. and by and with the Conſent of his Fellow-officers, to rate all Bills of Proviſions already ſerved into the Stores, or make Contracts for the Rate and Service of any Proviſions for the future.

5. To be firſt not only in Priority of Place, but of Duty, that ſhall ſign the Treaſurer's Accounts and cancel all Bills, Books, digeſted into his Leidger-book, the better to enable him, upon Sight of all Books and Bills, to comptrol all wilful Neglects and Overſights in the Treaſurer, or his Fellow-officers in all Payments made proper to thoſe Accounts.

6. To ſtate upon all Bills and Debentures, to be paſſed by himſelf or Fellow-officers, the Titles or Heads upon which thoſe Bills are proper, according to the Eſtimate of the Service for which thoſe Proviſions are ſupplied, ſo as to govern the Treaſurer in diſpoſing them to their proper Place or Service, and to enable himſelf to keep his Compter-book of the Treaſurer's Account exact and even in the Expence and Iſſues of each Store.

7. To prepare and keep fair written and ingroſſed a Leidger-book, or Book of Comptrol of Treaſurer's and Victualler's Accounts, that ſo at the Signing of them, he may be the better able to trace them; and after they are ſigned, there may be a Record in the Office to conſult, upon all Occaſions, both the Rate of Proviſions, the Precedent of Rewards, Travelling-charges, Purveyance, or other Allowances at any Time given to any Man for any Service whatſoever.

8. To be able with his Compter-book (to be always kept exact with the Treaſurer's and Victualler's) to certify the Lord High-admiral upon all Commands, what and how much Money the Treaſurer and Victualler have iſſued upon any Service proper to that Year, and to render a Reaſon of the Greatneſs or Smallneſs of that Expence, and check the Treaſurer, in caſe of his Remonſtrance premiſed in his particular Duty, if he ſhall inſert more paid than indeed is paid, or more required to be paid than the Service may expend.

9. To keep a diſtinct Account of all Impreſts paſt to all Purveyors or others, and upon the Ballance of each particular Service, to abate and default the Impreſs formerly paid as to prevent all double Payments, ſo as to enable himſelf the better to trace the Treaſurer's Account, and know what is paid, impreſted, and cleared upon every Service particularly, and what is yet unpaid, calling upon the Parties to ballance their Accounts, and charging the Treaſurer with what remains in his Hands proper to all or any particular Service, for that or any preceding Year.

10. To copy all Eſtimates, Privy-ſeals, Aſſignments or other Orders for Money, from time to time paſſed and allowed unto the Treaſurer and Victualler for any Service whatſoever, and once every Quarter (or oftner if he thinks fit) to conſult the Treaſurer's and Victualler's Account, and what and how much of thoſe Monies they have received, that ſo he may by his Warrants, Bills or Compter-book, compare the Iſſues and Receipts together, with what Treaſure remains in their Hands, and what is unreceived of their Aſſignments, or required to perfect and complete the Work in Hand.

11. To ballance as an Auditor the State of the Treaſurer's and Victualler's Accounts, from the firſt Entry into their Places, or the Determination of their laſt declared Accounts to the End and Determination of the preſent Year, thereby to diſcover whether there be any of his Majeſty's Treaſure remaining in either of their Hands, and upon Diſcovery to inform the Lord High-admiral thereof, that ſo he may ſettle the Payments there upon the Diſcharge of ſucceeding Services, and thereby ſave to his Majeſty's other Aſſignments, or Intereſt to the Treaſurer upon Anticipation, &c.

The SURVEYOR'*s Duty.*

1. To preſent at the End of every Year to his Fellow-officers what he conceives a fit Proportion of Hemp, Tar, Maſt, Canvas, Deals, Timbers, Boats, Anchors, and other Proviſions, for a Magazine for his Majeſty's Navy for the Year ſucceeding, what thereof he finds in Store and upon the Survey-book, or the Balance of Store-keepers Accounts, and what is to be ſupply'd of all Kinds for Service.

2. Upon Survey taken by himſelf, the Maſter Shipwright, Maſter Attendants and their Aſſiſtants, attending to preſent to his Fellow-officers once every Year the true State of all the Hulls, Maſt-yards of all his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels, with an Eſtimate of the Value of the Repair or Carpentry-work, that ſo upon Conſideration taken thereof by the Body of the Office, the Lord High-admiral may be

mov'd therein, and ſuch care taken in it for the Ranſacking, Grounding, Graving, Docking, Mooring and Repairing of them reſpectively, as to the Lord High-admiral ſhall ſeem moſt convenient for his Majeſty's Benefit.

3. To take care by himſelf, or his Inſtruments, that all Proviſions ſerv'd into his Majeſty's Store, be ſurvey'd in their ſeveral Conditions, both for Goodneſs, Length, Breadth and Depth, according as either ſuch Proviſions ought to be, and have, in their ſeveral Kinds, or according to ſuch Contracts as ſhall be made by himſelf and his Fellow-officers, for and on the Behalf of the King and the Venders of them reſpectively, that ſo before the Bill be paſs'd for the Price of any Proviſions whatſoever, himſelf and his Fellow-officers may be able to moderate the Price, and right the King for all Defects certify'd on the Back-ſide of the Bill, reſpecting either Goodneſs or Dimenſions of each particular Proviſion.

4. To keep an exact Account of all Proviſions whatſoever that ſhall by himſelf, or Fellow-officers, warrant the Commander of a Fleet, or any private Captain of any of his Majeſty's Ships or Veſſels, in caſe of Neceſſity, or for the Supply or Accommodation of private Service, be ſent out of his Majeſty's Stores, Yards or Ships, and at the End of every Year to preſent to his Fellow-officers the ſaid Account under his Hand for all Loans in general for that Year, atteſted with the Hands of all Store-keepers, Clerks of the Cheque, Captains and Boatſwains, *&c.* that warranted or iſſu'd each particular Loan, that ſo upon Conſultation thereof it may appear to the Body of the Office, both what hath been lent that Year, what thereof is return'd into Store, and if any be not return'd, it may be recorded by the Clerk of the Acts, and the Meſſenger ſent unto that Party, or other Order taken for the righting his Majeſty as ſhall be thought convenient.

5. He is by Indenture to charge all Boatſwains and Carpenters with all Proviſions iſſu'd to them for Rigging, Ground-tackle or Sea-ſtores, when any Ship of his Majeſty is commanded to Sea, and at the End of every Voyage to compare and balance their Expences with their Iſſues and Returns upon Survey, calling in to his Aſſiſtanee the Maſter Attendant and Maſter Shipwright for that which concerns them in their ſeveral Places reſpectively. And at the End of every Year to make a publick Declaration to the reſt of his Fellow-officers, that ſo they may if they pleaſe inſpect his Truſt, and together with him either allow the ſaid Accounts to be recorded as moderate for ſuch a Service, or queſtion thoſe Boatſwains and Carpenters, whoſe Expence ſhall appear to be exorbitant and unjuſtifiable.

6. He is to keep a Survey-book of all the Rigging, Ground-tackle, Furniture, Stores and other Proviſions iſſu'd, or belonging to all, or any of his Majeſty's Ships commanded to the Seas; and their Return, upon a new Survey taken, and Allowance of all Boatſwains and Carpenters Expence for the Voyage, to charge the Store-keeper with what ſhall appear to be return'd upon each Ship reſpectively, and either deliver the ſame on ſhore to the Store-keeper, or in Charge to the Boatſwain or Carpenter, who are to give their Hands to the Store-keeper for the ſame, ſpecifying in the ſaid Book of Survey the Length, Uſe and Goodneſs of each particular Proviſion, that ſo upon all Demands the Magazine in Store may be ſtated both Quantity and Quality, and care taken for a ſeaſonable Supply of the Defects thereof for the ſucceeding Year, as either the Number of Ships, or preſent Service may require.

7. To ſurvey all his Majeſty's Storehouſes, Yards, Docks, Wharfs, Gates, and other Paſſages, and at the End of every Year to preſent to his Fellow-officers under his own, the Maſter Attendant's and Maſter Shipwright's Hands, what they conceive fitting to be new built, repair'd and enlarged, and what is the Charge each particular Expence will ariſe unto, that ſo the ſame may be included in the ordinary Expence for the enſuing Year, or otherwiſe demanded in an Eſtimate for the particular Extra-charges thereof.

8. It is always to be underſtood, that when the Duty of the Surveyor ſhall be executed by any Clerk of the Survey (the Surveyor nor any principal Officer being preſent) that the Clerk of the Survey ſhall not give any Warrant for Iſſues, nor allow the Account of any Boatſwain or Carpenter without the Advice and Approbation of the Maſter Shipwright reſpectively, and in caſe of Extra-expence, not to allow it without firſt acquainting the Surveyor, who, if he ſee Cauſe, may acquaint his Fellow-officers with it.

The CLERK *of the Navy's Duty.*

1. Not to be abſent, in caſe of Neceſſity, at any publick Meeting of his Fellow-officers, and to record all Orders, Bills, Contracts, Warrants and other Buſineſs tranſacted that Day, ſo to preſent to them, and their Conſiderations, in a Liſt fairly written, whatſoever Suits, Controverſies, Commands, Complaints, Demands for Supply of Stores, Warrants, Eſtimates, Contracts, Tenders of Sail, *&c.* that be requir'd or were before them that Meeting, by Petition or otherwiſe proffer'd or depending before them, and had not receiv'd a full Iſſue and final Determination from the Board at their laſt or former Meetings.

2. To preſent to the reſt of his Fellow-officers the preſent Market-price of all manner of petty Proviſions proper and requiſite to the Expence of the naval Affairs, the Place where, the Men from whom the ſame may at all times be had beſt and cheap, and eſpecially the Price of thoſe Proviſions that are at preſent neceſſary to be ſupply'd, and wanting in Stores for preſent Occaſions, that ſo his Majeſty may not be forc'd, for want of timely Notice of the Market, to give an exorbitant Price, and take his Commodities from one Man, whereas divers Men that have the ſame Materials, would gladly ſerve cheaper and better.

3. It hath formerly been eſteem'd Part of the Duty of the Clerk of the Acts, to purvey Petty-emptions; but ſince the Navy, and the Buſineſs thereof has increas'd, they have not been able to do it, and perform the other Part of their Duty; therefore for the future, as to that Part, it ſhall be requir'd of them only to ſuperviſe the Performance of ſuch as are appointed to purvey Petty-emptions, from time to time, requir'd for Supply of the Stores for preſent Services, wherein they are to be directed by him according to the quarterly Certificates from the Store-keeper of the Want of each Yard reſpectively, and to act by the Warrant of two or more of the principal Officers; and the Clerk of the Acts is to call upon the Perſons ſo appointed to render an Account of all their Actions to the principal Officers, and to paſs their Bill for Emptions, producing the Warrants of the principal Officers, the Store-keeper's Demands, and the Party's Receipt from whom he bought them, with Specifications of the Time, Quantity, Rate and Goodneſs of each Proviſion.

4. The Clerk of the Acts is to take care, that upon all Wants there may be by the Purveyors, or others, ſeveral Perſons propos'd for ſupplying the ſame, that ſo through the Want of Information the King may not be forc'd to buy of any particular Perſon or Merchant, and he thereby enabled to exact upon the King.

5. To keep an exact Record of all Conſultations, Orders, Petitions, Debates, Eſtimates, Warrants, Letters, Anſwers, *&c.* agitated at all Meetings, ſo that from time time there may be Precedents produc'd of the Opinion of the Board in like Caſes, and the Subject upon all Accidents of Fire or other Miſcarriages, or by miſlaying of their Bills, Books, Warrants, *&c.* may know where to find a true Copy of the Original, the Time of the Paſſing of it, before and by whom, with the other like Circumſtances leading the Officers to their Redreſs.

The STORE-KEEPER'*s Duty relating to the Receipt of In-ſtores.*

1. To receive into his Charge upon Warrant, under the Hands of two or more of the principal Officers, all ſorts of In-ſtores, and upon Receipt of each Particular, himſelf, or Inſtruments, to lay it by with all convenient Safety, reſpecting the Waſte, as Decay, Stealth or Embezelments.

2. To examine and firm all Bills for Proviſions ſerv'd into Store, as thereby to charge himſelf with it, and ſignify its Receipt to the Officers, ſo to lead them in their ſeveral Places to make Allowance for it to the Subject, according to the Quantity and Quality of each particular Proviſion certify'd to be ſerv'd in aforeſaid.

3. He is, upon View of all Materials, to conſider in his beſt Judgment the Condition, both in reſpect of Goodneſs, Length, Breadth, Depth and other Circumſtances; and if he find them not fit for the King's Uſe and Service, to refuſe their Receipt into the Store until the principal Officers be acquainted therewith; but if defective in any kind, then upon Receipt thereof to abate for the Quantity wanting, and upon the Bill to be made for that Proviſion, to certify under his Hand to the principal Officers the Condition thereof, and the Reaſon of Abatement made thereon.

4. He is to receive no Proviſions contracted for by the principal Officers, notwithſtanding he hath a Warrant ſo to do, until ſuch time as he hath, together with his Warrant a Copy of the Contract firm'd by the Clerk of the Records, whoſe Buſineſs and Duty it is to ſend it to him, and upon Review of the Proviſions to compare them and the Contract together, taking care that in all Points it accord therewith, and wherein it differs from or comes ſhort thereof, not to receive the Proviſion at all, but certify the Defects, and receive the Order what further to do therein.

5. He is to keep a diſtinct Ledger of Receipts of all Stores committed to his Charge, mentioning the Particulars in each Kind, the Time when, the Perſon from whom, the Uſe for which, and the Officers Names by whoſe Warrants he did receive them, and to be able thereby, on all Commands from the principal Officers, to balance his annual or quarterly Accounts for the Receipt of Stores, reſpecting the neceſſary Waſte that may be in all or any particular Store or Proviſion as they in their Diſcretion ſhall think fit.

6. The Truſt of Store-keepers being ſo great, as that at ſome Time, and in ſome Caſes, it is very difficult (if poſſible) to trace them in it; it is therefore requiſite that all Store-keepers execute the Places perſonally by themſelves, and not their Deputies and their Servants, except in caſe of Sickneſs, or other extreme Neceſſity, when the Service ſhall require more than the particular Attendance of the Store-keeper can tranſact, and then the Deputies, or Servants, to be intruſted only for the preſent Time and Diſpatch; and ſuch Men as are of good Report, both for Demeanor and Truſt, and for whom the Store-keeper himſelf ſhall always and at all times be accountable.

For ISSUES.

1. Not to iſſue any Proviſions whatſoever, without Warrant under the Hands of two or more of the principal Officers, except it be on ſome preſſing Occaſions wherein the Service may otherwiſe ſuffer, expreſſing the Uſe and Service for which the ſame is deliver'd.

2. To be perſonally preſent at the Delivery of all Stores, not committing ſo great a Truſt to Boys, Boatſwains of the Yards, or common Labourers, except in caſe of Sickneſs, or other extreme Neceſſity for the Diſpatch of ſudden Service or Commands.

3. To attend all Alterations, cutting out or Converſions of all Proviſions committed to his Truſt, and ſuffering the ſame upon no Pretence whatſoever to be alter'd, diminiſh'd, or converted with his Privity and Preſence, eſpecially in the Care of Canvas to ſee the Quantity requir'd to be firſt meaſur'd and deliver'd to the Sailmaker, and afterwards cut in the Storehouſe, charging not only the groſs Quantity deliver'd as iſſu'd to him, but alſo what Part thereof was diſtributed and cut out of each Sail, but taking care at the Return of each Sail into the Stores, to meaſure the Canvas put into it, and thereby ſatisfy himſelf whether all be wrought out or not; and if not, to acquaint the Surveyor therewith, that Account may be rendred of the Expence thereof.

4. To keep a Book of Iſſues and Returns, wherein he ſhall expreſs the particular Quantity of each Kind iſſu'd, the Time when, the Perſons to whom, the Uſe for what, and the Officers Names by whoſe Warrant it was iſſu'd, and whereunto he ſhall take the Party's Hand, from time to time to whom he ſhall iſſue any Proviſions, acknowledging the Receipt thereof; and if the Proviſions be to be ſpent on board any employ'd at Sea; he is then to take the Hoyman's Receipt to his Book, and deliver the Hoyman's Bill of Lading under his own Hand, to be deliver'd to the Boatſwain of that Ship; the Copy whereof he is to tender to the Clerk of the Survey, that the Boatſwain may charge the Hoyman, and the Clerk of the Survey the Boatſwain, at the Return of the Ship; the like is to be done for all Stores tranſmitted from one Yard to another, that ſo the Store-keeper may know how to charge and diſcharge all Hoymen, and themſelves, upon the Balance of their particular Accounts.

The STORE-KEEPER'*s Duty, relating to the Receipt of Out-ſtores.*

1. To receive into his Charge all manner of Out-ſtores whatſoever proper to his Cargo upon Warrants under the Hand of two or more of the principal Officers, as alſo all manner of Proviſions appertaining to the Top and Blockmaker's Work, and upon Receipt thereof, by himſelf, or his Inſtruments, to diſperſe and lay up the ſame with all convenient Safety, reſpecting either their Waſte or Decay by ſtealth, purloining, or embezelling thereof.

2. And for as much as it has been thought fit to commit likewiſe to the Store-keeper's Charge and Truſt, all manner of Iron-works and Nails, he is therefore to receive them and ſee them carefully laid up; and where the Neceſſity of the Service ſhall require the immediate Expence of any Iron-work from the Forge, he is firſt to take Notice thereof, and charge himſelf therewith upon his Account to receive into the Stores, to the end all Embezilment by delivering Iron-work thus from the Forge may be prevented.

3. He is to ſearch and examine the ſeveral Conditions of all Out-ſtores, ſuch as Timbers, Planks, Maſt, Deals, Clapboards, Rafters, *&c.* ſerv'd by his Majeſty's Merchants or other private Men, and if he finds them deficient in Kind, Length, Want of Stuff, Workmanſhip, Size, Number, Weight, Meaſure, or any other reſpect whatſoever, to refuſe the Receipt of the ſame till the Pleaſure of the principal Officers, ſignify'd under their Hands, be known for his proceeding therein, as ſhall ſeem beſt for his Majeſty's Service.

4. In all Purveyance of his Majeſty's Timber, to plank Trenails, *&c.* or of the Timber that is bought in the Woods from private Men, and purvey'd at his Majeſty's Charge; however the Commodity be the King's, before the bringing it into the Yards, the Store-keeper is not to receive it from the Purveyor without exact Meaſure and Survey taken thereof, and Abatement out of the Bills for Water-carriage of what ſhall appear to be overmark'd in Quantity, or not allow'd in Meaſure for Redneſs, Rotteneſs, ſhaking Wains, or other Defects whatſoever; and at the End of the Purveyance, when he is to certify the Quantity of all Stores ſerv'd into Stores by the Surveyor, he is to ſignify to the Officers what Part thereof appear'd to him unſerviceable, what defective in Goodneſs, wanting in Meaſure, *&c.* and report the Abatement of the King's Damage in Purveyance, Water-carriage of unſerviceable and defective Proviſion to their Determination.

5. When any of his Majeſty's Ships are broken up, he is to appoint, with the Privity of the Clerk of the Cheque, one or more Labourers of Truſt, ſuch as himſelf ſhall be reſponſible for, to attend the Collection of all Iron-planks, Beams, Knees, *&c.* ripp'd up and found to be uſeful for future Store, receiving the ſame from the ſaid Labourers every Night in the Preſence of the Maſter Shipwright into his Cuſtody and Charge, not to be deliver'd or expended without ſpecial Warrants, and to enter every Particular into his Book of Receipts, whereto he is to take the Maſter Shipwright's Hand, in like manner he is to ſign the Maſter Shipwright's Book for the Receipt thereof.

6. He is to keep a Ledger-book of all Proviſions receiv'd into his Charge, mentioning the Particulars of each Kind receiv'd, the Time when, the Perſon from whom, the Uſe for what, and the Officer's Warrant by whoſe Warrant he receiv'd it.

For ISSUES.

1. Not to deliver any Proviſions whatſoever, but by ſpecial Order and Warrant under the Hands of two or more principal Officers, (except it be for preſſing Service) whereby the Service may otherwiſe ſuffer, expreſſing the Uſe of each particular Store and Proviſion.

2. He is to examine from time to time the Expence of Stores, ſuch as Deals, Iron, Timber, or other Materials

whatſoever iſſu'd out by Warrant from under his Charge to the Maſter-ſhipwright, Maſter-joiner, Carver and Top-maker; and at the End of every Work or Service, repreſent it under his Hand to the principal Officers, the true Balance or State of their Accounts for all or any Service done by them, wherein he is to take the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Maſter-ſhipwright, that he may be able thereby to certify, whether he finds the Proviſions deliver'd to the ſeveral Perſons above-mention'd, have been really and wholly expended, us'd, or employ'd in or upon his Majeſty's Works; and if not, to inform the principal Officers thereof, if he either finds the Proviſions embezzled, waſted, or not employ'd to the proper Uſes for which they were demanded; ſo that his Majeſty may be righted, and his Service advanc'd thereby.

3. During the Time of New-building, Repairing, Docking and Launching of Ships belonging unto his Majeſty, he is to keep an exact and diſtinct Account of all Proviſions iſſu'd and expended for each particular Service, and at the End of every Week to compare his Book of Iſſues with the Maſter-ſhipwright's Book, and take his Hand to his Ledger-book for the Expence of the ſame upon the Service in hand.

4. He is to deliver to all Hoymen a Bill of Lading, ſpecifying each particular Proviſion iſſu'd to be tranſmitted to the *Downs*, or any of his Majeſty's Yards, Ships, &c. and take the Hoyman's Hand to his Book of Iſſues for Receipt thereof, as for his own Diſcharge upon the Balance of his Accounts, ſo to charge the Hoyman, Boatſwain, Carpenter, or Store-keeper, to whom the ſaid Proviſions are ſent and deliver'd for Supply of preſent or future Service.

5. He is to keep a Ledger-book of Iſſues, expreſſing therein the Particular of each Kind iſſu'd, the Time when and to whom, and for what Uſe, the Officers Names, and by whoſe Order the Warrant was made for that Store ſo iſſu'd.

The Clerk of the Cheque's *Duty*.

1. To keep exact Account of the Time of the Entry of all Caulkers, Shipwrights, Labourers, Ship-keepers, Seamen, &c. receiv'd or commanded into his Majeſty's Ships or Works.

2. He is to call and muſter all Extra-men working in his Majeſty's Yards, as Shipwrights, Caulkers, Houſe-carpenters, Joiners, Labourers, Ocham-boys, twice or thrice at leaſt every Day as he finds their Abſence, to allow or check the Wages for all or any Part of the Labour.

3. He is not to limit himſelf to Times or Places certain, when and where to attend and keep his Muſters, but to take them at all Times, and in all Places, when and where he conceives it beſt for his Majeſty's Service, as the better to awe thoſe that ſhift their Labour and Attendance, ſo to enable himſelf to diſcover their Abſence all or any Part of the Day.

4. He is to take his Muſters of all ordinary Ship-keepers for their Attendance both by Day and Night, and to check the Abſence of that Boatſwain, Gunner or Purſer, whoſe Turn it is to lodge on-board, according to the Officer's Command, not to determine himſelf to Set-times for muſtering either by Night or Day, once every Week or Fortnight at fartheſt.

5. He is, at the End of every Month, to muſter the whole Ordinary of the Navy, and compare his daily and night Muſters for the Month paſt, reporting in publick the Neglect or Non-attendance of thoſe he found abſent, and checking them out of Victuals and Wages for the Month enſuing at the leaſt, until they ſhall procure a Warrant from the principal Officers for their Re-entry, and making out Petty-warrants to the Victuallers for the Victuals of that Month, of thoſe that ſhall ſtand clear at the general Muſter of each Ship reſpectively.

6. When any of his Majeſty's Ships are commanded to Sea, and Extra-men entred to help rig and fill them for the Seas, the Clerk of the Cheque is to muſter all Extra-men once every two Days at the fartheſt, and according to his Muſters iſſue Petty-warrants to the Purſers for Supply of Proviſions from three Days to three Days, till ſuch time as the Ship enters Sea-pay.

7. In all Extra-works, either for Mending, New-building, or any Repairs on Ships, Houſes or Wharfs, the Clerk of the Cheque is to keep his Book diſtinct for the Wages and Number of Men of all ſorts working upon each particular Service, that ſo at the End of every private or publick Service, the principal Officers may be enabled to diſcover the Charge of each Work; and if the Expence be exorbitant, to know where to lay the Fault, from whom to require an Account thereof, or if there hath been any Thrift or good Service in that Action, to whom to extend their Encouragement, or give their Rewards.

8. He is alſo to obſerve and cheque the Porter at the Gate in his Neglect of the Duty of his Place, *viz.* a conſtant Attendance in opening the Gates, or keeping them ſhut, ſetting the Watch, relieving or diſcharging the Watch, keeping the Keys, and ringing the Bell at the Times appointed according to the Seaſon of the Year, &c. as to prevent the Conſequence of the ſaid Neglect, ſuch as Men coming late to their Work, departing from their Work before the Bell rings, tippling in Alehouſes, or in the Porter's Taphouſe, carrying away of Timber inſtead of Chips, and divers other Damages attending the Service of the Clerk of the Cheque's Neglect of checking the Porter; he being in his own ſeveral Duties a Petty-check to all the working Men in the Yards, ſo as that the Clerk of the Cheque, without a Power to, and a ſtrict Charge in keeping him to his Duty, cannot perform his own to the King's beſt Advantage.

9. He is to keep a Compter-book with the Store-keeper, of all Receipts and Iſſues of all ſorts of Stores, and at the End of every Service or Year, to be able to trace the Store-keeper in all particular Services or Proviſions, Receipts, Expence proper to all or any one Head of that Year's Accounts, wherein it ſhall ſeem beſt for the Officers to require Satisfaction from him.

10. He is, together with the Store-keeper, to view the Quantity and Quality of all Proviſions receiv'd into Store, and join with him in certifying their Defects in all Kinds whatſoever.

11. He is, upon Demand made, to make out all Bills for all manner of Workmanſhip done, or Proviſions ſerv'd into his Majeſty's Stores, and thereunto ſpecify in Words, and not in Figures, the ſeveral Qualities wrought or ſerv'd, and ſend the Party to the Store-keeper to receive his Hand to the Bill ſo made, and firm'd by himſelf, that ſo the Officers may the better give Allowance for the ſame to the Party to whom it is due.

12. He is, upon the Entry of all Ships into Sea-pay, to ſend up to the Treaſurer's Office, Muſter-books for all the Officers under his Hand for the Time of Rigging, Wages of thoſe Ships both for the Treaſurer and his Fellow-officers, and to deliver unto each Purſer one Book for each Ship, ſo as to enable the Purſer to know when his Ship enter'd into Sea-pay, and how to make Paſſes out for Men that hereafter ſhall be diſcharg'd, that had ſerv'd any Part of the Rigging-time, ſo the Officers themſelves upon ſigning all Paſſes to trace the Purſer's Account, whether according with, or contrary to the Time and Service maintain'd by the Rigging-book or not.

13. He is to make up and firm all Pay-books and Tickets for Wages earn'd in his Majeſty's Yard, and therein to ſpecify the Party's Name, the Time of Entry, the Time of his Service both by Day and Night, Tide-ſervice, &c. and the Rating of his Wages, and Day of his Diſcharge, that ſo the ſigning Officers of the Treaſury may pay their Wages being warranted for the ſame accordingly.

14. At the Beginning of any Extra-work or Service, no Shipwright, Labourer, or other, are to be enter'd without Warrant from two or more of the chief Officers, ſpecifying the Number of each Sort and Condition, which Number on any Pretence whatſoever, he is not to exceed, till the Officer, upon due Conſideration of the Conveniencies of the Service, ſhall give farther Order for ſo doing.

15. In all Extra-ſervices for Sea, he is not to enter upon his Books, nor deliver Petty-warrants for Victuals unto any Captain, Lieutenant, or any Officer or Servant, &c. until ſuch Time as he ſhall receive a Warrant for the ſame under the Hands of two or more principal Officers.

16. All Shipwrights, Caulkers, or others, once entred into his Majeſty's Works, and forſaking them without Warrant or Leave from an Officer or the Maſter-ſhipwright,

ſignifying how long the Occaſion and Ground of his Abſence, are not only to be prick'd by the Clerk of the Cheque for the Time they are abſent, but alſo after the third Muſter or Call, to be reputed as Run-aways, and ſo branded upon his Books of Payment with Forfeitures of what he or they had formerly earned, and Hazard of the Penalty of the Law in that Caſe provided. And if at any Time thoſe that have Leave granted by Warrant ſhall exceed the Time limited for their Return to their Duty, the Clerk of the Cheque is to brand them with an *R* for a Run-away upon his Book, and leave his Wages Blank, till the Officer upon further Examination of the Buſineſs at the Pay-table ſhall give further Order therein.

17. Not to employ, or permit to be employed by any other Officer of the Yard, any Joyners, Houſe-carpenters, Labourers, *&c.* borne in his Majeſty's Work-yards or Ships, in his or any Officer's private Houſes, Gardens, Stables, *&c.* either to cleave Wood, gather Chips, look to Houſes, trim Gardens, make Boxes, Cupboards, Shelves, run of Errands, *&c.* but to check them out of their Wages; and if he or they be countenanced by the Commiſſioner (there reſiding) or any other Officer of the Yard, to report the ſame under your Hand to the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, that they may inſpect into the Merits of the Caſe, and report the ſame unto the Lord High-admiral or Commiſſioner for executing the Offire of Lord High-admiral for the Time being, that a ſpeedy Stop may be put to it, and ſuch notorious Practices diſcouraged, by removing and diſcharging ſuch Officers, and rendring them incapable of holding any future Employments in his Majeſty's Service; and he is once a Week, or oftner, to view the Work done by Joyners and Carpenters in the ſeveral Yards and Rooms, taking care that they do not miſpend their Time, and employ it about their own Affairs, ſo that the Service may duly be attended, and his Majeſty's Store kept from Embezzlement.

18. He is to take care at the making up all *extra* Books for Shipwrights, that no Rate be given or ſet out upon Books, but what a Precedent of the King's Service will permit, and hath been formerly given from the principal Officers, or with the Advice of the Maſter-ſhipwright, in the Preſence and Conſent of the ſaid Officers; and where any Man ſerving hath not been formerly rated, he is then only to ſet his Time out upon the Book, leaving the Wages blank till the Party appear at the Pay-table, and his Rate be eſtabliſhed by the principal Officer; the ſame Courſe he is to take in ſetting out of the Rates of all Works done by a Rate.

The MASTER-ATTENDANT'*s Duty.*

1. To approportion and ſee laid out, the Anchors, Moorings, Props, Trucks, and Arming for mooring Cables for all his Majeſty's Ships riding in the Harbour, at moſt of the convenient Seaſons of the Year.

2. To attend every Morning at the Dock, and calling the Boatſwain of each Ship riding in Harbour to their Aſſiſtance, to appoint them and the Ship-keepers belonging to their Ships the Place of their Attendance and Work, either in Float or a ſhoar for that Day.

3. To attend the Grounding, Graving, Docking or Careening of all or any of his Majeſty's Ships by Night or Day, and take care that the Boatſwains and Ship-keepers give their Attendance and Furtherance in all or any of the afore-mentioned Services.

4. When all or any of his Majeſty's Ships are commanded to the Seas, to ſtate under their Hands, a Proportion of Rigging, Ground-tackle, and Stores for the Boatſwains of each Ship, that the Clerk of the Survey may warrant the Storekeeper his Delivery thereof to each Boatſwain reſpectively; and upon Delivery frame Indentures for the Boatſwain of each Ship to ſign unto before he go to Sea, to charge themſelves therewith upon Account till the End of Service; and in the ſaid Proportion he is to ſpecify the Size, Length, Quantity and Number of each Proviſion according to the Rank and Service of each Ship.

5. Upon Return of any of his Majeſty's Ships from Sea, to make and exact a ſtrict Survey together with the Clerk of the Survey, of all Remains of Boatſwains Stores, and the State and Condition of all Rigging, Ground-tackle and Stores ſo remaining, ſpecifying in the Survey-book how they find each particular Proviſion and Parcel of Cordage, whether ſerviceable or not, decayed $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ worn, as ſhall appear upon View, and ſigning of the Survey-book for the more Security of the Survey, or they are likewiſe to examine the Expences made by the Boatſwain in the Voyage, and to ſet it down under their Hands, with their Opinion of the ſame.

6. They are, upon Notice of the Arrival of any Ship from Sea in the Abſence of the Officers, to appoint by Warrant under their Hands, an able experienced Pilot to repair and take Charge of bringing up of the ſaid Ship to her Moorings (in caſe the Ship be not provided with an able Pilot for that Purpoſe) which againſt his Arrival they are to appoint, and to be made ready and laid in that Birth where ſhe ſhall ride.

7. They are, upon the Neglect of the Clerk of the Cheque, to muſter in the Night all the Ships riding in the Harbour, and to require the Clerk of the Cheque to prick all ſubordinate Officers to Ship-keepers they ſhall find abſent from their Charge, till the Officers of the Navy be ſatisfied of the Ground of their Abſence, and give Warrant for their Re-entry.

8. They are to take Notice of, and obſerve the ſeveral Countries, Callings and Condition of all Ship-keepers entred and borne upon his Majeſty's Ships, as well to prevent that no Stranger or miſbehaved Perſon be contained in the Books, or ſuffered privately to lodge on-board any of his Majeſty's Ships, as alſo that no Land-man or Perſon unable to do the Duty of a Ship-keeper, be permitted in any of his Majeſty's Ships, giving timely Notice thereof unto the principal Officers, to the end that none but Seamen be employed and continued as Ship-keepers in his Majeſty's Service. The Maſter-attendants are to be very careful, that in their Certificates to the principal Officers for the Entrance or Admittance of any Perſon in the Place of a Ship-keeper of any of his Majeſty's Ships, that neither out of Favour or Affection to others, or from particular Intereſt to themſelves, they do not recommend any to the ſaid Officers, but ſuch as to their beſt Judgment and Knowledge they are well aſſured be Seamen, and able and fit for that Service, as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril, it having been the notorious Practiçe for want of due Care therein, that his Majeſty's Ships have been made a Receptacle for aged and decripit Perſons, or elſe for Perſons of all Callings that have had broken and decayed Fortunes, and his Majeſty hath thereby been put to an unneceſſary Expence, by calling able Men and Labourers to the Duties of ordinary Ship-keepers.

9. They are to attend by Turns, and during their Times of Attendance to lodge conſtantly (or at leaſt every third Night) on-board his Majeſty's Ships, for the better encouraging all Boatſwains, Gunners, Carpenters and Purſers, *&c.* by their Example to do their Duties in lodging on-board, ſo as to be ready to muſter the Watch upon Occaſion of an Enemy, Accident of Fire, Storm or other Diſaſter, to give their Aid and Aſſiſtance, and Commands to others how to prevent, diſcover or quench, or otherwiſe ſecuring the Loſs attending ſuch Hazards.

10. To ſee the Stream-cable laid out, and taken up in Mooring-time, when the Seaſon-time of the Year grows calm, that ſo by good Uſage they may ſerve for two Years.

11. To take Charge of the King's Ships (in Harbour) at all Removes from their Moorings, whether to bring into dry Dock, tranſport or carry out of the Harbour, and to ſee them ſafely return'd to their Moorings upon their Launching, Floating or Finſhing the Work intended on them.

12. To ſuffer no ſtrange Bottom to come near the King's Ships, or to ride ſuſpiciouſly in the ſame, or near her Mooring, nor any unknown Boats to come on-board them, but ſtrictly to demand the Watch-word, and ſend for them on-board; if they prove Strangers, keeping them in Cuſtody until the Officers are ſatisfied with their Buſineſs, nor to ſuffer any ſuch Perſon, Boats, *&c.* to linger about the Dock, Yards and Store-houſes in the Night upon any Pretence whatſoever, as you will anſwer the contrary at your Perils.

13. They are, from time to time, to aſſiſt the Store-keeper and Clerk of the Cheque in their View of the Quality of all Materials ſerved into Stores proper to their Elements; and whenſoever they find Defects, to join with them in certifying the direct Conditions of each Proviſion.

14. They are, upon Survey of Sails of Ships returned from Sea, with the Clerk of the Survey, Sail-maker or his Maſter, to meaſure what Quantity of Canvas, and what ſort, either *Dutch*, *Engliſh* or other, will be requiſite to repair each Sail that is defective, that Warrant may be made out accordingly, and to certify what Men are fit to be employed in that Work, to the end Sail-makers may not be kept at the King's Expence, where there is no Occaſion to employ them.

The MASTER-SHIPWRIGHTS *and their* ASSISTANTS *Duty*.

1. To be conſtant in their Attendance at the Grounding, Graving, Caulking, Docking, Repairing or New-building all or any of his Majeſty's Ships.

2. To proportion under their Hands, a certain Quantity of Stores for all Carpenters of Ships commanded to Sea, that ſo the Clerk of the Survey know what to warrant the Store-keeper to iſſue, and how by Indenture to charge each Carpenter with what he hath received upon Account till the End of the Voyage, and then to examine the Carpenter's Expence, and ſet down their Opinion of the ſame.

3. To take the Remains of the Carpenters of all his Majeſty's Ships upon their Return from Sea, in the Preſence of the Clerk of the Survey; and his Survey-book to direct him how to ſpecify the Quality of each Material, as it ſhall in their beſt Judgment appear to their View, that ſo the Carpenter's Expence may the better be ballanced, the Store-keeper rightly charged, and the Defect of the Magazine diſcovered.

4. They are to aſſiſt the Store-keepers in their View of all Materials, and their Quality ſerved into Stores proper to their Elements, and whereſoever they find Defects, to join with him and the Clerk of the Cheque in certifying the direct Condition of each Store.

5. They are, from time to time, to be aſſiſting to the Surveyor and the reſt of the Officers, if they require it, in his yearly Survey of all the Hulls of his Majeſty's Ships, ſpecifying under their Hands the particular Defects of each Ship, together with what they conceive may be required for their Repair, and putting each Ship into a ſerviceable Condition for two, three, four or five Years, more or leſs, as the Admiralty and Navy-office ſhall determine.

6. They are diligently to apply themſelves to the Overſight and Diſpatch of all Works committed to their Charge, appointing their Aſſiſtants to particular Works, and taking care the Man be daily queſted both on-float and on-ſhore, and that each Foreman brings up that Quarter committed to his Truſt and Care, as ſoon and as well as the reſt, if not, to know the Reaſon of ſuch Neglect.

7. They are, in caſe of unripping any of his Majeſty's Ships, to take Charge under their Hands of all Malls, Wedges, Saws, Auger-bitts, Axes and other Tools or Implements of the King's, that are employed in the Works, and ſee the ſame returned to the Store-keeper when the Service is completed, and take care of the Preſervation of all Bolts, Hooks, Nails, and other Proviſions whatſoever, be returned to the Store-keeper, or his Inſtruments, to be laid up for his Majeſty's future Service; in like manner of all Timber, Knees, Beams and Planks, that it may not be waſted, purloined or hewed into Chips, nor carried away in Carpenters private Boats or otherwiſe, but delivered to the Store-keeper to be charged in his Book, to be diſpoſed into ſome convenient Place, that the Maſter-ſhipwright may, when ſucceeding Service requires, have the Uſe thereof.

8. They are, in the Preſence of ſome of the principal Officers, and not otherwiſe (except there be ſome allowed Precedent in the Caſe) to rate all Men's Wages working under their Command, from time to time, to ſignify unto the Officers when it is fit to diſcharge all or any of them, either in reſpect of the Service, or the Inſufficiency of the Parties, not permitting too many Servants or Boys to be entred upon the Works proper to their Care.

9. They are every Morning to obſerve the Time of the Appearance at the Works of Men working under their Command, and every Night the Time of each Man's Departure from the Works, and to give Notice to the Clerk of the Cheque to prick thoſe that are faulty, either in coming too late, or departing too ſoon from their Labour.

10. They are every Morning and every Night, at the Ringing of the Bell, to repair to the Gate, and there ſee and obſerve what every Man carries out of his Majeſty's Yards, and that if they find Timber or Plank that was, or might have been uſeful, or ſuch as could not have been ſpared, to take the ſame away from the Party ſo offending, and acquaint the Officers therewith, that they may be puniſhed or diſcharged as they ſhall think fit.

11. In caſe of New-building or Repairing of his Majeſty's Ships, they are to keep a Compter-book with the Store-keeper of all the Proviſions required and expended by their Warrant for each particular Service, and not themſelves, or Men working under their Command, to meddle with any Timber, Plank, Maſt, or any other Proviſion whatſoever, that is, or may be, committed to the Truſt of the Store-keeper; to ſaw, hew or convert the ſame, or any Part thereof, without the Privity of the Store-keepers, to whom the Quantity of each Material muſt be ſpecified in a Warrant from the Officers, as alſo the Party to whom it ſhall be delivered, for what Uſe, and ſuch other Circumſtances, whereby the Store-keeper may be diſcharged, the Expence traced, and his Majeſty's Proviſions not waſted by a general and confuſed Expence without Warrant or Order; and foraſmuch as till it is thought fit to require a true Ballance of the Store-keepers of the Expence of all Materials iſſued out to his Charge, to the end his Majeſty may not have Wrong in the Expence of the ſaid Proviſions for the future, which cannot be by him alone performed with that Exactneſs as is required; they are therefore to join with the ſaid Store-keeper in the Examination of the ſaid Expence of Deals, Iron, Timbers, or any other Material whatſoever iſſued by Warrant from the Store-keeper to themſelves, Maſter-joyner, Carver, *&c.* and all theſe of every Work to repreſent with the Store-keeper under their Hands to the principal Officers of the Navy, whether they find the Proviſions delivered unto the ſeveral Perſons above-mentioned, be expended and employed in his Majeſty's Works, and if not, how much they find to be embezzled, waſted, or employed to other Uſes than they were demanded, as alſo whether the Materials wrought are any ways defective, or the Price demanded exorbitant, that the Party's Bill for the ſame may be branded, and ſo his Majeſty righted upon Notice given to the principal Officers and Commiſſioners of the Navy.

12. They are to appoint no Works to be done in Reparations or Beautifying of Ships belonging unto his Majeſty, without Warrant from two or more of the principal Officers.

13. They are to give Warrant to no Ship on-float for any Plank, *&c.* till ſuch time as they have viewed the Works to be done, and conſidered the Quantity of Proviſions that may be expended about that Work, and to ſuffer no Carpenter working on-board the Ships to have any Boats of their own to carry or re-carry any thing on-board, or ſuffer them to bring them there.

The CLERK *of the* ROPE-YARD'*s Duty*.

1. The ſame with the Clerk of the Cheque, being a Cheque to the Rope-makers in every Reſpect, as the other is to the Sail-makers and Seamen at large, only herein they differ: The Clerk of the Rope-yard being chargeable with the Hemp and Tow that is delivered into Store, and upon the working thereof is to deliver it as Cordage to the Charge of the Store-keeper.

2. He is not only to check the Men for their Abſence, but alſo for not ſpinning ſo many Threads of ſuch a Length, which is commonly eſteemed a Day's Labour for a Spinner, *&c.*

3. He is to deliver the Hemp, either to be hatchel'd or ſpun by Weight, to the Maſter-workman and the reſt every Morning, and to be an Eye-witneſs of both what is deliver'd in the whole, and to each Man in particular.

4. He is to receive the ſame back again from them at Night, either in Weight or Number of Threads, and to ſee

it carefully diſpoſed of and given to the Store-keeper, till it be laid and wrought into Cordage, and delivered into the Store-keeper's Charge.

5. He is to keep the Tallies and Account of each Merchant's Hemp and Tow diſtinctly, and obſerve the Goodneſs, Waſte and Expence of it in Spinning and Uſe; and tho' it was received as good, and approved before the Uſe of it upon Survey ſo to be, if it ſhall appear to be culled, wet, ſmall-bound Hemp, thick Caſk for Tar, or to have any other conſiderable Defect, to certify the Officer of it, that they may take ſuch Order about it as ſhall be thought fit.

6. He is to keep the Account of the Proceed of each Parcel of Hemp diſtinctly, and to be able to ſatisfy the Officer upon Demand, how much Cordage was made of ſuch a Parcel of Hemp bought of ſuch a Merchant, what thereof was waſted in Tow, and what Sizes it was laid into, and what it advanced by the Ton.

The Porter's *Duty.*

1. To be conſtantly at the Gate, to open and ſhut it, for all Comers and Goers in and out of the Yards.

2. To deliver the Charge of the Gate, at Eight of the Clock at Night, to the Watch appointed for that Night, and upon the going off of the ſame to receive his Charge back again from them.

3. To ring the Bell to call and diſcharge the Men at the proper Hours, and to keep the Glaſs turned, and a due Proportion of Time between every Diſmiſſion, according to the Cuſtoms of the Service, Appointment of the Officers, and the Seaſon of the Year, both for their Diſcharge from and calling to their Labour.

4. To be careful after the Bell is rung, and Men come to their Work, to keep the Gate ſhut and locked, and not to ſuffer any of thoſe that are borne upon the Works that Day to depart out of the Yards, till the Bells ring them from their Labour, without Notice given to the Clerk of the Cheque to prick them for their Abſence.

5. Not to ſuffer any Man whatſoever in Days Wages to come late, or at unſeaſonable Hours, in the Yard or Works, but to keep the Gate locked upon thoſe that ſhall neglect their Appearance at the Bell ringing, but to acquaint the Clerk of the Cheque with the Abſence or Late-coming of thoſe who only ſeek to ſave their Call and ſhun their Labour, that he may perform his Duty in pricking them all or any Part of the Day as they ſhall appear to be abſent.

6. To take notice of all Back-doors, or private Paſſages by Water in the Shipwrights or Caulkers own Boats, or through Mens Houſes, or over the Walls, *&c.* and obſerve, from time to time, all thoſe that uſe ſuch Conveyances, and neglect the common Paſſage of the King's Gate, and give the Clerk of the Cheque Notice thereof for their Cheque and Amendments.

7. He is to obſerve and ſearch all Shipwrights, Caulkers, *&c.* (in the Abſence of the Maſter-ſhipwright and his Aſſiſtants) at their going from their Labour, and take from them all ſuch Pieces of uſeful Timbers, Planks, Tree-nails, *&c.* which, under the Pretence of Chips, he ſhall find them carrying away out of the Yards, giving Notice thereof to the Maſter-ſhipwright and Clerk of the Cheque for their future Puniſhment, as ſhall be by them thought fit.

8. He is not to meddle with the ſelling of any Drink in his own Houſe near the Gate, unto any Labourers, Watchmen, or others appertaining to the Yards; ſo many Abuſes having been occaſioned by this means; but if he ſhall deſire to have the vending of any Beer, it muſt be only in the Summer-time, and of ſix Shillings Price, ſuch as is fit to quench Mens Thirſt that drink thereof, to enable them the better to perform their Labour; and not ſuch as will diſtemper them, and detain them from their Labour in the King's Services; in which caſe he is to be allotted Room in the Middle of the Yard, where his Beer is to be kept and publickly ſold, that they may not, under the Pretence of Drinking, be ſkreened from the Sight of the Foreman, and ſo loiter away their Time, and his Majeſty's Service prejudiced thereby.

The Boatswain *of the* Yard's *Duty.*

1. To be charged from the Store-keeper with the Cranes and all Things thereunto belonging, ſmall Ropes, Malls, Saws, Wedges, Crows, Drags, Timbrels, Wheel-barrows, Screws, Hand-pieces, and other petty Proviſions that ſhall, from time to time, be delivered to the Labourers working in the Yards; and when the Works determine, to give an Account thereof to the Store-keeper for the King's Behoof.

2. He is every Morning to attend the Maſter-attendant and Maſter-ſhipwright, how and where to quarter the Men for that Day, and accordingly to ſee them diſpoſed to their ſeveral Places and Labours, to load or unload Hoys, to receive, and iſſue, and diſpoſe all manner of Proviſions, and to appoint the Foreman to attend one Company, and himſelf another.

3. He is to attend the Cleaning of the Docks, and prepare Crabs, Blocks and Tackle for all or any of his Majeſty's Ships that are to be launched or cleaned, and to take care all ſuch Stores be not loſt or embezzled that have been uſed in the ſaid Service, but deliver them to the Store-keeper for future Services.

4. To look to all Long-boats, Pinnaces, Skiffs, or other Boats of the King's, that they may be carefully laid up in a convenient Place which is appointed for them; and when any of them are uſed, to acquaint the Store-keeper therewith, and after the Service is paſſed, to ſee them laid up without Danger of ſinking, bilging or going adrift.

The Charge of building a Ship of each Rate, and furniſhing her with Maſts, Yards, Sails and Rigging, together with a Proportion of eight Months Boatſwain's and Carpenter's Sea-ſtores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, *Secretary to the Navy.*

For a Ship of a 100 Guns	—	35,553 *l.*
90	—	29,886
80	—	23,638
70	—	17,785
60	—	14,197
50	—	10,606
40	—	7,558
30	—	5,846
20	—	3,710

And from hence it will be eaſy to ſum up the Value or Coſt of the whole Royal Navy, according to the Liſt given on page ii. ſuppoſing every Ship to be furniſh'd as above.

Ships.		Guns.		Coſt of one.		Coſt of all.
6	—	100	—	35,553 *l.*	—	213,318 *l.*
12	—	90	—	29,886	—	358,632
12	—	80	—	23,638	—	283,656
43	—	70	—	17,785	—	764,755
35	—	60	—	14,197	—	496,895
40	—	50	—	10,606	—	424,240
45	—	40	—	7,558	—	340,110
58	—	20	—	3,710	—	215,180
85 Sloops, Bombs, and Fireſhips, one with another, at				2,000		170,000
					Coſt	3,266,786

Beſides Yatchs, Tenders, Store-ſhips, *&c.*

New

New Dimensions *of the* British Navy.

Guns		100		90		80		70		60		50		44		24	
Feet and Inches		F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.	F.	I.
Burthen		2000		1730		1585 $\frac{5}{24}$		1414 $\frac{56}{94}$		1191		1052 $\frac{47}{94}$		814 $\frac{54}{94}$		508 $\frac{32}{94}$	
Length of the	Gun-deck	173		170		165		160		150		144		133		113	
	Keel	144	6½	138	4	134	10¼	131	4	123	½	117	8½	800	10	93	4
	Fore-caſtle	38		36		36		33				27		25	6	18	
	Upper Edge-keel	26	8	25	5	24	8	23	11	22	11	21	10	19	11½	14	6
Depth in the Hold		21	6	20	6	20		19	4	18	6	17	8	16		12	11
Extreme Breadth		51		48	6	4-		45		42	8	41		37	6	32	
Draught of Water	Afore	22	3	21	1	20	4	19	4	18	3	17	2	16		12	11
	Abaft	23	5	22	3	21	6	20	6	19	5	18	4	17	2	14	11
Height of the Deck	Gun	7	2	17		7		7		6	10½	6	9	6	8	6	1
	Middle	7	1	7		6	10										
	Upper	7	6	6	10	6	8	6	7	6	7	6	6	6	6	6	5
	Quarter	6	9	6	9	6	3	6	6	6	6	5	8				

Each of theſe Rates are furniſhed with Pinaces, Yawls and Long-boats, Cables, Anchors, Cordage, *&c.* of the following Dimenſions:

	PINACES.						YAWLS.						LONG-BOATS.					
	Length.	Breadth.		Depth.		Nº Oars.	Length.	Breadth.		Depth.		Nº Oars.	Length.	Breadth.		Depth.		Nº Oars.
Guns.	Feet.	F.	I.	F.	I.		Feet.	F.	I.	F.	I.		Feet.	F.	I.	F.	I.	
100	33	6	2	2	9½	10	28	5	10	2	8½	8	36	10	6	4	8	11
90	32½		1½		9½				10		8½		35	10	2½		6½	11
80	32		1		9				10		8½		33	9	11		4	9
70	31		0½		9				10		8½		31	9	4½		2	9
60	31		0½		9		24		8		6½	6	—	8	10	3	11	9
50	30		0		9		24		0		6½							8
44	28	5	10		8½	8	20	6	0	2	8	4	—	—	—	—	—	8
24	27		9½		8½													7

CABLES for each RATE.

	100	90	80	64		58	50	44	20
Nº.	Inches.	Inc.	Inc.	Inc.	Nº.	Inc.	Inc.	Inc.	Inc.
3	23	21½	20½	19½	2	18½	17	15½	13½
5	22½	21	20	19	4	17½	16½	15	13
1	21½	20½	19½	18½	1	17	16	14½	1½
1	14½	13	12½	12	1	11½	10½	9½	8

ANCHORS.

Nº.	100			90			80			Nº.	64			58			50			44			20		
	C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔		C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔.	C.	q.	℔.
1	82	0	0	76	0	0	59	0	0	1	52	0	0	44	0	0	35	2	0	28	0	0	16	0	0
2	78	0	0	70	0	0	56	0	0	2	49	0	0	42	0	0	32	2	0	25	2	0	14	2	0
2	77	2	0	66	0	0	55	0	0	1	48	0	0	41	0	0	31	2	0	25	2	0	14	2	0
1	20	2	0	17	2	0	14	3	0	1	13	0	0	11	0	0	9	2	0	7	1	0	4	2	0
1	10	2	0	8	2	0	7	2	0	1	7	0	0	6	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	0	2	2	0
1	5	1	0	4	2	0	4	0	0	1															

Weight of Cordage, *viz.* Cables, Rigging, and eight Months Store.

100				90				80				64				58				50				44				20			
T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔	T.	C.	q.	℔
91	16	1	18	82	1	3	8	65	9	3	23	53	14	1	21	46	11	2	9	37	7	1	25	37	6	2	20	19	1	0	11

Arms to each Class, New Proportion.

Guns (each one Drum)	100		90		80	64	58	50	44	20
Muſquets, Bayonets, Cartouch-boxes	200		200		200	180	140	120	100	80
Piſtols Pairs, with Hooks	50		50		50	50	40	40	30	20
Pole-axes, well ſteel'd	50		50		50	50	40	40	35	50
Swords, with Belts, *&c.*	200		200		200	200	140	140	120	80
Hand-granadoes	200		200		200	180	120	100	100	100
	Braſs.	Iron.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cannon-powder	358	330	278		221	189	154	112	76	31
Fine Paper	179	165	437		114	93	78	60	36	15
Total Barrel	17	498	412		340	282	280	180	108	46
Tann'd Hides	17	17	18		14	11	10	7	5	4

Anderson's Experiments of	Bore.		Powder.		Random.	Point Blank.	Force.
	Length.	Diameter.					
Cannon.	Feet.	Inches.	℔.	oz.	Paces 5 Ft. each.		
Rabbinet	3	1 75		5	3769		38
Falconet	4	2		9	4398		61
Falcon	6	2 75	1	10	4797		161
Minion	8	3	2	10	5864		238
Saker	9	3 5	4		5654		371
Demi Culverin	10	4	7	5	4886		733
Culverin	11	5	10		4837		1000
Demi	11	6	14	6	4031		1575
Whole Cannon	12	7	21	5	3769		2422
Royal	12	8	27	14	3298		3382

A Liſt of the FLAG-OFFICERS of his MAJESTY'S FLEET, at this Time.

James Stuart, *Eſq;*	*Admiral of the Fleet.*
Hon. George Clinton,	*A. White.*
Sir William Rowley, *Knight of the Bath,*	
William Martin, *Eſq;*	*A. Blue.*
Iſaac Townſend, *Eſq;*	
Right Honourable Lord Anſon,	
Perry Mayne, *Eſq;*	*V. A. Red.*
Honourable John Byng,	
Henry Oſborn, *Eſq;*	
Thomas Smith, *Eſq;*	*V. A. White.*
Thomas Griffin, *Eſq;*	
Sir Edward Hawke, *Knight of the Bath,*	
Charles Knowles, *Eſq;*	*V. A. Blue.*
Honourable John Forbes,	
Honourable Edward Boſcawen,	
Charles Watſon, *Eſq;*	*R. A. Red.*
Temple Weſt, *Eſq;*	
George Pocock, *Eſq;*	*R. A. White.*
Honourable George Townſhend,	
Savage Moſtyn, *Eſq*	*R. A. Blue.*
Francis Holburne, *Eſq;*	

A Liſt of the CAPTAINS *of his* MAJESTY'S FLEET, *with the* DATES *of their firſt* COMMISSIONS *as* CAPTAINS, *from which they are allowed to take Poſt.*

NAMES.	SENIORITY.	
James Gunman	20 *December,*	1708
John Fletcher	7 *March*	1710
Sir Edward Blacket, Bart.	1 *January*	1712
Edward Falkingham	26 *February*	1712
Samuel Mead	29 *Auguſt*	1727
William-Henry Fleming	26 *July*	1728
John Wingate	6 *April*	1732
Harcourt Maſter	3 *January*	1737
Digby Dent	9 *June*	1738
Thomas Cooper	14 *November*	1738
James Rycaut	10 *Auguſt*	1739
James Lloyd	30 *Auguſt*	1739
Henry Harriſon	28 *February*	1739
Thomas Cotes	12 *May*	1740
Robert Pett	15 *July*	1740
Brad. Thompſon	15 *July*	1740
Thomas Frankland	15 *July*	1740
Right Hon. Lord Harry Powlett	15 *July*	1740
Charles Wager Purvis	18 *July*	1740
Solomon Gideon	6 *September*	1740
Roger Martin	24 *September*	1740
Harry Norris	26 *September*	1740
Eſſex Holcombe	12 *October*	1740
Richard Hughes	24 *October*	1740
Honourable George Murray	3 *November*	1740
Richard Edwards (1ſt.)	4 *November*	1740
Charles Colby	12 *January*	1740
William Dilke	16 *January*	1740
Nathaniel Watſon	16 *January*	1740
Henry Swayſland	22 *January*	1740
Honourable John Hamilton	19 *February*	1740
John Brett	25 *March*	1741
Thomas Brodrick	25 *March*	1741
Daniel Hore	10 *April*	1741
Thomas Pye	13 *April*	1741
Henry Godſalve	17 *May*	1741
Henry Ward	25 *May*	1741
Henry Dennis	6 *June*	1741
George Cockburne	11 *June*	1741
Thomas Tucker	17 *July*	1741
Sir Charles Hardy	10 *Auguſt*	1741
Sheldrake Laton	25 *Auguſt*	1741
Rt. Hon. George Earl of Northeſk	25 *Auguſt*	1741
Right Hon. Henry Lord Aylmer	18 *September*	1741
Charles Saunders	26 *September*	1741
Joſeph Hamar	22 *October*	1741
John Lovett	16 *November*	1741
Frederick Rogers	2 *December*	1741
Honourable George Dawnay	8 *January*	1741
Charles Steevens	11 *January*	1741
John Pritchard	5 *February*	1741
Phillip Durell	6 *February*	1741
Charles Holmes	20 *February*	1741
Elliot Smith	25 *February*	1741
Samuel Corniſh	12 *March*	1741
Sir Charles Molloy	6 *April*	1742
Thorpe Fowke	24 *May*	1742
Francis Geary	30 *June*	1742
Smith Callis	9 *Auguſt*	1742
John Wickham	1 *November*	1742
George Brydges Rodney	9 *November*	1742
Robert Erſkine	13 *November*	1742
Sir William Burnaby	9 *December*	1742
William Fielding	11 *January*	1742
Edward Dodd	25 *January*	1742
Samuel Goddard	1 *February*	1742
Peter Toms	12 *February*	1742
Richard Watkins	24 *February*	1742
Polycarpus Taylor	2 *May*	1743
James Young	16 *May*	1743
William Marſh	25 *May*	1743
Edward Pratten	2 *June*	1743
William Boys	25 *June*	1743
John Watkins	4 *Auguſt*	1743
Arthur Scott	4 *Auguſt*	1743
Warwick Calmady	30 *September*	1743
Sir Peircy Brett	30 *September*	1743
Charles Powlett	10 *October*	1743
Charles Catford	14 *October*	1743
John Moore	24 *December*	1743
Richard Tyrrell	26 *December*	1743
John Simcoe	28 *December*	1743
Frederick Cornewall	11 *February*	1743
Robert Robinſon	22 *February*	1743
Right Hon. Alexander Lord Colvill	6 *March*	1743
James Douglaſs	19 *March*	1743
Thomas Hanway	5 *April*	1744
George Elliot	12 *May*	1744
Edward Spragge	11 *June*	1744
Edmond Toll	14 *June*	1744
Richard Collins	7 *July*	1744
Thomas Mogg	16 *July*	1744
John Bentley	1 *Auguſt*	1744
William Gordon	4 *Auguſt*	1744
Honourable George Edgcumbe	19 *Auguſt*	1744
Robert Swanton	27 *Auguſt*	1744
Lachlin Leſlie	8 *September*	1744
Samuel Graves	11 *September*	1744
William Parry	2 *October*	1744
John Hardy	17 *October*	1744
Patrick O Hara	16 *November*	1744
Coningſby Norbury	17 *November*	1744
Honourable Auguſtus Keppel	11 *December*	1744
John Amherſt	29 *December*	1744
Peter Denis	9 *February*	1744
Honourable Archibald Stuart	20 *February*	1744
Edmond Horne	22 *February*	1744
Arthur Forreſt	9 *March*	1744
Richard Tiddeman	9 *March*	1744
Robert Hughes	2 *April*	1745
Hugh Bonfoy	12 *April*	1745
Timothy Nucella	12 *April*	1745
Robert Jefferis	1 *May*	1745
Honourable William Montague	23 *May*	1745
Arthur Gardiner	27 *May*	1745
Mathew Buckle	29 *May*	1745
Robert Man	22 *June*	1745
Clark Gayton	6 *July*	1745
Thomas Stanhope	12 *July*	1745
Thomas Andrews	15 *July*	1745
John Hume	20 *July*	1745

NAMES.	SENIORITY.
Henry Roſewell	21 *July* 1745
Juſtinian Nutt	12 *Auguſt* 1745
John Orme	20 *Auguſt* 1745
Samuel Maiſterſon	26 *Auguſt* 1745
John Hill	26 *Auguſt* 1745
Henry Dyve	2 *September* 1745
William Bladwell	17 *September* 1745
John Barker	19 *September* 1745
Richard Spry	23 *September* 1745
John Rous	24 *September* 1745
Thomas Noel	12 *November* 1745
John Weller	29 *November* 1745
John Fawler	2 *December* 1745
Lucius O Brien	3 *December* 1745
John Montagu	15 *January* 1745
Abel Smith	22 *January* 1745
Cotton Dent	23 *January* 1745
Charles Knowler	23 *January* 1745
William Harman	26 *January* 1745
Thomas Craven	8 *February* 1745
Thomas Alliſon	9 *February* 1745
Robert Harland	19 *March* 1745
James Sayer	22 *March* 1745
Edward Falkingham	26 *March* 1746
Jervis Henry Porter	3 *April* 1746
Honourable Richard How	10 *April* 1746
Andrews Jelfe	14 *April* 1746
Waſhington Shirley	19 *April* 1746
Samuel Faulknor	21 *April* 1746
John Douglas	22 *April* 1746
Hugh Pigot	22 *April* 1746
Julian Legge	6 *May* 1746
Molineux Shuldham	12 *May* 1746
Robert Wellard	31 *May* 1746
James Webb	25 *June* 1746
Anthony Kerly	2 *July* 1746
Henry Huiſh	12 *July* 1746
Joſeph Knight	31 *July* 1746
Thomas Knowler	11 *Auguſt* 1746
O Brien Dudley	11 *Auguſt* 1746
John Vaughan	11 *Auguſt* 1746
John Lloyd	4 *September* 1746
Charles Proby	17 *September* 1746
John Ferguſſone	6 *October* 1746
Robert Duff	23 *October* 1746
John Reynolds	30 *October* 1746
Frederick Hyde	11 *November* 1746
Hugh Palliſer	25 *November* 1746
Charles Wray	9 *December* 1746
Honourable John Byron	30 *December* 1746
Honourable Aug. John Hervey	15 *January* 1746
George Mackenzie	24 *January* 1746
Mathew Barton	7 *February* 1746
Thomas Latham	14 *March* 1746
Peter Parker	6 *May* 1747
Patrick Baird	27 *May* 1747
Richard Gwynn	27 *May* 1747
Honourable Samuel Barrington	29 *May* 1747
Mariot Arbuthnot	22 *June* 1747

NAMES.	SUPERIORITY.
Robert Roddam	9 *July* 1747
Samuel Marſhal	17 *July* 1747
William Brett	18 *July* 1747
Robert Aſkew	21 *Auguſt* 1747
Edward Clarke	11 *September* 1747
George Darby	12 *September* 1747
Willliam-Saltren Willett	1 *October* 1747
Thomas-How. Huchenſon	23 *November* 1747
John Campbell	23 *November* 1747
Chriſtopher Hill	5 *December* 1747
James Gambier	5 *December* 1747
Michael Everitt	23 *December* 1747
William Lloyd	12 *January* 1747
Samuel Scott	29 *January* 1747
Francis-William Drake	29 *January* 1747
Edward Hughes	6 *February* 1747
Robert Haldane	24 *February* 1747
Edward Jekyll	5 *March* 1747
David Brodie	9 *March* 1747
Henry Marſh	12 *March* 1747
Hyde Parker	24 *March* 1747
William Holburne	15 *April* 1748
John Evans	20 *April* 1748
Mathew Whitwell	6 *May* 1748
Henry Barnſley	7 *May* 1748
Mark Millbank	21 *May* 1748
James Kirk	23 *June* 1748
Nicholas Vincent	5 *July* 1748
Edward Wheeler	23 *July* 1748
William Martin	16 *Auguſt* 1748
Richard Clements	29 *September* 1748
John Storr	1 *November* 1748
Vincent Pearce	4 *November* 1748
Thomas Saumarez	27 *November* 1748
James Campbell	26 *January* 1748
William Preſton	1 *March* 1748
William Mantell	8 *June* 1749
Edward Chriſtian	28 *July* 1749
Andrew Cockburne	16 *January* 1749
Carr Scrope	14 *November* 1752
Edward Vernon	3 *April* 1753
John Hollwall	30 *June* 1753
Joſhua Rowley	4 *December* 1753
Dudley Digges	18 *December* 1753
Richard Edwards (2d.)	27 *December* 1753
Henry Speke	20 *January* 1754
Thomas Foley	2 *April* 1754
Abraham North	16 *Jannary* 1755
Robert Routh	19 *January* 1755
Edward Le Cras	4 *February* 1755
Richard Dorrill	11 *February* 1755
Thomas Hankerſon	11 *March* 1755
John Rawling	11 *March* 1755
William Brown	17 *June* 1755

Beſides theſe Officers there are now upon the Admiralty Liſt,

85 Maſters and Commanders.
632 Lieutenants.

NAMES of the Lord HIGH-ADMIRALS, and COMMISSIONERS for executing the OFFICE of Lord HIGH-ADMIRAL from the Year 1673, when *His Royal Highneſs* the DUKE of YORK reſigned.

9th *July* 1673, 25th *Charles* II.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Rupert, *Duke of Cumberland.*
Anthony *Earl* of Shaftſbury, Lord Chancellor }
Thomas *Viſcount* Oſburne Lord Treaſurer } and theſe Officers for the Time being.
Arthur *Earl of* Angleſea Lord Privy-ſeal }
George *Duke of* Buckingham.
James *Duke of* Monmouth.
John *Duke of* Lauderdale.
James *Duke of* Ormond.
Henry *Earl of* Arlington, Secretary of State.
Sir George Carteret, Vice Chamberlain.
Henry Coventry, *Eſq*; Secretary of State.
Edward Seymour, *Eſq*;

14th *September* 1677, 29th *Charles* II.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Rupert, *Duke of Cumberland.*
Heanege *Lord* Finch, Lord Chancellor.
Thomas *Earl of* Danby, Lord Treaſurer.
Arthur *Earl of* Angleſea, Lord Privy-ſeal.
James *Duke of* Monmouth.
John *Duke of* Lauderdale.
James *Duke of* Ormond.
Thomas *Earl of* Oſſory.
Henry *Earl of* Arlington, Lord Chamberlain.
Henry Coventry, *Eſq*; } Secretaries of State.
Sir Joseph Williamſon, }

Sir John Ernle, Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Chicheley, *Knt.* Maſter General of the Ordnance.
Edward Seymour, *Eſq;*

14th of *May* 1679, 31ſt *Charles* II.

Sir Henry Capell, *Knt.*
Daniel Finch, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir Humphrey Wynch, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Meers, *Knt.*
Edward Vaughan, *Eſq;*
Edward Hayles, *Eſq;*

19th *February* 1679, 32d *Charles* II.

Daniel Finch, *Eſq;*
Sir Humphry Wynch, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Meers, *Knt.*
Edward Hayles, *Eſq;*
William *Viſcount* Brounckers.
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*

20th *January* 1681, 33d *Charles* II.

Daniel *Lord* Finch.
Sir Humphry Wynch, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Meers, *Knt.*
Edward Hales, *Eſq;*
William *Viſcount* Brouncker.
Henry Saville, *Eſq;*
Sir John Chicheley, *Knt.*

17th *April* 1684.

Daniel *Earl of* Nottingham.
Sir Humphry Winch, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Meers, *Knt.*
Sir Edward Hales, *Bart.*
Henry Saville, *Eſq;*
Sir John Chicheley, *Knt.*
John *Lord* Vaughan.
Arthur Herbert, *Eſq;*

This Commiſſion was revoked 22d *May*, 1684.

King *James* the II. managed the Affairs of the Admiralty by Secretary *Pepys* all his Reign.

8th *March* 1688, 1ſt *William* and *Mary*.

Arthur Herbert, *Eſq;*
John *Earl of* Carberry.
Sir Michael Wharton, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir John Chicheley, *Knt.*
Sir John Lowther *of* Whitehaven, *Bart.*
William Sacheverille, *Eſq;*

20th *January* 1689, 1ſt *William* and *Mary*.

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke and Montgomery.
John *Earl of* Carberry.
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir John Chicheley, *Knt.*
Sir John Lowther *of* Whitehaven, *Bart.*

5th *June* 1690, 2d *William* and *Mary*.

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke.
John *Earl of* Carberry.
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir John Lowther, *Bart.*
Edward Ruſſell, *Eſq;*
Sir Richard Onſlow, *Bart.*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*

23d *January* 1690, 3d *William* and *Mary*.

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke.
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Sir John Lowther, *Bart.*
Sir Richard Onſlow, *Bart.*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Anthony *Viſcount* Falkland.
Robert Auſtin, *Eſq;*

10th *March* 1691, 4th *William* and *Mary*.

Charles *Lord* Cornwallis.
Sir John Lowther, *Bart.*
Sir Richard Onſlow, *Bart.*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Anthony *Viſcount* Falkland.
Robert Auſtin, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*

16 *April* 1693, 5th *William* and *Mary*.

Anthony *Viſcount* Falkland.
Sir John Lowther, *Bart.*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Robert Auſtin, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Henry Killigrew, *Eſq;*
Sir Ralph Delavall, *Knt.*

2d *May* 1694, 6th *William* and *Mary*.

Edward Ruſſell, *Eſq;*
Sir John Lowther, *Bart.*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Robert Auſtin, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir John Houblon, *Knt.*

28th *February* 1695, 7th *William* and *Mary*.

Edward Ruſſell, *Eſq;*
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Robert Auſtin, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Sir George Rook, *Knt.*
Sir John Houblon, *Knt.*
James Kendale, *Eſq;*

5th *June* 1697, 9th *William* III.

Edward *Earl of* Orford.
Henry Prieſtman, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Sir George Rook, *Knt.*
Sir John Houblon, *Knt.*
James Kendale, *Eſq;*
Goodwin Wharton, *Eſq;*

2d *June* 1699, 11th *William* III.

John *Earl of* Bridgwater.
John *Lord* Haverſham.
Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*

1ſt *November* 1699, 11th *William* III.

John *Earl of* Bridgwater.
John *Lord* Haverſham.
Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill, *Eſq;*

4th *April* 1701, 13th *William* III.

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke and Montgomery.
John *Lord Haverſham.*
Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill, *Eſq;*

26 *January* 1701, 13th *William* III.

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord High-admiral.

28th *May* 1702, 1ſt *Anne*.

His Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Lord High-admiral of *England*.

Council appointed by his Royal Highneſs during the Time he was Lord High-admiral of England.

28th *May*, 1702.

Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill, *Eſq;*
Richard Hill, *Eſq;*

29th *March*, 1703.

Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill, *Eſq;*
Richard Hill, *Eſq;*
Hon. James Bridges.

30th *April*, 1704.

Sir George Rooke, *Knt.*
Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill, *Eſq;*
Richard Hill, *Eſq;*
Honourable James Bridges, *Eſq;*
Honourable Henry Paget, *Eſq;*

8th *February*, 1705.

Sir David Mitchell, *Knt.*
George Churchill,
Richard Hill, } *Eſqs;*
Honourable Henry Paget,
Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, *Knt.*
Robert Walpole, *Eſq;*
Sir Stafford Fairborne, *Knt.*

20th *June*, 1707. 6th *Anne.*

His Royal Highneſs *George* Prince of *Denmark*, Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain, *on account of the Union.*

Council appointed by his Royal Highneſs during the Time he was Lord High-admiral of **Great-Britain.**

19th *April*, 1708.

David *Earl of* Wemys.
George Churchill,
Richard Hill, } *Eſqs;*
Honourable Henry Paget,
Sir Stafford Fairborne, *Knt.*
Sir John Leake, *Knt.*

20th *June*, 1708.

David *Earl of* Wemys.
George Churchill,
Richard Hill, } *Eſqs;*
Honourable Henry Paget,
Sir John Leake, *Knt.*
Sir James Wiſheart, *Knt.*

Note, His Royal Highneſs the Prince died the 28th of *October*, 1708, and the Queen acted in the Interval till next Commiſſion by Mr. Secretary *Burchet*.

29th *November*, 1708. 7th *Anne.*

Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery, Lord High-admiral.

8th *November*, 1709. 7th *Anne.*

Edward *Earl of* Orford.
Sir John Leake,
Sir George Byng, } *Knts.*
George Doddington,
Paul Methuen, } *Eſqs;*

4th *October*, 1710. 9th *Anne.*

Sir John Leake,
Sir George Byng, } *Knts.*
George Doddington,
Paul Methuen, } *Eſqs;*
Sir William Drake, *Bart.*
John Aiſlabie, *Eſq;*

20 *December*, 1710. 9th *Anne.*

Sir John Leake, *Knt.*
Sir George Byng, *Knt.*
Sir William Drake, *Bart.*
John Aiſlabie, *Eſq;*
Sir James Wiſheart, *Knt.*
George Clarke, *Eſq;*

30th *September*, 1712. 11th *Anne.*

Thomas *Earl of* Strafford.
Sir John Leake, *Knt.*
Sir George Byng, *Knt.*
Sir William Drake, *Bart.*
John Aiſlabie, *Eſq;*
Sir James Wiſheart, *Knt.*
George Clarke, *Eſq;*

19th *January*, 1713. 12th *Anne.*

The ſame Commiſſioners, leaving out *Sir* George Byng, *Knt.*

9th *April*, 1714. 13th *Anne.*

Thomas *Earl of* Strafford.
Sir John Leake, *Knt.*
Sir William Drake, *Bart.*
Sir James Wiſheart, *Knt.*
George Clarke, *Eſq;*
Sir George Beaumont, *Bart.*

14 *October*, 1714. 1st *Geo.* I.

Edward *Earl of* Orford.
Sir George Byng, *Knt.*
George Doddington, *Eſq;*
Sir John Jennings, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Turner, *Bart.*
Abraham Stanyan, *Eſq;*
George Baillie, *Eſq;*

16th *April*, 1717. 3d *Geo.* I.

James *Earl of* Berkeley.
Matthew Aylmer, *Eſq;*
Sir George Byng, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
William Chetwynde, *Eſq;*

19th *March*, 1717. 4th *Geo.* I.

James *Earl of* Berkeley.
Sir George Byng, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Sir John Jennings, *Knt.*
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
William Chetwynde, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*

10th *October*, 1721. 8th *Geo.* I.

James *Earl of* Berkeley.
Sir John Jennings, *Knt.*
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
William Chetwynde, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Daniel Pultney, *Eſq;*

11th *June*, 1725. 11th *Geo.* I.

James *Earl of* Berkeley.
Sir John Jennings, *Knt.*
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
William Chetwynde, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.*

1st *June*, 1727. 13th *Geo.* I.

James *Earl of* Berkeley.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
William Chetwynde, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*

2d *August*, 1727. 1st *Geo.* II.

George *Viscount* Torrington.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*

Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
George *Viſcount* Malpas.
Samuel Molyneaux, *Eſq;*

1st *June* 1728. 1° *Geo.* II.

George *Viſcount* Torrington.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
George *Viſcount* Malpas.
Sir William Young, *Knight of the Bath.*

19 *May*, 1729. 2d *Geo.* II.

George *Viſcount* Torrington.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Sir John Norris, *Knt.*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
Sir William Yonge, *Knight of the Bath.*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.

13th *May*, 1730. 3d *Geo.* II.

George *Viſcount* Torrington.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Thomas Winnington, *Bart.*

15th *June*, 1732. 6th *Geo.* II.

George *Viſcount* Torrington.
Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Thomas Winnington, *Eſq;*
Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq;*

21st *June*, 1733. 7th *Geo.* II.

Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Thomas Winnington, *Eſq;*
Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq;*
Lord Harry Paulett.

22d *May*, 1736. 9th *Geo.* II.

Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Lyttelton, *Bart.*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq;*
Lord Harry Paulett.
John Campbell, *Eſq;*

March, 1738. 12th *Geo.* II.

Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Littleton, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq;*
Lord Harry Paulett.
John Campbell, *Eſq;*
Lord Vere Beauclerke.

15th *May*, 1741. 14th *Geo.* II.

Sir Charles Wager, *Knt.*
Sir Thomas Frankland, *Bart.*
Lord Harry Paulett.
John Campbell, *Eſq;*
Lord Vere Beauclerke.
John *Viſcount* Glenorchy.
Edward Thompſon, *Eſq;*

19th *March*, 1741. 15th *Geo.* II.

Daniel *Earl of* Winchelſea *and* Nottingham.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Charles *Lord* Baltimore.
Philip Cavendiſh, *Eſq;*
George Lee, *Eſq; L. L. D.*
John Trevor, *Eſq;*

13th *December*, 1743. 17th *Geo.* II.

Daniel *Earl of* Winchelſea *and* Nottingham.
John Cockburne, *Eſq;*
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
George Lee, *Eſq; L. L. D.*
Sir Charles Hardy, *Knt.*
John Phillipſon, *Eſq;*

December, 1744. 18th *Geo.* II.

John *Duke of* Bedford.
John *Earl of* Sandwich.
Lord Archibald Hamilton.
Lord Vere Beauclerke.
Charles *Lord* Baltimore.
George Anſon, *Eſq;*
George Greenville, *Eſq;*

1746. 19th *Geo.* II.

John *Duke of* Bedford.
John *Earl of* Sandwich.
Lord Vere Beauclerke.
George *Lord* Anſon.
William *Viſcount* Barrington.
William *Viſcount* Duncannon.
Welbore Ellis, *Eſq;*

February, 174$\frac{7}{8}$. 21st *Geo.* II.

John *Earl of* Sandwich.
Lord Vere Beauclerke.
George *Lord* Anſon.
William *Viſcount* Barrington.
William *Viſcount* Duncannon.
Welbore Ellis, *Eſq;*
Honourable John Stanhope, *Eſq;*

February, 174$\frac{8}{9}$. 22d *Geo.* II.

John *Earl of* Sandwich.
Lord Vere Beauclerke.
George *Lord* Anſon.
William *Viſcount* Barrington.
William *Viſcount* Duncannon.
Welbore Ellis, *Eſq;*
Honourable Thomas Villars, *Eſq;*

November, 1749. 23d *Geo.* II.

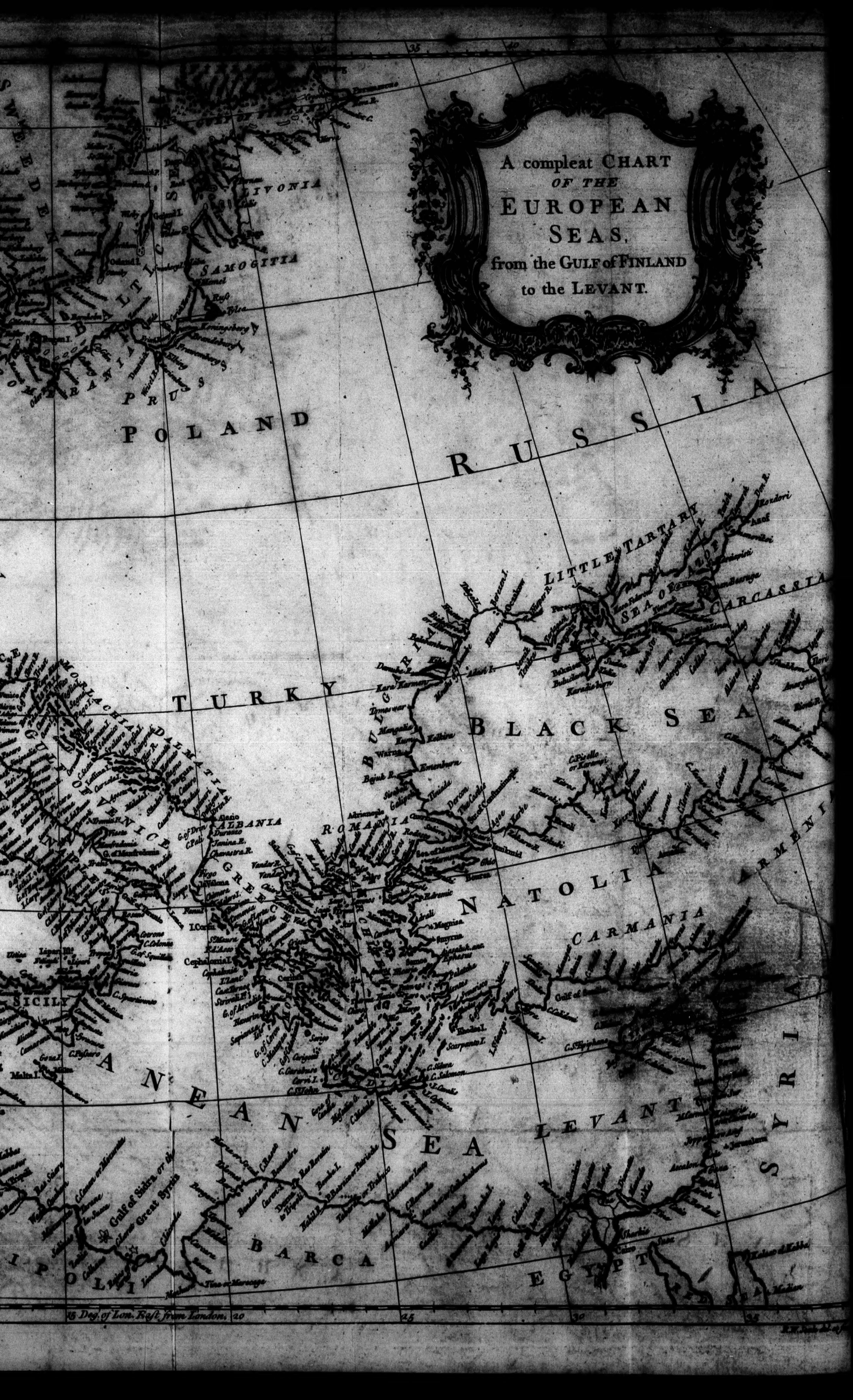
John *Earl of* Sandwich.
George *Lord* Anſon.
William *Viſcount* Barrington.
William *Viſcount* Duncannon.
Welbore Ellis, *Eſq;*
Honourable Thomas Villars, *Eſq;*
Granville *Viſcount* Trentham.

February, 175$\frac{0}{1}$. 23d *Geo.* II.

George *Lord* Anſon.
William *Viſcount* Barrington.
William *Viſcount* Duncannon.
Welbore Ellis, } *Eſqs;*
Honourable Thomas Villars, } *Eſqs;*
William Rowley, } *Eſqs;*
Honourable Edward Boſcawen, *Eſq;*

It was deſign'd to finiſh this Introduction with an Abſtract of the *eſſential* LAWS and REGULATIONS, made for the Benefit of the *Commerce* and *Navigation* of GREAT-BRITAIN: But as the Particulars already inſerted, abſolutely neceſſary to be known, for the right underſtanding of the following Work, and which could not be ſo properly ingrafted upon any other Part thereof, have brought it to a ſufficient Length; it has been thought more agreeable to our Readers, to reſerve them for the Concluſion of the Volume, and to proceed immediately to the main Subject of the Hiſtory.

WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN OCEAN
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Dogger Bank
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Madrid
GULF OF LYONS
GULF OF GENOA
ITALY
VENICE
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Minorca I.
Majorca I.
Yvica I.
Formentera I.
Gulf of Valentia
Gulf of Alicante
Gulf of Cartagena
Str. of Gibraltar
C. Finisterra
C. St. Vincent
MEDITERRANEAN
SICILY
Malta I.
ALGIER
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
FEZ
MOROCCO
BARBARY
Morocco



A compleat CHART
OF THE
EUROPEAN
SEAS,
from the GULF of FINLAND
to the LEVANT.

SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
GULF OF FINLAND
LIVONIA
SAMOGITIA
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Koningsberg
Brandenburg
Dantzick
Elbing
POLAND
RUSSIA
LITTLE TARTARY
SEA OF AZOF
CARCASSIA
BULGARIA
TURKY
BLACK SEA
MORLACHIA
DALMATIA
GULF OF VENICE
ALBANIA
ROMANIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
GREECE
NATOLIA
CARMANIA
ARMENIA
I. Corfu
Cephalonia I.
I. Zant
Smyrna
Ephesus
SICILY
Malta I.
C. Salmon
LEVANT
SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gulf of Sidra or the Great Syrtis
BARCA
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
Cairo
Alexandria
Joppa
Jerusalem
15 Deg. of Lon. East from London.
20
25
30
35
40
R.W. Seale del. et s

A NEW
NAVAL HISTORY:
OR,
COMPLETE VIEW of the BRITISH MARINE.

BOOK I.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to our *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Acceſſion of WILLIAM the *Conqueror*, to the Death of King RICHARD III.

CHAP. I.

Containing the Marine Affairs in the Reigns of King WILLIAM I. *ſurnamed* the Conqueror, *King* WILLIAM II. *ſurnamed* Rufus, *and King* HENRY I.

THE Duke of *Normandy*, as you have read on page v. of the *Introduction*, invaded *England* with a prodigious Fleet of (900) Tranſports, which he burnt, after landing his Army; and by the deciſive Battle near *Haſtings*, he ſeized upon the Crown of *England* by the Name of *William* I. The Reaſon aſſigned by the beſt Hiſtorians for burning thoſe Ships was their Incapacity to ſtand an Engagement with the national Fleet; which muſt convince us, that the naval Power of *England* was at that Time kept in ſuch a Situation as to be able to defend the Coaſt againſt foreign Invaſions, had it not been juſt before very unadviſedly order'd into Port for the Winter-ſeaſon, and to be refitted after the Deſtruction of the *Norwegian* Fleet; not ſuſpecting any Danger from the Coaſt of *Normandy*.

It is confeſſed that, upon the Death of *Harold*, and the Succeſs of *the Conqueror*, the greateſt Part of that Fleet was carried off to the Coaſt of *Norway*, by the Sons of the ſlain Monarch, which for a while might deprive him of that natural Strength of his inſular Dominion; but this, which not only left him expoſed, but threatened him with all the Power they could muſter to revenge their Father's Cauſe, muſt certainly have accelerated *the Conqueror*'s Endeavours to reſtore his naval Force with the utmoſt Diligence[*]; as the moſt neceſſary and natural Means of maintaining his new Acquiſitions againſt all foreign Powers. For this End, he prudently ſurveyed the Harbours, placed a ſtrong Garriſon in *Dover*, and other Ports on that Coaſt, and would not viſit his native Country till he had acquired a Fleet ſufficient to guard the Nation from foreign Attempts by Sea; and at his Departure carried with him to *Normandy* the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility, as Hoſtages to ſecure the inward Tranquillity of the Nation, during his Abſence.

How well this wiſe King judged and acted on this Occaſion was preſently diſcovered; tho' he could not raiſe a ſufficient naval Armament to riſque a Battle at Sea with the extraordinary Power that combined againſt him from all Quarters. The Beginning of his Reign was greatly diſturbed by unſucceſsful Rebellions, fomented by the diſcontented Nobility, who ſet up *Edgar Atheling*'s Title to the Crown. And tho' they provoked him ſo much, that every Body expected their Defeat would ſerve him with a Pretence to make himſelf a real, inſtead of a nominal *Conqueror*; yet like the Lion, who diſdains to fall upon thoſe Animals that couch and proſtrate themſelves at his Feet, *William* diſdaining that any who ſubmitted to him, ſhould have ſo much the better of him, as not to be pardoned, prevented their Fears by a general Act of Indemnity, not excepting his very Competitor *Edgar*. When this Prince ſurrendered with all Humility upon his Knee, he received him into Favour with this Majeſtic Declaration, *Petits ſe vengent, je pardonne*; and aſſigned him a Penſion ſufficient to ſupport him as a Prince, and to ſecure him from the Danger of Suſpicion.

But neither his Clemency, Courage, nor Wiſdom was able to ſtem the Envy, Ignorance, and Malice of a People, that could bear no Impoſition of new Laws, they underſtood not, nor the Continuation of the old, they underſtood too well: All thinking it grievous (becauſe it ſavour'd of Conqueſt) to be wreſted from their preſent Uſages and Forms of State, tho' the Change was much for the better: As when he confined the Biſhops to the Rule of Souls only; who before, aſſiſted with the *Greve* or *Alderman*, i. e. the Earl of every County, were abſolute Judges in all Caſes and over all Perſons; and in the Place of the *Greve*, he conſtituted *Judges* of *Oyer* and *Terminer* by ſpecial Commiſſion, to decide all Matters of Law by the Aſſiſtance of Juſtices of the Peace taken out of the *Minores Nobiles*, i. e. *leſſer Nobility* of each County, and by an Inqueſt of twelve Men of the ſame Rank and Condition with the Party impleaded. By theſe new Laws and Eſtabliſhments the Pride of the Clergy was humbled; the Power of the Earl, which exerciſed a moſt grievous Tyranny over the People, was entirely overthrown; and the Subject was ſecured againſt the Encroachments of the Sovereign himſelf in Matters of Juſtice and Judgment. He moreover changed the uncertain Tenures of *Bokeland*[a], by which the Nobility held their Eſtates, and were no better than the ancient *Fifes*, that depended on the Will of the firſt Donors, into abſolute and hereditary; and the *Tenure* of *Folkland*[b] he changed into Eſtates for Life. He alſo aboliſhed the grievous Tax of *Danegelt*; and choſe to raiſe the neceſſary Supplies for ſupport of the Government by witty Slights, rather than to clog the Subject with a Land-tax.

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[*] Saxon. Chr. ad An. 1067. Cyril. Marlſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. L. III.

Theſe Advantages ſhould have conciliated the Affections of the Nation, and prevented all Complaints or Uneaſineſs under the *Conqueror*'s Government. Yet ſuch was their Obſtinacy, Ingratitude or Diſdain, that they never ceaſed to plot againſt him; and their Conſpiracies were often ſo well concerted, that like great Waves, rolling thick upon the Back of one another, they never broke but with ſo apparent Danger, as threatened him with Wreck in Port, after his Eſcape of all the Storms at Sea. Firſt *Edric* the Foreſter, encouraged by the *Welch*; *Edwin* and *Morcar*, Brothers to the late Queen, encouraged by the *Scots*, drew many of the Nobility into Rebellion; and they were joined by the diſguſted Clergy, headed by the two Archbiſhops. *Exeter* and *Oxford* were prevailed upon by the Malecontents to ſhut their Gates, and to encourage the adjacent Parts to expoſtulate their Liberties with Sword in Hand; and all theſe, by a kind of Infatuation, at laſt declared for *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, who in the Midſt of this Confuſion, ſent his two Sons with 300 Sail of ſtout Ships, and a conſiderable Body of Forces on-board, under the Command of *Oſborn*, his Brother-in-law, to aſſert his Title to the Crown of *England*[c]. They landed at the Mouth of the *Humber*, and took the Rout of *York*, which was rendred untainable by an accidental Fire that ſpread from the Suburbs into the City, and deſerted by the King's Governor. The *Danes* made it a Place of Arms; and leaving therein a ſtrong Garriſon, under the Earl *Nealtheof*, the main Body marched for *London*. But meeting with the *Conqueror* in the Way, were routed and driven back to their Ships. However *Swain*, being perſuaded that his powerful Armament could not have failed in this Expedition without ſome Colluſion between his Brother *Oſborn* and *William*, baniſhed him at his Arrival in *Denmark*; and with all Diligence refitted his Fleet, which next Year made another Deſcent on the Iſle of *Ely* to favour the Malecontents, who lay ready to take up Arms in that Iſland. This Invaſion ſucceeded no better than the former; and *Swain* being quite worn out in his Expectations upon *England*, concluded a Peace with King *William*[d]. But the Sons of *Harold*, having engaged the *Iriſh* in their Intereſt, continued the Troubles; who, with an Army on-board a Fleet of 65 Sail, landed in two ſucceding Years in the Weſt; firſt in *Somerſetſhire*, and afterwards in *Devonſhire*. But with no Succeſs; which quite broke the Spirits of the *Iriſh* Nobility, who had engaged with the *Engliſh* Fugitives[e]; and ſpurred up the *Conqueror* to accelerate his naval Armaments, which by the next Year were in a Condition to cover the Coaſt, and to prevent foreign Succours joining the Rebels in the Iſle of *Ely*, till he had entirely routed them out[f]. He then turned his Arms againſt *Scotland*, whoſe King *Malcolm* had countenanced and helped his rebellious Subjects; and attacked him ſo powerfully both by Sea and Land, that he ſoon forced that Nation to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as he thought neceſſary to impoſe[g].

The Kingdom by this means ſeemed to be poſſeſſed with a perfect State of Tranquillity; when all on a ſudden a greater Tempeſt than ever threatened a total Subverſion of the State. The King was abſent in *Normandy*: The diſaffected Nobles form'd a Conſpiracy in the Bowels of his Kingdom; the *Welch* joined them on one Side; the *Danes* favoured their Riſing with a Fleet of 200 Sail on the Eaſtern Coaſt; and the *Scots* made an Inroad upon the Northern Marches. But the ſame Expedition, Prudence and Courage, which had hitherto given him the Advantage over all his Enemies, delivered him alſo from this formidable Confederacy[h].

He was daily more and more convinced that *England* could not be ſecured from Invaſions without a Fleet; and, according to his natural Sagacity, rather than charge its Maintenance by way of *Danegeld*, which the *Engliſh* abhorred, and had therefore been aboliſhed by the *Conqueror*, he, by granting Privileges to certain Towns moſt conveniently ſituate near the Mouth of the *Thames* for harbouring a Navy, engaged them by the Name of Cinque-ports to furniſh him with a Fleet of Ships ſufficient to guard the Coaſts upon any Immergency. So that when the *Danes*, invited by the Malecontents, appeared upon the Coaſt, they immediately ſteered off for the Coaſt of *Flanders*, at the Sight of this well-appointed naval Armament; and by that Diſappointment, the reſt of the Confederates were ſtopt in their Progreſs. However the *Danes*, who never gave up their Claim to the Throne of *Canutus*, reſolved to make another Effort in favour of their Sovereign *Canutus* IV. In this Expedition, which was ſupported on the Part of *Denmark* with 1600 Sail, *Canutus* was joined by 65 more from the King of *Ireland*. But the *Conqueror* being preordained for the great Work he had undertaken, made ſuch Preparations for their Reception both by Sea and Land, that *Canutus* durſt not face him; and, after a fruitleſs Cruize on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, he returned with his Fleet to his own Dominions. And our King ordered the *Engliſh* Fleet to ride off the *Iſle of Wight*.

The Cinque-ports, according to Mr. *Camden*, being an Inſtitution of this Reign, and they for ſeveral Ages making a conſiderable Figure in the Annals of our naval Hiſtory; it is proper here to obſerve, that this was an Improvement made by the *Conqueror* on the *Confeſſor*'s Scheme, by which King *Edward* had granted to *Dover*, *Sandwich* and *Romney*, an Exemption from all Impoſitions, Taxes or Burdens, in conſideration of ſuch Service to be done by them upon the Sea for the Crown. To thoſe three *William* I. added *Rye* and *Winchelſea*. From which time (*viz.* the fourth Year of his Reign) they obtained the united Name of the Cinque-ports. However ſome other Ports were joined to theſe in future Reigns, either as Principals or Members. For in the Reign of *Henry* III. the eminent Lawyer *Bracton*[i] refers to Writs directed to the Bailiffs of *Haſtings*, *Hythe*, *Romney*, *Dover* and *Sandwich*, commanding them to ſend 24 of their Barons, who in the Language of thoſe Days, were their Burgeſſes, to appear before the King's *Juſtices in Eyre* at *Shipney*, in *Kent*, as they accuſtomed to do, there to enquire of ſuch Points as ſhould be given in Charge. And ſaith further, That foraſmuch as there were ſometimes Contentions between them of the *Five-ports*, and the Inhabitants of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, and *Donwich* in *Suffolk*, there ſhould be ſeveral Writs directed to them alſo, returnable before the ſaid Juſtices, at the ſaid Day and Place, reciting that whereas the King had by his former Writs ſummoned the Pleas of the *five Ports* to be holden at *Shipney*, if any of the ſaid Towns had Cauſe to complain (being within the Liberties of the ſaid Ports) he ſhould be at *Shipney* to propound againſt him, and to receive according to Law and Juſtice. From hence it is moſt generally inferred, that the five laſt-mentioned Ports, were thoſe originally chartered by the *Conqueror*, and that *Rye* and *Winchelſea* were added towards the latter End of *Henry the Third*'s Reign, or by King *Edward* I. (when *Winchelſea* was new-built, in the Year 1277.) as Principals; to which, ſince that Time, were added other Ports, as Members to each of them, in order to eaſe their Charge, on condition of partaking of ſome of their Privileges.

As to the Service impoſed upon the *Cinque-ports*, it appears by *Doomſday-book*, that *Dover*, *Romney* and *Sandwich* ſeverally were to provide 20 Veſſels each at Sea, and each Ship to be furniſhed with 21 Men for 15 Days at their own Charge. In the Reign[k] of King *Edward* I. the Charter ſaith, That at every Time the King paſſeth over the Sea the Ports ought to fit out 57 Ships, whereof every one to have 20 armed Soldiers, and to maintain them at their own Coſt for 15 Days together. From whence we can draw no ſufficient Proof for the ſeparate Charge of each Port. But in the 22d Year of the ſame Reign, the Proportions are clearly ſet forth by *Stephen Pencheſter*, then Conſtable of *Dover*-Caſtle, in this Manner:

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[a] i. e. by Charter or Writing.

[b] Land of the common People, held by Vaſſalage at Will, and without Writing.

[c] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068. Matt. Pariſ. Hiſt. Ang. Vol. I. p. 6.

[d] Chron. Saxon. p. 174, 177. Adamſ. Bremenſ. Pont. L. V.

[e] Hoveden. p. 450. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1069. Guliel. Malm. lib. III.

[f] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1072.

[g] Alured. Bev. Ann. L. IX.

[h] Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Hunting. Hiſt. L. VII. p. 369.

[i] Bracton's Treatiſe of the Crown, L. III.

[k] Anno Reg. 3°.

The Port of *Haſtings* he charges with		3 Ships.
Pevenſey — —	its Members with	1
Bulverhithe —		1
Bekeſborne in *Kent* —		7
Grenche at *Gillingham*		two Men and Armour with the Ships of *Haſtings*.
The town of *Rye* —	its Members with	5
Tenterden — —		
The Town of *Winchelſea* with — —		10
The Port of *Romney*	its Members with	4
Lydde — —		7
The Port of *Hythe* with — —		5
The Port of *Dover* with — —		19
Folkſtone — —	its Members with	7
Feverſham —		7
The Port of *Sandwich*	its Members with	5
Stonor — —		
Fordwich —		
Dale, &c. —		
	In all	78

To be fitted out within 40 Days after ſummoned, armed and arrayed at their own Charge, with 20 Men in each, beſides the Maſter of the Mariners; to be maintained 5 Days together at their own Coſt, paying to the Maſter 6*d. per* Day; 6*d.* to the Conſtable *per* Day; and 3*d. per* Day to each Mariner; and at the Expiration of thoſe 5 Days to be maintained by the Crown.

Another Account extracted from a *Latin* Roll belonging to the Town of *Hyde* ſeems to be more particular, and nearer the Truth: This Record is thus tranſlated.

The five Ports belonging to our Sovereign Lord the King, that enjoy Liberties which other Ports do not, are *Haſtings*, *Romenal*, *Heth*, *Dover*, *Sandwich* the chief Town.

The Services they are obliged to perform.

Haſtings ſhall find 21 Ships; in every Ship 21 Men, and a Boy called *Gromet*. To which belong as Members of one Town, the Sea-ſhore in *Seaford*, *Pevenſey*, *Hodeney*, *Winchelſea*, *Rye*, *Thame*, *Bekeſborne*, *Grenge*, *Northie*, *Bulverhithe*.

Romenal ſhall find 5 Ships, in every Ship 21 Men and a Boy; to which belong, as Members, *Bromhall*, *Lede*, *Eaſtweſton*, *Dengemarys*, old *Romney*.

Heth ſhall find 5 Ships, whoſe Member is *Weſthethe*.

Dover ſhall provide 21 Ships, whoſe Members are *Folkſtone*, *Feverſham*, and *St. Margarets*, not concerning the Land, but for the Goods and Chattels.

Sandwich ſhall provide 5 Ships, whoſe Members are *Fordwich*, *Reculver*, *Serre* and *Dele*, not for the Soil, but for the Goods.

Sum of Ships	— —	57
Of Men	— —	1187
Of Boys	— —	57

This Service, ſays the ſame Record, the Barons of the five Ports do acknowledge to be their Duty to the King, by Summons for 15 Days together at their own Coſts and Charges, accounting that for the firſt Day of the fifteen, on which they ſhall ſet ſail upon the Service commanded by his Majeſty; and to ſerve during the King's Pleaſure at the Charge of the Crown, after the ſaid 15 Days ſhall be expired.

In the Reign of King *John* (*A. D.* 1217.) *Hubert* of *Burgo*, then Captain of *Dover*, being informed of a *French* Invaſion intended by *Lewis*, the eldeſt Son of the King of *France*, with a new Supply of Soldiers in favour of the diſcontented Barons, aſſembled in the King's Name 40 tall Ships, well armed, from the Cinque-ports, and took, ſunk or diſcomfited 80 Sail of *Frenchmen* in a gallant Engagement on the High-ſeas. We ſhall alſo ſee the great Services theſe Ports did under *Henry* III. and *Edward* I. when amongſt other Deeds, the Ports fitted out 100 Sail, and encounter'd 200 Sail of *Frenchmen* with ſuch Succeſs that they ruined the Navy of *France* ſo effectually, as to put it out of their Power for many Years to recover the Loſs of their Men and Ships. And then *Henry Page*, with the Navy of the five Ports took 120 *French* Merchantmen laden with Salt, Iron and Oil.

From this Time all remained quiet in *England*, and *William* viſited his *Norman* Dominions [a]. But the next Year produced a War on the Continent between him and *France*, in which he loſt his Life by a Fever contracted with his Over-fatigue at the Siege of *Mens*, and a Fall from his Horſe, which damaged the Rim of his Belly. He died on the 9th of *September*, 1087, greatly lamented by the *Normans*, and not leſs deſerving of the Love of the *Engliſh*, had they not been prejudiced againſt him by the Intrigues of the Clergy, and of the Lords, whoſe Power he had leſſened for the Benefit of his Subjects.

William II. ſurnamed *Rufus*, the ſecond Son of the laſt King, ſucceeded to the Throne of *England*, according to his Father's Deſire; who could never cordially forgive *Robert*, his eldeſt Son's Rebellion in *Normandy*. *William* taking the Advantage of his Brother's Abſence in *Germany* at his Father's Death, ſecured his Intereſt and Settlement on the *Engliſh* Throne by a proper Diſtribution of the Riches he found locked up in his Father's Coffers at *Wincheſter*; and by ingratiating himſelf with the *Engliſh* Nobility, whom he pretended in all his Favours to prefer to the *Normans*. However, *Robert* did not ſuffer him to continue long in Peace. Having ſettled Affairs in *Normandy*, which was left him by his Father's Will, he meditated how to dethrone his Brother *William*; but inſtead of looking him in the Face, he tried, if poſſible, to ſpring a Mine under his Throne, whilſt he began his Battery at an inacceſſible Diſtance. He tampered with thoſe neareſt in Truſt about him; amongſt whom was his Uncle *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeulx*; and they formed one of the moſt formidable Rebellions to be met with in our Hiſtory; founded on ſuch ſure Grounds, and managed by ſuch powerful and artful Men, that the King's Council were at a loſs how to oppoſe it. But *William*, who not only inherited his Father's Courage, but his Wiſdom and Readineſs of Mind alſo to extricate himſelf out of Dangers, dealt ſo dextrouſly with the Conſpirators ſingly, that by gentle Lenitives, eaſing their Taxes, confirming their Privileges, and indulging them more than ever King had done before, he prevailed with them to join with him againſt the Invader, and, after deſtroying the Forces landed in *England* to ſupport their Inſurrection, to carry the War into *Normandy* againſt his Brother *Robert*. This anſwer'd a very good End to the *Engliſh*; for it once more put Arms into their Hands, who during the former Reign had been kept under by an Army of Foreigners; and procured them Leave to fit out Ships of Force againſt their Enemies [b]; which deſtroyed the *Norman* Fleet, and ſoon put an End to *Robert*'s Deſigns upon *England*.

The Marine by this Liberty reſtored to the Natives, preſently increaſed for ſeveral Years; but it ſuffered again very much in the Expedition againſt *Scotland* in the Year 1091, by the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, it being *Michaelmas* before the Fleet put to Sea; and many Ships were loſt or diſabled by Storms on the *Scottiſh* Coaſt. However, the frequent Invaſions made on *Normandy* afterwards, ſhew that Care was taken to repair the Damage, and that the maritime Power in this Reign was greatly improved, and a Check put to the *Danes* and others, who had given his Father ſo much Trouble. And but for the King's untimely Death, occaſioned by an accidental Shot of an Arrow from one of the Company, as his Majeſty took the Pleaſure of Hunting in *New-foreſt*, we might have been able to give a copious Account of the Effects of thoſe naval Armaments, which were then in great Forwardneſs.

The Abſence of *Robert* the eldeſt Brother [c], who was at this Time engaged with the Cruſade in the Conqueſt of *Paleſtine*, was of great Advantage to *Henry*, the youngeſt Son left by the *Conqueror*, in his obtaining his Brother *William*'s Crown. For being fortunately upon the Spot, and availing himſelf of the popular Superſtition, which from ſome dark Expreſſions uttered by his dying Father, ſeemed to foretel his Acquiſition both of *England* and *Normandy*; he ſeized upon the Premiſes, on pretence that his Brother *Robert* had no Intention to return from *Paleſtine*, and was in expectation of being made King of *Jeruſalem*; and he ſweetened his Government by confirming the Laws of King *Edward*, taking off ſuch Taxes as were moſt grievous, redreſſing the Complaints of the People, and marrying *Maud*, Siſter to the King of *Scotland*, and Daughter of *Margaret*, who was Siſter to *Edgar Atheling*, the beloved and right Heir of the *Engliſh* Blood.

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[a] A. D. 1086.

[b] Hoveden. p. 461, 462. Joan. Bromp. Chron. X Script.

[c] A. D. 1100. Chron. Sax. Guliel Malmeſb. L. V. Matt. Pariſ. p. 55.

Theſe Douceurs, and his being born in *England*, ſupplied the Defects of his Title, and effectually ſecured the Affections of the People. And, upon the firſt News of his Brother *Robert*'s Arrival in *Normandy*, which happened ſooner than expected, *Henry* provided with all Expedition to maintain his Poſſeſſion of the Throne by the moſt natural Means: He increaſed his Strength at Sea, and gave ſtrict Command to his Sea-commanders, ſtiled in thoſe Times *Butſecarii*, to guard the Coaſt of *England* from all Attempts threatened from *Normandy*[a]. By which Mr. *Selden* endeavours to prove the *Britiſh* Dominion of the Sea was then aſſerted by King *Henry*[b]. However *Robert* found means to corrupt the King's Fleet; ſeveral of his Ships deſerted, and joined the *Normans* at Sea, and conducted *Robert* and his Army into *Portſmouth*.

This, as it was a Storm King *Henry* ſaw at a Diſtance, he had provided ſo well for it, by cutting off all Aſſiſtances, that Duke *Robert* and thoſe with him, doubting the Succeſs, and ſeeing themſelves certainly loſt, if they prevailed not (it being in his Power to fight them where he pleaſed, and when) upon his Deſire to ſave the Effuſion of chriſtian Blood, yielded to Articles of Peace; the Subſtance whereof was this, That *Henry* being born after his Father was rightfully King, and being now inveſted in the Crown by Act of the Kingdom, ſhould enjoy the ſame during Life, and pay *Robert* 3000 Marks *per Annum*, as an Earneſt of the Reverſion after his Death, in caſe *Robert* out-lived him.

With theſe Conditions *Robert*, rather blinded than ſatisfied, returns back again into his own Country; and it had been well if he had never been blinded otherwiſe: But ſuch is the Frenzy of Ambition, that it ſuffers not unhappy Princes to conſider either what they ought to do, or what to ſuffer, whilſt, like the ſuperior Orbs, they are hurried with reſtleſs Motion, without underſtanding by what Intelligences they are actuated. Finding himſelf fallen from the Height of his Expectation, into ſome degree of Contempt with his own Subjects, he aſſayed by Profuſion (which ſome call Liberality) to raiſe his Reputation, at leaſt, to diſguiſe his Impotency, ſpending ſo freely, that the Nobility fearing the Revenues of the Duchy would not ſuffice to ſupport his Vanity, complained thereof to King *Henry*; who, to ſhew his own Power and the other's Weakneſs, ſent for him over to chide him, and indeed reprehended him ſo ſharply, as if he had been his Father, and not his Brother; and as, if he would have him to know, he rather expected the Reverſion of the Dukedom after his Death, than to be accountable to him for the Kingdom after his own: And whether it were that he threatned him with a Detention of his Penſion, or drew him, being of a yielding Nature (as moſt indigent Men are) to give him a Releaſe for ſome inconſiderable Sum of ready Money, is not certain: But ſo it was, that upon his Return, he could no longer conceal the Indignation he had conceived at it, and took the very firſt Occaſion to ſhew it by joining himſelf with ſome mutinous Lords, who having before begun an unſucceſsful Combuſtion in *England*, had fled over to *Normandy*, to commit what Outrages they could there.

King *Henry* for a while pretended himſelf touched in Conſcience with the Foulneſs of a fraternal War, but was indeed apprehenſive that ſuch trivial Injuries, as the taking a few Caſtles, was not worthy the Trouble of drawing him over in Perſon, at leaſt, not worth the Charge of entring into ſuch a War as might juſtify the requiring his Dukedom for a Satisfaction; but having let them alone till he believed his Sufferance had elevated them beyond the Temper of hearkning to any Conditions, he then took his Time to chaſtiſe their Folly. He ſailed for the Coaſt of *Normandy* with a numerous Fleet, accompanied with the principal Nobility of *England*; and, having landed his Forces without Oppoſition (*A.D.* 1006.) by one ſingle Battle, upon the very ſame Day, and in the very ſame Manner (as 'tis reported) that his Father juſt 40 Years before won *England*, he won *Normandy*, made his Brother Priſoner, and deprived him firſt of his Liberty, then of his Country, and laſtly of that which was dearer than either, the Light of his Eyes[c]; requiting his Attempt (which was but natural) to eſcape out of Priſon, with a Puniſhment that was of all others moſt unnatural, and as much beyond Death, as it was ſhort of it; which Inhumanity to his Brother, though it was perhaps but a juſt Judgment from Heaven upon him for his Inhumanity to his Father, whoſe Life he had twice attempted, being wilfully blinded by the King of *France*; yet it was ſuch as was altogether undeſerved, as from him.

Henry from this Victory enjoyed great Tranquillity till the Year 1111. But as he was well acquainted with the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Normans*, and had great Reaſon to ſuſpect the Politicks of the *French* King, who was continually ſtirring up Rebellion among his Neighbours, he took care to keep his Marine in good Repair, without which it was morally impoſſible for him to maintain the Acquiſition of his Brother's Dukedom. The Neceſſity of this Precaution ſoon diſcovered itſelf by a dangerous Plot formed in the Court of *France* to make *William*, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, and by an Invaſion from *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*[d]. Theſe Attempts, tho' they did not ſucceed, occaſioned him much Trouble and Expence; being obliged to make frequent Tours into, and long Stays in *Normandy*, and to keep up his Armies both by Sea and Land. And when every Thing was ſettled to his Mind, and it was reſolved to quit the Continent, and to return with his Family to *England*, he unfortunately loſt his only Son *William*, who with his Siſter, the Counteſs of *Perch*, and near 200 Perſons all periſhed by Shipwreck[e].

From this Circumſtance we may properly remark two Things worthy of our Conſideration: The Capaciouſneſs of the Ships in thoſe Days, one of which could carry 200 People; and the Hand of the Almighty, which deprived the King of his only Son in ſo extraordinary a Manner.

This Clap of Judgment coming in a Calm of Glory, when all the Buſtling of his Ambition ſeemed to be paſſed over, ſo overwhelmed the Joys of his paſt Succeſſes, that, as if his Conſcience had ſhrunk at the Horror of ſeeing his Oppreſſion and Supplantation ſo repaid, with the Extinction of that for which he drew all this Guilt upon himſelf, 'tis ſaid that from that Time he never was ſeen to laugh more; and however he ſtruggled with Deſtiny for more Iſſue Male, marrying not long after a moſt virtuous and beautiful young Lady, yet all was in vain: The invenom'd Arrow ſtuck ſtill in his Liver, and for want of other Heirs, he was forced to faſten the Succeſſion on his Daughter *Maud*, who being intangled in his Fate, and as apparently Planet-ſtruck as himſelf, could never attain to be a Queen, tho' ſhe was a Ducheſs, and an Empreſs; being diſappointed by one, that had leſs Right, and not ſo good Pretence, as her own Father. From this Time he never enjoyed any Quiet within; his Uſurpation and Cruelty to his Brother purſued him ſleeping and waking. Often did he riſe out of his Bed in the Night, and catching up his Sword put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence as againſt ſome perſonal Aſſault: And ſometimes in Company he would catch hold of his Servants Hands, as apprehending they were about to draw upon him. Thus was he rack'd with continued Fears, and thoſe ſuch as perhaps were prophetical of what followed: That ſomebody ſhould ſtart up (as immediately after there did) who, taking Example from himſelf, ſhould ſpurn his Aſhes, and uſurp as much upon his innocent Daughter and her Son, as he himſelf had done upon his innocent Brother and his Son.

He, in the latter End of Summer, in 1135, made the Tour of *Normandy*, where he finiſhed his Days on the 2d of *December*, in the ſame Year; and one Year only after the Death of his Brother *Robert*; earneſtly recommending the Intereſt of his Daughter *Maud* to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, his natural Son.

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[a] Hoveden. Florent. Wigorn.

[b] Selden's Mare Clauſum. See our Introduction, page vii.

[c] Matt Pariſ.

[d] Brompton. Ord. Vital.

[e] Matt. Pariſ. Gulielm. Malmeſ. Chron. Sax.

Thus end the Reigns of *William* the Conqueror, and his two Sons *William* and *Henry*. In which we have ſhewn from undoubted Authorities, the Uſe, Advantages and Neceſſity of a naval Force to defend this Nation from the Encroachments of Foreigners, and to protect our Trade: For they who rightly conſider that there does not appear to have been any want of Wealth, but that on the contrary theſe three Kings raiſed immenſe Sums of Money on their *Britiſh* Subjects; every Shilling then containing about thrice the Quantity of Silver it does now; muſt be convinced that the Trade then carried on muſt alſo have been very conſiderable. Another Conviction of the Attention paid in theſe Days to Trade, is the Law made in *Henry*'s Reign, which gave every Wreck to the Owner, if any living Creature ſhould be found on-board [a].

Henry alſo diſtinguiſhed his Zeal among thoſe chriſtian Princes who ſent Forces to the Holy-war; being behind-hand with none. His Admiral *Hardine* being one of the chief Commanders in that memorable Fleet of 200 Sail, that landed at *Joppa*, in the Year of Chriſt 1102, and defeated the *Saracens*; of whom were ſlain 3000, but very few *Chriſtians* [b].

In the 8th Year of this ſame Reign, the *Jeruſalem Chronicle* [c] informs us, that a very great warlike Fleet of the catholic Nation of *England*, to the Number of about 7000, joined by ſeveral Men of War from *Denmark*, *Flanders* and *Antwerp*, ſailed alſo to *Joppa* in *Paleſtine*, offering their Aid to *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem*, in the Siege of the City of *Sidon*, called *Sagitta*; and they muſt have reduced it by *Chriſtian* Arms, had not *Baldwin* been bribed by the *Saracens*, with a large Sum of Money, to draw them off, and raiſe the Siege. All which confirms the Attention given to maritime Affairs in that Age; when a Fleet, ſo conſiderable as to tranſport 7000 Men, could be fitted out, at one Time, for a Voyage a-croſs the Weſtern Ocean, and through the Straits of *Gibraltar*, and the *Mediterranean* Sea. An Expedition, which according to the preſent Œconomy, could not be performed for leſs than half a Million of Money. And yet ſuch is the Careleſsneſs of the Monkiſh Writers, to whom we are indebted for the Hiſtory of this Epoca, that we ſhould never have come to the Knowledge thereof, had not the Author of the *Jeruſalem Chronicle* preſerved ſuch a memorable Service, undertaken out of pure Zeal for the Support of the *Chriſtian* Cauſe againſt the *Saracens*.

CHAP. II.

Containing the MARITIME AFFAIRS *during the Reigns of King* STEPHEN, *King* HENRY II, *King* RICHARD I. *and King* JOHN.

HENRY had taken all the prudential Steps in his Power to ſecure the Crown he by Death was deprived of, to his only Child and Daughter *Maud*. But in vain. For ſuch is the Curſe of Uſurpation, that Providence ſooner or later recompences the Crime. The Throne was no ſooner vacant, than *Stephen*, the ſecond Son of his Siſter (whom he had made rich and powerful by procuring for him a Match with the Heireſs of the Earldom of *Boulogne*, to enable him the better to ſupport his Daughter's Title, in caſe the *Engliſh*, on his Demiſe, ſhould heſitate in their accepting of her for their Queen) ſeized the Throne, as Grandſon to the Conqueror, without regard either to the natural Right of his elder Brother *Theobald*, Earl of *Blois*, or the legal Right of the Empreſs *Maud*, which himſelf had ſworn in the Life of her Father to maintain.

But what he wanted otherwiſe, *Stephen* made up with Boldneſs, which happened, as Matters were then circumſtanced, to give him a better Title than Blood. As to his Brother *Theobald*, he ſtopt his Complaints with a ſmall Penſion. And the Engagement of his younger Brother, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Pope's Legate, for his Performance of Promiſes, which were greater than any made by former Kings, ſecured to him the Intereſt of the Clergy, and thereby the Crown, in wrong of his Kinſwoman, whom the People of *England*, in ſome meaſure, rejected on account of her Sex, her covetous and griping Temper, and above all, for her Attachments to thoſe foreign Intereſts ſhe had contracted by her two Marriages; which they were afraid might, one Day, be attended with fatal Conſequences to the Liberties of *England*.

Never was there a greater Appearance of a happy and peaceable Reign than at the Beginning of this. *Stephen* ſtrove by all means to ſecure the Affection of his Subjects. The Money, which *Henry* had ſcraped together by many oppreſſive Methods, he diſperſed among the Nobility and Clergy; and, towards all, his Performances exceeded his Promiſes; that he may even be ſaid to have purchaſed their Love and Fidelity, by a Relaxation of Taxes, and granting them Privileges and Immunities which none of his Predeceſſors could be prevailed upon to part with. But nothing ſerved him more than his Acknowledgment of his Right to the Crown by the Election of the Clergy and People. And his Moderation kept ſuch Pace with his Bounty, that the King of *France* his greateſt, *David* King of *Scots* his neareſt, and *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou* his moſt inveterate Enemy, were perſuaded to acknowledge him King of *England*; and tho' the firſt was Couſin-german, the ſecond Uncle, and the third the Huſband of his Competitor, they all agreed with him upon certain Terms of Peace and Amity, quitted their Pretenſions, and left the Lady to aſſert her Right alone. However *Maud* was not diſheartened; and taking the Opportunity of a Diſaffection ſtirred up by ſome of the Biſhops, Clergy, and ſeveral factious Lords, about the proper Regulation of the Caſtles and Fortifications lately built and diſpoſed throughout the Kingdom, which by a bad Piece of Policy the King had been perſuaded to ſubſtitute for the Defence of the Nation againſt all Invaders, inſtead of a Navy ſuffered to decay in his Ports; ſhe landed with a ſmall Party of 140 Men only at *Portſmouth*, in *September* 1139, and marching directly to *Arundel*, ſhe preſently was joined by the Malcontents: The Kingdom burſt out preſently into a Flame; the Caſtles of *Briſtol*, *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewſbury*, and many more declared for her; and in a little Time the Empreſs was in a Condition to meet him in the Field of Battle [d].

In this War *Stephen* gave great Proof of his Courage; and *Maud*, as great of her Wiſdom; and both of their Diligence. In the mean Time the Marine was neglected, Trade ruined, and the Land became a Field of Blood [e]. But while the Body-politic, thus miſerably tormented with the Convulſions of Might and Right, languiſhed under the growing Diſtemper, behold a ſudden Change which ſeemed the more mortal, for that the Grief ſeized upon the Head: The King is taken Priſoner, with whoſe Liberty one would have thought all the Hopes of that Side had been loſt; but it ſo happened, that the feminine Victor found herſelf engaged in a more equal Conteſt with one of her own Sex, and as of the ſame Spirit, ſo of the ſame Name. King *Stephen*'s Wife takes up the Sword whilſt her Huſband continues a Priſoner, and heading her Huſband's Forces, ſhe brought the Title to a ſecond Trial, with ſo much better Succeſs than he, that the victorious Empreſs was forced to give place to the more victorious Queen; and ſo hardly eſcaped, that, to ſave her Life, ſhe was content to be reckoned among the Dead, being carried off in a Coffin, as if ſhe had been killed, and ſo forced to leave him a Priſoner behind, that was indeed the Life of her Cauſe, the Earl of *Glouceſter* her Brother, and her General, whoſe Liberty being ſet againſt that of the King, both Sides became even again in the Liſt of their fatal Contention.

And now the King's Party labours to recover what they had loſt: thoſe of the Empreſs her Faction ſtrove only to keep what they had gain'd; till both having tired out and almoſt baffled the Courage of their Partizans at home, ſought for Recruits abroad: *Maud* ſends into *Normandy*, the King into *Flanders*; each Side ſeems to fight from this Time forward, not ſo much for Victory as Revenge. But whilſt they fright the People with a Noiſe of their great Preparations, the Bubble of Expectation (ſwolen to its full Height) broke, and the Hopes of either Side ſunk ſo low by the Death of Prince *Euſtace*, Son and Heir to the King, and that of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the only Pillar which ſupported the Empreſs, that they concluded a Peace for Want of Strength, rather than by Deſire: all Things ending as they began, by Determination of the free Vote of the People; who in an open Parliament at *Wincheſter* parted the Stakes as evenly as they could, giving to King *Stephen* the Crown during Life, to *Henry* Son of *Maud* (and as ſome think by *Stephen*) the Reverſion after his Death, who was thereupon made his adopted Son [a]. Thus ended the Troubles of this King, which ſeem to have been ſo agreeable to his Nature, that as ſoon as they ceaſed, he ceaſed to live; ſurviving the War no longer than juſt to take leave of his Friends, after he had held the Poſſeſſion nineteen Years.

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[a] Selden, Jan. Ang.

[b] Chron. Hieroſol. Lib. IX. c. 11.

[c] Lib. X.

[d] Matt. Pariſ. Malmeſb. Hiſt. Novel.

[e] Chron. Sax. p. 238. Brompton.

Yet in the midſt of all theſe Troubles, ſuch is the Genius of this Nation for Trade, the Cities of *London* and *Briſtol* carried on their Commerce with foreign Countries, and did all they could to preſerve their Shipping [b] and Navigation, though they wanted the Protection of the State by Sea; which expoſed the Merchants to great Dangers, that muſt have ended in their utter Ruin, had not the King at laſt been rouſed to conſider how far the Intereſt of the Nation, and Support of the Crown, are concerned in their Support, and engaged him to provide for their future Safety, in the 18th Year of his Reign, by a Treaty of Peace made with the Duke of *Normandy*, which is to be ſeen at Length in *Holinſhed*'s Chronicle [c].

King *Stephen* being dead, who was the worthieſt, this *Henry*, about twenty Years old, ſucceeded, (*A. D.* 1154.[d]) who was the greateſt, King this Nation ever knew: for he was in the Right of his Father Earl of *Anjou*, in Right of his Mother Duke of *Normandy* and *Britain*, in Right of his Wife Duke of *Guienne* and *Aquitain*, Earl of *Touraine*, *Tholouſſe* and *Poictou*, and now in his own Right King of *England*, and not long after by Right of Conqueſt, abſolute Lord of *Ireland*. He was a Prince whoſe Dominions were ſo equally divided by the Sea, that it may be ſaid to have run as a great River betwixt them; his Poſſeſſions on the other Side of the Water being ſo great, extending along all the maritime Provinces of *France*, even to the Mountains that divide it from *Spain*, that the State here doubted nothing ſo much as that he might prove too mighty a Maſter at home; and the next Scruple was which Side he would make his home, it being in his own Choice whether he would carry *England* thither, or bring thoſe mighty States hither; wherein he carried himſelf ſo indifferently, that receiving the News of King *Stephen*'s Death, at the Siege of a Caſtle the *French* had taken from him, he declar'd, notwithſtanding *William*, King *Stephen*'s Son, was living, and had his Partizans in *England*, he would not move away till he had recover'd it back again; neither was he worſe than his Word, though they tried him ſix Weeks, before they yielded it up: a longer Time than might have been convenient to have deferr'd his Claim here, had he not been (as he was) high and preſuming, that King *Stephen* had tired out all the ſtirring and turbulent Spirits, and that he was neither unexpected nor undeſir'd.

He was crown'd on the *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas*, being elected King by all, and anointed by *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and he was the firſt King of the *Plantagenets*. He began his Reign as the great *Solomon* (who was near about his Age) did his, with the Choice of wiſe Councellors, to take off all Objections againſt his Youth; with the Expulſion of all Strangers, to take off all Objections againſt his being a Foreigner; with the Reſumption of all aliened Crown-lands, to take of the Fear as well as the Neceſſity of Taxes: which as it increas'd his Reputation no leſs than his Revenue, ſo he pleas'd many by diſguſting but a few. After this he pulled down all thoſe Caſtles, which, being erected by King *Stephen*'s Permiſſion, had proved the Nurſeries of the late Rebellion, and he did it with the leſs Clamour, in reſpect the People thought it contributed as much to their Quiet, as to his own. By expelling thoſe falſe Lords, that contrary to their Oath given to his Mother, took part with the Uſurper *Stephen*, he at once ſatisfy'd his Revenge, and confirm'd the Opinion conceiv'd of his Juſtice and Piety; and laſtly, by reſtoring the royal Navy, he ſecured Trade, and maintained his Right to the *Britiſh* Seas.

Thus having got the Start in point of Honour, as well as of Riches, of all the neighbouring Princes his Contemporaries; one would have thought ſo proſperous a Beginning muſt have concluded with as proſperous an Ending; but it fell out quite otherwiſe; for to the reſt of his Greatneſs was added that of having great Troubles, and Troubles of that Continuance as ended not but with his Life. What could be the Fate of a Prince of ſo reſtleſs and martial a Spirit; ſeldom without an Enemy, and never without a Pretence to provoke his Neighbours? There were no Bounds to his Ambition; which, as it ſet him againſt every one, it obliged every one to ſet themſelves againſt him: till at laſt we find his Territories of *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain* and *Bretagne* invaded all in one Day by the confederate States. But his moſt ſingular Misfortune was his Enmity with his neareſt Relations, his Brother, his Wife, his own Children; ſuch as were Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone, took up Arms againſt him, and join'd his Enemies, ſo that he could not fight for himſelf without fighting againſt his own Family.

What made the Troubles of his own Houſe more inſupportable, was the meeting with as great Troubles in God's Houſe; where the Diſobedience of his Children was outvied by the Contempt of a Servant, who, advanced by Providence to make a Mock of Majeſty, diſcovering the King's Intention to reform the Manners, and bring down the Ambition of the Clergy (who by their Riches and Power having given an Example in *Stephen*, of their Ability to make a King without a Title, might, in time, by tampering with the ignorant People, be able to ſet up a Title without a King) reſolved to try how far his eccleſiaſtical Authority could ſtem the royal Power and Wiſdom. And tho' this Archbiſhop *Becket* fell a Sacrifice to his Pride and Diſloyalty, ſuch was the Tyranny of Fate, that the Prelate, who in his Life-time only made him bow, being dead brought him upon his Knees, and forced him to acknowledge him as much above his Faith afterwards, as he was above his Will before; and adored him for a Saint, whom in his Life-time he had juſtly proſecuted as a Traitor.

This King's patrimonial Power made him, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, the moſt powerful Monarch that ever wore the *Engliſh* Crown; and his natural Inclination to Feats of Arms, led him to make Uſe of every Art, and to prefer ſuch Means as the Situation and Intereſt of his Dominions moſt naturally ſuggeſted for their Defence, and to extend their Commerce; which muſt be allowed to have flouriſhed very much in this Reign, when our moſt authentic Hiſtorians agree that Luxury was at a prodigious Height; a ſure Token that *England* then abounded with foreign Commodities, and, in courſe, that great Quantities of our national Staple was exported; for Gold and Silver were not of our own Growth then, any more than they are now.

Such Diligence was uſed in recovering the decayed Navy, that in leſs than two Years he had a Fleet; which ſailing to the Coaſt of *Wales*, forced the Prince of that Country to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as were impoſed upon him by *England* [e]. In 1159, the Duke of *Bretagne* having ſeized upon the Earldom of *Nantz*, upon the Death of *Geoffrey* the King's Brother, *Henry* equipped a large Fleet which tranſported him an Army that forced the Duke to reſign his Seizure and Pretenſions. In this Expedition the King was accompanied by the King of *Scotland*, one of the Kings of *Wales*, and by all the Earls and Barons of *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Gaſcogne*, &c. and it coſt the Nation 180,000 *l.* which in thoſe Days was a very large Aſſeſſment [f].

We read nothing more of the Royal Navy till the Year 1171; when *Henry* taking the Advantage of the Contentions between the petty Princes in *Ireland*, aſſembled a Fleet of 400 large Ships [g] at *Milford-haven* [h]; with which, and a conſiderable Land-force, his Majeſty ſteered for the *Iriſh* Coaſt, and landed at *Croch* near *Waterford*, on the 17th of *October*. This Force ſtruck ſuch a Panic into the Natives, that the whole Nation immediately ſubmitted. So that *Henry* became Lord of *Ireland*, without ſhedding one Drop of Blood; and ſpent his *Chriſtmas* at *Dublin* with great Magnificence. In the mean Time he placed Garriſons in *Waterford*, *Wexford*, &c. ſecured the Sea-ports, regulated the internal Government, and leaving the Adminiſtration to a Juſticiary, returned to *Milſford-haven* on *Eaſter-monday* in 1172.

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[a] Acta Regia. Hollinſ. Diceto. Gervaſe. Hoveden. Chron. Norman.

[b] Malmeſb.

[c] Vol. II.

[d] Diceto Gervaſe. Brompton.

[e] Brompton.

[f] Gervaſe.

[g] Diceto. Brompton. Gervaſe.

[h] Which is not far from *Pembroke*, where ſome Authors write the King took Shipping.

Theſe Advantages were chequered with the Trouble given his Majeſty by the Conteſt between him and the Pope of *Rome*, who eſpouſed the Quarrel of *Thomas a Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Which, upon his Arrival in *England*, called him immediately into *Normandy*, to render to his Holineſs's Legates an Account of that Prelate's Murder, and to purge himſelf of having commanded the ſame. Theſe Legates were *Theodinus* and *Albertus*[a], Cardinals, who ſucceeded the Cardinal Legates *Tratianus* and *Vivianus*, that threatened to lay the whole Kingdom of *England* under an Interdict, to the great Terror of the People.

Henry took with him his Son *Henry*. They embarked at *Portſmouth*[b]; and having made his Peace with *Rome*, the Legates joined in bringing about a Reconciliation between him and *Lewis* the *French* King, and a Marriage between his Son *Henry* and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Lewis*. But at a Time when his Majeſty had the greateſt Proſpect of Peace, and ſhewed the greateſt Confidence in his Queen and his Son *Henry*, whom he had at the Inſtigation of the King of *France* cauſed to be crowned King at *Wincheſter*[c], in *September* 1172, his Troubles increaſed. For, his Queen, diſtracted with Jealouſy, conceived ſuch an Averſion againſt him, that ſhe prevailed with King *Henry*, and her other Sons *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, to conſpire againſt their Father's Crown and Life, while he was yet in *Normandy*[d]; in which they were perfidiouſly ſupported by the King of *France*[e], the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bollogne* and *Blois*, and a great Number of his own Nobility, on condition of being rewarded out of the Spoil of the Royal Demeſnes.

This Conſpiracy ſhewed itſelf firſt in the Preparations made by the Earl of *Flanders* for an Invaſion of *England*. *Henry* informed of his Son's Deſigns, ſecured his own Queen *Eleanor*, his Son's Queen *Margaret*, his Son *John* and his Conſort, and as many others of the Nobility as he could lay hold of, by way of Hoſtages, and taking them with him, haſtened to *England*, and landed with a powerful Army at *Southampton*, from *Barfleur*. This Expedition was attended with Victory over his diſobedient Son *Henry*, whom he drove into *France*; over the King of *Scots*, who was taken Priſoner; and, at laſt, over the King of *France*, whom upon his return to the Continent he found beſieging *Rouen*. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the Conſpirators, that his Sons being no longer able to keep the Field, nor in any View of recruiting their Forces and Fleet, which had been ſhattered to pieces in a Storm, were obliged to ſubmit themſelves to their Father on the beſt Conditions the King of *France* could obtain for them[f].

I can't read this part of *Engliſh* Hiſtory without remarking, that a War of this Conſequence, wherein the naval Power of *France*, *Flanders* and *Scotland* muſt have been united, and the King of *England* was obliged ſo often to tranſport his large Armies to and from the Continent, could not be conducted without a Navy ſuperior to all thoſe Powers put together; and that conſequently this King had by this Time reſtored his Marine to be able to maintain the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas.

Peace thus eſtabliſhed with his Family, *Henry* marries his Daughter *Joan* to *William* King of *Sicily*, ſurnamed the *Good*[g]; and dignified his beloved Son *John* with the Title of King of *Ireland*[h] (*A. D.* 1177.) who, after the Death of his Brothers *Henry* and *Geoffrey*, the former dying in 1183, and the latter in 1186, is ſuppoſed to have broken his Father's Heart, by his and his Brother *Richard*'s joining in a new Quarrel with the *French* King againſt their aged Father, and obliging him to make an inglorious Peace with that Monarch[i]. For when he was ſhown a Liſt of this Conſpiracy, with the Name of his Son *John* at the Head of it, he fell into a violent Paſſion, curſed his Sons and his own Birth; in which Diſtraction he ſoon after breathed out his Soul, on the 6th of *July* 1189; of which *Roger de Hoveden* has perpetuated a circumſtantial Relation.

During this troubleſome Reign, a Prince of *North Wales*, named *Madoc*, one of the Sons of *Owen Guyneth*, King of the Country, deceaſed; diſcontented with the continual Quarrels of his Brethren about the Succeſſion to their Father's Throne, reſolved to ſeek his Fortune by Sea; and to find out a Place of Reſt for himſelf and Adherents. For this Purpoſe he fitted out a ſmall Squadron with Men and Munition, and ſailing Weſt, left the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and then ſteering North, made an unknown Land, where he ſaw, ſays my Author, many ſtrange Things. And according to *Humphrey Lloyd*, this was part of that Country, which the *Spaniards* claim at this Time from the late Diſcovery thereof by *Columbus*. If ſo, the Right of Preoccupancy belongs to the *Britons*.

It is acknowledged that many Particulars in the Relation of this Voyage ſavour much of Fable, perchance foiſted in by the Ignorance, Credulity, or monkiſh Inventions of after-times: But nothing is more certain than that *Madoc* performed this Voyage, and made this Diſcovery. And that after his return to *Wales*, he made ſuch an agreeable Report of the Pleaſantneſs and Fruitfulneſs of this new-diſcovered Land, that many, both Men and Women, preferring it to the barren wild Country of *Wales*, ruined with civil Wars amongſt the royal Branches, embarked with him to return and make a Settlement on the Coaſt of *America*; where afterwards *Francis Lopez de Gomara* found a People that honoured the Croſs, and ſhewed other Remains of Chriſtianity.

This *Madoc*, continues my Author, arrived in that Weſtern Country in the Year 1170; and leaving moſt of his People there, returned to his own Country, and with all Expedition collected as many Friends and Acquaintance as filled 10 Sail, who accompanied him, and ſettled with him and the former Adventurers in that fair and large Country in the *Weſt-Indies*[k].

Carmina[l] Meredith *filii* Rheſi *mentionem facientia de* Madoco *filio* Oweni Guynedd, *&* *de ſua navigatione in terras incognitas.*

Madoc wyf, m wyedic wedd;
Jawn genau, *Owen Guynedd:*
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na na mawr, on y morvedd.

In ENGLISH:

Madoc I am the Son of *Owen Guynedd*;
With Stature large and comely Grace adorned!
No Lands at Home, nor Store of Wealth me pleaſe;
My Mind was bent to ſearch the Ocean Seas.

This Reign is alſo memorable in the naval Annals for an Expedition by Sea, undertaken by the King's Licence to *William Mendeville* Earl of *Eſſex* (*A. D.* 1177.) who, with ſeveral Lords and Knights, accompanied *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the *Holy-land*: Which Mr. *Lediard* confounds with another Fleet mentioned by *Matthew Paris*[m], that conſiſted of 37 Sail of large Ships, well manned, and provided with Arms, who ſailed from *Dartmouth* or *Dorceſmuthe*, in *June* 1188, and touching at *Liſbon*, aſſiſted the King of *Portugal* in the Reduction of *Sylvia*; and by cutting off the Springs of Water, forced the *Moors* to ſurrender, tho' the Garriſon conſiſted of 60,000 *Turks*, and the Beſiegers did not exceed 3000.

RICHARD, the eldeſt ſurviving Son of the late King, was immediately upon his Father's Demiſe (*A. D.* 1189.) acknowledged his Succeſſor on the Throne; but he did not arrive in *England* till the Ides of *Auguſt*; and returning ſoon after into *France*, agreed with the *French* King *Philip Auguſtus*,

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[a] Hoveden, ann. pars poſterior. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Id. ibid. [d] Brompton, Gervaſe, Diceto, M. Pariſ. [e] Hoveden, ann pars poſterior. [f] Hoveden, ibid. [g] Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. I. p. 52. Daniel Holinſhead. [h] Brady, M. S. in Bibl. Coton.. [i] Hoveden, ibid, M. Pariſ. Brompton. [k] Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, Gutyn. Owen. Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 1. [l] Camden communicated theſe Verſes to Mr. Hackluit. [m] Sub Hen. II. Hiſt.

guſtus, and other Princes, to undertake the Expulſion of the *Saracens* out of the *Holy-land*[a]. For this Purpoſe, great Levies were made throughout all his Dominions, both for Sea and Land[b]: And whatever might be the Intention of thoſe, who ſet this Holy-war a-foot, it is certain that it proved very ruinous to the *Jews* in *England*, who were maſſacred in cold Blood at *York* and *Norwich*, &c. by theſe *Croiſades*[c], before they embarked; and it occaſioned the Raiſing of a much greater naval Force, than had been kept up by any of his Predeceſſors ſince the Conqueſt; propagated the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, and laid a more ſolid Foundation for that Claim of Dignity and Reſpect, which has been ever ſince paid to the *Britiſh* Flag.

It was agreed upon Oath by theſe two Kings, that, during their Abſence in this War, they ſhould guarantee each other's Dominions againſt all Invaders; that Peace ſhould be preſerved by their Subjects inviolably; and that the Biſhops of both their Dominions ſhould excommunicate the Tranſgreſſors. They further agreed, that ſhould either of them die during this Expedition, the Survivor might make uſe of his Treaſure and Men for the Service of God, in this War[d]; and that they ſhould meet with their Armies at *Turon* about *Eaſter*.

Richard tried many Ways to raiſe Money for this Voyage; he taxed his *Chriſtian* Subjects at 70,000*l.* and the *Jews* in *England* at ſixty Thouſand Pounds: Which with the Sums raiſed by Way of Loan and Sale of the royal Demeſnes, *&c.* equipped him ſufficiently for the Service he had undertaken. His Finances being thus provided; and the interior Government of the Kingdom ſettled under proper Guardians or Juſtices, he gave the Command of his Fleet to *Gerald* Archbiſhop of *Auxerre*; *Bernard* Biſhop of *Bayonne*; *Robert de Sabul*, *Richard de Camville*, and *William de Forz de Valerun*, with Orders to ſail for the *Mediterranean*, and to wait for him at *Marſeilles*; and gave them the following Regulations to be obſerved by the Mariners.

The PROCLAMATION of RICHARD King of ENGLAND, containing *Laws* for thoſe that ſhould embark for the *Holy Land*.

Richard *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and Duke of* Normandy *and* Aquitaine, *&c. to all his Subjects ſailing in this Expedition to* Jeruſalem, *greeting: Be it known unto you that we, by the unanimous Advice of faithful Men, have made the following Laws.* (1.) *He who killeth any Perſon on Ship-board, ſhall be tied to him that is killed, and caſt into the Sea.* (2.) *But if the Murder be committed on Shore, he ſhall be tied to the dead Perſon and buried with him in the Earth.* (3.) *If any one ſhall be convicted upon credible Evidence, that he had drawn his Knife againſt another; or that he had drawn Blood of him, he ſhall loſe his Hand.* (4.) *And if any one ſtrikes another with his Hand without drawing Blood, he ſhall be ducked thrice in the Sea.* (5.) *Whoſoever ſhall uſe approbrious or contumelious Speeches, or curſe his Companion, ſhall pay as many Ounces of Silver as he ſhall have reviled or miſuſed him.* (6.) *Any one convicted of Theft ſhall be ſhorne or ſhaven* ad modum campionis, *and boiling Pitch poured upon his Head, and ſtrewed with the Down of Feathers that he may be known, and ſet aſhore at the firſt Port the Fleet ſhall make. Witneſs the King himſelf at* Calais[e]. And by another Proclamation he commanded the ſaid Mariners to be obedient to the Words and Commands of thoſe Officers to whoſe Care he had committed the Fleet[f].

The two Armies raiſed by *Richard* and *Philip* conſiſted of 100,000 Men and upwards[g]; ſo that after their Treaty ſigned at *Vezelai*, having marched together as far as *Lyons*, they found it neceſſary to ſeparate; *Philip* taking the Rout of *Geneva*; *Richard*, of *Marſeilles*, where he arrived before his Fleet, which had been ſeparated and detained by a Storm; and Part of them forced into *Liſbon*, at the Time the *Moors* beſieged the Town of *Santaren*, and were conſtrained by the King of *Portugal* to aſſiſt him in raiſing the Siege[h].

Having waited 8 Days, with great Impatience, and without any Proſpect of their Arrival, his Majeſty hired 20 Gallies and 10 great Barks, to tranſport Part of his Forces to *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, the Rendezvous of the *Croiſades*: In which he was drove to *Naples*; from whence, partly by Land and partly by Sea, he at laſt arrived at *Meſſina*, on *September* 23, and entered that Port with ſo many Trumpets, and Variety of Muſic, and magnificent Pageants, that he ſtruck all that beheld and heard them with Amazement[i].

Here he met with Part of his Fleet, and with the *French* King and his Fleet, which had arrived on the 16th of the ſame Month[k]. During their Stay at this City *Richard* procured the Enlargement of his Siſter *Joan*, Dowager to the late King, having been impriſoned, at her Huſband's Death, by his Succeſſor *Tancred*: Which had now like to have coſt the King of *Sicily* his Kingdom. For *Richard*, inſiſting upon Satisfaction, for the Indignity ſhown to his Siſter, ſeized upon a Caſtle and Monaſtery in the Neighbourhood of *Meſſina*: And pretending to reſent the Citizens ſhutting their Gates againſt his Soldiers, he aſſaulted and took it by Storm; gave the Plunder to his Army, burnt all the *Sicilian* Ships that were in the Harbour, and placed his Colours on the Walls, and other publick Places, reſolving to keep Poſſeſſion till *Tancred* ſhould make him full Satisfaction. This diſpleaſing the King of *France*, *Richard* reſigned the City into the Cuſtody of the Knights Templars till Matters could be accommodated[l]. But *Philip* was never after reconciled to the King of *England* in his Heart[m]; though the Difference between *Richard* and *Tancred* was at length made up on Condition, that the King of *Sicily* ſhould pay the King of *England* forty Thouſand Ounces of Gold in full for his Siſter's Dowry, and a Legacy left by *William* the *Good* to his Father in Law, *Henry* II. and to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, *Richard*'s Nephew[n]. *Brady* writes that, *Richard*'s Demand, on Account of this Legacy, beſides the Queen's Dower, and the Gold Chair, according to the Cuſtom of the Queens of that Country, was, the Gold Table, twelve Feet long, and one Foot and a half broad, and two Golden Treſſels, belonging to that Table, and a Silk Tent, in which two Hundred Knights might be entertained, and four and twenty Silver Cups, and ſo many Diſhes, and ſixty Thouſand Meaſures of Wheat, and as much Barley, and Wine accordingly: And a Hundred Gallies armed, with their whole Furniture, and Victuals for the Mariners or Gally-men for two Years. Inſtead of which it was further agreed, that *Tancred* ſhould be acquitted by fitting out ten Gallies, and ſix large Ships, under *Richard*'s Command, for the Service of the *Croiſade*. This Quarrel detained the two Monarchs in *Sicily* till the 28th or 29th of *March*, when *Philip* hoiſted Sail in his Way to the Siege of *Acon* in *Paleſtine*. *Richard* did not weigh Anchor till the 10th of *April*, waiting for his Mother and *Berenguella* or *Berengaria*, Princeſs of *Navarre*, his deſtined Spouſe. Upon their Arrival, *Richard* departed from *Meſſina* with a glorious Fleet of 150 tall Ships, and 35 great Gallies well manned and armed, beſides ten large Ships laden with Proviſions and Ammunition, and a great Number of Yatchs and Tenders for the Service of the Fleet: Which meeting with a Storm in the *Archipelago* were diſperſed, ſome to the Iſle of *Crete* with the King on-board, and came to anchor in the Haven at *Rhodes*: others were driven on the Iſle of *Cyprus*, with the Queen Dowager *Joan*, and the King's Spouſe *Berengaria* on-board; and ſome were wrecked, on-board of which was *Roger* the King's Vice-chancellor, who was found floating on the Sea with the King's Seal hanging about his Neck.

The King of *Cyprus*, named *Iſaac*, retained ſuch a Hatred to the *Engliſh*, that he denied them Entrance, as they ſtood off the Port of *Limiſſo*; and made them Priſoners who eſcaped the Ship-wreck, and ſeized their Effects. Which King *Richard* being informed of by his Scouts diſpatched to find out his Queen and Siſter, he immediately vowed Revenge againſt the Tyrant, and gathering all his Force together invaded *Cyprus*, reduced the Iſland to his Obedience, and ſeized upon the Tyrant, his Daughter, and all his Treaſure, after having routed the *Cypriots*, both by Land and Sea, and ſtormed their Caſtles.

(*A. D.* 1191.) While *Richard* was in *Cyprus*, ſeveral of the Grandees of the Iſland came to him, and ſwore Fealty to him; as did alſo *Guy*, King of *Jeruſalem*, and *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Anſrid* of *Turun*, *Raymund*, Prince of *Antioch*, *Bomond*, his Son, with many others, and took an Oath to ſerve him againſt every one whomſoever. Before *Richard* departed from *Cyprus* he married his beloved *Berengaria*, and had the Ceremony of her Coronation performed. This done, he ſent the Tyrant of *Cyprus* Priſoner to *Tripoli*, but kept his Daughter, to carry her with him to *Paleſtine*; and leaving *Richard de Camville* and *Robert de Turnham*, Governors of that Kingdom, he proceeded on his Voyage.

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[a] Matt. Paris, ſub. Anno 1190. [b] Hoveden. [c] Id. ibid. [d] Id. ibid. Matt. Paris. [e] Hoveden. Matt. Paris. [f] Id. ibid. [g] Viniſauf. in Itin. Reg. Ang. [h] Id. ibid. Hoveden. [i] Hackluit. Part II. p. 21. [k] Viniſau. [l] Hoveden. [m] Matt. Paris. [n] Hoveden.

In the Paſſage from *Cyprus* to *Paleſtine*, *Richard* met, in the Month of *June*, with a great Galeaſs, or Carrack, belonging to the *Saracens*, in which were fifteen Hundred Soldiers, with Ammunition, bound for *Acres*. He ſunk the Veſſel, and the Men were all either taken or drowned. *Diceto* and *M. Paris* ſay, he cauſed thirteen Hundred to be drowned, and ſaved only two Hundred; *Viniſauf* ſays only five and thirty. The Goods, which were moſtly ſaved, he ordered to be diſtributed among his Men. *Richard* arriving the eighth of *June*, joined his Troops with thoſe of the *French* King, who was there before him, and with united Force joined the Beſiegers of the City of *Ptolemais* or *Acres*, which had been begun a Year before by *Guy* of *Luſignan*, dethroned King of *Jeruſalem*, *Conrad* Marquiſs of *Montſerrat*, *James* of *Averne*, and ſeveral other Princes and Lords, with a Number of *Germans*, *Flemiſh*, and *Italians*.

The renowned *Saladine*, Sultan of *Egypt*, maintained the City; before which 300,000 *Chriſtian* Pilgrims, or Soldiers called *Croiſades*, and a great Number of Princes and Perſons of high Diſtinction had periſhed by the Sallies of the Infidels. And now upon the Approach of *Richard* it might be ſaid, that never Siege had been managed on both Sides by two ſuch renowned Warriors. They performed Wonders. The *Engliſh* Fleet poſted themſelves at Anchor before the City, to prevent Succours and Proviſions being thrown into it by Sea; which ſoon brought on an Engagement with *Saladine*'s Fleet, attempting to relieve their diſtreſſed Sultan. The Infidels were well appointed, and behaved with great Courage and Conduct. And for the readier Deſtruction of the *Chriſtian* Ships, they had invented a certain kind of Fire-ſhips filled with ſulphury Pitch, and other Cumbuſtibles called *Ignis Grecus*, not to be extinguiſhed by Water: But Victory declared ſo immediately againſt them, and the Attack was ſo ſudden and violent, that theſe were of no Service, no more than their Grappling-irons, with which the Enemy was well provided: However they confute the common Report that Fire-ſhips are an Invention of Queen *Elizabeth*, at the Time of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, in 1588. Moſt of the Enemies Fleet, with the Stores and Ammunition intended for the Garriſon, were either taken or ſunk.

This Loſs diſconcerted all their Meaſures; and therefore after a few more fruitleſs Sallies, *Saladine*, on the 12th of *July* ſurrendered the City to King *Richard*; who from thence forward was diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Captain-general of all the *Chriſtian* Forces in *Aſia*: Though the King of *France* inſiſted upon having one Moiety of the City; which was accordingly yielded to him by *Richard* on the next Day after the Capitulation [a]. The Sultan agreed to reſtore the *Holy Croſs*, and deliver up 1500 ſuch *Chriſtian* Captives, as *Richard* ſhould demand by a certain Day; that he ſhould pay the Sum of ſeven Thouſand Bizantines [b]; (*Hackluit* ſays 20,000) that the Garriſon ſhould march out without Danger of their Lives; but that the City ſhould be given up to the Plunder of the Army. It is added by another Author [c], that ſome Days before the Surrender of the City, *Saladine* offered, if the Kings of *England* and *France* would ſerve him one Year againſt *Muſte*, the Brother of *Noradin*, and his Allies, who had ſeized all his Territories beyond the *Euphrates*, and would leave him in Poſſeſſion of certain Places beyond *Jordan*, he would deliver up *Jeruſalem*, with the *Holy Croſs*, and all the Lands, Cities, Caſtles, and Ammunition, which he, or his, had taken after the Surrender of *Jeruſalem*, or five Years before: Or, if the Kings either could or would not ſerve him, in that Expedition, in Perſon, and would let him have two Thouſand Warriors, and five Thouſand Horſemen, (*Hoveden* and others mention a greater Number) well armed, for one Year, he would perform the ſame Conditions: And beſides, would not only ſufficiently pay and reward theſe Succours, but would reſtore Man for Man, for all who ſhould die in his Service. Such an Opinion had this great and powerful Prince of the *Chriſtian* Troops. This Propoſal was vigorouſly rejected; and the Sultan, on his Part, refuſed, or neglected, to perform the Articles of Capitulation; taking the Advantage of the King of *France's* Diſagreement with *Richard*; which now diſcovered itſelf ſo viſibly, that a Separation of the two Monarchs ſoon after enſued, notwithſtanding their ſolemn Oath to accompany each other in this religious War. However *Philip* engaged, that he would not make War on *Richard*'s Dominions till he was returned to *England*, and forty Days after; and left 10,000 of his *French* Forces under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, with public Orders to obey the King of *England*; but the Behaviour of this Party, which did all in their Power to thwart *Richard*'s Schemes, and to obſtruct his Glory, gave great Reaſon to ſuſpect the Duke had his Maſter's Counter-inſtructions to ruin his Aſſociate's future Deſigns.

Richard finding himſelf deluded by *Saladine*, who kept back the *Holy Croſs*, and the Moneys agreed to be paid by a certain Day, refortified *Acres*, and leaving a ſtrong Garriſon therein, he marched on the Vigil of the *Aſſumption* of the *Virgin Mary*, to ſtorm the Towns along the Sea Coaſt. He ordered his Camp to be pitched without the Walls, and commanded 2200 *Saracens*, whom he had kept as Hoſtages, to be executed in Sight of *Saladine*'s Army, that kept hovering about. This military Execution, for *Saladine*'s Breach of the Terms of Capitulation, ſo terrified the neighbouring Cities, that they immediately ſent their Submiſſion to *Richard*, as he approached; though *Saladine* kept cloſe at his Heels, and greatly harraſſed the Rear of the *Chriſtian* Army, and diſputed the Paſſes in narrow Ways, and Ambuſcades [d]. Near *Aſhur*, *Saladine* attacked the *Chriſtians* with an Army of three hundred Thouſand Men, which by the Valour and good Conduct of *Richard*, was entirely defeated, with the Loſs of 40,000 Infidels. In this Expedition *Aſhur*, *Aſcalon*, *Joppa*, and *Ceſarea*, were reduced. His Navy ſecured the Coaſt, and ſupplied the Army with Proviſions [e].

The King having ſecured his Conqueſts from any Attacks of the Infidels returned to *Acres*, and prepared for the Siege of *Jeruſalem*. In his March thither (*A. D.* 1192.) he had the good Fortune to meet the *Babylon* Caravan, going to *Jeruſalem*, with a prodigious Quantity of rich Merchandizes, guarded by ten or eleven Thouſand Horſe. *Richard* defeated them, and took above three, ſome ſay, four Thouſand loaded Camels, and Dromedaries, four Thouſand Horſes or Mules, with an ineſtimable Booty; all which he cauſed to be diſtributed among his Soldiers [f]. Soon after this Advantage, *Richard* had the Satisfaction of ſeeing *Jeruſalem*, from the Top of a Hill; but the Country round about being deſtitute of Forage and Proviſions, and wanting the Aſſiſtance of a Fleet, he was under the fatal Neceſſity (notwithſtanding the Infidels, at his Arrival, fled in Numbers, and *Saladine* himſelf was preparing for his Flight) of deferring the Siege till the next Spring. And this furniſhed the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy* with a Pretext to deſert the Service. And though the latter, who is ſuppoſed to have been bribed by *Saladine*, died at *Ptolemais*, as he was going to embark, the *French* Troops departed and ſailed for *France* [g]. In the mean Time, *Richard* himſelf was obliged to think of returning to *England*, where his Brother *John* had fomented inteſtine Broils and Diviſions, which threatened the Kingdom with a civil War. But he firſt made a Truce with *Saladine* for three Years.

Having ſettled all the other Affairs of the Eaſt, and ſent away his Queen and Siſter, with the King of *Cyprus*'s Daughter, he ſailed for *Corſu*; but was driven, in a violent Storm upon the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, and from thence ſailing beween *Aquileia* and *Venice*, the Ship, on-board of which he was, ſplit on a Rock. The King ſaved his Life with Difficulty, but thinking to travel through *Germany* unknown,

[a] Ann. Burton. Brompton.

[b] Matt. Paris.

[c] Brompton.

[d] Matt. Paris.

[e] Id. ibid.

[f] Viniſauf. Brompton. Diceto. M. Paris. Hoveden.

[g] M. Paris. Hoved. Brompton.

known, by the Name of *Hugo*, a Merchant, in the Habit of a Pilgrim, he was diſcovered, near *Vienna*, and made Priſoner by the Duke of *Auſtria*[a], who delivered him to the Emperor *Henry* VI.

Thus this glorious Prince, whoſe Fame filled the whole Earth, and whoſe noble Actions had exalted him above all the Princes of his Time, ſaw himſelf at once reduced to the unhappy State of being a Priſoner to one, from whom he had no Reaſon to hope any Favour; and who was the moſt ſordid and ungenerous of Princes[b]. It was not till after fifteen Months Impriſonment, in which Time he was carried before the Diet of the Empire, and obliged to anſwer to an Accuſation laid againſt him by the Emperor, and after going thro' a great many Hardſhips and Difficulties[c], beſides the Payment of a Ranſom[d] of 150,000 Marks of Silver, that *Richard* obtained his Liberty, and returned to *England*; where he arrived the 20th of *March* 1194, after an Abſence of four Years.

He fitted out a Fleet of 100 Sail of Ships to carry him into *Normandy*, to chaſtiſe the Rebellions of his Brother *John*, who, encouraged by the King of *France* (the conſtant Enemy of *England*) had, during his Abſence, depoſed his Viceroy *Longchamp*, and forced him to lay down his legatine Croſs, to take up that of the Holy-war, and had put himſelf in ſo good Forwardneſs to depoſe him too (having brought the People to ſwear a conditional Fealty to him) that there wanted nothing to give him Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which was before ſecured in Reverſion, but the Conſent of the Emperor, to whom there was offered a Bribe of 150,000 Marks to detain him, or 1000 Pounds a Month, as long as he kept him Priſoner. But ſuch was the Power of the Mother, who was always a faſt Friend to the younger Brother, and had indeed a greater Share in the Government of the elder, than conſiſted with the Weakneſs of her own, or the Dignity of his Sex, that ſhe made them Friends, and obtained an Indemnity for all the Faults committed during *Longchamp*'s Reign (who indeed was more a King than his Maſter) ſo that his Indignation being wholly diverted upon the *French* King, he began a new War that was like to prove more chargeable than the old, which he had ſo lately ended. To maintain which he had new Projects for raiſing Money; but Providence having determined to put an End to his Ambition and Avarice, offered a fatal Occaſion by the Diſcovery of ſome Treaſure-trove, out of which the Diſcoverer, the Viſcount *Lymoges*, voluntarily tendring him a Part, tempted him to claim the Whole; and ſo eager was he of the Prey, that being denied, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Challons*, where he conceived it was hid, from whence by a fatal Arrow ſhot from the Hand of one whoſe Father and two Brothers he had killed with his own Hand, he was unexpectedly ſlain, leaving no Iſſue either of his Body or Mind that the World took Notice of, excepting his three Daughters, Pride, Drunkenneſs and Lechery, father'd on him by a Prieſt; by the Diſpoſal of which, as he lay on his Death-bed, though it were but in jeſt, we may ſee what he was in earneſt: For he beſtowed his Daughter Pride on the Knights Templars; his Daughter Drunkenneſs on the *Ceſtercian* Monks, and his Daughter Lechery he left to the Clergy in general; which Quickneſs of his, as it ſavour'd of Irreligion, ſo it made good that in him, which makes all Things elſe ill, the comprehenſive Vice of Ingratitude, the Clergy being the only Men to whom he was indebted for his Honour, Wealth, and Liberty; but the Unkindneſs he ſhewed to them living, was ſufficiently requited to him dead by one of the ſame Function, who reflecting upon the Place where he received his fatal Wound, ſhot an Arrow at him that pierced deeper than that which flew him;

Chriſte tui Calicis prædo fit præda Calucis.

The Superiority which he conſtantly maintained at Sea; his continual Victories both in *Aſia* and *Europe*; the Expedition with which he quelled the Conſpiracy of his Brother; the Care he took to ſupport the Havens and Sea-ports throughout his Kingdom; the Encouragement he gave to Seamen, and the Care he ſhewed for regulating maritime Affairs, by eſtabliſhing the following LAWS of OLERON, convince us that he underſtood the Value of a naval Force, and the Advantages of Commerce, better than any of his Predeceſſors[e].

An Abſtract of the NAVAL LAWS *of* OLERON[f], *inſtituted by* RICHARD I. *King of* ENGLAND, *in his return from the* HOLY LAND, *in the end of the eleventh Century, for the better Regulation of Merchants, Owners and Maſters of Ships and Mariners, and all ſeafaring Perſons in maritime Affairs. To which are added, ſome Obſervations upon them, taken from ſeveral Authors, of great Uſe to Mariners.*

1. When ſeveral joint Owners make a Man Maſter of a Ship or Veſſel, and the Ship or Veſſel departing from her own Port, arrives at *Bourdeaux*, *Rouen*, or any other ſuch Place, and is there freighted to ſail for *Scotland*, or ſome other foreign Country; the Maſter, in ſuch caſe, may not ſell or diſpoſe of that Ship or Veſſel, without a ſpecial Procuration from the Owners: But, in caſe he wants Money for the Victualling, or other neceſſary Proviſions of the ſaid Veſſel, he may, for that end, with the Advice of his Mariners, pawn or pledge part of the Tackle or Furniture of a Ship[g].

Obſervation. The Title of Maſter is ſo honourable, and the Command of a Ship of ſuch Importance, that great Care has been taken by all maritime Nations, that none may be employed but honeſt and experienced Men. By an Ordinance of the Admiralty in *France* (*A. D.* 1584.) every Maſter of a Ship, before he took upon him that Truſt, was to be examined, whether he was fit for it. The *Spaniſh* naval Laws require the ſame Thing[h]. The Ordinances and Regulations of the *Hanſe-towns* do not only demand Experience and Capacity, but Honeſty and good Manners[i]. And none was to be admitted into the Service of any Citizen a-board his Ship, without a Certificate of his Qualifications, as to his Honeſty and Capacity.

Altho' the Government of the Ship is intruſted to him, he cannot ſell the Ship itſelf, nor any of her Tackle or Furniture, without the Order or Conſent of the Owners. However, in caſe of Neceſſity, when he is in a far Country, he may pawn or pledge her Tackle for Proviſions; and if that will not do, he may borrow Money on the Ship's Bottom, though not without the Conſent of his Officers and Seamen[k]. Thoſe of the *Hanſe-towns* forbid a Maſter of a Ship, notwithſtanding he is Part-owner, not only to ſell, but to do any Thing, even to buy Tackle or Victuals, without acquainting the other Owners of it, unleſs it be in a ſtrange Country[l], and in a caſe of Neceſſity, well and lawfully atteſted.

By the Ordinances and Cuſtoms of the Sea it appears, that formerly it was not thought ſafe to intruſt a Maſter of a Ship with the Veſſel and Cargo, unleſs he was a Freeman of that City, and Part-owner of the Ship; and if he was Part-owner, when he had betrayed or abuſed his Truſt, the other Owners might turn him out of the Ship, paying him what his Part of her came to, at the ſame Price he gave for it, according to the Ordinances of the *Hanſe-towns* . And if he pretended he had ſold his Part to another Perſon, for more than it was worth, the other Owners might have it appraiſed, and take it to themſelves[n], paying him what it was valued at by ſuch Appraiſement.

The Maſter commonly took care of every Thing belonging to the Ship, from the Poop to the Main-maſt: He was obliged to underſtand the Art of Piloting and Navigation, that he might know how to controul the Pilot, and mind how he ſteers the Ship, "y ſi el Maeſtre no fuere "Piloto es obligado a uevar un Marinere dieſtro en la Na-

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[a] M. Paris. Diceto. Brompton. Hemingſ. Gervaſe. [b] Rapin. Hemingford. [c] Brompton. M. Paris. M. Weſtm. [d] Rymer's Fœdera. [e] J. Selden, ad Fletam, c. IX. Matt. Paris. [f] Oleron, Weſt Longitude 1. 20, Latitude 46, an Iſland of France, near the Coaſt of Poitou, and Territories of Aunis, ſituated 14 Miles S. W. of Rochelle, being about 15 Miles long and 6 broad, and containing 10,000 People. The antient Inhabitants of this Iſland, had ſuch a Reputation for their Skill in Navigation, that their Rules became a Model for other maritime Powers to make their Laws by, in relation to Sea-affairs; and theſe were called the Laws of Oleron. The Soil of this Iſland produces plenty of Corn and Wine, and they make a great deal of Salt of the Sea-water. There is a Light-houſe on this Iſland, for direction of Ships. [g] This is held good in Common Law. [h] El Maeſtre de la Nave, para ſerlo, ha de ſer Marinero y examinado. Cidula real del anno 1576. Impreſſa con las de Indias quarto Toms. [i] See their Book of Ordinances, book 6. art. 1. [k] Ordinances of Wiſbuy, art. 13 and 15, and Philip II. King of Spain's Ordinances in the Year 1563, art. 12. [l] Art. 3, 4, 5, & ſeq. [m] Art. 14. [n] Art. 53.

“ vigacion, ’tel, que pueda regir la Nave a falla de Piloto,” according to the Ordinances of *Spain*. The Mate’s Command reached from the Stern to the Mizen-maſt, the latter included. It will not be thought improper by the Curious to mention here the ſeveral Officers of a Ship, either Men of War or Merchant-men, as they were diſtinguiſhed abroad, a Century ago.

In Royal Navies, the firſt Officer was the Admiral; then the Vice-admiral; then the Captain-major, or Chief of a Squadron. In every Man of War, the firſt Officer was the Captain, the ſecond the Pilot, who enjoyed that Place in honour of the Science he profeſſed and practiſed; next to him was the Maſter, who had the Charge of the Tackle and Furniture, and then the Captain and Lieutenant of the Soldiers. In a Merchant-man, the firſt Officer was the Maſter, the ſecond the Pilot, the third the Mate, the fourth the Factor or Supercargo; then his Aſſiſtant, Accomptants, the Surgeons, the Steward, four Corporals, the Cook, the Gunner, the Cockſwain; the Gunner and Cockſwain uſed to work before the Maſt, as well as the reſt of the Ship’s Crew, but their Wages were more.

There is a great deal of Difference between the Order of Precedency on-board of Ships now, and what was formerly: For the Captain and Lieutenant of the Soldiers would think it very hard to give place to the Pilot and Maſter of a Ship; and the Factor or Surpercargo will as difficultly be perſuaded to own the Maſter of a Veſſel’s Superiority, except in what relates to the Navigating the Ship.

ARTICLE 2. If a Ship or other Veſſel be in Port, waiting for Weather and a Wind to depart, the Maſter ought, when that comes, before his Departure, to conſult his Company, and ſay to them; Gentlemen, what think you of this Wind? If any of them ſee that it is not ſettled, and adviſe him to ſtay till it is; and others, on the contrary, would have him make uſe of it as fair; he ought to follow the major Part: If he does otherwiſe, and the Veſſel happens to miſcarry, he ſhall be obliged to make good the ſame, according to the Value upon a juſt Appraiſement.

Obſervation. It is a Maxim, or a general Sea-law, that a Maſter of a Ship ſhall never ſail out of a Port, never weigh or drop Anchor, cut Maſts or Cables, or, indeed, do any thing of Conſequence, let him be in whatever Danger may happen, without the Advice of the major Part of his Company, and the Merchants, if there are any aboard: He muſt call all together to conſult[a].

ART. 3. If any Veſſel, thro’ Misfortune, happens to be caſt away, in whatſoever Place it be, the Mariners ſhall be obliged to uſe their beſt Endeavours for ſaving as much of the Ship and Lading as poſſibly they can: And if they preſerve Part thereof, the Maſter ſhall allow them a reaſonable Conſideration to carry them Home to their own Country; and in caſe they ſave enough to enable the Maſter to do this, he may lawfully pledge, to ſome honeſt Perſons, ſuch Part thereof, as may be ſufficient for that Occaſion. But if they have not endeavoured to ſave as aforeſaid, then the Maſter ſhall not be bound to provide for them in any thing, but ought to keep them in ſafe Cuſtody, until he knows the Pleaſure of the Owners; in which he may act as becomes a prudent Maſter, for if he does otherwiſe, he ſhall be obliged to make Satisfaction.

Obſervation. The Ship’s Crew are obliged to do all that lies in their Power to ſave Things from Shipwreck, and gather up what they ſave, on pain of loſing their Wages; and thoſe that hinder or diſſuade them from it, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. This Law is very well explained by an Ordinance of King *Philip* II. of *Spain*, in the Year 1563. By which it is ordained, that the Seamen ſhall be bound to ſave as much as they can from Shipwreck; and, in ſuch Caſe, the Maſter is bound to pay them their Wages, and to give them a further Reward for their Labour out of the Goods: But if the Seamen refuſe to do their Endeavour to ſave the Goods, they ſhall neither have Pay nor Reward[b].

ART. 4. If a Veſſel departing with her Lading from *Bourdeaux*, or any other Place, happens in the Courſe of her Voyage to be rendered unfit to proceed therein, and the Mariners ſave as much of the Lading as poſſibly they can; if the Merchants require the Goods of the Maſter, he may deliver them if he pleaſes, they paying the Freight in proportion to the Part of the Voyage that is performed, and the Coſts of the Salvage: But if the Maſter can readily repair his Veſſel, he may do it; or, if he pleaſes, he may freight another Ship to perform his Voyage. And if he has promiſed the People who helped him to ſave the Ship, the third, or the half Part of the Goods ſaved, for the Danger they ran, the Judicatures of the Country ſhould conſider the Pains and Trouble they have been at, and reward them accordingly, without any regard to the Promiſes made them by the Parties concerned in the Time of their Diſtreſs.

Obſervation. This Law does not relate to an entire Loſs, but only to Salvage, or rather not to Shipwreck, but to the Diſabling of a Ship, ſo that ſhe cannot proceed in her Voyage without Refitting. In which Caſe, the Merchants may have their Goods again, paying the Freight, in proportion to the Way the Ship made. If the Merchant has not Money to pay the Freight, and the Maſter will not credit, the latter may take his Goods in Payment at the Market-price[c].

If the Maſter can, in a little Time, refit his Veſſel, and render her fit to continue her Voyage; that is, if he can do it in three Days Time at the moſt, according to the *Hanſe-town* Laws; or if he will himſelf take Freight for the Merchandiſe aboard another Ship bound for the ſame Port to which he was bound, he may do it; and, if the Accident did not happen by any Fault of his, the Freight ſhall be paid him, by the *Rhodian* Laws[d].

As for the Charges of Salvage, there are very great Allowances made to the Salvers, *Lege Rhod.*[e] By this Law there was adjudged to the Divers and Salvers, the half, the third, or the tenth of the Things ſaved, and that according to the Depth of the Water out of which they were fiſhed, fifteen, eight, or one fathom; as alſo a tenth Part for Salvage on the Coaſt, and the fifth to him that, ſaving himſelf, carries and ſaves ſomething with him. The Promiſes that are extorted in Danger upon this Account, ought always to be regulated according to Juſtice, with Reaſon and Proportion, without keeping to the Expreſſions of ſuch Promiſes.

ART. 5. If a Veſſel departing from one Port, laden or empty, arrives at another, the Mariners ſhall not leave the Ship without the Maſter’s Conſent: If they do, and by that Means ſhe happens to be loſt or damnified, they ſhall be anſwerable for the Damage; but if the Veſſel be moored, and lying at Anchor, with a ſufficient Number of Men aboard to keep the Decks and Lading, they may go without the Maſter’s Conſent, if they come back in good Time, otherwiſe they ſhall be liable to make Satisfaction, if they have wherewithal.

Obſervation. In regard to this Article relating to Seamen, it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to obſerve, what other Cuſtoms and Ordinances we have met with concerning them.

Mariners are obliged to look carefully after every Thing that relates to the Preſervation of the Ship and Goods[f]. For which Reaſon, they ought not to go a-ſhore and leave the Veſſel, without the Maſter’s or Mate’s Permiſſion: If they do, they are bound to anſwer to all the Damages that happen to the Ship or Merchandiſe in their Abſence[g]. If any Seaman goes a-ſhore without Licence, and if in his Abſence the Ship happens to be loſt for want of Hands, the Seaman thus abſent ſhall be apprehended, and kept a Year in Priſon on Bread and Water; and, if any one ſhould be killed or drowned in his Abſence, and that be the Cauſe of it, he ſhall be corporally puniſhed[h]. The ſame Ordinances condemn thoſe Mariners that lie out of their Ship all Night, to pay all the Damage that ſhall happen while they are abſent. Thoſe of the *Hanſe-towns*, Art. 22 and 23.

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[a] Wiſbuy, art. 14. See Wiſbuy Laws.

[b] Hanſe-towns, ord. art. 44. Wiſbuy, art. 15.

[c] Wiſbuy, art. 33. The Emperor Charles the Fifth’s Ordinance, art. 40.

[d] Numb. 42. ſecundo & ultimo tomo juris Græco-Romani in fine. Wiſbuy, art. 16, 37, and 55. King Philip II. of Spain’s Ordinance, under the Head of Averages, art. 30.

[e] Secundo tomo juris Græco-Romani, num. 45 & 47. Harmenopolus in promptuario juris, lib. II. tit. 6.

[f] Wiſbuy, art. 47.

[g] Wiſbuy, art. 17.

[h] The Emperor Charles the Fifth’s Ordinance in the Year 1552, art. 9 and 10. Conformable to the Rhodian Law, ſecundo tomo juris Græco-Romani, num. 20. The Regulations of the Hanſe-towns, art. 40.

23. add Impriſonment. Some Laws forbid them to undreſs themſelves, and the *Hanſe-towns*, Art. 32. to lie with their Wives a-board. The Reaſon is, that they may always be ready to aſſiſt their Fellows in the Diſcharge of their Duty, in the Preſervation of the Ship and Goods. The Obligation of the Mariner to the Maſter, begins as ſoon as he is hired and Terms are agreed, and ends when the Voyage is finiſhed and they are returned. The Obligation of the Mariner to the Merchant is from the Beginning of his Charge, and the Mariner is obliged to ſtow and unſtow the Goods according as the Place they are in is commodious or not, to keep them from damnifying, and promote or hinder the Ship's trimming; and if by their refuſing to do ſo, the Merchandiſe is damnified or ſpoiled, they are bound to make the Damage good [a]. By the Laws of *Wiſbuy*, they are alſo bound to unlade ſome Goods with the Shovel, and ſome to hand a-ſhore, for which they are to have no extraordinary Allowance; but for letting Things up or down, they are by the ſame Laws to be allowed ſomething extraordinary, that is, above their Wages. The Laws are very ſevere againſt thoſe Seamen, that run away from Ships after they are hired. In Men of War, Deſertion is puniſhed with Death: In Merchantmen, by the *Hanſeatique* Laws, or thoſe of the *Hanſe-towns*, they are to be marked in the Face with a red-hot Iron, that they may be known, and be infamous as long as they live. If the Mariner runs away before the Voyage, when he is taken he ought to refund half as much as the Maſter was to have paid him for the whole Voyage. If he hires himſelf to two Maſters, the firſt may demand him; and by the *Hanſeatiques*, Art. 1. is not bound to pay him any Wages. Proviſion is made for ſuch Seamen as run away, only becauſe the Maſter has uſed them ill. By the ſame Laws, if any Maſter entices away a Mariner hired before by another, the laſt Maſter ſhall forfeit to the firſt 25 Livres, and the Mariner half the Wages he was to have had of the Maſter that ſo enticed him.

That Maſter, who knowingly hires a Mariner who was hired before, ſhall pay double the Wages he was to pay the Mariner, and the latter be bound to follow and ſerve the firſt Maſter. However, a Mariner may demand, and ought to have his Diſcharge, either before or during the Voyage, for theſe four Reaſons; in caſe he is made Maſter or Mate of another Ship; if he marries, and then he is obliged to refund what he has received; if he made any Proviſo in his Bargain for quitting the Ship; if the Voyage is finiſhed, the Ship diſarmed, unloaded and light, the Sails, Tackle, and Furniture, taken away and ſecured [b]. If the Maſter gives a Mariner his Diſcharge, without any lawful Cauſe, and for his Pleaſure only; in caſe he does it before the Voyage, and while the Ship is in Port, he ought to pay half as much as he was to give him for the whole Voyage; but if he diſcharges him after the Ship is ſailed, he ought to pay him all his Wages [c].

By the *Hanſeatiques*, the Maſter is to pay a third of the Wages only, and not to bring it to his Owner's Account. He is obliged alſo to pay him not only all his Wages, if he diſcharges him in his Voyage, but to defray the Charges of his return. If after a Bargain is made between the Maſter and Mariner, if the Voyage happens to be hindered by War or Pirates, or any other lawful Account, the Mariner, according to King *Philip*'s Laws, Art. 9. ſhall have a Quarter-part of the Wages that were promiſed him for the Voyage, and the Maſter by a *French* Law ſhall have half the Freight.

A Maſter may turn off a Mariner if he finds he is ignorant in maritime Affairs, and incapable to perform the Voyage, particularly a Pilot, to whom in ſuch Caſes, he is not bound to pay any Wages, and at his return may have him puniſhed for his Raſhneſs [d].

If it happens, that the Maſter finds out the Pilot or Mariner's Ignorance when he cannot diſcharge them, they ſhall be obliged at their Return to refund all the Money he had advanced to them, and pay the Maſter beſides, half what he had promiſed: But if the Pilot declares at firſt he is dubious, and cannot depend on his Knowledge, that he is out of the Way, and does not very well underſtand his Buſineſs; if it is when he is outward-bound, he ſhall be paid half what was promiſed him, if homeward-bound, all.

If the Maſter finds that any Officer or Seaman aboard his Ship has any infectious Diſtemper that is dangerous, he may put him a-ſhore at the firſt Place he comes to, without paying him any thing, but then he muſt prove it by two or three Witneſſes. He may alſo turn away any thieving Mariner, or any quarrelſome or factious Fellow; but as to the latter, he ſhould have a little Patience, to ſee if he can be brought to Reaſon [e].

ART. 6. If any of the Mariners hired by the Maſter of any Veſſel, go out of the Ship without his Leave, and get themſelves drunk, and thereby there happens Contempt to their Maſter, Debates, or Fighting and Quarrelling among themſelves, whereby ſome happen to be wounded: In this Caſe, the Maſter ſhall not be obliged to get them cured, or in any thing to provide for them, but may turn them and their Accomplices out of the Ship; and if they make Words of it, they are bound to pay the Maſter beſides: But if by the Maſter's Orders and Commands, any of the Ship's Company be in the Service of the Ship, and thereby happen to be wounded or otherwiſe hurt, in that Caſe they ſhall be cured and provided for at the Coſts and Charges of the ſaid Ship.

Obſervation. Thoſe Mariners that are mutinous and quarrelſome, are obliged to refund all they have received, and pay beſides what the Maſter is forced to give to others whom he hires in their Places above the Wages he was to give them [f].

The Laws of *Charles* V. [g] ordain certain Puniſhments, according to the Heinouſneſs of the Offences and Crimes committed by Seamen. If the Mariners are wounded, or any wiſe hurt in ſerving the Maſter of the Ship, they ſhall be cured, taken care of, and indemnified at the Charge of the Ship [h]. If Mariners are taken by Corſairs in his and his Ship's Service, the Maſter is bound to redeem them, and beſides that, to pay them their Wages during their Captivity, as much as if they had all that Time been in his Service [i]. If in defending himſelf, or fighting againſt an Enemy or Corſairs, a Mariner is maimed, or diſabled to ſerve on-board a Ship for the reſt of his Life, beſides the Charge of his Cure, he ſhall be maintained as long as he lives at the Coſt of the Ship and Cargo [k].

ART. 7. If it happens that Sickneſs ſeizes on any one of the Mariners while in the Service of the Ship, the Maſter ought to ſet him on-ſhore, to provide Lodging and Candle-light for him, and alſo to ſpare him one of the Ship-boys, or hire a Woman to attend him, and likewiſe to afford him ſuch Diet as is uſual in the Ship; that is to ſay, ſo much as he had on Ship-board in his Health, and nothing more, unleſs it pleaſe the Maſter to allow it him; and if he will have better Diet, the Maſter ſhall not be bound to provide it for him, unleſs it be at the Mariner's own Coſt and Charges; and if the Veſſel be ready for her Departure, ſhe ought not to ſtay for the ſaid ſick Party: But if he recover, he ought to have his full Wages, deducting only ſuch Charges as the Maſter has been at for him. And if he dies, his Wife or next a-kin ſhall have them.

Obſervation. The *Spaniards* have another Cuſtom in the *Weſt-India* Voyages: For in caſe a Mariner falls ſick, he muſt ſubſtitute another in his Place, otherwiſe he loſes all his Wages for the Time in which he could not work [l].

If the Mariner dies as he is outward-bound, his Wife and Heirs ſhall receive half his Pay; if, as he is homeward-bound, they ſhall have all, deducting the Charge of his Funeral if there has been any [m].

ART. 8. If a Veſſel be laden to ſail from *Bourdeaux* to *Caën*, or any other Place, and it happens that a Storm overtakes her at Sea, ſo violent, that ſhe cannot eſcape without caſting ſome of the Cargo overboard for lightning the Veſſel, and preſerving the reſt of the Lading, as well as the Veſſel itſelf, then the Maſter ought to ſay, Gentlemen, we muſt throw part of the Goods over-board; and if there are no Merchants to anſwer him, or if thoſe that are there approve of what he ſays by their Silence, then the Maſter may do as he thinks fit; and if the Merchants are not pleaſed with his throwing over any Part of the Merchandiſe, and forbid him, yet the Maſter ought not to forbear caſting out ſo many of the Goods as he ſhall ſee to be for the common Good and Safety; he and the third Part of his Mariners making Oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, when they arrive at their Port of Diſcharge, that he did it not only for the Preſervation of the Veſſel, and the reſt of the Lading that remains yet in her. And the Wines, or other Goods, that were caſt over-board, ought to be valued, according to the juſt Value of the other Goods that arrive in Safety: And when theſe ſhall be ſold, the Price or Value thereof ought to be divided *Livre à Livre* among the Merchants.

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[a] Wiſbuy, art. 48. Philip II. art. 19.

[b] See the Laws of Wiſbuy, art. 54 and 63.

[c] Wiſbuy, art. 3.

[d] According to King Philip's and the Hanſeatique Laws.

[e] By the Hanſeatiques, art. 29. and the Laws of Wiſbuy, art. 25.

[f] By the Laws of Wiſbuy, art. 18.

[g] Art. 28, & ſeq.

[h] Wiſbuy, art. 18. Hanſeatiques, art. 39. Charles V. art. 27 and 28. Philip. II. art. 16.

[i] This Law is in the Conſulat. chap. 82.

[k] According to the Hanſeatiques, art. 35.

[l] By the Hanſeatiques, art. 45.

[m] By Charles the Fifth's Ordinances.

The Maſter may compute the Damage his Veſſel has ſuſtained, or reckon the Freight of the Goods thrown over-board at his own Choice. If the Maſter does not make it appear that he and his Men did the Part of able Seamen, then neither he nor they ſhall have any Thing. The Mariners alſo ought to have one Ton free, and another divided by caſt of the Dice, according as it ſhall happen, and the Merchants in this caſe may lawfully put the Maſter to his Oath.

Obſervation. Of two Evils, to chuſe the leaſt is the Law of Nature as well as of Nations; and when a Ship is in Danger of periſhing, the Lives of the Seamen, and the Safety of the reſt of the Cargo make the throwing Part of it over-board the leaſt Evil: But that the Maſter's Ignorance or Fear might not hurry him to do any Thing to the Detriment of the Merchant, without good Grounds for it, he muſt conſult the Merchants, Paſſengers, or Mariners a-board his Ship, and, according as the Neceſſity of it appears to them, to throw the Goods over-board. This he is warranted to do by the *Rhodian* Law [a]. The 20th and 38th Articles provide alſo, That if the Merchants alone are againſt the Propoſition of throwing the Merchandiſe over-board, and the reſt, who have their Lives and Goods alſo to loſe conſent to it, the Maſter and third Part of the Seamen purging themſelves as ſoon as they come a-ſhore by Oath, that Neceſſity forced them to do it, and that otherwiſe they could not have been ſaved, may do it, and ſhall then be juſtified for what they did.

The Maſter is not obliged, when he comes to this Extremity, to throw his own Goods over-board firſt. The Cuſtom of the *Levant* is, the Paſſenger or Merchant firſt flings out ſomething of his own. *Philip* the IId's Ordinances, under the Title of Averages, require, That the Ship's Utenſils ſhould be firſt thrown over-board; ſuch as old Cables, Fire-wood, Anchors, and Guns, which weigh heavy, and are not of the greateſt Service; then the Cheſts belonging to the Ship's Crew, as being of the leaſt Value. All thoſe Things which are thrown over-board come into an Average, except thoſe that belong to the Sovereign.

If the Maſter by over-loading his Ship, is the Occaſion of the Goods being thrown over-board, he ſhall make good the Damage [b]. The Laws of *Wiſbuy*, art. 46. except in this Caſe thoſe Goods, which were ſo laden with the Conſent of the Merchant.

If the Maſter has let out more Freight than he has Stowage for, he muſt not therefore over-load his own Ship, but by the Conſulate is bound to find Freight for them in another. If the Merchants, Paſſengers, or Mariners, have any Plate or other precious Goods in their Cheſts or Cabinets, they ought to inform the Maſter and Clerk of it, otherwiſe their Cheſts will not be liable to any Average, for any Thing more than what is known to be within them.

Perſons never are reckoned in an Average, but all ſorts of Goods whatſoever. Victuals belonging to the Ship are exempted from the Laws for throwing Goods over-board, and privileged from paying Contributions in Averages. Seamen's Wages are not liable to Averages. By the *Hanſeatiques*, art. 28. theſe Wages ought to be paid by three Payments, a third Part before the Ship goes out of the Port, a third Part when ſhe's unladen, and a third Part at her Return.

By the *Rhodian* Law, the Sailors ought to have a Ton Freight free from Contributions in Average, when Goods are thrown over-board. To explain this is will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Sailors were uſed to hire themſelves out for a Voyage for ſeveral Conſiderations: Some had a certain Sum of Money for the whole Voyage, or ſo much a Month, or ſo much a Day; others hired themſelves for ſuch a Proportion of the Freight, or a Liberty to load ſo much Goods a-board, or let out ſo much Freight to others: But the moſt common Way, and the beſt of hiring themſelves, was for part in Wages, and part in Freight, either for themſelves or to let out. Thoſe Seamen who had Wages only, contributed nothing to the Average for Goods thrown over-board. Thoſe who had Goods contributed, unleſs thoſe Goods were bought with their Wages, and they had only one Ton exempted. The Merchants who hired their Freight of them, had the ſame Privilege by it as themſelves.

Having had occaſion to make mention of *Livre à Livre*, an Explanation of it will not be unacceptable to the Reader. The Civilians conſider every Thing as an Whole; as for example, an Inheritance compoſed of ſeveral Parts, makes together one Whole or Maſs, of whatever Importance it may be, great or ſmall, as if the Whole of this Inheritance made one Livre, one Pound, as *hereditatis*. This Pound divided into twelve equal Parts, is named Ounces. The Merchants and Maſters of Ships, in caſe of Averages for Goods thrown over-board or damnified in Storms, have the ſame View; that is, they conſider the Ship and Cargo together as one Pound, and the Goods loſt or damnified as another; ſo that he who had a Tenth in the Pound of the Cargo, a Fiſteenth or any other Share, muſt carry a Tenth, a Fifteenth or any other Share to the Pound of the Average; and this Proportion of one Pound to another, is what is called by the *French* naval Laws, *Livre à Livre*, Pound to Pound.

ART. 9. If it happen, that by reaſon of much foul Weather the Maſter is like to be conſtrained to cut his Maſts, he ought firſt to call the Merchants, if there be any aboard the Ship, and ſuch as have Goods and Merchandiſe in the Veſſel, and to conſult them, ſaying, Sirs, It is requiſite to cut down the Maſts to ſave the Ship and Lading, it being in this caſe my Duty. And frequently they alſo cut their Mooring-cables, leaving behind them their Cables and Anchors to ſave the Ship and her Lading. All which Things are reckoned and computed Livre by Livre, as the Goods are that were caſt over-board. And when the Veſſel arrives in Safety at her Port of Diſcharge, the Merchants ought to pay the Maſter their Shares or Proportions without Delay, or ſell or pawn the Goods, and employ the Money he raiſes to ſatisfy by it the ſame, before the ſaid Goods be unladen out of the ſaid Ship: but if he lets them go, and there happens Controverſies and Debates touching the Premiſes, if the Maſter obſerves Colluſion therein, he ought not to ſuffer, but is to have his complete Freight, as well for what Goods were thrown over-board, as for what he brought home.

Obſervation. No Merchant is obliged to pay Average for Goods thrown over-board, unleſs the Maſter can prove he did it for the Safety of his own and his Mens Lives, and the Preſervation of the Ship, and the reſt of her Cargo. What Loſs happens by Accidents, breaking the Maſts, or burning the Sails, or Pirates taking Part of the Goods, ſhall not come into the common Average. By the *Rhodian* Laws, every Merchant ſhall bear his own Loſs, and the Maſter ſhall do the ſame [c]. Averages are by that to be paid for Damages done within the Ship, and not for thoſe without; therefore the Maſter and Mariners are obliged to purge themſelves by Oath, how the Damage came, in the firſt Court of Admiralty they come to, and that it was done in very great Neceſſity.

Indeed, if Pirates take the Ship and Cargo entire, and both are redeemed for a Sum of Money, the Average for that ſhall be common, and all the concerned ſhall pay Contribution. If the Merchants and Paſſengers aboard the Ship, deſire the Maſter to put into any Port out of his Way for fear of Pirates, and in going out of that Port he loſes Anchors or Cables, thoſe who deſired him to put in there ſhall pay for them, and the Ship ought not to pay any thing towards that Loſs.

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[a] Secundo tomo juris Græco-Romani, Num. 9. and by 20th, 21ſt, and 38th Articles of that of Wiſbuy.

[b] By the Rhodian Laws.

[c] See alſo the 12th Article of the Laws of Wiſbuy.

After a general Shipwreck, there is no Average or common Contribution, but ſave who ſave can, as is vulgarly ſaid on this Occaſion. If any Goods that were thrown over-board in a Storm, to lighten the Ship, happen to be recovered, the Owner of them ought to reſtore what he had recovered for Damages by Average to thoſe that paid him, deducting for the Loſs he may be at by his Merchandiſes being damnified [a].

Art. 10. The Maſter of a Ship, when he lets her out to Freight to the Merchants, ought to ſhew them his Cordage, Ropes and Slings, with which the Goods are to be hoiſted aboard or aſhore: and if they find they need mending, he ought to mend them; for if a Pipe, Hogſhead, or other Veſſel, ſhould happen, by default of ſuch Cordage, or Slings, to be ſpoiled or loſt, the Maſter and Mariners ought to make Satisfaction for the ſame to the Merchants. So alſo if the Ropes or Slings break, the Maſter not ſhewing them before-hand to the Merchants, he is obliged to make good the Damage: but if the Merchants ſay the Cordage, Ropes, or Slings, are good and ſufficient, and notwithſtanding it happens that they break, in that caſe they ought to divide the Damage between them; that is to ſay, the Merchant to whom ſuch Goods belong, and the ſaid Maſter with his Mariners.

Obſervation. The Maſter when he lets his Ship out to Freight, is bound to ſhew her to the Merchant or their Agents [b]. The Conſulate requires the ſame, and that the Maſter ſhould let the Merchants viſit not only the Ropes, but all the Ship above Decks and below, that they may ſee what is wanting, and have it mended; and if it is not mended, and the Merchandiſe is damnified, the Maſter ſhall make good the Loſs. The 49th Article of the Laws of *Wiſbuy*, enjoins the Mariners to give the Maſter notice of the Faults and Defects in the Cordage; otherwiſe they ſhall be reſponſible for all Accidents that may happen: and if after ſuch Notice given, the Maſter does not take care to have them mended, he ſhall anſwer the Damage out his own Pocket.

The *Rhodian* Law wills and ordains [c], That the Merchant who loads a Ship, ſhall inform himſelf exactly of every thing, ***diligenter interrogare debent mercatores qui prius in ea nave navigaverunt.*** The Law ſays, he ſhould enquire of thoſe that have ſailed in her before; but that is of little uſe, except as to her ſailing, for Ships grow daily more and more out of Repair, and ſhould be always viewed by the Perſon that is going to be concerned in them, without truſting to the Information of others.

Art. 11. If a Ship being laden at ***Bourdeaux*** with Wines, or other Goods, hoiſts Sail to carry them to ſome other Port, and the Maſter does not do his Duty as he ought, nor the Mariners handle their Sails, and it happens that ill Weather overtakes them at Sea, ſo that the Main-yard ſhakes or ſtrikes out the Head of one of the Pipes or Hogſheads of Wine, this Veſſel being ſafely arrived at her Port of Diſcharge, if the Merchant alledges, that by reaſon of the Main-yard his Wine was loſt, and the Maſter denies it, in this Caſe the Maſter and his Mariners ought to make Oath (whether it be four or ſix of them, ſuch as the Merchant hath no Exception againſt) that the Wine periſhed not by the Main-yard, nor through any Default of theirs, as the Merchants charge them, they ought then to be acquitted thereof; but if they refuſe to make Oath to the Effect aforeſaid, they ſhall be obliged to make Satisfaction for the ſame, becauſe they ought to have ordered their Sails aright before they departed from the Port, where they took in their Lading.

Obſervation. If the Cargo is ill ſtowed, and the Ship ill trimmed, and the Mariners do not manage their Sails rightly, and any Damage happens by it to the Ship or Goods, they ſhall be reſponſible for the Damages as far as they have wherewithal to do it [d]. There were formerly in ſeveral Ports of *Guyenne* certain Officers called Arrameurs, or Stowers, who were Maſter-carpenters by Profeſſion, and were paid by the Merchants, who loaded the Ship. Their Buſineſs was to diſpoſe right and ſtow cloſely all Goods in Caſks, Bales, Boxes, Bundles, or otherwiſe; to balance both Sides, to fill up the vacant Spaces, and manage every Thing to the beſt Advantage.

It was not but that the greateſt Part of the Ship's Crew underſtood this as well as theſe Stowers, but they would not meddle with it, nor undertake it to avoid falling under the Merchant's Diſpleaſure, or being accountable for any ill Accident that might happen by that means. There were alſo Sacquiers, who were very ancient Officers [e]. Their Buſineſs was to load and unload Veſſels laden with Salt, Corn, or Fiſh, to prevent the Ship's Crew defrauding the Merchant by falſe Tale, or cheating him of his Merchandiſe otherwiſe.

Art. 12. A Maſter having hired his Mariners, ought to keep the Peace betwixt them, and to be as their Judge at Sea; ſo that if there be any of them that gives another the Lye, whilſt they have Wine and Bread on the Table, he ought to pay four Deniers; and if the Maſter himſelf give any the Lye, he ought to pay eight Deniers; and if any of the Mariners impudently contradict the Maſter, he alſo ought to pay eight Deniers; and if the Maſter ſtrike any of the Mariners, he ought to bear with the Stroke, be it with the Fiſt or open Hand; but if the Maſter ſtrikes him more than one Blow, the Mariner may defend himſelf; and if the ſaid Mariner doth firſt aſſault the Maſter, he ought to pay five Sols, or loſe his Hand.

Obſervation. This Law reſtrains the Correction of the Maſter to one Blow with his Fiſt, which the Mariner ought to bear, and no more. The Conſulate, chap. 16. explains how far the Mariner is bound to ſuffer the Maſter's aſſaulting him, in theſe Terms; the Mariner is obliged to obey the Maſter, tho' he ſhould call him ill Names, and is enraged againſt him, he ought to keep out of his Sight, or hide himſelf in the Prow of the Ship; if the Maſter follows him he ought to fly to ſome other Place from him; and if he ſtill follows him, then the Mariner may ſtand upon his Defence, demanding Witneſſes how he was purſued by the Maſter, for the Maſter ought not to paſs into the Prow after him.

The 24th Article of the Laws of *Wiſbuy*, puniſhes the giving the Lye. The ſame Article is very ſevere againſt the Mariner that ſtrikes the Maſter. The Mariner that ſtrikes, or lifts up Arms againſt his Maſter, was to loſe half his Hand in a very painful way. If the Mariner has committed a Crime too great for the Maſter's Authority to puniſh, then the Maſter and his Officers ought to ſeize the Criminal, put him in Irons, and bring him to Juſtice at his Return.

Art. 13. If a Difference happens between the Maſter of a Ship, and one of his Mariners, the Maſter ought to deny him his Meſs thrice, before he turn him out of the Ship, or diſcharge him thereof: but if the ſaid Mariner offer in the Preſence of the reſt of the Mariners to make the Maſter Satisfaction, and the Maſter be reſolved to accept of no Satisfaction from him, but to put him out of the Ship, in ſuch caſe the ſaid Mariner may follow the ſaid Veſſel to her Port of Diſcharge, and ought to have as good Hire or Wages, as if he had come in the Ship, or as if he had made Satisfaction for his Fault in the Sight and Preſence of the Ship's Company; and if the Maſter take not another Mariner into the Ship in his Stead, as able as the other, and the Ship or Lading happens thereby to be through any Misfortune damnified, the Maſter ſhall be obliged to make good the ſame, if he hath wherewithal.

Obſervation. To deny him his Meſs is in the Original, *Oſter la touaille*, an old *Gaſcon* Phraſe, which ſignifies to deny him the Table-cloths or Victuals for three Meals, by which is underſtood a Day and a half. The *Wiſbuy* Law, Art. 25. provides for the Maſter's making Satisfaction for the Damages that may happen through the Want of the Mariner he turns off. And the *Hanſeatiques*, Art. 27. require the Maſter not to give the Seamen any Cauſe to mutiny; not to provoke them, call them Names, wrong them, nor keep any thing from them that is theirs, but to uſe them well, and pay them honeſtly what is their due.

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[a] The Rhodian Law enjoins this.

[b] The 12th Article of the Laws of Wiſbuy, and the 7th of King Philip's.

[c] Secundo tomo Juris Græco-Romani, Num 11.

[d] 23d Art. of the Laws of Wiſbuy.

[e] As may be ſeen in the 14th Book of the Theodoſian Code, Unica de Saccariis portus Romæ, Lib. XIV.

ART. 14. If a Veſſel being moored lying at Anchor, be ſtruck or grappled with another Veſſel under Sail that is not very well ſteered, whereby the Veſſel at Anchor is prejudiced, as alſo Wines, or other Merchandiſe in each of the ſaid Ships dammified: In this Caſe the whole Damage ſhall be in common, and be equally divided and apprized half by half; and the Maſter and Mariners of the Veſſel that ſtruck or grappled with the other, ſhall be bound to ſwear on the Holy Evangeliſts, that they did it not willingly or wilfully.

Obſervation. This Law agrees exactly with the Ordinances of *Wiſbuy* [a]. The dividing the Loſs in Halves is, to prevent any Cheat; for an old Veſſel that is worth little or nothing, might elſe be put in a new one's Way: And if ſhe runs againſt her, more Damage be pretended than the old Ship might fairly be valued at.

ART. 15. Suppoſe two or more Veſſels in a Harbour where there is but little Water, ſo that the Anchor of one of the Veſſels lies dry, the Maſter of the other Veſſel ought, in that Caſe, to ſay unto him whoſe Anchor lies dry, Maſter, take up your Anchor, for it is too nigh us, and may do us a Prejudice: If neither the ſaid Maſter nor his Mariners will take up the ſaid Anchor accordingly, then may that other Maſter and his Mariners (who might be otherwiſe thereby damnified) take up the ſaid Anchor and let it down at a farther Diſtance from them; and if the others oppoſe or withſtand the taking up of the Anchor, and there afterwards happens Damage thereby, they ſhall be bound to give full Satisfaction for the ſame: but if they put out a Buoy or Anchor-mark, and the Anchor does any Damage, the Maſter and Mariners to whom it belongs are not bound to make it good; if they do not, they are; for all Maſters and Mariners ought to faſten ſuch Buoys or Anchor-marks, and ſuch Cables to their Anchors, as may plainly appear and be ſeen at full Sea.

Obſervation. The Ordinances of *Wiſbuy* [b] require Maſters to put out Buoys, to warn others where there Anchors lie, on pain of making Satisfaction for whatever Damage may happen for want of them: For Anchors hid under Water may do a great deal of Miſchief at Ebb and Low-water. If any Maſter ſpies them, and they lie near him, he may remove them, and prevent any Damage coming to his Ship [c]. The Buoys that are made uſe of, are either empty Barrels, or Pieces of the Trunk of a Tree, or any other light Wood, with Baſkets, that ſwim on the Top of the Water, and ſhew where the Anchors lie.

ART. 16. When a Ship arrives with her Lading at *Bourdeaux*, or elſewhere, the Maſter is bound to ſay to his Company, when ſhe is ready to load again, Gentlemen, will you freight your own Share yourſelves, or be allowed for it in proportion with the Ship's general Freight: The Mariners are bound to anſwer one or the other. If they take as the Freight of the Ship ſhall happen, they ſhall have proportionably as the Ship hath; and, if they will freight by themſelves, they ought to freight ſo as the Ship be not impeded or hindered thereby: And, if it ſo happen, that they cannot let out their Freight, or get Goods themſelves, when he has tendered them their Share or Stowage, the Maſter is blameleſs; and if they will there lade a Ton of Water, inſtead of ſo much Wine, they may: And, in caſe there ſhould happen at Sea an Ejection, or caſting of Goods over-board, the caſe ſhall be the ſame for a Ton of Water as for a Ton of Wine, or other Goods, Livre by Livre. If they let out their Proportion of Freight to Merchants, what Freedom and Immunity the ſaid Mariners have, the ſaid Merchants ſhall alſo have.

Obſervation. The Reaſons given why, in caſe of throwing over-board, the Mariner's Ton of Water ſhall come in equally in the Average, *Livre à Livre*, for a Ton of Wine, are, a Mariner may make what uſe he pleaſes of his Stowage, becauſe he takes it as part of his Pay: Beſides, in ſuch Caſe, the Water he has aboard lightens the Ship as much as if it was Wine; and the Mariner, by throwing over his Water, which by his Privilege he may refuſe to do, not only helps to ſave the Ship and Cargo, but to ſave the latter the more intire: For, if any Thing the Merchant had aboard, of more Value than Wine, ſtood before his Ton of Water, it muſt have gone firſt, and his throwing his Water over-board being ſo much for the common Intereſt of the Ship and Cargo, he is allowed to come in upon an Average, as if it had been a Ton of Wine. How far this Law of *Oleron* prevails in our maritime Courts now, the Civilians muſt determine; but, by the common Law of *England*, a Ton of Water would never be rated *Livre à Livre*, Pound by Pound, with a Ton of Wine.

ART. 17. The Mariners of *Britany* ought to have but one Meal a Day from the Kitchen, becauſe they have Beverage going and coming; but thoſe of *Normandy* are to have two Meals a Day, becauſe they have only Water at the Ship's Allowance; and, when the Ship arrives in a Wine Country, there the Maſter ſhall procure them Wine to drink.

Obſervation. The Cuſtom of giving every Man a certain Allowance is very ancient; and, to prevent Jealouſies, Complaints, and Diſorders, that Allowance is ſettled at ſo much a Head, and exactly delivered out to all alike [d]. In thoſe Voyages where Wine is to be had, the Maſter is bound to provide it for the Mariners, and then they ſhall have but one Meal a Day: But, when they drink Water only, they ſhall have two Meals. *Charles* V. and *Philip* IId's Laws ordain, That the Maſter ſhall order the Mariners to have three certain Meals a Day; and, if they would have more Meat, they ſhall only have what was laſt at their Meals, unleſs upon extraordinary Occaſions. By the 52d Article of the *Hanſeatiques*, the Maſter of *German* Ships bound for *France* and *Spain* are not to provide Victuals for their Mariners when they are outward-bound; but, when they are homeward-bound, if the Ship is let out to Freight, and loaden, the Maſters are obliged to maintain their Mariners; if they return light or empty, they are not obliged. The *Portugueſe*, in their *Eaſt-India* Voyages, maintain both Mariners and Soldiers outward-bound, and allow each a Pound and a half of Biſcuit, three Pints of Wine, and three Pints of Water a Day, and 31 Pounds of Salt-fiſh a Month, ſome Dry-fiſh, Garlick and Onions: But, in their homeward-bound Voyages, they have only Biſcuits and Water to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and, after that, they live every Man on his own Proviſion.

ART. 18. When a Veſſel is unladen, and the Mariners demand their Freight, ſome of them having neither Bed, Cheſt, nor Trunk aboard, the Maſter may lawfully retain part of their Wages, till they have brought back the Ship to the Port from whence ſhe came, unleſs they give good Security to ſerve out the whole Voyage [e].

Obſervation. The Seamen's Wages are not regularly due, till after their Work is entirely done, or the Time they hired themſelves for expired, except there are any private Agreements to the contrary.

ART. 19. If the Maſter hires the Mariners in the Town to which the Veſſel belongs, either for ſo much a Day, Week, or Month, or for ſuch Share of the Freight, and it happens that the Ship cannot procure Freight in thoſe Parts where ſhe is arrived, but muſt ſail further to obtain it: In ſuch Caſe, thoſe that were hired for a Share of the Freight ought to follow the Maſter, and ſuch as are at Wages ought to have their Wages advanced Courſe by Courſe, that is, in proportion to the Length of the Voyage, in what it was longer than they agreed for, becauſe he hired them to one certain Place; and, if they go not ſo far as that Place for which the Contract was made, yet they ought to have the whole promiſed Hire, as if they had gone thither; but they ought likewiſe to bring back the Veſſel to the Place from whence ſhe at firſt departed [f].

Obſervation. By the 9th Article of *Philip* IId's Laws, if the Voyage is broken off by Wars, Pirates, or the Command of the Sovereign, the Seamen ought to have a Quarter-part of the Wages they agreed to have if they had completed it.

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[a] 26th, 50th, 67th, and 70th Articles.

[b] The 28th and 51ſt Articles.

[c] Harmenopulus in promptuario titulo de rebus nauticis, licet in diſcrimen adductis, qui ſe aliter explicare non poſſunt, alterius navis anchoras ſalutis ſuæ cauſa præcidere.

[d] As to the Allowance of Wine and Meals by this Article, the 29th of the Ordinances of Wiſbuy agrees with it.

[e] The 31ſt Article of the Ordinances of Wiſbuy agrees exactly with this.

[f] This Article is explained by the 8th and 16th, the 32d of the Laws of Wiſbuy, the 12th and 13th of Charles V. and the 24th of the Hanſeatiques.

ART. 20. When a Veſſel arrives at *Bourdeaux*, or any other Place, two of the Mariners at a time may go on-ſhore, and take with them one Meal of ſuch Victuals as are in the Ship therein cut and provided, as alſo Bread proportionably, as much as they eat at once, but no drink: and they ought very ſpeedily, and in Seaſon, to return to their Veſſel, that thereby the Maſter may not loſe his Tide; for if ſo, and Damage come thereby, they are bound to make Satisfaction; or, if any of their Company be hurt for Want of their Help, they are to be at ſuch Charge for his Recovery as one of his Fellow-mariners, or the Maſter, with thoſe of his Table, ſhall judge convenient.

ART. 21. If a Maſter freight his Ship to a Merchant, and ſet him a certain Time within which he ſhall lade his Veſſel, that ſhe may be ready to depart at the Time appointed, and he lade it not within the Time, but keep the Maſter and Mariners for the Space of eight Days, or a Fortnight, or more, beyond the Time agreed on, whereby the Maſter loſes the Opportunity of a fair Wind to depart: the ſaid Merchant, in this caſe, ſhall be obliged to make the Maſter Satisfaction for ſuch Delay, the fourth Part whereof is to go among the Mariners, and the other Three-fourths to the Maſter, becauſe he finds them their Proviſion [a].

Obſervation. By the Laws of the *Hanſeatiques*, and *Philip* IId's, the Merchant is obliged to pay the whole Freight, if he does not load the Ship in 15 Days after the Time agreed upon; and, by the *Theodoſian* Code [b], when a Veſſel arrives in a Port loaden, the Merchant to whom the Cargo belongs muſt unload in 10 Days; but in our Times, on account of Holy-days and Sundays, the common Time for unloading a Ship is 15 Days; but that ſhould not hinder the paying the Freight, which ought to be cleared in eight Days, whether the Ship be diſcharged or not. The Maſter for his Pay cannot detain the Merchandiſe aboard; but, when they are in the Boat or Lighter, he may ſtop them till he is ſatisfied.

ART. 22. When a Merchant freights a Veſſel at his own Charge, and ſets her to Sea, and the ſaid Veſſel enters into an Harbour, where ſhe is Wind-bound, ſo that ſhe ſtays till her Monies be all be ſpent, the Maſter, in that caſe, ought ſpeedily to write home to his own Country for Money, but ought not to loſe his Voyage on that account; for, if ſo, he ſhall be obliged to make good to the Merchant all Damages that ſhall enſue.

But the Maſter may take Part of the Wines, or other Merchants Goods, and diſpoſe thereof for his preſent Neceſſities: and, when the ſaid Veſſel ſhall be arrived at her Port of Diſcharge, the ſaid Wines that the Maſter hath ſo diſpoſed of, ought to be valued and appraiſed at the ſame Rate as the other Wines ſhall be commonly ſold for, and accordingly be accounted for to the Merchant: and the Maſter ought to have the Freight of ſuch Wines as he hath ſo taken and diſpoſed of for the Uſe and Reaſon aforeſaid [c].

Obſervation. By the 68th Article of the Laws of *Wiſbuy*, if the Ship happens afterwards to be caſt away, the Maſter ſhall pay the Merchant for the Wines, or other Goods he ſold in a caſe of Neceſſity, without pretending to deduct any thing for the Freight. The *Hanſeatiques* forbid any Maſter to borrow any Money on any other Security but the Ship's Bottom, that, if ſhe ſhould be loſt, the Debt might be paid; nor do they allow him, when he is at home, to borrow any thing on her Bottom, or otherwiſe, without acquainting the Owners with it.

ART. 23. If a Pilot undertakes the Conduct of a Veſſel, to bring her to *St. Malo*, or any other Port, and fail of his Duty therein, ſo as the Veſſel miſcarry by reaſon of his Ignorance in what he undertook, and the Merchants ſuſtain Damage thereby, he ſhall be obliged to make full Satiſfaction for the ſame, if he hath wherewithal; and, if not, loſe his Head.

ART. 24. And if the Maſter, or any of his Mariners, or any one of the Merchants, cut off his Head, they ſhall not be bound to anſwer for it; but, before they do it, they muſt be ſure he had not wherewith to make Satiſfaction.

Obſervation on the two foregoing Articles. The Original calls theſe Pilots Lockmen; for, when thoſe Laws were written, there were Officers aboard all Ships, called Pilots, who went the whole Voyage, whereas the Lockmen were like our Pilots, Mariners hired at every River, to guide the Ship; for, dwelling on the Place, the Lockman was ſuppoſed to know the Shore better than the Ship's Pilot, who perhaps was never there before; for which Reaſon he commonly required the Maſter to have a Lockman, to avoid Rocks, Shelves, Shoals, and Sands, which he muſt be well acquainted with by long uſing the River [d]. The Maſter finds him Maintenance, and the Merchant pays him [e]. The Loſs of the Pilot's Head, if through his Ignorance or Negligence the Ship is loſt, is taken from the Conſulate [f], and anſwers to that known Maxim in the Law, *Qui non habet in ære, luet in corpore.*

ART. 25. If a Ship, or other Veſſel, arriving at any Place, and making in towards a Port or Harbour, ſet out her Flag, or give any other Sign to have a Pilot come aboard, or a Boat to tow her into Harbour, the Wind or Tide being contrary, and Contract be made for piloting the ſaid Veſſel into the ſaid Harbour accordingly, but, becauſe of an unreaſonable and accurſed Cuſtom in ſome Places, that the third or fourth Part of the Ships that are loſt ſhall accrue to the Lord of the Place where ſuch ſad Caſualties happen, as alſo the like Proportion to the Salvers, and only the Remainder to the Maſter, Merchant, and Mariners: the Perſons contracting for the Pilotage of the ſaid Veſſel, in order to ingratiate themſelves with their Lords, and to gain to themſelves a Part of the Ship and Lading, do, like faithleſs and treacherous Villains, ſometimes even willingly, and out of deſign to ruin Ships and Goods, guide and bring her upon the Rocks, and then feigning to aid, help, and aſſiſt the now-diſtreſſed Mariners, are the firſt in diſmembering and pulling the Ship to Pieces, purloining and carrying away the Lading thereof, contrary to all Reaſon and good Conſcience: and afterwards, that they be the more welcome to their Lord, do with all ſpeed poſt to his Houſe with the ſad Narrative of this unhappy Diſaſter; whereupon the ſaid Lord, with his Retinue, appearing at the Place, takes his Share, the Salvers theirs; and what remains, the Merchants and Mariners may have. But ſeeing this is contrary to the Law of God, our Edict and Determination is, that, notwithſtanding any Law or Cuſtom to the contrary, it is ſaid and ordained, The ſaid Lord of that Place, Salvers, and all others that take away any of the ſaid Goods, ſhall be accurſed and excommunicated, and puniſhed as Robbers and Thieves, as formerly hath been declared: but all falſe and treacherous Pilots ſhall be condemned to ſuffer a moſt rigorous and unmerciful Death, and high Gibbets ſhall be erected for them in the ſame Place, or as high as conveniently may be, where they ſo guided and brought any Ship or Veſſel to Ruin as aforeſaid, and thereon theſe accurſed Pilots are with Ignominy and much Shame to end their Days: which ſaid Gibbets are to abide and remain to ſucceeding Ages on that Place, as a viſible Caution to other Ships that ſhall afterwards ſail hereby.

ART. 26. If the Lord of any Place be ſo barbarous as not only to permit ſuch inhuman People, but alſo to maintain and aſſiſt them in ſuch Villanies, that he may have a Share in ſuch Wrecks, the ſaid Lord ſhall be apprehended, and all his Goods confiſcate and ſold, in order to make Reſtitution to ſuch as of Right it appertaineth, and himſelf to be faſtened to a Poſt, or Stake, in the Midſt of his own Manſion-houſe, which being fired at the four Corners, all ſhall be burned together, the Walls thereof ſhall be demoliſhed, the Stones pulled down, and the Place converted into a Market-place for the Sale only of Hogs and Swine to all Poſterity.

Obſervation on the two foregoing Articles. Theſe two Laws were made upon account of that inhuman *Droit de Bris ſur les Naufrages*, the Right of Lords of Coaſts to Shipwrecks; by which thoſe miſerable Wretches who were caſt away, their very Perſons, and the Goods that were ſaved, were confiſcated for the Prince who was Lord of the Coaſt. In the barbarous Times Men uſed to put this Law in Practice, eſpecially the *Gauls*, who took all Strangers for their

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[a] The 34th Article of the Ordinances of Wiſbuy, and the 39th of the Emperor Charles V. are intirely agreeable to this Law.

[b] De Navicularis.

[c] The 35th and 69th Articles of the Laws of Wiſbuy are to the ſame Purport.

[d] The 44th and 59th Articles of the Ordinances of Wiſbuy oblige the Maſter to take a new Pilot, if his own and the Ship's Crew demand one of him.

[e] By the 60th Article of the Ordinances of Wiſbuy.

[f] Chap. 250.

Enemies, and not only robbed them of their Goods, but of their Lives, ſacrificing them to their falſe Gods[a]. The *Romans*, though they were covetous to exceſs, and greedy after other Mens Goods, never approved of this Cruelty, but condemned and abrogated the Uſe of it to the utmoſt of their Power[b]. But the Empire degenerating, in its Decadency, when ſo many barbarous Nations poured in upon it out of *Scythia* and *Scandinavia*, and tore it to pieces, this wicked *Droit de Bris ſur les Naufrages* was renewed, particularly on the Coaſts of *Gaul*, called *Littus Saxonicum*, on account of the frequent Invaſions of the *Saxons* there[c]. Afterwards the *Normans* being by chance thrown upon that Coaſt, were immediately diſpatched by the Inhabitants; and, in courſe of Time, this pretended Right inſinuated itſelf, and prevailed not only againſt Enemies and Invaders, but againſt any Perſons that were ſhipwrecked[d].

This Barbarity is aboliſhed in *England*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *France*, unleſs it be practiſed againſt the Enemies of the State, Infidels or Pirates: but the *Spaniards* obſerve this Cuſtom beyond the Line, againſt all but natural *Spaniards*. This *Droit de Bris*, which was not, however, ſo cruelly executed in *Guienne* as in *Bretagne*, was ſolemnly abrogated by *Henry* III. King of *England*, and Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Guienne*: his Edict to this Purpoſe is regiſtered and preſerved among the Rolls at *Bourdeaux*.

As to that Part of theſe Laws requiring traiterous Pilots to be hanged on the Shore, in ſome eminent Place, to be a Warning to all Mariners, *Andronicus*, Emperor of *Greece*, who reigned about the Year 1150, ordered the ſame, or the like Puniſhment, for ſuch as made Spoil of Wrecks, as *Nicetas* reports, in the ſecond Book of his Annals. The Lord *Verulam*, in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VII. writes, that it was heretofore the Cuſtom in *England* to leave the dead Bodies of Pirates on Gibbets near the Water-ſide, for a Warning to ſeafaring Men.

The hanging ſuch as are condemned for Crimes committed at Sea by the Water-ſide, and ſome of the moſt Criminal in Chains, is now practiſed in this Kingdom.

ART. 27. A Veſſel being arrived at her Port of Diſcharge, and halled up there into dry Ground, ſo as the Mariners, deeming her to be in good Safety, do take down her Sails, and ſo fit the Veſſels aloof and aft, the Maſter then ought to conſider an Increaſe of their Wages, Kenning by Kenning; and if in hoiſting up of Wines, it happens that they leave open any of the Pipes, or other Veſſels, or that they faſten not the Ropes well at the Ends of the Veſſel, by reaſon whereof it ſlips and falls, and ſo is loſt, and falling on another both are loſt; in theſe Caſes the Maſter and Mariners ſhall be bound to make them good to the Merchants, and the Merchants muſt pay the Freight of the ſaid damnified or loſt Wines, becauſe they are to receive for them from the Maſter and Mariners, according to the Value that the reſt of the Wines are ſold for; and the Owners of the Ship ought not to ſuffer hereby, becauſe the Damage happened by default of the Maſter and Mariners, in not making faſt the Veſſels or Pipes of Wine.

Obſervation. Kenning by kenning, *veüe par veüe*, is a Phraſe uſed by Mariners, as is alſo Courſe by Courſe, in the 19th Article of theſe Laws. Theſe Phraſes are very ancient, and Kenning was particularly uſed when Navigation was performed by Views, and by Obſervation on the Land from one Proſpect to another; which was before the Invention or Knowledge of the Uſe of the Compaſs[e].

ART. 28. If two Veſſels go on a fiſhing Deſign in Partnerſhip, as for Mackarel, Herrings, or the like, and do ſet their Nets, or lay their Lines, at *Olonne*, *St. Gilles*, *Survie*, or elſewhere, the one of the Veſſels ought to employ as many Fiſhing-engines as the other, and ſo ſhall go in equal Shares as to the Gain, according to the Agreement between them made. And if it happens that one of the ſaid Veſſels, with her Fiſhing-inſtruments, Engines, and Crew, periſh, and the other eſcaping, arrives in Safety: if the ſurviving Friends of thoſe that periſhed require of the other to have their Part of the Gain, as alſo of their Fiſh, Fiſhing-inſtruments, and Boat, they are to have, upon the Oaths of thoſe that eſcape, their Part of the Fiſh and Fiſhing-inſtruments; but they ſhall not have any Part or Share in the Veſſel itſelf.

ART. 29. If any Ship, or other Veſſel ſailing to and fro, and coaſting the Seas, as well in the way of merchandiſing as upon the fiſhing Account, happen by ſome Misfortune, through the Violence of the Weather, to ſtrike herſelf againſt the Rocks, whereby ſhe becomes ſo bruiſed and broken that there ſhe periſhes, upon what Coaſts, Country, or Dominion ſoever, and the Maſter, Mariners, Merchant, or Merchants, or any one of theſe eſcape, and come ſafe to Land; in this caſe, the Lord of that Place or Country where ſuch Misfortune ſhall happen, ought not to let, hinder, or oppoſe ſuch as have ſo eſcaped, or ſuch to whom the ſaid Ship or Veſſel, and her Lading belong, in uſing their utmoſt Endeavours for the Preſervation of as much thereof as may poſſibly be ſaved; but, on the contrary, the Lord of that Place or Country, by his own Intereſt, and by thoſe under his Power and Juriſdiction, ought to be aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid diſtreſſed Merchants or Mariners, in ſaving their ſhipwrecked Goods, and that without the leaſt Embezzlement, or taking any Part thereof from the right Owners.

But, however, there may be a Renunciation, or Conſideration, for Salvage to ſuch as take Pains therein, according to right Reaſon, a good Conſcience, and as Juſtice ſhall appoint; notwithſtanding what Promiſes may in that Caſe have been made to the Salvers, by ſuch diſtreſſed Merchants and Mariners, as is declared in the 4th Article of theſe Laws: and, in caſe any ſhall act contrary hereunto, or take any Part of the ſaid Goods from the ſaid poor, diſtreſſed, ruined, undone, ſhipwrecked Perſons, againſt their Wills, and without their Conſent, they ſhall be declared to be excommunicated by the Church, and ought to receive the Puniſhment of Thieves, except ſpeedy Reſtitution be made by them: nor is there any Cuſtom or Statute whatſoever that can protect them againſt the aforeſaid Penalties, as is ſaid in the 26th Article of theſe Laws.

Obſervation on the two foregoing Articles. The civil Law almoſt every where allows all ſhipwrecked Perſons a Right to gather up their ſhipwrecked Goods. The Codex and the *Rhodian* Laws are particular in this Matter, ſo is King *Henry* IIId's Charter, before-mentioned.

ART. 30. If a Ship or other Veſſel entering into Harbour, happens by Misfortune to be broken and periſh, and the Maſter, Mariners, and Merchants which were on-board her, be all drowned; and if the Goods thereof be driven aſhore, or remain floating on the Sea, without being ſought after by thoſe to whom they belong, they being ignorant of this ſad Diſaſter, and knowing nothing thereof: in this moſt lamentable Caſe, the Lord of that Place or Country ought to ſend Perſons to ſave the ſaid Goods, which he ought to ſecure and to put into ſafe Cuſtody, and give the Relations of the deceaſed Perſons who were drowned Notice of it, and to ſatiſfy for the Salvage thereof, not out of his own Purſe, but of the Goods ſaved, according to the Hazards run, and the Pains taken therein; and what remains muſt be kept in ſafe Cuſtody for one Year or more; and if, in that Time, they to whom the ſaid Goods appertain do not appear and claim the ſame, and the ſaid Year be fully expired, he may publickly ſell and diſpoſe thereof, to ſuch as will give moſt, and with the Monies proceeding from the Sale thereof he ought to give among the Poor, and for Portions to poor Maids, and other charitable Uſes, according to Reaſon and good Conſcience. But if he aſſumes the ſaid Goods, either in Whole or in Part unto himſelf, he ſhall incur the Curſe and Malediction of our Mother the Holy Church, with the aforeſaid Pains and Penalties, without ever obtaining Remiſſion, unleſs he make Satisfaction.

Obſervation. The keeping ſuch Goods a Year is in the civil Law, 1, 2 *Cod. Naufragiis*: but the Parliament of *Paris*, in the Year 1584, pretended to reduce the Time to two Months, which Time was to commence from the Day of proclaiming ſuch Goods in public Market, and fixing a Placart of it on the Doors of the Pariſh-church. The Conſulate provides for the Salvers more largely, allowing them half of the Goods ſaved, and the Lord and the Poor the other half, cap. 252. By ſome Laws in *France*, as long as the Goods are in being and unalienated, the Merchant to whom they belong has a Claim to them, paying the Charge of Salvage: but if, after a lawful Time, they are ſold, and become another's Property, he has no Claim to them. The Caſuiſts are of Opinion, that, if he who finds them is rich, he ought to give all to pious Uſes; if poor, to keep all himſelf, *Hoſtienſis in ſumma de pœnitentia:* and the 36th Article of the Laws of *Oleron* agrees with the Judgment of the Caſuiſts.

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[a] From which bloody Cuſtom Hercules brought them off, according to Diodorous Siculus, lib. V. Hiſt. cap. 2. Pomponius Mela, lib. III. de ſitu orbis, cap. 2.

[b] Toto titulo de incendio, ruina & naufragio. Et de naufragiis, libro undecimo. Codicis, leg. 1. & leg. 9.

[c] Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. VIII. epiſt. 6. & carmine ſeptimo.

[d] Quicquid evadebat ex naufragiis totum ſibi fiſcus lege patriæ vindicabat, paſſoſque naufragium miſerabilius violentia principis ſpoliabat quam procella, as ſays Hildebertus Turonenſis archiepiſc. epiſt. 32. and 65.

[e] Plin. lib. VI. cap. 13.

Art. 31. If a Ship, or other Veſſel, happens to be loſt by ſtriking on ſome Shore, and the Mariners thinking to ſave their Lives, reach the Shore, in hope of Help, and inſtead thereof it happens, as it often does, that in many Places they meet with People more barbarous, cruel, and inhuman than mad Dogs, who, to gain their Monies, Apparel, and other Goods, do ſometimes murder and deſtroy theſe poor diſtreſſed Seamen; in this caſe, the Lord of that Country ought to execute Juſtice on ſuch Wretches, to puniſh them as well corporally as pecuniarily, to plunge them in the Sea[*] till they be half dead, and then to have them drawn forth out of the Sea, and ſtoned to death.

Art. 32. If by reaſon of tempeſtuous Weather, it be thought expedient, for the Lightening of any Ship or Veſſel at Sea, or Riding at Anchor in any Road, to caſt Part of the Lading over-board, and it be done accordingly for the common Safety, though the ſaid Goods ſo ejected and caſt over-board, do become his that can firſt poſſeſs himſelf thereof, and carry them away: nevertheleſs, it is here to be further underſtood, that this holds true only in ſuch Caſes, as when the Maſter, Merchants, and Mariners have ſo ejected or caſt out the ſaid Goods, as that they give over all Hope or Deſire of ever recovering them again, and ſo leave them as Things utterly loſt and given over by them, without ever making any Enquiry or Purſuit after them: in which Caſe only, the firſt Occupant becomes the lawful Proprietor thereof.

Art. 33. If a Ship, or any other Veſſel, hath caſt over-board ſeveral Goods or Merchandiſes, which are in Cheſts well locked and made faſt; or Books well claſped and ſhut cloſe, that they may not be damnified by Salt-water: in ſuch Caſes it is to be preſumed, that they who did caſt ſuch Goods over-board, do ſtill retain an Intention, Hope, and Deſire of recovering the ſame. For which reaſon, thoſe who ſhall happen to find ſuch Things, are obliged to make Reſtitution thereof to him who ſhall make a due Enquiry after them, or put them to pious Uſes, according to his Conſcience, and the Advice of ſome prudent Neighbour.

Art. 34. If any Man happens to find any Thing in the Sea, or in the Sand on the Shore, in Floods or in Rivers, if it be precious Stones, Fiſhes, or any Treaſure of the Sea, which never belonged to any Man in point of Property, it belongs to the firſt Finder.

Art. 35. If any ſearches the Sea-coaſts to fiſh, or find Gold or Silver, and he finds it, he ought to reſtore it all without any Diminution.

Art. 36. If any going along the Sea-ſhore to fiſh, or otherwiſe, happens to find Gold or Silver, he ſhall be bound to make Reſtitution thereof, deducting for his own Pains; or, if he be poor he may keep it to himſelf; that is, if he knows not to whom to reſtore it; yet he ſhall give Notice of the Place where he found it, to the Neighbourhood and Parts next adjacent, and adviſe with his Superiors, who ought to weigh, and take into Conſideration the Indigence and Poverty of the Finder, and then to give him ſuch Advice as is conſonant to good Conſcience.

Obſervation on the three preceding Articles. There are three Sorts of Goods, which the Sea naturally drives to Land: as entire Wrecks; for which the cruel *Droit de Bris* was in old Times eſtabliſhed by pernicious and barbarous Cuſtom: but Humanity, Licences, and Paſſports have aboliſhed it in ours. The ſecond is what is flung over-board, for the Preſervation of Mens Lives, the Ship and Cargo. Neither of theſe, by Law nor the Cuſtom of the Sea, change their Proprietors; but may be claimed and recovered by them, within the lawful Time appointed by Ordinances and Cuſtoms to claim, even while the Goods are in being and unſold, as appears by what has been ſaid in and upon the 30th Article.

The third Sort comprehends the two firſt, which are not owned and demanded by the Proprietor; and beſides that, includes all the Treaſures of the Sea, which come out of its Bowels, and it naturally drives aſhore; as aromatic Amber, on the Coaſt of *Guienne*; Amber ſuccinum, in the *German* Ocean; red, black, and white Coral, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; precious Stones, Fiſh-ſhells, and other Riches, which the Sea produces, and which, in the 34th Article of theſe Laws, are called *Herpes Marines*, in *Engliſh*, Treaſures of the Sea; for it cannot be otherwiſe ſo fully expreſſed. The word *Herpes* was taken from an old *Gauliſh* Term *harpir*, which ſignifies to take, and its contrary, *Voerpir*, is to leave.

Nor is he who firſt lays his Hand on them, obliged to give thoſe that are there with him a Share of what he has found, unleſs he pleaſes to do it out of Courteſy, notwithſtanding the Conſtitution of the Emperor *Leo*, which is contrary to it. This is the Law of Nature; but Princes and Lords of the Coaſts have uſurped this Privilege, and laid Claim to all the Treaſures of the Sea, that it throws on their Royalties. The Lords of the Coaſts, that is, of the Manors or Lands on the Coaſts of *France*, were notorious Uſurpers in this, till the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. when Cardinal *Richlieu*, by an Order of the Council, bearing Date the 13th of *December*, 1629, took away the pretended Rights of ſeveral Lords, or very much abridged them; but he did not reſtore the Law of Nature in this Caſe: he only enlarged his own and his Succeſſors Privileges and Authority, he being Great-maſter, and Superintendant-general of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*. This Regulation of Council occaſioned great Diſorders, and the Count *de Olonne* was particularly ſo enraged at it, that his Officers by main Force drove away thoſe of the Admiralty, who came upon his Royalty. But the *French* Kings were now Maſters of their Subjects Lives and Fortunes, and it would have been in vain for ſuch Counts to have diſputed the King's Edict with theſe Words in it, *car tel eſt nôtre plaiſir*, the ſtanding Reaſon of the *French* Laws at this Time.

Art. 37. Touching great Fiſh, that are taken or found dead on the Sea-ſhore, Regard muſt be had to the Cuſtom of that Country, where ſuch great Fiſh are taken or found. For, by the Cuſtom, the Lord of that Country ought to have his Share; and with good Reaſon, ſince the Subject owes Obedience and Tribute to his Sovereign.

Obſervation. This Law declares, that by the antient Cuſtoms of Countries, as well Sovereigns, as all particular Lords of Royalties, to whom Duties and Tributes were due, had both heretofore certain Rights to the *Eſpaves de Mer*, Strays of the Sea. The *Couſtoumier de Normandie*, under the Article of *Varech*, ſpecifies what belongs to the one, and what belongs to the other; and particularly that Whales, and other Oil-fiſh belong to the particular Lord of the Royalty where they were found; that is, off whoſe Land they were taken on the Shore: In the Original it is, *a la Rive de la Mer*; and how far that is to be underſtood to belong to the Lord of that Royalty, may be found in the above-mentioned *Couſtoumier*, where the *Varech* underſtands as far as a Man on Horſeback can reach with his Launce: for if the Fiſh is found farther off the Shore, the Lord has no Right to it, though it be brought or driven aſhore afterwards.

Art. 38. The Lord ought to have his Share of Oil-fiſh, and no other, according to the laudable Cuſtom of the Country where they are found; and he that finds them is no further obliged than to ſave them, by bringing them without the Reach of the Sea, and preſently to make it known to the ſaid Lord of the Place, that he may come and demand what is his Right.

Obſervation. The *Couſtoumier de Normandie* mentions two Sorts of Fiſh; the royal Fiſh, which are the Dolphin, the Sturgeon, the Salmon, the Turbet, the Sea-dragon, the Sea-barbel, and, in general, all Fiſh fit for a King's

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[*] Plonger en la Mer, is what the French now call Bailler la Cale, and we Keel-hauling.

Table: and Oil-fiſh, as Whales, Porpuſſes, Sea-calves, and the like, of which Oil may be made: all other Fiſh are the Property of thoſe that take them in the Sea, near the Shore, or afar off.

ART. 39. If the Lord of the Place pleaſes, and it be the Cuſtom of the Country where the Fiſh is found, he may cauſe the ſame to be brought, by him that found it, to the public and open Market-place, but no where elſe; and there the ſaid Fiſh ſhall be appraiſed by the ſaid Lord, or his Deputy, according to Cuſtom.

And the Price being ſet, the other Party that made not the Price, ſhall have his Choice, either to take or leave it at that Price; and if either of them, whether *per fas* or *nefas*, be an Occaſion of Loſs or Damage to the other, though but to the Value of a *Denier*, he ſhall be obliged to make him Reſtitution.

ART. 40. If the Coſt and Charges of carrying the ſaid Fiſh to the ſaid Market-place would amount to a greater Sum than the Fiſh itſelf may be worth, then the ſaid Lord ſhall be bound to take his Share at the Place where ſuch Fiſh was found.

ART. 41. The ſaid Lord ought likewiſe to pay his Part of the aforeſaid Coſts and Charges, becauſe he ought not, by another's Damage, to enrich himſelf.

ART. 42. If, by ſome Chance or Misfortune, the ſaid Fiſh happens to be ſtolen away, or otherwiſe loſt from the Place where it was found, after or before the ſaid Lord has viſited it; in this caſe, he that firſt found it ſhall not any ways be obliged to make it good.

ART. 43. In all other Things found by the Sea-ſide, which have formerly been in the Poſſeſſion of ſome or other, as Wines, Oil, and other Merchandiſe, although they have been caſt over-board, and left by the Merchants, and ſo ought to appertain to him that firſt finds the ſame; yet herein alſo the Cuſtom of the Country is to be obſerved, as well as in the Caſe of Fiſh. But if there be a Preſumption that theſe were the Goods of ſome Ship that periſhed, then neither the ſaid Lord, nor Finder thereof, ſhall take any to convert any Part of it to their own Uſe; but, as has been ſaid, diſtribute the Money it produces amongſt the Poor and Needy.

ART. 44. If any Ship, or other Veſſel at Sea, happens to find an Oil-fiſh, it ſhall be wholly theirs that found it, in caſe no due Purſuit be made after it; and no Lord of any Place ought to demand any Part thereof, though they bring it to his Ground.

ART. 45. If a Veſſel, by Streſs of Weather, be conſtrained to cut her Cables or Ropes by the End, and ſo to quit and leave behind her both Cables and Anchors, and put to Sea at the Mercy of the Wind and Weather; in this caſe, the ſaid Cables and Anchors ought not to be loſt to the ſaid Veſſel, if there were any Buoy at them; and ſuch as fiſh for them ſhall be bound to reſtore them, if they know to whom they belong: but they ought to be paid for their Pains, according to Juſtice. And if they know not to whom to return them, the Lords of the Place ſhall have their Shares, as well as the Salvers; but, for preventing further Inconveniencies, every Maſter of a Ship ſhall cauſe to be engraven, or ſet upon the Buoys thereof, his own Name, or the Name of his Ship, or of the Port or Haven to which ſhe belongs; and ſuch as detain them from him ſhall be reputed Thieves and Robbers.

ART. 46. If any Ship, or other Veſſel, by any Caſualty or Misfortune, happens to be wrecked and periſh; in that caſe, the Pieces of the Bulk of the Veſſel, as well as the Lading thereof, ought to be reſerved and kept in Safety for them to whom it belonged before ſuch Diſaſter happened, notwithſtanding any Cuſtom to the contrary. And all Takers, Partakers, or Conſenters, of or to the ſaid Wreck, if they be Biſhops, Prelates, or Clerks, they ſhall be depoſed, and deprived of their Benefices reſpectively; and if they be Laymen, they ſhall incur the Penalties aforeſaid.

ART. 47. This is to be underſtood only, when the ſaid Ship or Veſſel ſo wrecked, did not exerciſe the Trade of Pillaging, and when the Mariners thereof were not Pirates, Sea-rovers, or Enemies to Popery; but if they are found to be either the one or the other, every Man may then deal with ſuch as with Rogues, and deſpoil them of their Goods, without any Puniſhment for ſo doing [a].

JOHN, ſurnamed *Lackland*, becauſe his Father *Henry* by his laſt Will had left him no Inheritance in Dominions or Land [b], but only recommended him to the Care of his elder Brother, ſucceeded his Brother *Richard* on the Throne of *England*, in prejudice to the Claim of *Arthur*, the only Son of *Geoffrey*, the fourth Son of King *Henry*; who thereby, according to hereditary Right, had a legal Title to the Crown before *John*, his Father's younger Brother. But *John* getting Poſſeſſion of *Richard*'s Army and Treaſure, and above all ſecuring the Nobility and Clergy to his Intereſt, the friendleſs *Arthur*, who had been kept in a State of Indolence and Obſcurity, was not able to make any Reſiſtance to his Uncle's Advancement; who, as it appears by the Speech made at his Coronation (*October* 8. 1199.) by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accepted of the Crown on the Terms of the unanimous Election by the State [c].

This Diſappointment threw *Conſtance*, *Arthur*'s Mother, into ſuch a Rage [d], that without conſidering the Conſequences of truſting to one, whoſe Intereſt always claſh'd with *England*, ſhe applied for Succour to the King of *France*, and precipitately ſurrenders to him her Son, then but twelve Years old [e], his Cauſe, and his Countries. *Philip*, glad of an Opportunity to cover his Quarrel with *England*, promiſed his Aid [f], and on condition of the young Prince's Homage, and Permiſſion to garriſon the Caſtles with *French* Forces [g], grants him the Poſſeſſion of all *Richard*'s Territories on the Continent. But *John* came upon them with ſuch Expedition, and ſtruck ſo great Terror into the reſt of the Cities and Strong-holds, by ſtorming and plundering *Maunz*, putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, and demoliſhing it to the Ground, that he preſently brought this Revolt to a happy Concluſion [h].

Thus from the Day this King aſcended the Throne, it will appear that he was continually harraſſed with foreign or domeſtic Broils: which latter being occaſion'd by his Nobility or Clergy, have been repreſented greatly to his Diſadvantage; and brought by modern Hiſtorians to prove either his Weakneſs or Arbitrarineſs, or both. But ſhould we with an impartial Eye ſurvey what the moſt prejudiced Writers of, or near his own Time, have recorded of his Activity, Courage, Succeſs, and, above all, of his Attention to, and Improvement of maritime Affairs, we can't in Juſtice deny him the Honour of adding the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the *Britiſh* Crown; and the Merit of aſſerting the Title to the Sovereignty of the Seas, and of eſtabliſhing our Trade and Navigation upon a better Foundation than all his Predeceſſors.

His early and ſerious Application to maritime Affairs, may be aſcribed to the Obſervations he had made on the Benefit of the naval Force to his Brother in the laſt Reign; and more eſpecially to the Advantage he himſelf already experienced, which gave him a Superiority to the *French* Monarch, who had join'd in the Cauſe of the legitimate Heir to dethrone him, and wanted nothing but a ſuperior Fleet to carry his Intentions into Execution.

Nor had any King more need of a Fleet than *John*; for the long Abſence of his Predeceſſor from *England* had given the Nobility ſuch a Scope of Liberty, that they were now unwilling to part with thoſe Uſurpations, they had made on the Royal Prerogative; and taking the Advantage of *John*'s elective Title, and the continual Embarraſſments he met with from the Court of *France*, which, as often as the Intereſt of her King requir'd it, play'd off *Arthur* upon him, join'd with his Enemies till they had extorted a Confirmation of their pretended Rights and Privileges[a], which was the real Cauſe of all the Misfortunes that follow'd to *John* and his Subjects.

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[a] Every one has a droit de bris againſt Pirates. Piratæ communes generis humani hoſtes ſunt, quos idcirco omnibus rationibus perſequi incumbit, ſays the Lord Verulam de Bello Sacro. For which Reaſon, according to the Civilians, Sunt ipſo jure diſſidiati, cum quibus publice bellum habemus. Strachia in tertia parte de nautis; and again, It is Cruelty to have any Mercy towards Pirates, Solum pietatis genus eſt in hac re eſſe crudelem. There is no Right of Action amongſt them, and they have none to bring againſt one who attacks them or robs them. Quia in omnium furum perſona conſtitutum eſt, ne ejus rei nomine furti agere poſſint, cujus ipſi fures ſunt. Lege cum qui §. quarto. Lege qui re ſibi §. primo. Lege qui res. §. Si ego. De furtis, &c.

[b] Brompton, Hoveden, Matt. Pariſ.

[c] Matt. Pariſ. Speed's Chron p. 495. Hoveden, Holinſhed, Knighton.

[d] Polyd. Virg. Lib. XV.

[e] Walſingham Ypodig. born on Eaſter-ſunday, 1187. his Father dying in Auguſt before.

[f] Roger. de Werd. M. S.

[g] Nich. Trivet. M. S.

[h] Matt. Pariſ.

The firſt Monument we have preſerved of his Care for the Marine, is dated in the firſt Year of his Reign[b] at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, where, with the Aſſent of the Peers, it was decreed, That if the Governor or Commiſſioner of the King's Navy, in his naval Expeditions, ſhall meet any Ships or Veſſels whatſoever, by Sea, either laden or empty, that ſhall refuſe to ſtrike their Sails at the Command of the King's Governor or Admiral, or his Lieutenant, but make Reſiſtance againſt them which belong to his Fleet; that then they are to be reputed Enemies if they may be taken, yea and their Ships and Goods be confiſcated as the Goods of Enemies; and that, though the Maſters or Owners of the Ship ſhall alledge afterwards, that the ſame Ship and Goods do belong to the Friends and Allies of our Lord the King. But that the Perſons, which ſhall be found in this kind of Ships, are to be puniſhed with Impriſonment, at Diſcretion, for their Rebellion[c].

Freſh Troubles ariſing in *France*, ſpirited up by the Diſloyalty of the *Engliſh* Barons, who had in a formal Manner refuſed to aid the King againſt his Enemies[d]. This their Conduct loſt the King the greateſt Part of his Dominions on the Continent; and yet when they were torn from him, theſe Malecontents clamoured at the Loſs.

In the Year 1205, having loſt *Normandy*, the greateſt Part of *Main*, *Tourain*, *Anjou* and *Poictou*, either by the Treachery and Cowardice of his Officers[e], or want of a ſufficient Force to oppoſe the victorious Army of the *French* King, he reſolved to try his Fortune once more on the Continent, and to regain his Dominions. For this Purpoſe it was neceſſary to augment his Navy to ſecure the Coaſt, and a Retreat in caſe of Need, and for Tranſports to carry his Army, which was now to be entirely recruited in *England*. And in Conſequence of this Reſolution we find a Mandate iſſued by this King to the Barons of the Cinque Ports, to preſs all the Ships and Men they could find within the Limits of the *Britiſh* Seas, for his immediate Service[f]. By this Means King *John* preſently found himſelf in Poſſeſſion of a powerful Fleet, manned with 14,000 Sailors[g], which he ordered to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*; to which Place alſo he ſummoned his Barons to meet him about the Beginning of *Lent*[h]: But juſt as he was going to embark, with a numerous Army, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, endeavoured to perſuade him from an Expedition, which they ſaid, he could not expect would be ſucceſsful; and in the Name of the Pope forbad him to proceed[i]. He was forced to ſubmit to their Remonſtrances, though with Reluctance, and having ſent over ſome Succours, under the Command of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, he diſmiſſed the Remainder of his Army, and his Fleet, to the great Diſſatisfaction of his Noblemen and Knights, who had put themſelves to vaſt Expences in Expectation of an honourable Campaign: But more eſpecially of the Mariners, who had, for this Deſign, brought their Ships from the utmoſt Parts of the Kingdom. The King himſelf, vexed at the Diſappointment, put to Sea, with a ſmall Company; but after cruizing about two or three Days, returned and landed at *Stogden*, near *Warham* in *Dorſetſhire*[k]. However he laid a large pecuniary Fine upon thoſe Earls, Barons, Knights, and Clergy, that refuſed to follow him for the Recovery of his Inheritance.

This ſeems to have been a Maſter-piece of *French* Policy, by engaging the Pope, and thoſe leading Counſellors of King *John*, to ſet aſide ſo well an appointed Force, to gain Time to recruit and provide againſt the like Attempt to recover *Normandy*, &c. or to give ſo great a Diſguſt to the Mariners, as to prevent his ever being able to aſſemble ſuch a naval Force for the future. But be that as it will, it muſt demonſtrate to us the Greatneſs of our maritime Force in thoſe Days, and convince us that the Marine was then under wiſe Regulations, or it would have been impoſſible to have drawn ſuch a Number of Seamen together on board the King's Ships in ſo ſhort a Time. And theſe Regulations had ſo good an Effect, that we find he thereby always kept the Affections of the Sailors, who in all his Misfortunes ſtuck cloſe by him, made him triumph over all his Enemies at home and abroad, and have left us as a Proof that the Kings of *England* will always be ſecure on the Throne while they are ſupported by a powerful Fleet, though in many Inſtances they have been undone by truſting to an Army.

John's Diſappointment at *Portſmouth* gave the *French* more Spirits, and a more ſure Poſſeſſion of their Conqueſts; but at the ſame Time rouzed him to a Reſolution, at all Events, to renew his Armaments, and to try the Fortune of another Campain for the Recovery of his Inheritance. So that next Year, on the 25th of *June*, he once more embarked on a large Fleet, with a conſiderable Army at *Portſmouth*[l], which landed at *Rochel* on the 7th of *July*, and with incredible Rapidity reduced the Province of *Poictou*. But in the midſt of his Succeſs, he was over-reached by *Philip*, and perſwaded by certain Prelates, who undertook to mediate, and to ſettle the Diſputes between them, to agree to a Truce for two Years[m].

The Affairs on the Continent being thus ſettled for the preſent, *John* prepared for the total Reduction of *Ireland*, which was continually harraſſed by the Devaſtations and Cruelties committed by the native *Iriſh*, who had never acknowledged the Sovereignty of *England*. Which Expedition required not only a numerous Army; but a large Fleet; both which his Majeſty levied with incredible Diligence; and the Fleet conſiſted of at leaſt 500 Sail. With this Force King *John* departed from *Milford* Haven near *Pembroke*, in *Wales*[n]. And this prodigious Fleet ſo terrified the Towns on the *Iriſh* Shore, that the Inhabitants came immediately on his Landing[o], and ſwore Fealty to him at *Dublin*. From this Epocha we date the Union of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to that of *England*; for *John* did not leave it till he had entirely ſubdued their King *Connaught*, forced all the petty Princes either to his Obedience, or to quit the Realm; ordered that Kingdom to be, for the future, governed by *Engliſh* Laws; appointed civil Officers, as well as military, and conſtituted *John de Gray* Governor of the Iſland[p]. A Conqueſt principally, if not entirely owing to his Fleet, without which he could not have expected any Succeſs in the fluctuating Situation of his domeſtic Affairs; and againſt a People who were not deſtitute of Shipping.

During his Abſence on this glorious Expedition, whoſe good Effects are felt to this very Time; his diſaffected Barons ſtirred up a Rebellion in *Wales*, and invited the King of *France* to invade *England*. As for the *Welch*, he hanged up their Hoſtages[q], and would have laid their Country deſolate, had he not diſcovered the Treachery of his Barons, who had formed a Deſign to betray him to the Enemy, in caſe he proceeded to Extremities[r]; being content to take Hoſtages of thoſe Noblemen whom he had moſt Reaſon to ſuſpect.

But the *French* Invaſion, concerted between the Pope and the diſcontented Barons, and Churchmen, was not ſo eaſily blown over[*]. The Pope, at the Petition of certain Eccleſiaſticks, who cried that the Church was in Danger by the King's Oppreſſions, pretended to depoſe *John* from his Kingdom, gave the *Engliſh* Crown to *Philip* King of *France*, and his Heirs for ever, on Condition that *Philip* would take up Arms to dethrone him; abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance; and promiſed Salvation to as many as would aſſiſt *Philip* in this Invaſion.

Philip pleaſed with ſo noble a Preſent, and backed with ſuch intereſting Powers, was preſently at the Head of a prodigious Army; and a Fleet of 1300 Sail to tranſport his Forces into *England*[s]: Which obliged *John* to prepare for his Reception. He ſummoned his whole Strength both by Sea and Land; and was ſo ſpeedily furniſhed both with an Army and Navy capable of meeting the Enemy, that he was obliged to diſmiſs great Numbers of Voluntiers for Want of Proviſions; and upon muſtering up his Forces, it was found that his Army conſiſted of 60,000 effective

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[a] Hoveden. [b] Selden's Mare Clauſum. [c] See the Introduction, p. vii. [d] Ann. Burton, A. D. 1200. [e] Walſingh. [f] See Introduction, p. viii. [g] Hoveden. [h] A. D. 1206. [i] Hoveden, in Cogſhal. [k] M. Paris. [l] Matt. Paris. Ann. Waverl Holinſh. [m] Matt. Paris. [n] Matt. Paris, Hoveden, Hackluit. [o] 25 May, 1210. [p] Ann. Hibern. Nich. Trivet, Matt. Paris, Walſingham. [q] Matt. Paris, R. Wendover. [r] Matt. Paris. [*] Matt. Paris, Trivet, W. Weſtm. Polydor. Virg. [s] A. D. 1212. Mezeray, Vol. II. Matt. Paris, Trivet, Ann. Vol. I.

Men, encamped on *Barnham Downs*; an Army, ſays *Matthew Paris*, had they been well affected to their King and Country, capable of repelling any Force that could land in *England*; and his Fleet, that covered the Coaſt, far exceeded that of *France*. In this Poſture *John* waited the Approach of the *French*, who waited only for a fair Wind, as pretended; but, as appears more probable (from the Interpoſition of the Pope's Legate, who came in the Interim to King *John*, to offer his Compromiſe) were afraid to venture the Iſſue of a Battle, that might be attended with bad Conſequences to *France*, the *Engliſh* Armament having exceeded all Expectations. *John* fearing the Treachery of his Barons [a], was prevailed upon to ſubmit himſelf and Kingdom to the See of *Rome*, on Condition, that *Philip* ſhould be prohibited to proceed in his Expedition againſt *England* [b].

Thus ended *Philip*'s Attempt upon *England*. But having ſuſpected that the Earl of *Flanders* had ſecretly correſponded with King *John*; he, therefore, ordered his Fleet to ſail to the Coaſts of *Flanders*, and he himſelf followed with his Army by Land. And the Earl of *Flanders* being thus attacked upon King *John*'s Account, he could in Honour do no leſs than haſten to his Aid. To this End he ſent him a Fleet, conſiſting of five Hundred Sail, commanded by *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*; his Brother *William* Duke of *Holland*; and *Reginald* Earl of *Boulogne*. They met with the *French* Fleet on the Coaſt near *Dam*, a City of *Flanders*, and obtained a ſignal Victory over it; and then, landing their Forces, they obliged the *French* to retire, after having ſuſtained a conſiderable [c] Loſs. Father *Daniel*, in his Account of this Sea-fight, in which, however, he quotes *Matth. Paris*, allows, that three Hundred Sail of *French* Ships, moſt of them of Burden, and filled with Ammunition and Proviſion, were taken, and above a Hundred more either ſtranded, or burnt by the *Engliſh* and *Flemmings*, as they were endeavouring to eſcape. (*A. D.* 1213.) He adds, that they came afterwards and blocked up the Remainder of the *French* Fleet in the Canal and Port of *Dam*, and that the King, being deprived of all Hopes of ſaving them, ordered them to be diveſted of whatever was portable, and afterwards burnt, leſt they ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh*.

THUS were all *Philip*'s great Projects defeated, and he obliged to relinquiſh his Undertaking, and return Home, not a little enraged as well at King *John*, as the Pope, who had made him his Dupe to ſerve his own Ends [d]. *John*, on the contrary, was ſo elate upon this Succeſs, that he reſolved to carry the War into *France*: He ordered his Troops to march to *Portſmouth*, and his Fleet to meet him there: But juſt as he was going to embark, the Barons let him know, that they could not go with him, 'till he was abſolved from [e] his Excommunication. This, however, was but an Excuſe, for after the Abſolution it was the ſame Thing; they then pretended they wanted Money.

However, King *John* reſolved again, (*A. D.* 1214.) to carry the War into *France*, while the Earl of *Flanders* kept the *French* at Bay in the *Netherlands* [f]. He fitted out a Fleet, embarked at *Portſmouth* in *February*, and ſailed for *Rochel*, landed his Troops there about the Beginning of *Lent*. He, at firſt, gained ſome Advantages over the *French*; but *Philip* ſending his Son *Lewis*, with *Henry Clement*, Marſhal of *France*, at the Head of a conſiderable Army, King *John* was driven from all his Conqueſts, and obliged to retreat, the greater Part of his Army having been defeated. In this Year it is, that *M. Paris* places the ſcandalous Ambaſſy, which, he ſays, King *John* ſent to *Miramumelin* the *Moor*, the great King of *Africa*, *Morocco*, and *Spain*, who was then the Terror of all *Chriſtendom*, offering to reſign his Crown, and to become tributary to him, and to turn *Mahometan*, if he would lend him a ſufficient Aid to accompliſh his Deſigns, (againſt the Pope and his Barons.) Some Authors have attempted to ridicule this Relation as a Monkiſh Fiction, invented to diſgrace the Memory of a King ſo much hated by the Clergy: But when we conſider that this Author wrote in the Reign of this King's Son; and relates the Names of the Ambaſſadors, the Words of their Commiſſion; a Deſcription of the *Mooriſh* Prince's Perſon, Guard, and Palace; the Diſcourſe he held with *John*'s Ambaſſadors, and the Diſdain with which he rejected the Offer; as alſo the Provocation given by the Pope and his Adherents; there is very little Doubt to be made of its Veracity.

Upon his Return into *England*, which happened in *November*, that ſame Year, the Barons, ſtrengthened by the Misfortunes of their Prince, had drawn their Demands into Form; and they inſiſted ſo peremptorily on his Royal Confirmation of them, that there was no Alternative left to his Majeſty, but either to comply, or put the Iſſue to the Fate of a civil War. He inclined to the Latter, but his Finances were ſo exhauſted, and the Event of a War with his Barons ſo hazardous to himſelf, and ruinous to his Subjects, that he granted all they aſked in the great Charter, which to this Day is called *Magna Charta*, and the Baſis of the Liberties of this Nation [g].

Had *John* reſted contented after this Agreement, it is probable the reſt of his Reign might have been ſpent in Peace: But repenting of his Condeſcenſion, he involved himſelf in a new and more deſperate War with his Nobles, by revoking the ſaid Charter, or at leaſt refuſing to comply with the Contents; by which he forfeited his Royal Word, and drew upon himſelf ſuch a Force, that obliged him to fly to the *Iſle of Wight*, and commit his Perſon to the Protection of his Sailors, who never forſook him in all his Diſtreſſes. *Wendover* writes, that finding he could not ſleep ſafe aſhore, the King took Sanctuary in his Ships, and by harraſſing the Eſtates of his Enemies along the Coaſt, and ſeizing the Veſſels of his diſloyal Subjects, he ſupported himſelf and thoſe few Loyaliſts who took Part in his Misfortunes [h].

The Barons ſoon perceived the Neceſſity of ſeeking for a Head; for though they united againſt their Sovereign, it was preſently diſcovered, when the Sovereign was driven from the Throne, that ſome of their own Party had Ambition enough to aſpire to the Crown. And by the King's keeping Poſſeſſion of the Navy, it was apparent, that they muſt either call in a ſuperior Power, or that the Trade of the Nation would be ruined, and that in the End *John* would be able, by his Fleet, to chaſtize them for their Diſloyalty. They accordingly invited *Lewis* the Dauphin of *France*, who had married *John*'s Niece, to accept of the Crown of *England* [i]: Which was greedily embraced by the *French* Monarch *Philip*, and his Son; who immediately prepared to paſs the Seas with a Fleet of ſix Hundred tall Ships, and fourſcore Gallies or row Veſſels [k], under the Command of *Euſtachius* an apoſtate Monk [l]. This numerous Fleet ſteering for the Coaſt of *Kent*, arrived firſt at *Steaner* in the Iſle of *Thanet* [m], and thence ſailing to the Coaſt landed the Army at *Sandwich* [n], where the Barons waited their Arrival.

Lewis, to colour this Invaſion and intended Uſurpation, publiſhes a Manifeſto, ſetting forth his Title to the Crown [o]; in which he accuſes *John* of Treaſon againſt his Brother *Richard*, the late King: Denies the Legality of his Title to the Crown of *England* by Election: Alledges that he had been deprived of his Eſtates in *France* by Sentence of the *French* Peers, on Account of Prince *Arthur*'s Death; and that he had violated his Coronation Oath by ſurrendering the Kingdom to the Pope, wronging the Clergy, and oppreſſing the Laity. Then he aſſerts his own Title; firſt, in Right of his Wife; and ſecondly, by the Election of the Nobility.

King *John* had alſo provided a gallant Navy, which waited for the Enemy at *Dover* [p], and a powerful Army; but the Wind turning about ſuddenly to the North, and blowing a very hard Storm, when it was under Sail to attack the Enemy, it was driven to the South, and thereby prevented from falling upon *Lewis*'s Fleet on the *Kentiſh* Coaſt. As for his Army, as it conſiſted chiefly of ſtipendary Foreigners [q], better affected to *Lewis*, a foreign Prince, than to him, he found it more adviſeable to withdraw towards *Wincheſter* [r], than to riſque his Crown to the Fidelity and Courage of hireling Forces. So that leaving ſtrong Garriſons in *Dover* and other Caſtles on that Coaſt, he marched to *Wincheſter*, where he was joined by a greater Number of his own Subjects, that diſapproved of their *French* Intruder, than was expected: And with a Force ſuperior to his Enemies, and ſays *Speed* breaking out like a mighty Tempeſt, over-run the Country all about, to the Ruin of the Barons Caſtles and Poſſeſſions every where[a]. Thus he travers'd the Country, and carried the Booty raiſed on the Eſtates of his Enemies, to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, which had ſtuck cloſe to his Intereſt in the worſt of Times. From hence it was determined to march in queſt of the Rebels and the *French* Army[b]: But in paſſing the Marſhes with his Army, and Carriages heavy loaden, towards *Lincolnſhire*, his Treaſure, Proviſions, and Ammunition, were entirely loſt in the Sands[c], and himſelf and Army eſcaped with great Difficulty to *Newark*, where he died of Poiſon given to him in his Drink, by a Monk of the *Ciſtertian* Order, at *Swineſhed* Abbey[d].

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[a] Rog. de Wend. Matt. Paris. [b] Trivet, Matt. Paris. Hob. of Glouceſter's Chron. [c] M. Paris. Ypodigm. Walſingh. F. Daniel. Æmilius. [d] Rapin. [e] M. Paris. Knighton. [f] M. Paris. F. Daniel. [g] Mezeray, Matt. Paris. [h] Wendover. [i] A. D. 1215. Wendover, Paris, Æmilius. [k] Matt. Paris. [l] Trivet. [m] Matt. Weſtm. [n] Trivet. [o] Tho Sprot. [p] Stow's Ann. [q] Matt. Weſtm. [r] Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Min.

The State of Commerce in this Period of Time, though our Monkiſh Authors, who were the only Writers in thoſe Ages, thought it not worth their Attention, may be collected from ſeveral Circumſtances in the foregoing Hiſtory, and ſhewn to have been more conſiderable, than ſome of our modern Critics will allow: For, as it has been obſerved before, if an Increaſe of Riches in a Nation is an Argument for its Increaſe of Trade; and if an Increaſe of Seamen be allowed a Proof of the Increaſe of Navigation; it muſt be granted that the Trade and Navigation of *England* did thrive very much, notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements they met with from foreign Enemies, and domeſtic Broils.

It was thought a very large Sum for *Henry* I. after a Reign of 35 Years, to leave in his Coffers 100,000 *l.* at his Death: But his Grandſon *Henry* II. who reigned ſome Months leſs, left nine Times that Sum[e], in Specie; beſides Plate, Jewels, and precious Stones; and expended great Sums in the Holy War. And yet it does not appear that he oppreſſed his Subjects for Money more than his Grandſire had done. If then Coin or ready Money be the *Pulſe* of a State; the higher it beats, the richer we may pronounce the Body politic where it abounds. And the Authorities of *William* of *Malmeſbury*, and the Treaty between *Henry* II. and *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, Emperor of *Germany*, in the Year 1157, will add Weight to our Argument.

William of *Malmeſbury*[f], who died in 1142, in the Reign of King *Stephen*, mentioning the City of *London*, writes, that it was then famous for Commerce, and crowded with Merchants from all Nations; but eſpecially from *Germany*; foreign Wares being brought up to the City by the famous River *Thames*. And mentioning the Town of *Briſtol*, he writes: "Here is a Haven or Port where the Ships that "come from *Ireland*, *Norway*, or any other foreign Port "may ſafely ride; that a Country ſo bleſſed with the rich "Produce of its Soil, ſhould not be deprived of the royal "Traffic of foreign Commodities ."

The Treaty with the Emperor runs in theſe Words,— "Let there be therefore, between us and our Subjects a "perpetual Unity of Peace and Amity, and ſafe Trade in "Merchandiſe[g]."

What could have ſupplied the continual and large Demands of *Richard* upon his Subjects, had the Trade of the Nation been upon the Decline? Or where could he have been furniſhed with that fine Fleet in his Expedition againſt the Infidels, had the Navigation been neglected? The Years 1195 and 1196 the People of *England* contributed one Million, one hundred thouſand Marks[h], which Sum is equal to eleven Millions at this Time; and more, ſays Dr. *Davenant*, than was really levied on the People in any two Years of King *William* III's War[i]. All which Riches, that enabled the Subject to ſupply the Exigences of the State with ſuch large Sums of Money, could be acquired no other Ways than by a foreign Trade, which took off the Produce and Manufactures of our own Nation, exported in very large Quantities, and vended at extraordinary Rates in foreign Markets.

The very Taxes and Extortions under King *John*, and the great Number of Seamen he conſtantly kept in Pay, evidence the Riches and Trade of the Nation. It was a Complaint againſt him, that he had in a few Years extorted 66,000 *l.* from the *Ciſtercian* Monks; and obliged the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* to purchaſe his Enlargement from a Priſon, for the Price of 22,000 Marks: Which could never have been amaſſed by thoſe Eccleſiaſticks, had there been no Trade in the Nation to bring in Riches from thoſe Countries that bought our Merchandiſe with Silver and Gold. Had this unfortunate King neglected the Navigation, he could never have preſerved the Affections of the Seamen, and the Inhabitants of the Sea Ports, *London* only excepted; becauſe this Monarch favoured the Out-ports more than his Capitol. And there is extant a Record in the *Tower*[k], dated the firſt Year of his Reign, that confirms his great Regard for the Trade of the Nation: In which he writes thus:

"*John*, by the Grace of God, *&c.* To the Mayor and "Commonalty of the City of *London*, greeting: Know ye "that it is our Will that all Merchants from what Parts of "the World ſoever they come, ſhall have a ſafe Conduct "or Paſs to go and return with their Wares into *England*. "We further will that they ſhall enjoy the ſame Quiet "and Protection in *England*, as the Merchants which go "from *England* to traffic enjoy in foreign Countries. And "therefore we command you, that you cauſe this our Will "and Pleaſure to be made known in your Bailiwicke, and "to be ſtrictly obſerved, permitting them to go and come "without Lett or Hindrance, according to the due, right, "and uſual Cuſtoms in your Bailiwicke: Witneſs *Geoffrey* "*Fitz-Peter*, Earl of *Eſſex*, at *Kineford*, 5 Day of *April*."

The ſame Form was ſent to the Sheriff of *Suſſex*, to the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Wincheſter*; to the Bailiffs of *Southampton*, *Lynn*, and *Kent*; to the Sheriffs of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*, *Southamptonſhire*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Cornwall* and *Devon*; and to the Barons of the Cinque Ports.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and the State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, *during the Reigns of* HENRY III, EDWARD I, EDWARD II, EDWARD III, *and* RICHARD II.

THIS untimely Death of King *John* deprived him of the Pleaſure, which the Repentance of his Barons would have given him, had he lived but a few Days longer. *Lewis* gave them ſuch Diſguſt by his Behaviour, which diſcovered a Diſtruſt in their Councils, and an Ingratitude for their Services, by adviſing only with his *French* Attendants, and confining his Favours to thoſe of his own Nation, that they found themſelves in worſe Circumſtances than under the King they had rejected. In this Diſtreſs their Jealouſies were greatly heightened, and the Heads of the Faction were convinced, for their own Safety, that it was neceſſary for them to throw themſelves upon the Mercy of their lawful Sovereign, and to replace him on his Throne. For *Vincent de Melum*, a noble *Frank* of great Credit with *Lewis*, on his Death-bed, with his departing Breath, had warned them to prepare for their own Safety; for that it had been reſolved by *Lewis*, and himſelf, with 15 more *French* Chiefs and Barons, to baniſh all thoſe who had invited him to the Crown, and utterly to extirpate all their Kindred out of the Land, as Traitors to their Sovereign, as ſoon as the Crown of *England* was once ſettled on his Head[l].

However this paved the Way to the Throne for *Henry* III. *John*'s eldeſt Son, by *Iſabel* his laſt Wife, and about ten Years Old at his Father's Death[m]. For though *Lewis* inſiſted

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[a] Wendover, Speed Chron. p. 516. [b] Trivet. Walſingh. [c] Matt. Paris. [d] See this proved at large in Speed's Chron. p. 516, *&c.*
[e] 900,000 *l.* Matt. Paris. [f] Lib. ii. [g] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 128. [h] Hoveden, Robert de Brune's Chron. [i] Davenant's Grants and Reſumptions, p. 112. [k] Anno 1 Regis Joannis, Record Turn. [l] Id. ibid. [m] A. D. 1216, Neuſt.

Inſiſted upon a Renewal of their Homage after the Death of King *John*, and was poſſeſſed of moſt of the ſtrong Holds in the Kingdom, garriſoned by *French* Troops, and ſupported by a foreign Army entirely at his Devotion, the Barons abſolutely refuſed; proclaimed King *John*'s Son by the Name of *Henry* III. committed him to the Care of *William Marſhall* Earl of *Pembroke*; and with incredible Celerity raiſed a formidable Army, which routed the *French* Army at *Lincoln*, that conſiſted of 20,000 Men[a].

This Victory quite ruined *Lewis*'s Intereſt; which was ſtill more abated by his immediately withdrawing to *France*, to ſolicit a Reinforcement to maintain his Ground. For many of the Barons, who adhered to him before, took this Opportunity to reconcile themſelves to their new King. So that the *French* Faction was almoſt expiring[b] when he returned to *England* with a powerful Recruit, convoyed by a Fleet of eighty ſtout Ships, beſides Tranſports: A Fleet much ſuperior to what the Royaliſts were then able to fit out. But what could not be expected from Numbers and Force, was attempted by Art and Stratagem. The Cinque Ports had manned forty good Ships[c]; this was all the Strength the Royaliſts had to oppoſe the *French* Fleet. But the *Engliſh* Navy getting the Wind of their Enemies, run down, with their Iron Prows or Beaks of their Gallies, the *French* Tranſports, and ſunk them with all their Soldiers; and by emptying Heaps of unſlacked Lime on their Decks in the Wind, which blew very briſkly in the Enemies Faces, ſo as in a manner to blind them, they prevented the tall Ships from laying them on-board. By which means *Lewis* was deprived of his Forces; and the few Ships that eſcaped were of no Service, but to carry him the News of their Miſcarriage, he having gone before with a choice Corps to ſecure the City of *London*[d].

Among the Priſoners was the famous *Euſtace*, the Monk, a *Flemming* by Birth, who having quitted the Cowl, turned Pirate, and had, in particular, done great Damage to the *Engliſh* Nation. He offered great Sums of Gold for his Life, but they were refuſed, and *Richard*, a Baſtard Son of King *John*, cut off his Head, and ſent it to his Brother. The Spoil taken in this Engagement was very conſiderable, and the Fleet returned laden with Riches and Honour[e].

Selden[f] draws an Argument from this Action to confirm our Dominion of the Seas; and ſays *Philip d' Albeny*, and *John Marſhal* carefully guarded the Paſſages of the Sea. The ſame Author, ſpeaking of this Engagement, ſays, "the *French* had not been uſed to Sea-fights; but the "*Engliſh* being warlike, and ſkilled in Sea-fights, galled "the *French*, with Darts and Arrows, ran them through "with their Lances, did Execution with their Swords, "ſunk their Ships, and blinded them with Lime: Inſo"much that they were deprived of all Hope of Relief and "Succour, and knew not which Way to fly." Which is elegantly deſcribed by *M. Paris*[g].

The *Engliſh* Fleet fluſhed with Victory, made the beſt of their Courſe for the *Downs*, and blocked up the Mouth of the *Thames*. Which completed *Lewis*'s Deſtruction. For finding himſelf abandoned by the Barons, deprived of his Fleet, and ſhut up in a large City without either Army or Neceſſaries to hold out againſt a powerful Enemy in Poſſeſſion of the whole Nation, and the Sea Coaſt, he ſued for Peace; and obtained Security for his own Perſon, and Indemnity for all his Followers and Adherents, except the *Welſh*[h], on Condition, "that he ſhould ſtand to the Judg"ment of the Church, and remain true to the ſame: That "he ſhould forthwith depart the Kingdom of *England*, "and never more return again in a hoſtile Manner: That "he ſhould uſe the beſt of his Endeavours to prevail with "his Father to yield up to King *Henry* all ſuch Eſtates in "*France* as had formerly belonged to the Kings of *Eng*"*land*: That *Lewis*, ſucceeding to his Father's Crown, "would quietly part with them: And that *Lewis* ſhould "immediately yield up to King *Henry* all Holds and Places "taken in the War[i]." And having ſworn to perform theſe Covenants, the Earl of *Pembroke* conducted him ſafe to the Sea Side, and ſent him out of the Realm. An inconteſtable Proof, that this Iſland can never be invaded while we preſerve Unanimity among ourſelves, Allegiance to our King, and maintain a Superiority by Sea.

The interior Tranquillity of the Realm being thus provided for, thoſe excellent Men, who had hitherto conducted the King's Affairs, and brought both him and the Nation out of all Difficulties and Diſtractions, endeavour to cultivate a Correſpondence with foreign States in the Way of Commerce; as the ſeveral Inſtruments to be mentioned, in their proper Places, will ſhew at large. And to employ thoſe martial Genius's, which might diſturb the public Tranquillity for want of proper Employment at home, his Majeſty gave ſeveral of his Nobles Leave to take the Croſs, and try their Courage againſt the Infidels in the *Holy Land*[k]. Amongſt whom were the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Exeter*[l]; and the Earls of *Cheſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Arundel*[m]; whoſe Followers together were not leſs than 40,000 *Engliſh* Men at one Time in *Syria*, few of whom ever returned to their native Soil[n].

But notwithſtanding all this Precaution againſt the reſtleſs Barons, *Robert de Gaugi*, renewed the Rebellion in the North; and fortifying the ſtrong Caſtle of *Newark* upon *Trent*, which was a Fee of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, held out a Siege of eight Days againſt the Crown Army, commanded by the great Earl of *Pembroke*; and then ſurrendered on very advantageous Conditions for himſelf[o].

Every Thing proſpered in Favour of the King during the Life and Government of this Earl, his Governor; but after his Death, both the King and the Realm ſeverely felt his Loſs. Had he lived a few Years longer, *France* would have been forced to perform the Conditions promiſed by *Lewis*: But neither *Philip* nor *Lewis* himſelf would hearken to the Demands of *Henry*, after the Earl's Death. On the contrary, they ſtirred up new Troubles both in *England* and *Wales*, to prevent the King of *England*'s aſſerting his Claim to the Dominions of his Forefathers on the Continent, in a proper and effectual Manner. However it was at laſt reſolved[p] to drop fruitleſs Negotiations, and to make a vigourous Effort to compel *Lewis*, who had now ſucceeded to his Father's Crown, to ſtand to his ſolemn Covenant. The Nation approved of the Reſolution, were ready to aſſiſt him, and the Parliament voted him Supplies equal to the Undertaking.

By theſe Means a prodigious Army was raiſed from *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, as well as *England*: But when it reached *Portſmouth*, the Place deſtined for its Embarkation, his Majeſty was obliged to diſband it, for want of Tranſports. A Miſtake charged upon *Hubert de Burgo*, who had the Management of the Fleet, as Lord High-admiral of *England*; and accuſed by the King himſelf of taking a Bribe of 5000 Marks from the Queen Dowager of *France*, to ſet aſide that Expedition. *Matthew Paris* aſcribes another Reaſon, and ſays, that this Embarkation was deferred till Spring by the Advice of *Henry* Earl of *Bretagne*, the Year being too far ſpent[q]. But be that as it will, the People murmured greatly at the Loſs of ſo much public Money; and his Majeſty's Reputation ſuffered greatly.

In the Spring he reſumed the Expedition, embarked at *Portſmouth* on the thirtieth of *April* 1229[r]; and landed at St. *Malo*'s on the third of *May*. Every Thing indicated Succeſs to the *Engliſh* Arms. The Earl of *Bretagne* put all his ſtrong Towns and Fortreſſes into *Henry*'s Hands. The *Normans* revolted in his Favour; and the *Poictavines* paid him Homage at *Gaſcoigne*[s]. But *Henry* hearkened ſo much to the treacherous or weak Councils of *Hubert de Burgo*, who had regained his Majeſty's Confidence, and kept him in a State of Inactivity; or his natural Propenſity to Luxury, Prodigality and Eaſe, ſo baniſhed from his Thoughts the chief End of his Expedition, that after conſuming both his Time and his Money in pompous and fruitleſs Entertainments, his Forces were ſo debilitated with Debauchery, and the *French* had brought ſuch a ſuperior Army into the Field, that he returned to *England* in *October* following, without daring to look the Enemy in the Face[a]: Having provided for the Safety of *Bretagne* by leaving a ſufficient Force therein under the Earls of *Cheſter*, *Pembroke* and *Aumarl*, to defend it againſt the Reſentment of *Lewis*. Thus ended an Expedition that was ſupported by the whole Treaſure and Inclination of the *Engliſh*, and that promiſed the greateſt Advantages to the Nation; but by Miſmanagement ſerved only to render *Henry* contemptible in the Eyes of his Subjects, and ever after to deprive him of their Confidence. For it was a long Time before they would hearken to any Project propoſed by him againſt *France*: The ambitious Lords made a Handle of their Diſaffection to compel him to ſubmit to their Demands; the *Iriſh* attempted to revolt, and the *Welch* made Inroads upon the Borders with great Cruelty and Bloodſhed upon the innocent and defenceleſs Inhabitants.

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[a] A. D. 1217. [b] Trivet, Ann. Matt. Paris, Mezeray, Vol. II. [c] Wendover, Matt. Paris. [d] Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. I. p. 221. Matt. Paris, Waverl, Hemingſ. [e] Holinſh. An. Waverl. Hemingſ. M. Paris. [f] Mare Clauſ. [g] Fit graviſſimus inter Partes conflictus, ſed Pars Francorum, quorum uſus non fuerat prælium navale conſerere, in brevi erat funditus infirmata. Nam ab *Anglis* bellatoribus, & in marino prælio eruditis, telis confodiebantur & ſagittis, lanceis perfodiebantur, cultellis ingulabantur, gladiis trucidabantur, navibus perforatis mergebantur, calce cæcabantur, ſpes auxilii & ſuccurſus penitus evacuabatur, fuga non patebat: Unde multi, ne caperentur ab hoſtibus vivi, ſeſe ſponte in maris fluctibus projecerunt, eligentes potius mori, quam arbitrio & voluntate adverſariorum tractari. [h] Pow. Hiſt. Cambr. p. 278. [i] This was dated on the 11th of Sept. 1217. [k] Walſingh. Matt. Paris, Waverl. [l] Who went off in 1227. [m] In 1218. [n] Holinſh. [o] Matt. Paris. [p] A. D. 1228, Holinſhed, Matt. Paris, Matt. Weſtm. [q] At Michaelmas. [r] Matt. Paris, Twikes, Waverl. [s] Polydor. Virg. Lib. Stat. ad Annum regni 20 Hen. III.

Theſe Affairs found *Henry* Employment at Home for many Years, and hindered his Thoughts concerning foreign Projects, and even prevented his Attention towards the Royal Navy, which from this Time was ſuffered to decline very much; tho' while *Hubert de Burgo* remained at the Head of the Adminiſtration, there ſeems to have been great Care taken of the national Commerce, without which the Miniſtry could not have raiſed thoſe conſiderable Sums employed in foreign Expeditions or Campaigns, in one of which he carried over thirty large Caſks of Specie; nor the Nobles that undertook the *Croiſade*, could have raiſed ſuch mighty Sums by mortgaging their Eſtates, which they ſpent in foreign Parts. Amongſt theſe was *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother[b], whoſe Ambition picked his Pocket alſo of much Treaſure to purchaſe for him the Title of King of the *Romans*.

In the Year 1242 *Henry* re-aſſumed the Project of reducing *Gaſcoigne*, by his Mother's Perſuaſions[c], and declared War againſt *France*; and with great Difficulty prevailed with the Parliament to grant him a Supply of Money for renewing the War on the Continent. The King embarked with a ſmall Force, but with a large Sum of Money, in thirty Hogſheads or Barrels[d]; accompanied by his Brother *Richard*, returned with much Honour from the *Holy land*, ſeven other Earls, and about 300 Knights, beſides Soldiers. They ſailed from *Portſmouth* on the 15th of *May*, and landed at *Xaintogne*, where he was joined by many Gentlemen of *Poictou*.

This Expedition alſo promiſed much Succeſs to the *Engliſh* Arms: The *French* King voluntarily offered to give up *Poictou* and great Part of *Normandy*, provided *Henry* would not protect the Earl of *Marche*, and his other Enemies. But theſe Terms being rejected in favour of the Earl, who had married the Queen Dowager, *Henry's* Mother; and the Earl deſpairing of his effectual Succour to deliver him out of his preſent Embroilment with *Lewis*, having privately made his Peace with the *French* Monarch, King *Henry* not only had the Mortification to ſee the whole Province of *Poictou* revolt from his Allegiance, but was obliged to fly before the *French* Army, and was in the greateſt Danger, with his whole Army, of being ſurpriſed by the Enemy in the City of *Xaintogne*[e]. Thus this Campaign ended with as little Honour to *Henry*, and Satisfaction to his Subjects, as that in 1229.

Theſe Loſſes, and the Neglect of the Marine, brought the King's Councils and Government into ſuch Contempt, and expoſed the Navigation ſo openly to the Inſults of Enemies and Pirates, that the Cinque-ports were not able to guard the Coaſt without applying for Aid from other Parts of the Kingdom. The *Normans*, the *Scots*, the *Iriſh*, and the *Welch*, (*William Marſhall*, a diſcontented Courtier, fortified himſelf on the Iſland of *Lundy*, in the Mouth of the *Severn*,) and others of like ſort interrupted the Navigation and Trade of the Nation, and pillaged the Inhabitants on the Coaſt[f]. However theſe Inſults awakened the Government ſo as to ſpur them on to reſtore the Royal Navy; as will appear in the next Paragraph.

Henry in the Year 1253 pretended to undertake an Expedition againſt the *Saracens*, and under that Colour obtained a conſiderable Parliamentary Aid, on condition that he ſhould confirm *Magna Charta*, and promiſe to govern according to Law, and maintain the Liberties of his Subjects[g]. But he laid it out in Preparations for a War in *Guienne*. When all was ready he went to *Portſmouth*, where he had ordered his Troops to meet him, and embarking the 6th of *Auguſt*, with a Fleet of 300 large Ships, beſides leſſer Veſſels, arrived the 15th at *Bourdeaux*. This Expedition was deſigned to reduce the rebellious *Gaſcons*, who were upheld by *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*. In this *Henry* ſucceeded, and a Peace was made between him and *Alphonſo*, by the Marriage of Prince *Edward*, *Henry's* eldeſt Son, with *Eleanor*, *Alphonſo's* Siſter. The Marriage being ſolemnized the Year following[h], *Henry* prepared to return to *England*. But having aſked Leave of the King of *France* to paſs through his Dominions, went firſt with his whole Court to *Paris*, where they were magnificently entertained for eight Days together.

Matthew of *Weſtminſter*, and after him our Hiſtorian *Holinſhed*, under this Year relates a moſt remarkable Story, which, as it falls within the Plan of our Marine Hiſtory, I ſhall give in the Author's own Words. "About this "Seaſon, ſays *Holinſhed*, were certain Ships driven by "Force of Wind and Weather, into certain Havens, on "the North Coaſts of *England*, towards *Berwick*, which "Ships were of a very ſtrange Form and Faſhion, but "mighty and ſtrong. The Men that were aboard the ſame "Ships were of ſome far Country, for their Language was "unknown, and not underſtandable to any Man that could "be brought to talk with them. The Freight and Ballaſt "of the Ships were Armour and Weapons, as Habergeons, "Helmets, Spears, Bows, Arrows, Croſs-bows and Darts, "with great Store of Victuals. There lay alſo without the "Havens, on the Coaſts, diverſe other Ships of like Form, "Mold, and Faſhion. Thoſe that were driven into the "Havens were ſtayed for a Time by the Bailiffs of the "Ports. But finally, when it could not be known what they "were, nor from whence they came, they were licenſed "to depart, without Loſs or Harm, in Body or Goods."

The remaining ſeventeen Years of this King's long Reign were chiefly ſpent in Civil-wars with his Barons, and the troubleſome, as well as chargeable Affair of *Sicily*, which afford little or no Matter for this Hiſtory. I ſhall therefore only hint, that in the Year 1260, King *Henry* went over into *France*, and demanded the Reſtitution of *Normandy*. But inſtead of purſuing his Right by Force of Arms, he was prevailed upon to quit all Claim to that Duchy and *Anjou*, for an inconſiderable Sum of Money. From this Time he omitted the Title of Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*, in his Grants and Patents, as may be ſeen in the *Acta Regia*.

Henry is ſaid to have, on this Occaſion, ſpent ſome time in Pleaſure at *Paris*[i], where the *French* Court fed his Inclinations with ſplendid Entertainments and the Vices of the Age. But he met with a quite oppoſite Reception on his Arrival in *England*. The Murmurings of his Subjects were improved into Complaints, and railing Accuſations againſt his Conduct, which was for ever draining their Purſes, and miſapplying their Money. The very Sailors, and Sea-ports, which had diſtinguiſhed their Loyalty in his Father's Miſfortunes, were ſo diſguſted with *Henry's* Neglect of his Marine, which after the Death of *Hubert de Burgo* was no longer regarded, that they alſo deſerted him; and the *Cinque Ports* interpreting that the Service of the Kingdom, was the Service of the Crown, join'd their Fleet to the diſguſted Barons[k]. And by this Diſſention between them and the Crown, the Coaſts of this Kingdom were again infeſted by Pirates; and even the Ships fitted out againſt them by the *Cinque Ports*, taking the Advantage of the Anarchy, forgot their Duty to defend the Subject and the Friends that traded with *England*, licentiouſly and promiſcuouſly plundered all the trading Veſſels they could overcome, and burnt the town of *Portſmouth*.

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[a] Wendov. Matt. Paris. Walſing. Neuſt.
[b] A. D. 1240.
[c] Joan. Tilii. Chron. Matt. Paris.
[d] Cadum.
[e] Matt. Weſtm. Matt. Paris. Trivet.
[f] Matt. Paris.
[g] Matt. Paris. Ann. Burton. Waverl. T. Wikes.
[h] 1254. Matt. Paris. Ann. Waverl. Matt. Weſtm.
[i] Echard.
[k] A. D. 1261.

This Licentiouſneſs of the *Cinque Ports* ſo alarm'd the Nation by putting a Stop to all foreign Trade, which lock'd up our Produce and Manufactures, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to conſtitute a *Lord High-admiral*[a] by the Name of Captain and Guardian of the Sea and maritime Ports; to whom all Ships of War ſhould be ſubject, and anſwerable for their Conduct.

Prince *Edward* was ſent to chaſtiſe them; but reduced them to their Duty, without uſing Force, by aſſuring them of their Pardon, and a Confirmation of their Privileges. If we may, however, believe the Annals of *Waverly*[b], the Prince had an Engagement with the Inhabitants of *Winchelſea*, in which great Numbers of them were either ſlain or drowned, and their Leader, *Henry Pehune*, was taken.

Prince *Edward*, in the midſt of theſe Diſtractions, took the Croſs, in the Year 1268, and being returned from *France*, where he had been to borrow Money to prepare for his Expedition, he in the Year 1270, departed from *Portſmouth*, and took up the Princeſs his Spouſe at *Bourdeaux*. From thence they went together, and embarked about *Michaelmas*, at *Aigues Mortes*, about eighteen Leagues Weſt of *Marſeilles*, where their Fleet of thirteen Ships lay in Expectation of them. He joined the King of *France*, as ſome Authors ſay, before *Tunis*, though others affirm, he never was at that Siege, at all; but having ſpent the Winter in *Sicily*, continued his Voyage to the *Holy Land* in Spring. The King of *France* died ſoon after of the Plague, with one of his Sons, and his other Son *Philip* thought of nothing but returning home. After this *Edward* could not hope to make any great Conqueſts in *Paleſtine*; he purſued, however, his Voyage, and arrived there[c], according to his Vow, with the few Troops he had, which did not amount to above a thouſand ſelect Men[d], though they afterwards were join'd by near ſix thouſand other Chriſtians, and gave the *Saracens* ſuch Proofs of his Valour and Conduct, as let them ſee what they were to expect from him, if he ſhould come with a greater Force: And ſo apprehenſive were they of it, that they hired an Aſſaſſin to murder him. He had the good Fortune, however, to eſcape their Malice, receiving only a Wound by a poiſoned Knife in the Arm, inſtead of the Belly, at which it was aimed. Sickneſs, as well as the Enemy, having greatly diminiſhed *Edward*'s Army, and no Supply being to be hoped, he, much againſt his Will, concluded a Truce with the *Sultan* for ten Years, ten Months, and ten Days, embarked his Troops, and ſet ſail on his Way for *England*[e]; but did not arrive before his Father's Death, which happen'd at *London* on the ſixteenth of *November* in this ſame Year, having reigned ſix and fifty Years and twenty Days, under continual Uneaſineſſes, and with little Honour.

The Trade in this Reign, no doubt ſuffered greatly by the Indolence of the Sovereign, the Commotions in the State, and the pyratical Depredations in the *Britiſh* Seas. Yet in the midſt of all thoſe Confuſions we find there was a Treaty of Peace and Commerce propoſed to *Haquinus* King of *Norway*, in this Form[f]:

“*Henry* by the Grace of God, *&c.* unto *Haquinus*, by the ſame divine Grace, King of *Norway*, Greeting. We give unto your Highneſs unſpeakable Thanks for thoſe Things, which you have made known unto us by your Letters, and by your diſcreet Subject the Abbot of *Liſa*; wherein you expreſs your Willingneſs and earneſt Deſire to enter into a ſolemn League of Peace and Unity with us. And on our Part, we are willing, and ſhall hereafter be willing, that both our Lands or Countries be open for both our Subjects; ſo that the Merchants and People of your Dominons may freely and without Impediment reſort into our Territories; and that the Merchants, and People under our Allegiance, may reſort for the ſame Purpoſes into your Country. Provided that, for the Confirmation of this Treaty, we do mutually interchange our Letters Patents. Nevertheleſs, in the mean Time, we do will, and freely grant and agree, That the Merchants both of our and your Dominions may go, come and return to and from, both our Dominions. And if you can deviſe in what manner we ſhall be able to do you any Service, you may freely ſignify the ſame unto us. We detain your Ambaſſador, the Abbot aforeſaid, in order, to the beſt of our Ability, to cauſe Reſtitution to be made for your Ship, and for the Things therein contained. By whom we will inform you of our own Eſtate, and of the State of our Kingdom, *&c.* Witneſs ourſelf at *Lambeth*, 10th *October*.”

In the 13th Year of this ſame Reign we find recorded a Mandate or Paſs from King *Henry* for a *Cog* or Veſſel belonging to the King of *Norway*, in this Form:

“We will and command all Bailiffs of the Ports, into which the *Cog* belonging to the King of *Norway*, and carrying certain of his Knights[g] or Soldiers, and Merchants of *Saxony* into *England*, That, when it ſhall happen that the ſaid *Cog*[h] ſhall arrive within any of their Ports, they ſhall permit the ſaid *Cog* to remain ſafely in their Havens, ſo long as they ſhall judge convenient, or Need ſhall require; and to depart from thence without Moleſtation or Impediment, whenſoever the Governors of the ſaid Ship ſhall think proper. Witneſs the King.”

He alſo granted a Charter to the Merchants of *Colen*[i], which was afterwards confirmed by his Son *Edward* I[k]. in this Form:

“The King unto the Archbiſhops, *&c.* Greeting. Be it known unto you, that we have quit claimed, and for ourſelves and our Heirs do releaſe our well-beloved the Citizens or People of *Colen*, and their Merchandiſe, from the Payment of thoſe two Shillings, which they were accuſtomed to pay out of their *Guildhall* in *London*, and from all other Cuſtoms and Demands, which belong unto us, either in *London*, or in any other Part of our Dominions; and we do grant, that they may ſafely reſort unto the Fairs throughout all our Realm, and buy and ſell in *London*, and every other Place, ſaving the Liberty[l] of our City of *London*. Wherefore we will and command, for ourſelves and our Heirs, that the above-mentioned Citizens of *Colen* ſhall have and enjoy the Liberties and free Cuſtoms aforeſaid, throughout our whole Kingdom of *England*, as is aforeſaid. Witneſs, *&c.* Given at *Davintree*, 8th *Nov.* 20 Reg.”

There was a Charter granted at the Inſtance of *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall*, for a Trade of ſeven Years to the *Lubeckers*[m], in this particular Form:

“*Henry* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, and Earl of *Anjou*, to all his Bailiffs ſendeth, Greeting. Be it known unto you, that at the earneſt Requeſt of our well-beloved and truſty Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, late elected King of the *Romans*, we have received under our Protection and Defence, and under our ſafe and ſecure Conduct, the Burgeſſes of *Lubec* in *Germany*, with all their Goods and Merchandiſe, which they ſhall bring, or cauſe to be brought, into our Kingdom. We have alſo granted unto them, that none of their Goods and Merchandiſe ſhall be ſeized unto the Uſe of ourſelves, or of any other, without their own Conſent; but that they may freely ſell and traffic therewith, according as they ſhall think expedient. And therefore we ſtrictly command you, that neither ye yourſelves do offer, nor that you do permit any other to offer any Impediment or Moleſtation unto the ſaid Burgeſſes, or unto their Factors or Agents, either at their Entrance into this Nation with their Goods and Merchandiſe, during the Time of their Abode there, or at their Departure from thence; and that ye neither moleſt them yourſelves, nor yet ſuffer them to be moleſted by others, contrary to the aforeſaid Charter. In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue in Force for the Space of ſeven Years next following. Provided that the ſaid Burgeſſes do, in the mean Time, behave themſelves well and faithfully towards our aforeſaid Brother elect. Witneſs ourſelf at *Weſtminſter*, 11th Day of *March*, in the 41ſt Year of our Reign.”

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[a] Tho. de Moleton. Capitaneus et cuſtos maris et portuum maritimorum.

[b] An. Waverl. A. D. 1266. Holinſh. Guliel. Riſhang.

[c] A. D. 1271.

[d] Hemingf.

[e] A. D. 1272.

[f] 1 Hen. III.

[g] Milites.

[h] Coga.

[i] 20 Hen. III.

[k] Rot. Cant. 18 Edw. I.

[l] Libertate, i. e. Freedom.

[m] 41 Hen. III.

This Charter was alſo extended to the Merchants of *Denmark* and *Brunſwig* or *Brunſwick* [a].

A Charter was alſo granted to the Merchants of *Germany*, who were ſettled at the *Steelyard* in *London*, in this Form:

"At the Requeſt of the moſt gracious Prince *Richard*, " King of the *Romans*, our moſt beloved Brother, We " do grant unto the Merchants of *Germany*, namely unto " thoſe who have a Houſe in our City of *London*, com- " monly called the *Guildhall* of the *Dutch* Merchants, that " we will throughout our whole Realm maintain all and " every of them in all thoſe Liberties and free Cuſtoms, " which both in our Reign, and in the Reigns of our Pro- " genitors, they have uſed and enjoyed. Neither will we " inforce [b] them beyond thoſe Liberties and free Cuſtoms, " nor in any wiſe permit them to be inforced [c]. In wit- " neſs, *&c.*"

It is neceſſary to be obſerved, that by this Charter it appears the *Dutch* Merchants had been ſettled, and enjoyed certain Privileges in *England* many Years before; becauſe it refers to the Liberties and free Cuſtoms granted to them by this King's Progenitors. And the like Obſervation is properly made on the Charter granted 20th *Henry* III. to the Merchants of *Colen*.

All which, and the Law paſſed 19th *Henry* III. for regulating ſome Branches of the Weaving Buſineſs, in the different Kinds of Broad-cloth, occaſioned by an Attempt of the *Scotch* to rival *England* in this Staple-commodity, might ſuffice to give the Reader a juſt Idea of the State of both our foreign and domeſtic Trade, and of the flouriſhing Condition of our Manufactures.

The Care that was taken of the current Coin in this Reign, is another Argument of the Government's Attention to the national Commerce. The Dealers complained of the Money, which had been greatly diminiſhed and clipt by the *Jews*. To redreſs which Evil, a Standard of Weight was ordained: And it was agreed, that to obviate the Fraud, which had been introduced upon the *Conqueror*'s Standard [d], who ordained that a Penny ſhould weigh 32 Grains of Wheat out of the midſt of the Ear, that for the future, there ſhould be ſubſtituted 24 Pieces of Braſs, equal in Weight to the 32 Grains of Wheat, and allowed to be the Penny-weight: Becauſe Braſs cannot be ſubject to the like Inconveniencies and Variations as Wheat is by the Change of Weather; and 24 Parts is an eaſier Number to divide than 32. And as a further Caution, it was alſo ordained, that all Payments ſhould be made by Weight [e].

It may be hinted upon the Credit of the *Monkiſh* Writers, eſpecially of *Matthew Paris*, who hated him as much or more than they did his Father, and repreſent him in the worſt of Lights, both as a Tyrant and a Beggar, that the State of the Nation in this Reign was very poor, and conſequently that its Trade was brought very low. But if we review the ſeveral Expeditions of the King into *France*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, &c. of his Brother *Richard* into *Syria*, and his expenſive Purchaſe of a Title in *Germany*; of his Son *Edward*'s, and many of his Nobles, againſt the *Saracens*; the Sums it coſt both Parties in his Wars with the Barons; and the ſeveral Supplies granted him by Parliament, a Catalogue of which is recited by *Speed* [f]; there will be more Reaſon to wonder where ſo much Money could be drawn from, to be ſpent chiefly in foreign Countries, than to doubt of the extenſive and profitable Trade, which was neceſſary to anſwer thoſe extraordinary Demands. And what Improvements might there not have been made in our Commerce, had the State of the Nation been more ſettled!

EDWARD the Firſt, the Son of *Henry* deceaſed, tho' abſent in the *Holy-wars*, was ſo highly eſteemed by the *Engliſh* for his Virtue, that notwithſtanding it was the latter End of *July* [g], before he arrived in *England*, he was unanimouſly acknowledged his Father's Succeſſor; and the Kingdom remained undiſturbed by any Competitor, or Faction. In his way to *England*, his Majeſty made a ſhort Stay in *Sicily*; from thence he made the Tour of *Italy* thro' *Rome*, and was received at the Deſcent of the *Alps*, as he entered *Savoy*, by a great Number of Prelates and Peers of *England*, congratulating his Safety, and paying their Homage. And before he paſt over into *England*, his Majeſty ſettled the Affairs of his Dominions on the Continent.

A univerſal Joy ſeemed to ſpread over the whole Nation on his Arrival at *London*. His Coronation was performed with all convenient Speed, in the Abbey of St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*, in the Preſence of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and a Multitude of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who endeavoured to out-do each other in Marks of Loyalty and Affection [h].

The inteſtine Diviſions, which had made his Father ſo unhappy, were greatly abated by the Deaths of the factious Chiefs. And to prevent the Revival of national Diſcontents, he immediately applied himſelf to compoſe old Differences among the ſuperior Nobility; and to make Laws for reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the People; promoting and protecting Trade, and to ſecure the Throne from all Attempts that had made it ſo uneaſy under his Progenitors. In theſe Precautions *Edward* paid a peculiar Regard to the Depredations of the *Welch* and *Scots* on the Borders, and to the Security of the Inhabitants on the Sea-coaſts, which could not be done without putting the Navy into a reſpectable Condition.

The firſt Uſe of Arms in this Reign was againſt *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales*, who refuſing to pay Homage, after the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, to King *Edward*, and depending upon his Alliance with *France*, and ſuperſtitiouſly led by the Interpretation of ſome old Prophecies, to imagine himſelf able to contend with *England*, drew upon him the Reſentment of his Sovereign, who ſent a powerful Army to reduce him to his Obedience; and at the ſame Time commanded his Squadron to ſail from *Briſtol* to prevent his receiving any foreign Aid by Sea. This Squadron took a *French* Ship, with the Daughter of *Simon Mounford*, the late rebellious Earl of *Leiceſter*, intended to be given to *Llewellin* in Marriage, in hopes of ſtrengthening his Intereſt among the *Engliſh* Barons: And ſo effectually aſſiſted the Royal Army to reduce his Country to ſuch a low Condition, as to oblige him to ſubmit to the following hard Conditions of Peace [i]. *Firſt*, To pay to the King of *England* 50,000 *l.* Sterling, if demanded. *Secondly*, That he ſhould pay a Fine of 5000 Marks, and the yearly Rent of 1000 Marks [k], to the Crown of *England*, for the Fee-farm of the Iſle of *Angleſey*; and that after *Llewellin*'s Death, the Kingdom of *Wales* ſhould be diſſolved, and be added to the Crown of *England*.

Edward, to ſhew his Reconciliation to be ſincere, hereupon not only gave *Llewellin* the Lady betrothed to him, but honoured the Nuptials with his own Preſence [l]. But the *Welch* are not to be overcome by Civilities, nor to be tied by Treaties, which they eſteem diſhonourable and hurtful. So that we ſoon find them again in Arms [m], headed by *Llewellin* and his Brothers. The Cruelties committed by the *Welch* in this War were extravagant: And taking the *Engliſh* unprepared, it was for a while very doubtful on what ſide Victory would declare. But *Edward* having ſummoned together all his Forces, purſued them to the utter Deſtruction of their State; ſlew *Llewellin*; and, adding *Wales* to his other Dominions, declared his new-born Son *Edward*, Prince thereof [n]; and put an End to the *Britiſh* Race [o]. In order to put an End to the Fatigues and Hazards from theſe Quarters for the future, the King diſtributed the inland Country to the Lords that had ſerved him in this War; eſtabliſhed *Engliſh* Laws and Officers for their Government; and kept all the maritime Towns and ſtrong Holds on the Sea-coaſt in his own Poſſeſſion. By which Policy he ſecured the Affections of the Lords; he civilized the People; encouraged Induſtry and Trade, and cut off all their Dependance and Connection with foreign Powers.

The Riches of theſe Times may be gueſſed at from King *Edward*'s Bounty of 30,000 *l.* towards the Ranſom of *Charles* Prince of *Achaia* [p], taken in a Sea-fight on the

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[a] Rot. Chart. 41 Hen. III.

[b] Trahemus.

[c] Trahi.

[d] A.D. 1083. Tho. Rudborn.

[e] Stat. 53 Hen. III.

[f] Speed's Chron. p. 537.

[g] 25th July, 1274. Walſingham.

[h] Id. Hect. Boet. Higden, lib. VII.

[i] Walſingham. Polydor. Virg. Fabian. A. D. 1278.

[k] In greſſom, or in garſuma, as ſome uſe the Word. Speed.

[l] Powel, p. 336. Walſingham. Fabian A. D 12

[m] A. D. 1282. Polydor. Virg. lib. XVII. Powel, p. 336.

[n] Born at Carnarvon on St. Mark's Day, A. D. 1285.

[o] Polychr. lib. VII. Walſingham. David Powel, p. 374.

[p] A. D. 1289. Walſingham.

Coaſt of *Naples*, by the King of *Arragon*; but more eſpecially by the large Sums levied by way of Fine on his corrupt Judges, *&c.* which amounted in all to 65,000 Marks, beſides other incredible Riches[a]. A ſure Token of a flouriſhing Trade.

The Death of *Alexander* King of *Scotland* leaving that Kingdom without any apparent Heir, many Competitors divided it into Factions, which furniſhed *Edward* with a good Pretence to interpoſe his Authority towards ſettling the Succeſſion. He even claimed the Sovereignty of *Scotland*; inſiſted that the Realm of *Scotland* was held of him; and backing his Pretenſions with a powerful Army by Land, and a ſtrong Fleet by Sea, required the Competitors to yield to his Award[b].

The Claimants were *Ericke* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert le Brus* Lord of *Annandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galway*, *John de Haſtings* Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Comin* Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patric de Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *John de Veſci*, *Nicholas Sules*, and *William de Roſſe*, who all ſubmitted to *Edward*'s final Award and Arbitration concerning their ſeveral Titles to the *Scottiſh* Crown[c]. And the States of *Scotland* granted him Seiſin of the Realm, to enable him the better to conſtrain the Parties to ſubmit to his Determination and Sentence, on condition that he, by a certain Time prefixed, ſhould make his Award, and put the lawful Heir in Poſſeſſion thereof; which gave *Edward* a Pretence to keep a ſtrong Fleet on the Northern Coaſt, to aſſert his Right to the Sovereignty of the Seas[d], and to prevent any Diſturbance from abroad, in caſe the King of *Norway*, or any others ſhould attempt to back their Claims by a foreign Force.

While this Royal Arbitration was depending, a War broke out ſuddenly between the *Engliſh* and the *Normans*[e]. For though *Edward* had taken the utmoſt Care to prevent a Rupture with *France*, that perfidious People could not refrain their Inſolence; and probably interpreting his Caution to be a Token of Puſillanimity, fell upon our Merchant-men, interrupted our Trade, plundered our Ships, and murdered our Sailors that they could over-power, in cold Blood. The *Engliſh* firſt of all fitted out Ships of Reprizals; and the War was continued for ſome time in a piratical Manner. The Navigation ſuffered by Sea, and many of the Sea-ports ſuffered by Land, on both Sides. The Mariners of the *Cinque-ports* entered the Port of *Troyn*, and after killing and drowning abundance of Men, they carried off ſix Ships. On the other Side, the *French* did the like in the Port of *Dover*. Till it was at laſt reſolved between both Nations to decide the Dominion of the Seas in a fixed Battle on the 14th of *April*; and a large empty Ship was ſtationed in the Middle between the Coaſts of *England* and *Normandy*, for the Place of Engagement. Both reinforced their Fleets with Auxiliaries from foreign States. *England* procured Ships from *Ireland*, *Holland* and *Norway*. The *French*, *Flemings* and *Genoeſe* were called in to the Aſſiſtance of the *Normans*. The Day appointed for the Battle was uſhered in by a violent Storm of Wind, Snow and Hail. The Battle was obſtinate: But at laſt Victory declared in favour of the *Engliſh*. Many Thouſands were ſlain on both Sides, and a vaſt Number of Ships were ſunk. But the *Engliſh* remained in Poſſeſſion of the Dominion of the Seas, which they claimed of ancient Right; and of 240 Sail of the Enemies Ships, which they brought home to *England*[f]. But this is related differently by *Walſingham* and *Knighton*; who write that this was no more than a private Quarrel between a *Norman* Pilot and an *Engliſh* Mariner. That a fierce War was carried on between the Subjects of both Nations, and Reprizals made for ſome time, before the two Kings were concerned. But that 60 ſtout *Engliſh* Ships happening to meet a *Norman* Fleet of 200 Sail, or 240 Sail according to *Knighton*, laden with Wine; after a ſharp Encounter, in which 15000 *French* were ſlain, the *Engliſh* took the whole Fleet, and carried it into *England*.—Another[g], but upon what Authority I cannot ſay, informs us, that *Edward* having ſent out ſix Sail of Ships for *Bourdeaux*, as they coaſted along *Normandy*, they were attacked and taken by ſome People of that Province; which he highly reſenting, ordered his Admiral *Robert Tiptot* to ſail with a Squadron to *Normandy*; who, entering the *Seine*, ſunk all the Ships he found in that River; after which he took ſeveral Ships laden with Wine, which were coming round from the Weſtern Coaſts of *France*. Hereupon the *French* fitted out a Number of Ships, under the Command of *Charles* Count *de Valois*, who engaging the *Engliſh*, received a total Defeat: But the *French* ſoon after repairing their Fleet, ſailed, under the Command of *Matthew Montmorenci* and *John* of *Harcourt*, to *Dover*, and ſurpriſing that Town, plundered and ſet it on Fire[h].

The *French* King all this time pretended to ſtand neuter; his Brother *Charles* taking upon him the Conduct of this Engagement; much in the ſame manner as the Prince of *Morocco* pretends at this time to wage War with *Great-Britain*, while his Father and Sovereign diſclaims any Act of Hoſtility on his Part; tho' it is certain, his Son is not in a Capacity of himſelf to interrupt our Trade. But when *Philip* felt the Loſs his Subjects ſuffered in this Overthrow, the *French* Policy diſcovered itſelf: He demanded a large Sum of Money to make good the Damages ſuſtained by his Merchants; and that exemplary Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on thoſe that were concerned in the late Battle[i]. He proceeded ſo far as to cite *Edward* to appear and anſwer at his Court in Perſon for what had paſt, on a Day aſſigned, on pain of forfeiting all his Dominions on the Continent.

Edward was then engaged in the *Scotch* Arbitration. But to take away all plauſible Pretence of an Eruption with *France*, he ſubmitted ſo far as to ſend his Brother *Edmund* the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to the Place appointed, with Inſtructions to make an End of this Affair. Yet theſe Ambaſſadors could not be heard; and Judgment upon Default was paſſed upon our King by the *French* Peers, whereby he was deprived of *Aquitain*, and other his Dominions in *France*[k].

The Crown of *Scotland* was awarded to *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galway*; who being put in Poſſeſſion thereof, did Homage unto *Edward* for the whole Kingdom, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the *Scots*. And now King *Edward* turned his Thoughts to the Affairs on the Continent. But while he remained pacific, and diſcovered an Unwillingneſs to drive Matters to an Extremity, he was caught by a *French* Device. For, it having been agreed in a Treaty, that, in order to ſave the *French* King's Honour, a few *French* Troops ſhould be admitted into certain ſtrong Holds belonging to the King of *England* in *Guienne*, &c. on condition that they, after this Mark of Submiſſion, ſhould be withdrawn, and the Caſtles, *&c.* be reſtored to *Edward* within 40 Days; *Philip*, having by this Artifice got Poſſeſſion of the ſame, refuſed to quit the Premiſes[l]. This Fraud highly incenſed *Edward*, and rouſed the whole Nation; ſo that a Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein it was reſolved to invade *France*, and by Force of Arms to recover the Dominions to which their Sovereign was intitled in Right of his Progenitors[m].

On the 25th of *January* a Fleet of 325 (*M. Weſtm.* ſays 52) Ships were ſent from *Plymouth* to *Guienne*, under the Command of Prince *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the King's Brother, and *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*, with him. Others ſay a potent Army, with a Fleet of 360 Ships, under the Command of the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*[n].

This Fleet made a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*; from whence, having put all the Inhabitants to Fire and Sword[o], it arrived in Safety on the *Garonne*; the Army ſat down before the Towns of *Bourg* and *Blaye*, ſituate on that River. Having afterwards raiſed the Siege of *Bourdeaux*, the *French* were obliged to retire into their own King's Dominions. *Edward* was then ſo powerful at Sea, that beſides the Fleet ſent to *France*, he equipped three Squadrons to guard the

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[a] A. D. 1290. Speed, p. 558. [b] A. D. 1291. Heſt. Boet. lib. XLIV. Marian. Scot. William Malmeſb. Hen. Hunting. Rob. Hoveden. Walſingham, in Edw. I. [c] Walſingham. Highden. Polychron, lib. VII. [d] John de Fordun. Scot. Chron. Vol. III. Hemingf. Vol. I. Nic. Trivet, Vol. I. [e] A. D. 1293. Walſingham. [f] Hemingford, Vol. I. [g] Burchett, p. 313. [h] F. Daniel. [i] Idem. [k] Walſingham. Hypodig. Neuſt. Polychron. Hemingford. Mezeray, Vol. II. p. 777. [l] Hemingford. Trivet. [m] Matt. Weſtminſter, A. D. 1294, after Whitſuntide. [n] Walter Hemingford. Nich. Trivet. Serres's Hiſtory of France, p. 174. [o] Daniel.

Coaſts, leſt the *French* ſhould attempt to make a Diverſion, by a Deſcent. One, which was called the *Yarmouth* Squadron, commanded by *John de Botetort*, covered the Eaſtern Coaſt; another, by the Name of the *Portſmouth* Squadron, under the Command of *William de Leyburne*, cruiſed on the Southern Coaſt; and the third, the Commander of which was a Knight of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Ormond*, was ſtationed for the Security of *Ireland* and the Weſtern Coaſts[a].

William de Leyburne was ſoon after[b] honoured with the Title of Admiral of the *Engliſh* Sea. The *Yarmouth* Squadron, according to *Daniel*, plundered the Town and Abby of *Cherburg*. And the *Portſmouth* Squadron took 15 Sail of *Spaniſh* Merchant-men richly laden, and brought them into *Sandwich*[c].

The ſame Year, the *Scots* having invaded *England*, and King *Edward* being encamped with his Army near *Berwick*, a Fleet of 24 *Engliſh* Ships came thither, and the Officers and Mariners ſeeing the Army in Battle-array on a Plain, thought his Deſign was to have given immediate Aſſault to the Place. Upon this they entered the Haven, and approaching towards the Land, began to fight with the Towns-men. But they were ſo warmly received, that they loſt four of their Ships, and were obliged to take the Advantage of the Ebb to get off with the Remainder. *Edward*, in the mean Time, being informed of this Attempt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, marched immediately to attack the Town, and took it with a very great Slaughter.

Edward, continually harraſſed by the Depredations of the *French*, or their ſecret Machinations, and deceitful Practices to diſturb the Peace of his Dominions, or to encroach upon his Inheritance, ſought to make a Diverſion on the Continent by an Alliance with the Emperor, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Juliers*, and *Lunenburg*, the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Brabant*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and ſeveral other Princes of *Germany*, with whom he expected to form a ſtrong League againſt *France*; ſo as to reduce that perfidious Nation to equitable Terms. The King's Preparations were retarded for a time, by a Quarrel, firſt with the Clergy, and then with his Barons: However, he ſailed from *Winchelſea* the 22d of *Auguſt*, and landed on the 27th near *Sluys*, with 1500 Men at Arms, and 50,000 Foot, of which 30,000 were *Welch*. All Things promiſed well; when on a ſudden, upon his Landing, a private Pique between the Mariners of the *Cinque-ports*, and thoſe of *Yarmouth*, and other Places, broke out into an Engagement between the Ships of his own Fleet; and, notwithſtanding the King's Commands ſent to them to deſiſt, 25 Ships of the *Yarmouth* Squadron were burnt, and moſt of the Men on-board of them were loſt; beſides three more of the largeſt Ships in the Navy; one of which, that had the King's Treaſure on-board, narrowly eſcaping the ſame Fate[d].

This unfortunate Diſcord amongſt his Mariners, obliged the King to put again to Sea; by which he providentially eſcaped a greater Misfortune, the *French* having formed a Scheme to burn all his Fleet as it rode at Anchor in the Port of *Dam*[e]. But what crowned his Misfortunes, by draining his Exchequer, was the contracting that ruinous Alliance with the Powers on the Continent. They were all hungry after his Money, and promiſed great Aid; but forſook him, or pretended ſome Excuſe to deprive him of their Aſſiſtance, at the Time he ſummoned them to Action.

By theſe Diſappointments, and the Commotions reviving at Home, and in *Scotland*, *Edward* was compelled to return to *England*, and to agree to a Truce[f]. In his Abſence the *Scots* had put themſelves under the Command of one *William Walleys*, Son of *Andrew Walleys* of *Craggy*, Knt. and driven *William Ormeſby*, the King's chief Juſticiary out of *Scotland*; and routed an Army ſent againſt them under the Command of *John de Warren* Earl of *Surry*; which obliged him in Perſon, after his Arrival in *England*, and their refuſing to ſubmit to his Judgment, to march into their Country with a powerful Army; his Navy laden with Proviſions, in caſe of Need, being ordered to coaſt along the Shore; which greatly facilitated the Reduction of thoſe vexatious Neighbours; who waited for the Royal Army at *Falkirk* or *Fawkirk*, and fought ſo deſperately that there fell not leſs than 60, ſome ſay 70,000 on the Field of Battle[g]; the *Welch* being ready to riſe to ſecond their Succeſs, had Victory declared in their favour. This is ſaid to be the moſt bloody Battle ever fought between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*; and its Succeſs is allowed to be chiefly owing to the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet riding on that Coaſt, which ſupplied the *Engliſh* with thoſe Neceſſaries that could not be found in an Enemy's Country, and without which the Army could not have ſubſiſted.

The Truce made with *Philip* King of *France*, was by the Pope's Mediation made more explicit by a Treaty, which concluded with a Peace[h], on condition, among other Particulars, that the King of *England* ſhould marry the *French* King's Siſter, and his Son Prince *Edward*, the Daughter of the ſaid King; and that neither of the contracting Parties ſhould afford any manner of Aid or Aſſiſtance to the Enemies of the other, or ſuffer the ſame to be given, in any way whatſoever, in any of the Territories or Places under their Power; and that they ſhould forbid the ſame to be done on pain of Forfeiture of Body and Goods to the Offenders, *&c.*

By this Treaty *Edward* was put in Poſſeſſion of *Aquitain*. The *Scots* were not only deprived of Succours from *France*, but baniſhed the *French* Dominions[i]. And from the third Article is produced that Argument for the King of *England*'s Right to the Dominion of the Seas, which we have at large related in our *Introduction*[k].

The Remainder of his Life was ſpent in ſubduing *Scotland*: But tho' it is certain he traverſed that Nation to its Northermoſt Extent; placed Garriſons in every Caſtle and Town of any Strength; employed a large Fleet to favour his Conqueſt, and to ſubdue the Coaſts; and that his Heart was ſo bent upon this Service, as to enjoin the carrying of his dead Body, ſhould he die before it was accompliſhed, about the Country, till every Part of it could be brought under his Son's Dominion; there ſtill remained a very powerful Part of the Natives, who retired to the inacceſſible Places and natural Strengths, where no Army could march nor be maintained, and who were never conquered.

King *Edward* was at *Carliſle*, in his way to re-enter *Scotland* with a mighty Army, when Death overtook him; but he did not yield his Soul to the fatal Stroke of that grim Tyrant, that pays no more Regard to Princes than Peaſants, till he had reached to *Burgh upon Sands*, where almoſt in Sight of the Enemy, he was cut off by a *Dyſentery*[l].

Many Things concur to give us a great Idea of the Trade and Navigation in this Reign. Beſides the Proofs already brought in the Premiſes to ſhew the Strength of the Royal Navy, and the Right claimed by the King of *England* to the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Sea, we ſhall juſt mention one more, which is the Royal Licence to the *Dutch*, without which they were not permitted to fiſh upon our Coaſt, as has been already noted in our *Introduction*[m].

As the Trade of a Nation is properly conſidered according to the Riches to be found therein; ſo Money ſhould be conſidered as the Life of Trade. Therefore it has been the particular Care of Princes and States, in order to ſecure and promote the Commerce of their People, to regulate their Coin, and to guard it as much as poſſible from Counterfeits and Damage. And it is always a Sign of an Increaſe in Trade, where thoſe Regulations are made.

It has been obſerved, that various Regulations had been made under his Father's Reign: But when *Edward* aſcended the Throne, he found the Coin in a very bad Condition. The Troubles in the former Reigns, and his own Abſence for ſome Time after his Father's Death, gave great Opportunities to the *Jews*, and other Uſureres and Dealers in bad Money, to practice every Deceit and Corruption in the Importation and Uttering of baſe Coins, to the great Deſtruction of Trade. Therefore in the 3d *Edw.* I. it was enacted, That ſuch as were taken up for falſe Money, ſhould not be admitted to Bail [a]. And for the better reſtoring the Coin to its ancient Purity, in his third Year he eſtabliſhed, That in a Pound of Money, containing twelve Ounces, there ſhould be eleven Ounces Two-pence Farthing pure Leaf-ſilver, commonly called Silver of *Gutheron-lane*, and Seventeen-pence Half-penny Farthing Allay; the ſaid Pound to weigh twenty Shillings and Three-pence in Account; the Ounce Twenty-pence; every Penny twenty-four Grains and a Half [b].

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[a] Trivet, Vol. I. p. 279. A. D. 1295.

[b] A. D. 1296. Trivet. Ann.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Trivet. Hemingf. Walſingham.

[e] Trivet.

[f] Hemingf. Ann. Abington. Trivet.

[g] Walſingham. Ramul. Ceſto Polyh. lib. VII. Fabian. Harding. Hect. Boet. lib. XIV.

[h] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. II. p. 840. A. D. 1303.

[i] Walſingham.

[k] Page xiii, xiv, and xv.

[l] Walſingham. A. D. 1307. 17th July.

[m] Page viii.

Yet notwithſtanding all this Care, the *Jews* were not deterred from trying Practices on the current Coin. From the ſeventh Year of this ſame Reign, the Money was ſo much defaced by rounding and clipping, that it was neceſſary to call it in, to be re-coined. But in order to puniſh the Criminals, and to make up the Deficiencies of the Coinage, all the *Jews* were ſeized throughout *England* in one Day, that the Guilty might not eſcape; and great Numbers of them, being convicted of clipping and coining were executed, and their Eſtates, Goods and Chattels were eſtreated to the King's Uſe [c].

But the greateſt Improvement of the Money ſeems to have been in the 18th Year of this Reign; when the King, to perfect this great Work, employed certain *Florentines* in making Money, and exchanging Silver. They, on this Occaſion, had thirty Furnaces in *London*, eight at *Canterbury*, beſides three belonging to the Archbiſhop, twelve at *Briſtol*, twelve at *York*, beſides many more in other great Towns; in all which Places, the King's Changers, at certain Rates or Prices preſcribed to them, took in the clipped, rounded and counterfeit Monies, to be re-coined; and bought Gold and Silver of the Merchants and others to be fabricated into new Money. To ſecure which from Defacing and Diminution, it was ordained, by Proclamation throughout the whole Kingdom, That whoever ſhould clip the new Money ſhould be hanged, quartered, and forfeit all their Lands, Tenements, *&c.* And it was further enacted [d], That no other Coin ſhould be current but of the Kings of *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*; that ſuch as ſhould arrive from beyond Seas, ſhould ſhew the Money they brought to the King's Officers, and not hide it between Clothes in Fardels or Bales, upon pain of Forfeiture of Body and Goods.—In a Parliament held in the Houſe of *Henry Waleis*, Mayor of *London*, it was afterwards forbid to bring foreign light and baſe Money into *England*, on Forfeiture of Life and Goods; and to carry Silver Coin or Plate out of the Realm [e].

To theſe Obſervations on Money we ſhall add that remarkable Charter granted by the ſame King [f] to foreign Merchants, for the greater Incouragement of Trade; which for its Contents was called the *Merchant's great Charter* [g].

“ *Edward* by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Juſtices, Viſcounts, Governors, Officers, and all Bailiffs, and his faithful People, ſendeth Greeting. We have ſpecial Care for the good Eſtate of all Merchants of the Kingdoms, Lands, and Countries following; to wit, of *Almaine*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Navarre*, *Lombardy*, *Florence*, *Provence*, *Catalonia*, of our Duchy of *Aquitaine*, *Tholoſe*, *Caturlune*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and of all other foreign Countries and Places, by what Name ſoever they be called, which come into our Kingdom of *England*, and there remain, that the ſaid Merchants may live in quiet and full Security under our Dominion in Time to come. Wherefore that their Affections may be more readily inclined to our Service, and the Service of our Kingdom, we favourably agreeing to their Petitions, for the fuller aſſuring of their Eſtate, have thought good to grant to the ſaid Merchants for us and our Heirs for ever, theſe Privileges under-written, ordaining in Form as followeth:

“ Firſt, that all Merchants of the ſaid Kingdoms and Countries may come into our Kingdom of *England*, and any where elſe into our Dominion with their Merchandiſes whatſoever, ſafely and ſecurely under our Defence and Protection, without paying *Wharſage*, *Pontage*, or *Pannage*. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and Market-towns of the ſaid Kingdom and Dominion they may traffick only by the Great, as well with the natural Subjects and Inhabitants of our aforeſaid Kingdom and Dominion, as with Foreigners, Strangers, or private Perſons: Yet ſo, that thoſe Merchandiſes, which are commonly called mercery Wares, and Spices, may be ſold by the Small, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed. And that all the aforeſaid Merchants may carry, or cauſe to be carried, whither they will, as well within our Realm or Dominion, as out of the ſame; ſaving unto the Countries of the manifeſt and known Enemies of our Kingdom, thoſe Merchandiſes which they ſhall bring into our foreſaid Realm and Dominion, or buy, or otherwiſe purchaſe in our ſaid Realm and Dominion, paying ſuch Cuſtoms as they ought to do; except only Wines, which it ſhall not be any ways lawful for them to carry out of our ſaid Realm and Dominion without our ſpecial Favour and Licence, after they be once brought into our Realm and Dominion.

“ 2. Item, that the aforeſaid Merchants may at their Pleaſure lodge and remain with their Goods in the Cities, Boroughs, and Towns aforeſaid, with the good Liking of thoſe which are Owners of their Lodgings.

“ 3. Item, that every Bargain made by the ſaid Merchants with any Manner of Perſons, of what Places ſoever they be, for any kind of Merchandiſe whatſoever, ſhall be firm and ſtable, ſo that none of both the Merchants ſhall ſhrink or give back from that Bargain, after that the Earneſt-penny be once given and taken between the principal Bargainers. And if peradventure any Strife ariſe about the ſame Bargain, the Trial and Enquiry thereof ſhall be made according to the Uſes and Cuſtoms of the Fairs and Towns where it chanced that the ſaid Bargain was made and contracted.

“ 4. Item, we promiſe the aforeſaid Merchants granting for ever for us and our Heirs, that from henceforth we will not in any wiſe make, nor cauſe to be made, any Stay or Arreſt, or any Delay by reaſon of Arreſt of their Wares, Merchandiſes or other Goods, by ourſelves, or by any other or others, for any Need or Accident againſt the Will of the ſaid Merchants, without preſent Payment of ſuch a Price as the Merchants would have ſold thoſe Merchandiſes for to other Men, or without making of them other Satisfaction, ſo that they ſhall hold themſelves well contented; and that no Price or Valuation ſhall be ſet upon their Wares, Merchandiſes, and Goods, by us, or by any Officer of ours.

“ 5. Item, we will that all Bailiffs and Officers of Fairs, Cities, Boroughs, and Market-towns, ſhall do ſpeedy Juſtice from Day to Day without Delay, according to the Law of Merchants [h], to the aforeſaid Merchants, when they ſhall complain before them, touching all and ſingular Cauſes, which may be determined by the ſame Law. And if Default be found in any of the Bailiffs or Officers aforeſaid, whereby the ſaid Merchants or any of them have ſuſtained, or do ſuſtain any Damage thro' Delay, though the Merchant recover his Loſſes againſt the Party principal, yet the Bailiff, or other Officer, ſhall be puniſhed to us-ward, according to the Quality of the Default. And we do grant this Puniſhment in favour of the aforeſaid Merchants, in regard of the haſtening of their Juſtice.

“ 6. Item, that in all Manner of Pleas, ſaving in caſe where Puniſhment of Death is to be inflicted, where a Merchant is impleaded, or ſueth another, of what Condition ſoever he be which is ſued, whether Stranger or Home-born, in Fairs, Cities, or Boroughs, where ſufficient Numbers of Merchants of the foreſaid Countries are, and where the Trial ought to be made, let the one half of the Jury be of the ſaid Merchants, and the other half of good and lawful Men of the Place where the Suit ſhall fall out to be; and if ſufficient Number of Merchants of the ſaid Countries cannot be found, thoſe which ſhall be found fit in that Place ſhall be put upon the Jury, and the reſt ſhall be choſen of good

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[a] Stat. 3 Edw. I. chap. 15.

[b] Camden's Remains.

[c] Daniel, p. 161.

[d] 20 Edw. I. Stat. de Moneta, Sect. 1. Raſtal, Money, N°. 1. See alſo Raſtal, N°. 2.

[e] Stat. de falſa Moneta, 27 Edw. I. Stow's and Maitland's Surveys of London.

[f] 31 Edw. I. A. D. 1303.

[g] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 135.

[h] Where is this Law now?

“and fit Men of the Places where ſuch Suit ſhall chance to be.

“7. Item, we will, we ordain, and we appoint, that in every Market-town and Fair of our Realm aforeſaid, and elſewhere within our Dominion, our Weight ſhall be ſet in ſome certain Place; and that before the Weighing, the Balance ſhall be ſeen empty in the Preſence of the Buyer and of the Seller, and that the Scales be equal; and that afterward the Weigher weigh in the equal Balance: And when he hath ſet the Balances even, let him ſtraightway remove his Hands, ſo that the Balance may remain even; and that throughout all our Kingdom and Dominion there be one Weight and one Meaſure, and that they be marked with the Mark of our Standard. And that every Man may have a Weight of one Quarter of an Hundred, and under, where the ſame hath not been contrary to the Liberty of the Lord of the Place, and contrary to the Liberty granted by us and our Predeceſſors, or contrary to the Cuſtom of Towns and Fairs which hath hitherto been obſerved.

“8. Item, we will, and we grant, that ſome certain faithful and diſcreet Man, reſident in *London*, be appointed to do Juſtice to the aforeſaid Merchants, before whom they may have their Suits decided, and may ſpeedily recover their Debts, if the Sheriffs and Mayor ſhould not from Day to Day give them ſpeedy Juſtice. And hereof let a Commiſſion be made; which we grant unto the aforeſaid Merchants, beſides this preſent Charter; to wit, of ſuch Things as between Merchant and Merchant are to be decided according to the Law of Merchants.

“9. Item, we ordain and appoint, and we will that this Ordinance and Statute ſhall firmly be obſerved for ever for us and our Heirs, that the aforeſaid Merchants ſhall not loſe the aforeſaid Liberties, nor any of them, for any Liberty whatſoever, which we, or our Heirs hereafter ſhall grant. And for the obtaining of the aforeſaid Liberties and free Cuſtoms, and for Remiſſion of our arreſting of their Goods, the aforeſaid Merchants, all and every of them, for themſelves and all other of their Parties, with one Accord and one Conſent have granted unto us, that of every Ton of Wine, which they ſhall bring, or cauſe to be brought into our Realm and Dominion, for which they ſhall be bound to pay Freight unto the Mariners, beſides the old Cuſtoms which are due, and were wont to be paid unto us, they will pay unto us, and to our Heirs, in the Name of a Cuſtom, two Shillings in Money, either out of Hand, or elſe within forty Days after the ſaid Wines ſhall be brought on-land out of the Ships. Item, for every Sack of Wool, which the ſaid Merchants or others in their Name ſhall buy and carry out of the Realm, or cauſe to be bought and carried out, they will pay forty Pence above the old Cuſtom of half a Mark, which was paid heretofore. And for a Laſt of Hides to be carried out of our Realm and Dominion, half a Mark above that which heretofore was paid by the old Cuſtom. And likewiſe for 300 Fells with the Wool on them, to be tranſported out of our Realm and Dominion, forty Pence above that certain Rate which before was paid by the old Cuſtom. Alſo two Shillings upon every Scarlet and every Cloth died in Grain. Item, eighteen Pence for every Cloth wherein any kind of Grain is mingled. Item, twelve Pence upon every Cloth died without Grain. Item, twelve Pence upon every Quintal of Copper.

“And whereas ſundry of the aforeſaid Merchants are wont to exerciſe other Merchandiſes, as of Averdupoiſe, and other fine Wares, as Sarcenets, Lawns, Cindalles, and Silk, and divers other Merchandiſes, and to ſell Horſes and other Beaſts, Corn, and ſundry other Things and Merchandiſes, which cannot eaſily be reduced unto a certain Cuſtom; the ſaid Merchants have granted to give unto us, and to our Heirs, of every Pound of Silver of the Eſtimation and Value of theſe kind of Goods and Merchandiſes, by what Name ſoever they be called, three Pence in the Pound in the bringing in of theſe Goods into our Realm and Dominion aforeſaid, within twenty Days after theſe Goods and Merchandiſes ſhall be brought into our Realm and Dominion, and ſhall be there unladen and ſold. And likewiſe three Pence upon every Pound of Silver in the carrying out of any ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes which are bought in our Realm and Dominion aforeſaid, above the Cuſtoms before time paid unto us, or any of our Progenitors. And touching the Value and Eſtimation of theſe Goods and Merchandiſes, whereof three Pence of every Pound of Silver, as is aforeſaid, is to be paid, Credit ſhall be given unto them upon the Letters which they are able to ſhew from their Maſters or Partners. And if they have no Letters in this Behalf, we will ſtand to the Oath of the foreſaid Merchants if they be preſent, or in their Abſence to the Oaths of their Servants.

“Moreover, it ſhall be lawful for ſuch as be of the Company of the aforeſaid Merchants within our Realm and Dominion aforeſaid, to ſell Wools to other of their Company, and likewiſe to buy of them without paying of Cuſtom. Yet ſo, that the ſaid Wools come not to ſuch Hands, that we be defrauded of the Cuſtom due unto us. And furthermore it is to be underſtood, that after that the aforeſaid Merchants have once paid in one Place within our Realm and Dominion, the Cuſtom above granted unto us in Form aforeſaid for their Merchandiſes, and have their Warrant thereof, whether theſe Merchandiſes remain within our Kingdom, or be carried out (excepting Wines, which in no wiſe ſhall be carried forth of our Realm and Dominion aforeſaid, without our Favour and Licence as is aforeſaid) we will, and we grant for us and our Heirs, that no Execution, Attachment, or Loan, or any other Burthen be laid upon the Perſons of the aforeſaid Merchants, upon their Merchandiſes or Goods in any Caſe, contrary to the Form before-mentioned and granted. The faithful and principal Witneſſes of theſe Preſents are theſe, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Primate of all *England*, *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Henry Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln*, *Humphrey de Bohume* Earl of *Hertford* and *Eſſex* High-conſtable of *England*, *Adomare* of *Valencia*, *Geoffrey* of *Gaymal*, *Hugh Spenſer*, *Walter Beauchamp* Seneſchal of our Houſe, *Robert* of *Bures*, and others. Given by our own Hand at *Windſor* the firſt Day of *February*, in the Year of our Reign thirty-one.”

CHAP. IV.

The NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and the* STATE *of the* NATIONAL TRADE *and* COMMERCE *in the Reigns of King* EDWARD II. *King* EDWARD III. *and King* RICHARD II.

EDWARD I. was ſucceeded by his Son *Edward*, the ſecond of that Name[a]; and great were the Hopes conceiv'd of this Prince, not only from the good Omen of his Father's Name and Courage, by both which he was intitled to his Reputation; but from the Advantage of his Experience and Years, now aged twenty-three, having ſeen many Parliaments, and ſome Battles, and by ſeveral great Actions both in Peace and War, ſufficiently inſtructed to make good whatever the Virtue or Ambition of his Anceſtors had entail'd upon him: But as great Heights make weak Heads giddy, and unable to look downward, ſo it fell out in this King's Story, whoſe Reputation leſſen'd as he roſe: Notwithſtanding the greateſt Crime ever objected againſt him, was that which, one would have thought, might have paſt for the greateſt Virtue; his Exceſs of Kindneſs to thoſe he thought worthy to be his Friends; a real Effect of good Nature, and perhaps, all Circumſtances conſidered, not otherwiſe ill, than as it met with ill-natur'd Interpreters. However, by this he loſt himſelf ſo much, that many who had allow'd him to be a brave Man, before he was a King; being ſo, would not allow him worthy to be a Prince.

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[a] Divi Britannici.

His firſt Care was to conſummate the Marriage agreed upon in the laſt Reign, by his Father's Treaty with *France*; which he made an Excuſe to drop the War with *Scotland*, contrary to the Command of his dying Parent; and paſs'd over to *Paris* for that Purpoſe, where the Nuptials between him and *Iſabella*, the King of *France*'s Daughter, were ſolemnized with the greateſt Magnificence in the Preſence of the Kings of *France*, *Navarre*, *Almain* and *Sicily*, three Queens, and a glorious Aſſembly of the Princes, Noblemen and Ladies. But what ſullied this grand Appearance, and laid the Foundation of his Subjects Diſguſt to his future Government, and a Diſtruſt in his royal Word, was the ſplendid Appearance of his Favourite *Gaveſton*, whom he knew to be hated by the *Engliſh*, and had promiſed his dying Father never to recal about his Perſon.

Whether it was his Fault or his Fate, to dote thus upon *Gaveſton*, who being only a Miniſter to his Wantonneſs, could not have gain'd that Power he had over him to make himſelf ſo great by leſſening him, without ſomething like an Infatuation, the Matter of Fact muſt declare. For before his Coronation he made him Earl of *Cornwall*, and Lord of *Man*, both Honours belonging to the Crown: at his Coronation (notwithſtanding the Exceptions taken againſt him by all the Nobility, who refuſed to attend thereat till he had promiſed to fulfil his Father's Will, in regard to this Favourite) he gave him the Honour to carry King *Edward*'s Crown before him, which of right belonged to a Prince of the Blood to have done; and, after the Coronation, he married him to his own Niece, the Daughter of his ſecond Siſter *Joan de Acres*, by *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter*: having indeed rais'd him to this Pitch of Greatneſs, as tempted him to raiſe himſelf higher, created him *King in Man*, and under a Shew of Baniſhment ſent him into *Ireland*, with the Power of an abſolute Prince; which Favours, and his Marriage, inſpir'd *Gaveſton* with Expectations of ſome time being King of *England*, (if the King's Iſſue had fail'd). So that the Lords expecting no Juſtice from the King againſt him, reſolved to do themſelves right, and without more ado let fly a whole Volley of Accuſations at him. This firſt forced him to part from the King, and being ſeparated, they found it eaſy to make him part from himſelf; for it was not long before he fell into their Hands, being taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who chop'd off his Head: a Death however eſteem'd to be the moſt honourable of any other, was to him queſtionleſs the moſt grievous, in that it made him ſtoop, who never could endure to ſubmit.

This violent Proceeding of the Lords, as it ſhew'd a Roughneſs of the Times ſuitable to that of their own Natures, ſo it was the firſt Occaſion of the ſecond Civil War of *England*, which broke out like a Fire, that being long ſmother'd, was all in a Flame as ſoon almoſt as it was perceiv'd, and continued to the Year 1313, the Year after the Birth of the glorious Prince *Edward*[a].

The *Scots* had taken ſo great Advantage of the inteſtine Broils, with which *England* had for theſe many Years been diſabled to ſecure the Conqueſts made by King *Edward* I, that they not only had ſettled and ſecured their own Kingdom and Government againſt the *Engliſh*, but made Incurſions into *Northumberland*, to the great Terror, Loſs and Slaughter of the Inhabitants and Towns upon the Borders; and were now beſieging the Caſtle of *Striveling*, which was the only Place remaining of all the Acquiſitions made with the Loſs of ſo much Blood and Money, and with the Policy of the late King. So that it was reſolved by Parliament, held at *Weſtminſter*, of their own accord, to grant his Majeſty one-fifteenth, to enable him to raiſe a Force ſufficient to chaſtiſe them; who accordingly hired an Army (if we may credit *Hector Boëtius*) of three hundred thouſand Men, drawn from ſeveral States on the Continent. Which, if true, may ſerve to ſhew what little Truſt is to be placed in an Army compoſed of different Nations and Languages, and who have no other Motive to animate their Courage than their Wages, when they are to face a People that take up Arms in the Cauſe of their Country, whoſe Loſs would enſlave and bring Ruin upon themſelves and their Poſterity. For this Army of Hirelings, whoſe Pay eat up the Money that ſhould have provided a Fleet to act in conjunction with the Land-forces on the Coaſt, as in the Expeditions and Conqueſts under the late King had always been practiſed, having no national Intereſt at Heart, but only ſtudying to ſoothe the Gaiety of the King their Commander with the effeminate Appearance of their rich Equipages, and wanton Behaviour[b], were routed by a much leſs Number of *Scots*[c], with a greater Overthrow than that Nation had ever given the *Engliſh* before. I have dwelt longer on this Affair than perhaps may be thought conſiſtent with a Naval Hiſtory: But they who ſhall conſider how much it proves the Neceſſity of a naval Force in all Expeditions by *England*, and the little Help and Truſt to be expected from foreign Hirelings, or ſubſidiary Forces, will pardon the Digreſſion.

From this Time the Diſcontents of the Nation were renewed, and the King's Hands being thereby tied up for want of Money to defend the Nation; the *Scots*, join'd with the Mal-contents in the North, made continual Inroads, and committed the moſt extravagant Outrages as far as the Banks of the *Humber*[d]. And in the Year 1318, the King of *Scotland* reſolved to attempt the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and to place his Brother on the Throne of that Iſland, and ſo far ſucceeded in this Enterprize, that his Brother was join'd by ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility, and took upon him the Stile and Title of *Edward Bruce*, King of *Ireland*, in defiance of Sir *Edmund Butler*, who did all he could to prevent this Invaſion: the *Engliſh* at laſt ſent over a ſufficient Force, under Lord *Roger Mortimer*, who defeated the *Scotch* Army, and rebellious *Iriſh*, and ſlew *Edward Bruce* in the Field of Battle, after he had reigned three Years[e]. His Attempt upon *Ireland* is a farther Proof of the Neceſſity of a naval Force, the Want of which, in this Reign, encouraged the *Scotch* to undertake this hazardous Expedition into *Ireland*.

In the Year 1324, a Truce was concluded with *Scotland* for thirteen Years, and the King's Troubles with the Barons, on account of his new Favourites, the *Spencers*, Father and Son, till that time, found Employment enough to keep him from thinking of any foreign Expedition. In this Year, and the following, *Edward* had ſome Jarring with *France*, though the Peace ſtill ſubſiſted. Some Troops were ſent over to *Guienne*, commanded by the Earl of *Kent*, the King's Brother; and ſome other Preparations were made, which gave Occaſion to the Court of *France* to equip a Fleet, to oppoſe that of the *Engliſh*. We do not however find that they came to Action. *Iſabella*, *Edward*'s Queen, and Siſter of the King of *France*, going over to her Brother, in the Month of *July*, and being followed by her Son, Prince *Edward*, in *September*, ſhe concluded a Treaty, which the King her Huſband afterwards ratified, though it was manifeſtly more to the Advantage of her Brother, and her Son, than of himſelf. *Edward*, at length, finding himſelf impoſed upon by his Queen, in the Treaty he had concluded; and her Refuſal to return to *England* with her Son, notwithſtanding his poſitive Commands, giving him reaſonable Grounds to think ſomething was hatching againſt him at *Paris*, he proclaimed her and the Prince Enemies to the Kingdom, baniſhed them with all their Adherents, and declared War againſt *France*[f], though he was by no means in a Condition to carry it on. At the ſame time, he iſſued Orders to all the Sheriffs in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, to ſummon the Earls, Barons, Knights, and others who held by Knight's Service, Arrayers of Foot-ſoldiers, Light-horſemen, &c. to hold themſelves in a Readineſs. As alſo to *John l'Eſturmy*, Admiral of the *North*; to *Nicholas Kyriel*, Admiral of the *South Seas*; and to *Ralph Baſſet*, of *Drayton*, Conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle* and Guardian of the *Cinque Ports*, to hinder the Landing of all who were the King's Enemies, and with full Power to attack, infeſt and take all *French* Merchant Ships[g].

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[a] Born the 13th of November, 1312.

[b] Tho. de la More, Walſingh. Polydor. Virg. L. XVIII. Bellin. the Tranſlator of Boëtius, L. XIV. c. 11.

[c] At Banockſbourn, 23 and 24 June, A. D. 1314.

[d] Walſingham.

[e] Id. ibid. Bellind. Tranſl. L. XIV. c. 12. Tho. de la More, Polyd. Virg. L. 18.

[f] A. D. 1326.

[g] Walſingh. Rymer's Fœdera, T. IV. p. 189, 216, 218. Walſingham, and Mr. Echard ſay, John Oturwin, Nicholas Kyriel, and John Felton; and the latter knights them. They both ſay, that they took a hundred and twenty Sail of Ships belonging to Normandy.

It now evidently appear'd that *Iſabella*'s Intention was to dethrone her Huſband [a]. She concluded a Treaty with the Earl of *Hainault*, and contracted her Son *Edward* to the Princeſs *Philippa*, his Daughter, without the King's Conſent, or Knowledge [b]. She made a ſtrong Party againſt her Huſband in *England*, and, when every Thing was ripe for Action, embarked at *Dort*, with the Troops the Earl of *Hainault* had furniſhed her, under the Command of his Brother, to the Number of two thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty Men [c], who landed on the two and twentieth of *September* at *Orewell* near *Harwich*, and were there in *Suffolk* joined by *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and ſeveral other Lords. The Queen publiſhed a Maniſeſto, as well in her own Name, as in the Name of *Edward* her Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, to juſtify their Proceedings; which had ſuch an Effect, that *Edward* was forſaken by every one. In this Extremity he reſolved to retire to *Ireland*, and went to Sea in a ſmall Veſſel for that End: But was driven, by contrary Winds on the Coaſt of *Wales*. Here he lay concealed ſome Time in the Abby of *Neath*, but being diſcovered was taken, *November* the ſixteenth, and the twentieth was carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Monmouth*, where he was obliged to deliver up the Great Seal.

The Queen now in full Poſſeſſion of the Realm, called a Parliament, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the King ſhould be depoſed, and his Son *Edward* declared King in his Room: And, this Reſolution paſſing into an Act, he was proclaimed King in *Weſtminſter-hall*, by the Name of *Edward* III. His Father reſigned the Enſigns of Royalty on the two and twentieth Day of *January* [d], after having reigned nineteen Years, ſix Months and fifteen Days, in which he enjoyed but very little Happineſs, and obtained leſs Honour, excepting the Reputation of a Saint after his Death. He was ſhamefully treated, during the ſhort Remains of his Life, and barbarouſly murdered about eight Months afterwards, on the 21ſt of *September*, 1327, at Midnight [e], not when he was about to diſburthen Nature, according to Dr. *Howel* and others, but as he lay faſt aſleep in his Bed: But the Keepers being a little ſtartled at the Orders from the Queen and *Mortimer*, though they ſpared no other ill Uſage, ſent to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, a fit Caſuiſt, who was, it is thought, the Adviſer of it, to know whether it was lawful; to which the Biſhop ſent this Anſwer [f];

> Edwardum *occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*;

which Anſwer, according to the Placing of the Commas, was either a Plea for himſelf, or an Encouragement for them to perpetrate the worſt of all Crimes, the Murder of the Lord's Anointed.

It can never be expected that Trade ſhall make any Progreſs in a Kingdom or State rent with Factions, and overrun with Armies, as *England* was in this Reign: And yet there don't want ſome Gliſmmerings of a maritime Œconomy, and a ſtrong Propenſity to protect and promote the Trade of the Nation. It is certain the *Cinque Ports* maintain'd their Credit, and the Reſpect due to the *Britiſh* Flag. The King had his Admirals, and his Fleets on ſeveral Occaſions annoy'd his Enemies; though his bad Policy of putting too much Confidence in a Land-force, led him into a great Neglect of exerting the natural Strength of his Dominion by Sea.

The Letters he wrote to *Haquinus*, King of *Norway*, demanding the Enlargement of certain *Engliſh* Merchants, and Reſtitution of their Ships and Merchandiſe arreſted in *Norway*, convince us of his Majeſty's good Inclination to do all in his Power to protect the Trade of his Subjects; but at the ſame time give us an Inſtance of his Weakneſs and Inability to compel the *Norwegians*, as his Predeceſſors would have done, to do them Juſtice; as the Reader will be better able to judge from the Contents [g].

LETTER I.

To the mighty Prince, Lord *Haquinus*, by the Grace of God the famous King of *Norway*, his moſt dear Friend *Edward* by the ſame Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, Greeting and ſincere Love. We marvel not a little, and are much diſquieted in our Cogitations, conſidering the Grievances and Oppreſſions, which (as we have been informed by pitiful Complaints) are at this preſent, more than in Times paſt, without any reaſonable Cauſe inflicted upon our Subjects, which do uſually reſort unto your Kingdom for Traffick's Sake. For of late one *William* the Son of *Laurence* of *Wainfleet*, and one *Simon* the Son of *Alan* of the ſame town, and *Guido* the Son of *Matthew*, and their Aſſociates our Merchants, in complaining-wiſe declared unto us, that having ſent certain of their Factors and Servants, with three Ships into your Dominions, there to exerciſe Traffick, and the ſaid Ships being laden in the Haven of your Town of *Tonneſberg*, with Herrings and other Commodities, to a great Value: and alſo the ſaid Mariners, Men, and Servants of the foreſaid Ships, being licenſed by virtue of the Safe-conduct which you had granted them, freely to return from your Kingdom unto the Parts of *England* with their Ships and Goods aforeſaid; but afterwards not being able to depart out of your Haven by reaſon of contrary Winds, certain of your Bailiffs upon occaſion of the Slaughter of a Knight, being himſelf alſo of late your Bailiff of *Vikia*, committed by Malefactors and Pirates upon the Sea, whilſt the ſaid Ships remained in the Haven aforeſaid, did at your Commandment (as they ſay) arreſt, and for a long Seaſon alſo detained under that Arreſt, the foreſaid Ships, with all the Men and Goods that were in them; namely, until ſuch Time as the Men and Mariners aforeſaid (being driven perforce, and conſtrained thereunto) ſhould lay in ſufficient Security for the Payment of forty Pounds Sterling, upon a certain Day appointed, unto your Uſe, for every of the foreſaid Ships; and alſo until they had moreover delivered three Pledges, for the bringing of the ſaid Ships and Men back again into the foreſaid Haven, before the Feaſt of the Nativity of *St. John the Baptiſt* next enſuing, then and there to ſtand unto your Favour and Curteſy, as touching the ſaid Perſons, and thoſe Ships of theirs: which Dealing the Parties themſelves take very grievouſly, yea, and all others that hear thereof think it to be a ſtrange and unwonted Courſe. And becauſe it is moſt undoubtedly contrary to all Reaſon, Equity, Juſtice, and Law, that the Faults or Demerits of Offenders ſhould in any ſort be puniſhed in ſuch Perſons, or in their Goods, as neither have been acceſſory nor Partakers in the Crime, nor have had any Society with the ſaid Offenders: We do heartily intreat and requeſt your Highneſs, that weighing and pondering the Matter in the Balance of Juſtice, you would of your Love and Friendſhip, command the foreſaid Pledges to be ſet at Liberty, and the ſaid Security utterly to be releaſed and acquitted. And know you this for a Certainty, that if the foreſaid Malefactors, who (as it is reported) ſlew your Knight aforeſaid, ſhall any where within our Realm and Dominions be found, we will cauſe Juſtice and Judgment to be executed upon them, according to the Law and Cuſtom of our ſaid Realm. For we cannot in theſe Times conveniently and well indure, that the Ships aforeſaid, or any other Ships of our Kingdom (which ought always to be in a Readineſs for our Service) ſhould without ſpecial Licence, depart out of our ſaid Kingdom unto foreign Dominions. Now, what you ſhall think good at this our Requeſt to perform in the Premiſes, may it pleaſe you by the Bearer of theſe Preſents to return an Anſwer unto us. Given at *Windſor* the 16th of *April*.

LETTER II.

To the mighty Prince, Lord *Haquinus*, by the Grace of God the famous King of *Norway*, his moſt dear Friend *Edward* by the ſame Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, Greeting and ſincere Love. We received the Complaint of our well-beloved Merchants *Thomas de Swyn* of *Wainfleet*, and *Simon* the Son of *Alanus* of the ſame Town; the Contents whereof are, that whereas of late the ſaid Parties ſent certain of their Servants to traffick in your Kingdom, your Treaſurer upon the Feaſt of *St. Michael* laſt paſt, without any juſt or reaſonable Occaſion, cauſed the Goods and Merchandiſe of the foreſaid *Thomas* and *Simon*, to the Value of forty Pound, which their ſaid Servants had under their Cuſtody at the Town of *Northberne*, to be arreſted, and as yet alſo injuriouſly detaineth the ſame under the ſame Arreſt, to the great Damage and Impoveriſhing of the ſaid *Thomas* and *Simon*. And foraſmuch as our Deſire is to ſuccour theſe our Merchants ſo far forth as we can, Juſtice requiring no leſs in this Behalf, we do right earneſtly requeſt you, that having heard the Complaint and Supplication of the foreſaid *Thomas* and *Simon*, or of their Attornies, you would of your Love and Friendſhip vouchſafe them ſpeedy Adminiſtration of Juſtice, about the Reſtitution of their Goods and Merchandiſe aforeſaid; leſt that for Want of the exhibiting of Juſtice about the foreſaid Arreſt, we be conſtrained to provide ſome other Remedy for our Merchants aforeſaid. Our Requeſt is, that you would by the Bearer of theſe Preſents return an Anſwer unto us, what you are determined to do, at this our inſtant Motion. Given as above.

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[a] Walſingh. Froiſſard.

[b] Rymer's Fœdera, T. IV. p. 195.

[c] Holinſh.

[d] A. D. 1327.

[e] Barnes's Notes on the Acta Regia.

[f] Tho. de la More.

[g] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 138.

LETTER III.

To the mighty Prince, King *Haquinus*, by the Grace of God the famous King of *Norway*, his moſt dear Friend *Edward* by the ſame Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, Greeting and ſincere Love. We ſent of late unto your royal Majeſty our ſpecial Letters, in the Behalf of our late Merchants of *Lenne*, and of the Coaſt adjoining (whom your Bailiff and Officers of the City of *Bergen* lately apprehended, committing them to cloſe Priſon, many of whom, as we underſtand, are, for want of due Nouriſhment, and by reaſon of the Extremity and Loathſomneſs of the Priſon, quite periſhed) that you would cauſe them and their Goods to be releaſed. Howbeit, you retaining as yet our Merchants in Durance as before, in your Letters, which we have diligently heard, and throughly underſtood, have, amongſt other Matters, returned this Anſwer unto us, that certain Merchants of your Kingdom do make ſundry Complaints of Injuries, Violences and Arreſts, whereby they have lately (as themſelves avouch) contrary to Juſtice been aggrieved and oppreſſed in our Dominions: adding moreover in your ſaid Letters, that certain Sons of Iniquity of the Town of *Lenne*, coming, as they ſaid, to fiſh for Herrings, cruelly murdered a certain Knight, who was in Times paſt your Bailiff of *Vikia*, together with ten others of your Subjects, being employed about the Affairs of your Kingdom. In Conſideration whereof our Mind is exceedingly and above Meaſure grieved and troubled, eſpecially ſince it was never any Part of our Intent, that any Injuries, Violences, or Arreſts ſhould unjuſtly be inflicted upon any Merchants, or any others of your Realm by any of our Kingdoms; neither can we as yet have any Intelligence, that any ſuch hard Meaſure hath been offered unto any of your Merchants, by any one or more of our Subjects: giving you for a Certainty to underſtand, that if upon lawful Inquiſition we ſhall be advertiſed of any ſuch Grievances, which have been offered unto your Subjects within our Realm, we will cauſe ſpeedy Juſtice to be adminiſtred, and ſufficient Recompence, and due Satiſfaction to be made in regard thereof. And moreover, if the ſaid Malefactors, which, as it is aforeſaid, ſlew the fore-named Knight, and others of his Company, either be appertaining unto our Kingdom and Dominion, or may at any Time be found within our ſaid Kingdom or Dominion, we will command Juſtice and Judgment to be executed upon them, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of our Realm. And foraſmuch as our Deſire is, that mutual Concord and Amity ſhould be maintained and cheriſhed between your and our Subjects on both Parts, ſo that our and your Merchants may, in both our Realms and Dominions, freely and without Impediment exerciſe their Traffick, as in the Times of our Progenitors it hath been accuſtomed: Whereas alſo we evidently gathered out of the Contents of your Letter, that you are in like ſort ready and willing to put all Things in practice, which are by you and your Subjects (for the taking away of Diſcords, Contentions, and Moleſtations howſoever occaſioned, and ſprung up between your and our Subjects) lovingly to be performed: We alſo do promiſe for ourſelves, and our Subjects, ſo much as in us and them lieth, for his Sake who is known to be the Author of Peace, and for the Benefit and Tranquillity of both our Realms (as Juſtice and Reaſon ſhall move us) to do the like. Deſiring and earneſtly requeſting at your Hands, that of your Love and Friendſhip, having Regard of us, and Conſideration of Juſtice, you would command that our foreſaid Merchants, who as yet remain alive, and who alſo at the Time of the ſaid Felony committed, were ſhut up in cloſe Priſon, be delivered out of the ſaid Thraldom, cauſing their Goods which have been taken from them, to be, according unto Juſtice, reſtored to them again. And that the Delivery of our foreſaid Merchants and Goods, may be the more eaſily yielded unto, may it pleaſe you with diligent Obſervation to conſider, that *Geffrey Drew*, and certain other of our Merchants of *Lenne*, upon occaſion of the Grievances offered unto your Merchants within our Realm, (as the Report goeth) at the Suit of *Tidman Lippe*, paid unto the ſame your Merchants an hundred Pound Sterling, even as in a certain Indenture made between *Ingelram Lende* of *Thorenden*, and ſome others of your Merchants on the one Part, and between the foreſaid *Geffrey*, and certain of our Merchants on the other Part, we ſaw contained. Moreover, if any of your Subjects be minded to exhibit, and effectually to proſecute their Complaints in our Court, concerning any of our Subjects, or of any Injury done unto them, we will cauſe the Petitions of thoſe your Subjects to be admitted, and alſo full and ſpeedy Juſtice to be adminiſtred, upon any ſuch like Complaints of theirs. Inſomuch, that thoſe your Subjects ſhall think themſelves right well and ſufficiently contented therewithal. And in the mean Space we will cauſe diligent Inquiſition of the Truth to be made, of all Exceſſes and Grievances howſoever offered unto your Subjects within our Dominions. May it pleaſe you therefore, by the Bearer of theſe Preſents, to return an Anſwer unto us, what you are determined to do in the Premiſes. Given at *Weſtminſter*, the third Day of *April*.

But what gives us a greater Idea of his Application to the trading Intereſt of the Nation, and eſpecially of his extraordinary Care to encourage and ſecure the ſtaple Commodity of the Kingdom, is the following Charter he granted, and the following Ordinance he made, concerning *Wool*, &c.

The ORDINANCE *concerning the* WOOL-STAPLE.

" The King unto his Collectors of Cuſtom, for Wool " and Woollen-fells, in his Port of *London*, Greeting. " Whereas we upon the 20th of *May*, in the ſixth Year of " our Reign, conſidering the Damages and Grievances " that have diverſly happened unto the Merchants of our " Realm, upon occaſion that the Merchants both of our " own, and of other Countries, buying up Wool and " Woollen-fells within our Kingdom and Dominions, have, " for the better Sale thereof, at their Pleaſure conveyed " themſelves, and tranſported the ſaid Wool and Fells into " ſundry Places within the Provinces of *Brabant*, *Flanders* " and *Artoys*: And being deſirous alſo, to our Power, to " provide a Remedy againſt ſuch Damages and Inconveniencies, have ordained by our Council, that all Mer" chants, both Home-born and Aliens, buying up ſuch " Wools and Fells, within our Kingdom and Dominion " aforeſaid, and being deſirous to tranſport them into the " foreſaid Provinces, there to be ſold, may carry the ſaid " Wools and Fells, or cauſe them to be carried to ſome " certain Staple, within any of the ſaid Provinces, by the " Mayor and Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants of our " Realm, to be appointed and aſſigned, and when they " ſhall think it expedient, to be changed and removed, " and not unto any other Place within the ſaid Provinces " whatſoever: And whereas alſo, amongſt other Things, " we have granted unto the Merchants of our foreſaid " Realm, for us and our Heirs, that the Mayor and Coun" cil of the ſaid Merchants for the time being, may im" poſe upon all Merchants, Home-born or Aliens what" ſoever, that ſhall tranſgreſs the foreſaid Ordination, and " ſhall thereof lawfully be convicted, certain Sums of " Money to be paid for their Offences, and that ſuch " Sums muſt by our Miniſters and Officers, to our Uſe, " be levied out of the Goods and Wares of the Merchants “ſo offending, whereſoever they ſhall chance to be found within our Kingdom and Dominions aforeſaid, as in our Charter made for the ſame Purpoſe, it is more plainly expreſſed, (which Charter we have cauſed to be publiſhed upon the Sea-coaſts, throughout all the Countries of our Realm, and a ſtrong Prohibition to be proclaimed, that no Merchants, neither Home-born nor Strangers, may in any wiſe tranſgreſs the Tenor of the foreſaid Charter, under the Penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it being given us to underſtand, that divers Merchants, both Home-born and Aliens, bought up ſuch Wools and Woollen-fells within our ſaid Realm and Dominions, and conveyed themſelves with the ſaid Wools and Fells, for the Sale thereof, unto other Places within the foreſaid Provinces, beſides the ſaid Staple, which was, according to our Grant aforeſaid, appointed and ordained by the Mayor and Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants of our Realm, in ſome one of thoſe Provinces, to the Contempt of our Authority, and contrary to the Charter of the Ordination, Publication, and Inhibition aforeſaid; we aſſigned certain of our faithful Subjects, in divers Parts of our Realm, to make Inquiſition for ſuch Wools and Woollen-fells, as were conveyed unto [illegible] other Place of the ſaid Provinces, than unto the Staple, ſo that by theſe Means, the Penalties due unto us might be levied unto our Uſe: And having Intelligence alſo, that in a manner all Merchants, both Home-born and Strangers, bartering ſuch Wares in our Kingdom, are culpable of the Premiſes, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to be indicted, do cauſe their Wools and Woollen-fells to be avouched under the Names of Perſons not culpable, and to be ſent over unto certain Strangers being alſo culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our Realm, that they may ſo eſcape the foreſaid Forfeitures, and defraud us of the Penalty, appertaining of Right unto us, (which Abuſes, if they were ſuffered ſo to go unpuniſhed, would redound unto our extreme Hinderance) and being likewiſe deſirous to withſtand ſuch deceitful Dealing, and ſo far forth as we can, to prevent our own Loſſes, we firmly command, and ſtreightly charge you, that you do receive of every particular Merchant, deſirous to convey any Wools, or Woollen-fells out of the foreſaid Port, into any foreign Dominions, a corporal Oath upon God's Holy Evangeliſts; that they ſhall avouch all thoſe Wools and Woollen-fells under his Name unto whom they do properly belong, and under the Name of none other: And then taking ſufficient Security from the Owner of thoſe Wools and Fells, or in his Name, in regard whereof you will undertake to warrantize, and make good unto us thoſe Penalties and Forfeitures which ſhall unto us appertain, for all Wools and Woollen-fells, conveyed or ſent by any of the foreſaid Merchants unto any of the ſaid Provinces of *Flanders*, *Brabant* and *Artoys*, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and Inhibition above-mentioned (if they ſhall chance to be convinced hereof) that firſt, our due Cuſtom being received, you do permit the ſaid Wools and Woollen-fells to paſs out of the foreſaid Port into foreign Countries. Witneſs the King at *Dover*, the 18th Day of *June*. By the King himſelf and his Council.”

And afterwards by a Writ under the King's Privy-ſeal, there was a like Commandment given unto the Collectors of the Cuſtom aforeſaid, in the Ports underwritten. That is to ſay:

In the Port of the Town of
- *Weymouth*.
- *Southampton*.
- St. *Botulphs* Town, now called *Boſton*.
- *Kingſton* upon *Hull*.
- *Newcaſtle*.
- *Jernemouth Magna*, or *Yarmouth*.
- *Lenne*.
- *Gypswick*, or *Ipſwich*.

Edward III. who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Throne[a] on the Reſignation of the Crown by his Father, with the Advice of Parliament, and his Father's Conſent, was now at the Head of a powerful Army marching againſt the *Scots*, who had penetrated as far as the County of *Durham*, and threatened Deſtruction to all Oppoſers. He met their Hoſt near *Stanhope*, on the North-weſt Corner of the ſaid County, and having ſurpriſed them in the Woods of *Weardale*, muſt certainly have cut them to Pieces, or forced them to ſubmit, had not *Mortimer*, his Mother's Favourite, betrayed his Councils, and favoured their Eſcape, to the great Grief of the young King; who was afterwards prevailed upon by the ſame Traitor, and the Queen-mother, to ſign a moſt inglorious Peace[b].

Mortimer, who had debauched the Queen his Mother, adviſed the Dethroning and Murder of his Father, and had directed all the Councils of the Nation during his Reign, to ſerve his own private Intereſt, and to feed his own Paſſions, laid himſelf ſo open to King *Edward*, and to the Murmurs of the Nobles, Clergy, and the People, by this ſcandalous Peace, that he provoked his Majeſty to proceed to Extremities. *Edward* being truly informed of theſe Treaſons, while the Parliament was ſitting at *Nottingham*, and every one was afraid to attack this Monſter of the State, entered his Mother's Bed chamber, and with the Riſque of his Life, ſeized upon him, and ſent him to *London*, where *Mortimer* on the Block ſuffered the Fate of a Traitor to his King and Country.

Edward was at this time twenty Years old; and diſdaining the Affronts and Loſſes ſuſtained by the Crown and his Subjects from the *Scots*, who inſulted the weak Adminiſtration of his Mother, and did incredible Miſchief in the North, he prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade that Country; and, tho' his Ships ſuffered greatly by a Storm on the *Scottiſh* Coaſt, and were rendered unſerviceable, this Armament ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy, that he dethroned *David Brus*, and reſtored *John Baliol*[c] to the Crown, which *Edward* I. had placed upon his Head.

By this Policy *Edward* ſecuring *Scotland*; to obviate any Diverſion, which from that Quarter might be ſpirited up by the *French*, applied diligently to reſtoring the Navy to maintain the Dominion of the Sea, which would effectually ſecure him from apprehending any Danger from the Efforts of his Enemies, when he found an Opportunity to aſſert his Title to the Crown of *France*[d].

His Majeſty, in Right of his Queen *Iſabella*, Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, to whom it devolved after the Death of *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, her three Brothers, who were all ſucceſſively Kings of *France*, and died without Male-iſſue, demanded the Crown of *France*. But the *French* rejected his Plea, and placed *Philip de Valois*, Couſin-german to the late King *Charles*, upon the Throne, by the Name of *Philip* VI.[e] and *Edward* was obliged for a while to appear ſatisfied with their Election, till he ſhould be better able to prevail with his *Engliſh* Subjects to aſſert his Right, which did not offer before the Year 1336, when *Philip* of *Artois*, one of the firſt Princes of the Blood of *France*, and Brother-in-law to *Philip de Valois*, being incens'd by a Judgment given againſt him for the County of *Artois*, recover'd by his Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgoigne*, came over into *England*, with a Reſolution to ſet aſide his Title, who had before ſet aſide his: Neither wanted he a Power ſuitable to his deſired Revenge; for being well acquainted with the Secrets of that King's Council, all which he reveal'd to King *Edward*; and being able to give him good Security for the Affections of ſeveral of the chief Governors there that depended on him, 'tis no marvel he ſo quickly blew that Spark of Glory which he found wrapt up in the Embers of King *Edward*'s ambitious Thoughts, into ſuch a Flame, as threatning the Deſtruction of that ſpacious Country, made all Chriſtendom afraid of the Conſequence.

The great Queſtion of Right betwixt the two greateſt Kings of *Europe* being thus ſet up, which in effect was no more than this, whether the *French* King ſhould take place as Heir-male of the collateral and more remote Line, or the *Engliſh* King as Heir of the Female, but direct Line, and one Degree nearer; thoſe of the other Side the Water

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[a] A. D. 1327. Ætat. 14, was crowned on the Firſt or Second Day of February. Holinſhed.

[b] Walſingham. Buchanan. Hect. Boet.

[c] A. D. 1334.

[d] Hemingford. Adam Murimuth. Robert de Aveſbury.

[e] A. D. 1329. Mezeray. Barnes. Froiſſard. Edward the Black Prince was born in this Year. Walſingham.

ter obſtinately refus'd to tie their Crown (as they ſaid) to a Diſtaff; to which King *Edward* reply'd, he would then tie it to his Sword. Upon this they join'd Iſſue, and both Sides prepar'd for the Deciſion by Arms. King *Philip* had a double Advantage of the *Engliſh*; firſt, in the Loyalty and Affections of the *French*, as being their natural Prince; ſecondly, by the Authority of the *Salique* Law, which however it was not ſo clear, but that it might admit of much Diſpute, yet being back'd with a Poſſeſſion, which made up eleven of the twelve Points controvertable (there having been a Succeſſion of three Sons of *Philip le Bell*, Queen *Iſabel*'s Father, by whom King *Edward* claimed) each inheriting ſucceſſively as the next Heir Male, notwithſtanding each of them left Daughters by which the preſent King *Philip* came now in as Heir Maſculine) it ſeemed ſo like an adjudged Caſe, that King *Edward* thinking it better to cut the Knot, than loſe time in trying to untie it, reſolved to put it to the Determination of a Battle [a]. This Reſolution of his was ſo loudly proclaimed every where Abroad, as well as at Home, that like Thunder before a Storm, the very Noiſe of his Preparations made all Chriſtendom ſhake, and ſo ſhake, that it fell into Parties: The Princes of each Country round about, like Herdſmen before a Tempeſt, flying ſome to one ſide, ſome to another; all ſeeking rather to ſhelter themſelves, than to add any thing to the Party they flew to.

With the *Engliſh* King took part the Emperor, and all the Princes of *Germany* of the firſt Rank (the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and the Earl of *Flanders* only excepted, whoſe People yet were on this Side for their Trades Sake) the Earl of *Holland*, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelders*, the Marquis of *Juliers*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and *Valeran* his Brother, and divers of the more Northern Princes: With the *French* were the King of *Bohemia*, the two Dukes of *Auſtria*, and the Earl of *Flanders* before-mentioned, the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Marquis of *Montferrat*, the Earl of *Geneva*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and divers of the Princes of *Italy*, to the Number (ſaith *Du Hailan*) of 10,000 Perſons; and which perhaps was more conſiderable, by how much he was nearer than all the reſt, was his inraged Brother in Law *David Bruce* King of *Scots*, a weak, but a reſtleſs Enemy, who had reaſon to take part with the other Side, for that he, as the other, fought againſt a Competitor too, King *Edward* having ſet up *Baliol* to vie with him.

All things being ready, *Edward* ſet Sail from *Orewell* in *Suffolk*, the 15th of *July* [b], with a Fleet of 500 Ships, accompanied by the chief of his Nobility, and arrived at *Antwerp*, the 22d of *July*. But his Allies not being ſo forward, nothing was done this Year. It was the 1ſt of *September*, 1339, before *Edward* was in a Readineſs to enter into Action; but then he marched at the Head of 40,000 Men, ravaging as he went, and encamped between *Marchienne* and *Dovay*. On the 19th he marched towards *le Cambreſis*, and halted ſome time before the Walls of *Cambray*. Here being informed that *Philip* was advancing with a formidable Army, to give him Battle, he croſſed the *Schelde* to meet him. The two Armies encamped very near one another a few Days afterwards; and the 22d of *October* was pitched upon by both Monarchs for a deciſive Battle: But *Philip* thought fit to retreat before the appointed Day; and *Edward* ſeeing no Probability of bringing him to a Battle, marched into *Hainault*. However, the *French* ſorely troubled the Coaſts of *England*. At *Haſtings* [c], on the Feaſt of *Corpus-Chriſti*, they burnt certain Fiſhermens Houſes, and ſlew ſome of the Inhabitants. In the Havens about *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and towards *Briſtol*, they took and burnt ſeveral Ships, killing the Mariners that fell into their Hands; and in the *Whitſun* Week they landed at *Plymouth*, and burnt the greater Part of the Town; but were repulſed with the Loſs of 500 Men, by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, with other Knights, and Men of the Country. They alſo quickly after *Michaelmas*, took and pillaged the Town of *Southampton*; and the next Day, ſetting Fire to it in five Places at once, burnt the greater Part thereof. Thirteen Sail of the *French* Fleet met with five *Engliſh* Ships, and, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance of nine Hours, took the two largeſt, called the *Edward* and the *Chriſtopher* [d]; the other three, being ſmaller Veſſels, eſcaped by the Swiftneſs of their Sailing. There were ſlain on both Sides about 600 Men.

The Mariners of the *Cinque-ports*, having manned a Number of ſmall Veſſels, ſailed over to *Boulogne*, where they landed in a Fog, and attacking the lower Town, burnt nineteen Gallies, four great Ships, and to the Number of twenty ſmaller Veſſels, together with Tackling and Furniture. They likewiſe ſet Fire to all the Houſes that ſtood near the Water-ſide, and, in particular, they burnt one large Houſe, in which was ſuch a Number of Oars, Sails, Armour and Croſs-bows, as would have ſufficed for the nineteen Gallies, and their Companies [e].

In 1340, (tho' *Walſingham* places it in 1338) King *Edward* firſt aſſumed the Title of King of *France*, quartered the *French Flower-de-luces*, with his own Arms, and added the Motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT (*God and my Right*) to ſhew that he relied upon God and the Juſtice of his Cauſe [f]. He publiſhed, at the ſame Time, a Declaration to the *French*, and a Manifeſto againſt *Philip*.

He returned to *England*, where he arrived in *February*, to haſten, by his Preſence, the great Preparations he had reſolved to make for the more vigorous Purſuance of the War, in the approaching Campaign.

The *French* were not all this Time idle; but having got a good Number of Ships together, committed ſeveral Depredations on the Coaſts, and particularly at *Portſmouth*, and in the Iſland of *Guernſey*, where they laid almoſt all the Towns and Villages in Aſhes. The *French* Hiſtorians [g] likewiſe mention a Sea-fight, in 1339, in which they pretend they took two of our largeſt Ships, with ſeveral ſmall ones, and killed 1000 Men.

King *Edward* having got a Fleet of 200 Ships together, which was afterwards joined by the *Northern* Fleet, he embarked with his Troops, on the 22d of *June*, and, the next Day, ſet Sail from the *Downs*, having then a Fleet of 260 Sail of Ships fit for War [h]. The *French*, in the mean Time, having early Notice of *Edward*'s Deſign, got all their naval Force, conſiſting of 400 Sail of Ships, together, in the Port of *Sluys* [i], reſolving, to the utmoſt of their Power, to prevent his Landing thereabouts. *Edward* ſent the Lord *Cobham*, and ſome others, to view the Enemy's Fleet, and upon their Report, reſolved, notwithſtanding their Superiority, to open a Paſſage thro' them; his Ambition of acquiring Fame having made him receive the News with more Joy than Surpriſe. When the News was brought to the King, he made Anſwer, "I have long waited for this "Opportunity. With the Help of GOD and St. GEORGE, "I will now engage them, and be revenged for all the "Affronts they have offered me [k]." The King having ordered all his Ships to be in a Readineſs, placed the ſtrongeſt in the Front, and filled thoſe with Archers, which were at each End of the Line. Between every two Ships of Archers he cauſed one to be placed filled with Men at Arms. He likewiſe ordered another Line to be formed on the Side, as a Body of Reſerve, and filled the Ships with Archers, to ſupport or relieve thoſe, which might moſt want it, as Occaſion ſhould require [l].

The *Engliſh* Fleet approaching the Haven of *Sluys*, in this Order, found the *French* already lying in Order of Battle, in three Diviſions, waiting for them: Upon which enſued one of the moſt bloody Engagements, that any Age had produced, in thoſe Seas, and the firſt in which a King of *England* had commanded in Perſon. The *Engliſh* having gained the Advantage of the Wind and Sun, by their Dexterity and Management; the King ordered the Signal for engaging to be given, as ſoon as the Fleet was got within a proper Diſtance for giving or receiving the Onſet. The

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[a] Edward ſet up his Title thus: He acknowledged that the Salique Law excluded the Females; but he maintained that the Males deſcending from thoſe Females, were not excluded by that Law; becauſe the Reaſon whereon it was founded did not reach them.

[b] A. D. 1338. Froiſſard. Walſingham.

[c] Holinſhed.

[d] Walſingham.

[e] Holinſhed, Vol. II.

[f] Froiſſard. Walſingham. Knighton.

[g] F. Daniel. Froiſſard.

[h] Burchett. Knighton. Walſingham. Froiſſard.

[i] Above ſix Score large Ships, and a great Number of ſmaller Veſſels, called Hanquebos, with 40,000 Men on-board, chiefly Normans, Picards and Genoeſe, Froiſſard. F. Daniel. Hiſt. de la Mil. Fr.

[k] Froiſſard.

[l] Froiſſard.

Normans perceiving the *Engliſh* to tack, as they did, to get the Wind, thought they were taking to their Heels, and began to triumph: But they ſoon found their Miſtake, and being able Seamen, and good Combatants, prepared for the Fight. They began the Battle, by advancing with the great *Chriſtopher*, a Ship they had taken the Year before from the *Engliſh*, and, with a great Noiſe of Trumpets, and other Inſtruments, attempted to break the Line, to come at the Ship in which they ſuppoſed the King to be. They were received with a general Shout; and, during continued Huzzas, the *Engliſh* poured ſuch a Shower of Arrows from their Long-bows into the Enemy's Ships, as ſoon covered their Decks with dead and wounded Men, and put the whole Fleet into a general Conſternation. The great *Chriſtopher* was taken in the Beginning of the Battle, and all that were in her killed or made Priſoners. The *Engliſh* filled her with Archers, and ſent her to annoy the *Genoeſe*: And now Death and Deſtruction appeared on every Side in their moſt terrible Array. The Air was darkened with Arrows, and the Men at Arms engaged in cloſe Fight. The *Engliſh* taking the Advantage of the Confuſion they had put the *French* in at the Beginning, ſo[illegible]ded, with the Help of their Grappling-irons; and p[illegible]g their good Fortune, obtained a compleat Victory, with the Loſs of 4000 Men. And the *French* [a] attribute the Succeſs of this Day to the Aſſiſtance the *Engliſh* had from a great Number of *Flemiſh* Ships, which coming out of ſeveral Ports of *Flanders*, joined them in the Beginning of the Battle.

When Night was come upon them, there were thirty *French* Ships, which, not having been in the Engagement, ſought to eſcape, under favour of the Darkneſs. Among theſe was a very large Veſſel, called the *James* of *Diep*, on which, when taken, after ſhe, with the reſt, had been engaged with the Earl of *Huntington* the whole Night, they found 400 dead Bodies.

Great Numbers of the *French* Sailors deſperately threw themſelves into the Sea, and ſubmitted to a certain Death, rather than to abide the repeated Vollies of the *Engliſh* Arrows; or, what might contribute more to this deſperate Reſolution, in the Heat of the Battle, no Quarter was given in the Ships that were taken. This Battle laſted, from eight in the Morning till ſeven at Night. The Loſs on the *French* Side, amounted to 30,000 Men, and 230 Ships; only [b] thirty, or very few [c] Ships eſcaped. According to their own Accounts, they loſt two Admirals, *Babuchet* who was killed in the Action, and *de Keruel* taken Priſoner. King *Edward* behaved, during the whole Battle, with an inimitable Courage and Conduct. If the former filled his Soldiers with Admiration, the latter raiſed no leſs Wonder in the Mariners. They ſaw with Aſtoniſhment, a Prince, who had never commanded at Sea before, give his Orders with as much Prudence and Foreſight, as if it had been the whole Buſineſs of his Life. He minded neither Danger nor Fatigue, but was always preſent where the Action was the hotteſt.

The *French* King's Courtiers being under Uneaſineſs in what Manner they ſhould communicate the News of this great Loſs to him, his Jeſter took upon him to do it, and going into his Majeſty's Preſence, broke out into the moſt violent Exclamations of, "O the cowardly *Engliſh*, "paultry *Engliſh*, faint-hearted *Engliſh*!" Whereupon the King aſking, "Why they were ſuch Cowards? What had "they done?" "Why, replied he, becauſe they had not "the Courage to jump into the Sea as your Majeſty's "brave *Normans* and *Frenchmen* have done."

Father *Daniel* [d] makes the following Obſervations on this Sea-fight:

The firſt is, that no mention is made, in our Accounts of this Battle, either of the *Roſtrum*, which was, in more ancient Times, the principal offenſive Weapon of the Ship, or of Gallies, or Rowers; nor is any Notice taken of that manner of working Ships, by which the Commander of one Veſſel attempted to break the Oars of another, and thereby rendered it unfit for Service. This the *Latins* called *Remos detergere*, and it was performed in the following Manner: The Ship, making this Attempt, laid itſelf as near as poſſible to the Enemy's Ship, in a parallel Line, and then, at a Signal given, ruſhing on at once, with all their Might, and either lifting up, or withdrawing their own Oars ſuddenly, grazed with Violence on the Enemy's Ship, and broke their Oars, with the Hulk of their own Veſſel; after which they generally tacked about, and either goared the other Ship with their *Roſtrum*, or grappled.

Hence it follows, that at this Time, as well the *Engliſh* as the *French* had not only left off the Manner of the *Romans*, who, in their naval Combats, always made uſe of Oars, but the Uſe of thoſe beaked Veſſels, which they called *Naves roſtratæ*, that were yet in Uſe in the Time of *Philip Auguſt*, (towards the Concluſion of the twelfth, and the Beginning of the thirteenth Century.) And indeed neither this *Roſtrum*, nor the *Eperon*, or *Beak-head*, which afterwards ſupplied the Place of it, could be managed but by means of Oars.

It is plain, therefore, that in this Battle, the Ships were ſuch, as in compariſon to the flat or low-built Gallies, might properly be called high-decked Ships. Not but that, in theſe high-decked Veſſels, they made uſe of Oars together with their Sails; but in their naval Fights, if we may judge by this, they worked leſs with the former than the latter.

As in theſe Times [e] the *French* Fleets were compoſed of all kinds of Ships, got together in the ſeveral Ports of *France*, there were ſometimes Gallies among them, but in leſs Number than in former Times: For at the Battle of *Guernſey*, which was fought not long afterwards, *Lewis* of *Spain*, who commanded the *French* Fleet of 32 Sail, had nine Ships larger than the reſt, three of which were Gallies. The reſt were high-decked Veſſels, which in Battle made more uſe of their Sails than their Oars.

This is to be underſtood of Ships in the Weſtern Seas, in which theſe Battles between the *French* and *Engliſh* were fought, and not of thoſe in the *Mediterranean*, where they have always made uſe of Gallies, more than of any other kinds of Ships; and that even of later Years, whether the Battles have been fought in that Sea, or whether upon any Occaſion they have come into the Ocean.

When therefore in the Time of *Philip the Fair*, and of *Philip de Valois* (at the Beginning of the fourteenth Century) mention is made of the Men of War of *France*, or *England*, or even of *Spain*, in the *Ocean*, it is always to be underſtood of ſuch Ships as are worked by Sails, and not by Oars, except on a Retreat, or to gain the Wind.

Father *Daniel* makes another Obſervation on this Sea-fight, upon *Froiſſard*'s Account of the Order of Battle, on the *Engliſh* Side. This Author, ſays he, who is always a Friend to the *Engliſh*, ſays nothing of the Order of Battle on the *French* Side; but it is very probable their Fleet was ranged much in the ſame Manner.

We are told, 1. That the King of *England* placed all his Ships of the greateſt Force in the Front: By which we may conclude that he formed at leaſt two Lines. 2. That the Ships which were placed at the two Ends of the firſt Line were filled with Archers: This was, that they might continually infeſt the Enemy with their Arrows; and from thence may be inferred, that thoſe in the Center were manned with Men at Arms; beſides which we find he placed a Ship with Men at Arms, between every two Ships of Archers; the Deſign of which was probably to be ready for a cloſe Fight. 3. That he kept another Squadron at a Diſtance, to be a Body of Reſerve: Which, without doubt, had Orders to detach Veſſels, from time to time, to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe they ſhould obſerve to be the moſt preſſed.

What is here obſerved of the *Engliſh* Fleet being ranged in a double Line, confirms what was ſaid before, that the greateſt Part of the Fleet conſiſted of high-decked Veſſels, and not of Gallies: For the common Way of ranging Gallies was in the Form of a Half-moon, the two Points or Horns of which advanced towards the Enemy; and the two Fleets lay with their Prows or Heads facing one another. Thus as our Gallies, at this Time, have their Guns

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[a] F. Daniel. Holinſhed. [b] Knighton. [c] Walſingham. [d] F. Daniel, Hiſt. de la Milice, Fr. Tom. II. p. 468. [e] It was, at that Time, juſt the ſame with our Engliſh Fleets, which, as we ſhall ſee below, were not only furniſhed with Ships from the ſeveral Ports of England, but from abroad: We hired Genoeſe, Venetian, Flemiſh, and other foreign Veſſels to make up our own Fleets.

on their Prows or Fore-caſtles, ſo then they placed their Machines and chief Inſtruments of Defence there. On the other hand, in theſe high-decked Ships, the Archers, Slingers, and *Balliſta's* (or Engines to throw Darts or Stones) were placed upon Deck, and they conſequently fought Broad-ſide to Broad-ſide, in the ſame Manner as now, whether in the Attack or the Defence.

The third Obſervation he makes is, that in thoſe Days, after the Diſcharge of their Arrows, they were generally more ready at Boarding than now; and that they fought irregularly, without much regard to the Breaking of their Line. But as this Fleet was ranged in more than one Line, it is more than probable (ſays he) that the Ships of the ſecond Line continued in Order of Battle, while thoſe of the firſt grappled and boarded.

The Enemy's Fleet being thus entirely defeated, King *Edward* kept the Sea three Days, and then landed his Troops, without any Oppoſition; and having joined the *Germans*, *Flemiſh* and *Gaſcons*, marched with his Army, conſiſting of 150,000 Men, from *Ghent* [a] to *Tournay*, and beſieged that Place. After a three Month's fruitleſs Siege, being continually harraſſed by *Philip*, with a much ſtronger Army, *Edward* was perſuaded, or rather compelled, by the Defection of his Allies [b], to come into a Truce, till the 25th of *June*, the next Year, and it was afterwards prolonged.

The Truce being concluded, *Edward* embarked with his Queen for *England*, and landed at the *Tower*, on the 30th of *November* [c], to the great Joy of his Subjects, who congratulated him upon the Advantages gained by his naval Force; but could not help ſhewing their Diſſatisfaction at the vaſt Sums of Money he had caſt away in thoſe ſubſidiary Forces, which had taken his Pay, and promiſed great Aid, when there was no Enemy in the Way; but by this Defection did now convince him, that in all foreign Confederacies, an *Engliſh* Monarch is no farther conſidered than for the Sake of his Treaſure, with which he is ſure to part, without the leaſt Certainty of meeting with a ſuitable Return of Fidelity and Valour.

During the Siege of *Tournay*, it was that *Edward* ſent *Philip* the memorable Challenge, to decide their important Quarrel (which was for no leſs than the whole Kingdom of *France)* either by ſingle Combat between them two, or by a Hundred on each Side, or by a general Battle. But *Philip* declined them all, with the Excuſe, that the Challenge being directed only to one *Philip de Valois* (that is, without the Title of King of *France)* did not concern him [d].

The Truce was hardly at an End, when, at the preſſing Inſtances of *John de Montfort*, (who had been declared Duke of *Bretagne* by the Nobility, but was attacked by *Charles de Blois*, under a Pretext of Right to that Duchy, and ſupported by his Uncle, the *French* King) *Edward* was prevailed upon to break with *France*; and to lend him, or rather his Ducheſs (for he was then a Priſoner in the Tower of the *Louvre*, at *Paris)* a conſiderable Aſſiſtance [e]. Lord *Walter de Manny* commanded in this Expedition, who with his Fleet ſailed to *Hennebon*, then beſieged by *Charles*; and relieved the Place, at the very Inſtant it was going to be ſurrendered by Capitulation. Upon which *Lewis* of *Spain*, who then commanded the Beſiegers, raiſed the Siege.

Some time afterwards, *Lewis* having found ſeveral Merchant-ſhips in the Port of *Guerande*, he embarked with 6000 Men on-board them, and ſailed for *Quimperle*, where he made a great Booty: But the *Engliſh* General having received timely Notice what Courſe the *French* Ships had taken, went on-board his Fleet and purſued them. He ſurpriſed theſe Ships, almoſt unguarded, the Troops being plundering on-ſhoar, and took them. After this, landing his Men, and being joined by the Militia of the Country, he purſued *Lewis*, and ſo entirely defeated him, that he hardly eſcaped, very much wounded, with about 300 Men; which were all that were left of his 6000. Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, *Charles de Blois*'s Party prevailed in *Bretagne*, which obliged the Ducheſs to ſeek a farther Supply from King *Edward*; and having obtained a Truce for ſome Months, ſhe went in Perſon to ſolicit it. *Edward* readily granted her Requeſt, and gave her a larger Supply of Troops. For the Tranſportation of theſe Forces, a Fleet of 45 Ships was fitted out, and commanded, among others, by *Robert d'Artois*, created Earl of *Richmond*. *Lewis* of *Spain* laying wait for this Fleet off of *Guernſey*, with a Squadron of 32 Ships, among which were nine very large Veſſels, and three of them Gallies, attacked it in its Paſſage; but Night ſoon put an End to the Battle; and a Storm entirely ſeparated them before the Morning. *Robert* having after ſeveral Actions, in which he behaved gallantly, received a mortal Wound, at the Siege of *Vannes*, of which he died ſoon afterwards in *England*, King *Edward* reſolved vigorouſly to purſue the War in Perſon: The King had raiſed ſo numerous an Army, and ſo potent a Fleet was provided for that purpoſe, that he was in a Capacity to lay Siege to the three moſt conſiderable Cities in *Bretagne*, *Vannes*, *Rennes* and *Nantz*, at one and the ſame Time; and during theſe Sieges, the Town of *Dinant* was taken by Storm: Yet *Edward* was again perſuaded to leave *France*, to conclude a three Years Truce, and to return to *England* with his Army.

As ſoon as the *French* K[illegible] thought himſelf d[illegible] from the Power of the *Eng*[illegible]y this Truce, he fell [illegible] thoſe Noblemen of *Norma*[illegible]*icardy*, and *Guienne*, whom he had obſerved to be attach'd to the Intereſt of King *Edward*, and by various Acts accompliſhed their Deaths; which highly enraged the *Engliſh* Monarch, and determin'd him once more to draw his Sword againſt that perfidious Enemy, and never more to ſheath it, till he had aſſerted his own Right and Title to the Crown of *France* by dethroning the Uſurper. He ſent Word to the King of *France*, that the Truce was broken. He conſtituted the Earl of *Northampton* his Lieutenant-general in *France*, and commanded him not only to defy *Philip*, but, at the ſame time, to declare War againſt him by Sea and Land. Soon after he ſent *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earl of *Derby*, with ſome Troops into *Guienne*, to begin Hoſtilities, till he ſhould be able to go thither himſelf. They landed at *Bayonne*, on the ſixth of *June* [f]. *Philip* endeavoured, during theſe Tranſactions, to bring the *Flemmings* off from their Engagement with *England*. *Edward*, hearing of it, ſet ſail from *Sandwich*, *July* the third of the enſuing Year, for *Flanders*, and returned again the ſix and twentieth of the ſame Month, having obtained nothing but empty Promiſes, which never produced any Effect [g]. The brave Earl of *Derby*, who had been ſent with a noble Fleet and Army to *Guienne*, in the mean time, took the Town of *Bergerac* by Storm, and in it immenſe Riches. *Beaumont le Lac*, *Monageret*, and ſeveral other Towns and Caſtles underwent the ſame Fate; and, on the tenth of *Auguſt*, the *Engliſh* defeated the Count *de Lailie*, who was beſieging *Auberoche*, in which Action ſeven Thouſand of the *French* were ſlain. This glorious Campaign being thus ended, the Earl returned to *Bourdeaux* loaden with Spoils [h].

His Majeſty imbarked again, and took the Way of *Sluys*, in order to ſecure the Earl of *Flanders* to his Intereſt, or to force him to ſtand neuter in this War with *France*. In which Project the King depended chiefly on the Intereſt of *James d'Arteville*, who by the Strength of his natural Eloquence ruled all the *Netherlands*. But, to his great Mortification, while this Man was forming a Plot not only to bring *Flanders* into the *Engliſh* Meaſures, but to depoſe the Earl, and to erect his Dominions into a Dukedom for *Edward* the *Black Prince*, one *Gerrard Dennis*, a Weaver, raiſed ſuch an Oppoſition to his Propoſal, that in the midſt of the Aſſembly of the People, a Cobler with an Ax beat out *Arteville*'s Brains. This Accident made a great Alteration in King *Edward*'s intended Operations; and hearing alſo that his General, the Earl of *Derby*, had been worſted, and ſorely put to it to ſtand his Ground againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, who had enter'd *Guienne* with a much

[a] Trivet. Murimuth. Chron. Godſtovan. Walſingham. [b] Hemingford. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Adam Murimuth. [c] A. D. 1340.

[d] French Hiſtorians and Walſingham ſay, that Philip ſent Word by the Meſſengers to Edward, "That by this Challenge he ventured nothing of his "own, but only expoſed another's Dominions, which was unreaſonable: That if he would hazard the Kingdom of England (though it were leſs) "againſt the Kingdom of France, King Philip would enter the Combat in cloſe Camp with him, upon condition that the Conqueror ſhould enjoy "both Kingdoms." [e] Froiſſard. Lobineau. [f] A. D. 1344. [g] Froiſſard. [h] Walſingham. Froiſſard.

much ſuperior Force, he returned to *England* with the utmoſt Speed, intending to proceed with a powerful Army to relieve his General, and to chaſtiſe his Enemies[a].

Edward with incredible Expedition fitted out a Fleet of a thouſand tall Ships and upwards[b], beſides a great Number of leſſer, which in all amounted to 1600[c], on board of which were thirty thouſand Foot, moſt of them Archers, and 2500 Horſe. They weigh'd Anchor from *Portſmouth* on the 4th of *June*, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntington*, Lord High-admiral; but the Place of their Deſtination was kept a profound Secret, till the Royal Standard came in view of *Hogy Saint Vaſt*, or, as we call it, *La Hogue*[d], where the Army diſembark'd contrary to the Expectations of the *French*, who waited for them in *Guienne*. This Invaſion was to revenge the Deaths of *Cliſſon*, *Baro*, *Perry*, and the other Nobles[e], whoſe Heads were ſet over the chief Gate of *Charentine* or *Carentant*: and his Majeſty accordingly ſacrificed every living Soul he found therein to their Manes, putting all to the Sword without Diſtinction of Age or Sex, and laid the Town in Aſhes. He then marched to *Caen*, and ſtorm'd and plunder'd it, and from thence proceeded to the Walls of *Paris*, waſting and depopulating the Country, and daring *Philip* to try his Right to the Crown [illegible] the Field of Battle[f], while the Earl of *Huntingdon* defended all the Coaſt.

Philip however took all poſſible Meaſures to cut off the Retreat of the *Engliſh* Army. He threw down the Bridges by which they were to return; and guarded the Ford over the *Soam* at *Blanch Taque* with 6000 of his beſt Soldiers, waiting the Iſſue in the Plains of *Poictou* near *Creſſy* with an Army of 120,000 Men. King *Edward* forced the Paſſage over the *Soam*, himſelf leaping firſt into the River, crying to his Men, *he that loves me, let him follow me*; and encountring with the main Army near *Creſſy*, obtain'd that glorious Victory, in which two Kings of *Majorca* and *Bohemia*, nine Princes, the very Flower of the *French* Nobility, eighty Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, fifteen hundred Gentlemen, four thouſand Men at Arms and Eſquires, and above thirty thouſand Commoners were Victims to the Army of our *Engliſh* Conqueror.

The Prince of *Wales*, who was but ſixteen Years of Age, and had been knighted at *La Hogue*, performed Wonders in this Battle, and to him the King aſcribed the whole Honour of the Day, which was the greater, as the *French* Troops were in Number more than three Times as many as the *Engliſh*. *Philip* gave likewiſe ſignal Proofs of an undaunted Courage, being twice diſmounted, and wounded in the Neck and Thigh. The next Day a Party that was ſent to purſue the Enemy met a Body of the Militia, of whom they ſlew ſeven Thouſand. This Victory was followed by the Surrender of *Calais*[g], which was reduced by Famine, after a tedious Siege or Blockade of eleven Months, by 700 Ships. The Inhabitants were reduced to the Extremity of eating Horſes, Dogs, and other domeſtick Animals, and were all obliged to leave the Place, which was repeopled with *Engliſh*.

Thus the *Engliſh* Monarch triumph'd over his Enemy both by Sea and Land; and convinceth us, that whoever maintains the Dominion of the Sea, will alſo defy the greateſt Power on Land. For the Town of *Calais* was obliged to ſurrender in the moſt abject Manner to the *Engliſh* Fleet, in Sight of their King *Philip* at the Head of a mighty Army.

The vaſt Number of Ships made uſe of in this Blockade, may, at this Time, when a tenth Part of the Number is called a powerful Fleet, ſeem incredible; but if we conſider the vaſt Diſproportion there is between the Magnitude of the Ships made uſe of in the maritime Wars of thoſe Times, and thoſe which at preſent compoſe our Royal Navy, the Wonder will ceaſe. The whole Number of Ships, as it appears by a Record in the famous *Cottonian* Library, amounted to ſeven Hundred and thirty-eight, and the Mariners on board them to fourteen Thouſand, nine Hundred and fifty-ſix, each of whom was allowed after the Rate of 4 *d. per Diem*; but of theſe there were no more than twenty-five Ships of the King's own, carrying about four Hundred and nineteen Seamen, which, at a Medium, was not above ſeventeen to each; and throughout the Whole, taking one with another, there were not many that had above twenty-ſix Men; not but that thoſe, which were furniſhed by the maritime Ports, were larger than the King's own Ships, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Briſtol*, *Southampton*, *Newcaſtle*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, *Harwich*, *Ipſwich* and *Colcheſter*. From this may be gathered what the maritime Power of this Nation was in thoſe Times; for even then, before, and afterwards, the greateſt Part thereof was compoſed of Merchant-ſhips furniſhed by the Seaports. *Yarmouth* was then the greateſt Town for Shipping in *England*: *Foy* in *Cornwal* furniſhed more Seamen than *London*, and *Winchelſea* in *Suſſex* near as many. The Navy, at that Time, was fitted out in the Nature of a Militia, and no Town that had any Pretence to Trade was excuſed from ſending its Quota. To give a better Idea how our Sea-ports were rated in Proportion one to the other, and what Number of Ships and Men each was obliged to furniſh, a Tranſcript of that Liſt may not be unacceptable: And as *Hackluit*'s Liſt differs in ſome Particulars, I ſhall give the Reader a Tranſcript of both.

The Roll of King EDWARD III'*s Fleet before* Calais, *as recorded in the* Cotton Library, *and in* Hackluit.

The SOUTH FLEET.	*Cotton. Libr.*		*Hackluit.*	
Furniſhed by	*Ships.*	*Mariners.*	*Ships.*	*Mariners.*
The King	25	419	25	419
London	25	662	25	662
Milford (*Aylesford*)	2	24	2	24
Hoo (*Mome*)	2	24	2	24
Maidſtone			2	51
Hope	2	4	2	59
New Hyeth (*Newhithe*)	5	19	5	49
Margate	15	160	15	160
Motme	2	23	2	22
Feverſham	2	23	2	25
Sandwich	22	504	22	504
Dover	21	336	16	336
Wight	13	220	13	220
Winchelſea	21	596	21	596
Weymouth	20	264	15	263
Lyme	4	62	4	62
Seaton	2	25	2	25
Sydmouth	3	62	3	62
Exmouth	10	193	10	193
Tegmouth	7	120	7	120
Dartmouth	31	757	31	757
Portſmouth	5	96	5	96
Plymouth	26	603	26	603
Loo	20	325	20	315
Yalm (*Yalye*)	2	48	2	47
Foy (*Fowey*)	47	770	47	770
Briſtol	24	608	22	608
Tinmouth	2	25	2	25
Haſtings	5	96	5	96
Romney	4	75	4	65
Rye	9	156	9	156
Hieth	6	112	6	122
Shoreham	26	329	20	329
Seaford	5	80	5	80
Newmouth	2	18	2	18
Hammoule-Hook	7	117	7	117
Hooke	11	208	11	208
Southampton	21	576	21	576
Lymington	9	159	9	159
Poole	4	94	4	94
Wareham	3	59	3	59
Swanzey	1	29	1	29
Ilfra-combe (*Ithercom*)	6	79	6	79
Padſtowe (*Patrick-ſtowe*)	2	17	2	27
Polerwan	1	60	1	60

The

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[a] Speed. Stow. Hollinſhed. Mezeray. Walſingham. Froiſſard.

[b] Froiſſard.

[c] Knighton.

[d] Gion. Villain.

[e] Serres, Speed.

[f] Id. ibid. Froiſſard. Walſingham.

[g] A. D. 1347.

The SOUTH FLEET.	*Cotton. Libr.*		*Hackluit.*	
Furniſhed by	*Ships.*	*Mar.*	*Ships.*	*Mar.*
Wadworth	1	14	1	14
Cardiffe (*Hendeſſe*)	1	51	1	51
Bridgwater	1	15	1	15
Caermarthen	1	16	1	16
Cailcheſworth	1	12	1	12
Mulbrook	1	12	1	12
Total of the *South* Fleet	493	9630	493	9630
The NORTH FLEET.				
Bamburg	1	9	1	9
Newcaſtle	17	414	17	314
Walwich (*Walkrich*)	1	12	1	12
Hartlepool	5	145	5	145
Hull	16	466	16	466
York	1	9	1	9
Ravenſpurg (*Ravenſer*)	1	28	1	27
Woodhouſe	1	12	1	22
Stolkhithe (*Stroke-hith*)	1	10	1	10
Barton	3	30	3	30
Sun-fleet *Swyne fleet*)	1	11	1	11
Salt-fleet	2	49	2	49
Grimſby (*Gryn-fleet*)	11	71	11	171
Wain-fleet	2	44	2	49
Wrangle	1	8	1	8
Lynn	19	482	16	382
Blackney	2	38	2	38
Scarborough	1	19	1	19
Yarmouth	43	1905	43	1075 or 1950
Dunwich	6	102	6	102
Orford	3	62	3	62
Goford (*Gofforord*)	13	404	13	303
Harwich	14	283	14	283
Ipſwich	12	239	12	239
Merſey (*Merten*)	1	6	1	6
Brickelſea (*Broughtlinſea*)	5	61	5	61
Colcheſter	5	170	5	90
Whitbanas	1	17	1	17
Derwen	1	15	1	15
Boſton	17	361	17	361
Suinhumber	1	32	1	32
Malden	2	32	2	32
Barton	5	61	5	91
Total of the *North* Fleet	217	4521	217	4521
Total of the whole *Engliſh* Fleet —	700	14151	700	14151
FOREIGNERS.				
Bayon	15	439	15	439
Spain	7	184	7	184
Ireland	1	25	1	35
Flanders	14	134	14	133
Guelderland	1	24	1	24
Total of the whole Fleet	738	14956	738	14956

The Charge of the King's Fleet and Army in this Expedition may be collected from the following Account [a].

The Prince of *Wales* twenty Shillings *per Diem.*

The Biſhop of *Durham*, Six-ſhillings and Eight-pence.

Thirteen Earls, each by the Day, Six-ſhillings and Eight-pence.

Forty-four Barons and Bannerets, each by the Day, Four-ſhillings.

One Thouſand and forty-ſix Knights, each by the Day, Two-ſhillings.

Eſquires, Conſtables, Captains and Leaders, four Thouſand and Twenty-two, each by the Day, One-ſhilling.

Vintenars, that had the Command of twenty Men, or, as our Serjeants, and Archers on Horſeback, five Thouſand one Hundred and Four, each by the Day, Six-pence.

Pauncenars, (they were moſt Strangers, and perhaps ſo called from the ancient *Saxon* and *German* Word *Pantzern*, which ſignifies a Coat of Mail) three Hundred fifty-five, each by the Day, Six-pence.

Hobelars (perhaps Pioneers, from the *Saxon* and *German* Verb, *hobelen*, to plain or make even) five Hundred, each by the Day, Six-pence.

Archers on Foot, fifteen Thouſand four Hundred and Eighty, each by the Day, Three-pence.

Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Tent-makers, Miners, Gunners armed, and thoſe that had the Care of the Artillery, three Hundred and fourteen, ſome at a Shilling, others at Ten-pence, Six-pence, and Three-pence, by the Day.

Welchmen, Foot, four Thouſand, four Hundred and Seventy-four, whereof two hundred Vintenars, each by the Day, Four-pence; the Reſidue, each by the Day, Two-pence.

The whole Number of the Men of the Army was, beſides the Lords, thirty-one Thouſand, two Hundred and Ninety-four.

Maſters, Captains, Mariners, and Boys, for ſeven hundred Ships, Barges, Balingers, and Victuallers, ſixteen Thouſand.

The Sum Total of the War, with the Wages of the Mariners, from the fourth of *June*, in the twentieth Year of *Edward* III. to the twelfth of *October*, in the twenty-firſt Year of his Reign, one Year and a hundred and thirty-one Days, one Hundred twenty-ſeven Thouſand, one Hundred and one Pounds, Two-ſhillings and Nine-pence, ob.

Neither theſe Misfortunes, nor the ſacred Ties of the late Truce, were ſufficient to deter the *French* Monarch from attempting privately to effect by Treaſon, what he could not hope to obtain by Force. The Governor of *Calais* was particularly tempted with a large Bribe to deliver it up: But King *Edward* receiving Intelligence of the Plot, arrived in that Fortreſs with his Son, and nine hundred ſelect Men at Arms, and Archers, ſo ſuddenly and ſecretly by Night, that the twelve hundred *French*, who were to be put in Poſſeſſion, were all either killed or taken Priſoners, on their Approach to the Walls of *Calais* [b].

This ſame Year, in the Month of *November*, a *Spaniſh* Fleet, in the Time of a profound Peace between the two Nations, piratically ſeized ten *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips in the Channel, returning from *Gaſcoigne*, plundered them of their Cargoes, murder'd the Sailors, and ſunk the Ships. This Inſult and Loſs being repreſented by the Merchants, his Majeſty reſolved in Perſon to make Reprizals, till he could give his Subjects full Satisfaction. A Fleet of fifty Sail was immediately ordered to be fitted for Sea; and being inform'd that a rich Fleet was ready to depart from *Sluys*, he, accompanied with the Prince of *Wales*, and a great Number of Nobility of the firſt Rank, went on-board, and waited for it off *Winchelſea*; and tho' it conſiſted of 44 large Carracks, which appeared in the Water like floating Caſtles above the *Engliſh*, and for a conſiderable Time made an obſtinate Defence, was obliged to yield to the Superiority of the *Engliſh* Archers, none eſcaping, but ſuch as fled under the Cover of the Night. The *Engliſh* took 17, ſome ſay 24 or 26 Sail of theſe large Ships, richly laden with Cloth, *&c.* beſides what were ſunk; and thoſe that recovered their own Coaſt, were ſo ſhattered that they had great Difficulty to get into Harbour [c].

Every thing remained for a while in perfect Tranquillity on the Side of *France*, till the Death of *Philip de Valois*, which happened this Year alſo; and the Truce was renewed with *John* his Succeſſor, for four Years. But the *French* Perfidy, having firſt endeavoured to find the *Engliſh* enough to do at Home by ſpiriting up and aſſiſting the *Scots* with Money to attack the Northern Borders, tried all Means to drive the *Engliſh* out of *France*; which obliged *Edward* to ſend the Duke, late Earl of *Lancaſter*, with a ſtrong

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[a] Brady.

[b] Mezeray, Vol. III. Serres. Daniel, Froiſſard. Walſingh. A. D. 1349.

[c] About Midſummer, 1350. Speed. Trivet. Froiſſard. Adam Murimuth, &c.

Force to *Calais*, with Orders to rake the Coaſt; who accordingly burnt the Suburbs of *Boulogne*, plundered *Eſtaples*, *Fauquenberg* and *Terouenne*, burnt above 100 Veſſels in their Harbours, proceeded with Fire and Sword to *Arques* and *St. Omers*, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the whole Kingdom, that *John* ſued for a new Truce by the Mediation of the Pope[a], which was granted. But the reſtleſs Ambition of the *French* Monarch, in Defiance of all Treaties, Faith and Power, forced *Edward* to penetrate once more into the Heart of his Country, to maintain his Right to *Guienne*; with which Duchy King *John* ventured to inveſt his Son the *Dauphin*.

King *Edward* on his Part inveſted his Son alſo with the ſame Duchy, and diſpatched him with a ſmall Force of 1000 Men at Arms, and a like Number of Archers, attended with ſeveral Lords, to defend his Title on the Premiſes[b]. Theſe departed from *Portſmouth* on the 8th of *September*; and while they were preparing to renew the War in *Guienne*, his Majeſty, accompanied by his Sons *Lionel* and *John*, ſeveral Lords, and 2000 Men at Arms, landed at *Calais* on the 2d of *November*, and ravaged the *Boulonnois* and *Artois*, in order to make a Diverſion in his Son's Favour, who began his Campaign in *Languedoc*, and with his little Army ravaged the Southern Provinces, returned to *Bourdeaux* loaden with Spoils, and then proceeded in the ſame Manner into the Heart of *France*, till he found his Retreat cut off by an Army of ten times the Number of the Enemy, headed by their King, which overtook him near *Poictiers*. In this Strait our young Warrior, deſpairing of a Retreat, offered reaſonable Terms to ſave his little Army[c]. *John*, depending upon his Superiority, rejected them; and the Prince, rather than ſubmit to diſhonourable Conditions, reſolved to conquer or die. Hence enſued, on the 19th of *September*[d], the memorable Battle and glorious Victory of *Poictiers*, in which this great Prince, with a Handful of Men, defeated the whole *French* Army, killed above 6000 Men at Arms, 800 Nobles, and 8000 Commoners, and took twice as many Priſoners as he had Men himſelf: Amongſt whom were the King of *France*, his Son *Philip*, ſeventeen Earls, and 1500 Barons, Knights and Eſquires[e]. The Prince returned with his Priſoners, and an ineſtimable Booty, to *Bourdeaux*. He ſpent his Winter there; and having, with the Conſent of his Father, concluded a Truce for two Years, came to *England*[f], with his Royal Priſoners, landed at *Plymouth* on the 5th, and made his public Entry through *London*, on the 24th of *May*.

The *French* ſtill reſtleſs, and brooding ſome Miſchief, *Edward* found it neceſſary to provide againſt their Machinations; and by the time the Truce expired[g], an Army of 100,000 Men, and a Fleet of 1100 Sail, to carry them over to *Calais*, were in Readineſs; which departed from *Sandwich* on the 24th of *October*; and the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and the Army diſembarked on the Sands of *Calais*, the next Day. With this formidable Army King *Edward* marched up to the very Walls of *Paris*, but could not force the *Dauphin* to a Battle: So that after ravaging the Provinces, he, melted with the Diſtreſſes of the People, was prevailed upon, to prevent more Bloodſhed, to ſettle all Differences between the two Crowns by a Treaty of Peace[h]; whereby *Edward* releaſed their captive King, and the reſt of the Priſoners; renounced his Title to the Kingdom of *France*, the Duchy of *Normandy*, &c. and the *French* yielded up to him all *Aquitain*, and its Dependencies, and the Town and Lordſhip of *Calais*, with the Territory thereunto belonging[i].

King *John* kept this League inviolable during the Remainder of his Reign. But his Succeſſor *Charles* V. looking upon the late Peace as injurious to his Subjects, and diſhonourable to his Crown, conſulted neither the Equity of the Conditions, nor the Sacredneſs of thoſe Ties, with which it was confirmed; but upon frivolous Pretences firſt protracting the Execution of ſeveral of the Articles, then declaring the Treaty void, and laſtly by declaring War, he provoked *Edward*, with the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament, to reſume his Right to the Crown of *France*[k]. The Reſolution of Parliament to ſupport his Majeſty on this Occaſion with their Lives and Fortunes, put *Charles* upon a Project to terrify the *Engliſh* with an Invaſion: For which Purpoſe he collected a very numerous Fleet, purchaſed or hired from all Parts of *Europe*. But *Edward*, convinced by the Experience of all Ages, that ſo long as he could maintain the Dominion of the Seas, he ſhould have nothing to fear from the Continent, equipped his Fleet with all Expedition; which no ſooner appeared at Sea, under the Command of his Son the Duke of *Lancaſter*, but the *French* ſculked into their Harbours, diſembarked their Forces, and with great Difficulty prevented the entire Deſtruction of their Fleet, which the Duke attempted to burn at *Harfleur*[l]. Other Squadrons were diſpatched to ſcour the Seas; one of which, commanded by the Earl of *Hereford*, took a Convoy of 25 Sail of *Flemiſh* Ships, laden with Salt from *Rochelle*, and killed and drowned their Men; the *Flemings* having declared in favour of *France*[m].

This was followed by the Siege of *Rochelle*; to whoſe Relief King *Edward* immediately ſent the young Earl of *Pembroke*, with 40 Ships, and a conſiderable Reinforcement of Soldiers[n]. In the mean time *Charles*, being informed of this Expedition, had engaged the King of *Caſtile*, whoſe Kingdom was claimed by *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, to meet the Earl before *Rochelle* with a ſuperior Force, and to give him Battle; which his *Caſtilian* Majeſty punctually performed with 40 Sail of capital Ships, beſides 13 able Frigates well manned and provided, under the Command of four experienced Officers. Theſe Men of War intercepted the *Engliſh* Tranſports at the Mouth of the Harbour, and attacked them immediately[o]; but Night ſeparating them, the Earl then only loſt two Ships laden with Proviſions. The Battle was renewed the next Morning, by the united Fleets of *France* and *Spain*; and the Earl was ſo unfortunate to ſee his whole Squadron defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner. Moſt of his Men were ſlain in the Fight, and almoſt every Ship taken or ſunk, and 20,000 Marks[p] to pay the Army. The *Rochellers* were Spectators of this Defeat, and (if we may believe the *French* Hiſtorians) were not ſorry for it. Father *Daniel*[q] obſerves upon this Battle, that this *Spaniſh* Fleet, which was in the Service of *France*, was compoſed of the ſame kind of Ships, as thoſe deſtroyed off of *Sluys*, in the Year 1340; that they made uſe of Balliſtas, and other Machines, to throw Bars of Iron and great Stones to ſink the *Engliſh* Ships, and that they had ſome Cannon. The Loſs of this Fleet was followed by that of ſeveral Towns. *Thouars*, a Place of great Strength, being very much ſtreightned, ſigned a Capitulation, by which the Garriſon engaged to ſurrender on a certain Day[r], if *Edward*, or one of his Sons, did not come in the mean time, in Perſon to its Relief. They ſent ſome Lords to *England* to preſs a Supply; and *Edward* having, at that time, a Fleet of 400 Sail almoſt in Readineſs, to tranſport 10,000 Archers, and 3000 Spearmen to *Calais*, reſolved this Fleet ſhould go to *Guienne*; and embarked himſelf, the Beginning of *September*, with the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Cambridge*. But Fortune again forſook him; for he was forced to return to *England* with his whole Fleet, after having beat the Sea nine Weeks, contrary Winds not allowing him to land in *France*.

However, in the Year 1373 *Rochelle* ſtill held out, by the Encouragement of *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, who had married King *Edward*'s Daughter *Mary*, and was well aſſiſted from *England*[s]: And his Endeavours were ſeconded by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who, with an Army of 30,000 Men, of which 10,000 were *Engliſh* Archers, and 3000 Men at Arms, came with him from *England* on-board a large Fleet to *Calais*; paſſed thro' the Heart of *France* to *Bourdeaux*, and did an infinite deal of Damage; tho' they were greatly harraſſed all the Way by the Conſtable of *France* at their Heels[t]. After the Duke withdrew into *England*, almoſt all *Aquitain* revolted to the *French*; and an inglorious Peace was patched up at *Bruges*; which only ſerved to give the Enemy time to repair his Damages, and to reinforce his Army.

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[a] A. D. 1351. Knighton. Mezeray. Daniel. Froiſſard. Walſingham. Echard. Rapin.
[b] A. D. 1354. Walſingham. Knighton. Froiſſard.
[c] Serres. Polydor. Virgil.
[d] Froiſſard.
[e] Knighton. Walſingham. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. V. p. 3.
[f] A. D. 1357.
[g] A. D. 1359. Froiſſard.
[h] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. VI. p. 229, &c.
[i] On the 8th of May, 1360. Trivet. Mezeray. Daniel. Froiſſard. Walſingham.
[k] Iidem.
[l] Iidem. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Adam Murimuth, A. D. 1371.
[m] Froiſſard. Walſingham. Hiſt. Anonym. Edw. III. c. 60.
[n] Holinſhed. Speed. Trivet. Murimuth. Ann. Vol. II. p. 127.
[o] Froiſſard. Mezeray. Daniel.
[p] Walſingham.
[q] Hiſt. de la Milice de France.
[r] Froiſſard. Walſingham.
[s] Polyd. Virgil, lib. XIX.
[t] Froiſſard. Walſingham. Daniel.

From this time we read no more of *Edward*'s Sea-exploits. He was now worn out by Fatigues in War, and with Age; but moſt diſconſolate at the Loſs of his renowned and beloved Son the Prince of *Wales*; of whom it is ſaid, that he excelled all his Predeceſſors, Princes of this Nation, in Magnanimity, Humanity, Wiſdom and Courteſy; and ſo dutiful and obſervant of the King his Father, that he never once incurred his Diſpleaſure [a].

The State of the *Trade* and *Navigation* in this Reign may be more particularly aſcertained from the following Obſervations:

Part of the great Charter granted by King EDWARD *the Firſt to the Barons of the Cinque Ports, in the ſixth Year of his Reign 1278, for the good Services done unto him by Sea: Wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from* EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, WILLIAM RUFUS, HENRY *the Second, King* RICHARD *the Firſt, King* JOHN, *and* HENRY *the Third, continued unto them.*

“*Edward* by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Gaſcoigne*, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Juſtices, Sheriffs, Provoſts, Officers, and to all Bailiffs and true Subjects, Greeting. You ſhall know that for the faithful Service that our Barons of the five Ports hitherto to our Predeceſſors Kings of *England*, and unto us lately in our Army of *Wales*, have done, and for their good Service to us and our Heirs Kings of *England*, truly to be continued in Time to come, we have granted, and by this our Charter confirmed for us and our Heirs, to the ſame our Barons and to their Heirs, all their Liberties and Freedoms, ſo that they ſhall be free from all Toll, and from all Cuſtom; that is to ſay, from all Laſtage, Tallage, Paſſage, Carriage, Rivage, Pontage, and from all Wreck, and from all their Sale, carrying and recarrying through all our Realm and Dominion, with Sock and Soke, Toll and Theme. And that they ſhall have Infangtheſe, and that they ſhall be Wreckfree, Laſtagefree, and Lovecopfree. And that they ſhall have Denne and Strande at *Great Yarmouth*, according as it is contained in the Ordinance by us thereof made perpetually to be obſerved; and alſo that they are free from all Shires and Hundreds: ſo that if any Perſon will plead againſt them, they ſhall not anſwer nor plead otherwiſe than they were wont to plead in the Time of the Lord King *Henry*, our great Grandfather: And that they ſhall have their Findels in the Sea, and in the Land; and that they be free of all their Goods, and of all their Merchandiſes, as our Freemen; and that they have their Honours in our Court, and their Liberties throughout all the Land whereſoever they ſhall come; and that they ſhall be free for ever of all their Lands, which in the Time of Lord *Henry* the King, our Father, they poſſeſſed; that is to ſay, in the 44th Year of his Reign, from all Manner of Summons before our Juſtices to any Manner of Pleadings, journeying in what Shire ſoever their Lands are; ſo that they ſhall not be bound to come before the Juſtices aforeſaid, except any of the ſame Barons do implead any Man, or if any Man be impleaded; and that they ſhall not plead in any other Place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to ſay, at *Shepeway*. And that they have their Liberties and Freedoms from henceforth, as they and their Predeceſſors have had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the Time of the Kings of *England*, *Edward*, *William* the Firſt, *William* the Second, *Henry* the King our Great-grandfather, and in the Times of King *Richard*, and King *John* our Grandfathers, and Lord King *Henry* our Father, by their Charters; as the ſame Charters which the ſame our Barons thereof have, and which we have ſeen, do reaſonably teſtify. And we forbid that no Man unjuſtly trouble them nor their Merchandiſe upon our Forfeiture of ten Pounds. So nevertheleſs, that when the ſame Barons ſhall fail in doing of Juſtice, or in receiving of Juſtice, our Wardens, and the Wardens of our Heirs of the Cinque Ports, which for the Time ſhall be, their Ports and Liberties may enter for to do their full Juſtice. So alſo that the ſaid Barons and their Heirs, do unto us and to our Heirs, Kings of *England*, by the Year, their full Service of fifty-ſeven Ships at their Coſts, by the Space of fifteen Days at our Summons, or at the Summons of our Heirs. We have granted alſo unto them of our ſpecial Grace, that they have Outfangtheſe in their Lands within the Ports aforeſaid, in the ſame Manner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons have in their Manors in the County of *Kent*. And they be not put in any Aſſiſes, Juries or Recogniſances, by reaſon of their foreign Tenure againſt their Will: And that they be free of all their own Wines for which they do travel of our right Priſe, that is to ſay, of one Ton before the Maſt, and of another behind the Maſt. We have granted furthermore unto the ſaid Barons for us and our Heirs, that they for ever have this Liberty, that is to ſay, that we or our Heirs ſhall not have the Wardſhip or Marriages of their Heirs by reaſon of their Lands, which they hold within the Liberties and Ports aforeſaid, for the which they do their Service aforeſaid; and for the which we and our Progenitors had not the Wardſhips and Marriages in time paſt. But we our aforeſaid Confirmation upon the Liberties and Freedoms aforeſaid, and our Grants following to them of our eſpecial Grace, of new have cauſed to be made, ſaving always in all Things our kingly Dignity; and ſaving unto us and to our Heirs, Plea of our Crown, Life and Member. Wherefore we will and ſurely command for us and our Heirs, that the aforeſaid Barons and their Heirs for ever have all the aforeſaid Liberties and Freedoms, as the aforeſaid Charters do reaſonably teſtify. And that of our eſpecial Grace they have Outfangtheſe in their Lands within the Ports aforeſaid after the Manner that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and Barons have in their Manors in the County of *Kent*. And that they be not put in Aſſiſes, Juries or Recogniſances, by reaſon of their foreign Tenure againſt their Will. And that they be free of their own Wines for which they travel of our right Price or Cuſtom, that is to ſay, of one Ton of Wine before the Maſt, and of another Ton behind the Maſt. And that likewiſe for ever they have the Liberty aforeſaid, that is to ſay, that we and our Heirs have not the Wardſhips or Marriages of their Heirs, by reaſon of their Lands which they hold within the Liberties and Ports aforeſaid, for which they do their Service aforeſaid; and for which we and our Predeceſſors the Wardſhips and Marriages have not had in times paſt. But our aforeſaid Confirmation of their Liberties and Freedoms aforeſaid, and other Grants following to them of our eſpecial Grace, of new we have cauſed to be made, ſaving always and in all Things our regal Dignity; and ſaving unto us and our Heirs, the Pleas of our Crown of Life and Member as is aforeſaid. Theſe being Witneſſes. The Reverend Father *Robert* of *Portuens* Cardinal of the Holy Church of *Rome*, Friar *William* of *Southampton* Prior-provincial of the Friars-preachers in *England*, *William* of *Valencia* our Uncle, *Roger* of the Dead-ſea, *Roger* of *Clifford*, Maſter *Robert Samuel* Dean of *Sarum*, Maſter *Robert* of *Scarborough* the Archdeacon of Eaſt-riding, Maſter *Robert* of *Seyton*, *Bartholomew* of *Southley*, *Thomas* of *Wayland*, *Walter* of *Hoptan*, *Thomas* of *Normannel*, *Steven* of *Penneſter*, *Francis* of *Bonaua*, *John* of *Lenetotes*, *John* of *Metingham*, and others. Given by our Hand at *Weſtminſter* the 14th Day of *June*, in the 6th Year of our Reign.”

In the Year 1360 it is recorded [b], that a Friar of *Oxford*, called *Nicholas de Linna*, or of *Lynn*, being a good Aſtromer, went in Company with others, to the moſt Northern Iſlands of the World, and there leaving his Company together, he travelled alone, and made Draughts of all thoſe Northern Parts, with the indrawing Seas; which at his return he preſented to the King of *England*. It is added, that he went to the North Pole, by means of his Skill in

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[a] Walſingham.

[b] Hackluit, Part. I. p. 121.

Magic, or the Black-art; but this Magic, or Black-art, may probably have been nothing more than a Knowledge of the Magnetical Needle or Compaſs, found out about ſixty Years before, tho' not in common Uſe till many Years after.

This Reign alſo refers us to the Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Madeira*; for tho' it is not, nor ever was ſubject to the Kings of *England*, it is acknowledged to be firſt diſcovered, accidentally by an *Engliſhman*, one *Lionel Machin*, in Memory of whom the Harbour and Town called *Porto Machico*, or *Machino*, is named by the *Portugueſe*. Of which Diſcovery we have the following Account, written in *Portugueſe* by Don *Franciſco Alcafarado*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Infant Don *Henry*, younger Son of *John* the Firſt King of *Portugal*.—This Author writes, that one *Lionel Machin*, a Citizen of *London*, and a younger Brother of a decayed but genteel Family, and of comely Form and great Courage, being admired by *Arabella Darcy*, a Lady in great Eſteem at Court both for her Wit and Beauty, as well as Fortune; and her Parents not being able to diſſuade their Daughter from placing her Affections on him, they petitioned King *Edward* to interpoſe his Authority; and his Majeſty having cauſed *Lionel* to be arreſted, forced the Lady *Arabella*, during his Impriſonment, to marry a Nobleman, whom they had propoſed for her Huſband. After the Wedding the new-married Couple were ſent off to *Briſtol*; and *Lionel*, by proper Application, gained his Enlargement; it not being thought that he would claim any Right to that Lady's Affections, who was now another Man's Wife. But *Lionel*'s Love being rather more violent, than abated, by the Troubles he had undergone, and depending upon the Perſeverance of the Lady's Affections, reſolved to reſcue her from the Arms of a Man, whom ſhe had been forced to accept into her Embraces; and prevailed with ſome of his moſt intimate Friends to aſſiſt him in the Affair.

The Conſpirators ſettled the Means of executing the Deſign, and took different Ways to the City of *Briſtol*, reſolving to carry her over to *France*: And while one of them got Acceſs to the Lady's Ear, by hiring himſelf to be her Groom, *Lionel* and his Aſſociates provided a Veſſel, or, at leaſt, for want of Money, pitch'd upon a Ship in the Harbour fit for their Purpoſe, which they thought was but ſlightly mann'd; and when Opportunity ſerved, the Lady conſenting, they ſeized her as ſhe was riding to take the Air, near the Beach, and running her aboard a Ship, whoſe Crew were feaſting aſhore, cut the Cable, and put to Sea. The Wind proving fair for ſome Days, they preſently loſt Land: but it veering about, and the Weather putting in very hazy, they were after thirty Days Beating about in the Weſtern Ocean, driven upon a deſolate Iſland, cover'd with Woods, where they landed for Refreſhment, with an Intention to make their beſt Way to *France*, as firſt propoſed. But a Storm ariſing, drove the Ship, with thoſe left on-board, to Sea, and forced them upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, where, by Shipwreck, *Lionel*'s Friends were made Slaves to the *Moors*. *Lionel* and his Lady, with a few of their Companions, were by this Accident left aſhore; and in a ſhort time the two Lovers the Cauſe of this Miſfortune died with Grief. The Lady expir'd in three Days; and *Lionel*, after the Death of his beloved Miſtreſs, with many Groans and deep Complaints, lay at her Feet, refuſing either Suſtenance or Comfort from his Friends, though they, pitying his ſad Diſaſters, endeavoured with their beſt Rhetorick to ſuccour him; notwithſtanding which, all their charitable Offices could not prolong his Life more than five Days, at the End of which he died in their Embraces, after he had deſired them to bury his Body in the ſame Grave with *Arabella*; which they did at the Foot of a fair Tree. They adorned this poor and ruſtick Monument with a great Croſs made of Wood, as a Mark of his Religion, and on the Tree made an Inſcription, relating his Love and Adventures; at the End of which Epitaph they requeſted, that if ever any Chriſtians came to inhabit that ſolitary Place, they would over his Grave erect a Church, and dedicate it to our Saviour *Jeſus*, to worſhip and adore his holy Name, and pray for the Souls of our unhappy Lovers.

Lionel and *Arabella* dead, the other Gentlemen reſolved not to ſtay any longer in that Place, but employed themſelves, ſome to fit up their Shallop, others to prepare Water, and the reſt to kill Birds and make Proviſion for their Voyage, they thinking it a great deal better to commit themſelves to the Mercy of the Sea in their ſmall Shallop, than ſpin out a lazy and idle Life in that to them unpleaſant Place. They ſoon had left the Land, but by Miſfortune ſteering the ſame Courſe the Storm before-mentioned obliged their Friends in the Ship to take, they conſequently fell in with the Coaſt of *Africa*, which they looked upon as a Land of Comfort. But they had only eſcaped the Danger of the Deep to be Slaves to the Barbarians; and paſſing through divers Hands, they at length came to be bought by the King of *Morocco*, where they found their Companions, whom before they thought ſhipwreck'd; and this was their only Conſolation, to find them in the ſame Captivity with themſelves.

The Priſon for Slaves in *Morocco* was like that which is this Day uſed at *Algiers*; in it were always many Chriſtian Slaves of divers Nations, and amongſt others there was a *Spaniard*, born at *Sevile*, by Name *Jean de Morales*, a Man very ſkilful in Navigation, having been for many Years a Pilot. His Curioſity was mightily pleaſed with the Narrative our Captive *Engliſh* made him of their Adventures; the many Years they were together gave him the larger Means to know, what he ſo much deſired, for he not only learned the Marks to find, but the Situation of this new Land, and alſo all the miraculous Paſſages that had happened to the *Engliſh* in their unhappy Voyage, of which Relation he hoped to make good Uſe for a Diſcovery, ſo ſoon as the Time of his Slavery ſhould be at an end; which happen'd by a Redemption made purſuant to the Will of Don *Sancho* (the youngeſt Son of Don *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and) great Maſter of the Order of *Calatrava*, who died in *Caſtile*, and left by his Teſtament conſiderable Sums of Money to redeem Chriſtian *Spaniſh* Slaves in *Morocco*, with which Money a Foiſt was ſent to *Africa*; which in its Return thence for *Tariff* with ſome Number of redeemed Chriſtians, amongſt whom was our *Jean de Morales*, was boarded in the Streights by a *Portugueſe* Man of War, that Crown being at Variance with *Caſtile*; but *Gonſalvo*, the Admiral, pitying the Condition of the Cargo, gave them all their Liberty, except *Jean de Morales*, becauſe it had been told him he was a Man of great Experience in maritime Affairs, thinking him a fit Preſent for Don *Henry*, the King's youngeſt Son, and that he would be very uſeful in the Diſcoveries the Prince was then a making. *Jean de Morales*, being informed of his new Impriſonment, and the Cauſe for which he was detained, did not grieve, but on the contrary freely offered to ſerve the Infant, and promiſed to endeavour to anſwer the Hopes they had done him the Honour to conceive of him; and to render himſelf more gracious with *Gonſalvo*, communicated unto him ſome Part of the Secret of the new Iſland he intended to diſcover; and to gain the more Credit to his Relation, told him the Hiſtory of *Lionel* and *Arabella*. *Gonſalvo* no ſooner underſtood this Narrative, but he returned, and preſenting *Jean de Morales* to the Prince, gave an Account of his Profeſſion and Secrets. Don *Henry* received him with a great deal of Kindneſs; and having heard what he could ſay, in the Beginning of *June*, *A. D.* 1420, *Gonſalvo* was ſet to Sea with one Ship very well equipped, and another Veſſel, which rowed with Oars. So inconſiderable was the Fleet which parted from *Liſbon*, for a Diſcovery of ſo great Importance.

There ran a Rumour among the *Portugals*, that off the Iſland *Porto Santo* (to which Place *Gonſalvo* intended firſt to ſteer) towards the North-eaſt there uſually appeared a perpetual Obſcurity, which always extended itſelf from the Sea to the Sky, and never diminiſhed, but always did appear in the very ſame Manner; this every one knew to be true that lived in *Porto Santo*; and becauſe in that Infancy of Navigation, they wanted the Uſe of the Aſtrolabe, and other Inſtruments, ſince invented, it was judged miraculous, if not impoſſible to go and return from that black Place or Cloud, but that they, who ſhould venture, muſt of neceſſity for their Boldneſs loſe their Lives. This Ignorance of the Sea, and its Secrets, was the Cauſe that this

Obſcurity was generally called an Abyſs. Some ſaid it was the Mouth of Hell, and were upheld in their Opinions by Divines, as ſimple as themſelves, who offered to prove, both by Argument and Authorities, that it might very well be ſo. The Hiſtorian who pretends to be more knowing than the others, did eſteem it to be the Iſland anciently called *Cipango*, which God had wonderfully hidden in the Clouds to protect the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Biſhops and Chriſtians, who had retired themſelves thither, out of the Perſecution of the *Moors* and *Saracens*. And that it was directly contrary to God's Pleaſure to endeavour a clearer Diſcovery; for if he had pleaſed to have it performed, he would have manifeſted his Approbation by ſuch Miracles as uſually precede his Allowance; and that beſides, divers ſuch ancient Prophecies, under ſevere Penalties, forbid the further Search into this Myſtery.

Gonſalvo ſailed towards the Iſle of *Porto Santo* in very fair Weather, and proper for his Voyage; but fearing in the Dark he might paſs ſomething worthy of Note, he made them every Night lower their Sails, and lie at Hull, proceeding only in the Day, that he might the better ſee any Land they ſhould accidently diſcover. This was no ſuch Hindrance unto him, but that in a little Time he arrived at *Porto Santo*; where he and the reſt of his Company were ſhewed the black Cloud before-mentioned, which *Jean de Morales* judged to be the Beginning of that Land they ſought after.

Here the held a Council, and reſolved to ſtay in the Iſle that Quarter of the Moon, to ſee if that Cloud of Darkneſs did either vary its Shape, or diminiſh its Bigneſs; but it always continuing in the ſame Form and Magnitude, gave them a great deal more cauſe to deſpair, than hope for a good Effect.

The Pilot, *Jean de Morales*, was of Opinion, by the Information he had received from the *Engliſh*, and the Courſe he had made them ſteer, that the Iſland he ſought after was not far from thence; and told *Gonſalvo* that the Rays of the Sun lying very hot on the Earth, and drawing thence the Humidity (of which there was a great Quantity, by reaſon of the Multiplicity of Trees) made a groſs Vapour to aſcend, which filling the Sky with its Fogginеſs, was the Reaſon of the Obſcurity they ſaw, and that he was confident by theſe Tokens, the Land they ſo much coveted to diſcover, was not far from that Place.

All of them were of a contrary Opinion to *Morales*, and tumultuouſly cried, how that he being a *Caſtilian*, and by conſequence an Enemy, was very well pleaſed to ſee their Nation expoſed to evident Dangers; that it was enough for Men to encounter Men, without commencing a War againſt the Elements; that it became only Heathens and Infidels to penetrate into the Secrets of God, that they were to expect nothing but Death by that Cloud, and that to proceed further was only to dare the Almighty; that the Infant was ill ſerved to have his Servants expoſed to ſuch unprofitable Dangers, but the King was worſe uſed in regard they were his moſt faithful Subjects, who might ſerve him in more feaſible Undertakings, than to ſearch after a ſuppoſed Land on no other Ground than the Pilot's vain Imaginations.

They farther argued that *Gonſalvo* was a Nobleman of great Merit, he might expect large Recompences from his own Deſerts, without precipitating himſelf and them into ſuch Certainty of Peril; that Valour was never ſhewn in puſhing forward Deſpair; that it was no Charity under pretence of Religion to find out People and ſeize on their Countries, whereby they ſhewed themſelves rather covetous of their own than God's Glory, but that they ought to be content with thoſe Lands they already poſſeſſed; and finally affirmed they were but Men, and therefore would not undergo what ſeemed to be above Mortals Strength.

All theſe Clamours did not ſtagger their Commander's Reſolution; he therefore for the preſent gave them good Words, reſolving (becauſe he was of greater Courage than all of them) to ſurmount the Difficulties, which now ſeemed greater, by reaſon of the Averſeneſs of theſe Men; and communicating his Thoughts only to *Jean de Morales*, he hoiſted his Sails, and weighed Anchor, ſteering his Courſe directly towards the Bug-bear Shadow, making all the Sail his Veſſels could bear, by that means the ſooner to obtain the Land he hoped to find. The Nearneſs of the Obſcurity did augment their Fears, it appearing higher and bigger as they nearer approached to it. About Midday the Sea ſeemed altogether darkned, an unuſual Blackneſs filling the whole Horizon; neither was there any Sign of Land, for the groſs Cloud, into which they were now entered, covered both Sea and Sky. This was the Cauſe of a ſtrange Confuſion; and the Vicinity of their ſuppoſed Danger, made them all cry out and earneſtly entreat *Gonſalvo* that he would not proceed; which if he did, they looked upon themſelves as dead Men, beſeeching him not to be the Deſtruction of ſo many Innocents.

Their Outcries did not at all ſtartle their Captain; but calling together the Officers, Mariners, and Soldiers, and placing himſelf to be heard by them all, more to juſtify his Conſtancy, than ſatisfy their Deſires, he made them this Oration.

“Do you think, my Friends and Comrades, that I eſteem my Life leſs than you do yours, if not, none certainly ever went about to perſuade you, that if you miſcarry I have any means to ſave myſelf; that indeed would be the greateſt Injuſtice in the World, that I ſhould reap the Glory, and you the Hazards of this Enterpriſe, but equally we are to participate in both. If therefore I at preſent appear more hardy than ſuits with your Content, it is becauſe I highly eſteem you; for I am infinitely glad you underſtand what Perils you expoſe yourſelves unto, that it may hereafter be famed, you deliberately, and of purpoſe, not by Chance, did confront theſe more than human Dangers. I do not therefore at all wonder at your Fears, but I do not by any means approve of the Way you would put in Execution to remove them. With what Juſtice can you pretend to more Glory than other Nations, if you do not thus expoſe your Lives? if you follow but the Footſteps of your noble Anceſtors, you may trace them in ſuch Adventures as we are now a making. For what Reaſon did we come from our Country? for what Reaſon did our Maſter ſend us hither? wherefore among Thouſands, which tendered themſelves for this Employment, did he make Choice of us? wherefore doth he ſhew himſelf a Father to our Families? wherefore doth he take ſo kinkly our Devoir? 'tis not ſurely that we ſhould do our Buſineſs by halves, or leave off our Adventures, before finiſhed. Conſider, that as there is but one Life, ſo there is but one Death; and it is neither without Reaſon, that you ſhould fear the Elements more than Men, for twice, by either of them, you cannot die. If you do not refuſe to hazard your Lives againſt the Enemies of your King, what is it that you dread in the Wind or Water? do you think a Wave, or a Guſt of Wind, more cruel than the Sword or Lance of an Enemy? is not the Peril the ſame you meet with, in any Rencounter, ſeeing you cannot but once receive your Deaths? Think upon what Grounds we are entered into the Service of our King and Prince; is it not to make Diſcovery of unknown Provinces, which your Courage is to conquer and lay at their Feet? This ought not to be abandoned by your Diſobedience and Fear, eſpecially being commanded on this Voyage, by their immediate Orders. Truly, Friends, 'tis more ſcandalous to return home, and die with Shame at *Liſbon*, than unhappily periſh in the Sea, if ſo Ill-fortune ſhould attend us. Let us bravely then undergo this Riſque; for be you certainly aſſured, when once our Reſolutions are fixed to proceed, we ſhall find all Things as eaſy as we can wiſh. The Night is never more dark, than when Day approaches; the ſtrange Conſternation we are now in, is the greater Sign our look'd for Good-fortune draws near. Couragiouſly, Friends, examine the Cauſe of your Timidity, Reaſon will ſoon inform you, that the Cloud, which is the Cauſe, is but a Shadow. If both Nature and Fortune did expoſe us, I would be the firſt ſhould take the Care of our Lives; but ſeeing we have nothing but our fooliſh Fancies to fear, which is miſbecoming valiant Men to dread, let us in the Name of God proceed.”

This Diſcourſe worked ſo powerfully on thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, that it made all their Fears vaniſh, and compoſed their Minds ſo firmly, that unanimouſly they proteſted *Gonſalvo* ſhould not only govern them as their Chief, but command them as abſolute Maſter of their Lives and Liberties; they reſolving to obey him blindly, and without Diſpute in all Things.

Though the Weather was fair, yet the Sea being extreme rapid, the Current carried the Veſſels contrary to their Courſe; to prevent which *Gonſalvo* fitted out two Shallops to tow them, committing one to the Care of *Anthony Gago*, and the other to *Gonſalvo Lovis*, Men of known Valour and Experience; they rowed towards the Cloud, which they approached nearer and nearer, as the Current permitted them.

The Voyage continuing for ſome time in this Manner, the Cloud, into which they where now entred, ſeemed to leſſen and decreaſe towards the Eaſt, but the Waters made a terrible Noiſe, notwithſtanding they paſſed the Obſcurity; and having ſo done (a Cloud, which hung on the Earth, hindring their clearer Proſpect) they thought they diſcovered Land, and ſaw many armed Men of a prodigious Bigneſs thereon. But they after found, that the Shore being full of high Rocks was the Occaſion of their Miſtake. The Air preſently clearing, and the Sun ſhining out, they plainly made the Land. This Happineſs they received with the greater Joy, becauſe not by them expected. The firſt Place preſented itſelf to their View was a high Point of Land, to which *Gonſalvo* gave the Name of *Cape St. Laurence.*

Which Point having doubled, they ſaw a brave and fertile Country, full of fair and high Trees, which in Woods and Groves extended themſelves from the Mountains thro' the Valleys, to the very Sea ſide. The Cloud was now ſo far retired, as it ſeemed only to crown the Heads of the Mountains. This pleaſant Sight gave the Minds of our Voyagers a great deal of Content, the Dangers and Hazards, they had formerly mutined about, being now forgot, they embraced one another with Joy, rendring Thanks firſt to God, and then to their Commander, by whoſe Encouragement and Perſuaſion, they were now come to ſo glorious an End of their Labours, highly praiſing their Pilot, who had ſo ſucceſsfully conducted them. Sailing on they ſaw a large Bay, which *Jean de Morales* judging to be the Place where the *Engliſh* had formerly reſided, came there to an Anchor.

They landed on the very ſame Place *Lionel* before had done, and by certain Tokens *Jean de Morales* had given, found with much Satisfaction the Footſteps of the *Engliſh*, and divers Trees notched with a Hatchet, which they knew to be infallible Signs of Men having been there: paſſing thence into the Foreſt they ſaw the great Tree, and coming nearer perceived the Croſs, and read the Epitaph of our Lovers, which abſolutely confirmed the Pilot's Relations. This Spectacle cauſed a great deal of Compaſſion in *Ruy Paes*, and his Companions, who were detach'd aſhore firſt, making them ſhed ſome Tears, thereby confirming what long ſince *Seneca* wrote, that *Pity is the firſt Degree of Kindneſs among Men.*

Jean Gonſalvo diſpoſed himſelf to diſembark, which he did with all the Precaution and Solemnity imaginable, taking Poſſeſſion of the Place for and in the Name of Don *John* King of *Portugal*, and of the Infant Don *Henry*, Maſter of the Order and Knight of Chriſt; the Water was bleſſed by two Religious, and with it the Air and Earth cleanſed by calling on the Name of God. An Altar was alſo erected, and Maſs ſaid where *Lionel* and *Arabella* lay buried. This Ceremony was performed on the Feaſt-day of St. *Elizabeth.*

The Sovereignty of the Sea was zealouſly maintained by King *Edward*. In one of the Preambles to an Act of Parliament, we find that he was uſually accounted or ſtiled King or Sovereign of the Sea by all Nations [a]. In his Commiſſions to his Sea-officers, his Majeſty deduced the Grounds of his Inſtructions, and of the Authority committed to them by him [b], from that Power he enjoyed in right of Deſcent from the Sovereigns of the Seas, his Progenitors. And he manifeſted his Care to commit the ſame Title of Sovereign of the Sea unconteſted down to his Succeſſors, by reſerving [c] all the Iſlands, as *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, &c. dependant upon *Normandy*, when he renounced his Title to that Dukedom.

To this I add that Piece of Gold-coin called a *Noble*; for, according to a judicious Antiquarian, *Stephen Martin Leake*, Eſq; Garter King at Arms [d], the Occaſion of ſtriking this famous Coin, was not, as *Rapin* [e] invidiouſly ſuggeſts, to perpetuate the Memory of an Action of little Importance, namely, for clearing the Channel of (what he calls) a few *Corſairs*; (which, nevertheleſs, was a memorable Action) for they were coined four Years before; but to aſſert King *Edward*'s Dominion of the Seas, and Title to *France*, and to commemorate his great and glorious Naval Victory over the *French* Fleet, in 1340; the greateſt [f] that ever was obtained at Sea before by the *Engliſh*; and the firſt, where a King of *England* had commanded in Perſon, wherein the *French* [g] are ſaid to have loſt 30,000 Men. An Action worthy the Monarch of the Seas, and to be tranſmitted down to us, after the *Roman* Manner, upon the beſt Gold Money; ſo that this Coin may truly be called *Noble*, as well for its Beauty and Value, as the Subject it commemorates, and indeed may be eſteemed a Medal as well as a Coin.

This great Prince is therefore very properly repreſented upon theſe Nobles as Sovereign of the Seas, ſtanding triumphantly in a Ship, compleatly armed, the Crown upon his Head, a naked Sword in his Right-hand, and a Shield in his Left, whereon, as aſſerting his Title to *France*, he quarters the Arms of that Kingdom, (being *ſemé de Lys*) in the firſt Quarter with the Arms of *England*: The firſt Inſtance of quartering Arms by our Kings, either upon their Seals or Coins, after the Example of *Ferdinand* the Third, King of *Spain*, when he united the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon.* This is likewiſe the firſt Money whereon the Arms of *England* appears, *viz.* three Lions Paſſant Guardant, tho' ſome will have them Leopards; and, what is moſt extraordinary, they are frequently ſo called in our Acts of Parliament, and other public Acts. But, beſides that, there is no ſuch Creature in Nature as a Leopard, *ex Leæna & Pardo*, the Term *Leopordé* relates only to the Guardant Poſture, which can no way alter the Property, and in that Poſture principally conſiſts the Majeſty of the Lion; and from this Bearing it was, that our King *Richard* the Firſt had the Nick-name of *Cor Leonis.* So that the Notion of Leopards aroſe from the indiſcriminate Uſe of the *French* Term *Leopardé*; for at the ſame Time it was apparent, what they called Leopards, were true Lions; which, tho' the *French* will not admit in Terms of Blazon, they have often experienced to their Coſt.

As theſe Nobles bear the Arms of *France*, they have the Title of *France*, EDWARD. DEI GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. HYB. but upon his Great-ſeal the Title of *France* is placed firſt, agreeable to the Bearing of the Arms: Whereas before, his Titles were *Rex. Angl. Dns. Hyb. & Aquit.* the Title of *Aquitaine* being now immerged in that of *France.* Upon the Sides of the Ship, towards the Bottom, are two Spikes ſtanding out, and above them in a Row three Lions of *England*, and four *Fleurs de Lis*, viz. a *Fleur de Lis*, and a Lion alternately. Reverſe, a Croſs *Flory*, with a *Fleur de Lis* at the Points, a Lion of *England* under a Crown in each Quarter, and the Letter E within a ſmall Roſe in the Center, all within a Compartment, called a Roſe of eight Parts or Leaves, or, as Mr. *Evelyn* [h] calls them, eight Goderoons; circumſcribed with this Legend in old *Engliſh* Characters, HIC. AUTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIV. ILLORUM. IBAT. which our Alchymiſts [i] profoundly expound, that as *Jeſus* paſſed inviſible, in moſt ſecret Manner, by the Middeſt of the *Phariſees* (*John* viii. 59.) ſo that Gold was made by inviſible and ſecret Art Alchymical, of *Raymond Lully* in the *Tower*: But others ſay, that Text was only an Amulet, uſed in that credulous Age to eſcape Dangers, ſuperſtitiouſly applying the Words of the Goſpel, to make the Wearers invulnerable. This laſt Conjecture ſeems moſt probable; and the Occaſion of it, no doubt, ſprung from the wonderful Preſervation of the King, who, by the inviſible Hand of Providence, paſt unhurt through the Midſt of his Enemies, in that extraordinary Sea-fight, which this noble Coin was intended to commemorate.

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[a] Rot. Parliam. 46 Edw. III. num. 20.
[b] Rot. Scotiæ, 10 Edw. III. memb. 16.
[c] Walſingham.
[d] Hiſtory of Money, Edit. 2. p. 109.
[e] Vol. I. p. 428.
[f] Lediard's Naval Hiſt. p. 47, 48.
[g] Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. p. 161.
[h] Numiſmata, p. 86.
[i] Camden's Remains, chap. of Money.

His Attention to Trade and Commerce is moſt viſible. He not only removed the Staple of the Woollen Trade from *Antwerp* to *Canterbury*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Lincoln* and *Hull*[a]; and encouraged Weavers, Fullers and Dyers to come over and ſettle here; but he cauſed it to be enacted in Parliament, That no Cloths made beyond Seas ſhall be brought into the King's Dominions, under pain of Forfeiture[b]; which Law was renewed by *Edw.* IV[c]. and continues in Force to this Day[d]. Yet his long Wars and frequent Embargoes greatly injured the national Commerce towards the Concluſion of his Reign; which gave the *French* an Opportunity to improve their maritime Force to ſuch a Pitch, as to become formidable to the *Engliſh*.

Another Mark of this King's Attention to the Protection and Improvement of Trade, is the Diligence he ſhewed to put a Stop to the counterfeiting and clipping the current Coin, and the uttering of baſe Money[e]. To prevent this it was enacted[f], that no counterfeit Money ſhould be brought into the Realm, upon Forfeiture of ſuch Money; and that black Money[g] ſhould not be current: And this proving ineffectual, another Statute[h] awards an Exigent againſt Bringers in of falſe Money, if they could not be found, or brought in by Attachment or Diſtreſs: Afterwards, the Nation being well ſupplied with good Money, it was made[i] High-treaſon to counterfeit the King's Coin, or to bring in falſe Money, as the Money called *Luſhburg*. Theſe were coined[k] at *Luxemburg*, reſembling the true *Engliſh* Sterling. And it was enacted[l], that no Money ſhould have common Courſe in the Realm, but the King's Coin. Afterwards, becauſe the *Scotch* made a Practice of carrying out the good *Engliſh* Money, and recoining it of leſs Value in *Scotland*; the *Scotch* Pieces[m] of four Pence were allowed to be current for no more than three Pence, and leſſer Pieces in Proportion. Other wholeſome Laws were likewiſe made to preſerve the Coin and Bullion in the Kingdom. It was prohibited[n] to carry out Sterling Money, or Silver, or Gold-plate, without Licence, or to melt down any Sterling, Half-penny or Farthing: And by a Statute[o] in his ſeventeenth Year (never printed) farther Proviſion was made againſt the Exportation of Sterling Money, and Allowance given for the Currency of ſuch *Flemiſh* Coins (*Groſſes* or others) as were of the like Allay: But in his 27th Year, the Nation having Plenty of new Money[p], Merchants bringing Silver or Gold to the Exchanges, were permitted to carry out as much of the new Bullion, but not old Sterling. Beſides the Money brought in by Trade, the King is ſaid[q] to have made great Profit by the Silver-mines at *Comb-Martin* in *Devonſhire*; which in three Years produced 1525 Pounds Weight.

In his 18th Year there was a new Coinage[r], both of Gold and Silver, which was to be made in the City of *York*, or elſewhere, where the King ordained, in ſuch Manner as it was made in the *Tower* of *London*. This new Money ſeems to have been baſer or lighter than the old, and not very acceptable to the People; becauſe the ſame Year it was enacted, that no Man ſhould be compelled to take the new Money of Gold or Silver, which the King had ordained to go in Payment, at a certain Price, within the Sum of twenty Shillings. This looks as if Groats had been then coined. But, beſides that our Hiſtorians place it much later, we have a Record[s] in his 25th Year, where it is ſaid, that, by the Advice of his Privy-council, the King cauſed to be made new Silver Money, *viz.* one Money to be called a *Groat*, of the Value of four *Eaſterlings*, and one *Demy-Groſs*, of the Value of two *Eaſterlings*, to be current with our Monies of *Eaſterling*, *Maille*, and *Ferling*.

So that 'tis probable, the new Silver Money here mentioned was made lighter, raiſing the Value of the Silver in the Coin to twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence, as it continued ſome Years afterwards: For,

By Indenture[t] the 20th of *Edward* III. a Pound Weight of old Sterling Silver, was to make twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence, and *Percival de Perche* was Maſter; ſo the Penny muſt conſequently weigh, or ought to weigh, twenty-one Grains and a Quarter, inſtead of twenty-four, the Standard Weight of the old Penny.

And the like Indenture in his 23d Year, when *John Donative* of the Caſtle of *Florence*, and *Philip John Denier* were Maſters, and Workers; by which Indenture were likewiſe coined Halfpence and Farthings of Silver.

But the greateſt Coinage was in his 25th Year, when Groats were made, and the Money brought down again; there was a great deal coined, becauſe[u] two Years afterwards it was allowed to be exported. Of this new Money, *Stow*[w] gives us the following Account. *William Edinton* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Treaſurer of *England*, a wiſe Man, but loving the King's Commodity more than the Wealth of the Realm and common People, cauſed a new Coin, called a *Groat*, and *Half-groat* to be coined; but theſe were of leſs Weight (in proportion) than the Pence called *Eaſterlings*; by reaſon whereof Victuals and Merchandiſe became the dearer through the whole Realm: Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament then held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the former Rate, which was given before the late great Mortality. The Statute[x] directs, that the Money of Gold and Silver, which now runneth, ſhall not be impaired in Weight, nor in Allay, but as ſoon as a good Way can be found, the ſame be put in the ancient Eſtate, as in the Sterling. And, by the ſame Statute, the Officers of the Mint were to receive Plate of Gold and Silver by Weight, and in the ſame Manner to deliver the Money, when made, by Weight, and not by Number. But that Part of the Statute for putting the Money in the ancient Eſtate, was not obſerved; for, by Indenture[y] in the 27th of *Edward* III. a Pound Weight of Silver, of the old Sterling, was to make by Tale ſeventy-five Groſſes (or Groats) amounting to twenty-five Shillings; a hundred and fifty half Groſſes going for two Pence a-piece, or three hundred Sterlings going for Pence a-piece, and *Henry Briſſel* was Maſter and Worker. By this Indenture, the Groat was to weigh three Penny-weights, four Grains, three Quarters. The like[z] in his 30th and 37th Year, only adding half Sterlings, ſix hundred to the Pound; and the ſame in the 46th Year, when *Bardet de Malepylys* of *Florence* was Maſter and Worker: So that the Reduction made in the 25th Year was continued throughout this Reign.

As the firſt *Edward* was the firſt of our Monarchs who coined a Piece of Money called a Groat, *Edward* III. was the firſt that made them a current Coin. Of theſe there are two Sorts; one with the Title of *France*, the other without.

After the Ratification of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in *October* 1360, King *Edward* relinquiſhed[a] the Title of *France*, and we have no more Mention of it upon the Money till 1369, when the King of *France* having broke the Peace, King *Edward*, by the Advice of his Parliament, re-aſſumed that Title, as he had taken it before the Peace. He was then in ſo great Want of Money, that notwithſtanding the Aids of Parliament, he borrowed great Sums of private Perſons; and this Money was made lighter[b] than the former, to ſupply his Neceſſities.

This King, for any Thing that has yet appeared to the contrary, was the firſt of our Monarchs that coined Gold Money, imitating therein the neighbouring Princes, who had done the like ſome Time before. Why they ſo long forbore to coin Gold, I know not (ſays *Camden*[c]) unleſs it were of Ignorance, for I think it proceeded not from the Law of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, who forbad foreign Princes to coin Gold. But ſurely it required no more Skill to coin Gold than Silver; and from the Year 1252, if not much ſooner, Florins of Gold were every where current. The Reaſon why they did not coin Gold Money of their own ſooner, ſeems to be becauſe they had no Need of it. A few Florins were ſufficient for ordinary Payments, and for extraordinary, Bullion beſt anſwered the End of Money. But as the Price of all Things increaſed, the Coin was augmented in Proportion. Thus the Penny grew up to a Crown, and Silver was turn'd into Gold, which now does little more than ſupply the Place of Silver, as it was in the *Conqueror*'s Time.

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[a] Speed, p. 593. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. IV. p. 496.
[b] Edw. III. chap. 3.
[c] Edw. IV. chap. 4.
[d] See Carcaſs's Book of Rates.
[e] Hiſtory of Engliſh Money by Stephen Martin Leake, Eſq; Garter.
[f] Statute 9 Edw. III. cap. 2.
[g] Ibid. cap. 4.
[h] Statute 18 Edw. III. p. 109.
[i] Statute 25 Edw. III. Statute 5. cap. 2.
[k] Thoreſby, No. 195.
[l] Statute 27 Edw. III. Statute 2. cap. 14.
[m] 47 Edw. III. cap. 2. 48 Edw. III. Rymer, Tom. VII. p. 41.
[n] Statute 9 Edw. III. Statute 2. cap. 1.
[o] Eng. Hiſt. lib. 1. Note, p. 256.
[p] Statute 27 Edw. III. Statute 2. cap. 14.
[q] Magn. Britan. in Devonſhire.
[r] Raſtal, No. 13.
[s] A.D. 1350. 25 Edw. III. Rymer, Tom. V. p. 708.
[t] Lownds, p. 36.
[u] Statute 27 Edw. III. Statute 2. cap. 14.
[w] Stow, Annals, p. 251.
[x] Statute 25 Edw. III. Statute 5. cap. 13. Raſtal, 14.
[y] Lownds, p. 36.
[z] Ibid. p. 17.
[a] Rymer, Tom. VI. p. 621. A.D. 1369. Clauſ. 43 Edw. III. m. 15. d.
[b] Walſingham, p. 188.
[c] Remains, chap. Money.

The firſt Gold Coin with us was a *Florence*, or *Florin*; for few Princes in *Europe* but coined Pieces of that Denomination; the Name of *Florin* being generally applied to all Gold Money, becauſe the beſt Gold Money were *Florins*; but ours were ſomething too light, being coined for the King's Benefit [a] towards his Wars in *France*.

The Standard and Value of theſe Pieces appears by an Indenture [b], the next Year, between the King and *Walter de Dunflower*, Maſter and Worker of the Monies, whereby every Pound of Gold of the old Standard, *viz.* twenty-three Carrats, three Grains, and a Half fine, and half a Grain Allay, was to be coined into fifty Florences, to be current at ſix Shillings a piece, making in Tale fifteen Pound; or into a proportionable Number of Half or Quarter Florences, ſo that they were not of baſe Allay (as *Daniel* has it) but as fine as the Nobles were afterwards, the Difference being in the Weight, which did not bear a juſt Proportion to their current Value in Sterling Money. For this Reaſon it was, thoſe Florins, which had been coined in his 17th Year, were generally diſliked, and refuſed; and therefore the Indenture for the further Coinage of this Gold Florin, in his 18th Year, was laid aſide, and inſtead thereof, the ſame Year, a new Species of Gold Money was made: And becauſe of the great Damage [c] that had been found in the firſt Gold Money, the ſame was to be no longer current, but at the Will of Receivers, but to be brought in to be melted down for the Value of it.

The 9th of *July*, and 18th of *Edward* III. by Advice of the Council [d], three Kinds of Gold Money were ordained to be made, one to be called the *Noble*, at ſix Shillings and eight Pence Sterling; the *Maille Noble* at forty Pence Sterling, and the *Ferling Noble* at twenty Pence; which, by Indenture [e] with *Percival de Perche*, were to be made thirty-nine Nobles and a Half to the Pound, making in Tale thirteen Pound, three Shillings and four Pence. And by this Indenture the Trial or Aſſay of the Pix was eſtabliſhed, as a Check upon the Maſter of the Mint, that the Money made by him was agreeable to the Covenants of his Indenture. At the ſame Time [f], all Perſons were forbid to carry out of the Realm Money of Gold or Silver without Licence, except the new Gold Money, under pain of forfeiting the ſame, and their Bodies to the King's Will. And it was ordained, that no Money ſhould be received or paid but in the King's Coin, and that none refuſe the Gold and Silver Money, the Gold Money at twenty Shillings of *Eaſterlings*. But at the ſame Time it was enacted [g], that none ſhould be compelled to take the ſaid new Money, within the Sum of twenty Shillings, againſt his Will.

By the ſame Order that this new Coin was publiſhed, a certain Rate [h] was ſettled for exchanging Gold for Silver, or Silver for Gold, at the King's Exchange; for it ſeems, heretofore, Perſons had been deceived for Want of ſome certain Order for Exchange, which probably was the chief Objection to the Gold Money; but now the Exchange of the Gold Money was ſettled, *viz.* thoſe that would change Gold for Eaſterlings at the King's Exchange (for no other was allowed) were to take for the Noble of Gold, a Penny leſs than the half Mark; the Maille a Penny leſs than the Value, and the Ferling a Farthing; and thoſe that would buy the Noble of Gold for Eaſterlings, to pay a Halfpenny above the Value, and for the Maille and Ferling a Farthing. The 20th of *Auguſt* following [i], the firſt Gold Money was called in to be re-coined, and the Nobles abſolutely made current, and no Perſons were to refuſe the ſame under Forfeiture of Body and Goods.

In the 20th of *Edward* III. the Value of a Pound of Gold in Coin was raiſed to fourteen Pound, making forty-two Nobles, at ſix Shillings and eight Pence a-piece, or a proportionable Number of half and quarter Nobles, by Indenture [k].

In his 25th Year there was a great Alteration in the Money, by reaſon, as was alledged [l], that the ſame being better than that of any other Kingdom, had been carried abroad, and baſe Money brought in, to the Damage of the People: Whereupon the King, by the Advice of his Privy-council, cauſed to be made new Money of Gold, of like Impreſſion and Value as it was before, and ordered, that none refuſe the ſaid new made Money for the Price, *viz.* the Noble, Half a Mark, the half Noble at three Shillings and four Pence, and Ferling at twenty Pence. By this Injunction, as well as the Reaſons alledged for this new Coinage, it is plain the Coin was made lighter. *Stow* ſays [m], it was abated in Weight, and yet made to paſs at the former Value, and that the old Noble was worth much above the taxed Value of the new. He does not tell us what the Difference was; but as no Reduction of the Coin is mentioned afterwards, during this Reign, it was doubtleſs as we find it in the Indenture [n] with *Henry Briſſel*, Maſter-worker, in the 27th Year, whereby a Pound of Gold of the old Standard was to make forty-five Nobles, or a proportionable Number of half or quarter Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pound, the exact Value of the Florences, which had formerly been refuſed by the People, and called in, as bad or light Money. That no Reduction of the Value was made afterwards is manifeſt, from the Statute [o] of the 25th of *Edward* III. which enacts, that the Money of Gold and Silver then current, ſhould not be impaired in Weight nor in Allay, but as ſoon as good Way might be found, the ſame ſhall be put in the ancient Eſtate as in the Sterling; but the latter Part was never regarded, for we find the ſame Proportions obſerved in all the ſubſequent Indentures of this Reign.

In order to leſſen our Opinion of the Trade in this Reign, it has been obſerved by ſome Writers, that King *Edward* was frequently reduced to ſuch Straits for Money to carry on his Wars in *France*, that he thrice pawn'd his Crown, once beyond the Seas [p], a ſecond [q], and third time [r] to Sir *John Weſenham*, his Merchant or Banker. But, tho' this may ſerve to prove the Neceſſities, which a King of *England* has plunged himſelf into, by carrying on protracted and burthenſome Wars on the Continent, where the Intereſt of the Nation was not at all concern'd, the patrimonial Eſtates of our Kings in *France* having always been a Load upon the *Engliſh* Nation, even in Times of Peace; it by no means is concluſive againſt the Riches of the People, and the Increaſe of their Trade. His Neceſſities on thoſe Occaſions ſhew, that *Edward the Third* did enter into Engagements on the Continent, and for the Recovery and Defence of the Dominions poſſeſſed by his Progenitors, which exceeded the great Sums granted him by Parliament; and that the Wiſdom of the Guardians of the People's Property, as well as Liberty, would not beggar them to ſatisfy the Ambition or Foible of the beſt of Kings. And to put the Point of Trade out of all doubt, we need only read the following Account of the Balance of Trade in the 28th of *Edward* III. as founded upon Record in the Exchequer, and publiſhed by Mr. *Edward Miſſelden* in his *Circle of Commerce* [s], printed in 1633.

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[a] Daniel.

[b] Lownds, p. 35.

[c] Rymer, tom. V. p. 424.

[d] Rymer, tom. V. p. 416. A. D. 1344. 18 Edw. III. a Writ to the Sheriff of London.

[e] Lownds, p. 35.

[f] Rymer, tom V. p. 416.

[g] Stat. Raſtal. 13. 18 Edw. III. cap. 6.

[h] Rymer, tom. V. p. 416.

[i] Rymer, tom. V. p. 424.

[k] Lownds, p. 36.

[l] Rymer, tom. V. p. 708.

[m] Annals, p. 252.

[n] Lownds, p. 36.

[o] 25 Edw. III. Raſt. 14.

[p] Pat. Parſ. An. 17 Edw. III.

[q] Pat. An. 24 Edw. III. Memb. 21.

[r] Clauſ. An. 30 Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38 Edw. III. ex parte Rem. Regis.

[s] Page 119, 120.

EXPORTS.

	l.	s.	d.
One and thirty Thouſand ſix Hundred fifty-one Sacks and a half of Wool, at 6 *l.* Value each Sack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three Thouſand ſix Hundred ſixty-five Felts, at 40 *s.* Value each Hundred at ſix Score, amounts to —	6,073	1	8
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to —	81,624	1	1
Fourteen Laſt, ſeventeen Dicker, and five Hides of Leather, after 6 *l.* Value the Laſt — — —	89	5	0
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to —	6	17	6
Fourteen Thouſand ſeven Hundred ſeventy-four Cloths and an half, after 40 *s.* Value, the Cloth is — —	9,549	0	0
Eight Thouſand and ſixty-one Pieces and an half of Worſted, after 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Value the Piece, is — —	6,717	18	4
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to —	215	13	7
Exports	294,184	17	2

IMPORTS.

	l.	s.	d.
One Thouſand eight Hundred thirty-two Cloths, after 6 *l.* Value the Cloth	10,992	0	0
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to —	91	12	0
Three Hundred ninety-ſeven Quintals and three Quarters of Wax, after the Value of 40 *s.* the Hundred or Quintal — — —	759	10	0
Whereof the Cuſtom is —	19	17	0
One Thouſand eight Hundred twenty-nine Tons and a half of Wine, after 40 *s.* Value *per* Ton — —	3,659	0	0
Whereof the Cuſtom is —	182	0	0
Linnen Cloth, Mercery and Grocery Wares, and all other Manner of Merchandiſe — — —	22,943	6	10
Whereof the Cuſtom is —	285	18	3
Imports	38,970	13	8
Balance	255,214	13	8

N. B. The Totals do not anſwer the Particulars exactly, but at this Diſtance of Time it is impoſſible to aim at correcting them with any Degree of Certainty.

RICHARD the *Second*, the Son of the *Black Prince*, who had before been declared Earl of *Cheſter*, Prince of *Wales*, and Heir and Succeſſor to the Crown, was unanimouſly proclaimed King of *England* at the Death of his Grandfather *Edward* III. [a] His Minority, the Decay of the Navy, and the Murmurings of the People, occaſioned by the Mal-adminiſtration at the latter End of the late Reign, gave a bad Proſpect to the Nation, and encouraged the *French* to inſult our Coaſts [b]. Before he was crown'd, his Subjects were alarm'd with a Deſcent at *Rye* in *Suſſex* [c], made on the 29th of *June*, by a Fleet of fifty *French* Ships, commanded by Admiral *de Vienne*; which, after plundering and burning that Town, and the Neighbourhood, proceeded to the Iſle of *Wight*, and raiſed a Contribution of one thouſand Marks [d], without being able to reduce the Caſtle. They alſo burnt *Haſtings*, *Plymouth*, *Portſmouth*, and *Dartmouth*; but where repuls'd at *Winchelſea* by the Abbot of *Battle* [e].

In the Midſt of theſe Inſults and Loſſes, the King was crown'd with a Solemnity beyond any Coronation of his Anceſtors. But the Lords of the Regency diſagreeing among themſelves about Power, the Enemy met with no Reſiſtance capable of preventing their Depredations; and the Sovereignty of the Seas ſeem'd to be entirely given up to our Enemies. To add to our other Calamities, the *Scots* ravaged our Eaſtern Coaſts, the next Year, with a large Number of Ships, under the Command of one *Mercer*, who plundered and took all the *Engliſh* Ships that came in his Way, and made a very great Booty. No Care being taken by thoſe at the Helm to prevent theſe Injuries, or to chaſtiſe the Authors of them, one *John Philpot* [f], a wealthy Citizen and Merchant of *London*, to his own, as well as that City's everlaſting Honour, fitted out at his own Expence a little Fleet with a thouſand Men, and in Perſon ſet ſail in queſt of this Pirate. It was not long before he had the Satisfaction to come up with him, and to defeat his whole Fleet; took him Priſoner, and retook all the Prizes he had made upon the *Engliſh*, with 15 richly laden *French* and *Spaniſh* Veſſels [g].

Yet this ſignal Service done to the Trade of the Nation, was ill taken by the Government, as an Expedition, which had not the Sanction of their Conſent, and performed by Forces levied without any publick Authority. *Philpot* was, therefore, committed to Cuſtody at his Return; but Neceſſity on the one Side, and Generoſity on the other, added to his known Honeſty, and the viſible Uprightneſs of his Intention, pleaded ſo ſtrongly for him, when he was examined at the Council-board, that he was releaſed with Thanks, inſtead of the Reproof, or heavier Puniſhment, he was threatned with [h].

Application was made to Parliament for Money to enable his Majeſty to reſtore the Navy, and to protect the Trade and Navigation of his Subjects; and accordingly a Duty was laid for that Purpoſe on all Ships that ſhould ſail from the Mouth of the *Thames* Northward, to be paid at the Rate of 6 *d.* *per* Ton by every Ship and Fiſhing-boat, except ſuch Veſſels as traded from *Flanders* to *London* with Merchandiſe, and from *London* to *Calais* with Wool and Hides. Fiſhermen, employ'd in the Herring-fiſhery, were to pay 6 *d.* *per* Ton every Week; other Fiſhery only 6 *d.* every three Weeks; Colliers, once a Month; and the like monthly Duty was charged on all Merchantmen ſailing to *Ruſſia*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*. And this Ordinance, ſays the Record [i], was by the Advice of the Merchants of *London*, and of other Merchants to the North, by the Aſſent of all the Commons in Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Mayor of *London*, for the Guard and Tuition of the Sea and Coaſts under the Juriſdiction of the Admiral of the North Seas. And as this Ordinance was ſubmitted to, and was ſupported only by ſix armed Veſſels to collect the Duty from foreign Ships, as well as *Engliſh*, it is a clear Proof that our Sovereignty of the Seas was admitted of by all Nations in this Reign.

In Conſequence of this, and other Aid of Parliament, the Regents, at length, reſolved to fit out a powerful Fleet to ſecure the Coaſts. While this Fleet was preparing, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Saliſbury* were commiſſioned to go into *Normandy*, to take Poſſeſſion of *Cherbourg*, which the King of *Navarre* had mortgaged to the *Engliſh*. They were met by a ſtronger Party of *Spaniſh* Men of War, who attacked them with great Fury, did them ſome Damage, and killed or took Priſoners ſeveral *Engliſh* Knights, Gentlemen, and others. *Philip* and *Peter Courtney*, who had the Command of the Fleet that fought, are by ſome charg'd with Temerity. However, they both behaved like good Commanders; *Philip* eſcaped with ſeveral Wounds; but *Peter*, who was taken with a few of his Men, was never heard of afterwards [k].

Theſe Miſfortunes haſten'd the grand Fleet, which ſail'd with the Duke of *Lancaſter* on-board, who made a Deſcent upon *Bretagne*, burnt ſeveral Ships in the Port of *St. Malo*, and by laying Siege to that Place drew the Duke of *Anjou* from *Bourdeaux*; but having left our own Coaſt defenceleſs, the *French* in the mean time ravaged the Coaſt of *Cornwall* [l].

[a] Speed, Rapin. A. D. 1376.

[b] Speed's Chron. p. 605.

[c] Echard, Daniel, Walſingham, Holinſhed.

[d] Speed, ibid. on the 21ſt of Auguſt.

[e] Id. ib. Daniel, Froiſſard, Walſingham.

[f] A. D. 1378. Maitland's Hiſt. of London, Vol. I. Edit. 2.

[g] Echard, Holinſhed, Walſingham.

[h] Walſingham.

[i] Rot. Parliament, 2 Rich. II. Pars ſecunda, Art. 39. in Schedula.

[k] Cont. Trivet. Murimuth. An. Vol. II. p. 143.

[l] Walſingham, Daniel, Froiſſard.

The Duke was obliged to return home, and to abandon the Siege; and Part of his Forces and Fleet were order'd to ſail with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was then in *England* ſoliciting Succours, on promiſe of delivering up the Port of *Breſt*. This Convoy was under the Command of Sir *Thomas Percy*, and Sir *Hugh Calverly*, Admirals of the narrow Seas [a], who took many rich Prizes, and in particular ſeven Ships loaden with Wine, and one Man of War, which they ſent to *Briſtol*. The Duke landed at a Port near *St. Malo*, on the fourth of *Auguſt*. But the Succours which were ſent after him, under the Conduct of Sir *John Arundel* and others, were loſt in a violent Storm on the 16th of *December*, on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Cornwall* [b]. However, King *Richard* [c] prepared for a powerful Attempt upon *France*. *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's Uncle, *Thomas Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, arrived at *Calais* on the 19th of *July*, with a large Army, intending to march through *France* into *Bretagne*, to the Duke's Aſſiſtance; but excepting that they committed ſome Ravages on their Rout, not having met with the leaſt Oppoſition [d], they did nothing worthy of Notice; for *Charles* V. of *France* dying during this March, the Duke of *Bretagne* took Advantage of the Confuſion at Court, in the Beginning of a Minority, to conclude a Treaty advantageous to himſelf, which rendered the Deſigns of the *Engliſh* abortive; and obliged the Earl, after having received a large Sum of Money from the Duke, to return, in ſome Ships provided for him at the Duke's Charge.

While [e] the Earl of *Buckingham* was roving thro' *France*, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Gallies ſail'd up the *Thames* as far as *Graveſend*, which they plunder'd and burnt; as they did alſo ſeveral Places on the *Kentiſh* Shore [f]. But as they return'd Weſtward, with the like Intention to rob and burn the defenceleſs Places in the Channel, they were met by a Fleet of Weſt-countrymen, who united in their own Defence; and were driven by them to *Kingſale* in *Ireland*; where the *Engliſh*, aſſiſted by the *Iriſh*, killed four Hundred of their Men, took their chief Officers, amongſt whom were ſeveral Perſons of Note, with four Gallies and a Ballenger, and recovered one and twenty *Engliſh* Ships, which they had pick'd up in the Cruize. Thoſe of the Enemy that eſcaped, amongſt whom were four *Spaniſh* Veſſels, return'd to the South-coaſt, burnt and plunder'd *Winchelſea*, and did other conſiderable Damage [g]. And in return for this Affront, the Earl of *Cambridge*, the King's Uncle, was ſent to aid the King of *Portugal* againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Year 1383 is memorable for an Invaſion made on *Flanders* by the Biſhop of *Norwich*, with a numerous Fleet, on which was embark'd 50,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, under the Colour of a Holy-war, and by the Commiſſion of Pope *Urban* IV, eſpouſed by *England*, in Oppoſition to a Pope elected at *Avignon*, by the Name of *Clement* VII, by the Intereſt of *France*. *Urban* deſpairing of Succeſs againſt his Antagoniſt by any other Means than Force, publiſhes a Croiſade, and conſtitutes *Henry Nevil*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, his General in *England*, a Man of a martial Spirit, noble Birth, and of an enterprizing Genius. The Biſhop finding himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, and inform'd of the Diſaffection of the *Flemings*, made uſe of his Commiſſion to dethrone their Earl, landed at *Calais* [h], and ſuddenly march'd unexpected into *Flanders*, where before he, the King of *France*, could arrive to the Earl's Aſſiſtance, he beat him out of the Field with the Loſs of 12,000 Men; and with the Help of his Fleet took *Dunkirk*, *Mardyke*, *Graveling* and *Bourbourg*, and beat a Squadron of *Urban*'s Enemies at Sea. But while he beſieged *Ypres*, the King of *France*, heading a powerful Army, came to the Aſſiſtance of the Earl, and obliged the Biſhop not only to raiſe the Siege, but to reſtore the Places he had taken, and to retire. This putting an End to the Croiſade, the Biſhop, with his Croiſes, returned as they went, and a Truce was made with the *French* for ten Months, after the Nation had been a great Sufferer by their frequent Deſcents on the Coaſts. This Truce was prolonged the Year following [i], for ſome Months longer. But the *French* [k] taking Advantage of the Diſſentions, Miſmanagement, and Neglect of the public Weal then at Court, they fitted out ſome Ships to intercept all Veſſels that paſſed between *England* and *Flanders*; againſt whom the Inhabitants of *Portſmouth* fitted out a Squadron at their own Charge. They fought the *French*, took every Ship, and ſlew all their Crews, excepting nine Perſons. And about the ſame Time another Fleet of *Engliſh* took eight *French* Ships, laden with fifteen hundred Tuns of Wine: Where it is worthy of Remark, that whenever our Affairs have gone wrong, the Blame is manifeſtly in the Rulers, and not in the People; whoſe natural Jealouſy of their Nation's Glory has always made them ready to offer their Lives and Fortunes in its Defence.

Charles VI. revived his Father's Scheme to oblige the *Engliſh* to quit their Footing on the Continent, by invading *England*; and for that Expedition purchaſed a Fleet from divers Nations of 1600 Sail, enough to have laid a Bridge acroſs the Straits of *Dover* [l]. This Armament rouzed the *Engliſh* Miniſtry; and as there was not the leaſt Room to heſitate concerning its Deſtination, King *Richard* endeavoured to countermine the Blow, by raiſing an Army of 300,000 Men, according to ſome Authors [m]; but others reduce them with more Appearance of Truth to 10,000 Horſe, and 100,000 Foot [n]; and even to 8000 Horſe, and 60,000 Foot [o], to cover the Coaſts, and to penetrate into *Scotland*, which *Charles* had engaged to his Intereſt, and arm'd to favour the Invaſion of *England* through that Kingdom. *Richard* alſo equipp'd a conſiderable Fleet of arm'd Veſſels, under the Command of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, to guard the Seas, and attack the *French* Tranſports, and to protect the Navigation and Trade of his Subjects.

Theſe vigorous Meaſures, ſo little expected from a Court broken into Factions, and diſcontented with their Sovereign, ſtruck ſuch a Damp upon the *French* Expedition, that it was reſolved to put it off till a better Opportunity; and their Fleet was ordered to depart from the Port of *Sluys* to their reſpective Harbours: many of which fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Admirals of the narrow Seas; beſides the Capture made by the Fleet commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who falling in with a Convoy of *French*, *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Merchantmen, on the Weſtern Coaſts of *France*, took fifty-ſix, or, as other relate, 160 Sail [p] laden with Wine and other Merchandiſe: And, then ſailing to the Coaſts of *Bretagne*, they relieved the Town of *Breſt*, beſieged by the Duke. At the ſame Time [q] the Towns of *Portſmouth* and *Dartmouth* fitted out a ſmall Fleet of Privateers, which ſail'd up the River *Seine*, ſunk four Ships, and brought off four more laden with Wine belonging to *France*, beſides a Pleaſure-veſſel, the Property of Sir *Robert Cliſſon*, and the moſt beautiful in the whole Kingdom of *France* [r]. The Inhabitants alſo of *Calais* enrich'd themſelves this Year very much by the Number of Ships they took from the Enemy [s].

The Fears of an Invaſion being diſſipated, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, backed by the King of *Portugal*'s Aid of ſeven Gallies, and eighteen Ships [t], prepared to aſſert his Claim in the Right of his Wife *Conſtantia*, the Daughter of *Peter the Cruel*, to the Crown of *Caſtile*. For this Expedition the Duke aſſembled an Army of 20,000 Men, among whom were a great Number of *Engliſh* Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen Voluntiers [u], under the Command of Sir *John Holland*, afterwards Earl of *Huntingdon*, Generaliſſimo, and married to one of the Duke's Daughters. His Fleet, which was in proportion to his Army, and commanded in chief by Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Admiral, the Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland*, ſailed from *Briſtol* about *Midſummer* [x].

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[a] Walſingh. A. D. 1379.

[b] Walſingham.

[c] A. D. 1380. Walſingh.

[d] Froiſſard, Walſingham.

[e] Holinſhed, Walſingham.

[f] Froiſſard, Walſingh. Mezeray, Vol. III. p. 109. Murimuth. An. Vol. II. p. 147, 148. about the End of June.

[g] Walſingham.

[h] Froiſſard, Walſingham, Knighton, Echard.

[i] A. D. 1384.

[k] Holinſh.

[l] Hiſt. de Charles VI. Tillius, Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Angl. L. XX.

[m] Froiſſard, Walſingham.

[n] Paul. Æmil. in Carol. VI.

[o] Id. ibid.

[p] Knighton.

[q] A. D. 1385.

[r] Hollinſhed.

[s] Speed, Hiſt. p. 611.

[t] Hollinſhed.

[u] Knighton.

[x] A. D. 1386.

The firſt Land they made was *Breſt*, where Sir *John Roch* the Governor, complaining of two Forts built by the *French* to command and to annoy the Town and Harbour, the Duke of *Lancaſter* commanded his Men to attack them, who preſently forced them to ſurrender, and razed them to the Ground, tho' not without ſome Loſs[a]. From hence proceeding towards the Coaſt of *Spain*, they made the Port of *Corunna*, commonly called the *Groin*, in *Galicia*, where the whole Army diſembarked on the 9th of *Auguſt*[b]; and tho' he was not able to ſeize upon the Crown, by reaſon of a Famine that enſued in *Spain*, yet he forced *John* the King of *Caſtile* to an advantageous Treaty; by which it was agreed by him to pay the Duke 70,000 *l.* for the Expence of the War, an Annuity of 10,000 *l.* *per Annum* to him and his Ducheſs, and to marry *Henry*, the Prince of *Aſturias*, King *John*'s Heir, to the Duke's eldeſt Daughter[c].

This Expedition having deprived *England* of ſome of her beſt Forces and Ships, *Charles* renewed his Preparations for his Invaſion, which threatened the Conqueſt of *England*. And notwithſtanding the Loſſes in his Shipping laſt Year, our Hiſtories admit him to have no leſs than 1287 Ships at this Time, to pour into this Iſland an Army of 60,000 Men at Arms[d]. But before they were all in a Readineſs, *Richard* was prepared to receive them, both by Land and Sea; the *French* Fleet was ſeparated by a Storm on the 31ſt of *October*; and their Ships were ſo damaged, that a great Number foundered at Sea; others were loſt on the *Engliſh* Coaſt; the Governor of *Calais* took ſome; and thoſe which eſcaped into their own Harbours, were not in a Condition to put to Sea again. On board this Fleet they had a monſtrous Incloſure, or Machine, of Timber in Joints, 3000 Paces in Length, 20 Foot high, and, at the End of every 12 Foot, a Turret 10 Foot higher, and large enough to contain 10 Men each. The Inventor of this extraordinary Machine was ſaid to be an out-law'd *Engliſhman*[e].

This proved a fatal Blow to *France*; which ruined its Marine in ſuch a manner, that neither this King, nor his Succeſſor *Charles* VII. for near 60 Years, were ſcarce able to appear at Sea; nor could their Succeſſors for 50 Years more attempt any Thing of Conſequence with their Navy; and, conſequently, ſhould dictate to us the moſt natural Way to humble that ambitious Nation; and ſhew how difficult it is for the *French* to reſtore their naval Power after any conſiderable Loſs[f].

The *French*, diſabled at Sea, turn their Forces by Land againſt the Duke of *Bretagne*; who craving Aid of King *Richard*, a Fleet was diſpatched, under the Earl of *Arundel*, to his Aſſiſtance, early in the Spring[g]; which obliged the *French* to an equitable Peace with the Duke; and in its return took, burnt or ſunk eight *French* Ships richly laden, and plundered the Iſles of *Rhe* and *Oleron*[h].

In 1389, *Richard* ſent *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, with a ſelect Number of *Engliſh*, to the Coaſts of *Africa*, to aſſiſt the *Genoeſe* againſt the *Moors*, who infeſted the Coaſts of *Italy*[i]. The *Engliſh* were of ſingular Service in this Expedition, eſpecially at their Landing, and at the Siege of *Tunis*, where they obliged the *Barbarians* to come to their own Terms, and then returned Home in Triumph. *Froiſſard* and *Hollinſhed* make *John de Beaufort*, Baſtard Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, Commander of this Expediton. Next Year *Henry* Earl of *Derby* travelled into *Pruſſia*[k].

Several of the petty Kings of *Ireland* having endeavoured to throw off their Yokes[l], *Richard* reſolved this Year to go over in Perſon, and reduce them. He was ſtopped for a time by the Death of his Queen; however, he arrived there in *September*, and had ſome Succeſs againſt the Rebels; but the Seaſon being ſo far advanced, he went to *Dublin*, where he ſpent the Winter. The next Spring, while he was preparing to enter into Action, he was, at the Entreaty of the Clergy of *England*, prevailed with to return, in order to aſſiſt them with his Authority to ſuppreſs the *Lollards*, a Name given to ſuch as denied Obedience to the Pope, and oppoſed the Superſtitions and Impoſitions of the Popiſh Clergy. By which he loſt the beſt Opportunity of ſubduing the Rebels, and ſettling the State of that Kingdom; ſeveral of the petty Princes having already been frightened by his Preſence to pay him Homage, and to give him Hoſtages for their future Behaviour[m].

The *Iriſh*, however, encouraged by the Diſaffection which the *Engliſh* publicly ſhewed to their King for marrying *Iſabella*, a Madame of *France*, not eight Years old, and the yielding up of *Cherburgh* to the King of *Navarre*, and *Breſt* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, baniſhing the Duke of *Hereford*, and for other Meaſures in his Government which tended to the Hurt of his Subjects, they rebelled in the very next Year, and killed *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*, whom *Richard* had left Governor of *Ireland*[n].

Richard, highly incenſed at the News of this Rebellion, without taking Care to regain the Affections of his Subjects, but rather widening the Breach by Extortions, and taking up Carriages, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries for his Expedition without Recompence, haſtened with all Speed, and a conſiderable Army, on-board 200 Ships for *Ireland*, where he landed in the Spring of the Year at *Waterford*[o]. His very Appearance produced immediate Tokens of Repentance. But the baniſhed *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, having freſh Matter of Complaint, by the King's denying him Juſtice, and confiſcating to his own Uſe the Eſtates of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Henry*'s Father, lately deceaſed; he at the ſame time landed at *Ravenſhire*, a Village in the North of *England*, and being joined by ſeveral diſcontented Nobles, and an Army of their Dependants, to the Amount of 60,000 Men, marched towards *Briſtol*, which ſurrendered, as did alſo the King himſelf, when he returned to *Wales* in his Way to *England*, being deſerted by his Nobles, and hated by the People. The Terms he made with *Henry* were, that he would reſign his Crown to him, on condition he and eight more, whom he would name, might be permitted to live a quiet and retired Life, with an honourable Annuity[p]. In conſequence of this Agreement, *Richard* made a formal Reſignation of his Crown to *Henry* (late *Hereford*, now) Duke of *Lancaſter*, in Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, on the 30th of *September*; and was afterwards confined in *Pomfret-caſtle*, where he ended his Days, ſome ſay with Sorrow at the ſad Cataſtrophe of his own and his Friends Sufferings; but they are more generally credited, who attribute his Death to the ill Treatment, or unheard of Torments, with which his Enemies removed him out of the way of giving the King-regent any kind of Uneaſineſs by the Life of a Competitor.

The Trade and Navigation in this Reign are exemplified alſo by the ſeveral Voyages made by the Earl of *Derby*; the ſeveral public Inſtruments which are recorded upon this Subject between King *Richard* and *Pruſſia*; and ſeveral public Acts relating to our Coin and naval Affairs, paſſed in this troubleſome Reign.

The Earl of *Derby*, afterwards Duke of *Hereford*, and King *Henry* IV. about the Year 1390, ſays *Walſingham*[q], travelled into *Pruſſia*, where, with the Help of the Marſhal of the ſame Province, and of a certain King called *Wytot*, he vanquiſhed the Army of the King of *Lettowe*, with the Captivity of four *Lithuanian* Dukes, and the Slaughter of three; beſides more than 300 of the principal common Soldiers of the ſaid Army which were ſlain. The City alſo which is called *Wil* or *Vilna*, into the Caſtle whereof the King of *Lettowe*, named *Skirgalle*, fled for his Safeguard, was by the Valour of the ſaid Earl eſpecially, and of his Followers, ſurpriſed and taken. For certain of the chief Men of his Family, while others were ſlothful, or at leaſt ignorant of their Intent, ſcaling the Walls, advanced his Colours thereupon. And there were taken and ſlain 4000 of the common Soldiers, and amongſt others was ſlain the King of *Poland* his Brother, who was our profeſſed Enemy. And the Caſtle of the foreſaid City was beſieged for the Space of five Weeks; but by reaſon of the Infirmities and Inconveniencies wherewith the whole Army was annoyed, the great Maſters of *Pruſſia* and of *Liſland* would not ſtay any longer. There were converted of the Nation of *Lettowe* eight Perſons unto the Chriſtian Faith. And the Maſter of *Liſland* carried home with him into his Country 3000 Captives.

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[a] Knighton. Hollinſhed. Speed, p. 613.
[b] Froiſſard. Walſingham. Knighton. Daniel.
[c] Hollinſhed. Speed.
[d] Froiſſard. Walſingham. Speed, p. 113.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] See Daniel's Hiſt. de Milice, Vol. II. p. 488. Brady. Tyrrel.
[g] A. D. 1388.
[h] Walſingham. Froiſſard. Daniel.
[i] Pol. Virgil.
[k] Walſingham.
[l] A. D. 1394. Froiſſard. Walſingham. Knighton.
[m] Chron. Hibern.
[n] Ibid. A. D. 1398. Walſingham.
[o] A. D. 1399. Knighton. Walſingham. Annal. Hibern.
[p] Speed's Annals, p. 620, 621.
[q] In Hackluit, Vol. I. part I. p. 123.

The next Year *Thomas Woodſtock* Duke of *Glouceſter*, and youngeſt Son of *Edward* III. prepared to make a Voyage alſo into *Pruſſia*[a]; but meeting with a Storm, and driven upon the Coaſts of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Scotland*, narrowly eſcaping Shipwreck, he at laſt was obliged to put aſhore at or near *Tinmouth*, in the Southermoſt Extremity of *Northumberland*, which prevented his intended Viſit to the cold Regions of *Pruys*.

Our Navigation and Trade with *Pruſſia* farther appear by the following Pieces: The firſt of which is the Speech of the Ambaſſadors ſent from *Conradus de Zolner*, Maſter-general of the Land of *Pruſſia*, unto *Richard* II. King of *England* and *France*, &c. wherein, amongſt other Particulars, we find the following Repreſentations concerning Trade[b].

“ Notwithſtanding (moſt ſovereign Prince) certain other Things we have to propound unto your Grace, in the Name and Behalf of our ſaid Maſter and Order, by way of Complaint, namely, that at certain Times paſt, and eſpecially within the Space of ten Years laſt expired, his Subjects and Merchants have ſuſtained ſundry Damages and Ablations of their Goods, by divers Subjects and Inhabitants of your Realm of *England*, and that very often, both by Sea and Land; the which, for the Behalf and by the Appointment of the Maſter-general aforeſaid, and of his Predeceſſor, are put down in Regiſters, and recorded in the Writings of his Cities in the Land of *Pruſſia*. Of which Parties damnified, ſome have obtained Letters from the Maſter-general that now is, and alſo from his Predeceſſor, unto your renowned Grandfather King *Edward* of famous Memory, and ſundry Times unto your Highneſs alſo, to have Reſtitution made for their Goods taken from them, whereby they have nothing at all prevailed, but heaping Loſs upon Loſs have miſpent their Time and their Charges; both becauſe they were not permitted to propound and exhibit their Complaints and Letters before your Majeſty, and for divers other Impediments. Certain of them alſo conſidering how others of their Countrymen had laboured in vain, and fearing the like Succeſs, have troubled the Maſter-general very often with grievous and ſundry Complaints, craving and humbly beſeeching at his Hands, that he would vouchſafe graciouſly to provide for them as his faithful and loyal Subjects, as touching the Reſtitution of their Loſſes; eſpecially ſeeing that ſo much Wealth of the *Engliſh* Merchants was every Year to be found in *Pruſſia*, as being arreſted, they might obtain ſome reaſonable Satisfaction for their Loſſes. Which thing the Maſter-general aforeſaid, and his Predeceſſor alſo, have deferred unto this preſent, (albeit to the great Loſs of their Subjects) thereby having mere and principal Reſpect unto thoſe ſpecial Courteſies and Favours which your excellent Majeſty, and your worthy Progenitors, have right graciouſly vouchſafed upon our Maſters and Order: Neither yet for the Injuries aforeſaid, was there ever any manner of Offence or Moleſtation offered unto any of your Subjects, Noble or Ignoble whatſoever. Moreover, in the Name and Behalf of our foreſaid Maſter-general, we do propound unto your Excellency by way of Complaint, that in the Year laſt paſt, ſix Days after the Feaſt of the Aſcenſion, certain Perſons of your Realm of *England*, with their Ships and Captains coming unto the Port of *Flanders*, named *Swen*, and finding there, amongſt ſundry other, ſix Ships of *Pruſſia* reſident, which had there arrived with divers Goods and Merchandiſes: And being informed that they were of *Pruſſia*, and their Friends, they cauſed them and their Ships to remain next unto their own Ships, proteſting unto them, that they ſhould in no ſort be moleſted or damnified by themſelves or by any other of their Company, and that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own People, from the Hands of their Adverſaries; and for their farther Security and Truſt, they delivered ſome of their own Men and their Standards into our Mens Ships: Howbeit a while after being ſtirred up, and bent far otherwiſe, they took out of the foreſaid Ships all kind of Armours, wherewith they were to guard and defend themſelves from Pirates; and they detained the Maſters of thoſe Ships, not ſuffering them to return unto their own Ships and Companies; one alſo of the ſaid Ships (having taken all the Goods out of her) they conſumed with Fire. And within three Days after they came with one Accord unto the above-named Ships, and took away from them all Goods and Merchandiſes which they could find, and all the Armour and Weapons of the ſaid Ships, the Cheſts alſo of the Merchants, of the Ship-maſters, and of other Perſons they brake open, taking out Money, Jewels, Garments, and divers other Commodities; and ſo they inflicted upon them irrecoverable Loſſes and unkind Grievances. And departing out of the foreſaid Haven, they carried two of the *Pruſſian* Ship-maſters with them, as their Captives, unto an Haven of *England* called *Sandwich*. Who, being afterwards releaſed, were compelled to ſwear, that they ſhould not declare the Injuries offered unto them, either before your Royal Majeſty, or your Honourable Council, or your Chancellor; neither were they permitted to come on-ſhore. At length the Maſter-general being moved by ſo many and ſo great Complaints, and by the Moleſtation of his Subjects, cauſed (albeit full ſore againſt his Will) a certain Portion of *Engliſh* Merchants Goods to be laid hold on, and to be arreſted, in his Cities of *Elburg* and *Dantzick*, and to be beſtowed in ſure Places, until ſuch time as he might conveniently by his Meſſengers propound and exhibit all and ſingular the Premiſes unto your Highneſs. We do make our humble Suit therefore, in the Name and Behalf of our Maſter and Order aforeſaid, unto your kingly Supremacy, that, having God and Juſtice before your Eyes, and alſo the dutiful and obſequious Deameanor of the ſaid Maſter and Order towards you, you would vouchſafe to extend your gracious Clemency, for the Redreſs of the Premiſes; whereby the foreſaid Loſſes may be reſtored and repaid unto our Subjects. All which notwithſtanding, that it would pleaſe you of your Wiſdom and Providence to procure ſo abſolute a Remedy, by means whereof, in time to come, ſuch Dealings and Inconveniencies may be avoided on both Parts; and finally that your Merchants may quietly be poſſeſſed of their Goods arreſted in *Pruſſia*, and our Merchants may be admitted unto the Poſſeſſion of their Commodities attached in *England*, to convert and apply them unto ſuch Uſes, as to themſelves ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. Howbeit (moſt gracious Prince and Lord) we are to ſolicit your Highneſs, not only about the Articles to be propounded concerning the Loſſes aforeſaid, but more principally, for certain ſiniſter Reports and ſuperſtitious Slanders, wherewith certain of your Subjects, not ſeeking for Peace, have falſly informed your Majeſty, and your moſt honourable and diſcreet Council; affirming that at the time of the aforeſaid Arreſt your Merchants were barbarouſly intreated, that they were caſt into loathſome Priſons, drenched in Mire and Water up to the Neck, reſtrained from all Conference and Company of Men, and alſo that their Meat was thrown unto them, as a Bone to a Dog, with many other Enormities, which they have moſt ſlanderouſly deviſed concerning the Maſter-general aforeſaid, and his People, and have publiſhed them in theſe Dominions; upon the occaſion of which Falſhoods certain Merchants of our Parts, and of other Regions of *Alemain* (who, of your ſpecial Benevolence, were indued with certain Privileges and Favours in your Ciry of *London*, and in other Places) were, as Malefactors, apprehended and carried to Priſon, until ſuch time as the Truth was more apparent. Whereupon, the foreſaid Maſter-general propoundeth his humble Suit unto your Majeſty, that ſuch Enemies of Truth and Concord, your Majeſty would vouchſafe in ſuch ſort to chaſtiſe, that they

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[a] Verſus le Pruys. Walſingham.

[b] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 141.

"may be an Example unto others preſuming to do the like.

"Moreover (high and mighty Prince and Lord) it was reported unto our Maſter-general, that his former Legates required of your Majeſty ſafe Conduct freely to come into your Highneſs' Realm. Which when he heard, he was exceedingly offended thereat, ſithence undoubtedly they did not this at his Commandment or Direction. We therefore humbly beſeech your Grace, as touching this Overſight, to hold the Maſter-general excuſed, becauſe there is no need of ſafe Conduct, between ſo ſpecial Friends.

"Furthermore, ſundry Damages and Complaints of the foreſaid general Maſter, and his Subjects are briefly exhibited, and put down in the Bills following."

An Agreement made by the Ambaſſadors of England *and* Pruſſia, *confirmed by King* Richard II.

"*Richard* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to all, unto whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, Greeting. We have ſeen and conſidered the Compoſition, Ordination, Concord and Treaty, between our well-beloved Clerk, Maſter *Nicholas Stocket*, Licentiate in both Laws, *Walter Sibel* and *Thomas Gray*, Citizens of our Cities of *London* and *York*, our Meſſengers and Ambaſſadors on the one Part; and the honourable and religious Perſonages, *Conradus de Walrode* great Commander, *Sifridus Walpode de Baſſenheim* chief hoſpitalary Commander in *Elburg*, and *Ulricus Hachenberg* Treaſurer, the Meſſengers and Ambaſſadors of the right reverend and religious Lord, Lord *Conradus Zolner de Rothenſtein* Maſter-general of the knightly Order of the *Dutch* Hoſpital of St. *Mary* at *Jeruſalem*, on the other Part, lately concluded and agreed upon in theſe Words. In the Name of the ſupreme and indiviſible Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, *Amen*. Foraſmuch as the Author of Peace will have Peace-makers to be the Sons of Bleſſedneſs, and the execrable Enemy of Peace to be expelled out of the Dominions of Chriſtians; therefore for the perpetual Memory of the Thing, be it known unto all Men,

"Firſt, that all Arreſtments, Repriſals, and Impignorations of whatſoever Goods and Merchandiſes in *England* and *Pruſſia*, made before the Date of theſe Preſents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and releaſed, without all Fraud and Diſſimulation: Inſomuch that the Damages, Charges and Expences occaſioned on both Parts by reaſon of the foreſaid Goods arreſted, are in no caſe hereafter to be required or challenged by any Man; but the Demands of any Man whatſoever propounded in this Regard, are and ought to be altogether fruſtrate and void; and all Actions which may or ſhall be commenced by occaſion of the ſaid Goods arreſted, are to be extinct and of none effect."

Then having promiſed under a reciprocal Obligation, that his Majeſty would do all in his Power for obtaining Reſtitution to the Injured; and ſettled the Method of proceeding to be obſerved by the *Engliſh* and *Pruſſians* in their Suits and Actions in *England* and *Pruſſia*; he concludes with the Privileges to be enjoyed by their Merchants in both Nations, ſaying [a],

"Alſo, it is farther concluded and agreed upon, that all lawful Merchants of *England* whoſoever ſhall have free Licence and Authority, with all kinds of Ships, Goods and Merchandiſes, to reſort unto every Port of the Land of *Pruſſia*, and alſo to tranſport all ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes up farther unto any other Place in the ſaid Land of *Pruſſia*, and there with all kinds of Perſons freely to bargain and make ſale, as heretofore it hath from ancient Times been accuſtomed. Which Privilege is granted in all Things and by all Circumſtances unto the *Pruſſians* in *England*. And if after the Date of theſe Preſents, between the ſaid Kingdom of *England* and Land of *Pruſſia*, any Diſſenſion or Diſcord (which God forefend) ſhould ariſe; then the foreſaid ſovereign Prince and King of *England*, and the ſaid right reverend Lord the Maſter-general, are mutually by their Letters and Meſſengers to give Certificate and Intimation one unto another, concerning the Matter and Cauſe of ſuch Diſſenſion and Diſcord; which Intimation, on the Behalf of the foreſaid ſovereign Prince and King of *England*, ſhall be delivered in the fore-named Caſtle of *Marienburg*: But on the Behalf of the ſaid right reverend Lord the Maſter-general, ſuch Intimation ſhall be given in the City of *London* aforeſaid, unto the Mayor of the ſaid City; that then ſuch a Denuntiation or Intimation being made, the Merchants of *England* and the Subjects of the Land of *Pruſſia* may, within the Space of one Year next following, freely and ſafely return Home with all their Goods and Merchandiſes; if at the leaſt, in the mean while, ſome Compoſition and friendly League between the two foreſaid Countries be not in ſome ſort concluded. And that all the Premiſes may more firmly and faithfully be put in due Practice and Execution on both Parts, for the ſtrong and inviolable keeping of Peace and Tranquillity; and alſo for the full Confirmation and Strengthening of all the ſaid Premiſes, the three foreſaid honourable and religious Perſonages being by the ſaid right reverend Lord the Maſter-general appointed as Commiſſioners to deal in the above-written Ordination and Compoſition, have cauſed their Seals unto theſe Preſents to be put; and the ſaid Ordination alſo, and Letter in the ſame Tenor Word for Word, and in all Points even as it is inſerted into theſe Preſents, they have mutually received from the above-named three Ambaſſadors of the right ſovereign King of *England* under their Seals. Given at the Caſtle of *Marienburg* in the Year of our Lord aforeſaid, upon the 20th Day of the Month of *Auguſt*. And we therefore do accept, approve, ratify, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents do confirm, the Compoſition, Ordination, Concord, and Treaty aforeſaid. In Teſtimony whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs ourſelves at *Weſtminſter* the 22d of *October*, in the 13th Year of our Reign."

By this Treaty and Agreement ſigned by both Princes, the Trade was again open'd with *Pruſſia*, and every Thing proceeded with Content till the Year 1398, when *Conradus de Jungingen* ſucceeded to the Maſter-generalſhip of *Pruſſia*, on the Deceaſe of *Zolner*; who pretending freſh Complaints againſt the *Engliſh* for annoying his Merchants with ſeveral Injuries and Wrongs, contrary to their Privileges and Liberties ſettled by former Treaties, revoked all the Privileges and Liberties then enjoy'd by the *Engliſh* in *Pruſſia* [b].

CHAP. V.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and the* State *of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE *during the Reigns of King* HENRY IV. *King* HENRY V. *King* HENRY VI. *King* EDWARD IV. *King* EDWARD V. *and King* RICHARD III.

HENRY Duke of *Lancaſter*, having aſcended the Throne in the Manner already mentioned [c], by the Intrigues of both Houſes of Parliament, and aſſum'd the Stile of *Henry* IV. preſently diſcovered ſuch a Diſaffection among the People, both in *England* and *Aquitain*, who diſapproved of the hard Meaſure of their Sovereign King *Richard*, depos'd by a Faction; and contrary to the very firſt Article of his Agreement with the Uſurper, deprived of his Liberty, and Friends; that made it neceſſary to obviate the Effects of their Diſcontent; as alſo to appeaſe the Wrath of the *French* Court, whoſe Intereſt in Queen *Iſabella*, then but 12 Years old, and by the dethroning of her Conſort *Richard*, deprived of a Kingdom, would naturally engage them in her Huſband's Favour, and to attempt his Reſtoration. Wherefore *Henry* in the firſt place endeavours to gain the Affection of the People, by relieving them from the arbitrary Proceedings in Caſes of Treaſon, introduced by the Government in the late Reign, by an Act of Parliament that reduced their State to a more certain Head [a]. Then he recall'd and rewarded thoſe Noblemen who had been baniſhed, or obliged to withdraw from the Proſecutions of *Richard*'s Miniſters; and enrich'd them with the Eſtates of the greateſt Men in that Miniſtry, whom he diveſted not only of their Poſſeſſions, but of their Titles alſo, that they might not have it in their Power to attempt any thing in *Richard*'s Favour. And to make his Peace with *France*, the Captive King was order'd to be privately aſſaſſinated, which put an End to the Claim of the Infant Queen; who was immediately ſent back to *Paris* [b].

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[a] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 152.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 153.

[c] 13th October, 1399.

However, theſe Meaſures were not ſufficient to prevent a Conſpiracy at home, nor the Attacks of his Enemies abroad. The *Scots* enter the northern Borders, the *French* ſpirit up and aſſiſt the *Gaſcoignes*, and the diſcontented Nobles in *England* laid a Scheme to aſſaſſinate *Henry*, and to reſtore *Richard* to the Throne by the Aid of a *French* Army [c]. Which Plot being diſcovered by an Accident [d], was defeated, and ended with the Lives of the principal Conſpirators, who were ſeized at *Cirenceſter*, and beheaded [e]. He marched with a powerful Army into *Scotland*, and obliged that Nation to make an advantageous Peace [f]. As for the *Gaſcoignes*, his Majeſty ſent his Fleet with an Army under Sir *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter*, which preſently reduced them to their Allegiance. But the Inſurrection of the *Welſh*, under the Conduct of *Owen Glendowr*, who had been Squire to King *Richard* II. gave him more Trouble [g]. *Owen* defeated the Forces ſent againſt him by *Henry*, under the Command of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, the reputed Heir to the Crown after the Death of *Richard* II. and prevailed with the Earl, taken Priſoner, to marry his Daughter [h]. From which Alliance *Owen* entertained Hopes of dethroning *Henry* in favour of *Mortimer* his Son-in-law. In this Enterprize he was join'd by the *Piercey*'s [i].

In the mean time the Sea-coaſt in the Channel was greatly annoy'd by the *French* Policy, who, being always ready to fiſh in the Troubles of this Iſland, though they were in Peace with *England*, engaged the Inhabitants of *Bretagne* to make a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Wight*, under the Command of the Earl of *St. Pol*, and plunder'd ſeveral Villages. And theſe were no ſooner driven off, than the Town of *Plymouth* was attack'd and reduced to Aſhes by another Squadron belonging to the ſame Duchy, under a Pretence of ſhewing their Diſlike to King *Henry*'s late Marriage to *Joan*, Widow of *John Montford* Duke of *Bretagne*, who died in 1402 [k]. To revenge this Injury, the Weſtern Squadron of Coaſters, under the Command of *William Wilford*, was ordered to ſail to the Coaſts of *Bretagne* [l]. There they took 40 Sail of Ships, burnt the ſame Number, and having landed ſome Troops at *Penmarc*, ravaged and laid Waſte the Villages and Country for 20 Miles, and returned home with a very great Booty. But this Succeſs of the *Engliſh* did not diſcourage the Lord *de Caſtel*, Admiral of *Bretagne*, from making a ſecond Attempt with his Fleet, who next Year landed at *Dartmouth* [m], and attacked the Place with a great deal of Vigour; but the Townſmen, with the Militia of the neighbouring Country behaved themſelves ſo gallantly, and received them with ſo much Intrepidity, that they were glad to regain their Ships, with the Loſs of 400 Men killed, and 200 taken Priſoners; among whom were ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, particularly the Lord *de Caſtel*, their Commander. This Victory was greatly owing to the Bravery of the Women, who ſeconded the Spears and Weapons of their Huſbands and Acquaintance with Flints and Pebbles, which fell like Showers of Hail upon the Enemy in Battle: Yet the Remains of this Squadron, join'd by the *Flemings*, kept hovering, and did great Damage on the Coaſt, interrupted the Navigation, and carried on their Piracies with ſo much Cruelty, hanging the Seamen that fell into their Hands, that they ſeemed to threaten the Extirpation of the *Engliſh* Name [n].

France imagining this to be the proper Time to make an Advantage, forgets the Treaty between the two Crowns; and at once the perfidious Monarch invades *Guienne* with 12,000 Men, and ſends a Fleet of 140 Sail to the Aſſiſtance of *Owen Glendowr*; which arrived after a tedious Voyage at *Milford-haven* in great Diſtreſs for Water, by which their Horſes had well nigh periſh'd at Sea. Here the *French* Admiral landed 12,000 Men, and beſieged and took *Carmarthen*, and ſeveral other Places. But the *French*, inform'd of the Approach of King *Henry* with a numerous Army, and of his Fleet from the *Cinque Ports*, under Lord *Berkley* and *Henry Pay*, to attack their Fleet in the Harbour; they embark'd with great Plunder, in order to return home. The *Engliſh* Fleet however met them, burnt fifteen, and took fourteen of their Ships, before they had got clear of the Haven [o].

In return for this Perfidy, *Henry* reſolved to ravage the Coaſt of *Flanders*, then ſubject to a Prince of the Houſe of *France*, by a Fleet [p] under the Command of *Thomas* Lord *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Kent*. They entered the Harbour of *Sluys*, and burnt four great Ships, which they found at Anchor there: And putting to Sea again they met with three large *Genoeſe* Carracks richly laden, which they took, after a very gallant Reſiſtance. After this, they ſailed to the Coaſt of *Normandy*, where they burnt *La Hogue*, or *Hoggue*, *Mountburg*, *Berflie*, *St. Petroails*, and other Towns, to the Number of 36, and then returned with great Booty to *Rye*.

The hereditary Prince of *Scotland* going by Sea to *France*, ſome *Norfolk* Mariners of *Cley* took him, and preſented him to the King; who ſent him and his Companion, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, to the *Tower*, but treated them agreeable to their Dignity. King *Henry* is juſtified in this Act by the Law of Nations: becauſe this Prince was going to *France*, which had lately renewed her Treaties with *Scotland*, on condition of the *Scots* aſſiſting her againſt *England*; and therefore *James* Duke of *Rotheſay*, who was Heir-apparent to the Crown of *Scotland*, ſhould not, in ſuch a Time of public Feuds, have attempted to ſail to an Enemy's Country without a Safe-conduct or Paſſport [q].

The *French*, in Purſuit of their Deſign of aſſiſting *Owen Glendowr* in *Wales*, ſent thither 38 Ships, in which were a great Number of Soldiers. The *Engliſh* took eight of them, and not long after, they took fifteen Sail loaden with Wax and Wine. This Succeſs, though good, did not come up to the ſignal Service which *Henry Pay*, with certain Ships of the *Cinque Ports*, and about fifteen others, did againſt a Fleet of 120 Sail, loaden with Iron, Salt, Oil, and *Rochel* Wines, all which they took, and brought to *England* [r].

In 1407, there being a terrible Plague at *London*, the King had removed to *Leeds* Caſtle, in the County of *Kent*; being deſirous of removing from thence into *Norfolk*, he reſolved to go by Sea. He went on-board a Veſſel at *Queenborough*, in the Iſle of *Shepey*, and was followed by four more with his Baggage and Attendants. Sailing within Sight of Land he was attacked by ſome *French* Pirates, who took four of his Ships, and he narrowly eſcaped with that he was in.

The King ordered a Fleet to be fitted out againſt the *French* Pirates who had infeſted the Coaſts, and done a great deal of harm to Trade [s]. The Earl of *Kent*, who commanded it, purſued them to the little Iſle of *Brehac*, on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, attacked them in the Town of that

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[a] Statute 2 Henry IV. cap. 10.
[b] Walſingham. Holinſhed. Froiſſard. Mezeray.
[c] Stow's Annals, Hall's Chron. Daniel. Walſingham. Polyd. Virg. lib. XXI.
[d] Stow, ibid.
[e] Hall's Chron. Hollinſhed, p. 526. A. D. 1400.
[f] Ypodig. Neuſt. Boetius's Hiſt. lib. LI.—LXI.
[g] Powel's Hiſtory of Wales, p. 385, &c. Sir Edward Coke's Epiſt. part III. Report.
[h] A. D. 1402.
[i] A. D. 1403. Boët. lib. XVI. Walſingham. Camden. in Northumberland, Hollinſhed, p. 521.
[k] Walſingham. Hollinſhed. Stow. Monſtrelet.
[l] Holinſhed. Walſingham.
[m] Walſingham. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. VIII. p. 382. A. D. 1404.
[n] Walſingham. Monſtrelet. Speed, p. 631.
[o] Walſingham. Mezeray. Daniel.
[p] A. D. 1405. Hollinſhed. Chron. de Normandie, Chron. de Godſtov.
[q] P. Daniel, tom. V. p. 404—420. Hollinſhed, A. D. 1406.
[r] Walſingham.
[s] A. D. 1408.

I

that Name; and, having taken it, put all to the Sword. The Earl himſelf received a Wound, of which he died five Days afterwards [a].

The *Scots* continuing to ſecond the *French* by their Incurſions into *England*, King *Henry* alſo ordered [b] a Squadron of ten Men of War, under the Command of Sir *Robert Umfrevile*, Vice-admiral of *England*, into the Firth of *Forth*, where he ravaged both Shores for 14 Days together, burnt the largeſt Ship the *Scots* had, called the *Great Galiot*, and returned to the *Engliſh* Coaſts with a great many Prizes, and ſo vaſt a Quantity of Corn, *&c.* that he brought down the Prices of Things, and therefore was called *Mend-Market*. And in the Year 1412 *Henry* entred into a Treaty with the confederate Princes of *France* againſt their King, *Charles* VI. who was entirely ruled by the Duke of *Burgundy*; by which he engaged to fit out a Fleet, and ſend ſome Troops to their Aſſiſtance [c]. The Embarkation was made in *July*, and the Troops landed under the Command of *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, in *Normandy*, to put the Treaty in Execution; but during theſe Preparations [d], the Princes were reconciled to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and had made their Peace with their Sovereign. Which being notified to the *Engliſh* Commander in Chief the Duke of *Clarence*, with the Duke of *Orleans*'s Requeſt that they would immediately return, the Duke of *Clarence*, thinking himſelf and his Sovereign ill-treated, reſolved to pay himſelf, if he could not obtain Satisfaction by other Means. He therefore march'd with his Army, and ravag'd lower *Normandy* and *Anjou*, enter'd into the Duchy of *Orleans*, and lived at Diſcretion, till the Duke of *Orleans* came to an Agreement to pay 320,000 Gold Crowns [e] to defray the Charge of the Voyage. But this Agreement did not preclude King *Henry*'s Hoſtilities againſt the *French* King. The War continued, but was chiefly carried on by Sea; it being found by Experience, that a ſuperior Fleet was the beſt Way of protecting our own Coaſts, and of confining our Enemies within their own Dominions, and to prevent their being able to carry their wicked Deſigns into Execution againſt their Neighbours. The Channel on this Occaſion was ſcour'd by a Fleet under the Command of Sir *John Pendergoſt*, whoſe great Succeſs in taking the Enemy's Ships, gain'd him the due Praiſe of the Nation, but drew upon him the Envy of the Nobility; who inſinuated, that he acted more like a Pirate than an Admiral of an *Engliſh* Fleet [f].

During this Progreſs of our naval Force, which had entirely ſhut up the Ports of *France*, diſtreſſed the maritime Towns for Proviſions, and cut off their Trade with other Nations for Wines, *&c.* by which they lived, King *Henry* died, after reigning thirteen Years, five Months, and twenty Days [g].

The State of Trade in the Reign of *Henry* IV. may be collected from the great Care taken to maintain a good Harmony with thoſe Nations, which at that time were the principal Merchants and Carriers of Goods from one Country to another. The Breach, which, as mentioned at the Concluſion of the laſt Reign, was occaſioned between *England* and *Pruſſia*, by the Licentiouſneſs of the *Engliſh* Sailors during that Reign, became the immediate Care of King *Henry*'s Counſel; and he managed the Maſter-general of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* with ſo much Conduct and Wiſdom, that in the Year 1403 it was agreed [h] between them by way of Preliminaries,

"Firſt, that all Ships with their Appurtenances, and the Commodities of the Mariners, according unto the Condition of the Things, and all other Goods taken away by the *Engliſh*, which are actually undivided and whole, are incontinently and with all Speed to be reſtored. And if there be any Defect in ought, the Value of the ſaid Defect is to be accounted, and with other Loſſes of Goods to be reſtored, at the Term of the Reſtitution to be made and delivered.

"Item, that all Ships, Damages, and Goods (as they are contained in our Bill of Accuſation) which are not now immediately reſtored, are to be reſtored and paid in the Land of *Pruſſia*, between this and the Term appointed, with full Execution and Complement of Juſtice.

"Item, concerning the Perſons thrown over-board or ſlain in the Sea: It ſhall remain to be determined at the Will and Pleaſure of the moſt mighty Prince the King of *England*, and of the right reverend the Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

"Item, between this and the Term appointed for the reſtoring of the Goods taken away, and until there be due Payment and Reſtitution of the ſaid Goods performed, the Merchants of *England* and of *Pruſſia* are in no wiſe to exerciſe any Traffic of Merchandiſe at all in the foreſaid Lands.

"*Memorandum*, that the third Day of the Month of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1403, and in the fifth Year of the Reign of the moſt mighty Prince and Lord, King *Henry* IV. by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, &c. between the reverend Father *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln* Chancellor, and the right honourable *William* Lord *de Roos* High-treaſurer of *England*, both of them Counſellors unto the ſaid ſovereign King on the one Party; and the right worſhipful *John Godeke*, and *Henry Moneke*, ſent as Meſſengers by the right reverend and religious Perſonage, *Frater Conradus de Jungingen* Maſter-general of the *Dutch* Knights of the Order of St. *Mary* on the other Party. It was, at the Requeſt and Inſtance of the ſaid Meſſengers, appointed and mutually agreed upon, that all the Liege-people and Subjects of the ſaid ſovereign Lord and King ſhall have free Licence and Liberty until the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing, ſafely to travel unto the Land of *Pruſſia* aforeſaid, there to remain, and thence, with their Ships, Merchandiſes, and other their Goods whatſoever, to return unto their own Home: Which on the other Side, all the Subjects of the ſaid Maſter-general may, within the Term prefixed, likewiſe do, in the foreſaid Realm of *England*. Provided always, that after the Time above limited, neither the ſaid Merchants of the Realm of *England* may in the Land of *Pruſſia*, nor the Merchants of that Land in the Realm of *England*, exerciſe any Traffic at all; unleſs it be otherwiſe ordained by ſome Compoſition, between the foreſaid King of *England*, and the ſaid Maſter-general in the mean Time concluded. In witneſs whereof, one Part of this preſent Indenture is to remain in the Cuſtody of the foreſaid Meſſengers. Given in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of St. *Paul* at *London*, the Day and Year above written."

In conſequence of theſe Preliminaries, King *Henry* IV. wrote the following Letter [i].

"*Henry* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to the noble and mighty Perſonage of ſacred Religion, *Frater Conradus de Jungingen* Maſter-general of the Order of the *Dutch* Knights of St. *Mary*, &c. our moſt dear and well-beloved Friend, Greeting, and continual Increaſe of our ancient and ſincere Amity. By the grievous Complaints of our Liege-ſubjects concerning Traffic, as it were circularwiſe too and fro both our Dominions, we have often been advertiſed that in regard of divers Injuries and Damages, which as well our as your Merchants (who by their Dealings in Merchandiſe were wont peaceably to uſe mutual Converſation together, whereupon very many Commodities are known to have proceeded) have, by occaſion of Pirates, roving up and down the Sea, ſometimes heretofore ſuſtained: Both the ſaid Merchants of our and of your Dominions do abſtain themſelves from their wonted mutual Converſation and Traffic, as they have likewiſe carefully abſtained at ſome times heretofore, and eſpecially from that time, wherein at the inſtant Requeſt of your Meſſengers, being of late before our Preſence, the free Acceſs of our Merchants unto your Territories and Dominions, and of your Merchants unto our Realms hath been forbidden. Sithens therefore (our moſt dear

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[a] Walſingh.

[b] Rapin. Stow's Ann. A. D. 1411.

[c] Le Fevre, Hiſt. de Charles VI.

[d] Juv. des Urſins. Echard.

[e] P. Dan. Tom. V. p. 505. Mezeray.

[f] Tho. de Otterbon.

[g] A. D. 1413.

[h] 29th of September, Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 157. A. D. 1403.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 159.

Friend) ſuch Injuries (if any) as have been attempted againſt your Subjects, were never committed by our Will and Conſent, as we think that yourſelf on the other Side have done the like. Sithens alſo, ſo much as in us lieth, we are ready to exhibit full Juſtice with favour unto any of your People being deſirous to make Complaint, ſo that accordingly Juſtice may equally be done unto our Merchants by you and your Subjects, which Merchants have in like ſort been injured, wiſhing with all our Heart, that the ancient Friendſhip and Love, which hath continued a long time between our Realm and your Territories and Dominions, may perſevere in time to come; and that ſweet and acceptable Peace, which is to be embraced of all Chriſtians, may according to the good Pleaſure of the Author of Peace, be nouriſhed and maintained: We do moſt heartily require the ſaid Friendſhip, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your Behalf conſent and ordain (even as, if you ſhall ſo do, we for our part will conſent likewiſe) that from this preſent until the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing (all Moleſtations and Injuries which may be offered ceaſing on both Parts) our Subjects by your Territories and Dominions, and your Subjects by our Realms, may peaceably and ſecurely travel, and that according to their wonted Manner, they may friendly converſe and exerciſe mutual Traffic together; becauſe we are determined to ſend unto you and your Counſel in the mean time ſome of our Ambaſſadors, friendly to intreat about the foreſaid pretended Injuries, ſo far forth as they ſhall concern our Subjects. At whoſe Arrival we ſtand in good hope that by the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice on both Parts, ſuch Order (by God's Aſſiſtance) ſhall be taken, that mutual Peace and Tranquillity may be eſtabliſhed between us in times to come. Alſo our Deſire is in particular, that our Merchants and Liege-ſubjects may have more free Paſſage granted them unto the Parts of *Sconia*, for the providing of Herrings and of other Fiſhes there, that they may there remain, and from thence alſo may more ſecurely return unto their own Home: And we beſeech you in conſideration of our own ſelves, that you would have our Merchants and Liege-ſubjects eſpecially recommended unto you, ſafely protecting them (if need ſhall require) under the Shadow of your Defence; even as you would have us to deal in the like Caſe with your own Subjects. Moreover, whatſoever you ſhall think good to put in practice in this Behalf, may it pleaſe you of your Friendſhip, by our faithful Subject *John Browne* the Bearer hereof to give us to underſtand. In the Son of the glorious Virgin fare ye well, with continual Proſperity and Felicity according to your own Heart's Deſire. Given under our Privy-ſeal, at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the fifth Day of *June*, and in the fifth Year of our Reign.”

To which the Maſter-general *Conradus de Jungingen* replied in this Form [*].

To the moſt renowned Prince and mighty Lord, Henry *King of* England, *&c. our gracious Lord.*

“Our humble Recommendations, with our moſt inſtant and continual Prayers for you being graciouſly by your Majeſty taken in good Part, *&c.* Moſt ſovereign King, mighty Prince, gracious Lord, and unto us moſt unfeignedly beloved, we received of late your gracious Letters by your Majeſty's Liege-ſubject *John Browne*, the Contents whereof ſeemed to be theſe following. Firſt, that of long time heretofore, there have been between the Merchants of your Realm and of our Lands, not only quiet and peaceable Acceſs one unto another, but alſo mutual Participation, and common Traffic of their Wares, being right commodious and available for them both: Howbeit, that now the aforeſaid profitable Converſation, by reaſon of certain notorious Robberies, committed upon the Sea by Pirates againſt both Parts, the wonted Acceſs alſo of your Subjects unto our Dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreover, you call to remembrance the ancient Amity and Friendſhip between both our Lands, with the invaluable Commodity of ſweet amiable Peace, which are by all faithful Chriſtians, to the utmoſt of their Endeavour to be embraced. Whereupon you of your exceeding Clemency, do offer your Majeſty's full Conſent, that the foreſaid Prohibition being releaſed until the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing, the ſaid Merchants of your Dominions may in our Territories, and our Merchants likewiſe may in your Realms (all Moleſtations ceaſing) exerciſe their wonted Traffic; eſpecially ſithens in the mean Seaſon your royal Wiſdom hath determined to direct unto us your honourable Ambaſſadors in friendly ſort to treat and parle with us as touching the pretended Injuries, ſo far forth as they may concern your Subjects. Adding moreover in particular, that when your People ſhall repair unto the Parts of *Sconia* to fiſh for Herrings, having Conſideration and Regard unto your Majeſty, we would have them eſpecially recommended unto our Protection, *&c.* Moſt ſovereign Lord and King, and gracious Prince, we do with unfeigned and hearty Affection embrace the Oracles of your Majeſty's moſt courteous and acceptable Offer; wherein you have uſed moſt diligent and effectual Perſuaſions, that Complement of Juſtice ſhould be done unto the Parties injured, and that Peace and Friendſhip ſhould take Place, making no doubt of your own royal Perſon, nor of ourſelves or of any appertaining unto us, but that our Inclinations and Deſires in this regard are all one and the ſame; neither would we lightly tranſgreſs the Limits of your Perſuaſions without ſome juſt, weighty and reaſonable Cauſe, foraſmuch as the Matters perſuaded are in very deed moſt happy Preſervatives of a common Weal, yea and of Nature itſelf. Moreover, whereas your Highneſs hath farther requeſted us, that the Prohibition of your Subjects Acceſs unto our Dominions might, until the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing, be releaſed; we anſwer (under Correction of your Majeſty's more deliberate Counſel) that it is far more expedient for both Parts to have the ſaid Prohibition continued than releaſed, until ſuch time as Satiſfaction be performed on both Sides unto the Parties endamaged, not in Words only, but actually and really in Deeds, or by ſome Courſe of Law or friendly Compoſition. For there is no equal nor indifferent kind of Conſort or Trade between the impoveriſhed Party and him that is inriched, between the Party which hath obtained Juſtice and him that hath obtained none, between the Offender and the Party offended; becauſe they are not moved with like Affections. For the Remembrance of Injuries eaſily ſtirreth up inconſiderate Motions of Anger. Alſo, ſuch a kind of Temperature or Permixtion, as it were, by way of Contrariety breedeth more Bitterneſs than Sweetneſs, more Hate than Love; whereupon more grievous Complaints as well unto your Highneſs as unto ourſelves, might be occaſioned. The Lord knoweth, that even now we are too much wearied and diſquieted with the importunate and inſtant Complaints of our Subjects, inſomuch that we cannot at this preſent by any convenient Means releaſe or diſſolve the ſaid Prohibition, before we be ſufficiently informed by your Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, of the Satiſfaction of our endamaged Subjects. Furthermore, whereas your Majeſty's Requeſt, concerning your Subjects that ſhall come unto the Parts of *Sconia*, is that we would defend them under our Protection: Be it known unto your Highneſs, that for divers Conſiderations us reaſonably moving, being provoked by the Queen of *Denmark* and her People, being alſo urged thereunto full ſore againſt our Wills, for the repelling and avoiding of Injuries, we have ſent forth our Army againſt them. Howbeit, for a certain time a Truce is concluded on both Parts, ſo that our People are actually returned Home. Far be it from us alſo, that our Subjects being occupied in Wars, ſhould in any ſort willingly moleſt or reproach any Strangers, of what Lands or Nations ſoever, not being our profeſſed Enemies. For this ſhould be to oppreſs the Innocent inſtead of the Guilty, to condemn the Juſt for the Unjuſt, than which nothing can be more cruel, nor a Revenge of greater Impiety. In very deed (moſt gracious Prince and Lord) we are moved with right hearty Sympathy

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[*] Id. ibid. p. 160.

“and Compaſſion for any Inconvenience which might happen in your Regiment, wiſhing from the Bottom of our Hearts, that all Affairs may right proſperouſly and happily ſucceed, about the royal Perſon and Regiment of your moſt excellent Majeſty, and that continually. The like whereof we hope from you; moſt humbly commending ourſelves, and our whole Order, unto your Highneſs. Given at our Caſtle of *Marienburgh*, the 16th Day of the Month of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1404.”

Which was follow'd with the deſired Treaty of Amity and Commerce, in theſe Terms[a]:

An Agreement made between King Henry the Fourth, *and* Conradus de Jungingen, *Maſter-general of the Land of* Pruſſia.

“This Indenture made between Sir *William Eſturmy*, Knt. *John Kington*, Clerk, and *William Brampton*, Citizen of *London*, the Ambaſſadors, Commiſſioners, and Meſſengers of the moſt mighty Prince and Lord, our Sovereign Lord *Henry*, by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, for the Repairing, Reformation, and Amends of whatſoever Damages, Grievances, Exceſſes, Violences, and Injuries in any ſort unjuſtly attempted, done, or offered, by our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King and his liege People and Subjects, unto the great and mighty Lord *Conradus de Jungingen*, Maſter-general of the Order of the *Dutch* Knights of *St. Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem*, or his Subjects; and for the requiring, demanding, and receiving of ſuch like Reparations, Reformations and Amends, by the foreſaid Lord the Maſter-general, for the Behalf of himſelf or any of his Subjects whatſoever, from and in the Name of our Sovereign Lord the King and his Subjects, unto the ſaid Maſter-general, into his Land of *Pruſſia*, by our Sovereign Lord the King, and appointed as Ambaſſadors on the one Party; And between the honourable Lords and religious Perſonages *Conradus de Lichtenſtein*, great Commander, *Warnberus de Tettingen*, chief Hoſpitalary and Commander in *Elbing*, and *Arnold de Hacken*, Treaſurer, the Procurators and Commiſſioners of the great and mighty Lord the Maſter-general, being in like and equal Sort, and in all Reſpects, as the Ambaſſadors of *England* are, authorized on the contrary Side by the Authority and Power of the ſaid Maſter-general on the other Part, witneſſeth, That divers Treaties and Conferences being holden between the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Meſſengers, and Procurators or Commiſſioners of and concerning the Reparations, Reformations and Amends of certain Damages, Grievances, Exceſſes, Violences and Injuries offered and attempted, as well by the *Pruſſians* againſt the *Engliſh*, as by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Pruſſians*, and of other Acts unjuſtly committed on both Parts: In concluſion, after the ſaid Treaties, the foreſaid Ambaſſadors, Procurators and Commiſſioners, by virtue of the Authority committed unto them, appointed, and with one Conſent agreed unto the Articles under-written.

“*Imprimis*, that for the Conſideration of mutual Love and wonted Friendſhip, and of Peace and Tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and alſo that the Articles under-written may more proſperouſly be brought unto a wiſhed Effect, between our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King and his liege People and Subjects, and the Subjects, People, and Inhabitants of the Territories and Dominions of the foreſaid Lord the Maſter-general, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege Merchants of *England* whatſoever, ſhall have free Licence and Liberty to arrive with their Ships, Goods and Merchandiſes whatſoever, at any Port of the Land of *Pruſſia*, and alſo the ſaid Goods and Merchandiſes farther unto any Place of the ſaid Land of *Pruſſia* to tranſport, and there with any Perſon or Perſons freely to contract and bargain, even as heretofore, and from ancient Times it hath been accuſtomed. Which Liberty in all Reſpects is granted unto the *Pruſſians* in *England*.

“Item, it is further agreed between the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, that whereas of late, namely in the Year of our Lord 1403, the ſaid Maſter-general by his diſcreet Subjects *John Godek* of *Dantzick*, and *Henry Monek* of *Elbing*, his Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers, for this Purpoſe hath cauſed certain Articles, (namely, twenty in Number) containing in them Matters of Damages, Moleſtations, Violences and Injuries committed and offered againſt the ſaid Maſter-general and his Subjects, by our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King his Subjects and liege People, to be exhibited, given up and delivered unto our Lord the King aforeſaid in his Kingdom of *England*: it is concluded and agreed about the ſaid twenty Articles, by the aforeſaid Ambaſſadors, Commiſſioners, and Procurators, as in the Acts and Pleas had and made before the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Commiſſioners and Procurators, and in the Records made and written of and about the Examination of ſuch Articles, it is more at large contained (unto the which the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Commiſſioners and Meſſengers do here in this Place refer themſelves) of the which Articles alſo ſome are received by the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, and others are prorogued unto a certain Time under-written, even as in the foreſaid Regiſters it is more fully contained and put down in Writing.

“As touching certain other Articles alſo exhibited anew unto the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Land of *Pruſſia*, being ſixteen in Number, (whereof one is admitted, and the reſt are prorogued until a Term under-written) the ſame Courſe is to be taken and obſerved, which was before appointed and agreed upon, about the Articles delivered and exhibited unto our foreſaid Sovereign Lord the King, as is aforeſaid.

“Moreover, as touching the Articles exhibited by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Name and Behalf of their ſaid Sovereign Lord the King of *England*, unto the Procurators and Commiſſioners of the foreſaid Lord the Maſter-general (of the which ſome are declared already, and the Declaration of the reſt is prorogued until a certain Term under-named, even as in the Regiſters made of and upon the Examination of the ſaid Articles, it is more manifeſtly provided) the ſame Courſe is to be taken, which muſt be obſerved about the Articles of the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, exhibited, as well unto the foreſaid Sovereign Prince in *England*, as unto his Ambaſſadors in the Land of *Pruſſia*, even as about the ſaid Articles it is before concluded.

“And whereas on the Behalf of the Citizens and Merchants of the Cities of *Rii* and *Dorp*, and of other Towns in the Land of *Livonia*, many and great Complaints have been by way of Articles exhibited and delivered unto the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Land of *Pruſſia*, which for divers Cauſes could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed upon between the Ambaſſadors, and the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, that the ſaid Citizens and Merchants may in the Town of *Dordract* in *Holland*, upon the firſt Day of the Month of *May* next enſuing (at the which Time and Place, the Continuation and Prorogation of all other Articles not fully declared in the Parts of *Pruſſia*, ſhall be put in Ure) by themſelves or their lawful Procurators, make their Appearance for the obtaining of a convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reformation of all Injuries attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other Times within one whole Year next following, and not afterward, being effectually ſet down and limited at the Place aforeſaid, by the Conſent of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of either Part, all lawful Impediments ceaſing.

“Provided always, that the Value and Price of all Wares, Goods and Merchandiſes, whereof the ſaid Citizens and Merchants of *Livonia*, in their Articles received by the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, as is aforeſaid, do make mention, ſhall be juſtly eſteemed, prized, and approved, not by any of *England*, or of *Pruſſia*, or of *Livonia*, but by ſome other indifferent Merchants of good Credit, valuing them at the true Rate of Merchants, which ſuch like Merchandiſe would have amount-

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[a] Id. ibid. p. 161. A. D. 1405. the 8th of October.

ed unto, if, at the Time when they were taken, they had been to be ſold at the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*.

“Foraſmuch alſo, as divers and ſundry *Pruſſians* (who exhibited manifold Articles of Complaints, being received by the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at their Abode in *Pruſſia*) made not their perſonal Appearance before the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, in the Land of *Pruſſia* aforeſaid; the Prorogation above-mentioned was made unto the firſt Day of the Month of *May*: And alſo it was agreed upon by the ſaid Ambaſſadors, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, that the ſaid Parties which had not appeared before, ſhall have Liberty granted them lawfully to make their Appearance upon the firſt of *May* aforeſaid, at the Town of *Dordract*, either by themſelves or by their Procurators, and alſo to bring with them the Letters teſtimonial, and Patents, ſealed with the Seal of the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, (he having firſt of all received ſound and ſufficient Information from the Cities whereof the Parties Plaintiff are Citizens, of the Damages and Grievances any way unjuſtly inflicted upon them, or any of them, by the *Engliſh*) to the end that they may there by Articles conveniently declare and prove, before the Ambaſſadors, Procurators, Meſſengers, and Commiſſioners of both Parts, the Rate and Value of their ſaid Goods: and that in ſo doing they may obtain convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reſtitution for all Acts unjuſtly attempted againſt them, then, or at ſome other Times effectually to be ſet down and limited at the foreſaid Place, by the Conſent of the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners of both Parts, even as it was above promiſed unto the Merchants of *Livonia*.

“But if they of *Pruſſia* laſt above-mentioned, ſhall not upon the firſt of *May*, and at the Place appointed, for ſome Cauſe, make their Appearance, that then it ſhall be lawful for them at any Time within one whole Year next following, to repair unto the Lord Chancellor of *England*, at the City of *London*, and to inſinuate and declare unto him their Complaints before exhibited unto the ſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Land of *Pruſſia*, or which Complaints ſhould have been delivered at the foreſaid Term and Place, or elſe, the which were not then and there fully finiſhed and diſpatched; and alſo by Articles as is aforeſaid, to declare and prove the true Worth and Eſtimation of all Damages and Grievances any ways unjuſtly offered by the *Engliſh* unto them, or any of them: To the end that they may (as it is above mentioned) effectually receive, and alſo ſpeedily and eaſily obtain convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reformation and Satisfaction for all Acts unjuſtly attempted againſt them, which are contained in the Complaints not as yet fully declared and finiſhed.

“Moreover, it is appointed and agreed upon between the foreſaid Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners, that the forenamed Sovereign Lord, and the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, are to ſend and ſet forward their Ambaſſadors, Meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, upon the firſt of *May* unto the Place appointed, to treat, parle, agree, and conclude about thoſe Affairs which ſhall then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

“Furthermore, between the often mentioned Ambaſſadors, Procurators, and Commiſſioners, it is enacted and concluded, that unto all and ſingular lawful Statutes, Ordinations, and Prohibitions framed, made, and ordained by the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, in his Land of *Pruſſia*, or by his Proconſuls and Conſuls, and his Governors of Cities, Towns, Villages, and of other Places in the Land of *Pruſſia*, unto the Obſervation whereof, as well the Subjects of the ſaid Maſter-general, as Foreigners and Strangers, are tied and bound: unto the very ſame Statutes, Ordinations, and Prohibitions, all *Engliſh* Merchants whatſoever, reſorting unto the Land of *Pruſſia*, muſt be firmly bounden and ſubject.

“Alſo it is ordained, that whatſoever Sail-cloths are already tranſported, or at any Time hereafter to be tranſported out of *England* into *Pruſſia* by the *Engliſh* Merchants, and ſhall there be offered to be ſold, whether they be whole Cloaths or half Cloaths, they muſt contain both their Ends.

“Laſtly, that the Matters above-mentioned fall not ſhort and void of their wiſhed Effect; the Treaty and Conference about all and ſingular Damages and Grievances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there muſt be, by the virtue of theſe Preſents, performed, a Reformation and Amendment) muſt be continued and prorogued until the firſt of *May* next enſuing, as by theſe Preſents they are continued and prorogued, with the Continuation of the Days then immediately following, at the Town of *Dordract* aforeſaid: At the which Time and Place, or at other Times and Places, in the mean Space, as Occaſion ſhall ſerve, by both Parties to be limited and aſſigned, or elſe within one Year after the ſaid firſt Day of the Month of *May* next enſuing be expired; the hurt and damaged Parties generally before-mentioned, ſhall have performed unto them a convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reformation on both Parts. Provided always, if within the Term of the ſaid Year ſome convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reformation be not performed unto the Parties injured and endamaged, which are generally above-mentioned; that then, within three whole Months after the foreſaid Year ſhall be expired, the *Pruſſians* ſhall depart out of the Realms and Dominions of the ſaid Sovereign Lord the King of *England*, together with their Merchandiſe, and with other Goods which they ſhall have gotten or bought, within the Space of the foreſaid three Months; and that the *Engliſhmen* alſo are likewiſe in all Reſpects bounden to avoid, and (no lawful Impediment hindering them) to withdraw themſelves, and to depart out of the Territories and Dominions of the ſaid Maſter-general, without all Moleſtation, Perturbation, and Impediment whatſoever, none other Intimation or Admonition being neceſſary in this Regard.

“Howbeit, leſt that by the Robberies and Piracies of ſome inſolent and perverſe People, Matter ſhould be miniſtred unto the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, of ſwerving from the faithful Obſervation of the foreſaid Agreements, or (which God forbid) any Occaſion be given him of not obſerving them: it is alſo decreed by the often above-mentioned Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers, that if the Goods and Merchandiſe of any of the ſaid Lord Maſter general his Subjects whatſoever, ſhall be from henceforth unjuſtly taken upon the Sea, by any *Engliſh* Pirates, and ſhall be carried into the Realm of *England*, and there received, that the Governors and Keepers of Ports, and of other Places, (with whatſoever Names they be called) at the which Ports and Places ſuch Merchandiſes and Goods ſhall chance to arrive, being only informed of the ſaid Goods and Merchandiſes, by ſole Report, or (other Proofs wanting) by probable Suſpicion, are bound to arreſt and to keep them in ſafe Cuſtody, favourably to be reſtored unto the Owners thereof, whenſoever they ſhall be lawfully demanded; which if they ſhall omit or deny to perform, from thenceforth the ſaid Governors and Keepers are bound to make unto the Parties endamaged, a Recompence of their Loſſes.

“And for Fault of Juſtice to be executed by the ſaid Governors and Keepers, our Sovereign Lord the King above-named, after he ſhall conveniently be requeſted by the Parties damnified, is bound within three Months next enſuing (all lawful Impediments being excepted) to make correſpondent, juſt, and reaſonable Satisfaction unto the ſaid Parties endamaged. Otherwiſe, that it ſhall be right lawful for the ſaid Lord the Maſter general, to arreſt, and after the Arreſt to keep in ſafe Cuſtody the Goods of the *Engliſh* Merchants being in the Land of *Pruſſia*, to the condign Satisfaction of ſuch Injuries, as have been offered unto his Subjects, until his ſaid Subjects be juſtly and reaſonably contented.

“Likewiſe alſo in all Reſpects, the ſame Juſtice is to be done unto the *Engliſh* by the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general and his Subjects in *Pruſſia*, even as it hath been enacted and decreed in the above-written Clauſe, beginning, *Cæterum ne per*, &c. In *Engliſh*, Howbeit leſt that, *&c.* for the ſaid Maſter-general, and his Subjects, by the foreſaid Ambaſſadors of *England*, and the Commiſſioners of the ſaid Lord the Maſter-general, that in like Caſes Juſtice ought to be adminiſtred on the Behalf of himſelf, and of his Subjects in the Realm of *England*.

“And that all and ſingular the Covenants above-written may, in Time to come, by the Parties whom they concern, firmly and inviolably be obſerved, the forenamed Ambaſſadors, Meſſengers, and Commiſſioners, all and every of them, for the full Credit, Probation, and Teſtimony of all the Premiſſes, have unto theſe preſent Indentures, made for the ſame Purpoſe, cauſed every one of their Seals with their own Hands to be put. One Part of the which Indentures remaineth in the Cuſtody of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and the other Part in the Hands of the Commiſſioners of *Pruſſia*. Given at the Caſtle of *Marienburgh* in *Pruſſia*, in the Year of our Lord 1405. upon the 8th Day of the Month of *October*.”

An Agreement made between King Henry *the Fourth, and the common Society of the Merchants of the* Hanſe.

“This Indenture made between the honourable Sir *William Eſturmy*, Knt. and *John Kington*, Clerk, Procurators, Meſſengers, and Commiſſioners ſufficiently deputed and authoriſed by the moſt mighty Prince Lord *Henry*, by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, for the Performance of the Things under-written, on the one Part, and the honourable Perſonages M. *Henry Vredeland*, M. *Riman Salum*, chief Notaries, *Thederic Kneſuolt*, Secretary, M. *Simon Cloveſten*, chief Notary, and *John Zotebotter*, Citizen, being ſufficiently made and ordained Procurators and Meſſengers on the Behalf of the Cities of *Lubec*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Sund* and *Gripeſwold*, for the demanding and obtaining ſeverally, of due Reformation and Recompence, at the Hands of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and of his Meſſengers and Commiſſioners aforeſaid, for all Injuries, Damages, Grievances, and Manſlaughters, any ways unjuſtly done, and offered ſeverally by the liege People and Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King, unto the common Society of the Merchants of the *Hanſe*, and unto any of the Citizens, People and Inhabitants of the Cities aforeſaid whatſoever, on the other Part, witneſſeth, That between all and every of the ſaid Procurators, Meſſengers and Commiſſioners, by Virtue of the Authority committed unto them, it hath been and is appointed, concluded, and decreed, that the liege Merchants and Subjects of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and the Merchants of the common Society of the *Dutch Hanſe* aforeſaid, from henceforth for one whole Year and ſeven Months immediately next enſuing and following, ſhall be permitted and licenſed friendly, freely and ſecurely, to exerciſe mutual Traffick, and like Merchants to buy and ſell together, one of and unto another, even as in Times paſt, namely, in the Year 1400, and before that Time alſo, they have been accuſtomed to exerciſe mutual Traffick and Merchandiſe, and to buy and ſell.

“Alſo the ſaid *William* and *John* agreed and conſented, that they themſelves, or ſome other perhaps to be appointed in this Behalf by their ſaid Lord the King in their Stead, ſhall upon the firſt Day of the Month of *May* next to come, with the Continuation of the Days following, at the Town of *Dordract* in *Holland*, or upon any other Term or Terms, then perhaps to be limited, competently ſatisfy, and perform convenient Recompence unto the ſaid common Society, Citizens, People and Inhabitants of the Cities aforeſaid, and alſo of other Cities, Towns, and Villages of the *Hanſe*, of and for all Injuries, Damages, Grievances, and Drownings, or Manſlaughters done and committed, as they alledge, againſt them, delivered and exhibited in written Articles unto the above-named *William* and *John*, or elſe hereafter to be delivered and exhibited, either by the ſame Procurators, or by ſome others, which ſhall perhaps be authorized in their Stead, or by the Meſſengers, Procurators and Commiſſioners of other Cities, Towns and Places of the *Hanſe*, in equal and like Manner and Form, even as at the ſaid Term limited, or then perhaps to be prorogued, there is appointed by the ſaid *William* and *John*, Reparation, Reformation, and Recompence unto the Inhabitants of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* for the Injuries, Damages and Grievances unjuſtly done and committed againſt them by the liege People and Subjects of the ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, in the Preſence of the mighty Lord the Maſter-general of *Pruſſia*, in his Land of *Pruſſia*, as in certain Letters indented, bearing Date in the Caſtle of *Marienburgh* in *Pruſſia* the eighth Day of the Month of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1405, and been made and written about the Reparation, Reformation and Recompence of ſuch like Injuries, *&c.* (the Tenor whereof ought here to be underſtood as if it were inſerted) it is more manifeſtly contained.

“It was furthermore promiſed by the ſaid *William* and *John*, that they ſhould not inforce nor compel the Citizens, People, or Inhabitants of the common Society of the *Hanſe*, or of the above-named Cities, or of any other Cities of the *Hanſe* aforeſaid (having received ſufficient Information of their Dwelling and Place of Abode) to more difficult or diſtrict Proofs of their Articles of Complaints already exhibited, and in the foreſaid Terms to come, to be exhibited, than unto the Inhabitants of the Lands of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, according to the Form of the Indentures above-mentioned.

“Moreover, the ſaid *William* and *John* do promiſe, that ſo ſoon as they ſhall come into the Kingdom of *England*, and before the Preſence of their King, they ſhall provide, that all and ſingular the Privileges granted unto the Merchants of the ſaid *Hanſe* by the renowned Kings of *England*, and confirmed by the ſaid Sovereign Lord the King that now is, muſt, according to all their Contents, be inviolably obſerved by the ſaid Sovereign King and his Subjects; and alſo, that from henceforth nothing is unjuſtly to be attempted, upon any Occaſion, Pretence or Colour, by the ſaid Sovereign Prince, and the Inhabitants of the Realm of *England*, to the Prejudice of the ſaid Privileges. They ſhall provide alſo, that all Things heretofore attempted and practiſed againſt the ſaid Privileges, ſhall, by reaſonable Amendment and juſt Reformation, utterly be aboliſhed.

“But if after the Date of theſe Preſents (which God forfend) within the Space of the ſaid one Year and ſeven Months preſcribed, any Damages, Injuries or Grievances in Ships, Goods or Perſons, ſhould, either by the *Engliſh* and the Inhabitants of *England* be unjuſtly inflicted upon the Cities, and Merchants of the Cities, Towns and Places of the *Hanſe* aforeſaid; or by any Merchants or others of the Cities or Towns of the ſaid *Hanſe*, either unto the *Engliſh*, or unto any of the Inhabitants of that Realm, upon any feigned Pretence whatſoever, all and ſingular the foreſaid Meſſengers, Commiſſioners, Ambaſſadors, and Procurators have promiſed, that all ſuch Damages, Injuries and Moleſtations ſo inflicted by them who ſhall offer and commit them, muſt be reformed and amended, after the very ſame Form and Manner, that in the like Caſe Reformation, Reparation and Amends of Injuries, Damages and Moleſtations committed by the *Engliſh* againſt them of *Pruſſia* is to be performed, according unto a certain Clauſe contained in the Letters above-mentioned, which beginneth, *Cæterum ne per*, &c. in *Engliſh*, Howbeit leſt that, *&c.* continuing unto that Clauſe, *Et ut præſcripta omnia*, &c. in *Engliſh*, And that all the Covenants above-written, *&c.*

“It was alſo concluded between the foreſaid Meſſengers, Commiſſioners and Procurators, and with one general Conſent agreed upon, that if from the firſt Day of the Month of *May* next to come, within one whole Year following, ſome convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Reformation be not performed unto the Parties injured and damnified generally above-mentioned, in regard of their Damages, Moleſtations, and Injuries; then, within three Months after the ſaid Year be expired, the Merchants of the *Hanſe* Cities aforeſaid are bound, without any Moleſtation, Perturbation, and Impediment whatſoever (none other Intimation or Admonition being neceſſary in this Behalf) to avoid, (and if no lawful Impediment ſhall hinder them) to abſtain and depart from the Realms and Dominions of the ſaid Sovereign King of *England*, with their Merchandiſe and other Goods bought or gotten within the Space of the ſaid three Months; and alſo the *Engliſh* likewiſe in all Reſpects ſhall avoid, abſtain, and depart from the Territories and Dominions of the *Hanſe* Cities aforeſaid.

“ Alſo it was promiſed by the ſaid *William* and *John*, that at the Term appointed, namely, upon the firſt of *May* next following, or at ſome other Term or Terms then limited or to be limited, there muſt be made a due Recompence, and a proportional Satisfaction, for all thoſe Perſons of the Land of *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, and of the Cities, Towns, and other Places of the *Hanſe*, who have unjuſtly been drowned, and ſlain by the *Engliſh*; and that according to the Tenor of a certain Schedule written concerning a Recompence to be had in regard of the ſaid Perſons drowned and ſlain, and preſented unto them by *Albertus Rode*, Conſul of the City of *Thoren*, and by the forenamed Procurators and Meſſengers of the Cities aforeſaid, they muſt faithfully and effectually, to the utmoſt of their Ability endeavour, for the obtaining of the ſaid Recompence and Amends. In witneſs whereof (theſe Letters of Indenture remaining in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid *William* and *John* the Meſſengers, Procurators, and Commiſſioners of *England* aforeſaid, and left in their Cuſtody by the above-named Procurators and Meſſengers *Henry Rimarus*, *Thedericus Simon*, and *John Sotebotter*, of their certain Knowledge and Aſſurance) and for the full Confirmation and Teſtimony of all the Premiſes, the foreſaid Procurators and Meſſengers have put to their Seals. Given in the Town of *Dordract* the 15th Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord 1405.

“ *William Eſturmy* Knight, and *John Kington* Canon of *Lincoln* (being in this Behalf ſufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambaſſadors, Procurators, Meſſengers and Commiſſioners, by our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, namely in regard of the Moleſtations, Injuries and Damages unjuſtly done and committed againſt the liege People and Subjects of the foreſaid moſt excellent Prince and Lord, Lord *Henry* by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the Commonalties of the Cities of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok* under-written, their Common-council being aſſembled for the ſame Purpoſe, and authoriſed alſo, and as well cloſely as expreſly maintained and ratified, by the whole Company of the common Society of the Merchants of the *Dutch Hanſe)* do, in this preſent Diet at the Town of *Hague* ſituate in the Country of *Holland*, being appointed for the very ſame Occaſion, demand of you Sir *John de Aa* Knt. and *Hermannus Meyer* Deputies for the Cities of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and ſufficiently ordained by Authority requiſite in this Behalf, to be the Procurators and Meſſengers of the ſaid Cities, that convenient, juſt, and reaſonable Satisfaction and Recompence may certainly and effectually be done unto the injured and endamaged Parties, who are ſpecified in the Articles under-written.

“ *Imprimis*, that about the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, in the Year of our Lord 1394, *Henry van Pomeren*, *Godekin Mighel*, *Clays Scheld*, *Hans Hawſoote*, *Peter Hawſoote*, *Clays Boniface*, *Rainbek*, and many others, with them of *Wiſmer* and of *Roſtok*, being of the Society of the *Hanſe*, took by main Force, a Ship of *Newcaſtle upon Tine*, called *Godezere*, ſailing upon the Sea towards *Pruſſia*, being of the Burthen of 200 Tons, and belonging unto *Roger de Thorneton*, *Robert Gabiſord*, *John Paulin*, and *Thomas de Cheſter*; which Ship, together with the Furniture thereof, amounteth unto the Value of 400 *l.* alſo the woollen Cloth, the red Wine, the Gold, and the Sums of Money contained in the ſaid Ship, amounted unto the Value of 200 Marks of *Engliſh* Money: Moreover, they unjuſtly ſlew *John Patanſon* and *John Ruſſel* in the ſurpriſing of the Ship and Goods aforeſaid, and there they impriſoned the ſaid Parties taken, and to their utter undoing, detained them in Priſon for the Space of three whole Years.

“ Item, that in the Year of our Lord 1394, certain Perſons of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with others of the *Hanſe* their Confederates, robbed one *Richard Horuſe* of *Hull*, of divers Goods and Merchandizes, in a Ship called the *Shipper Berline* of *Pruſſia*, being then valued at 160 Nobles.

“ Item, that in the Year of our Lord 1395, *Hans van Wethemonkule*, *Clays Scheld*, *Godekin Mighel*, and one called *Strotbeker*, by Force of Arms, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Men of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and others of the *Hanſe*, did upon the Sea near unto *Norway*, wickedly and unjuſtly take from *John Tuttebury*, five Pieces of Wax, 400 of Werke, and half a Laſt of Oſmundes, and other Goods, to the Value of 476 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1396, one *John van Derlowe*, *Hans van Gelder*, and other their Complices of the *Hanſe*, villainouſly and unjuſtly took a Ship of *William Terry* of *Hull*, called the *Cogge*, with 30 woollen Broad-cloths, and 1000 Narrow-cloths, to the Value of 200 *l.*

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1398, one *John van Derlowe*, *Wilmer*, *Hans van Gelder*, *Clays Scheld*, *Everade Pilgrimſon*, and divers others of the *Hanſe*, did upon the Sea near unto *Norway*, villainouſly and unjuſtly take a Ship of *John Wiſdome* of *Hull*, called the *Trinity*, with divers Goods and Merchandiſes, namely Oil, Wax, and Werke, to the Value of 300 *l.*

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1399, one *Clays Scheld*, and others above-written of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with certain others of the *Hanſe*, their Confederates, wickedly and unjuſtly took from one *William Pound* Merchant of *Hull*, two Cakes of Wax, to the Value of 18 *l.* out of the Ship called the *Hawkin Derlin* of *Dantzick*.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1394, one *Godekin Mighel*, *Clays Scheld*, *Storbiker*, and divers others of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and of the *Hanſe*, wickedly and unjuſtly took out of a Ship of *Elbing* (the Maſter whereof was called *Henry Puys*) of the Goods and Merchandiſes of *Henry Wyman*, *John Topcliffe*, and *Henry Lakenſwither* of *York*, namely in Werke, Wax, Oſmunds and Bowſtaves, to the Value of 1060 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1394, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with others of the *Hanſe*, their Confederates, wickedly and unjuſtly took out of a Ship of *Holland* (the Maſter whereof was called *Hinkenſman)* 140 woollen Cloths (the Price of one of the which Cloths was eight Nobles) from *Thomas Theſter* of *York*, and a Cheſt with Armour, Silver and Gold of the foreſaid *Thomas*, to the Value of 9 *l.*

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1393, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and others their Complices of the *Hanſe*, wickedly and unjuſtly took from one *Richard Abel* of *London*, woollen Cloth, green Cloth, Meal and Fiſhes, to the Value of 133 *l.* 6 *s.*

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1405, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, one *Nicholas Femeer* of *Wiſmer* Merchant of the *Hanſe*, with the Aſſiſtance of other his Complices of the *Hanſe* aforeſaid, wickedly and unjuſtly took from one *Richard Morley* Citizen of *London*, five Laſts of Herrings, beſides 32 *l.* in the Sea called *Northſound*.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1398, about the Month of *September*, one *Godekin Wiſle*, and *Gerard Sleyre* of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with others of the *Hanſe*, their Confederates, wickedly and unjuſtly took out of a Ship of *Pruſſia* (whereof the Maſter was named *Rorebek)* from *John Seburgh* Merchant of *Colcheſter*, two Packs of woollen Cloth, to the Value of 100 Marks: From *Stephen Fliſpe* and *John Plumer* Merchants of the ſame Town, two Packs of woollen Cloth, to the Value of 60 *l.* From *Robert Wight* Merchant of the ſame Town, two Packs of woollen Cloth, to the Value of 100 Marks: From *William Munde* Merchant of the ſame Town, two Fardels of woollen Cloth, worth 40 *l.* and from *John Dawe* and *Thomas Cornwaile* Merchants of the ſame Town, three Packs of woollen Cloth, worth 200 Marks. Moreover, they took and impriſoned certain *Engliſhmen*, which were in the ſaid Ship, namely *William Fubborne* Servant unto *John Diere*; *Thomas Merſh* Servant unto *Robert Wight*, which *Thomas* paid for his Ranſom 20 Nobles of *Engliſh* Money; *William Munde* Merchant of the Town aforeſaid, which *William*, by reaſon of the Extremity of that Impriſonment, loſt the Sight of his

Eyes; and *Thomas Cornwaile* Merchant of the foreſaid Town, which *Thomas* paid for his Ranſom 20 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1394, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, upon the Coaſts of *Denmark* and *Norway*, beneath *Scawe*, and at *Anold*, took *Thomas Adams* and *John Walters* Merchants of *Yermouth*, and *Robert Caumbrigge* and *Reginald Leman* Merchants of *Norwich*, in a certain Ship of *Elbing* in *Pruſſia* (whereof one *Clays Goldeſmith* was Maſter) with divers woollen Cloths of the ſaid *Thomas*, *John*, *Robert* and *Reginald*, to the Value of 1000 Marks *Engliſh*; and carried the Perſons and Goods aforeſaid away with them; and the ſaid *Thomas*, *John*, *Robert* and *Reginald* they impriſoned at *Courtbuttreſſow*, and there detained them, until they paid an 100 Marks for their Redemption.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1401, ſome of the Inhabitants of *Wiſmer* and of *Roſtok*, wickedly took at *Longſound* in *Norway*, a certain Ship of *Weſt-ſtowe* in *Zealand* (the Maſter whereof was one *Gerard Dediſſen)* laden with divers Goods and Merchandiſes of *John Hughſon* of *Yarmouth*, namely with the Hides of Oxen and of Sheep, with Butter, Maſts, Spars, Boards, Queſting-ſtones, and wild Werke, to the Value of 100 Marks; and do as yet detain the ſaid Things in their Poſſeſſion, ſome of the *Hanſe* being their Aſſiſtants in the Premiſſes.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1402, certain of the *Hanſe*, of *Roſtok* and of *Wiſmer*, took upon the Coaſt of *England*, near unto *Plymouth*, a certain Barge called the *Michael* of *Yarmouth* (whereof *Hugh ap Fen* was the Owner, and *Robert Rigweys* the Maſter) laden with Bay-ſalt, to the Quantity of 130 Ways, and with 1000 Canvas-cloths of *Britain*, and do as yet detain the ſaid Goods in their Poſſeſſion; the ſaid *Hugh* being endamaged, by the Loſs of his Ship and of his Goods aforeſaid 800 Nobles, and the foreſaid Maſter and the Mariners loſing, in regard of their Wages, Canvas and Armour, 200 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1405, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* wickedly and unjuſtly took, in a certain Port of *Norway* called *Selaw*, a Ship of *Yarmouth* (the Owner whereof was *William Oxney*, and the Maſter *Thomas Smith)* laden with Salt, Cloth and Salmon, to the Value of 40 *l.* and do as yet detain the ſaid Ship and Goods in their Poſſeſſion, ſome of the *Hanſe* their Confederates aiding and aſſiſting them at the ſame time.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1395, one *Godekin Mighel*, *Clays Scheld*, *Stertebeker*, and other their Accomplices of the *Hanſe*, took upon the Sea a certain Ship of one *John Dulwer* of *Cley*, called the *Friday* (whereof *Laurence Tuk* of *Cley* was Maſter) and conveyed the ſaid Ship unto *Mauſtrond* in *Norway*; and the ſaid Maſter and Mariners they robbed of divers Commodities, namely of Artillery, Furniture and Salt-fiſhes, being in the ſame Ship, to the Value of 500 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1395, *Godekin Mighel*, *Clays Scheld*, *Stertebeker*, and other their Accomplices of the *Hanſe*, unlawfully took upon the Sea a certain Ship of one *William Bets* of *Cley*, called the *Margaret* (wherein *Robert Robines* was Maſter) and conveyed the Ship itſelf unto *Mauſtrond* in *Norway*; and there robbed the Maſter and his Partners of divers Commodities, namely of Artillery, Furniture and Salt-fiſhes, to the Value of 400 Nobles; and one of the ſaid Maſter's Mates they maliciouſly drowned.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1395, about the Feaſt of the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*, the fore-named *Godekin* and *Stertebeker*, with others their Accomplices of the *Hanſe*, unlawfully took upon the Sea a certain Ship of *Nicholas Steybard* and *John Letis* of *Cley*, called the *Nicholas* (whereof *John Preſt* was Maſter) and conveyed the ſaid Ship unto *Mauſtrond*, and there robbed the ſaid Maſter and his Company of divers Commodities, namely of Furniture and Salt-fiſhes, being in the ſaid Ship, to the Value of 320 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1395, about the Feaſt aforeſaid, the ſaid *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, and their Companions of the *Hanſe*, unjuſtly took upon the Sea a certain Ship of *Thomas Peirs* of *Cley*, called the *Iſabel* (whereof *William Noie* was Maſter) and conveyed it unto *Mauſtrond*, and there robbed the ſaid Maſter and his Company of divers Commodities, as namely of Furniture and Salt-fiſhes, being in the ſaid Ship, to the Value of 406 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year next above-mentioned, upon the *Saturday*, about the foreſaid Feaſt, the fore-named *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, and other their Accomplices of the *Hanſe*, unlawfully took upon the Sea a certain Ship of one *Thomas Lyderpole* of *Cley*, called the *Helena* (wherein *Robert Alwey* was Maſter) and alſo wickedly and unjuſtly drowned in the Bottom of the Sea divers Commodities, as namely Salt-fiſhes, together with the Ship itſelf.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1398, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Archangel, the foreſaid *Godekin* and *Stertebeker*, with other their Confederates of the *Hanſe*, took at *Langſound* in *Norway*, a certain Crayer of one *Thomas Motte* of *Cley*, called the *Peter* (wherein *Thomas Smith* was Maſter) and the foreſaid Crayer they wickedly and unjuſtly carried away, being worth 280 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1395, about the Feaſt of the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*, the fore-named *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, and others of the *Hanſe*, unjuſtly took a certain Ship of *Simon Durham*, called the *Dogger-ſhip*, and the *Peter* of *Wiveton*, laden with Salt-fiſhes (whereof *John Auſten* was Maſter) upon the Coaſt of *Denmark*. And they carried away the ſaid *Dogger*, with the Furniture thereof, and the foreſaid Salt-fiſhes, to the Value of 170 *l.* Moreover, the Maſter and 25 Mariners in the ſame Ship they maliciouſly ſlew, and a certain Lad of the ſaid *Dogger* they carried with them unto *Wiſmer*.

“ Item, in the foreſaid Year, and the Feaſt aforeſaid, the fore-named *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, with other their Complices, unjuſtly took upon the Sea a certain Ship of *Thomas Lyderpole* and *John Coote* of *Wiveton*; and the Maſter and Mariners which were in the ſaid Ship they villainouſly ſlew, among whom they put to Death one *Simon Andrew*, the Godſon, Nephew, and Servant of the foreſaid *Simon Durham*. Which Ship, with the Goods and Furniture that were therein was worth 410 Nobles.

“ Item, in the very ſame Year, about the Feaſt aforeſaid, the fore-named *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, and other their Complices, wickedly ſpoiled a certain Ship of the foreſaid *Simon Durham*, called the *Dogger* (wherein *Gervaſe Cat* was Maſter) lying at an Anchor, while the Company were occupied about Fiſhing; and likewiſe unjuſtly took away with them the Salt-fiſhes and Furniture of the ſaid Ship. Moreover, the Maſter and his Company that were in the ſaid *Dogger* they beat and wounded, ſo that they utterly loſt their Fiſhing for that Year; the Maſter and his ſaid Company being endamaged thereby to the Sum of 200 Nobles.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1396, the foreſaid *Godekins* and *Stertebeker*, and other their Complices, unjuſtly took upon the Sea a certain Crayer, called the *Buſs* of *Zealand*, which one *John Ligate* Merchant, and Servant unto the fore-named *Simon Durham* had laden in *Pruſſia*, on the Behalf of the ſaid *Simon*, to ſail for *England*; and ſpoiled the ſaid Crayer, and alſo took and carried away with them the Goods and Merchandiſes of the ſaid *Simon*, being in the foreſaid Ship, to the Value of 66 *l.*

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1397, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with certain others of the *Hanſe*, took a Crayer of one *Peter Cole* of *Zealand*, called the *Buſsſhip*, which *Alan Barrat* the Servant and Factor of the foreſaid *Simon Durham*, had laden with Maſts, Spars, and other Merchandiſe, for the Behalf of the ſaid *Simon*, and unjuſtly took from thence the Goods of the ſaid *Simon*, to the Value of 24 *l.* and carried the ſame away.

“ Item, in the Year of our Lord 1394, certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer*, and others of the *Hanſe*, unjuſtly took upon the Sea, and carried away with them a Pack of woollen Cloth of the foreſaid *Simon*, worth 42 *l.* out of

“ a certain Crayer of one *Thomas Fowler* of *Lenne*, being laden and bound for *Dantzick* in *Pruſſia*.

“ Item, pitifully complaining the Merchants of *Lenne* do avouch, verify and affirm, that about the Feaſt of St. *George the Martyr*, in the Year of our Lord 1394, ſundry Malefactors and Robbers of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and others of the *Hanſe*, with a great Multitude of Ships, arrived at the Town of *Norbern* in *Norway*, and took the ſaid Town by ſtrong Aſſault, and alſo wickedly and unjuſtly took all the Merchants of *Lenne* there reſiding, with their Goods and Chattels, and burnt their Houſes and Manſions in the ſame Place, and put their Perſons unto great Ranſoms; even as by the Letters of ſafe Conduct delivered unto the ſaid Merchants it may more evidently appear, to the great Damage and Impoveriſhment of the Merchants of *Lenne*. Namely, Imprimis, they burnt there 21 Houſes belonging unto the ſaid Merchants, to the Value of 440 Nobles. Item, they took from *Edmund Belyetere*, *Thomas Hunt*, *John Brandon*, and from other Merchants of *Lenne*, to the Value of 1815*l*.

“ Item, pitifully complaining, the foreſaid Merchants avouch, verify and affirm, that upon the 14th Day after the Feaſt of St. *George*, in the Year of our Lord next above-written, as four Ships of *Lenne*, laden with Cloth, Wine, and other Merchandiſes, were ſailing upon the main Sea, with all the Goods and Wares contained in them, for *Pruſſia*, ſundry Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with others of the *Hanſe*, being in divers Ships, came upon them, and by Force of Arms and ſtrong Hand took the ſaid Ships, with the Goods and Merchandiſes contained in them; and ſome of the People which were in the ſaid four Ships they ſlew, ſome they ſpoiled, and others they put unto extreme Ranſoms. And carrying away with them thoſe four Ships with the Commodities and Merchandiſe therein, they parted Stakes therewith, as them liſted, to the great Impoveriſhment and Loſs of the ſaid Merchants of *Lenne*, namely, in Cloth of *William Sileſden*, *Thomas Waterden*, *John Brandon*, *John Weſenham*, and other Merchants of *Lenne*, to the Value of 3623*l*. 5*s*. 11*d*.

“ Item, pitifully complaining, the foreſaid Merchants do affirm, that one *Henry Lambolt*, and other his Adherents, in the Year of our Lord 1396, took upon the main Sea between *Norway* and *Scaw*, one Crayer laden with Oſmunds, and with divers other Merchandiſes, pertaining unto *John Brandon* of *Lenne*, to the Sum and Value of 443*l*. 4*s*. 2*d*. Moreover, they took from *John Lakingay*, four Laſts and an half of Oſmunds, to the Value of 220*l*. 10*s*.

“ Item, the foreſaid Merchants complain, that certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer*, with other their Complices of the *Hanſe*, in the Year of our Lord 1396, took from *Thomas Ploket* of *Lenne*, out of a certain Ship ſailing upon the main Sea towards *Sconeland* (whereof *James Snycop* was Maſter) Cloth and other Merchandiſe, to the Sum and Value of 13*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

“ Item, the above-named Merchants complain ſaying, that certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer*, with others of the *Hanſe* Society, in the Year of our Lord 1397, wickedly and unjuſtly took out of a certain Ship of *Dantzick* (whereof *Laurence van Ruſſe* was Maſter) from *Ralph Bedingam* of *Lenne*, one Fardel of Cloth worth 52*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*. Alſo for the Ranſom of his Servant 8*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Item, they took from *Thomas Earle* divers Goods to the Value of 24*l*.

“ Item, the foreſaid Merchants complain, that certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, with others of the *Hanſe*, in the Year of our Lord 1399, wickedly and unjuſtly took one Crayer pertaining unto *John Lakinglich* of *Lenne*, laden with divers Goods and Merchandiſe pertaining unto ſundry Merchants of *Lenne*; namely from the fore-named *John* one Fardel of Cloth, and one Cheſt full of Harneſs, and other Things to the Value of 90*l*. Item, they took out of the foreſaid Ship from *Roger Hood*, one Fardel of Cloth, and one Cheſt with divers Goods, to the Value of 58*l*. Item, from *John Pikeron*, one Fardel of Cloth, and one Cheſt with divers Goods, to the Value of 440*l*. Item, from *Andrew Purſer*, one Fardel of Cloth, and one Cheſt with divers Commodities therein, to the Value of 10*l*.

“ Item, the above-named Merchants complain ſaying, that certain Malefactors of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok*, and others of the *Hanſe*, namely *Godekin Mighel*, *Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker*, with other of their Confederates, in the Year of our Lord 1399, wickedly and unjuſtly took from *John Priour* of *Lenne*, out of the Ship of *Michael van Burgh*, namely 160 Neſts of Maſers, worth 100*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Item, thirty Furs-riggs of *Kaleber*, worth 13*s*. 4*d*. a-piece; the Sum Total amounting to 20*l*. Item, twenty Furs-wombys of *Kalebre*, worth, *&c.* Item, one Girdle of Silver, and one Dagger adorned with Silver, worth 30*s*. Item, two Coats, and one long Jacket, and other Goods, to the Value of 30*s*. Item, he paid for his Ranſom 4*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

“ Unto all and ſingular the Articles above-written, the Ambaſſadors of *England* aforeſaid do further add, that the Doers and Authors of the Damages, Injuries and Robberies ſet down in the Articles above-written (of whom ſome are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all thoſe Outrages, being hired thereunto at the Expences and Charges of the common Societies of the Cities aforeſaid. And that the Inhabitants of every Houſhold in the foreſaid Cities (each Man according to his Ability) wittingly and purpoſely ſet forth one, two, or more Men, for the very ſame Expedition, wherein all and ſingular the foreſaid Treſpaſſes were committed.

“ The foreſaid *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors do exhibit the Articles above-written unto the Procurators of the Cities of *Wiſmer* and *Roſtok* aforeſaid: Leave and Liberty being always reſerved unto the ſaid Ambaſſadors, to enlarge, or to diminiſh, or to expound all, or every, or any of the ſaid Articles whatſoever, ſo often as it ſhall ſeem expedient unto them.”

Howbeit, freſh Matter of Debate ariſing, a Conference was held at the *Hague*, in which, by proper Commiſſions, all Difficulties were removed, as appears by the following Pieces[a]:

The Letters of Henry IV. *King of* England, *&c. unto* Ulricus de Jungingen, *Maſter-general of* Pruſſia, 1408, *wherein he doth ratify and accept the laſt Agreement made at* Hage *in* Holland.

“ *Henry*, &c. unto the honourable and religious Perſonage *Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen* Maſter-general of the *Dutch* Knights of *St. Mary*, &c. our moſt dear Friend, Greeting, and daily Increaſe of our accuſtomed Amity and Friendſhip. We do by theſe Preſents give your Honour to underſtand, that our faithful and well-beloved *William Eſturmy*, Knight, and Maſter *John Kington*, Clerk, our Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers ſent of late on our Behalf, unto the Preſence of your Predeceſſor, for the redreſſing of certain Grievances and Damages, being contrary to Juſtice, offered againſt us and our liege Subjects by the People and Subjects of your Predeceſſors, and againſt them alſo by our Subjects as it is aforeſaid, in friendly Manner to be procured, of late returning out of the Parts of *Alemain*, made Relation unto us and to our Council, that having conferred with your fore-named Predeceſſor about the foreſaid Affairs, the Particulars following were at length concluded: namely, firſt of all, that at a certain Day and Place they ſhould meet in *Holland* with his Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers, to hold a friendly Conference between them about the Redreſſing and Reformation of the Grievances and Damages aforeſaid; and that they ſhould by the equal Weight of diligent Examination ponder, and in the Balance of Juſtice diſcuſs and define all and ſingular the foreſaid Grievances and Damages inflicted on both Parts. Howbeit, at length after ſundry Prorogations then made and continued on this Behalf, our Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers aforeſaid upon the 28th of *Auguſt* laſt paſt, aſſembling themſelves for our Part at the Town of *Hage* in *Holland*, the honourable and diſcreet Perſonages *Arnold Heket*, Burgomaſter of the Town of *Dantzick*, and *John Crolowe*, for the Behalf of your Subjects of *Pruſſia*, and *Tidman de Meule*, and *John Epenſcheid* for the Behalf of *Livonia*, being aſſembled as Meſſengers and Commiſſioners about the Redreſs and Reformation aforeſaid, did then and there demand in certain Articles, of our Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers above-named, 25034 Nobles and half a Noble, for the Grievances and Damages offered (as it was then ſaid) to your Subjects of *Pruſſia*, and 24082 Nobles, 12 *s.* 8 *d.* in recompence of the Damages offered unto thoſe your Subjects of *Livonia*. And when the Subſtance of thoſe Articles about the Grievances and Loſſes aforeſaid, was by the ſaid Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers throughly examined and diſcuſſed, by their general Conſent it was finally agreed, that your Subjects, in Conſideration of all and ſingular the foreſaid Grievances and Damages offered unto them by our People, ſhould within three Years after the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing, at three equal Payments receive from us, namely, they of *Pruſſia*, 8957 Nobles, and they of *Livonia* 22496 Nobles, Six-pence Half-penny Farthing, and no more, ſo that we ourſelves thought good to condeſcend thereunto. Howbeit, foraſmuch as certain other Articles of your Subjects of *Pruſſia*, and alſo certain Articles in the Behalf of our Subjects containing grievous Complaints in them, being propounded before the Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers aforeſaid, for the attaining of Reformation in regard of the Damages and Grievances offered on both Parts, could not as then, for the great Obſcurity of divers of the ſaid Articles, and alſo for want of ſufficient Proof at the laſt Meeting, appointed and held by the foreſaid Ambaſſadors at the Town of *Hage* in *Holland*, ſufficiently to be examined, diſcuſſed, and defined, it was agreed upon by the Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers of both Parties, that from the 15th Day of *October* then laſt expired, unto the Feaſt of *Eaſter* now next enſuing, and from thenceforth within one whole Year immediately following, the Plaintiffs of both Parts ſhould throughly declare before our Chancellor of *England* for the Time being, the foreſaid Obſcurities concerning the Subſtance of their Articles, and that they ſhould, for the obtaining of Execution, and Complement of Juſtice at our ſaid Chancellor's Hands, peremptorily miniſter neceſſary Probations, under Pain of perpetual Excluſion from the Petition of thoſe Things which are contained in the Articles above-mentioned.

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[a] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 176, &c.

“ Provided always, that if at the laſt it ſhall be by lawful Proofs made manifeſt concerning the Sums above-written, or any Part or Parcel thereof, that due Satiſfaction hath been made to him or them unto whom it was due, or that thoſe Goods of and for the which Complaint hath been made on the Behalf of your Subjects have pertained, or do appertain unto others, or any other juſt, true, and reaſonable Cauſe may lawfully be alledged, why the Payment of all the foreſaid Sums, or any of them, ought not to be performed: that then ſo much only is to be cut off or deducted from the ſaid Sums as ſhall be found to be already paid, or to pertain unto others, or elſe upon ſome true, juſt and reaſonable Cauſe (as is aforeſaid) not to be due. We therefore conſidering that the ſaid friendly Conference, and the final Agreement enſuing thereupon are agreeable unto Reaſon and Equity, do for our Part ratify, and willingly accept the very ſame Conference and Agreement. And foraſmuch as it hath been always our Deſire, and is as yet our Intention, that the League of Amity, and the Integrity of Love, which hath of old Time been obſerved between our and your Subjects, may in Times to come perpetually remain inviolable, and that your and our People may hereafter, not only for the Good of our Commonweal, but alſo for the Commodity and Peace of both Parts, according to their wonted Manner, aſſemble themſelves and enjoy the faithful and mutual Converſation one of another, we will cauſe in our City of *London*, with the Sum of 8957 Nobles, Satiſfaction to be made unto the *Pruſſians*, and with the Sum of 22496 Nobles, Six-pence Half-penny Farthing, Recompence to be performed unto the *Livonians*, in regard of the Damages and Injuries (which in very deed proceeded not of our Conſent) by our Subjects offered unto them, as it is aforeſaid, and within three Years after the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing the ſaid Sums of Money to be paid at three Payments, and by three equal Portions. Conditionally that unto our Subjects which be endamaged, correſpondent Satiſfaction be likewiſe on your Part within the Term of the foreſaid three Years performed, with paying the Sums of 766 Nobles, and of 4535 Nobles demanded on our Behalf, and alſo with the Payment of ſuch Sums as within one Year immediately enſuing the Feaſt of *Eaſter* aforeſaid, ſhall be found by ſufficient Declarations and Proofs to be made on the Behalf of our Subjects (as is aforeſaid) to be due: Even as we in like Manner will make Satiſfaction unto your Subjects within our City aforeſaid. Now as touching the Requeſt of your Ambaſſadors, and of the *Livonians*, whereby we were required to procure ſome wholeſome Remedy for the Souls of certain drowned Perſons, as Conſcience and Religion ſeemeth to challenge (in regard of whom we are moved with Compaſſion, and do for their Sakes heartily condole their Miſhaps) you are (our entire Friend) of a Certainty to underſtand, that after we ſhall be by your Letters advertiſed of the Number, State and Condition of the ſaid Parties drowned, we will cauſe Suffrages of Prayers, and divers other wholeſome Remedies profitable for the Souls of the deceaſed, and acceptable to God and Men, religiouſly to be ordained and provided; upon Condition, that for the Souls of our drowned Countrymen there be the like Remedy provided by you. The Almighty grant unto yourſelf, and unto your whole Order, that you may proſperouſly triumph over the Enemies of Chriſt his Croſs. Given under our Privy-ſeal at our Palace of *Weſtminſter* the 26th of *March*, in the Year of our Lord 1408, and in the ninth Year of our Reign.”

The Letters of Fr. Ulricus *Maſter of* Pruſſia, *directed unto the King of* England, *ſignifying that he is contented with the Agreements concluded by his Meſſengers at* Hage.

To the moſt renowned Prince and mighty Lord L. Henry *King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *our moſt gracious Lord.*

“ Unto your Highneſs's Pleaſure at all Aſſays humbly recommending my voluntary Service, *&c.* Moſt renowned King, mighty Prince, and gracious Lord, we received of late with great Reverence, as it becometh us, by our well-beloved *Arnold de Daſſel*, the Bearer of theſe Preſents, your Majeſty's Letters of late directed unto us, making mention amongſt other Matters of certain Appointments firſt made and concluded between the noble and worthy Perſonages *William Eſturmy*, Knt. *John Kington*, Clerk, and *William Brampton*, Citizen of *London*, your Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers on the one Part, and our honourable and religious Brethern, namely, *Conradus Lichtenſten*, great Commander, *Warnberus de Tettingen*, chief Hoſpitalary and Commander in *Elbing*, and *Arnold de Hacken*, Treaſurer, being the Procurators and Commiſſioners of *Fra. Conradus de Jungingen*, our laſt Predeceſſor of famous Memory, on the other Part, concerning the Redreſſing, Reformation and Amendment of unjuſt Attempts committed on both Sides, at our Caſtle of *Marienburgh*, and alſo very lately at the Town of *Hage* in *Holland*, namely, the 28th of the Month *Auguſt* in the Year immediately paſt, between your foreſaid Ambaſſadors *William Eſturmy*, Knt. and *John Kington*, Clerk, for your Part, and our truſty and well-beloved Commiſſioners and Procurators, namely, *Arnold Hecht*, Burgomaſter of our City of *Dantzick*, and *John Crolow*, Citizen of the ſame City, for our Part. And for our more perfect Knowledge in this Behalf, our ſaid Commiſſioners made Relation unto us, and unto our whole Council, that aſſociating unto themſelves our Meſſengers of *Livonia*, namely, *Tidman Myeul* and *John Epenſheid*, together with your foreſaid Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers, they there finally appointed and concluded, of and about the above-mentioned Sums “of Money due on both Parts, of the which Mention is made in our Letters aforeſaid; with this ſpecial Proviſo, that in like manner Satisfaction be made in all Points, both unto other of our damnified Subjects of *Pruſſia*, namely, ſuch whoſe Goods, or the true Value thereof, have been finally adjudged by the Judges or Profeſſors of our Laws, and unto ſuch who having brought their Articles of Complaints unto the Audience of the moſt dread and mighty Prince and Lord, our Lord *Rupertus*, King of the *Romans*, always moſt Sovereign, were in Concluſion to have the Eſtimations of their Goods to be adjudged by the Sentence of the ſaid Lord, with the Advice of two of his Counſellors, and alſo unto other of our Subjects who have brought in ſufficient Proof of Damages unjuſtly inflicted upon them by your Subjects, over and beſides the Premiſes: So that in like Manner Satisfaction be made unto the common Society of the *Hanſe* Merchants; and by the Arbitrament ſet down in the Conferences had at *Marienburgh*, of the which it was above provided and enacted on their Behalf, namely, if they will reſt contented with our Subjects in the Courſes and Means then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere unto them in this Behalf. Afterward our Meſſengers aforeſaid, both they of *Pruſſia* and of *Livonia*, demanded convenient, juſt, and ſpeedy Satisfaction, with the Payment of all and ſingular the Sums above-mentioned, due unto both Parts (ſo far forth as Equity and Reaſon would yield unto, for the Recompence of the Parties injured and endamaged on both Sides) to be made within one whole Year, accounting from the Feaſt of *Eaſter* now laſt expired, unto the very ſame Feaſt next to come in the Year immediately following, and that in three ſeveral Terms of Payment, by three Portions of the ſaid Sums equally to be divided, at the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, as being a Place indifferent for all Parties, in Manner and Form as it was before at *Marienburgh* required and ſtood upon; namely, that Reformation, Reparation and Amendment of all unjuſt Attempts committed on both Parts ought to be performed within one Year: Howbeit contrarywiſe your Ambaſſadors aforeſaid decreed, that the ſaid Satisfaction ſhould be performed unto the Parties injured of both Parts within three Years, beginning to account from the Feaſt of *Eaſter* laſt paſt. And when your Ambaſſadors were not contented with the Manner of Satisfaction ſet down by our Men, nor our Commiſſioners were willing in any ſort to conſent unto that Courſe which was thought convenient by your Ambaſſadors, the honourable Meſſengers of the Sea-towns of the *Hanſe* being there at that Time preſent, made a Motion that the foreſaid Satisfaction might be performed within two Years and an half, accounting from the Feaſt of *Eaſter* laſt paſt, often before mentioned: yet under a certain Proteſtation, namely, if both Parties ſhould agree unto that Form of Satisfaction, and if they ſhould think good finally and concluſively to yield their Conſent unto it. Which kind of Satisfaction alſo conceived by the Meſſengers, your ſaid Ambaſſadors, without giving Notice thereof unto your royal Majeſty, refuſed finally to approve; being rather deſirous to make a true and faithful Report of the ſaid Form of Satisfaction laſt above-mentioned unto your kingly Highneſs, and that in ſuch ſort, that (as they hoped) effectual Satisfaction and Payment of all and ſingular the Sums due, and to be due on both Parts, ſhould more conveniently and ſpeedily be performed. Whereupon we might be put in good Hope, that more ſpeedy and convenient Appointments of Terms, for the ſaid Satisfaction friendly on both Parts to be performed in, would have proceeded from your bountiful and gracious Clemency. And in very deed (moſt mighty Prince) albeit it was never the Meaning of our foreſaid Predeceſſor, ſo far forth as theſe Affairs concerned him, to protract and delay the Execution of the ſaid Buſineſs ſo many and ſuch long Diſtances of Time; and that for divers Reſpects, both becauſe Reſtitution unto the Parties robbed conſiſted herein, and alſo becauſe the ſaid Reſtitutions and Satisfactions are to be made unto poor People, Widows, Orphans, and other miſerable Creatures, diverſly and miſerably ſlain and oppreſſed: notwithſtanding we being moved with hearty and fervent Zeal, and ſpecial Affection unto your royal Crown of *England*, and having due Regard and Conſideration of your moſt excellent Majeſty, upon the Advice of our honourable Brethren our Counſellors, do thankfully receive, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents totally ratify and approve ſuch Satisfactions of the foreſaid Sums howſoever due unto our Subjects, both *Pruſſians* and *Livonians*, in friendly Sort to be performed at ſuch Times and Seaſons limited and prefixed by your Highneſs, as are expreſſed in your Majeſty's Letters, and alſo of other Sums which within one Year immediately enſuing after the Feaſt of *Eaſter* laſt paſt, by ſufficient Proofs to be made on their Part before your Chancellor at your City of *London*, ſhall be found due unto them. Conditionally, that without Inconvenience of Delay and Impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the Premiſes. In like manner alſo we ourſelves, within the Terms of Payment above-mentioned, will procure Satisfaction to be without fail performed unto your Subjects endamaged, with the Sum of 766 Nobles, being in regard of their Loſſes, of the which they have given up ſufficient Informations, due unto them; and with other like Sums alſo, which are by ſufficient Proofs, within the Year aforeſaid, and in Manner and Form preſcribed to be exhibited before our Treaſurer at our City of *Dantzick*. The Almighty vouchſafe proſperouſly and long Time to preſerve your Majeſty's Royal Perſon. Given at our Caſtle of *Marienburgh* the 27th of *September*, in the Year of our Lord 1408.”

Fr. Ulricus de Jungingen Maſter-general of the Order of the *Dutch* Knights of *St. Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem*.

The Letters of King Henry IV. *ſent unto* Fr. Ulricus *Maſter-general of* Pruſſia, *wherein he doth abſolutely approve the foreſaid Conference holden at* Hage; *and treateth about a perpetual League and Amity to be concluded between* England *and* Pruſſia.

“*Henry* by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, unto the noble and mighty Perſonage of ſacred religion *Ulricus de Jungingen* Maſter-general of the Order of the *Dutch* Knights of St. *Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem*, our entirely beloved Friend, Greeting and Increaſe of unfeigned Friendſhip. After divers Conferences had in ſundry Places beyond the Seas, between the Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers of your late Predeceſſor, and of yourſelf alſo, on the one Part; and between our eſpecial Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers on the other Part, concerning Reformations, Reparations, and Reſtitutions in certain Manner and Form to be performed unto our Subjects of both Parts, in regard of manifold Injuries practiſed againſt them both, and after that, in the laſt Conference holden by the Ambaſſadors of us both at the Town of *Hage* in *Holland*, there was a Motion made concerning a certain Form of Satisfaction, by way of final Concluſion in that Behalf: But not being as then by our Ambaſſadors condeſcended unto, becauſe they durſt not proceed unto the ſame Concluſion without our Privity, Relation thereof at length being by them made before us and our Counſel, we returned unto your Honour an Anſwer in Writing by our Letters under our Privy-ſeal, of our full Purpoſe and Intention (unto the which Letters we do at this preſent refer ourſelves, as if they were here again expreſly written) what we thought good to have done in this Behalf; ſo that we alſo might by your friendly Letters be certainly informed of your Will and expreſs Conſent, being likewiſe conformable unto your foreſaid Intention. Now whereas ſince that time we have of late received the Certainty of the Matter by your Letters written unto us from your Caſtle of *Marienburgh*, bearing Date the 27th of *September* laſt paſt, containing in effect amongſt other Matters, that you being moved with a fervent Zeal and ſpecial Affection (as you write) unto the royal Crown of our Realm, and having due Regard and Conſideration of our Royal Majeſty, upon the Advice of your honourable Brethren your Counſellers, do with a thankful Mind accept, and by the Tenor of the ſaid Letters of yours totally approve the Concord of a certain Satisfaction to be performed with the Payment of certain Sums of Money, howſoever due unto your Subjects as well of *Pruſſia* as of *Livonia*, expreſſed in our former Letters, within the Terms prefixed by our Conſent, and limited in our ſaid Letters; and alſo of other Sums which within one whole Year immediately following the Feaſt of *Eaſter* laſt paſt, by ſufficient Proofs on their Part to be made before our Chancellor at our City of *London*, ſhall be found due unto them; conditionally, that without Inconvenience of Delay and Impediments, the Premiſes be performed as they ought to be. And that yourſelf alſo will without fail, upon the Terms appointed for the ſaid Payments, procure Satisfaction to be made accordingly unto our endamaged Subjects with the Sums due unto them by reaſon of their Loſſes, whereof they have ſufficient Information. Wherefore in regard of thoſe your friendly Letters, and your courteous Anſwer returned by them unto us, as is aforeſaid, we do yield unto you right unfeigned Thanks. But becauſe it will undoubtedly be moſt acceptable and pleaſing both unto us and unto our People, and unto you and your Subjects, that the Zeal and Fervency of Love which hath from ancient Times grown and increaſed between our Progenitors for them and their Subjects, and your Predeceſſors and their Subjects, and which by the Inſolency of certain lewd Perſons, without any Conſent of the principal Lords, hath often been violated between us and you, and mutually between the Subjects of us both, may be put in perpetual Ure, and obtain full Strength in time to come, ſithens hereupon (by God's Aſſiſtance) it is to be hoped, that unſpeakable Commodity and quiet will redound unto both Parts. May it ſeem good unto your Diſcretion, as it ſeemeth expedient unto us, that ſome Meſſengers of yours ſufficiently authoriſed to parle, agree, and conclude with our Deputy, about the mutual Contraction of a perpetual League and Confirmation of Friendſhip, may with all convenient Speed be ſent unto our Preſence. At whoſe Arrival, not only in this Buſineſs ſo profitable and behoveful, but alſo in certain other Affairs concerning the former Treaties and Concluſions, they may, yea and of Neceſſity muſt greatly avail. Wherefore (our entirely beloved Friend) even as upon Confidence of the Premiſes we have thought good to grant unto the Merchants and Subjects of our Realm, full Authority to reſort unto your Dominions, ſo we do in like manner grant unto your Merchants and Subjects free Licence and Liberty with their Merchandiſes and Goods ſecurely to come into our Realms and Dominions, there to ſtay, and at their Pleaſures thence to return Home. Moreover, if *Arnold Daſſel*, who laſt of all preſented your foreſaid Letters unto us, ſhall think good in the mean Seaſon to make his Abode here in our Dominions (as in very deed it is expedient) he may both by ſerious Conſideration and deliberate conſulting with our Commiſſioners more conveniently and proſperouſly find out Ways and Means, for the more ſpeedy Expedition of all the Premiſes. Fare ye well in Chriſt. Given under our Privy-ſeal at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the ſeventh of *March*, in the Year of our Lord 1408, according to the Computation of the Church of *England*, and in the tenth Year of our Reign."

A new Concord concluded between King Henry IV. *and* Ulricus de Jungingen *Maſter-general of* Pruſſia, *in the Year of our Lord* 1409.

"By this Indenture or Letters indented, be it evidently known (for the perpetual Memory of the Matter) unto all faithful Chriſtians, that the noble and honourable Perſonages *Richard Merlowe* Mayor and Citizen of *London*, Maſter *John Kington* Clerk, and *William Aſkham* Citizen and Alderman of the ſame City, the Commiſſioners of the moſt ſovereign Prince and Lord, Lord *Henry* by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, and *Tidericus de Longenthorpe* Knight, *Leſardus de Hereford* Burgo-maſter of *Elbing*, and *John Crolowe* Citizen of the City of *Dantzick*, the Procurators, Commiſſioners, Deputies and Meſſengers of the right noble and religious Perſonage *Francis Ulricus de Jungingen* Maſter-general of the Order of the *Dutch* Knights of St. *Mary*'s Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem*, having in the Names of the ſaid King and Maſter, by virtue of the Power on both Parts committed unto them, ſufficient Authority, have appointed and with one Conſent agreed upon all and ſingular the Things under-written.

"Imprimis, for the Conſervation of mutual Love and wonted Amity, and for the Tranquillity of ſweet amiable Peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and ſingular the liege People and Subjects of the Realm of *England*, and the Merchants of the Territories and Dominions of the ſaid Realm, and all other Perſons of what State or Condition ſoever, ſhall and may ſafely and ſecurely, as well by Land as by Water, enter into the Parts of *Pruſſia*, and there mutually converſe, and freely after the Manner of Merchants exerciſe Traffic, as well with the *Pruſſians* as with others, of what Nation or Quality ſoever, there alſo make their Abode, and thence unto their own Homes and Dwelling-places return, and depart unto any Place whither and ſo often as they ſhall think good, as well by Land as by Water, with their Goods, Merchandiſe and Wares whatſoever; faithfully paying in the mean Time all Rights and Cuſtoms due in regard of their ſaid Wares and Merchandiſe. Reſerved always unto the ſaid Maſter and his Succeſſors all Right and Remedy ordained, granted and vouchſafed in certain Obligations by our Lord the King, whereof mention ſhall be made in the Articles following.

"Item, it is ordained, that all and ſingular the Subjects of the ſaid Maſter-general and of his Order, of what State and Condition ſoever, ſhall and may, as well by Water as by Land, enter into the Kingdom of *England*, and into the Territories and Dominions thereof, and there mutually converſe, and freely after the Manner of Merchants exerciſe Traffic, as well with all *Engliſh* People as with others of what Nation or Quality ſoever, and there alſo make their Abode, and thence return unto their own Habitations and Dwelling-places, and to depart whither they will, and as oft as they ſhall think good, as well by Land as by Water, with their Goods, Merchandiſe and Wares whatſoever; truly paying in the mean Time all Rights and Cuſtoms due in regard of their ſaid Wares and Merchandiſe. Reſerved always unto the ſaid ſovereign King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Rights and Remedies ordained and granted unto them in certain Obligations, by the Commiſſioners and Procurators of the ſaid Maſter-general above-named, and in the Name of the ſaid Maſter-general.

"Item, it is with one Conſent agreed upon, promiſed and granted, that for all and ſingular Damages, Grievances and Robberies howſoever done and committed before the Date of theſe Preſents againſt the foreſaid ſovereign Prince and his Subjects whatſoever, and all others which at the Time of the Grievances, Damages and Robberies aforeſaid, were, or at this preſent are, the ſaid ſovereign King his Subjects; there are due to be paid unto the ſaid King or his Succeſſors by the ſaid Maſter-general or his Succeſſors, in full Satisfaction and Recompence of the Damages, Grievances and Robberies above-written, certain Sums of *Engliſh* Money; even as in the Letters obligatory made by the ſaid Maſter-general his Procurators and Meſſengers above-named in this Behalf, and ſealed with their Seals, and delivered unto the fore-named Procurators and Commiſſioners of our ſaid Lord the King it is expreſſed more at large.

"Item, it is covenanted, granted and promiſed, that no Subject of the ſaid Maſter-general or of his Succeſſors, by reaſon or occaſion of the Damages, Grievances and Robberies aforeſaid, ſhall, by the ſaid ſovereign King or his Succeſſors, or by their Authority or Commandment, or by any other Perſon whatſoever, who in regard of the foreſaid Loſſes, Grievances and Robberies hath been moleſted and damnified, or at the Procurement or inſtant Suit of any, be attached, arreſted, impriſoned or detained; nor that the Goods of the ſaid Maſter-general, or of his Succeſſors, or of any of them, ſhall be laid hold on, arreſted or detained.

“ Item, it is covenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege People and Subjects of the ſaid Maſter-general or of his Succeſſors ſhall, contrary to the Form of the Concord and Grant next above-written, chance to be moleſted or endamaged, that then the foreſaid ſovereign Lord the King, and his Succeſſors the Kings of *England*, are bound to make full Satisfaction for all ſuch Loſſes as the Subjects of the ſaid Maſter-general, or of his Succeſſors, or any of them ſhall for that cauſe have unjuſtly ſuſtained, unto the Parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foreſaid ſovereign Prince, or his Succeſſors in the Realm of *England*, being conveniently requeſted by the Letters of the ſaid Maſter-general, or of his Succeſſors, ſhall refuſe to do, that then after the Term of ſix Months immediately following the ſaid Denial or Refuſal, it ſhall be right lawful for the Maſter-general that now is, and for any of his Succeſſors in time to come (having firſt made convenient Proof that the foreſaid Requeſt was by him or them exhibited) to arreſt ſo many Goods of the foreſaid King his Subjects found in the Land of *Pruſſia*, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable Satisfaction and Recompence of any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever unjuſtly moleſted in this Behalf; and alſo to detain the ſaid Goods under Arreſts, until condign Satisfaction and Amends be made unto the Party or Parties moleſted.

“ Item, by the Commiſſioners and Procurators often above-named it is covenanted, promiſed and granted, that for all and ſingular the Damages, Moleſtations and Robberies by the foreſaid Sovereign King his liege People and Subjects howſoever, before the Date of theſe Preſents committed and offered againſt the ſaid Maſter-general, or againſt any of his Subjects, whether *Pruſſians* or *Livonians*, and againſt all others who at the time of the Damages, Grievances and Robberies aforeſaid, were, or at this preſent are, the Subjects of the Maſter-general aforeſaid (except notwithſtanding certain Damages and Grievances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof alſo ſome Proviſos ſhall be had in the Articles following, which Damages were before the Date of theſe Preſents by the ſaid ſovereign King his liege People and Subjects inflicted upon certain Subjects of the foreſaid general Maſter, eſpecially them of *Pruſſia*, which hereafter ſhall be named) there are certain Sums of Money due to be paid unto the ſaid Maſter-general or unto his Succeſſors, by the ſaid ſovereign Prince or his Succeſſors, for the full Satisfaction of the foreſaid Damages, Moleſtations and Robberies inflicted upon the *Pruſſians* and *Livonians*, and the others above-mentioned, even as in the Letters obligatory of the ſaid ſovereign Lord the King made in this Behalf, being given and delivered unto the ſaid Maſter-general his Procurators and Meſſengers, it is declared more at large.

“ Item, It is covenanted, granted and promiſed, that none of the liege People or Subjects of the foreſaid ſovereign Prince or of his Heirs, ſhall, by reaſon or occaſion of the Damages, Grievances and Robberies aforeſaid, by the ſaid Maſter-general or his Succeſſors, or by their Authority and Commandment, or by any other who in reſpect of the ſaid Damages, Grievances and Robberies above-mentioned, hath been moleſted or damnified, or by any of their Procurements or inſtant Suits ſhall be attached, arreſted, impriſoned or detained; nor that any Goods of the Subjects of the ſaid ſovereign King or his Heirs, or any of them, ſhall be attached, arreſted or detained. Reſerved always unto the fore-named Maſter-general and his Subjects, all Right and Remedy any way requiſite or competent unto them by means of the Obligations aforeſaid.

“ Item, it is covenanted and agreed, that if any of the liege People or Subjects of the ſaid ſovereign Prince, or of his Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall (contrary to the Form of Concord and Grant next above-written) chance to be moleſted or endamaged, that then the ſaid Maſter-general and his Succeſſors, for all Loſſes and Hindrances which the liege People and Subjects of the foreſaid ſovereign Prince or of his Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall by that means have unjuſtly ſuſtained, are bound to make full Satisfaction unto the Party endamaged. Which if the Maſter-general aforeſaid, or his Succeſſors, being conveniently requeſted by the Letters of the ſaid ſovereign Prince, or of his Heirs, ſhall refuſe to do, that then, after the Space of ſix Months next enſuing the Time of the foreſaid Requeſt, it may be right lawful for the fore-named ſovereign Prince that now is, or that then for that Time ſhall be (convenient Proof being firſt brought, that the foreſaid Requeſt had conveniently been exhibited) to arreſt ſo many Goods of the ſaid Maſter-general his Subjects found in the Realm of *England*, as may ſuffice for the reaſonable Satisfaction and Amends of any Perſon or Perſons unjuſtly moleſted in this Behalf; and alſo to detain the ſaid Goods under ſafe Cuſtody, until condign Satisfaction and Amends be made unto the Party or Parties aggrieved.

“ Item, it is covenanted, that beſides the Sums due unto the ſaid Maſter-general and his Succeſſors, in the Behalf of his Subjects both of *Pruſſia* and of *Livonia* (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to be paid unto the ſaid Maſter-general and his Succeſſors, for ſundry other Damages, Grievances and Robberies againſt himſelf and divers other of his Subjects of *Pruſſia*, namely *Matthew Ludekenſſon*, *Arnold Aſſhen*, *Henry Culeman*, *John Unkeltop*, *John Halewater*, *Eggbard Scoff* of *Dantzick*, and *Nicholas Wolmerſtene* of *Elbing*, done and committed by the ſaid ſovereign King his liege People and Subjects under-written, even before the Date of theſe Preſents, for the full Satisfaction of the ſaid Damages, Grievances and Robberies, certain Sums of Nobles hereafter following. Namely, Imprimis, by *Tutburie* and *Terry* of *Hull* 82 Nobles, which are due unto the foreſaid *Matthew Ludekenſſon*. Item, by *Nicholas Scot* of *Calais*, the Son of *Tutbury*, and *Hilg* of *Hull*, 256 Nobles, which are due unto the foreſaid *Arnold de Aſſhen*. Item, by the Inhabitants of *Scardeburgh*, *Blakeney* and *Crowmer*, (who had one *John Jolly* of *Blakeney* for their Captain) 156 Nobles, which are due unto *Henry Culeman* aforeſaid. Item, by the Inhabitants of *Bayon* (whoſe Captain was one *Pideville*) 125 Nobles, which are due unto the ſaid *John Unkeltop*. Item, by the Inhabitants of *Plymouth* and *Dertmouth* (whoſe Captains were *Henry Pay* and *William Gadeling*) 600 Nobles, which are due unto the foreſaid *John Halewater*, in reſpect of his Goods by them violently taken away. Item, 334 Nobles to be paid by the ſelf ſame Parties, being due unto the ſaid *John Halewater*, by reaſon that they detained his Ship from him three Months and more, which Ship was of the Burthen of 300 Tons of Wine, and had in it all the foreſaid Time 45 Servants maintained at the Expences of the ſaid *John Halewater*. Item, that Sir *William de Ethingham*, Knt. who was Vice-admiral for the Sea, muſt be ſummoned to alledge a reaſonable Cauſe (for that the ſaid Sir *William* with his Servants expelled the ſaid *John Halewater* out of his Ship for the Space of fifteen Days together, and took of the Goods and Victuals of the ſaid *John* to the Sum of 114 Nobles) why he ought not to pay the ſaid Sum of 114 Nobles unto *John Halewater* aforeſaid; which if he ſhall not be willing nor able to alledge, before the firſt of *April* next enſuing; that then by the King's Authority he muſt be compelled to pay unto the foreſaid *John* the ſaid 114 Nobles. Item, by the Inhabitants of *Calais* (whoſe Captains were *Michael Scot*, *Biſhop*, and *William Horneby*) 1900 Nobles, which are due unto the foreſaid *Eggard Scoff*, becauſe the ſaid ſovereign King hath given them in charge by the ſaid *Michael Scot*, and the reſt concerning the Payment of the Sum aforeſaid. Item, by *John Bilis* near unto *Crowmer*, 68 Nobles, which are due unto *Nicholas Wolmerſten* of *Elbing*. Which Sums of Nobles muſt by the King's Authority be levied at the Hands of his Subjects above-mentioned, between the time that now is, and the Feaſt of the Purification of the bleſſed Virgin, which ſhall fall in the Year of our Lord 1411, effectually to be delivered and paid unto the ſaid Maſter-general or his lawful Procurator, or unto his Succeſſors or their lawful Procurators, at the City of *London*, upon the Feaſt aforeſaid.

“ Item, it is covenanted, that beſides the Sums ſpecified in the foreſaid Letters obligatory made in the Behalf of the ſaid ſovereign Prince, there are due to be paid unto one *John Marion* of *Werſingham* lately deceaſed, being in his Life-time the liege Subject of the foreſaid ſovereign Prince, 200 Nobles of *Engliſh* Money, in regard of certain Injuries and Robberies done and committed beforce the Date of theſe Preſents againſt the foreſaid *John*, by one *Eggard Scoff* Subject unto the ſaid Maſter-general, for the full Satisfaction of the ſaid Damages and Robberies to be made unto the ſaid deceaſed *John*, his Wife, Children, Heirs or Executors by the ſaid *Eggard*, his Heirs, or by the Adminiſtrators of his Goods at the Time and Place above-mentioned.

“ Item, it is covenanted, confirmed and promiſed, that for all the Injuries and Robberies done and committed againſt one *John Dordewant* of *Elbing*, being in his Life-time Subject unto the ſaid Maſter-general, by the liege People and Subjects of the ſaid ſovereign King the Inhabitants of *Scardeburgh*, before the Date of theſe Preſents; for the full Recompence of all ſuch Injuries and Robberies, there muſt be paid unto one *John Gruk* of *Dantzick* 800 Nobles of *Engliſh* Money, upon the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next following in the City of *London* by them of *Scardeburgh*, being guilty and culpable in this Behalf; who are by definitive Sentence condemned unto the ſaid *John* in the Sum of 800 Nobles, by reaſon of the Injuries and Robberies aforeſaid. Except the lawful Expences in this Behalf laid out; they are alſo taxed in due Time for the Iſſue. And therefore the foreſaid condemned Parties (whoſe Names are in the Sentence againſt them pronounced in this Behalf, more expreſly contained) muſt in the mean Seaſon by the King's Authority be compelled and conſtrained really and actually to obey the foreſaid Sentence, namely by delivering and paying unto *John Gruk* the Sum of 800 Nobles at the Time and Place above-mentioned, with reaſonable Expences, wherein alſo the ſaid Parties ſtand condemned, their lawful Taxation being reſerved.

“ Item, it is covenanted and granted, that the Heirs of Lord *Henry de Percy* the Younger, after they ſhall come unto lawful Age, and ſhall have attained unto the Poſſeſſions and Goods of their Inheritance, muſt be compelled by the King's Authority (Juſtice going before) to make Satisfaction unto the great Procurator of *Marienburgh* with the Sum of 838 Nobles, in lieu of certain Corn and Grain which the foreſaid Loid *Henry*, in the Year 1403, bought and received of the ſaid great Procurator, for the Uſe of the Caſtle of *Zutberwik*. In Teſtimony and Confirmation of all the which Premiſes, the ſaid *Tedericus*, *Lefardus*, and *John Crolow*, of their certain Knowledges have put their Seals unto theſe preſent Letters indented, in the Preſence of the above-named *Richard Merlowe*, *John Kington*, and *William Aſkam*, Commiſſioners for the Behalf of *England*. Given at the City of *London* in *England* the fourth Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord 1409.”

A Charter of King Henry IV. *granted in the fifth Year of his Reign to the* Engliſh *Merchants reſident in the Parts of* Pruſſia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden *and* Germany, *for the chuſing of Governors among themſelves.*

“ *Henry* by the Grace of God King of *England* and of *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to all to whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, ſendeth Greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through Want of good and diſcreet Rule and Government, ſundry Damages, Strifes, Oppreſſions, and Wrongs oftentimes heretofore have been moved and committed among the Merchants of our Kingdom of *England* remaining in the Parts of *Pruſſia*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, the *Hanſe-ſteeds* and *Sweden*, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, unleſs we put to our helping Hands for the procuring of better Government to be maintained among the ſaid Merchants: we heartily deſiring to prevent the Perils and Dangers which are like to fall out in this Caſe, and that the ſaid Merchants and others, which ſhall travel out of our ſaid Realm into the Parts aforeſaid, may juſtly and faithfully be ruled and entreated, we will and grant by the Tenor of theſe Preſents to the ſaid Merchants, that they may freely and without Danger aſſemble and meet together, as often and whenſoever they pleaſe, in ſome convenient and honeſt Place where they ſhall think good, and that they may chuſe among themſelves certain ſufficient and fit Perſons for their Governors in thoſe Parts at their good Liking. And furthermore, we give and grant to the ſaid Governors which are in ſuch ſort to be choſen by the aforeſaid Merchants, as much as in us lieth, ſpecial Power and Authority to rule and govern all and ſingular the *Engliſh* Merchants which hereafter ſhall come or repair to the Parts aforeſaid by themſelves or their ſufficient Deputies, and to miniſter unto them and every of them in their Cauſes and Quarrels whatſoever, which are ſprung up, or ſhall hereafter fall out among them in the Parts aforeſaid, full and ſpeedy Juſtice, and to reform all Manner of Queſtions, contentious Diſcords, and Debates moved, or to be moved, between the *Engliſh* Merchants remaining in thoſe Parts, and to ſeek Reformation, to redreſs, appeaſe, and compound the ſame. And further to redreſs, reſtore, repair and ſatiſfy all Tranſgreſſions, Damages, Miſpriſions, Outrages, Violences and Injuries done, or to be done, by the aforeſaid *Engliſh* Merchants againſt the Merchants of thoſe Parts: And to require, demand and receive the like Reſtitutions, Reparations, Satisfactions and Amends of the Merchants of thoſe Parts, or of their Deputies. And by the common Conſent of the aforeſaid *Engliſh* Merchants to make and eſtabliſh Statutes, Ordinances, and Cuſtoms, as ſhall ſeem expedient in that Behalf, for the better Government of the State of the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants; and to puniſh with Reaſon according to the Quantity of their Fault in that Behalf, all and ſingular the *Engliſh* Merchants which ſhall withſtand, reſiſt or diſobey the aforeſaid Governors ſo to be choſen, or their Deputies, or any of them, or any of the aforeſaid Statutes, Ordinances, or Cuſtoms. Moreover we do ratify, confirm and approve, and as ratified, confirmed and approved, we command firmly and inviolably there to be obſerved all juſt and reaſonable Statutes, Ordinances and Cuſtoms which ſhall be made and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Governors, ſo to be choſen, in Form aforeſaid, and alſo all juſt and reaſonable Ordinances made and eſtabliſhed by the late Governors of the aforeſaid *Engliſh* Merchants, with the common Conſent of the ſaid Merchants for this their Government in the Parts aforeſaid, according to the Privileges and Authorities now granted unto them by the Maſter of *Pruſſia*, or other Lords of the Parts aforeſaid, or which ſhall be made and eſtabliſhed by the aforeſaid Governors, now as is mentioned to be choſen, according to the aforeſaid Privileges heretofore granted, or other Privileges hereafter to be granted to the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants by the aforeſaid Maſter and Lords of the Country. And furthermore, by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, we ſtraitly command all and ſingular the aforeſaid *Engliſh* Merchants, that they attend, adviſe, obey and aſſiſt, as it becometh them, the ſaid Governors ſo to be choſen, and their Deputies, in all and ſingular the Premiſes, and other Things, which any way may concern in this Behalf their Rule and Government. Given in our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, under the Teſtimony of our great Seal, the ſixth Day of *June*, in the fifth Year of our Reign.”

In all which Negotiations and Treaties there is great Reaſon to commend the Wiſdom of thoſe Times, and that Equity which ſway'd the Councils of thoſe Princes in procuring Satisfaction for their reſpective Subjects; as well as to conclude that our Trade was very conſiderable, and our Power at Sea was moſt reſpectable abroad.

In the ſecond Year [*] of this King, the Statute of the fifth of *Richard* the Second was renewed, prohibiting the Tranſportation of Gold and Silver in Money or Bullion, without Licence, and the Money of *Scotland*, and of *Flanders*, and other Countries beyond the Seas, were to be voided out of *England*, or put to Coin, by the *Chriſtmas* following, upon Pain of Forfeiture. The Merchants at *Calais* to do the like by foreign and *Scotch* Money there.

But

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[*] Statute 2 Henry IV. cap. 5. Raſtal, 22. 4 Henry IV. cap. 16.

But this laſt had no Effect for Want of a ſufficient Quantity of ſmall Money for common Uſe. And therefore, two Years afterwards, the Commons [a] prayed an Ordinance to remedy the great Miſchief for Want of Maille and Farthings, and by that Means of the Uſe of foreign Money, as Maille of *Scotland*, and others called galley Halfpence, and clipp'd Halfpence, and in ſome Places of leaden Tokens. It was thereupon enacted [b], that the third Part of all Silver-money ſhould be made in Halfpence and Farthings, and of this third Part, the one half to be Halfpence, and the other half Farthings, and the Coiner to be ſworn to do the ſame; and that no Goldſmith or other Perſon melt the ſame, under Penalty of quatreble the Value: And to multiply [c] Gold and Silver was made Felony. Money was likewiſe prohibited [d] to be carried out of the Realm to the Court of *Rome*. In the eleventh Year [e], galley Half-pence were abſolutely prohibited, and whereever found to be forfeited to the King, and the Statutes and Ordinances relating to the Coins of *Scotland*, and the Parts beyond the Seas, were enjoined to be duly executed.

Theſe galley Halfpence were a Coin of *Genoa* [f], brought in by the *Galleymen*, or Men that came up in the Gallies with Wine and Merchandiſe, and thence called galley Halfpence, broader than the *Engliſh* Halfpenny, but not ſo thick, and probably baſe Metal, becauſe two Years afterwards a Statute [g] was made to confirm the former Law, conſidering the great Deceit, as well of the ſaid galley Halfpence, as other foreign Money.

The LIFE *of Admiral* BEAUFORT, *Son of* JOHN *of* GAUNT.

It appears by a Patent dated 8th *Henry* IV. that *John Beaufort*, eldeſt Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Catharine Swinford*, was created Admiral of the King's whole Fleet. This Nobleman, who took his Name from the Caſtle of *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, the Place of his Nativity, accompanied his Father into *Gaſcoigne* in the Year 1394, and was knighted in that Expedition [h]; advanc'd to the Degree of an Earl of *Somerſet* by Creation [i] in 1396, and afterwards to the Title of Marquis of *Dorſet* and *Somerſet* [k]. Soon after he was made Conſtable of *Wallingford* Caſtle, and Steward of the Honour of *Wallingford* [l], Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, Warden of the *Cinque Ports* [m], Lieutenant of *Aquitain* [n], and Admiral of all the King's Fleet, both to the North and Weſt [o].

He was one of the Lords that empeach'd *Thomas* Duke of *Glouceſter*, &c. of High-treaſon, before the Parliament at *Nottingham* [p]: For which he and the reſt of the Impeachers were diſgraced, with the Loſs both of their Titles and Eſtates by the firſt Parliament under *Henry* IV. But the King, being his Brother by the Father's Side, was ſoon reconciled to him; conſtituted him Chamberlain of *England* for Life [q]; made him Governor of *Caermardlyn* [r]; reſtor'd him to his Eſtate and Title [s]; and appointed him Captain of *Calais*, with its Marches. In 1401 we find him a Commiſſioner to treat of a League of Amity, between the King of *England* and the Duke of *Guelders* [t]: In 1404 he had an Aſſignation of the Iſle of *Thanet* [u], was Ambaſſador to treat of a Peace with *France* [w], and a Commiſſioner for receiving the Reſidue of the Ranſom of *John* King of *France*, taken at the Battle of *Creſſey* [x]; and at laſt he was reſtored to the Office of Admiral of the King's whole Fleet [y]. He departed this Life on the 21ſt of *April* 1410, and was buried in St. *Michael*'s Chapel, on the South Side of *Canterbury* Cathedral [z]; leaving behind him four Sons, *Henry*, *John*, *Edmund* and *Thomas*; and two Daughters, *Joan* married to *James* I. King of *Scotland*, and *Margaret* married to *Thomas Courtney* the ſeventh Earl of *Devonſhire*.

HENRY V. was proclaimed on the Death of his Father with great Acclamations of Joy [a]. Of whom we have the following Encomium from a very judicious and faithful Author [b].

Thoſe that have taken the Height of this King, have parallel'd him with no leſs than three of the nine Worthies of the World, comparing him with *David* the Prophet for Piety, being therefore called the Prince of Prieſts; with *Ceſar* the Invincible, for Affectation of Glory; and with *Alexander* the Great, for Magnanimity. But thoſe that place him ſide by ſide with them, will ſee he was much above them all: For as he was not ſo laſcivious as *David*, having never had any other Miſtreſs beſides her he made his Wife, (although Fortune being his Handmaid, gave him greater Temptations that way than ever the other had) ſo neither was he ſo vain-glorious as *Ceſar*, or ſo intemperate as *Alexander*, who were indeed great Conquerors, but ſhort of him in this, that conquering others, they could not conquer themſelves; but even when they were Lords of the World became Slaves to their own Paſſions. And as he had the better of them in his Parts, ſo he fell not ſhort of any of them in his Fortune: For neither was he ſo mortified as *David*, nor ſo much envied as *Ceſar*, much leſs ſo much feared as *Alexander*, it being his good Hap never to be diſtreſt, diſtruſted or deſpiſed. Two Inſtances remain upon Record of the Reſpect the People ſhewed to him beyond any of his Predeceſſors; the firſt given by the Nobility, who ſwore Allegiance to him before he was crowned; the other from the Commonalty, who gave him a Subſidy before ever he aſked it: A Precedent as rare as the other, and more to be wondered at; ſince the firſt might be an Act of Security, or perhaps Fear, but this laſt could be nothing but a pure Effect of Duty and Affection.

The only Men that were jealous of him, as of his Father before him, were the Clergy; who ſuſpecting he had a Mind to turn Prieſt, that is, to aſſume all ſpiritual Power into his own Hands, and become (as *Henry* VIII. afterwards) *Papa Patriæ*; or that at leaſt he would take ſome of the choiceſt Jewels out of their Miters to place in his Crown (there being a Bill then depending in Parliament for diveſting them of their Temporalities) they conſulted how they might divert ſo impendent a Miſchief, which ſeemed eaſier to prevent than reſiſt; and knowing by the Temperament of their own Conſtitutions, that there was no more powerful a Temptation than that which at once gratifies a Man's Ambition, Avarice and Revenge; they found a way to divert him from the Wrong they feared to be done to them, by ingaging him in a Project that was to do himſelf Right. The principal Manager of this commendable Project was the politic Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who held the Rudder of State at that time, and could turn the Veſſel as he pleaſed; he taking occaſion in the very firſt Parliament that was called by this King, to ſtart the Right of *England* to the Crown of *France*, ſet forth his own Eloquence and the King's Title ſo well, deducing his Deſcent in a direct Line from the Lady *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Philip* IV. and Wife to his Grandfather *Edward* II. and refuting all the old beaten Arguments brought from the *Salique Law* to oppoſe it (as being neither conſiſtent with Divinity, Reaſon or Example) he at once pleaſed and convinced all his Hearers, but more eſpecially the King himſelf, who ſeemed to be inſpired with a prophetic Confidence of that Succeſs, which after he had: But ſcorning to ſteal any Advantage, or wrong the Juſtice of his Title ſo much, as to ſeem to doubt it would be denied; before he would make any kind of Preparation for the Conqueſt, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Charles* VI. to demand a peaceable Surrender of the Crown of *France* to him, offering to accept his Daughter with the Kingdom, and to expect no other Pawn for his Poſſeſſion till after his Death. This Meſſage, as it was the higheſt that ever was ſent to any free Prince, ſo he intruſted it to thoſe of higheſt Credit and Truſt about him; theſe were his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, a Man of great Eſteem as well as of great Name, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, a very politic Prelate, the Lord *Gray* a Man at Arms, the Lord High-admiral, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*; the firſt as much renowned for his Courage, as the laſt for his Politics; to whom, for the greater State, there was appointed a Guard of 500 Horſe to attend them.

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[a] Parl. Rolls, 4 Henry IV. in WM. in Off. Arm. p. 264.
[b] Statute 4 Henry IV. cap. 10.
[c] Statute 5 Henry IV. cap. 4.
[d] 9 Hen. IV. cap. 8.
[e] Stat. 11 Hen. IV. cap. 5.
[f] Stow's Survey Lond. tom. I. lib. II. p. 40.
[g] Stat. 13 Hen. IV. cap. 6.
[h] Rot. Vaſ. 18 Rich. II. m. 7.
[i] Rot. Parl. 20 Rich. II. n. 28, 29. See Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 121.
[k] Rot. Parl. 21 Rich. II. n. 5. Carta, 21 Rich. II. n. 18—23.
[l] 22 Nov. 1397. Pat. 21 Rich. II. p. 2. m. 25.
[m] February following, ibid.
[n] Rot. Verſ. 21 Rich. II. m. 8.
[o] Rot. Franc. 21 Rich. II. m. 8. 2d of February.
[p] Placit. Parl. 21 Rich. II. Walſingham.
[q] Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 3. Sandford. Stebbing. Feb. 9, 1400.
[r] Penes Cler. Pell.
[s] Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. IV. n. 33. & 4 Hen. IV.
[t] Rot. Franc. 3 Hen. IV. m. 6.
[u] Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 2, m. 26.
[w] Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. IV. m. 4.
[x] Ibid. m. 16.
[y] Pat. 8 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 27.
[z] Sandford. Stebbing.
[a] A. D. 1412-13. March 20th.
[b] Churchil. Divi Britan. p. 259.

The Court of *France* pretending themſelves ignorant of the Occaſion of their coming, diſſembled their Diſdain, and treated them with that Magnificence, as if they had deſigned to compliment them out of their Buſineſs: But after the Meſſage was delivered with that faithful Boldneſs that became ſo great an Affair, they were all in that Confuſion, that it was hard to judge whether they were more aſhamed, incenſed, or afraid; giving ſuch a Return as ſeemed neither compatible with the Honour, Wiſdom or Courage of ſo renowned a People as they are: For firſt, as they did neither deny nor allow the King's Title, but ſaid they would make Anſwer by Ambaſſadors of their own; ſo in the next Place they were ſo haſty in their Counſels, and the Diſpatch of their Ambaſſadors hither, that they arrived in *England* almoſt as ſoon as thoſe ſent hence; and laſtly, at the ſame time they deſired Peace and offered to buy it with the Tender of ſome Towns, they gave the King an Affront, which was a greater Provocation than the Denial of ten ſuch Kingdoms: For the *Dauphin*, who in reſpect of the King his Father's Sickneſs (I might rather ſay Weakneſs) managed the State, affecting the Honour to give the firſt Blow, or perhaps deſiring to make any other Quarrel the Ground of the approaching War, which he foreſaw was not to be prevented, rather than that of the Title, which had been already ſo fatally diſputed, ſcornfully ſent the King a Preſent of Tennis-balls, which being of no Value, worthy ſo great a Prince's Acceptance, or his Recommendation, could have no other Meaning or Interpretation, but, as one ſhould ſay, he knew better how to uſe them than Bullets. The King, whoſe Wit was as keen as the other's Sword, return'd him this Anſwer, "That in requital of his fine Preſent of Tennis-balls, he would ſend him ſuch Balls, as he ſhould not dare to hold up his Racket againſt them." Neither was he worſe than his Word.

What greatly contributed alſo to forward this Attempt upon *France*, was the Inſanity of their King *Charles* VI. who was incapable of governing; and the Faction of the *Dauphin*, which had filled the Nation with Confuſion and Strife, by forcing the Government out of the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was intruſted with the public Affairs during the Minority of the King's eldeſt Son; which alſo drove the Duke to a Neceſſity to take Shelter under an Alliance with the King of *England*, in order to ſecure himſelf and Territories from the Schemes of his Enemies, the Court of *France*, where the Duke of *Orleans*, upon the Expulſion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, had gained the Aſcendant[a].

In this Situation of the *French* Affairs, King *Henry* wiſely judged, that he ſhould have only one Half of their Kingdom to deal with, and even that the diſcontented Half would make a Diverſion in his Favour. He therefore ſurpriſed *Rochelle*, pillaged *Trepori*, made an Attempt upon *Diep*[b], ſecured his Dominions at home by Treaties with his Neighbours, and great Promiſes to his Subjects; and having collected a numerous Army, a very large Fleet[c] of 1600, ſome ſay only 1500 Sail of Ships, Hulks and Veſſels, hired of the *Hollanders*, *Zealanders*, &c. and engaged his Parliament to raiſe a ſufficient Supply for their Support[d], he embarked with his Army at *Southampton*, on the 19th Day of *Auguſt* 1415, conſiſting of 6000 Men at Arms, 24,000 Archers, and 20,000 common Soldiers[e]; and landed at *Candebeck*[f], or *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, without any Reſiſtance. It being reſolved in the Council of King *Charles* to permit the *Engliſh*, if they were ſo inclined, to waſte their Forces in long Marches, and tedious Sieges[g]; which was founded upon that approved Maxim, That a dilatory War on the Continent, is the only Means to force the *Engliſh* to a diſadvantageous Peace; for tho' it may prove deſtructive to ſome Parts of their Nation, it can't be long ſupported by us; and will force us to agree to Terms, they can never oblige us to ſubmit unto by Force of Arms.

Henry marched forward immediately, and inveſted a Seaport of great Conſequence, both by Sea and Land; which made a gallant Defence; but was obliged in five Weeks to ſurrender for Want of Relief[h]. The King reſolved to make this a Place of Arms; expelled the Inhabitants; and by Proclamation preſently filled the Town with *Engliſh* Families, who were put into the *French* Poſſeſſions *gratis*. However, his Army was ſo reduced by the Fatigue of the Siege, and Sickneſs, that after the new-conquered Fortreſs was garriſoned, he had ſcarce a fourth Part remaining[i]; with which he thought it moſt adviſeable to march towards *Calais*; and in the Way was compelled to fight the Enemy, who at *Agincourt* attacked him with an Army large enough to ſurround his Forces. The moſt genuine Accounts give the *Engliſh* only 9000 Men, and make the *French* five Times that Number[k]. But ſome Authors write that the *French* Army conſiſted of 150,000, the third Part whereof were Horſe, and 10,000 of them Noblemen and Gentlemen[l].

In theſe Circumſtances all Propoſals of Truce, and Offers to make good all Damages, were rejected. *Henry* therefore prepared for Battle. The *French* by way of Inſult ſent a Herald on the 22d of *October*, to give him Notice that he muſt fight on the 25th; which *Henry* accepted, and preſented the Herald with a rich Robe, and 200 Crowns[m]. In the mean Time the King of *England* purſued every Method to animate his Troops, and to make them reſolute to conquer or die with him in the Field; which had ſuch an Effect upon both Officers and Soldiers, that deſpiſing the Numbers of the Enemy, they wiſhed for the Day of Battle; and one of them, *David Gam*, a *Welch* Captain, being ſent to view the Strength of the *French*, gallantly reported to the King at the Head of his little Army, "That there were enough to be killed, enough to be taken Priſoners, and enough to run away[n]." On the contrary the *French*, ſecure of Victory, truſting to their Numbers, ſpent their time in Gaities and Rejoicings. Accordingly this Battle, fought in a narrow Way, between a Rivulet and a Wood, near the Caſtle of *Agincourt*, was loſt by the Majority, and remains a ſtanding Honour to the *Britiſh* Nation[o].

King *Henry* was ſo ſenſible of the divine Power, which had given him this Victory, that in the Evening after the Battle, he cauſed the 115th Pſalm, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name be the Glory*, to be ſung, and that his whole Army ſhould at thoſe Words proſtrate themſelves upon the Earth in Token of their real Humility. And when the *French* Heralds came for Leave to bury their dead, his Majeſty in the Preſence of them and his Nobility and Officers declared, "That it was not his own, but an Almighty Hand, which had gained ſo great a Victory; and that the diſmal Sight before their Eyes, was a Judgment of God to puniſh the Sins of *France*[p]."

On the *French* Side were killed about 10,000 Men, of whom 7 or 8000 were Nobles, and above 100 of them Princes, who had Banners carried before them in the Field[q]; tho' *Daniel* allows only ſeven of them to be Princes of the Blood of *France*. Another Account[r] relates, that there were ſlain one Archbiſhop, three Dukes, ſix Earls, 92 Barons, 1500 Knights, and 7000 Squires and Gentlemen; 14000 were made Priſoners, of whom 1600 were Men of Quality, including the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Marſhal of *Bouciqualt*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendoſme* and *Richemont*. The *French* Hiſtorians make the Loſs on the *Engliſh* Side to amount to 16 or 1700[s]: but the *Engliſh* Authors[t] ſet it down at 28 common Soldiers, one Squire, four Knights, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *York* the King's Uncle; tho' it is moſt probable that our Loſs was greater, at leaſt 400[a].

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[a] Rapin, Vol. I. p. 507-8. [b] Daniel. [c] Monſtrelet. Walſingham. [d] Rapin with Tindal's Notes, Vol. I. p. 510. [e] Monſtrelet. Walſingham. [f] Burchett. [g] Chron. Godſtovian, p. 136. Hiſt. de France, tom. V. p 538. [h] Walſingham. [i] Thomas de Elmham, c. xxii. Speed. Holinſhed. [k] Id. ibid. [l] Monſtrelet. Hardin. Walſingham. Paradin. Meierſus. Goodwin's Henry V. [m] Des Urſins, p. 314. T. Livius. Walſingham. [n] Powel's Hiſtory of Wales. [o] Monſtrelet. Hall. Elmham. T. Livius. L'Fevre. Walſingham. Rapin, Vol. I. p. 512, 513, with Tindal's Notes. [p] Echard, Book II. p. 448. [q] Echard. ibid. Walſingham. [r] Elmham. [s] Mezeray. Monſtrelet. L'Fevre. [t] Walſingham. Hall. Echard. Goodwin.

The victorious Monarch on the Morrow purſued his March towards *Calais*, and on the 16th of *November* embarked with his Forces and principal Priſoners for *England*. Yet theſe Misfortunes did not incline the *French* to ſue for Peace; on the contrary, it was reſolved to beſiege *Harfleur*, and even to invade *England*. But to conceal their Preparations, the Conſtable of *France* found a Pretext to carry King *Charles* with his Court to *Roan*[b]. While the Court was there, the Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor of *Harfleur*, made an Inroad to the very Gates of that City, and returned with a great Booty. The Conſtable followed him in his Retreat, and at firſt gained ſome Advantage, but was obliged in the End to retire with Precipitation to *Roan*; tho' the *Engliſh* were but 1500, and the *French* 15000. This bad Succeſs did not diſcourage the Conſtable from haſtening his Preparations; and ſome *Genoeſe* Ships, which were to join the *French* Fleet being arrived, he gathered his Troops, which he had purpoſely diſperſed, together, and headed them. In the mean time, part of the *French* Fleet came and blocked up the *Engliſh* Fleet at *Portſmouth* and *Southampton*, and made an Attempt upon the Iſle of *Wight*, but were beaten back with Loſs. All Things being at laſt ready, the Conſtable marched with a conſiderable Army, and inveſted *Harfleur* on the Land-ſide, while the Vice-admiral, Viſcount *de Narbonne*, with the whole *French* Navy under his Command, blocked it ſo cloſely up by Sea, that nothing could go out. The Siege was purſued with all the Vigour imaginable; and the Earl of *Dorſet*, who commanded in the Place, was put to pretty hard Streights; when the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of 400 Sail, with 20,000 Men (which was ſent to its Relief, commanded by the Duke of *Bedford*, the King's Brother, in whoſe Retinue were ſeveral other Perſons of great Diſtinction) entered the Mouth of the *Seine*[c]. They found the Enemy's Fleet, in which were ſeveral large *Genoeſe* Carracks, lying before the Haven of *Harfleur*, and preſſing the Siege with all poſſible Vigour[d]. No Relief could be given the Town without forcing a Paſſage thro' the *French* Fleet; an Engagement therefore was unavoidable. The *Engliſh* began the Attack with an undaunted Vigour; and tho' the *French* maintained the Fight for ſome Hours with great Courage, they gave way at laſt, and were totally defeated: 500 Veſſels were taken or ſunk, together with five of the *Genoeſe* Carracks, and, according to ſome, 20,000 Men loſt. The whole *Engliſh* Fleet entered the Port in Triumph, and carried the Town a ſeaſonable Relief. The Army, on the Land-ſide, finding their Fleet deſtroyed, thought it ſafeſt to raiſe the Siege and decamp[e].

An Interview having been concerted between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Calais*, the King embarked the 4th of *September* at *Sandwich*, in Company with the Emperor, who had been ſome time in *England*, and convoyed him with 40 Ships to *Calais*. Thither the Duke came about three Weeks afterwards, and a Treaty of Alliance againſt *France* was concluded: Yet before *Henry* left *Calais*, he concluded a Truce with *France* till the 2d of *February*; and returned about the Middle of *October* to *England*.

Henry reſolving to improve the favourable Juncture of the diſtracted State of *France*, fitted out a Fleet[f], with the Deſign of going over himſelf to *Normandy*; but before he departed, he diſpatched the Earl of *Huntington* to ſcour the Seas. This Lord meeting with nine *Genoeſe* Ships, which were in the *French* Service, ſunk three of them, and took three others, in which was Money to pay the *French* Fleet ſix Months[g]. But the *Genoeſe* give a Relation of this Action ſomething different, tho' more circumſtantial[h]. *Fregoſe*, Doge of *Genoa*, having by virtue of a Treaty made with *France*, furniſhed the *French* with eight great Carracks, as many Gallies, and 600 Croſs-bow-men, commanded by *John Grimaldi*; the two Fleets (of *England* and *France*) each conſiſting of above 100 Sail, came to an Engagement in the Mouth of the *Seine*. The *Genoeſe*, for a long Time ſuſtained the moſt vigorous Attacks of the Enemy; and the Ship commanded by *Lawrence Foglietta* defended itſelf againſt ſeven *Engliſh* Ships, till ſhe was at length diſengaged by the Dexterity of a Sailor, who cut the Cordage, which held the Stage the *Engliſh* had thrown over to her Deck, from one of their Ships. But notwithſtanding all the Efforts the *Genoeſe* could make, the *French* loſt the Battle. *John de Franquemont*, the Son of the Vice-admiral was ſlain, and the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Fleet, remained a Priſoner to the *Engliſh*, who alſo took four of the *Genoeſe* Carracks, on-board of which was a Sum of Money for the Payment of three Months Wages for the whole Fleet[i].

By this Precaution our wiſe Monarch ſecured the Navigation in the Channel, and removed all Difficulties that might interrupt the tranſporting and landing the Army, which he was preparing for the total Reduction of *France*, and to decide his Right to that Country. His Army conſiſted of 16,400 Crown-forces in his own immediate Pay, and 9127 raiſed by the Barons; a fourth Part of the whole Forces was Horſe; too inconſiderable a Number had he not been ſure of meeting with little or no Oppoſition. With theſe his Majeſty embarked at *Portſmouth* on the 28th of *July*, in a Fleet of 1500 Sail[k], and landed at *Beville* in *Normandy*, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, with an Army of 25,500 Men. The Ship in which the King was, had Sails of Purple Silk richly embroidered with Gold. He immediately beſieged the Caſtle of *Tonque*[l], which ſurrendered in a few Days. After the taking of ſeveral other ſmaller Places, *Henry* laid Siege to *Caen*, which likewiſe ſurrendered, or, according to *Echard*, was taken by Storm, on the 9th of *September*. *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau de l'Aigle*, *Alenſon*, and ſome other Places underwent the ſame Fate. The Campaign being continued the whole Winter without Interruption, *Henry* became Maſter of the Caſtle of *Falaiſe* in *February*; of *St. Lo*, *Carentan*, *St. Sauveur le Vicomte*, and many other Places in *March* and *April*[m]. *Evreux* ſurrendered in *May*; and immediately afterwards he laid Siege to *Cherbourg*, which held out three Months, but ſurrendered on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*. The *French* having now nothing left in *Normandy* but *Roan*, *Henry* laid Siege to that City about the latter End of *Auguſt*, or the Beginning of *September*. The Beſieged made a ſtout Defence for five Months, and endured great Miſeries before they began to capitulate, which was on the 13th of *January*, and they ſurrendered on the 19th[n]. By this Expedition *Normandy* fell again under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, 215 Years after they had loſt it under the Reign of King *John*. After the Reduction of *Normandy*, *Henry* ſent part of his Army into *Picardy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Exeter*, who became Maſter of *Diep* and *Montreuil*. In *July*, *Henry* took *Pontoiſe* by Storm, and thereby opened himſelf a way to the very Gates of *Paris*. In *Pontoiſe* the *Engliſh* Soldiers found a Booty of above two Millions of Crowns. Theſe Succeſſes drew on the famous Treaty of *Troye*, which was concluded between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, and ratified on the 21ſt of *May*[o].

By this Treaty *Henry* engaged to marry the Princeſs *Catherine*, Daughter of *Charles* VI. to leave that Prince in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France* during his Life, but the Adminiſtration of the Government to be immediately transferred to *Henry*, with the Title of Regent and Heir of *France*: And after *Charles*'s Death, the Crown of *France*, with all its Rights and Dominions, to remain to the[p] King

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[a] Tho. Elmham. Tit. Liv.

[b] A. D. 1416, Walſingham. Rapin with Tindal's Notes.

[c] Monſtrelet. Walſingham.

[d] Rapin.

[e] Elmham. Walſingham. Mezeray. Daniel. Rapin. Hackluit, Part I. p. 185. has the following remarkable Extract, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinity Church in Wincheſter. "Eodem anno quo victoria potitus eſt, videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni ſui anno tertio, poſt bellum de "Agincourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis navibus recuperaturi Harfletium. Sed Rex Angliæ miſit fratrem ſuum, Johannem Ducem "Bedfordiæ & Andegaviæ, qui pugnavit cum eis & vicit, & naves cepit, & quaſdam ſubmerſit; cæteri fugerunt cum Hiſpanis navibus qui venerant "cum eis Anno Gratiæ 1416. Sequenti vero anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum devicti perpetuam pacem cum rege compoſuerunt, & propter "eorum naves fecit rex fieri naves quales non erant in mundo. De his ſic conductis a Francis ita metrice ſcribitur.

"Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arvo
"Gallos, Hiſpanos, Janos, devicit, & urget,
"Vaſtat; turbantur cætera regna metu
"Navali bello bis devicti quoque Jani."

[f] A. D. 1417.

[g] Holinſhed.

[h] Burchett's Naval Wars of the Genoeſe.

[i] Tho. Elmham, cap. 37. Walſingham.

[k] Walſingham. Rapin with Tindal's Notes. Echard. Goodwin, p. 155.

[l] Walſingham. Des Urſins. Rapin. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. IX.

[m] A. D. 1418.

[n] A. D. 1419-20.

[o] A. D. 1420.

[p] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. IX. p. 894. Mezeray, Vol. III. p. 209. Holinſhed. Speed. Elmham, cap. 90, 91, 92. Tit. Livius, p. 85, &c.

of *England*, and his Heirs, for ever. *Henry*'s Marriage was conſummated on the 30th of *May*. The two Courts made their public Entry together into *Paris*, where the Treaty was ratified by the States, in the Month of *December*. The King, having ſettled his Affairs in *France*, in ſo glorious a manner, left the Command of his Troops to his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, to carry on the War againſt the *Dauphin*, who was yet in Poſſeſſion of a great Part of that Kingdom, and returned to *England* with his new Queen; where he arrived about the End of *February*[a], crowned with Succeſs beyond any of his Anceſtors, entirely owing to his wiſe Conduct, which over-awed his Enemies by a powerful Fleet on the Coaſt, while he invaded them by Land.

The Parliament of *England* confirmed the Treaty of *Troye*, which added ſo great Luſtre to the *Engliſh* Crown; and at the ſame Time granted a Subſidy of a Fifteenth from the Laity, and a Tenth from the Clergy, to finiſh the Conqueſt of *France*; a great Part of which remained ſtrongly attached to the *Dauphin*, who had raiſed a numerous Army to invalidate the late Peace concluded by his Father with *England*. But at the ſame Time they addreſſed his Majeſty, ſetting forth, that it was their humble Opinion that the Conqueſt of *France* would prove the Ruin of *England*[b], which was almoſt drained of all its Wealth to ſupport the *French* War, and threatened with an Invaſion from *Scotland*; which Kingdom had declared in favour of the *Dauphin*, and ſent 7000 Men to his Aſſiſtance, who, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Bucan*, had defeated the Forces left in *Normandy*, and killed the Duke of *Clarence*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, as they attempted to penetrate into *Anjou*[c].

However, the King determined to proſecute his favourite Scheme of making Conqueſts upon the Continent, which were always fatal to *England*; he made up the Deficiency of the Money granted by Parliament, by borrowing large Sums of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in *England*[d]; and having raiſed 4000 Men at Arms, and 24,000 Archers, embarked with them on the 10th of *June*, leaving his Queen big with Child; and landed at *Calais*, with an Intention to drive the *Dauphin* into *Italy*[e]. His firſt Care was to relieve thoſe Towns which were in greateſt Diſtreſs; he next attempted to draw the *Dauphin*, who was in *Picardy*, to give him Battle, without Effect, and forced *Dreux* to ſurrender by Capitulation[f]. From whence his Army, ill of the Flux, was ſent into Summer-quarters, and himſelf proceeded to *Paris* till *October*, where reſuming the Field, he laid Siege to *Meaux*, which held out from the 6th of *October* this Year, to the 2d of *May* 1422[g]. In the mean time he received the agreeable News of the Queen's Delivery of a Son on the 6th of *December*[h], to whom he left his Kingdoms by Death, being cut off by an acute Fever, and a Dyſſentery[i], contracted by the Fatigues of his March next Year, to the Relief of *Coſne*, beſieged by the *Dauphin*. Others ſay he died of a Flux and the Piles[k]; and *Goodwin* writes that his Diſtemper was a Pleuriſy. He departed this Life on the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1422, aged 33; having reigned 9 Years, 5 Months, and 11 Days.

It is ſaid, upon his Death bed he reflected upon the Blood he had ſpilt, but comforted himſelf with the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the War, and the Glory and Advantage that would accrue to *England* by his Conqueſts; and no doubt he found Confeſſors, who did not only abſolve and ſoothe him in his Errors, but told him his Actions merited an everlaſting Reward. A Prince ſo ſucceſsful, and ſo faſt a Friend to the Clergy, could never want a Place in Heaven in thoſe Days.

But ſhould we turn the Tables, and ſuppoſe (for it will admit of a Doubt) that the War in the Beginning, or at leaſt in the Continuance of it, was neither ſo juſt or neceſſary, as we are made to believe; then where will be the Glory; where the Juſtice of cutting ſo many Throats, and of harraſſing and burning Countries, eſpecially among Chriſtians, whoſe Religion is far from countenancing ſuch glorious Deſtruction? And further, if inſtead of any Advantage accruing to *England* by this mighty Expedition, we find the *Engliſh* were beggar'd and impoveriſh'd by the War; then will not the Nation appear to have been as happy in more peaceable Reigns, when the Prince has made a leſs Figure in Hiſtory? It has been long ſince obſerved of the moſt martial Princes, the *Alexanders* and the *Ceſars*, that they were but more notorious Robbers.

We are generally very ſevere upon the private Vices of Princes; but an unbounded Ambition deſtroys and impoveriſhes more than all other Vices put together: And were it not that ſome popular Miniſters, who hope to ſhare the Plunder, uſually impoſe on the Credulity of the Vulgar by ſpecious Pretences, they would never be induced to contribute to an unneceſſary War.

The State of Trade and Navigation in this Reign appears to have been reduced very low by the continual Wars; and the whole Attention of the Government ſeems to have been employ'd in raiſing Money to ſupport the King's Ambition in the Conqueſt of *France*. Therefore we find no Laws enacted, no Treaties of Trade and Commerce propoſed with foreign States worth our Obſervation. But it is certain that the Nation in general were thoroughly convinced of the Error in ſuch a Government; and by a ſhort Hiſtory in Verſe, intitled, *De Politia conſervativa Maris*, we are informed of the Sentiments of thoſe Times in regard to the Method of maintaining the Sovereignty of the Seas, and thereby our Trade and Navigation.

In the Introduction we are inform'd of the Utility and Neceſſity of *England*'s preſerving the Dominion of the Sea; and of the Advantage of being poſſeſſed of *Dover* and *Calais*.

The true Proceſs of *Engliſh* Policy,
Of utterward to keep this Regne in
Of our *England*, that no Man may deny,
Nor ſay of ſooth but it is one of the beſt,
Is this, that who ſeeth South, North, Eaſt and Weſt,
Cheriſh Merchandiſe, keep the Admiralty;
That we be Maſters of the narrow Sea.

For *Sigiſmond* the great Emperor,
Which yet reigneth, when he was in this Land
With King *Henry* the Fifth, Prince of Honour,
Here much Glory, as him thought, he found,
A mighty Land which had take in hand
To war in *France*, and make Mortalitie,
And ever well kept round about the See.

And to the King thus he ſaid, My Brother,
(When he perceived two Towns *Caleis* and *Dover*)
Of all your Towns to chuſe of one and other,
To keep the Sea and ſoon to come over
To war outwards, and your Reign to recover:
Keep theſe two Towns ſure, and your Majeſty
As your two Eyes, ſo keep the narrow Sea.

For if this Sea be kept in Time of War,
Who can here paſs without Danger and Woe?
Who may eſcape, who may Miſchief differ?
What Merchandiſe may forby be ago?
For needs him muſt take trewes every Foe:
Flanders and *Spain*, and other, truſt to me,
Or elſe hindred all for this narrow Sea.

Therefore I caſt me by a little Writing
To ſhew at eye this Concluſion,
For Conſcience and for mine acquitting
Againſt God and againſt Abuſion,
And Cowardiſe, and to our Enemies Confuſion.
For four Things our Noble ſheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Sword, and Power of the Sea.

In the firſt Chapter the Author gives a clear Account of the Trade and Commerce then carried on between *England*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*. From *Spain* he ſays we imported Figs, Raiſins, Wine, Dates, Liquorice, Oil, Grains, white Paſtil-ſoap, Wax, Iron, Wool, Wadmolle, Goatfell, Kid-fell, Saffron and Quickſilver: From *Flanders*, fine Cloth of *Ypre* and *Curtike*, fine Cloth of all Colours,

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[a] A. D. 1421.
[b] Act. Publ. X. p. 110. Walſingham, p. 404. Fabian. Rapin, Vol. I. p. 527.
[c] Buchanan. Walſingham. Rapin, ibid. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 264.
[d] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. X. p. 96, &c.
[e] Tho. de Elmham, cap. 97. Tit. Liv. p. 92. Walſidgham. Mezeray. Daniel.
[f] Auguſt the 10th. Monſtrelet, p. 313.
[g] Id. Act. Publ. X. p. 212.
[h] Walſingham, p. 406.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Des Urſins. Mezeray, p. 337.

Fuſtian, and Linen-cloth; for which *England* return'd Wool and Tin.

In his ſecond Chapter is related the Trade with *Portugal*, which he obſerves was always in Amity with *England*, from whence we dealt for Wine, Oſey, Wax, Grain, Figs, Raiſins, Honey, Cordmeyne, Dates, Salt, Hides, *&c.*

In his third Chapter it is noted, that we carried on a Trade with *Bretagne* for Salt, Wine, Creſt-cloth and Canvas: But that the *Bretons* were remarkable Pirates, and greatly interrupted the Navigation of this Kingdom, both by taking the Merchants Ships, and plundering and burning the Towns on the Sea-coaſt, till King *Edward* III, as related in his Reign, granted Letters of Reprizals to the Inhabitants of *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth* and *Fowey*; which obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to ſue for Peace, and engage for the future Behaviour of his Subjects.

The fourth and fifth Chapters report the Trade with *Scotland* for Fells, Hides and Wool in the Fleece; and from *Pruſſia*, *High-Germany*, and the Eaſt Countries, for Beer, Bacon, Oſmond, Copper, Bowſtaves, Steel, Wax, Peltre-ware, Pitch, Tar, Deals, Flax, *Collen* Thread, Fuſtian, Canvas, Cardes, Buckram, Silver-plate, Silver-wedges and Metal, could not be carried on to the Southern Parts of *Europe* without Leave; for

—If they would not our Friends be
We might lightly ſtop them in the Sea.

The ſixth Chapter briefly relates the State of Trade with *Genoa*, whence were imported to us the Commodities, we now ourſelves fetch from the Coaſt of *Africa* and *India*; and the *Genoeſe* truck'd them for our Wool and woollen Goods, in large Ships called *Carracks.*

The *Genuois* come in ſundry wiſes
Into this Land with divers Merchandiſes
In great Caracks, arrayed without in lack
With Cloth of Gold, Silk, and Pepper black
They bring with them, and of Crood great plenty,
Wool, Oil, Woad-aſhen, by Veſſel in the Sea,
Cotton, Rochalum, and good Gold of *Genne.*
And then be charged with Wool again I wenne,
And woollen Cloth of ours of Colours all.
And they adventure, as oft it doth befal,
Into *Flanders* with ſuch Things as they buy,
That is their chief Staple ſekerly:
And if they would be our full Enemies,
They ſhould not paſs our Streams with Merchandiſe.

The Trade with *Venice* takes up the ſeventh Chapter, of which our Author greatly diſapproves; as conſiſting chiefly of Commodities that fed the Luxury of the People, and carried the Balance much againſt us.

The great Gallies of *Venice* and *Florence*
Be well laden with Things of Complacence,
All Spicery and of Grocer's Ware:
With ſweet Wines, all of manner of Chaffare,
Apes, and Japes, and Marmuſets tailed,
Nifles and Trifles that little have availed:
And Things with which they featly blear our Eye!
With Things not induring that we buy.
For much of this Chaffare that is waſtable
Might be forborn for dear and deceivable.
And that I mean as for Infirmities
In our *England* are ſuch Commodities,
Withouten Help of any other Land
Which by Wit and Practiſe both found:
That all Humours might be voided ſure,
Which that we gleder with our *Engliſh* Cure:
That we ſhould have no need of Scamoney,
Turbit, Euforbe, correct Diagredy,
Rhubarb, Sena, and yet they be too needful,
But I know Things alſo ſpeedful,
That growen here, as thoſe Things ſaid,
Let of this Matter no Man be diſmay'd;
But that a Man may void Infirmity
Without Degrees ſet fro beyond the Sea.
And if they ſhould except be any Thing
It were but Sugar, truſt to my Saying:
He that truſteth not to my Saying and Sentence,
Let him better ſearch Experience.
In this Matter I will not farther preaſe,
Whoſo not believeth, let him leave and ceaſe.
Thus theſe Galleys for this licking Ware,
And eating Ware, bare hence our beſt Chaffare:
Cloth, Wool, and Tin, which, as I ſaid before,
Out of this Land worſt might be forbore,
For each other Land of Neceſſity
Have great Need to buy ſome of them three;
And we receive of him into this Coſt
Ware and Chaffare that lightly will be loſt.
And would Jeſus, that our Lordis wold
Conſider this well both young and old;
Namely, Old that have Experience,
That might the Young exhort to Prudence;
What Harm, what Hurt, and what Hinderance
Is done to us, unto our great Grievance,
Of ſuch Lands, and of ſuch Nations:
As expert Men know by Probations,
By Writings as diſcovered our Counſails,
And falſe Colour always the Countertailes
Of our Enemies; that doth us hindering
Unto our Goods, our Realm, and to the King;
As wiſe Men have ſhewed well at eye;
And all this coloured is by Merchandy.

Concluding with Obſervations on the Frauds committed by the *Italian* Bankers and Factors.

What Reaſon is it that we ſhould go to oſte
In their Countries, and in this *Engliſh* Coſte,
They ſhould not ſo? but have more Liberty
Then we ourſelves now alſo motte I thee.
I would to Gifts Men ſhould take no heed
That letteth our Thing publick for to ſpeed.
For this we ſee well every Day at Eye,
Gifts and Feſts ſtopen our Policy.
Now ſee that Fools be either they or we:
But ever we have the worſe in this Country.
Therefore let him unto oſte go here,
Or be we free with him in like Manner
In their Countries: and if it will not be,
Compel them unto oſte, and ye ſhall ſee
Much Advantage, and much Profit ariſe,
Much more then I can write in any wiſe.

He alſo ſhews the Diſadvantages our *Engliſh* Merchants labour'd under in Point of Trade to foreign Markets.

Conceive well here, that *Engliſhmen* at Marts
Be diſcharged, for all her Crafts and Arts,
In *Brabant* of her Merchandy
In fourteen Days, and again haſtily
In the ſame Days fourteen acharged eft.
And if they bide longer all is bereft,
Anon they ſhould forfeit her Goods all,
Or Merchandy; it ſhould no better fall.
And we to Marts in *Brabant* charged been
With *Engliſh* Cloth full good and fair to ſeen:
We be again charged with Mercery,
Haberdaſher-ware, and with Grocery:
To which Marts, the *Engliſhmen* call Fairs,
Each Nation oft maketh her Repairs:
Engliſh, and *French*, *Lombards*, *Jennoyes*,
Catalones, there they take her Ways:
Scots, *Spaniards*, *Iriſhmen* there abides,
With great Plenty bringing of Sale-hides.
And I here ſay that we in *Brabant* buy,
Flanders and *Zeland* more of Merchandy
In common Uſe then done all other Nations:
This have I heard of Merchants Relations.
And if the *Engliſh* be not in the Marts
They be feeble, and as nought been her Parts.
For they buy more, and fro Purſe put out
More Merchandiſe then all the other Rout.

Keep then the Sea, Ships ſhould not bring ne fetch,
And then the Carreys would not thidre ſtretch:
And ſo thoſe Marts would full evil thee,
If we manly kept about the Sea.

The eighth Chapter explains the Trade of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, and *Henault*, both by Sea and Land; and remarks that the *Engliſh* Merchants were the greateſt Dealers at all their Fairs.

Yet Merchandiſe of *Brabant* and *Zeland*
The Mader and Woad, that Dyers take on hand
To dyen with, Garlick and Onions,
And Salt-fiſh all's for Huſband and Commons.
But they of *Holland* at *Caleis* buy our Fells,
And Wools our, that *Engliſhmen* him ſells.
And the Chaffare that *Engliſhmen* do buy
In the Marts, that no Man may deny,
Is not made in *Brabant* that Country:
It cometh from out of *Henauld*, not by Sea,
But all by Land, by Carts, and from *France*,
Bourgoyne, *Colein*, *Cameret* in Subſtance,
Therefore at Marts if there be a Reſtraint,
Men ſee plainly that liſt no Fables paint,
If *Engliſhmen* be withdrawn away,
Is great Rebuke and Loſs to her Affray:
As though we ſent into the Land of *France*,
Ten thouſand People, Men of good Puiſſance,
To war unto her Hindring multifary,
So be our *Engliſh* Merchants neceſſary.
If it be thus aſſay, and we ſhall witten
Of Men expert, by whom I have this written.
For ſaid is that this carted Merchandy
Draweth in Value as much verily,
As all the Goods that come in Ships thither,
Which *Engliſhmen* buy moſt, and bring it hither.
For her Marts be feeble, ſhame to ſay,
But *Engliſhmen* thither dreſs her Way.

And then remarks, that ſo long as we keep the Dominion of the Sea, it is in our Power to ſtop and deſtroy their Trade; and complains of the Inſolence of certain Ships belonging to the *Hanſe-towns*, and of the Folly of *Engliſh* Merchants colouring the Goods of Foreigners imported.

Then I conclude, if never ſo much by Land
Were by Carres brought unto their Hand,
If well the Sea were kept in Governance
They would by Sea have no Deliverance.
We ſhould him ſtop, and we ſhould him deſtroy,
As Priſoners we ſhould him bring to Annoy.
And ſo we ſhould of our cruel Enemies
Make our Friends for fear of Merchandiſe,
If they were not ſuffered for to paſs
Into *Flanders*.
Then ſhould worſhip unto our Noble be
In Feat and Form to Lord and Majeſty:
Like as the Seal the greateſt of this Land
On the one Side hath, as I underſtand,
A Prince riding with his Sword ydraw,
In the other Side ſitting, ſoth it is in ſaw,
Betokening good Rule, and puniſhing
In very deed of *England* by the King.
And it is ſo, God bleſſed might he be.
So in likewiſe I would were on the Sea
By the Noble, that Sword ſhould have Power,
And the Ships on the Sea about us here.

The Author in the ninth Chapter gives a copious and exact Relation of the Traffick of *Ireland*; and ſpeaks largely of its Gold and Silver Ore; recommending ſtrictly the Defence thereof againſt all Invaders.

I caſt to ſpeak of *Ireland* but a little:
Commodities of it I will entitle,
Hides and Fiſh, Salmon, Hake, Herring,
Iriſh Wool, and Linen-cloth, Falding,
And Marterns Good be her Merchandy,
Harts Hides, and other of Venery.
Skins of Otter, Squirrel and *Iriſh* Hare,
Of Sheep, Lamb and Fox is her Chaffare,
Fells of Kids, and Conies great Plenty.
So that if *Ireland* help us to keep the Sea,
Becauſe the King cleped is *Rex Angliæ*,
And is *Dominus* alſo *Hyberniæ*,
Old poſſeſſed by Progenitors:
The *Iriſhmen* have Cauſe like to ours,
Our Land and hers together to defend,
That no Enemy ſhould hurt nor offend,
Ireland nor us; but as one Commonty
Should help well to keep about the Sea:
For they have Havens great, and goodly Bays,
Sure, wide and deep, of good Aſſays,
At *Waterford*, and Coaſts many one.
And as Men ſay in *England* be there none
Better Havens, Ships in to ride,
No more ſure for Enemies to abide.
Why ſpeak I thus ſo much of *Ireland*?
For all ſo much as I can underſtand,
It is fertile for Things that there do grow
And multiply, loke who luſt to know,
So large, ſo good, and ſo commodious,
That to declare is ſtrange and marvellous.
For of Silver and Gold there is the Ore,
Among the wild *Iriſh*, though they be poor.
For they are rude and can thereon no Skill:
So that if we had their Peace and Good-will
To mine and fine, and Metal for to pure,
In wild *Iriſh* might we find the Cure,
As in *London* ſaith a Jewellere,
Which brought from thence gold Ore to us here,
Whereof was fined Metal good and clear,
As they touch, no better could be ſeen.
Now here beware, and heartily take Intent,
As ye will anſwer at laſt Judgment,
That for Slought and for Racheſhede
Ye remember with all your Might to hede,
To keep *Ireland* that it be not loſt.
For it is a Butteraſs and a Poſt,
Under *England*, and *Wales* another:
God forbid, but each were other's Brother.

The Trade for Stock-fiſh to *Iceland*, and the Uſe of the Mariner's Compaſs, are plainly deſcribed in the tenth Chapter.

Of *Iſeland* to write is little need,
Save of Stock-fiſh: Yet forſooth indeed
Out of *Briſtowe*, and Coaſts many one,
Men have practiſed by Needle and by Stone
Thitherwards within a little while,
Within twelve Years, and without Peril
Gone and come, as Men were wont of old
Of *Scarborough* unto the Coaſts cold.
And now ſo fele Ships this Year there were,
That much Loſs for Unfreight they bear:
Iſeland might not make 'em to be ſraught
Unto the *Hawys*: Thus much Harm they caught.
Then here I end of the Commodities
For which Need is well to keep the Seas:
Eaſt and Weſt, South and North they be,
And chiefly keep the ſharp narrow Sea,
Between *Dover* and *Caleis*: And as thus
That Foes paſs none without Good-will of us:
And they abide our Danger in the Length,
What for our Coaſts and *Caleis* in our Strength.

He concludes this Chapter with a Remark on the Importance of *Calais*; and proceeds with ſome Obſervations on the Strength of the naval Power in the Reigns of King *Edgar*, King *Edward* III. and of King *Henry* V. and concludes with the following earneſt Exhortation to all *Engliſh* Stateſmen, to conſider the Importance of his Arguments concerning our Trade, Navigation and Power of the Sea, as the only Means to preſerve the Peace, Plenty and Proſperity of this Iſland.

Now then for Love of Chriſt, and of his Joy,
Bring it *England* out of Trouble and Noy:
Take Heart and Wit, and ſet a Governance,
Set many Wits withouten Variance,
To one Accord and Unanimity.
Put to good Will for to keep the Sea,
Firſt for Worſhip and Profit alſo,
And to rebuke of each evil willed Foe.
Thus ſhall Worſhip and Riches to us long,
Then to the Noble ſhall we do no Wrong,
To bear that Coin in Figure and in Deed,
To our Courage, and to our Enemies Dread:
For which they muſt dreſs 'em to Peace in haſte,
Or elſe their Thrift to ſtanden, and to waſte.
As this Proceſs hath proved by and by
All by Reaſon and expert Policy;
And by Stories which proved well this Part;
Or elſe I will my Life put in Jeoparte,
But many Londs would ſeek her Peace for Need,
The Sea well kept: It muſt be do for Dread.
Thus muſt *Flanders* for Need have Unity
And Peace with us: It will non other be,
Within ſhort while; and Ambaſſadors
Would been here ſoon to treat for their Succours.
This Unity is to God Pleaſance;
And Peace after the Wars Variance.
The End of Battle is Peace ſikerly,
And Power cauſeth Peace finally.
Keep than the Sea about in ſpecial,
Which of *England* is the Town-wall.
As though *England* were likened to a City,
And the Wall environ were the Sea.
Keep then the Sea that is the Wall of *England*,
And then is *England* kept by God's Hand:
That as for any Thing that is without,
England were at Eaſe withouten doubt.

This Treatiſe is a full Proof that Trade was at this time a very extenſive and important Concern: It ſhews that the Reaſons and Grounds of our Claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea, were then as thoroughly underſtood, and as firmly and clearly aſſerted, as at any time afterwards; and deſerves our Attention both on account of its Argument and Antiquity; it being compiled at the latter End of this or early in the Reign of *Henry* VI.

As to the State of the Coin in the Reign of *Henry* V. it was made Felony to bring in[a], or put in Payment, any *Galley* Halfpence, *Suſkin* or *Dotkin*, and all *Scottiſh* Money of Silver; and all Perſons having ſuch Money, were to bring the ſame to the King's *Exchanges* by the *Eaſter* following, there to be broken; and thoſe that were found good Silver, to be coined into *Engliſh* Halfpence; and clipping, waſhing, or filing of the Money, was declared Treaſon. In his ninth Year a thorough Reformation was made in the Coin. To avoid the Deceits by waſhing, clipping, and counterfeiting, it was ordained[b], that no *Engliſh* Gold Money ſhould be received in Payment, but by the King's Weight, which was ſent to every City; and this[c], in a great meaſure, put a Stop to that pernicious Practice, which had been a great Hinderance to Commerce, and Damage to the Subject; and all former Acts[d] concerning Money, not repealed, were confirmed.

And becauſe a great Part of the Gold[e] then current, was neither of true Weight, nor good Allay, and though a Noble[f] was good Gold, and Weight, Men could get no white Money for it; all Perſons[g], who before the *Chriſtmas* following brought their light and bad Money to the *Tower*, were to have the ſame re-coined at the King's Charge, except reaſonable Allowance to the Maſter and Officers of the Mint. That all who brought Money to the *Tower* to be coined, ſhould within eight Days receive the full Value of what they brought, paying the Seignorage and Cunage of Gold, after the Rate of five Shillings for the Pound of the *Tower*; and for the Seignorage and Cunage of Silver, fifteen Pence for the Pound, and no more: And thoſe that would exchange the ſame at the *Tower*, to pay for the Exchange, a Penny for the Noble, a Halfpenny for the half Noble, and a Farthing for the Quarter, with the Seignorage[h] and Cunage as before; and if the Money delivered at the *Exchange* was defective, it might be refuſed, and the Exchanger was to melt it.

At the ſame Time, an Act[i] was made, to endure at the King's Pleaſure, that a Mint ſhould be at *Calais*, under the ſame Regulations as the Mint in the *Tower*; and it was enacted, that all Money of Gold and Silver, which ſhould be made at the *Tower* of *London*, and at *Calais*, or elſewhere within the Realm of *England*, by Authority Royal, ſhould be made of as good Allay and Weight, as then made at the *Tower*. Orders[k] were likewiſe ſent upon this Re-coinage to all Receivers of Money, that they ſhould receive all Monies brought to them, if it did not want above twelve Pence in a Noble of the true Weight, and give them the new-coin'd Money for it; by which the King, tho' then under great Neceſſities for Money, yet was contented to loſe almoſt three Shillings in the Pound for the Benefit of the People. This Redreſs of the Coin, and the King's Favour, gained ſo much of the Parliament, that they gave him a Fifteenth. But *Stow* ſays[l], this Fifteenth was granted of ſuch Money as was then current, Gold or Silver, not over-much clipped. If the Noble was worth five Shillings and eight Pence, the King to take it for a full Noble of ſix Shillings and eight Pence; if leſs, the Perſon was to make it good to five Shillings and eight Pence; and if better, the King to pay the Surplus above: But this does not agree with the Statute[m], which recites, that becauſe it would be to the great Loſs and Coſts of the King's Subjects, unleſs it pleaſed him to relieve them in this Caſe; the King therefore, of his ſpecial Grace, remiſes and forgives to his People, all that to him pertaineth for this new Coinage.

The Standard and Proportion of the Money was the ſame as the latter Coinage of his Father[n].

We find an Inſtance, in the Records of Parliament of this King's Reign[o], wherein the Sovereignty of the Sea is aſſerted in a notable Manner: "Item, priont les Commens que, par lou noſtre tres ſoverain Seigneur LE ROY "ET SES NOBLES PROGENITORS DE TOUT TEMPS ONT "ESTE SEIGNEURS DEL MER, & ore, *&c.*" That is: "*Item*, The Commons do pray, that ſeeing our ſovereign "Lord, the *King, and his noble Progenitors, have ever been* "*Lords of the Sea*, and now, *&c:*"

HENRY VI. not yet a Year old, was proclaimed King of *England*, and Heir of *France*, at his Father's Death[p]; and, by the Will of the deceaſed King, he was placed under the Tuition of his three Uncles, *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, by the Stile of Protector of *England*; *John* Duke of *Bedford*, by the Stile of Protector of *France*; and *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, made Guardian of the King's Perſon[q]; all of them being Men of great Abilities and Experience. And *Charles* VI. dying on the 31ſt of *October* in this ſame Year, *Henry* was alſo proclaimed King of *France* at *Paris*. But the *French* immediately recognized the *Dauphin*, and proclaimed him by the Name of *Charles* VII[r]. and crowned him at *Poictiers*. However, he was not yet in a Condition to face the *Engliſh*; and it is probable never would have been ſtrong enough to recover his Father's Dominions, had the Duke of *Glouceſter* preſerved the Friendſhip of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Aquitain*.

At eight Years old *Henry* was crowned both at *London*[s] and *Paris*[t], and ſtaid at the latter Place till the Beginning of the Year 1432; his Intereſt greatly declining throughout the Kingdom. But we read of no extraordinary naval Armament till the Year 1436, when the *French* regained Poſſeſſion of the City of *Paris*; while the Duke of *York*, who had ſucceeded the Duke of *Bedford* in the Regency of *France*, was ſoliciting Supplies in *England*; and the Duke of *Burgundy* beſieged *Calais* cloſely by Land, and attempted to

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[a] Raſtal, 27, 28.
[b] Statute 9 Henry V. cap. 11.
[c] Daniel. Kennet, p. 335.
[d] Raſtal, 32. Statute 9 Henry V. ſect. 2. cap. 1.
[e] Weights, Raſtal, 23. Statute 9 Henry V. ſect. 2. cap. 7. Statute 9 Henry V. cap. 11.
[f] Stow's Survey, page 83.
[g] Raſtal, 33. 9 Henry V. Statute 2. cap. 2.
[h] Statute 9 Henry V. Statute 2, cap. 3.
[i] Raſtal, 30, 36, 37. 9 Henry V. cap. 5, 6.
[k] Daniel. Kennet.
[l] Survey of London, by Strype, p. 83.
[m] Raſtal. 31.
[n] Clauſ. 1 Henry V. in dorſo, M. 35.
[o] Rot. Parl. 8 Henry V. Memb. 3. Art. 6.
[p] A. D. 1422.
[q] Tit. Liv. p. 95. Walſingham. Elmham, cap. 129. Monſtrelet. Chron. God-Rov. p. 145.
[r] Daniel. Speed. Hollinſhed. Mezeray.
[s] 6th Nov. 1429.
[t] 17th Dec. 1430.

choak up the Mouth of the Harbour with a Fleet of large Hulks loaded with Stones[a]; but were burnt by the Beſiegers, who were ſoon after relieved by a great Army, and a Fleet of 500 Sail, under the Command of the Protector, who landed near *Calais*, and obliged the *Burgundians* to retreat after a fruitleſs Siege of ſix Weeks[b]. The *Engliſh* purſued them into *Flanders*; and after living ſome time at Diſcretion in the Enemy's Country, returned to *England*.

The next naval Armament was fitted out and ſent under the Command of the Earl of *Somerſet*, to block up the Port of *Harfleur*, while General *Talbot* blocked the Town up by Land; which ſurrendered to them after four Months Blockade. But the Nation was ſo impoveriſhed both in Money and Men, by the continual Demands for both, in the Courſe of a War, which in the End could add nothing to the Strength of *England*, but might one Day ſerve to ruin both its Trade and the Liberty of the Subject; that the Supplies from this time were not ſufficient to maintain their Footing; and at laſt, by the common Voice of the People, *Henry* ceded by Treaty all his Father's Conqueſts, except *Calais*, and ſome few other Places, to *Charles* VII. and married *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Daughter of *René* King of *Sicily*, of an intriguing Genius, contrary to the Advice of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Mr. *Echard*, from *Polydore Virgil*, has given us the following Account of the Calamities *France* and *England* ſuffered by this thirty Years conſuming Land-war, which one would think ſhould have been a ſufficient Caution againſt entering into ſuch another. He ſays, while the *Engliſh* and *French* contended for Dominion, Mens Goods were violently taken by the Licentiouſneſs of War; Churches robbed; People in all Places murdered, wounded, or tortured; Matrons abuſed; Virgins torn from their Parents Arms to be raviſhed; Towns daily taken, daily plundered, daily defaced; the Riches of the Inhabitants uſed at the Conqueror's Pleaſure; Houſes and Villages on all ſides flaming with Fire; no kinds of Cruelty unpractiſed upon the miſerable *French*; omitting innumerable other Calamities which all at once oppreſſed them. Add to this, that the whole Republic being deſtitute of the Benefit of Laws, which, for the moſt part, are ſilent in times of War, and Mutiny floated up and down without any Ancorage of Right or Juſtice. Nor was *England* herſelf free from theſe Calamities, who every Day heard the News of her valiant Childrens Funerals, ſlain in perpetual Skirmiſhes and Encounters, and found her general Wealth continually ebbing and decreaſing; ſo that the Evils ſeemed almoſt equal, and the whole Weſtern World eccho'd the Groans of either Nation's Quarrels, as being the common Foundation of Diſcourſe and Compaſſion throughout Chriſtendom.

And had the *Engliſh* ſucceeded, and eſtabliſhed their Dominion in *France*, what Satisfaction would that have made for all this Blood and Rapine, and the Expence they had been at? Do we ſuppoſe that the Regal Seat would have long remained in *England*? Would not *England* have been in much the ſame Condition, by ſuch a Union, as *Scotland* is at this Day? Does not the greater Kingdom ever draw the leſſer after it? Would not our Court, if not our Parliament, have been held there, and conſequently our Wealth carried thither? Poſſibly ſome few of the Adventurers, the Courtiers, Generals, Admirals, and Taxgatherers, might have found their Advantage in ſuch an Acquiſition; but the Nation in general muſt have been ruined, and in time become ſubject and tributary to *France*; and therefore we may thank Heaven that our Anceſtors had no better Succeſs.

And I believe it will be difficult to aſſign one ſufficient Reaſon why any Nation ſhould endeavour to extend their Conqueſts, after they have once gained a ſufficient Barrier, how much ſoever it may be for the Grandeur or Intereſt of their Governors to enlarge their Dominions.

The King's Marriage produced more ruinous Effects. For from the time of this Marriage, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* were become the Object of the new Queen's Reſentment. The former was removed from his Poſts, to make way for her Favourite, the Duke of *Somerſet*; the latter, tho' he had governed the Nation with the greateſt Applauſe, was committed for High-treaſon, and next Day found murdered in his Bed.

This brought on the Civil Wars between the two Rivals for the Crown, the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; which were carried on for ſome Years with various Succeſs, ſometimes openly, at other times by Inſurrections privately fomented by the Friends of the Duke of *York*. At laſt a Parliament was called[c], wherein the Duke of *Somerſet* was declared to be the Author of all the Blood that was ſpilt. The Duke of *York* was made Protector, *Saliſbury* Lord-chancellor, and *Warwick* Governor of *Calais*. But the Queen's Party afterwards prevailing, the Duke of *York* was oblig'd to reſign the Protectorſhip[d], and the Earl of *Saliſbury* the Seal; whereupon they retir'd from Court. The Queen apprehending ſhe ſhould never be ſafe while *York*, and his Adherents were living, ſent Letters in the King's Name to the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Warwick*, to meet the King at *Coventry*, to conſult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, and they accordingly reſorted thither; but diſcovering that the Invitation was with a Deſign to cut them off, they immediately diſpers'd, and fled for their Lives; the Duke of *York* into *Wales*, the Earl of *Saliſbury* into the North, and *Warwick* to *Calais*.

Notwithſtanding this, all Parties were afterwards ſeemingly reconciled[e]; and an Act of Reconciliation paſſed the Great Seal; to which, in all Probability, they might be induced for the Sake of their Country, which by their Contention, began to be expoſed to the Inſults of the *French*, who in the Year before made a Deſcent on our Coaſts with a Fleet, and landed 4000 Soldiers, took ſome Ships, ſurprized *Sandwich*, and ravaged the open Country: An Advantage gain'd not by a Superiority of their naval Power, but by our inteſtine Broils.

But where there is a Jealouſy there can be no Quiet; and Hatred never forgives. The Queen had a Mixture of both: ſhe had determin'd the Duke of *York*'s Diſgrace from her firſt Appearance in the *Engliſh* Councils, and now ſhe plainly diſcovered, that to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Crown to her Son *Edward*, ſhe muſt cut him off. But her Intrigues could not be executed with ſo much Privacy as to ſecrete them from the Duke; which once more oblig'd him and his Friends to withdraw from Court, having engaged the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord High-admiral, in his Intereſt, who under Pretext of going to his Government of *Calais*, collected all the Ships he could muſter[f]. In the Straits of *Dover* he met with a Fleet of *Spaniſh* Merchandize in Ships belonging to *Genoa* and *Lubec*, under Convoy of five Carracks[g], of which he took ſix, ſunk and put to Flight 26 more, ſlew 1000 Men, took many Priſoners, and as much Merchandiſe as was valued at 10,000 *l.* Sterling, with the Loſs only of 50[h], *Fabian* ſays 200 Men.

Upon Complaints made of this Action, the Earl was obliged to return to *England*, to anſwer for himſelf; and during his Stay at *London*, an Inſult, either accidental or deſigned, was offered him, which gave Occaſion to an open Rupture[i]. *Warwick* retiring to *Calais*, to ſecure that Place, *Henry* declared him deprived of that Government, and gave a Patent to the Duke of *Somerſet* to ſucceed him in that Employ; but when he went, with ſome Forces, to take Poſſeſſion of his Poſt, the Citizens and Garriſon oppoſed him, in favour of their old Governor, and would on no Account admit him; upon which he was obliged to retire to *Guiſnes*.

The King, irritated at this Behaviour of the Garriſon and Inhabitants of *Calais*, gave Orders for thoſe Ships which the Earl of *Warwick* had left, as not being in a Readineſs for Service, to aſſemble at *Sandwich*, under the Command of the Lord *Rivers*[k]. This Lord was ordered to carry over Succours to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and, in caſe of a farther Reſiſtance, to inſtate him in his Government by Force of Arms. But while he was aſſiduouſly employed in the neceſſary Preparations for his Voyage,

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[a] Tindal's Rapin. Monſtrelet. Stow.
[b] Daniel. Mezeray.
[c] A. D. 1445.
[d] A. D. 1446.
[e] A. D. 1448.
[f] Hollinſhed. Echard. Stow. Rapin.
[g] Daniel. Rapin. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XI. p. 406. on Trinity-Sunday, 1458.
[h] Stow's Annals, p. 404.
[i] A. A. 1459.
[k] A. D. 1460.

Sir *John Dinham*, an experienced Sea-officer, on the oppoſite Side, being ſent by the Earl of *Warwick*, ſurprized him, with a Number of Ships, by Break of Day, at *Sandwich*; and having made himſelf Maſter of the whole Fleet, and at the ſame time of their Commander, carried his Lordſhip Priſoner to *Calais*, with his Son, and a great Number of other Officers, whom they took in their Beds. The Ships that had carried over the Duke of *Somerſet* revolted at the ſame time, and went over to the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais*. The Earl of *Warwick* make uſe of theſe Ships to convoy him to *Ireland*, where he had a Conference with the Duke of *York*, and concerted Matters with him for their common Defence. In his Return, he met with the Royal Fleet, which was ſent under the Command of the Duke of *Exeter*, declared Lord High-admiral in his Stead, to intercept him: But there appeared ſuch a Backwardneſs in the whole Fleet, that the Duke did not think proper to attack him. The Inhabitants of *Kent* ſent about this time an Invitation to the Earl, and his Adherents, to *Calais*, to make a Deſcent on their Coaſts. This Overture was agreeable; however, not to embark raſhly, the Lord *Falconbridge* was ſent to ſee how far they might be depended on. His Account being ſatisfactory, the Earl reſolved to improve this Juncture, and took care to convey this Reſolution to the Duke of *York*, who kill kept in *Ireland*.

Henry, in the mean time, had fitted out another Squadron, the Command of which he conferr'd on Sir *Simon Montford*, who was then Lord-warden of the *Cinque Ports*, with Orders diligently to watch the Coaſts, and to hinder the Earl of *Warwick* from landing, if he ſhould attempt it in thoſe Parts. Theſe Commands proved ineffectual; for *Warwick* paſſing the Sea unexpectedly from *Calais*, ſurprized *Montford* [a], as *Dinham* had before done *Rivers*, with all his Ships, at *Sandwich*; and, after having plundered the Town, carried off his Booty and Priſoners, and returned without any Oppoſition. This is the Account given of this Action by Mr. Secretary *Burchett*; but *Rapin* and *Daniel* ſay, that Lord *Falconbridge* met with this Fleet, in his Paſſage to *Kent*, and, attacking it, made Sir *Simon* Priſoner, with many other Officers, and ſent them all to *Calais*, where (adds Mr. *Daniel*) Sir *Simon*, with twelve of the chief of his Captains, were beheaded.

The Earl of *Warwick* having now made himſelf Maſter, by Surprize, of three of the King's Squadrons, returned in a few Days to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and landed at *Sandwich*. Here the Lord *Cobham*, with ſeveral more of his Party, joined him with a conſiderable Force; and they purſued their good Fortune, with ſuch Succeſs, againſt the Favourers of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, that, in a few Months afterwards, *Henry* was dethroned [b], after an unfortunate and inglorious Reign of eight and thirty Years, ſix Months and four Days; and the Earl of *March*, (now Duke of *York*, his Father, the late Duke of *York*, having been ſlain, not long before, at the Battle of *Wakefield*) proclaimed King of *England* by the Name of *Edward* IV. A Succeſs principally owing to the Intereſt cultivated by the *Yorkiſt* among the Seafaring Part of the Nation.

The Diſtractions of this Reign, and the continual Series of Miſmanagement during this long Reign of 38 Years; when nothing was conſidered by the Miniſtry but how they ſhould maintain their own Authority, and the Neceſſities of the King, occaſioned by foreign Wars, drove him to grant Privileges to the *Hanſe-towns*, *Florentines* and *Italians*, prejudicial to his Subjects, by which they engroſs'd the chief of our Commerce; and the great Partiality of the Queen, who conſtantly promoted the Intereſt of Foreigners, reduced the Trade of the Nation to a very low Ebb; which occaſioned frequent Tumults in *London*; ſunk the Revenue to five thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* brought his Majeſty into a Debt of 372,000*l.* and put him upon unworthy Means of raiſing Money by mortgaging the Cuſtoms of *London* and *Southampton* to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, with an Engagement to turn the Trade chiefly to thoſe Ports; by ſeizing all the Tin at *Southampton*, and ſelling it for his own Uſe; and by granting Licences contrary to Statute for tranſporting Wool by foreign Merchants.

From the Proceedings of the Protector, at this King's Acceſſion to the Throne, it ſhould appear that the Government was bent upon promoting the Trade of the Nation, by the Regard they paid to the Coin: for in the firſt Parliament [c] of this Reign, the State of the Mint was taken into Conſideration, and the Lords of the Council were impowered to appoint Maſters and Workmen, to make Money of Gold and Silver, and to hold the Exchanges in *York*, *Briſtol*, and any other Places they ſhould think neceſſary; and all [d] Gold and Silver brought to the Exchange, was to be ſent to the Mint to be coined; hereupon Mints were erected in divers Places. The next Year [e] Blanks were forbidden to be receiv'd or paid, upon Pain of the Statute of *Henry* the Fifth, againſt galley Halfpence, Suſkins and Dotkins.

And whereas King *Henry* the Fifth ordained a Mint at *Calais*, whereby great Subſtance of Money of Gold and Silver had been brought into the Realm, which was daily carried out to *Bourdeaux*, *Flanders*, and other Places; the old Statutes [f], provided in that Behalf, were enjoined to be duly executed, on Forfeiture of ſuch Money, unleſs for Payment of Wars, Soldiers, or Priſoners. And to the Intent that more Bullion ſhould be brought to the Mint, the Office and Duty of the King's Aſſayer, Comptroller, and Maſter of the Mint, was aſcertained by Statute [g]; and the Maſter enjoined to receive all Silver brought to him, at the true Value, and to coin all Bullion brought thither; and to cauſe to be ſtricken from time to time, half Nobles, and Farthings of Gold, Groats, half Groats, Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings, according to the Tenor of the Indenture made between the King and him; ſo that the common People might have Recourſe to the Exchange for ſmall Gold and white Money.

King EDWARD *the Fourth* was crown'd on the eighth of *June* [h], and his Rival being yet alive (for *Henry* was eſcaped into *Scotland*, and ſupported by *France*) he began his Reign with augmenting his Fleet, which the Earl of *Warwick* brought home to him, as the beſt Means of Defence againſt all foreign Intereſt. In this Augmentation *Edward* met with great Succeſs, owing to the great Affection which the maritime and mercantile Part of the Nation retained for the Houſe of *York*; ſo that in a few Months he was able to bid Defiance to all Invaders; obliged the *French* Fleet, that attempted a Deſcent at *Tinmouth Haven* [i], to ſteer off to *Scotland*; and embarked 10,000 Soldiers under the Command of the Earl of *Kent*, and the Lords *Arundel* and *Clinton*, who having firſt cleared the Coaſt of all foreign Force, and landing on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, took and plundered *Conquet*, proceeded to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and returned laden with great Booty, and with a Number of Prizes [k].

Henry in the mean time was diſcovered in *England*, and was apprehended in Diſguiſe, and ſent to the *Tower* of *London*; and, as it is related, not treated in a manner becoming his Dignity. However this Event greatly ſtrengthened the Party and Intereſt of the reigning Prince, and prevented any farther Motions againſt him from Abroad; and his Application to Trade, Navigation, and the internal Government of his People, worked ſo powerfully on their Minds, that he preſently found himſelf poſſeſſed of their Affections; which put him upon Thoughts of marrying, to provide an Heir to the Crown. But his Choice of Lady *Grey*, Daughter of Lord *Rivers*, by *Jaquelina* Ducheſs of *Bedford* [l], to be his Queen, gave great Offence to the Earl of *Warwick*, and laid the Foundation of an irreconcileable Breach with that Nobleman, to whom *Edward* was chiefly indebted for his Crown.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who could bear no Rival in the King's Favour, jealous that this new Connection with the Queen's Family might in a ſhort time ſupplant him and his Friends; tho' at this time he was perſonally poſſeſſed of Places of Profit worth 20,000 Marks *per Annum* [m], and

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[a] Stow, Hollinſhed, Speed, Rapin.

[b] A. D. 1461.

[c] Statute 1 H. VI. cap. 5.

[d] Ib. cap. 4.

[e] Statute 2 H. VI. cap. 2.

[f] Ib. cap. 6.

[g] Ib. cap. 12.

[h] A. D. 1461. Hollinſhed, Speed's Chron. p. 670. about twenty Years old.

[i] Stow's Ann. p. 416. Speed's Chron. Hollinſhed.

[k] Hollinſhed, Habington, A. D. 1462.

[l] Polyd. Virg. L. XXIV. Anonym. Chron. ap. Hearne's Sprotti Chron. Oxon. 8vo. p. 297, &c. Edward is the firſt King ſince the Conqueſt, that married a Subject, A. D. 1465.

[m] Id. ibid.

of the greateſt Truſt and Power; formed a Scheme either to compel *Edward* to neglect his Conſort's Relations in his Promotions to Places of Truſt and Power in the Government, or to replace *Henry* upon the Throne. He firſt ſecured the Alliance and Affection of King *Edward*'s Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, to whom he gave his Daughter in Marriage, and withdrew with his Son-in-law to *Calais*; engaged his two Brothers, the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Marquis of *Montague* in their Conſpiracy, and entered into a private League with the King of *France* [a].

The Fleet was entirely devoted to the Earl; and when Matters were thought to be ripe for Action, the Duke of *Clarence* returned with him to *England*; and they were ſoon joined with a Force ſufficient to defeat *Edward*'s Army at *Daneſmore* near *Bandbury*. King *Edward* had the Misfortune to be ſurpriſed and taken Priſoner in his own Camp, after the Battle; but eſcaped from the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York*, and reaching *London*, raiſed an Army, which next Year routed the Malecontents near *Stamford*, and drove the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* to ſeek further Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*, whither they retired by favour of their Fleet.

The *French* King ſupplying them with Men and Money, they embarked again for *England*; and landing at *Dartmouth*, they were joined by ſuch Numbers, that King *Edward* was compelled to fly the Kingdom in his Turn, and beg the Aſſiſtance of his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, to reſtore his Affairs. Whereupon *Warwick* came to *London*, and having called a Parliament, *Henry* was again recogniſed King. King *Edward* was attainted, all his Acts repealed, and the Crown ſettled upon King *Henry* and his Iſſue; and in default of ſuch Iſſue, on the Duke of *Clarence* and the Heirs of his Body. The Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord-deputy of *Ireland*, was beheaded; and the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* made Governors of the Kingdom of *England* [b].

Edward having obtained four Men of War, 14 Tranſports, and 2000 Men from the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſet Sail from the Port of *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, on the 11th of *March* [c], and arrived the next Day on the Coaſt of *England*, before *Cromer* in *Norfolk*; and finding it not ſafe to land there, he ſteered to the North; but, by reaſon of a Storm, could not land till the 14th at *Ravenſpur*. Being joined by ſome Troops in his March, he went firſt to *York*; and, being afterwards joined by his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, who had deſerted the Earl of *Warwick*, he marched to *London*, where he was received, the 11th of *April* [d]. *Henry* was again put into the *Tower*.

The Earl of *Warwick* purſued *Edward* to *London*, and was ſlain, three Days afterwards, at the Battle of *Barnett*, fighting for his new Maſter.

The Death of *Warwick*, tho' it placed *Edward* on the Throne, did not put an End to the War. *Margaret*, *Henry*'s Queen, arrived in *April* from *France*, and landed with her Son [e] at *Weymouth*, from whence they went to *Bath*. Her Friends reſorting to her in Numbers, ſhe ſoon got a conſiderable Army together; but *Edward* purſuing her with a ſuperior Force, ſhe intrenched her Army in the Park of *Tewkſbury*. *Edward* coming up, reſolved to attack the Intrenchments immediately; hence enſued, on the 4th of *May*, the Battle of *Tewkſbury*, the laſt and deciſive Battle in favour of *Edward*. The Queen's Army was totally routed; ſhe herſelf, with Prince *Edward*, and the chief of her Adherents, either killed or taken Priſoners; and the Prince killed, after the Battle, in cold Blood. He was brought into King *Edward*'s Preſence by Sir *Richard Crofts*, upon Aſſurance given that no Violence ſhould be offered his Perſon: But upon his juſtifying his Conduct, and aſſerting his Father's Right, the King ſtruck him with his Gantlet, upon which the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, and Lord *Haſtings* immediately murdered him with their Poinards.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Kent*, *Warwick*'s natural Son, who eſpouſed his Cauſe, on whichever Side of the Queſtion it was, did not lie ſtill [f]. Having got together a conſiderable Number of Ships, he ſailed to *Calais*, where he took on-board part of the Garriſon, which was wholly devoted to the Intereſt of the Earl his Father: With theſe Forces he returned to the *Thames*, and ſailing up the River to *London*, he attacked it in Perſon (having conſiderably increaſed his Troops at *Dover*) with a Body of 17000 Men, little thinking that the Citizens would have dared to withſtand ſo conſiderable a Force. But he was deceived; for they made ſo gallant a Reſiſtance, as obliged him to retreat with a great Loſs of Men. He endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by retiring to *Sandwich*; but being cloſely purſued by *Edward*, his Adherents forſook him, and on a Promiſe of Pardon, ſurrendered themſelves and their Ships. The Earl himſelf ſurrendered likewiſe, and was not only pardoned, but taken into Favour, and employed. For a while he enjoyed theſe Favours, but *Edward* cauſed him ſoon after to be beheaded. *Henry* VI. died about the ſame Time, in the *Tower*, not without a Suſpicion of being murdered. The Body of *Henry* VI. was found dead in the *Tower* of *London*. May God ſpare and give Time of Repentance to him, who hath dared to lay ſacrilegious Hands upon the Lord's Anointed, *&c* [g]. *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, as the conſtant Fame ran, murdered King *Henry* with a Dagger [h].

In the Year 1475 [i], *Edward* reſolved upon a War with *France*, and made conſiderable Preparations for it, both of Land and Sea-forces. Every thing being ready, the King embarked with his Army, in 500 flat-bottomed Veſſels at *Sandwich*, the latter End of *June*, or the Beginning of *July*, and paſſed over to *Calais*, where he landed the 4th of *June* 1475. Upon his Arrival there, he ſent a Herald to the King of *France*, to demand the whole Kingdom, and in caſe of Refuſal, to declare War. However this War came to nothing; for *Edward* finding himſelf deceived, and without any Aſſiſtance from the Conſtable *de St. Pol*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had been the chief Promoters of it, gave Ear to Offers of Peace made on the Side of *France*, and concluded it by the Treaty of *Amiens* or *Pequigny*, ſigned the 29th of *Auguſt* [k].

It is remarkable, that on this Occaſion the *French* King diſcovered great Tokens of Terror at the *Engliſh* Name, by giving large Sums to be diſtributed among the *Engliſh* Soldiers, agreeing to pay an annual Tribute of 50,000 Crowns to the King of *England*, and thence forward diſpoſing yearly vaſt Sums of Money to the particular Members of the Privy-council of *England* [l]. But *Edward*'s Fleet did not only ſtrike Terror into *France*, but into *Scotland* alſo, whoſe King was ſo terrified with the Sight of the *Engliſh* Fleet on his Coaſt, while *Edward*'s Army attacked him by Land, that he ſubmitted to any Terms propoſed [m].

Soon after the Diſcontents which ſhewed themſelves at home, on account of the Beheading the Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward*'s Brother, and ſome other unpopular Proceedings at Court, ſpirited up the King of *France* to delay his Performance of the late Treaty of Peace, which determined *Edward* to compel him to do by Force, what in Juſtice he denied to perform. But having on ſeveral Occaſions obſerved how little there is to be truſted to Land-auxiliaries; and eſpecially ſtomaching a late Diſappointment, when the Emperor *Maximilian* [n] ſtruck up a Peace with *France*, at a time he had ſent a ſtout Squadron to his Aſſiſtance; *Edward* reſolved to rely on his own Strength by Sea, and not on the hireling Troops of *Germany*. And this Reliance on a Fleet, and Reſolution for a *French* War, was ſo agreeable to the People, that he was preſently enabled to aſſemble a very numerous Fleet. But before this Fleet and his Army were fully compleated, an unexpected Diſeaſe put an End to his Life [o].

This Prince had true Notions of a naval Power, and of the good Effects of an extenſive Commerce to this Nation. His Power by Sea is very eaſily collected from the Premiſes;

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[a] A. D. 1467.
[b] A. D. 1470. Holinſhed. Speed's Chron. Echard's Hiſt.
[c] A. D. 1471. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 430. Speed's Chron.
[d] A. D. 1471. about ſix Months after his Flight to Flanders.
[e] Rapin. Holinſhed. Stow.
[f] Holinſhed.
[g] Chron. Croyland.
[h] Edward Hall,
[i] Rapin.
[k] A. D. 1475. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XII. p. 15, & 21.
[l] Sir Thomas Moore's Edward V. Philip Comines, lib. IV. Mezeray, tom. III. p. 327.
[m] Drummond. Speed.
[n] Holinſhed.
[o] 9th of April 1483. Stow. Rapin. Speed.

miſes; and what follows will convince us, that he did more than could be expected concerning Trade in ſo diſtracted a Reign.

We have one Law of the Cuſtoms yet in Force made under this King, whereby it is enacted [*], that no Perſon ſhall bring, ſend, nor convey, nor cauſe to be brought, ſent, or conveyed into this Realm, to be uttered and ſold within the Realm, any of the Chaffers, Wares, or Things hereafter-mentioned, upon pain to forfeit the ſame as often as they may be found in the Hands of any Perſon to be ſold, half to the King, half to the Seizer, *&c.*

Woollen Caps,
Woollen Cloths,
Laces,
Corſes,
Ribbands,
Fringes of Silk and Thread,
Laces of Thread,
Silk twined,
Silk in any wiſe imbroidered,
Laces of Gold, of Silk and Gold,
Saddles,
Stirrups, or any Harneſs pertaining to Saddles,
Spurs,
Boſſes for Bridles,
Andirons,
Gridirons,
Any manner of Locks,
Hammers,
Pinſons,
Fire-tongs,
Dripping-pans,
Dice,
Tennis balls,
Points,
Purſes,
Gloves,
Girdles,
Harneſs for Girdles of Iron, Lattin, Steel, Tin, or Alkmine,
Any thing wrought of any tawed Leather,
Any tawed Furs,
Buſkins,
Shoes,
Caloches or Corks.
Knives,
Daggers,
Wood-knives,
Bodkins,
Sheers for Taylors,
Sciſſars,
Razors,
Sheaths,
Playing-cards,
Pins,
Pattens,
Pack-needles,
Any painted Ware,
Forcers,
Caſkets,
Rings of Copper, or of Latten gilt,
Chafing-diſhes,
Hanging Candleſticks,
Chafing-balls,
Sacring-bells,
Rings for Curtains,
Ladles,
Scummers,
Counterfeit-baſons,
Ewers,
Hats,
Bruſhes,
Cards for Wooll,
Black Iron-thread, commonly called and named *White-wire*. This is altered by 2 *W.* & *M.* cap. 4.

Proviſo, That this Act ſhall not extend to any of the ſaid Wares taken upon the Sea, without Fraud or Colluſion, nor to wreck'd Goods, nor to Wares made and wrought in *Ireland*.

A large Charter granted by King Edward IV. *in the ſecond Year of his Reign, to the Merchants of* England *reſident eſpecially in the* Netherlands, *for their chuſing of a Maſter and Governor among themſelves.*

“*Edward* by the Grace of God King of *France* and of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to all thoſe which ſhall ſee or hear theſe Letters, ſendeth Greeting, and good Will. Know ye, that whereas we have underſtood, as well by the Report of our loving and faithful Counſellors, as by the common Complaint and Report of all Men, that many Vexations, Griefs, Debates, Diſcords, Annoys, Diſſentions, and Damages, have heretofore been done, moved, committed, and happened, and do daily fall out and happen among the common Merchants and Mariners, our Subjects of our Realms of *France* and *England*, and our Lordſhips of *Ireland* and *Wales*, and of other our Dominions, Seignories, and Territories, becauſe that good Diſcretion and Authority hath not been obſerved among our ſaid Subjects, which abide, frequent, converſe, remain, inhabit, and paſs, as well by Sea as by Land, into the Parts of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and divers others Countries and Seignories belonging as well to the high and mighty Prince, our moſt dear and loving Couſin the Duke of *Burgoine*, of *Brabant*, Earl of *Flanders*, &c. as being in the Obedience and Dominion of other Lords, which are in Friendſhip, Alliance, and Good-will with us: and that it is to be doubted that through the ſaid Inconvenience and Occaſion, may Diſcommodities may enſue and fall out in Time to come (which God forbid) unleſs we ſhould provide convenient Remedy in this Behalf for our Subjects aforeſaid: wherefore we deſiring moſt effectually and heartily to avoid the Miſchief of the ſaid Inconveniences, and to provide convenient Remedy for the ſame, to the End that the ſaid common Merchants and Mariners, and others our Subjects of our ſaid Realms and Dominions, which at this preſent, and hereafter ſhall haunt and frequent the ſaid Countries, may be juſtly and lawfully ruled, governed, and entreated by Right and Equity in the Countries aforeſaid; and that Equity, Reaſon, and Juſtice may be miniſtred unto them and every of them, according as the Caſes ſhall require, we being well aſſured, and having full Confidence in the Diſcretion, Faithfulneſs, Wiſdom, Experience, and good Diligence of our moſt dear and well-beloved Subject *William Obray* our Servant, and in regard of the good, faithful, and acceptable Services, which he hath done us in our Realm, and among our Subjects in Times paſt; and hoping that he will do alſo hereafter, we have made, ordained, conſtituted, committed, and eſtabliſhed, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, of our ſpecial Grace, full Power and Authority Royal, we ordain, appoint, commit, and eſtabliſh (during our Pleaſure) to be Governor, Judge, Warden of Juſtice, and the Appurtenances and Appendances thereof, which we have, or may have, over our ſaid common Subjects the Merchants travelling hereafter as well by Sea as by Land, and abiding in the ſaid Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and other Countries beyond the Sea, as is aforeſaid, together with the Wages, Rights, Profits, and Emoluments heretofore accuſtomed, and as the ſaid *William Obray* at other Times hath had and received of our ſaid Subjects, when he had, uſed, and exerciſed the ſaid Office of Governor, and alſo with other ſuch Rights and Profits, as hereafter ſhall more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our Parts we have given him, and by theſe Preſents do give him, as much as in us lieth, during our Pleaſure, full Power, Authority, and ſpecial Commandment, to govern, rule, and cauſe to be governed and ruled with good Juſtice by himſelf, or by his ſufficient Lieutenants or Deputies, all and every our foreſaid Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners coming, remaining, frequenting, paſſing, and repairing from henceforth into the ſaid Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and other Countries beyond the Sea, as it is ſaid, and to keep and cauſe to be kept, to exerciſe and maintain, for us and in our Place, the ſaid Office of Governor, and to do all ſuch Things which a faithful Governor ought to do, and to take Knowledge and Adminiſtration of the Cauſes of the ſaid common Merchants and Mariners, our Subjects, and of every of them, and of their Cauſes and Quarrels moved, or hereafter to be moved in the Countries aforeſaid, or within the Limits and Borders thereof, and to do them full and ſpeedy Juſtice. And to reform, cauſe Reformation, govern, appeaſe, and pacify all Contentions, Diſcords, Queſtions, or Debates between thoſe our ſaid Subjects moved, or to be moved; and to right, redreſs, repair, reſtore, and amend all Tranſgreſſions, Damages, Enterpriſes, Outrages, Violences and Injuries committed, or to be committed; and likewiſe to require, to aſk, demand, and receive Reſtitutions, Reparations, Reſtaurations, and Amends of our ſaid Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners, or of their Factors in the Countries aforeſaid. And that, whenſoever and as often as it ſhall pleaſe the ſaid Governor or his Deputies, they may in ſome convenient and honeſt Place within the ſaid Countries make or cauſe to be made, ſummon, and hold in our Name Juriſdictions, Courts, and Aſſemblies; and in our ſaid Name take Adminiſtration and Knowledge of Cauſes, as it is aforeſaid, and to hold and keep Pleas, for and in our Behalf, and to make Agreements, Mediators, and Umpires,

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[*] Statute 3 Edward IV. cap. 4.

“pires, to judge, to make Decrees, and to miniſter Juſtice, to ordain, appoint, cenſure, and conſtrain our ſaid Subjects to ſwear and take all kinds of Oaths, which Order of Juſtice and Cuſtom require and afford, and to enjoy our Authority, and to uſe, execute and accompliſh, by way of Equity and Juſtice, and to do, or cauſe to be done all Execution and Exerciſe of Law and Juſtice, and to ordain, appoint, and eſtabliſh ſix Serjeants or under, to do the Executions and Arreſts of our ſaid Court, by the Commandment of the ſaid Governor or of his Deputies, or at the Requeſt of the Party or otherwiſe, according as the Caſe ſhall require by their Advice, and to diſcharge and diſplace the ſaid Serjeants, as ſhall ſeem good unto him, as often and whenſoever as it ſhall pleaſe him, and change them, and appoint and ſet others in their Rooms, and to require Return and Anſwer of the Court, whenſoever Need ſhall be, of all Cauſes, Quarrels, and Buſineſſes in regard of the ſaid Office belonging unto us and to our ſaid Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners at all Times, and as often as the Caſe ſhall permit and require; and generally and ſpecially to do as much for us and in our Stead, in the Caſes before-mentioned, and which hereafter ſhall be declared, as we could do or cauſe to be done, could ſay or require, if we were there preſent in our own Perſon. Moreover we will, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents we give and grant unto the ſaid Governor, and to our ſaid Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners, that as oft and whenſoever it pleaſe them, they may meet and aſſemble in ſome honeſt and convenient Place, and by the Conſent of the ſaid Governor to chooſe and appoint among them at their Pleaſure, freely and without Danger, certain ſufficient and fit Perſons to the Number of twelve or under, which we will have to be named Juſticers, unto the which Juſticers ſo elected by the ſaid Governor and our ſaid Subjects, as it is ſaid, and to every of them, we give and grant eſpecial Power and Authority to ſit and aſſiſt in Court, with the ſaid Governor or his Lieutenants, for their Aid and Aſſiſtance, and to hear the Griefs, Complaints, and Demands of our ſaid Subjects their Suits, Pleas, and the State of their Cauſes and Quarrels whatſoever moved or to be moved unto the End of their Cauſe, and at the Requeſt of the ſaid Governor, his Lieutenants, or any of them, to ſay, propound, and plainly to expreſs and declare their Opinions, according to Right and Conſcience, upon the Cauſes brought before them, and by the Parties uttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counſel and adviſe the ſaid Governor or his Lieutenants, to order and cenſure, judge and determine, and end the ſame juſtly and equally, according as the Caſe ſhall permit and require. And furthermore we will, that all juſt and reaſonable Statutes, Laws, Ordinances, Decrees, and Conſtitutions made and eſtabliſhed, or to be made and eſtabliſhed, in the Countries aforeſaid, by the Conſent of the ſaid Governor, and of the ſaid Juſticers, ſhall be corrected, amended and made, as they ſhall ſee to be expedient in this Behalf, for the better Government of the Eſtate of the common Merchants and Mariners our ſaid Subjects, and ſhall be held as ratified, firm, acceptable and approved; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approve them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmly and inviolably obſerved, kept and obeyed. And alſo, of our farther Favour and Grace we will and we grant, that by the Conſent of our ſaid Governor, our ſaid Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners may make and ſet down in the ſaid Countries, by their common Conſent, as often as they ſhall think good for their better Government and Eſtate, ſuch juſt and reaſonable Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, Decrees, Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, as they ſhall think expedient in this Behalf; which we command to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, and approved, available, and eſtabliſhed. Provided always, that they do not, nor ſeek any Thing prejudicial to this preſent Power and Authority given and granted by us to the ſaid Governor, in any Point or Article herein compriſed, by any Means or Way whatſoever; in which Caſe if they ſhould do any thing, or ought ſhould happen, we will that it ſhall take no Place, Force, Vigour, Strength, nor Virtue; neither that it ſhall be of any Effect, but it ſhall be aboliſhed, diſanulled, and utterly fruſtrate; and as aboliſhed, diſanulled, and utterly fruſtrated, from this Time forward, we hold and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the ſame. And ſo to do, and put in Execution in our Name, we have and do give full and abſolute Power, and ſpecial Authority to our ſaid Servant *William Obray*, and to his ſaid Lieutenants. And likewiſe, to the End that the Courſe of Merchandiſe may be kept in good Eſtate, and that by Order of Juſtice a firm and conſtant Rule may be ſet down among thoſe our ſaid Subjects and Merchants, we have ordained and do ordain, have conſented and do conſent, and by theſe Preſents have given and do give full Power and eſpecial Authority to our ſaid Servant *William Obray* Governor aforeſaid, that at all Time and Times when he ſhall think good, he may ordain, elect, chuſe, and appoint, in the Countries aforeſaid, ſuch Miniſters, Officers, and Servitors as hereafter ſhall be named, and ſuch others as he ſhall think neceſſary, and to diſcharge them, and to change them, and ſet others in their Rooms, at his good Will and Pleaſure, unto ſuch a Number as he ſhall think good and reaſonable for the Time being to be employed; as namely Correctors or Brokers as many as he ſhall think good, to make and to witneſs the Bargains which are made or to be made, between our ſaid Subjects and others with whom they ſhall have to do or to deal in the foreſaid Countries; and alſo as many Alnagers to alner and meaſure all kinds of Merchandiſes which they ſhall buy or ſell by the Yard; and alſo as many Weighers to weigh the Merchandiſe which ſhall be ſold or bought by Weight; and alſo ſo many Folders to fold their Cloths, and ſo many Packers to pack their Packs, and to make their Fardels, Maunds, and Baſkets, and other Things needful for the Defence and Preſervation of their Merchandiſe. All which Miniſters, Officers, and Servitors, ſo choſen, elected, charged, admitted, and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Governor, as is ſaid, may take their Wages for their Pains and Attendances upon the ſaid Merchants, according to the Cuſtom of the ſaid Countries, and as they have been accuſtomed to take of the ſaid Merchants before theſe Preſents by us given and granted. And hereupon we have given and do give expreſs Charge and Commandment by us and in our Names to all our ſaid Subjects common Merchants and Mariners, and to every of them which ſhall frequent, come, remain, paſs, repair, or inhabit within the Countries aforeſaid, that they ſhall not make Contract or Bargain, ſell or buy, nor ſhall not cauſe any Contract or Bargain to be made, nor in the ſaid Countries ſell or buy any manner of Wares, Goods, or Merchandiſes, ſecretly nor openly, by way of Fraud, Barat, or Deceit whatſoever, with any Perſon or Perſons, of what Eſtate, Country, or Condition ſoever they be, without he hath ſome of the ſaid Brokers at the Bargain making, to preſent, report, and to teſtify the ſaid Contracts or Bargains before the ſaid Governor or others, if Need require, and Strife or Contention ſhould grow thereof between them; nor to pack or cauſe to be packed any Goods or Merchandiſes belonging unto them, in Packs, Bales, or Fardels, Coffers, Cheſts, Maunds, Dryfats, or Rowles, without having ſome Deputy preſent thereat; nor to take or cauſe to be taken or ſet on Work in the ſaid Countries, any other Brokers, Alnagers, Weighers, Folders, or Packers, than the aforeſaid ſo choſen, admitted, eſtabliſhed, and ordained by the ſaid Governor, and hereto authoriſed in our Name, as it is ſaid, under pain of falling into, and incurring of our Diſpleaſure, and of Forfeiture, and Confiſcation of all ſuch Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſes, which ſhall be found to have paſſed by other Hands or Order, than that or thoſe which are before-mentioned; the fourth Part of which Forfeitures and Confiſcations ſhall be employed to the Repairing and Maintenance of two Chappels founded to the Honour of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* by our ſaid Subjects, in the Towns of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and of *Middleborough* in *Zealand*; the other fourth Part to us, and our Uſe; the third fourth Part to our ſaid Couſin of *Burgundie*, or the natural Lord of the

"Country wherein the ſaid Goods ſhall be found; and the fourth fourth Part to him or them, which ſhall diſcover, detect, or find out the ſaid Fraud. And alſo that none of our ſaid Subjects ſhall unlade, or cauſe to be unladen, under any Colour nor otherwiſe, nor unpack, in the Countries aboveſaid, no kind of Wares, Goods, nor Merchandiſes whatſoever, which they ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into the Countries aforeſaid, coming out of our Countries, Dominions, or Obeiſance, without firſt and beforehand they make the Governor or his Deputies acquainted with their Arrival, and crave Leave, and deliver, ſhew, and declare their Cockets, that it may duly appear, that the ſaid Goods and Merchandiſes have truly and lawfully paid unto us our Rights and Cuſtoms, and not to unpack them but in the Preſence of the ſaid Governor, his Lieutenants or Deputies, upon pain of Forfeiture, and Confiſcation of the ſaid Goods, in Manner and Form before declared in the foreſaid Article. And if it be found by the Viſitation of the ſaid Governor, his Lieutenants or Deputies, that any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes whatſoever be arrived and diſcharged in the Countries aforeſaid, belonging to our ſaid Subjects, not lawfully cuſtomed and acquitted towards us of our Right and Cuſtom, for which they cannot, nor are not able to make any due Proof of our Letters of Cocket, as is mentioned, or if they find any other Fraud; we will, we ordain, and we grant, that the ſaid Governor, his Lieutenants or Deputies may ſeize upon the ſaid Goods on our Behalf, and may confiſcate and forfeit the ſame, diſtributing the ſame into four Parts in Manner aforeſaid. And alſo we will, that every one of the ſaid Packs, Fardels, Baſkets, Maunds, Coffers, Tuns, Bales, Rolls, and other Furnitures and Gear, wherein the ſaid Merchandiſes ſhall be packed to be ſent out of the ſaid Countries, ſhall not be laden upon Ships, Carts, nor Horſes, to come into our Dominion, without being firſt ſealed with a Seal ordained by us, and given by the ſaid Governor, upon Pain to be forfeited, applied, and confiſcated to us, and into our Hand, if they be found unſigned, and not ſealed with the Seal. And for every Piece of Merchandiſe which ſhall be ſealed with the ſaid Seal, they ſhall pay to the ſaid Sealer Two-pence of groſs Money of *Flanders*, which ſhall go to the Profit of the ſaid Governor. And foraſmuch as according to Right and Conſcience, we ought not to uſe the Labour, Travels, nor Service of any Man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to Reaſon and Equity, eſpecially when we do appoint any Perſon or Perſons to do, or cauſe to be done, ſo great Travels, Labours, Buſineſs, and Executions, as theſe which are contained in this preſent Charter, as well for the Benefit and Profit of us and ourſelves, as for the wholeſome, perfect and good Government of our ſaid Subjects: we by the good Advice and Deliberation of the ſaid Lords of our Privy-council, have granted and given, and as before, do grant and give, of our ſaid Grace, to the ſaid *William Obray*, our ſaid Servant and Governor above-named, during our Pleaſure, for Part of his Wages and Fee of the ſaid Office, one Penny of our Money of *England* of the Value of a Liver of groſs Money of *Flanders*, upon all and ſingular the Goods, Wares and Merchandiſes of our ſaid Subjects frequenting the ſaid Countries, to be levied, gathered, received, and paid unto the ſaid *William Obray*, or to his Deputies, upon the ſaid Wares and Merchandiſes belonging unto our ſaid Subjects buying and ſelling, or which they ſhall cauſe to ſell, buy, put away, truck or exchange in the Countries aboveſaid, as well of the Goods and Merchandiſes which they ſhall bring or cauſe or to be brought into the ſaid Countries, as of all other Goods which they ſhall lade and carry, or cauſe to be carried and conveyed out of thoſe Countries into our Dominion, or elſewhere into any other Part whatſoever. And to cauſe the ſame to be gathered, received, levied and paid, we have given, and by theſe Preſents do give full Power and ſpecial Authority unto the ſaid *William Obray*, and to his Lieutenants and Deputies aforeſaid, to levy, gather, and cauſe to be levied and received the ſaid Money, in Form and Manner above-mentioned, to his Profit and Uſe, during our Pleaſure; and to enjoy and uſe the ſame as his proper Goods, without any Contradiction; Conſtraining and Arreſting if need be, as well on Land, as on the Water, our ſaid Subjects, their ſaid Goods, and every of them, by way of Law and Juſtice, and to cauſe them to yield and pay the ſaid Money, upon the ſaid Goods and Merchandiſes, as is aforeſaid. For ſuch is our Pleaſure, and ſo will we have it done without Contradiction or Impeachment to him and his, during our Pleaſure. And alſo we will that the ſaid *William Obray*, over and above that which is ſaid, ſhall take, gather, and receive of our ſaid Subjects from henceforth yearly, during our Pleaſure, all ſuch and like Wages and Profits, as he had and received of our ſaid Subjects in the Year 1458, when he held and exerciſed the ſaid Office of Governor, without diminiſhing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithſtanding this preſent Augmentation made, increaſed, and done unto him, of our Grace and Favour; and that he ſhall gather, take, and receive the ſame in ſuch Form and Manner, as the other Money above-mentioned is to be gathered. And to the end that the ſaid *William Obray* may have and take Poſſeſſion, Seiſin, and Entrance of the ſaid Office of Governor in our Name, we have and do place him, by the Delivery of theſe Preſents, in Poſſeſſion, Seiſin, and Entrance of the ſaid Office, and of the Rights, Profits, Stipends, Wages, and Monies aforeſaid, to begin to exerciſe the ſaid Office of Governor in our Name, the firſt Day of *May* next enſuing after the Date of theſe Preſents, for the ſaid *William Obray* to hold and exerciſe, practiſe and uſe the ſame, during our Pleaſure, with the ſaid Wages, Monies, Rights, and Profits above-mentioned, without any Contradiction or Impeachment. And all and ſingular our Subjects the common Merchants and Mariners, which ſhall be contrary, rebellious, and diſobedient to the ſaid Governor ſo ordained by us, to his ſaid Lieutenants, to the ſaid Juſticers ſo choſen, or to any of them, or to any of the Statutes, Laws, Decrees, Sentences, Ordinances, and Cuſtoms, Offices, Gifts, and Grants aboveſaid, let them grievouſly be puniſhed by the ſaid Governor or his Lieutenants, in this Behalf, according the Quantity of their Offences, and the Exigency of the Caſes. We do ſummon, command, ſtraitly and expreſly enjoin by theſe Preſents all and every our ſaid Subjects, that unto the ſaid Governor ſo by us ordained, to his Lieutenants, Attornies, or Deputies, and alſo to the ſaid Juſticers, Officers, and Miniſters, in all and every the Things aforeſaid, and others any way concerning in this Behalf our ſaid Ordinances, their Government and Rule, the Circumſtances and Dependances thereon, that they give their Attendance, Counſel, Comfort, Obedience, and Aid, diligently without Fault or Difficulty, ſurely, ſafely, fully and peaceably; without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or ſuffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them, or any of them in Body or Goods, any Diſturbance or Impeachment, in any Manner whatſoever: but rather if any Thing be done unto them contrary and to the Prejudice of theſe Preſents, they ſhall remove, and cauſe the ſame to be removed, and that which ſhall be hindered they ſhall ſet at free Deliverance, upon pain to fall into and to incur our high Diſpleaſure. For ſuch is our Pleaſure, and ſo will we have it, notwithſtanding any Letters falſely crept in, obtained, or to be obtained contrary hereunto. And you our Subjects, the common Merchants and Mariners, ſo behave yourſelves, that you may receive Commendation of us for your good Obedience, knowing that ſuch as ſhall be found doing or to have done the contrary, we will ſee them ſo puniſhed without Redemption, that they ſhall be an Example to all rebellious Perſons. We pray and moſt inſtantly require in the Aid of Equity, all others our Friends, Allies, and Well-willers, as well Princes and Potentates, as their Juſticers, Officers, Lieutenants, Deputies, Commiſſaries, and Subjects, and every of them, in regard of Equity; that they would vouchſafe, and that it would pleaſe them to give, do, and lend Comfort, Aid, Aſſiſtance, and Priſons if need require, to our ſaid Governor, his Lieutenants, Commiſſaries, Deputies, Juſticers

“ ficers, and others our Officers and Miniſters aforſaid; and herein we pray them on our Behalf, and in our own Name. And it may pleaſe them herein to do ſo much, that we may have Occaſion to thank them, and to account ourſelves beholding for the ſame; and as they would that we ſhould do for them in the like Matter, or in a greater; which we will willingly do, if we be required thereunto by them. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs ourſelves at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixteenth of *April*, in the ſecond Year of our Reign.”

The firſt Ordinance concerning Money in this Reign, was in the third Year, enacting [a], that all Bullion of Gold and Silver, paid for Merchandiſe, at the Staple, ſhould be coined at the Mint at *Calais*. It was afterwards [b] made Felony to carry Coin or Plate out of the Kingdom without Licence, and that no one ſhould melt Money of Gold or Silver, ſufficient to run in Payment, under Forfeiture of the Value thereof; and *Iriſh* Money was forbid to run in Payment in *England* or *Wales*, upon pain of Forfeiture.

In his fourth Year [c], Gold and Silver was raiſed a Quarter Part, *viz.* the Noble to eight Shillings and four Pence, and the Parts of it in Proportion; the Pound of Gold making in Tale twenty Pound ſixteen Shillings and eight Pence, and the Pound of Silver making 112 Groats and a Half, or thirty-ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence in Tale.

The next Year [d], the Pound of Gold in Coin was raiſed to twenty-two Pound ten Shillings; the Pound of Silver to make thirty-ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence in Coin [e].

The Parliament of *Ireland* ordained [f], that clipped Money ſhould not be taken in Payment.

In 1475, in a Parliament at *Dublin*, the Value of Silver Money was raiſed a third Part; the firſt Difference [g] between the Standard of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Money, which afterwards was always leſs than the *Engliſh*.

Edward V. eldeſt Son of *Edward* IV. by *Elizabeth* his Wife, ſucceeded his Father in the Throne, being then in the 13th Year of his Age [h]. He was ſo very young, and had appear'd ſo little in the World, that our Hiſtorians do not pretend to give any Character of him.

As he was proclaim'd, and all publick Acts and Proceedings ran in his Name for about two Months, he remains in the Liſt of our Kings; though this Space might well have been thrown into the Reign of King *Richard*, who in fact, under the Name of Protector, was poſſeſs'd of the regal Power from the Time of his Brother King *Edward*'s Death.

The Queen, to ſecure her eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, who was at *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire* at his Father's Death, had placed about him the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother, and many others of her own Relations, for whom ſhe had obtain'd Places of Honour and Profit under the late King. But theſe Meaſures, which ſhe had taken for the Security of her Family, the crafty Duke of *Glouceſter* turn'd to their Deſtruction, inſinuating to the antient Nobility, that they were neglected, and that thoſe Upſtarts, the Queen's Relations, ingroſs'd all Places, and would in Time over-ſhadow them, unleſs the King were taken out of their Hands. And when the Earl of *Rivers* had taken ſuch Precautions, and ſo augmented his Troops, that they found it would be very difficult to get the King into their Power by Force, they wheedled the Queen into an Opinion, that it would be for the King's Honour and Intereſt to diſmiſs his Guards, and procur'd a Letter from her to the Earl of *Rivers* for that Purpoſe: Which was no ſooner comply'd with, but the Duke of *Glouceſter* cauſed the Earl, and ſome others whom he moſt dreaded, to be arreſted, and ſent Priſoners to *Pontefract* Caſtle; and brought the young King to *London*, with all outward Marks of Reſpect and Duty [i].

The Queen finding herſelf over-reach'd and betray'd, fled to the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* with her other Son, *Richard*, and her five Daughters. *Glouceſter* knowing he ſhould never be able to effect his Deſigns, unleſs he could get his other Nephew into his Power, made uſe of all his Friends, and all his Arts, to induce the Queen to deliver him up. And when he found ſhe remain'd unmov'd, and all his ſubtle Arguments were ineffectual, he had recourſe to Threats, and gave her to underſtand, if ſhe would not part with him fairly, he would take him by Force; and the Queen not doubting but he would make good his Word, ſeem'd to conſent to truſt him with her Son *Richard*: And having recommended him to the Care of the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the other Lords that attended her on this Occaſion, in the moſt moving Manner, and taken Leave of him with all the Paſſion a Woman could expreſs, who knew her Sons expos'd to the extreameſt Hazards, ſhe ſent him to his unnatural Uncle.

Still there remain'd in his Way the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord-chamberlain, a powerful and popular Nobleman, who retain'd an inviolable Affection to the late King's Children; and though he had readily concurr'd in all Meaſures for depreſſing and cutting off the Queen's Relations, would with all his Might have oppos'd the ſetting aſide King *Edward*'s Iſſue. The Protector therefore took an Opportunity to charge him in Council with High-treaſon, in conſpiring againſt the Government, which he pretended was that very Inſtant to be put in Execution, and nothing but the immediate Death of this Lord could prevent; and therefore commanded him to be beheaded that very Morning, which it ſeems was the ſame Day that the Earl of *Rivers*, and ſome others of the Queen's Relations were executed at *Pontefract*; whoſe Death the Lord *Haſtings* had adviſ'd and conſented to, and whoſe Ruin is therefore look'd upon as a remarkable Inſtance of divine Vengeance.

The Protector's next Step was to proclaim his own Mother an Adultereſs, and that his Brothers, King *Edward*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, were ſpurious, and himſelf the only legitimate Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*. He proceeded alſo to baſtardize King *Edward*'s Iſſue, by pretending he was contracted to another before he married the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*: And this he prevail'd upon ſome popular temporiſing Prieſts to inſiſt on in their Sermons.

The Lord-mayor of *London* alſo came into the Protector's Meaſures; and a Common-council being aſſembled, the Duke of *Buckingham* harrangued the Citizens, ſetting forth the Protector's Title and Character with all the Eloquence he was Maſter of; which though we are told did not much move the ſubſtantial Citizens, the Mob however cry'd out, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; and the next Day the Duke of *Bucks*, with ſeveral other Noblemen, and the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, waited on the Protector, and made him an Offer of the Crown; which he with much ſeeming Reluctancy at length accepted, and made them a canting Speech, concluding, *That he deſired of God to live no longer than he ſhould ſtudy to procure their Welfare.* At which the People gave a great Shout, crying out, God ſave King *Richard*. And this is accounted the laſt Day of the Reign of King *Edward* V. being the 18th of *June* 1483. Of this young Prince we meet with no Facts in our Writers to collect a Character from: I am apt to believe his natural Endowments were tolerable; becauſe I don't find them once reflected on by the Uſurper [k].

Richard III. the eighth and youngeſt Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*, by his Ducheſs *Cicely Nevile*, uſurped the Throne in the Manner related in the laſt Reign; tho' he pretended the Crown legally deſcended to him, as the only legitimate Iſſue of his Father. He was crowned at *Weſtminſter* [l] the 5th of *July* 1483.

King *Richard*, by what Means ſoever he obtained the Crown, begun his Reign with ſeveral commendable Acts of Juſtice and Clemency; but being conſcious of the ill Opinion the People had conceived of him, he thought it Prudence to have a good Body of Troops about him at his Coronation [m]. He alſo propoſed to renew the League his Brother had made with the *French* King; but 'tis ſaid that Prince had entertained ſuch Notions of his Inhumanity, that he would have no Treaty with him [n].

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[a] Statute 3 Edward IV. cap. 1. [b] Statute 17 Edward IV. cap. 1. [c] Lownds, p. 40. Stow's Annals, p. 419. Survey London, lib. I. p. 83. [d] Lownds, p. 40. [e] Lownds, p. 41. [f] Statute Hib. 5 Edward IV. cap. 3. [g] Thoreſby, No. 235.

[h] A. D. 1483. April 19. Speed's Chron. p. 705, &c. [i] Id. ibid. p. 708. [k] Hollinſhed, Stow's Ann. Fabian.

[l] A. D. 1483. See Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. III. Grafton. [m] Speed's Chron. p. 725. Echard's Hiſt. p. 565. [n] Sir Tho. Moore.

At a Parliament held the firſt Year of this Reign, King *Richard* did not only take Care of limiting the Succeſſion of the Crown to his own Family, as has been already obſerved, but enacted many good Laws for the Benefit of Trade and the Commonwealth.

But while he was taking all proper Meaſures to recover the good Opinion of the People, the Duke of *Bucks*, who had been ſo conſiderable an Inſtrument in advancing him to the Throne, grew diſcontented, and conſpired his Ruin; in which the Duke was very much aſſiſted by Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, who was his Priſoner. Theſe two conferring Notes with the Queen-dowager, and the Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who was in *Bretagne*, agreed upon a Match between the young Earl, who was generally reputed Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* IV. the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*. This was extremely acceptable to the whole Nation, as being a means to put an End to thoſe inteſtine Wars and Devaſtations they had ſuſtained in the Quarrel between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

King *Richard* having ſome Intimation of this Conſpiracy, endeavoured by fair Means, and afterwards by Threats, to get the Duke of *Bucks* into his Power; but the Duke was too well acquainted with his Practices to come within his Reach; and finding the Nation ready to fall in with his Scheme, had recourſe to Arms, and with a good Body of *Welch* advanced towards *Glouceſter*, with an Intent to paſs the *Severn* there, and join his Friends in *England*; which if he could have effected, 'tis generally believed he had put a Period to King *Richard*'s Reign: But, unhappily for the Duke, there fell ſuch violent Rains that the *Severn* overflowed its Banks, and roſe to that Height as was never known before or ſince; which prevented the joining of the ſeveral Bodies the Conſpirators had raiſed; whereupon they all diſperſed, and retired to their reſpective Homes, leaving the Duke to ſhift for himſelf, who, truſting to the Fidelity of one *Banniſter*, who had been his Steward, to conceal him, was treacherouſly given up, on the iſſuing of a Proclamation offering 1000*l.* for his Head. King *Richard* would not admit the Duke to his Preſence after he was taken, but cauſed him to be examined, and when he had diſcovered all he knew of the Conſpiracy, commanded his Head to be ſtruck off[a], without any manner of Proceſs; as 'tis ſaid the Duke had ſerved many others by the ſame King's arbitrary Commands.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Richmond*, aſſiſted by the Duke of *Bretagne* with 5000 Men and 40 Ships, departed from *St. Malo*'s on the 12th of *October*[b], for the Coaſt of *Wales*; but arrived too late at the Place of their Deſtination; beſides being too weak to diſpute the Power of the King's Cruizers, the Earl veered about, and ſteered back to the Coaſt of *France*. But in the way his Fleet being diſperſed by a Storm, he was driven with one Bark only in Company on the Coaſt of *Dorſet*, near *Poole*[c], and from thence made the Port of *Dieppe*.

Richard is deſervedly praiſed for his good Policy of keeping a ſtrong Squadron at Sea on this Occaſion; but muſt never be pardoned (as he loſt his Crown and his Life) for diſmiſſing his Army, and laying up his Fleet, as ſoon as he heard of the Earl's Retreat; which encouraged the Competitor of his Crown to attempt another Invaſion with only 2000[d], others ſay 4000 Men[e], who embarked[f] in a few weak Tranſports at *Havre de Grace*, and landed at *Milford-haven*[g]. But this was not the only Force he had to truſt to. The King of *France* was ready to ſupport him; and his Faction in *England* was very powerful, and ready to join him, as they did on his firſt Arrival. Beſides, King *Richard*'s Neglect of his Navy, the natural Defence of his Kingdom, and which, as he had lately experienced, was able to protect it from all Invaders, was of greater Advantage to the Earl, than he could have reaped from a powerful Fleet, had the Royal Navy been properly ſtationed.

Therefore, when the News of the *Lancaſtrian* Army's March, and that they were paſſed the *Severn* in their Way to *London*, was brought to Court, it found him in ſuch a deep Security, that it was with great Difficulty he could collect his Forces. But reſolved not to ſurvive his Crown, he marched in Perſon, and on the 22d of *Auguſt* was ſlain in the Field of Battle near *Boſworth* in the County of *Leiceſter*[h], with his Sword in his Hand, and Crown on his Head; which being taken up by the Soldier that ſlew him, was carried by Lord *Stanley*, and placed by him upon the Head of the Earl of *Richmond*; who being ſaluted King by the Army, aſſumed the Title and Power of their Sovereign from that Moment.

This ſhort Reign, tho' it records but one Parliament, has left a Specimen of the King's great Attention to Trade, had the Times permitted him to cultivate his maritime and commercial Genius. There is ſtill extant and in Force, amongſt the Laws of the Cuſtoms, a Statute[i] for the Encouragement of Artificers, and prohibiting the Importation of ſuch Wares, as might tend to their Impoveriſhment: Reciting, That it was ſhewed by the Artificers of the Realm of *England*; that is to ſay, Girdlers, Point-makers, Pinners, Purſes, Glovers, Joiners, Painters, Card-makers, Wire-mongers, Weavers, Horners, Bottle-makers, and Copper-ſmiths; that whereas they were wont in times paſt to be greatly ſet a Work, and occupied in the ſaid Crafts for the Suſtenance of themſelves, their Wives, Children, Apprentices, and Servants, and many others of the King's Subjects: Now, ſo it is, that by Merchant-ſtrangers, Denizens, and others, there is brought into theſe Parts, from beyond the Seas, to be ſold within this Realm of *England*, as much Wares as may be wrought and made by the Artificers above rehearſed; that by reaſon thereof the People of ſtrange Countries, where the ſame Wares be made, be greatly occupied and increaſed, and the ſaid Artificers in this Realm greatly impoveriſhed, and, without the King's Grace ſhewed to them in this Behalf, are like to be undone, for Lack of Occupation.

Our ſaid Lord the King, conſidering the Premiſes, by the Advice and Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the Prayer of the Commons, in the ſaid Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, hath ordained and provided, That no Merchant-ſtranger, after the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next coming, ſhall bring into this Realm of *England* to be ſold,

Any manner of Girdles, nor Harneſs wrought for Girdles,
Points,
Leather-laces,
Purſes,
Pouches,
Pins,
Gloves,
Knives,
Hangers,
Taylors Sheers,
Sciſſars,
Andirons,
Cupboards,
Tongs,
Fire-forks,
Gridirons,
Stock-locks,
Keys,
Hinges and Garnets,
Spurs,
Painted Glaſſes,
Painted Papers,
Painted Forcers,
Painted Images,
Painted Cloths,
Beaten Gold, or Beaten Silver wrought in Papers for Painters,
Saddles,
Saddles-trees,
Horſe-harneſs,
Boots,
Bitts,
Stirrups,
Buckles,
Chains,
Latten Nails, with Iron Shanks,
Turnets,
Hanging-candleſticks,
Holy-water Stops,
Chafing-diſhes,
Hanging-lavers,
Curtain-rings,
Cards for Wooll,
Roan Cards,
(Except for Garnets)
Sheers,
Buckles for Shoes,
Broches or Spits,
Bells,
Hawks-bells,
Tin and Leaden Spoons,
Wire of Latten and Iron,
Iron Candleſticks,
Grates,
Horns for Lanthorns;

Or any of the ſaid Wares made and wrought pertaining to the Crafts above ſpecified, or any of them, upon pain to forfeit all the ſaid Wares ſo brought into this Realm, contrary to this Act, or the Value of the ſame, in whoſe Hands they or any of them ſhall be found.

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[a] Stow. Holinſhed. Speed. Buck. Rapin. Echard. Kennet.
[b] Rapin. Holinſhed.
[c] Holinſhed. Rapin. A. D. 1483.
[d] Holinſhed. Speed.
[e] P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 602.
[f] A. D. 1485. 1ſt of Auguſt.
[g] 8th of Auguſt.
[h] Sir Thomas Moore, A. D. 1485.
[i] 1 Richard III. cap. 12.

BOOK II.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to our *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Acceſſion of King HENRY *the Seventh* to the Crown of ENGLAND, to the Death of Queen ELIZABETH.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS; State *of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN *in the Reign of King* HENRY VII.

KING HENRY VII. being recognized [a] upon the Throne by the whole Nation, endeavour'd to ſecure his Poſſeſſion (which he had gain'd by his Sword) by ſuch popular Acts as might engage the Affections of the People; by marrying *Elizabeth* the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, and as ſuch his moſt dangerous Competitor; by putting his Marine into ſuch a Condition as to protect his Coaſts againſt all foreign Invaſions; by regulating his Militia to over-awe the *Scots*, and to provide againſt domeſtic Inſurrections; and particularly by promoting the Trade of the Nation, by which he enrich'd his Subjects, and eſtabliſh'd a Fund to pay his Fleet and Armies, and to fill his Exchequer.

Theſe Maxims of ſound Policy preſerved him againſt all the Attempts of his Enemies. The Strength of his Navy obliged the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* to ſend her Impoſtor *Lambert Simnel*, the Baker's Son, by the Way of *Ireland*; who perſonated the Earl of *Warwick*, ſole Heir-male of the Houſe of *York*; and being defeated at *Stoke*, on the 6th of *June* [b], was reduced to the Office of a Turnſpit in his Majeſty's Kitchen.

Neither was the ſecond Attempt againſt his Crown and Dignity, from the ſame Quarter, more ſucceſsful to the Projectors. For *Perkins Warbeck*, the Son of a Jew-convert at *Tournay*, who was ſent under the Character of the young Duke of *York*, murder'd in the *Tower* by *Richard the Third*, and gain'd ſo much Credit at the Court of *Scotland*, as to obtain a near Relation of King *James* in Marriage; was obliged to ſurrender, on Promiſe of his Life, after he had taken Sanctuary in the Monaſtery of *Bewley* in *Cornwall* [c].

The Connections of this Reign with the Continent were very conſiderable: for though it was never the Intention of *Henry* VII. to enter into any Wars, or renew Claims to the Dominions of his Predeceſſors in *France*, which ſhould exhauſt the Vitals of the *Engliſh* Treaſure; he in the Midſt of the profoundeſt Peace always kept up a Fleet ready to act againſt every Power that ſhould dare to give him Diſturbance, or interrupt the Trade and Navigation of his Subjects; and his Militia was ſo well regulated, that he was able to defend his own Kingdom from Invaſions and Rebellions, and to aſſiſt the Ducheſs of *Bretagne* againſt the whole Power of *France* [d]. He even threaten'd *France* with a powerful Invaſion; and fitted out a powerful Army and Fleet to pleaſe the People, who earneſtly deſired a War with that Nation. But all theſe Preparations vaniſh'd into nothing, as ſoon as he had got a large Supply from Parliament, and, by laying Siege to *Boulogne*, frighten'd the *French* into an advantageous Treaty of Peace [e]. This ſame Year the Queen was delivered of Prince *Henry*.

Beſides the Armament which was this Year employ'd againſt *France*, our Hiſtorians mention another Squadron of 12 Ships of War ſent by King *Henry* to aſſiſt the Archduke *Maximilian* againſt Count or Baron *Ravenſtein*, who was turn'd Pirate, ſeized upon the Town of *Sluys*, and with a conſiderable Number of Ships plundered the Veſſels of all Nations he met with at Sea. This Squadron was commanded by Sir *Edward Poynings*, who after driving their Ships into the Harbour of *Sluys*, then beſieged by Land by the Archduke's Army commanded by the Duke of *Saxony*, block'd them up, and by continua Battery of the two Caſtles, which covered the Entrance, reduced the Rebels to a Capitulation, ſurrendering the Town to the Elector, and the Caſtles to the *Engliſh*.

Henry rightly judging that Trade would be the beſt Means to enrich his Kingdom, and to give him the Superiority over the neighbouring States, from this Time did all in his Power to divert the Minds of his Subjects from War, or making Conqueſts on the Continent, to Trade; which he endeavour'd to promote with his neighbouring States by Treaties of Commerce; Privileges and Encouragements for Merchant-adventurers; clearing the Coaſt from Pirates; and by extending it into Parts till then undiſcovered by *Europeans*, till Death deprived this Nation of ſo great, glorious and wiſe a King; who departed this Life in Peace at his Manor of *Richmond*, on the 22d of *April* 1509.

This King was the firſt that inſtituted a peculiar Guard of his Body, or a certain Company of Archers under a Captain, named *the Yeomen of the Guard*, with Pay for that Service; to be continued to the Kings and Queens his Succeſſors [f].

The Concern which this King ſhewed for Trade appears more particularly from his Order to the Lord High-chancellor to recommend Trade and Manufactures to the Conſideration of his Parliament in the Year 1487; ſome of whoſe Laws are ſtill in Force.

For by the Act 19 *Henry* VII. cap. 21. no Perſon ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into this Realm to be ſold, any manner of Silk wrought by itſelf, or with any other Stuff, in Ribbands, Laces, Girdles, Corſes, Caules, Corſes of Tiſſues, or Points, on Forfeiture, or the Value thereof; half to the King, half to the Seizer: All manner of Silks, as well wrought as raw, lawful to be brought in and ſold.

Nor did his Encouragement of Trade ſtop here. He was a Merchant himſelf; employed a Number of Ships in the Merchant Trade, and on all Occaſions was ready, on reaſonable Conſiderations, to aſſiſt Adventurers at Sea, and Manufacturers with conſiderable Sums of Money and Shipping. He even was pleaſed to accept of the Freedom of the City of *London*, and of the Merchant-taylors Company; with whom he would frequently dine, and act as Maſter. He is accuſed of oppreſſive Meaſures, by which it is inſinuated he filled his Coffers with a prodigious Sum of Money. But it is certain, that his Taxes were neither large nor burthenſome; and I am apt to believe, the 5,300,000 *l.* chiefly in foreign Coin, which was found in the Exchequer at his Death, was not the Fruit of Oppreſſion, but of his Merchandiſe.

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[a] A. D. 1485. Oct. 30. Speed, Hollinſhed, Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

[b] A. D. 1481. Id. ibid.

[c] Bacon, Hollinſhed, A. D. 1498.

[d] A. D. 1489.

[e] A. D. 1492.

[f] Hollinſhed, A. D. 1485.

His Care for the current Coin (another Advantage to Trade) will alſo appear from the following Obſervations [a].

In the firſt Year of King *Henry* VII. is an Indenture [b], dated the 4th of *November*, whereby a Pound of Gold of the old Standard was to make forty-five Rials, at ten Shillings each; half Rials, and Rial-farthings; Angels, at ſix Shillings and eight Pence each, and Angelets: And the Pound of Silver was to make a hundred and twelve Groats and a Half, or a proportionable Number of half Groats, Sterlings, Halfpence and Farthings. There is another [c] Indenture, bearing Date the 20th of *November*, in his eighth Year; and *Lownds* [d] mentions another in his ninth Year, for coining the ſame Species, and of the ſame Goodneſs and Value, which continued all this Reign. But, beſides theſe, were coined Pieces called *Sovereigns*, and *half Sovereigns*, for ſuch are mentioned in the Statute [e] in the nineteenth of *Henry* VII. relating to the Coin.

In the fourth of this King, ſome Regulation [f] was made in the Allaying of Gold and Silver, which was formerly done by Fire and Water, under a Rule and Order, by the Finers at the King's Mints, and at *Goldſmiths-hall* only; but at this time, it ſeems, Finers had ſet up in all Parts of the Realm, who uſed divers Allays, ſo that no fine Silver was to be had, as formerly, either for Money or Plate. It was therefore now enacted, that no Finer ſhould fine Gold or Silver, nor ſell to any Perſon, but to the Officers of the Mint, Changers, and Goldſmiths; the Silver to be as good as Sterling; and that every Finer ſhould put his Mark upon it. Alſo [g] the Statute of the ſeventeenth of *Edward* IV. againſt tranſporting Money or Plate was revived, and the forging [h] of foreign Coin, allowed to be current in *England*, was made Treaſon. A Law very ſuitable to this provident King.

In his nineteenth Year, the Coin, but chiefly the Silver, was ſo impaired by clipping and counterfeiting, and bringing in of *Iriſh* Coin, that it came under the Conſideration of Parliament to provide a Remedy; and it was enacted [i], that all manner of Gold of the Coins of a Sovereign, half Sovereign, Rial, half Rial, and the fourth Part of a Rial, the Angel, and half Angel, being Gold, and Weight, ſhould be current for the Sum they were coined for: And in like manner, all Groats, *Engliſh* or Foreign, or Pence of two Pence, except reaſonable Wear, although crack'd; and all Pence of Silver, having the Print of the King's Coin, except only Pence bearing divers Spurs, or the Mullet between the Bars of the Croſs, which were to be current for an Halfpenny; and if any Perſon refuſed to take the aforeſaid Coins according to the Terms of the Act, he might be compelled, or impriſoned. It was alſo ordained, that all manner of Groats, and half Groats, or Pence of two Pence, as well *Engliſh* as Foreign, being clipped, or otherwiſe impaired, except reaſonable Wear, ſhould not be current, but might be brought to the Mint to be changed, or converted into Bullion; (which Loſs [k] was nothing in reſpect of the Uncertainty.) And to prevent Clipping for the time to come, the King, by the Advice of his Council, had cauſed to be made new Coins of Groats, and Pence of two Pence, every Piece whereof was to have a Circle about the outer Part thereof; and the Gold to be coined for the time to come, was to have the whole Scripture about every Piece, without lacking any Part thereof, to the Intent that it might be known by the Circle or Scripture, when they were clipped or impaired. And the Warden, or Comptroller of the Mint was to ſee this done, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Office, and being fined at the King's Pleaſure. With regard to *Ireland*, no Bullion, Plate or Coin was to be carried thither, above the Value of ſix Shillings and eight Pence, or brought from thence above three Shillings and four Pence Value.

It is objected to the Wiſdom of this King, that he rejected the Propoſal of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, for the Diſcovery of *South America*; and in conſequence, that by his Neglect thereof, we are deprived of thoſe immenſe Riches and Trade enjoyed to this Day from thence by the *Spaniards*. But this Objection is very wide of the Truth: For, tho' it is allowed that *Chriſtopher Columbus* did tender his Service firſt to King *Henry* VII. yet it is as certain, that the ſaid King did accept thereof, as we find more at large in his Life by his Son Don *Fernando Columbus* [l], and in the following Memoirs of this great Navigator and Diſcoverer of the Southern Continent of *America*, which it will be neceſſary to inſert in this Hiſtory, on account of its Connection with our Navigation.

The LIFE *of* CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, or *Colon*, as call'd in *Spaniſh*, was born at *Geneva* in *Italy*, of mean Parentage, had an early Paſſion for the Sea, ſtudied Navigation with the utmoſt Induſtry, and began both to trade, and make Charts for the Sea-ſervice, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portugueſe*, for their Skill in maritime Affairs, brought him to thoſe Parts; where he married, ſettled, and traded to the Coaſts of *Guiney*. He had, throughout his Life, the Character of a Man ſober, temperate, grave and devout, of competent Learning in other reſpects, and very ſtudious in the Mathematics [m].

His ſtrict Application to theſe Sciences, tempted him to think of making Diſcoveries. The *Spaniards* tell us, that one *Martin Vincent*, a Mariner, who uſed the *Azores* or *Terceras*, had told him, that he was once carried four Hundred and fifty Leagues to the Weſt of Cape *St. Vincent*, and there took up a Piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by Man's Hand, and that, as far as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from ſome Weſtern Iſland. *Pedro Correa*, who had married his Wife's Siſter, had likewiſe informed him, that at *Puerto Santo* he had ſeen the like Piece driven thither by the Weſtern Winds, wrought in the ſame Faſhion; and, beſides, he had ſeen great Canes, which, in each Knot, might contain above two Gallons of Water, which he alſo ſent to him to look upon; which being unlikely to grow in the known Parts of the Weſt, and having read of ſuch growing in *India*, he ſuppoſed, that ſome long and violent Weſtern Winds had brought them thither from thence. The Inhabitants alſo of the *Azores* had told him, that ſtrong Weſt and Northweſt Winds had brought by Sea, upon *Gracioſa* and *Fayal*, certain Pine-trees; two dead Men alſo on the Coaſt of *Flores*, with larger Faces than are uſual in thoſe Parts, and quite a different Look; and two Canoes another time, driven alſo by the Wind. *Antonio Lema*, of *Madeira*, had related, that being carried in his Caravel far Weſtward, he believed he ſaw three Iſlands: And another of that Iſland had ſued to the King of *Portugal*, in the Year 1484, for Licence to diſcover certain Lands, which he ſwore he had ſeen every Year over-againſt the *Azores*. *Diego Velazquez* had forty Years before been carried far into the Weſt, and there obſerved the Seas and Winds ſuch as if the Land was not far of, as he affirmed to *Columbus*: And another Mariner told him of Land he had ſeen far Weſt from *Ireland*, which is ſuppoſed to be *Newfoundland*. *Pedro de Velaſco* had obſerved the like in his going for *Ireland*; and *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portugal* Pilot, had fanſied, in his Return from *Guiney*, he ſaw an Iſland in the Height of *Madeira*, for which alſo Search was afterwards made, but no Diſcovery followed. The Fact, however, upon which the greateſt Streſs is laid, remains yet untold, and is this; That in the Year 1484, one *Alonſo Sanchez*, of *Huelua*, in the County of *Niebla*, died in the Houſe of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, in the Iſland of *Tercera*, and left him his Papers, from whence he acquired thoſe Lights that directed him in his great Undertakings. This *Alonſo Sanchez* had for many Years traded from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and from thence to *Madeira*; in his laſt Voyage from whence he was carried out to Sea, and after nine-and-twenty Days Sailing, arrived at a certain Iſland, ſuppoſed to be *Hiſpaniola*, where he landed, and took an Obſervation. He kept an exact Journal of all the Occurrences; and, after a tedious Voyage back, in which he loſt twelve out of ſeventeen of his Men,

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[a] See Leake's Hiſtory of Engliſh Money, p. 171, &c. [b] Pat. 1 Henry VII. p. 2. [c] Pat. 8 Henry VII. p. 2. [d] Page 41. [e] Statute 19 Henry VII. cap. 5. [f] Statute 4 Henry VII. cap. 2. [g] Statute 4 Henry VII. cap. 23. [h] Ibid. cap. 18. [i] Statute 19 Henry VII. cap. 5. [k] Lord Verulam's Life of Henry VII. [l] See Hackluit, book III. p. 2, 3. [m] Herrera, Oviedo, Gomera, I di Barros, P. Martyr.

came to *Tercera*, where he and the other five ſoon after died of mere Fatigue[a].

But that this, or the far greateſt Part of it, is pure Invention appears from hence; that *Columbus* had perfected his Scheme, and actually offered it to his Countrymen the *Genoeſe*, in 1484. The State of *Genoa* rejected his Propoſal, as being beyond their Power, and likely to draw upon them the Reſentment of ſeveral Princes. He next propoſed his Scheme to the King of *Portugal*, *John* the Second, in whoſe Dominions he had reſided for ſome Years: Commiſſioners were appointed to treat with him, who, when, by provoking with Objections, they had drawn out of him all they could, adviſed the King to fit out a Veſſel, and to ſend it to try if the thing was practicable; whereby they meant to rob *Columbus* both of the Honour and Advantage reſulting from the Diſcovery. The Deſign miſcarried, through the want of Courage and Conduct in Perſons employed; but *Columbus*, finding out the Trick, was exceedingly incenſed, ſo that though the King of *Portugal* would have treated with him a ſecond time, being himſelf a better Judge of ſuch Projects than any other Prince of his Age, yet he declined it, and reſolved to apply elſewhere[b].

In 1485, having fully inſtructed his Brother *Bartholomew* in his intended Project, he ſent him into *England*, with Directions to apply himſelf to *Henry* VII. who was juſtly reputed one of the wiſeſt Monarchs in *Chriſtendom*, in hopes that he would embrace a Propoſal manifeſtly tending to his Profit; and in the mean time he prepared himſelf to go into *Spain*, on the ſame Account. *Bartholomew Columbus* was ſo unfortunate as to fall into the Hands of Pirates, who ſtripped him of all he had. On his coming into *England* in this poor Condition, he fell ill of a Fever; and, when he recovered from that, he ſpent ſome time in making Maps, and ſelling them, before he put himſelf into ſuch an Equipage as enabled him to addreſs himſelf to the King. This however he did in 1488, was well received, and actually entered into Agreement with that Prince, in the Name, and on the Behalf, of his Brother, ſeveral Years before he cloſed with their Catholic Majeſties, as his Son tells us in his Life[c]. By virtue of this Agreement, it ſhould ſeem that our Title to the new World is prior to that of *Spain*. This is arguing in their own way.

Chriſtopher on his going into *Spain*, firſt conferred with one of the ableſt Pilots in that Country, whoſe Name was *Martin Alonſo Pinçon*, who readily apprehended the Force of his Arguments; and agreed to go with him, in caſe he could bring his Deſign to bear. He next addreſſed himſelf to a *Franciſan* Friar, *Juan Perez de Marchena*, famous for his Skill in Coſmography, whom he likewiſe brought over to his Opinion, and to whoſe indefatigable Labours he was much indebted for all the Succeſs he met with in the Proſecution of his Deſign. By this learned Monk he was recommended to the two greateſt Noblemen in *Spain*, Don *Henriquez de Guſman* Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and Don *Lewis de Cerda* Duke of *Medina Celi*, who might, if ſatisfied with his Propoſals, have employed him on their own Accounts. But they were ſo diffident of him as an *Italian* Projector, and one who had already treated with ſeveral Potentates on this Subject, that they would not undertake the Expedition at their own Expence: Yet the Gravity of his Behaviour, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Uprightneſs of his private Life, induced them to ſhew him great Reſpect, and even to countenance his Application to their Catholic Majeſties, Don *Ferdinand* and Dona *Iſabella*, who were then engaged in driving the *Moors* out of *Spain*, and who, of all Princes, were moſt likely to encourage ſo noble and generous an Undertaking. His old Friend Friar *Juan Perez de Marchena* aſſiſted him alſo in this Application, and furniſhed him with Letters of Recommendation to the Queen's Confeſſor, Friar *Ferdinand* of *Talavera*, a Man of great Learning and Probity, and one who had the Ear of their Majeſties to a great Degree; by whom he was very kindly received, and promiſed all the Aſſiſtance he could expect for the furthering him in his Applications; in which the Confeſſor kept his Word religiouſly, and never left ſoliciting on his Behalf, till he brought the Matter to bear, in the Year 1486, that he began his Negotiations with their Catholic Majeſties; which he did by preſenting to them a Petition, ſetting forth the Nature of his Deſign, the Advantages that would flow from it, and the Reward he expected, in caſe he ſucceeded. The Singularity of the Project, joined to the plain Appearance of the Man, whoſe Circumſtances were diſtreſſed, did not contribute to his meeting at firſt with ſo much Favour as he expected. However *Columbus* perſiſted in his Applications, and even procured ſome, who were near the Perſon of the King, to preſent him with a Diſcourſe of his, in which his Project was more largely explained; which yet wrought no great Effect; and being ſcornfully treated as a Foreigner, uſed with Contempt on the ſcore of his Poverty, and often upbraided with the Vanity of his Projects, he twice reſolved to quit a Court where he had been ſo ungratefully treated, intending, the firſt time, to have gone over to *England*, to ſee what Succeſs his Brother *Bartholomew* had met with, and propoſing, at laſt, to offer his Diſcovery to the Crown of *France*. But his Friend the Auditor, with great Difficulty reſtrained him; and, having procured him Admiſſion to Don *Pedro di Gonzales di Mendoza* Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who reliſhed his Diſcourſes, his Affairs began to have a better Aſpect: And Queen *Iſabella* intereſted herſelf warmly on his Behalf. Two Obſtacles only remained to be overcome: The firſt was, the finding Money for defraying the Expences of this Expedition; which, tho' it amounted to no great Sum, yet were their Catholic Majeſties Treaſures ſo much exhauſted, that ſome Writers ſay, the Queen offered to pawn her Jewels to make up the Money. However this was ſoon removed; for Don *Lewis di St. Angelo*, an Officer in the Revenue, advanced the beſt Part of it. The other Obſtacle was *Columbus*'s Demands, which were thought very high, he inſiſting to be Viceroy and Admiral of the Countries and Seas he ſhould diſcover, and to have the Tenth of the clear Profits that ſhould redound to their Majeſties from his Labours; which at laſt he obtained, and the Articles of Agreement were ſigned at the little Town of *Santa Fe*, in the Kingdom of *Grenada*, on the 17th of *April* 1492[d].

He had three Veſſels aſſigned him, the Admiral, called before he had her, the *Gallega*, but by him named *Santa Maria*, a Carrac, or Ship with a Deck. The ſecond was called the *Pinta*, commanded by Captain *Martin Alonſo Pinçon*, his Brother *Franciſco Martinez Pinçon* being Maſter. The third was named *Ninna*, of which *Viſconti Yannez Pinçon* was Captain and Maſter, who furniſhed one half of *Columbus*'s Share of the Expence, which, by the Agreement, was to be a Fourth of the Whole. Theſe two were Caravels or Carvels, that is, Veſſels without Decks; and all three Ships carried about 120 Men. All Things being ready by the latter End of *July*, *Columbus* repaired in Perſon to *Palos*, where he embarked on-board the Admiral of his little Fleet, and having a fair Wind, put to Sea on *Friday* the 3d of *Auguſt* 1492. On the 11th they had Sight of the *Canaries*, where they ſtay'd till *September* the 6th, refreſhing themſelves at the Iſle *Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portugueſe*, who had manned out three Caravels to take them. *September* the 7th they loſt Sight of Land, and with it their Courage too, a great many of them taking their Leaves of this, and expecting to be ſoon in another World. *Columbus* comforted theſe Cowards as well as he could; and to do it effectually, was obliged to cheat them in his Reckoning, making them believe they were not ſo far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they took Notice of the Variation of the Compaſs, which was the firſt time that Phænomenon had fallen under Obſervation. On *Sunday* the 16th they ſaw Graſs and Herbs floating on the Water, and ſome ſmall Animals (Graſshoppers) alive among them; which made ſome of them believe they ſhould ſee dry Land once more, and that quickly. The 19th and 20th theſe Preſages continued; beſides which, they ſaw ſome Sea-fowl; all which put together, conſiderably raiſed their Expectations. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on *September* the 22d it came croſs at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began heartily to repent them of their raſh Attempt, in venturing ſo far from Home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fiſhes in a very little time, they ſtormed at their Admiral, upbraiding him that he had brought them thither, not ſparing the very King and Queen themſelves in their Paſſion, as Perſons too eaſy and credulous; charging them with Indiſcretion in liſtening to ſuch wild Propoſals, and ſacrificing their Subjects, at the Motion of a *Genoeſe*, upon ſuch trivial Occaſions. As for *Columbus*, they told him plainly, That if he would not tack, and make homewards again, he ſhould go overboard without more to do; for they were reſolved to ſhift for themſelves, and ſave their own Lives, if they could. The Admiral returned them good Words, and anſwered theſe inſolent Threatenings of the Rabble with fair Promiſes of great Rewards, upon condition of a little more Patience. And tho' he made ſhift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of *September*, yet that Calm was quickly ſucceeded by a more outrageous Storm than before: The Reſult of which was, that after ſome farther Trials *Columbus* was forced to promiſe to return, if they diſcovered no Land in three Days time, this being the utmoſt Space that the mutinous Sailors would allow him.

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[a] The royal Commentaries of Peru. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1544.

[b] There is another Account given of this Matter, viz. that Care was taken the Deſign ſhould miſcarry, in order to diſcredit Columbus, becauſe it was not the Intereſt of the Portugueſe that this Method of Diſcovery by the Weſt ſhould be purſued.

[c] Hackluit.

[d] Theſe Circumſtances are collected from the Hiſtorians before-mentioned, but eſpecially Herrera, and the Life of Columbus.

Next Day he found, by the Sun-ſetting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and the very ſame Night they ſaw Light. About two Hours after Midnight, *Rodrigo di Triana*, one of the Company, diſcovered Land: This was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492, which they found to be an Iſland of fifteen Leagues Compaſs, and is one of the *Lucayas*, called by the Inhabitants *Guevebani*, or rather *Guanahani*, but by them *San Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went aſhore, and, having ſung *Te Deum*, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion of the Place, in the Name of their Catholic Majeſties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Iſabella*. The Natives thought them to be very ſtrange People, and much more wondered at their Ships, which they believed to be great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys, which they paid themſelves for in more valuable Things. Theſe People were naked, of a middle Size, well-proportioned Bodies; their natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies. They knew not the Uſe of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Iſle abounded with Parrots, beſides which they ſcarce ſaw any other Animals; they trucked for Cotton-yarn, and told the *Spaniards*, that the Gold they wore in Rings at their Noſtrils, came from the South, where they would find a Prince whoſe Subjects were very rich therein.

On the 15th of *October* they went to another Iſland, ſeven Leagues from thence, which they called *Sta. Maria de la Conception*. The 17th they went to *Ferdinanda*, the Women of which Place had only ſhort Cotton-coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedneſs. After this they came to another Iſle, which they called *Iſabella*; of which, as of all others, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion; and, in all theſe Places, carried it juſtly and honeſtly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba*, which, the *Indians* told them, afforded Gold and Pearl, beſides other rich Commodities. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here ſent to ſearch the Country; and, lighting on an *Indian* Town of about fifty Houſes, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honoured with Incenſe as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the ſimple *Indians* indeed did almoſt believe, tho' Experience ſoon made them wiſer. Here they ſaw Cotton grow of itſelf, with ſeveral Sorts of ſtrange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* moſt minded, was the Gold which they ſaw the *Indians* wear in their Noſes, about which they were curious to aſk Queſtions: To which the *Indians* honeſtly anſwered, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the Midſt of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking, (becauſe of that Term *can*) that they had talked of the great Chan of *Cathay*. *Alonſo Pinſon* left *Columbus* here, who quickly after went himſelf in queſt of *Hiſpaniola*, which the Natives at that time called *Hayti*. They took here a Woman, a Native of the Iſland; and, treating her well, ſhe became a ſerviceable Agent on their Behalf, with the reſt of the Natives: So that, at laſt, there was a very good Correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting *Columbus* to come aſhore. A Fort was built upon this Iſland, to maintain the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions and Authority, in which thirty-eight Soldiers were left: And, after this Buſineſs done, *Columbus* made Proviſions for a Voyage homeward, charging the *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians* and their King.

He ſailed on *Wedneſday* the 17th of *January*; and tho' he met with great Storms in his Paſſage, yet he arrived on the 15th of *February* 1493, at the Iſland of *St. Mary*, one of the *Azores*, and ſoon after returned to *Spain*, where he was very kindly received by the King and Queen, who cauſed him to ſit in their Preſence, the higheſt Honour a Subject could receive in *Spain*. It is to be obſerved, that, on his Return from this firſt Voyage, *Columbus* himſelf was of Opinion, that the Countries he had diſcovered, were Iſlands on the other Side of the Continent to which the *Portugueſe* traded; and this it was that determined him to beſtow on theſe Iſlands the Name of the *Weſt-Indies*.

To preſerve the Memory of this Diſcovery, in caſe he had been ſhipwrecked, he, in his Paſſage home, wrote an exact Account of every thing, wrapt this Memorial in a Cere cloth, and put it into a Barrel, which he threw into the Sea. From the ſame Motive, after he came back to *Spain*, he drew a very exact Chart of his Diſcoveries, and left it with his Sons.

The Succeſs of this firſt Voyage engaged their Catholic Majeſties to ſend him back in the Autumn of the ſame Year, with a Squadron of eighteen Sail, very well equipped, with which he made farther Diſcoveries, which ſerved to confirm him in his former Opinion, that he had really found a new Paſſage to the *Indies*. But in his third Voyage he gained ſome Knowledge of the Continent, and, hearing that there was a Sea on the other Side, he readily owned his Miſtake, declaring, at the ſame time, it was his Opinion, that there was a Paſſage from theſe North Seas into thoſe on the South, and from thence it might be very poſſible to ſail to the *Eaſt-Indies*. This was certainly the higheſt Proof that could be given of his Sagacity and Penetration, and fully juſtifies the placing him at the Head of the Circum-navigators; ſince it is evident from thence, that ſuch a Paſſage round the Globe was the Thing he principally ſought and intended. With good Reaſon, therefore, did the ingenious Mr. *Boyle* obſerve, that we are little leſs indebted to *Columbus* for the Diſcoveries made after his Death, than for thoſe made by him while living, ſince they all followed from the Principles by him laid down, and were the Improvements of that Doctrine, which firſt, with great Prudence, he deviſed, and afterwards executed with wonderful Succeſs [a]. We may likewiſe hint, that ſome of thoſe Diſcoveries in the Art of Navigation, which are thought of much later Date, were not unknown to him, particularly the conſtant Motion of the Sea from Eaſt to Weſt, of which he took Notice in his firſt Voyage, and explained from thence the Difference between the Time ſpent in going out, and in returning home.

There never was, perhaps, a Man better qualified for the great Deſigns he undertook, than *Chriſtopher Columbus*; but the Gravity of his Behaviour, and the ſevere Diſcipline he maintained while it was in his Power, raiſed him Enemies amongſt a mutinous, licentious Crew; and theſe Diſputes occaſioned Appeals from both Parties to *Spain*; whereupon one *Francis Bobadilla* was ſent over to enquire into theſe Matters, and to do Juſtice, according to the Light in which Things ſhould appear to him. This Man, to gratify a Biſhop, who had taken ſome Pique to *Columbus*, cauſed the Admiral to be ſeized, together with his Brethren, put them in Irons, and ſent them in that Condition into *Spain*, where they arrived at *Cadiz* the 25th of *November* 1500; and as ſoon as their Catholic Majeſties were informed of the Treatment the Admiral had met with, they ordered him to be ſet at Liberty, expreſſing great Concern for his Sufferings, eſpecially the Queen, who was his very ſincere Friend; but it was a good while before he could procure a new Governor to be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*.

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[a] This occurs in a Treatiſe of his, intituled, Some Conſiderations touching experimental Eſſays in general, wherein he has this remarkable Paſſage: " It is obvious how much Europe is beholden to Columbus for the Detection of many Countries in America, which were not diſcovered by " him, nor perhaps till long after his Death, becauſe he firſt informed us knowingly, that there were unknown Regions beyond that vaſt Ocean, " which ſevers the old World from the new."

When he had carried this Point, he ſolicited Leave to make a fourth Voyage for Diſcoveries, which, with much ado, he obtained. It was in this his laſt going into the *Weſt-Indies*, that he firſt ſaw the Continent, lying ſome time at Anchor at the *Baſtimentos*. This was in 1502. Some farther Diſcoveries he made on the ſame Coaſt; but before he could thoroughly inform himſelf of the State of the Country, he was obliged to alter his Courſe, and ſteer for *Hiſpaniola*. Some Time he remained there, but at length, new Diſputes and Diſorders ariſing, he reſolved to return back into *Spain*, in order to give their Majeſties the beſt Account he could of thoſe Parts, that this Diſcovery might be made as advantageous to them as poſſible. It was towards the latter End of the Year 1504, that he came, for the laſt time, into *Spain*, where the firſt News he met with, was that of the Death of Queen *Iſabella*, which ſtruck him to the Heart, inſomuch that his Health apparently declined thenceforward. He did not, however, fail to apply himſelf to the Court, where he met with very indifferent Uſage; for though he was treated with great Reſpect, and had many fair Words given him, yet the Senſe he had of the King's Coldneſs, and of the Ingratitude of the *Spaniſh* Courtiers, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, as, after a few Months Illneſs, broke his Heart; this happened on the 20th of *May* 1506, at *Valladolid*. As ſoon as the Court was informed of his Death, Orders were given for his being buried with the utmoſt Pomp and Splendor.

King *Henry* finding himſelf diſappointed in the Scheme propoſed by *Columbus*, preſently hearkened to a new Propoſal for diſcovering *North America*, that Continent which is now the Glory of *Great-Britain*, and the Subject of the Diſputes now exiſting between us and *France*. This was made to his Majeſty by *John Cabot*, a *Venetian* by Birth, but ſettled at *Briſtol*[a]; and was agreed to, as appears from Letters Patents granted to him and his three Sons, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sanctius*[b]. *John Cabot*, the Father, who was very ſkilful in Navigation and Coſmography, and had trained up his Sons in a Knowledge of the ſame Sciences, conjectured from the Succeſs of *Columbus*, that there might probably be Lands to be found out to the North-weſt. He therefore preſented a Memorial to King *Henry* VII. of *England*, ſetting forth, that he made no doubt, but if his Majeſty would pleaſe to employ him, he could make ſome uſeful Diſcoveries, in his Name, and find out Iſlands or Countries abounding with rich Commodities, as *Columbus* had lately done. The King lent a willing Ear to this Propoſal, and ordering a Ship to be fitted out from *Briſtol*, gave *Cabot* the Command of her, with a Commiſſion for the Diſcovery of Lands then unknown, and annexing them to the Crown of *England*.

The Commiſſion, the Original of which was in Latin, *was in Subſtance as follows:*

“ *Henry* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

“ Be it known, that we have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant, for us and our Heirs, to our well-beloved *John Cabot*, Citizen of *Venice*, to *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sanctius*, Sons of the ſaid *John*, and to their Heirs and Aſſigns, and every of them, full and free Authority, Permiſſion and Power, to ſail to all Parts, Countries and Seas of the Eaſt, of the Weſt, and of the North, under our Banners and Enſigns, with five Ships, of whatever Burden or Quantity ſoever they be, and as many Mariners, or Men, as they may deſire to have with them, in the ſaid Ships, upon their own proper Coſts and Charges; to ſeek out, diſcover, and find whatſoever Iſles, Countries, Regions, or Provinces of the Heathens and Infidels, whatſoever they be, and in what Part of the World ſoever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Chriſtians. We have granted to them, their Heirs and Aſſigns, and to every of them, and have given them Licence to ſet up our Banners and Enſigns in every Village, Town, Caſtle, Iſle, or main Land, of them newly found. And that the aforeſaid *John* and his Sons, or their Heirs and Aſſigns, may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſs all ſuch Towns, Cities, Caſtles and Iſles, of them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſs, as our Vaſſals and Lieutenants, getting unto us the Dominion, Title and Juriſdiction of the ſame Villages, Towns, Caſtles, and firm Land ſo found. On condition however, that the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons and Heirs, and their Deputies, be bound and obliged, of all the Fruits, Profits, Gains, and Commodities ariſing from ſuch Navigation, for every their Voyage, as often as they ſhall arrive at our Port of *Briſtol* (to which Port only they ſhall always be obliged to return) all manner of neceſſary Coſts and Charges by them made being firſt deducted, to pay unto us, in Wares or Money, the fifth Part of the capital Gain ſo gotten. We giving and granting unto them, and to their Heirs and Deputies, that they ſhall be free from all paying of Cuſtoms, of all and ſingular ſuch Merchandiſe, as they ſhall bring with them, from thoſe Places ſo newly found. And, moreover, we have given and granted to them, their Heirs and Aſſigns, that all the firm Land, Iſles, Villages, Towns, Caſtles and Places, whatſoever they be, that they ſhall chance to find, may not be frequented or viſited by any other of our Subjects, without the Licence of the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Aſſigns, under pain of Forfeiture, as well of their Ships, as of all and ſingular Goods of all them that ſhall preſume to ſail to thoſe Places ſo found. Willing, and moſt ſtreightly commanding, all and ſingular our Subjects, as well on Land as on Sea, to give good Aſſiſtance to the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Aſſigns, and that, as well in arming and furniſhing their Ships and Veſſels, as in Proviſion of Food, and in buying of Victuals for their Money, and all other Things by them to be provided, neceſſary for the ſaid Navigation, they do give them all their Help and Favour. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed to be made theſe our Letters Patents. Witneſs ourſelves at *Weſtminſter*, the 5th Day of *March*, in the 11th Year of our Reign.”

To the Ship granted by the King, of which, however, this Commiſſion makes no Mention, ſome Merchants of *London* added three more, laden with ſuch ſlight Commodities, as were thought proper for Commerce with barbarous People.

By an Extract from a Record of the Rolls it appears, that tho' *Cabot*'s Commiſſion was ſigned in *March* 1495, or 1496, he did not go to Sea on this Expedition, till the Beginning of the Year 1497.

This Record is in the following Words:

“ *Billa ſignata, Anno* 13, Henrici Septimi.

“ Rex, tertio die *Februarii*, Anno 13, licentiam dedit *Joanni Caboto*, quod ipſe capere poſſit ſex naves *Anglicanas*, in aliquo portu, ſive portibus regni *Angliæ*, ita quod ſint de portagio 200 doliorum, vel ſubtus, cum apparatu requiſito, & quod recipere poſſit in dictas naves omnes tales magiſtros, marinarios, & ſubditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, *&c.* That is,

“ The King, upon the third Day of *February*, in the 13th Year of his Reign, gave Licence to *John Cabot*, to take ſix *Engliſh* Ships, in any Haven or Havens of the Realm of *England*, being of the Burden of 200 Tons or under, with all neceſſary Furniture; and to take alſo into the ſaid Ships, all ſuch Maſters, Mariners,

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[a] Peter Martyr's Hiſt. Ind. Occid. Rapin.

[b] Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 4, &c. Rymer's Fœdera, A. D. 1496.

“ ners, and Subjects of the King, as might be willing to go with him.”

He then departed from *Briſtol*, and (as it is related by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, who was employed afterwards by Queen *Elizabeth* on the like Services) ſailed very far Weſtward, with a Quarter of the North, on the North Side of *Terra de Labrador*, the 11th of *June*, till he came into the North Latitude of ſixty-ſeven Degrees and a half, and finding the Seas ſtill open, might and would, as he affirmed, have gone to *Cathay*, if he had not been prevented by the Diſſentions between the Maſter, and the Mariners. But this we find, by the Diſcovery made in thoſe Parts, ſince that time, he could not have performed. After this, he, or at leaſt his Son *Sebaſtian*, made ſeveral Voyages that way, during the Reign of King *Henry* VII. and diſcovered the Iſland of *Baccalaos*, now much better known by the Name of *Newfoundland*, together with the reſt of the North-eaſt Part of *America* (where now we have ſo many flouriſhing Colonies) as far as the Cape of *Florida*; and landing in ſeveral Places, took Poſſeſſion of them, in the Name of the King of *England*.

The very Day on which they made the firſt Diſcovery of this new World is known by a great Map in his Majeſty's Privy-gallery at *Whitehall*, of which *Sebaſtian Cabot* was therein called the Author, and where was to be ſeen his Picture, with this Title: *Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis aurati*, &c. On this Map there was likewiſe the following Account of the Diſcovery, the Original of which was in *Latin*.

In the Year of our Lord, 1497, *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, and his Son *Sebaſtian* (with an *Engliſh* Fleet) ſet out from *Briſtol*, and diſcovered that Land, which no Man before had attempted. This Diſcovery was made on the 24th of *June*, above five of the Clock in the Morning. This Land he called *Prima Viſta* (or Firſt Seen) becauſe it was that Part of which they had the firſt Sight from the Sea. The Iſland, which lies out before the Land, he called the Iſland of St. *John*, probably becauſe it was diſcovered on the Feſtival of St. *John Baptiſt*. The Inhabitants of this Iſland wore Beaſts-ſkins, and eſteemed them as the fineſt Garments: In their Wars they uſed Bows, Arrows, Pikes, Darts, Clubs of Wood and Slings. They found the Soil barren in ſome Places, and yielding little Fruit; but it was full of White Bears, and Stags, far larger than thoſe of *Europe*. It yielded Plenty of Fiſh, and thoſe of the larger Kind, as Seals and Salmon. They found Soles there above a Yard in Length, and great Abundance of that kind of Fiſh, which the Savages called *Baccalaos*. They alſo obſerved there Patridges, as likewiſe Hawks and Eagles, as black as Ravens.

By a Piece which we find in *Hackluit*, it would ſeem as if the Voyage was made by *Sebaſtian* alone.

A Diſcourſe of Sebaſtian Cabot, *touching his Diſcovery of part of the* Weſt-Indies, *out of* England, *in the time of King* Henry VII. *ſpoken to* Galeacius Butrigarius, *the Pope's Legate in* Spain.

“ When my Father (ſaid *Sebaſtian*) departed from *Venice*, many Years ſince, to dwell in *England*, and to follow the Buſineſs of a Merchant, he took me with him, to the City of *London*, while I was very young; yet having ſome Knowledge of Letters of Humanity, and of the Sphere; when my Father died, in that time, when News was brought, that Don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, a *Genoeſe*, had diſcovered the Coaſts of *India*, of which there was a great Rumour in all the Court of King *Henry* VII. who then reigned; inſomuch that all Men, with great Admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to ſail by the *Weſt* into the *Eaſt*, where Spices grow, by a way that was never known before: I was by this Fame and Report excited with a great Deſire to attempt ſome notable Thing; and underſtanding, by reaſon of the Sphere, that if I ſhould ſail by way of the North-weſt, I ſhould, by a ſhorter Tract, come into *India*: I thereupon found Means to have his Majeſty acquainted with my Thoughts, who immediately commanded two Caravels to be furniſhed with all Things appertaining to the Voyage, which, to the beſt of my Remembrance, was in the Year 1496, in the Beginning of Summer. I began therefore to ſail towards the North-weſt, not thinking to find any other Land than that of *Cathay*, and from thence to turn towards *India*: But after ſome Days, I found that the Land run towards the North, which was a great Diſappointment to me. Nevertheleſs, ſailing along by the Coaſt, to ſee if I could find any Gulph that turned, I found the Land ſtill Continent, to the fifty-ſixth Degree, under our Pole. And ſeeing that the Coaſt ſtretched there towards the Eaſt, deſpairing to find the Paſſage, I turned back again, and ſailed down by the Coaſt of that Land towards the Equinoctial (thinking ſtill I ſhould find the Paſſage to *India*) and came to that Part of the Continent, which is now called *Florida*; where my Proviſions failing, I departed from thence, and returned to *England*.”

Baptiſta Ramuſius, in his Preface to the third Volume of his Navigations, writes of *Sebaſtian Cabot* as follows:

“ In the latter Part of this Volume are ſome Relations of *John de Verarzana*, a *Florentine*, and of a great Captain, a *Frenchman*, and the two Voyages of *James Cartier*, a *Briton*, who ſailed unto the Land ſituate in fifty Degrees of Latitude to the North, which is called *New-France*, which Lands are not hitherto perfectly known, whether they join with the Continent of *Florida* and *Nova Hiſpania*, or whether they are ſeparated by the Sea, as Iſlands; and whether by that Way there is a Paſſage by Sea to the Country of *Cathay*: As was written to me many Years paſt by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a Man of great Experience and Skill in the Art of Navigation, and the Knowledge of Coſmography, who ſailed beyond this Land of *New-France*, at the Charge of *Henry* VII. King of *England*. Thus *Cabot* acquainted me, that having ſailed a long Time, Weſt and by North, beyond thoſe Iſlands, unto the Latitude of 67 Degrees and a half, under the North-pole; and, on the 11th of *June*, finding ſtill the open Sea, without any Manner of Impediment, he thought verily, by that Way, to have ſailed to *Cathay*, which is on the Eaſt, and would have done it, if the Mutiny of the Maſter and Mariners had not hindered him, and obliged him to return homewards from that Place. This is, however, exploded, as I have obſerved above.”

PETER MARTYR's *Account* *.

“ Theſe North Seas have been ſearched by one *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who furniſhed two Ships in *England* at his own Expence, (herein this Account differs from others) and firſt, with three hundred Men, directed his Courſe ſo far towards the North-pole, that even in the Month of *July* he found monſtrous Heaps of Ice, ſwimming on the Sea, and in a Manner continual Day-light; yet he ſaw the Land, in that Tract, free from Ice, which had been melted by the Heat of the Sun. Seeing ſuch Mountains of Ice before him, he was forced to turn his Sails, and follow the Weſt, coaſting ſtill in ſuch Manner, by the Shore, that he was thereby brought ſo far into the South, by Reaſon of the Land bending ſo much Southwards, that it was there almoſt equal in Latitude with the Sea called *Fretum Herculeum*, having the North-pole elevated almoſt in the ſame Degree. He ſailed, likewiſe, in this Tract, ſo far towards the Weſt, that he had the Iſland of *Cuba* on his left Hand, almoſt in the ſame Degree of Longitude. As he ſailed by the Coaſts of this great Land (which he named *Baccalaos*) he ſays, that he found the like Courſe of the Waters towards the Weſt; but that it run more gently than the ſwift Waters, which the *Spaniards* found in their Navigations Southward. Wherefore, it is not only more like to be true, but alſo ought of Neceſſity to be concluded, that between both the Lands, hitherto unknown, there ſhould be Paſſages, through which the Waters ſhould thus continually flow from the Eaſt, unto the Weſt; which Waters I ſuppoſe to be driven about the Globe of the Earth by the inceſſant Motion and Impulſe of the

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* Ch. 6. Decad. 3.

“ Heavens, *Cabot* called theſe Lands *Baccalaos*, becauſe there was, in thoſe Seas, ſo great a Quantity of Fiſh, which the Inhabitants called by this Name, that they ſometimes ſtopp'd his Ships.”

The Teſtimony of Francis Lopez de Gomera, *a* Spaniard, B. II. Ch. 4. *of his General Hiſtory of the* West-Indies.

“ The moſt certain Account we have of the Country and People of *Baccalaos* was brought by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who fitted out two Ships, at the Coſt of King *Henry* VII. of *England*, with the Intent of trafficking for Spices, as the *Portugueſe* did. He carried with him three hundred Men, and took the Way towards the Iſlands, from beyond the Cape of *Labrador*, till he was beyond fifty-eighty Degrees. He related, that in the Month of *July*, it was ſo cold, and the Ice ſo great, that he durſt not paſs any farther: That the Days were very long, almoſt without any Night, and that even the ſhort Night they had, it was very clear. *Cabot*, feeling the Cold, turned towards the Weſt, refreſhing himſelf at *Baccalaos*, and afterwards ſailed along the Coaſt unto 38 Degrees; from whence he ſhaped his Courſe to return to *England*.”

A Note of Sebaſtian Cabot*'s firſt Diſcovery of Part of the* Indies, *taken out of* Robert Fabian*'s Chronicle*.

“ In the 13th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* VII, that King, at the Inſtance of *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who was very expert in the Knowledge of the Globe, cauſed a Ship to be mann'd and victual'd at *Briſtol*, at his own Coſt, to ſearch for an Iſland, which he ſaid he knew was rich, and afforded Plenty of Merchandize. With this Ship, thus manned and victual'd at the King's Coſt, ſeveral Merchants of *London* ventured ſmall Stocks, under the Care of the ſaid *Venetian*. And in the Company of that Ship went three or four more Ships out of *Briſtol*, freighted with ſlight Merchandiſes, ſuch as coarſe Cloth, Caps, Laces, Points, and other Trifles; and they departed in the Beginning of *May*.”

And in the next Year the ſame Author informs us, that this Adventurer brought with him three Natives of *Newfoundland*, and preſented them to the King; who were cloathed in Beaſts Skins, eat raw Fleſh, ſpake an unknown Language, and behaved like brute Beaſts.

Mr. *John Smith*, Author of the General Hiſtory of *Virginia*, writes,

“ We find that *Columbus* offered his Service in the Year 1488, to King *Henry* VII, and by Accident undertook the Diſcovery of unknown Lands, for the *Spaniards*. In the Interim, King *Henry* gave a Commiſſion to *John Cabot*, and his three Sons, *Sebaſtian*, *Lewis* and *Santius*. *John* and *Sebaſtian*, well provided, ſetting ſail, ranged a great Part of this unknown World, in the Year 1497. For though *Columbus* had found certain Iſles, it was 1498 before he ſaw the Continent, which was a Year after *Cabot*. So that, in reality, the Honour of this great Diſcovery is as much, or more due to the *Engliſh* Nation, than to the *Spaniſh*. *Americus*, from whom this whole Continent has taken its Name, only ſwept away the Gleanings (if I may be allowed the Expreſſion) of theſe two great Diſcoverers; but *Sebaſtian Cabot* went farther than all of them; for he ſailed to about 40 Degrees Southward of the Line, and to 67 towards the North.”

The Advocates for *John Cabot* urge, that his Son *Sebaſtian* was not above twenty Years old at the Time of their Diſcovery of *Newfoundland*, &c. and therefore too young to undertake ſuch an Expedition. But when we put this Reaſon into the Balance againſt the Authority of ſuch Writers of general Eſteem for their Veracity, it is probable that the Father might die between the Granting of the Licence and the Departure of the Fleet; and the Education of the young *Sebaſtian* might over-rule all Objections to his Age. But be that as it will, it is certain the Diſcovery propoſed was made to the great Satisfaction of the Adventurers: and is at this Time inſiſted upon by the Court of *Great-Britain* in our Claim of the Settlements on *Newfoundland* and *Nova Scotia*, againſt the Encroachments of the *French*, by Right of Priority in the Diſcovery of the Countries and Iſlands in thoſe Latitudes, and confirm'd to *Great-Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1713.

The Death of the King, and the Schemes carried on by his Son and Succeſſor *Henry* to enſlave his Subjects, ſatisfy his Luſt, and to rob the religious Foundations, by introducing a Religion of his own Invention, (for he was no otherwiſe a Proteſtant than as he aboliſhed the Pope's Supremacy in *England*, ſtill retaining the worſt of Doctrines, and the Spirit of Perſecution againſt all Diſſenters from his ſix ſanguinary Articles of Religion) interrupted the laudable and profitable Adventures, ſet on foot with ſo great Succeſs, for Diſcoveries of unknown Countries, inhabited only by Heathens; nevertheleſs, as this is the firſt original Claim by which we hold *Newfoundland*, and the neighbouring Settlement of *Nova Scotia*, on the Continent, it will be moſt proper to give the Deſcription thereof in this Place.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Is an Iſland of a triangular Form, about as big as *Ireland*, and 310 Leagues, or 930 Miles in Circuit. On the North it is ſeparated from *Terra de Labrador*, or *New Britain*, by the Streight of *Belliſle*, which runs North-eaſt, and is about twenty-three Miles over in its narroweſt Part. On the Weſt it has the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and on the South and Eaſt the Weſtern, or *Atlantic* Ocean. *Cape Race*, or *Raz*, the moſt ſoutherly Point of the Iſland, lies in North Latitude 46. 45, the moſt northern Point is in Latitude 51. 30. So that the greateſt Length of the Iſland, from South to North, is 280 Miles. *Cape Raye*, its moſt weſterly Point, lies in North Latitude 47. 35, and between it and *Cape Race*, the Diſtance is about 80 Leagues, or 240 Miles.

Authors differ widely in the Account they give of its Climate and Produce. Some aſſert, that the Sky is almoſt conſtantly clear and ſerene; that here are beautiful Foreſts and verdant Fields, covered with Strawberries, &c. that the Buſhes are nothing but Raſpberries of a delicious Taſte and Flavour; that here are exceeding good Waters, very fruitful Vales; and that there is here a kind of Rye, which grows naturally without Culture, and is very nouriſhing; and that the Iſle abounds with all Sorts of Game. Amongſt theſe is the famous *Engliſh* Navigator Capt. *Richard Whitbourne*, who in 1623 publiſhed the following Account by Authority.

“ The natural Inhabitants of the Country were few in Number, and ſomething rude and ſavage People, having neither Knowledge of God, nor living under any kind of civil Government. In their Habits, Cuſtoms and Manners, they reſemble the *Indians* of the Continent.

All along the Coaſt of this Country (ſays my Author) are many ſpacious and excellent Bays, ſome of them ſtretching into the Land, one towards another, more than 20 Leagues. On the Eaſt-ſide of the Land, are the Bays of *Trinity* and *Conception*, which ſtretch themſelves towards the South-weſt; *Tor* Bay and *Capeline* Bay, lying alſo on the Eaſt, ſtretch towards the Weſt; the Bays of *Trepaſſey*, *St. Mary*, *Borrell* and *Plaiſance*, on the South part of the Land, extend their Arms towards the North; the great Bay of *St. Peters* lying on the South-weſt Side of the Land, and Eaſt, Southerly from the great River of *Canady*, being about 20 Leagues diſtant, the ſame ſtretcheth towards the Eaſt; from the Bay of *St. Peter*, round about the Weſt Side of the Land, to the grand Bay, which lieth on the North Side of the Country, and ſo from thence, back to *Trinity* Bay.

Trinity Harbour lies near in 49 Degrees North Latitude, being very commodiouſly ſeated to receive Shipping in reaſonable Weather, both to Anchor in, and from thence to ſail towards either the Eaſt, Weſt, or South: It hath three Arms or Rivers, long and large enough for many hundred Sail of Ships, to moor faſt at Anchor near a Mile from the Harbour's Mouth. Cloſe adjoining to the River's Side, and within the Harbour, is much open Land, well ſtored with Graſs, Winter and Summer, to maintain Store of ordinary Cattle, beſides Hogs and Goats; and it ſtandeth North, moſt of any Harbour in the Land.

The Bottom of the Bay of *Trinity* comes near unto the Bay of *Trepaſſey*, which is as commodious a Harbour, lying in a more temperate Climate, almoſt in 46 Degrees, the like Latitude, and is both fair and pleaſant, and a wholeſome Coaſt, free from Rocks and Shelves; ſo that of all other Harbours it lies the Southmoſt of any Harbour in the Land, and moſt conveniently to receive our Shipping paſſing to and from *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Bermuda* Iſlands; and alſo any other Shipping that ſhall paſs to and from the River of *Canada*, and the Coaſt thereof.

The Soil of this Country is ſo fruitful, as that in divers Places there the Summer naturally produceth out of the fruitful Womb of the Earth, without the Labour of Man's Hand, great Plenty of green Peaſe and Fitches, fair, round, full and wholeſome as our Fitches are in *England*; the Hawms of them are good Fodder for Cattle and other Beaſts in the Winter, with the Help of Hay; of which there may be made great Store with little Labour, in divers Places of the Country. There are fine Strawberries, red and white, and fair Reſpaſeberries and Gooſeberries; Multitudes of Bilberries, and many other delicate Berries, in great Abundance. There are alſo many other Fruits, as ſmall Pears, Cherries, Filberds, *&c.* There are alſo Herbs for Sallets and Broth, as Parſley, Alexander, Sorrel, *&c.* Cabbage, Carrots, Turneps, Lettuce, Parſley, and ſuch like.

In divers Parts of the Country there is great Store of Deer, and ſome Hares, many Foxes, Squirrels, Beavers, Wolves, and Bears, with other ſorts of Beaſts, ſerving as well for Neceſſity, as for Profit and Delight.

To ſpeak ſomething of the great Plenty of Fowl in that Country, as well Land-fowl, as Water-fowl; the Variety of both kinds is infinite. The Land-fowl (beſides great Number of ſmall Birds flying up and down, ſome without Name, that live by ſcraping their Food from the Earth in the hardeſt Winter that is) there are alſo Hawks, great and ſmall, Partridges, Thruſh, and Thruſſels abundance very fat. As alſo Filladies, Nightingales, and ſuch like ſmall Birds that ſing moſt pleaſantly. There are alſo Birds that live by Prey, as Ravens, Gripes, Crows, *&c.* For Water-fowl, there is certainly ſo good, and as much Variety, as in any Part of the World, as Geeſe, Ducks, Pigeons, Gulls, Penguins, and many other ſorts. Theſe Penguins are as big as Geeſe, and fly not, for they have but a little ſhort Wing, and they multiply ſo infinitely, upon a certain flat Iſland, that Men drive them from thence upon a Board, into their Boats, by Hundreds at a time; as if God had made the Innocency of ſo poor a Creature, to become ſuch an admirable Inſtrument for the Suſtentation of Man. There are alſo Godwits, Curlews, and a certain kind of Fowl that are called Oxen and Kine, with ſuch like; which Fowl do not only ſerve thoſe that trade thither greatly for Food, but alſo they are a great furthering to divers Ships Voyages, becauſe the Abundance of them is ſuch, that the Fiſhermen do bait their Hooks with the Quarters of Sea-fowl on them; and therewith ſome Ships do yearly take a great Part of their Fiſhing-voyages, with ſuch Bait, before they can get others.

The freſh Waters and Springs of that Country are many in Number, and withal very pleaſant, delightful and wholeſome, that no Country in the World hath better. And Fuel for Fire is ſo plentiful, that there is never like to be any want there of thoſe Commodities.

In like manner there is great abundance of Trees, fit to be employed in other ſerviceable Uſes: There are Fir and Spruce-trees, ſound, good, and fit to maſt Ships withal; and as commodious for Boards and Buildings as the Spruce and Fir-trees of *Norway*; and out of theſe come abundance of Turpentine; and there is much probability of finding Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

The Rivers alſo and Harbours are generally ſtored with delicate Fiſh, as Salmons, Peals, Eels, Herrings, Mackerel, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Cod, and Trouts, the faireſt, fatteſt and ſweeteſt, that I have ſeen in any Part of the World. The like for Lobſters, Crafiſh, Muſcles, Hens, and other Variety of Shell-fiſh.

The Sea likewiſe all along that Coaſt, doth plentifully abound in other ſorts of Fiſh, as Whales, Spaniſh Mackerel, Dorrelpoles, Herring-Hogs, Porpoiſes, Seals, and ſuch like royal Fiſh, *&c.* But the chief Commodity of *Newfoundland* is the Cod-fiſhing upon that Coaſt, by which our Nation and many other Countries are enricht and greatly comforted.

There are many other excellent good Harbours where our Nation uſeth to fiſh, which are very good for Ships to moor faſt at Anchor, and better for Fiſhing, than either of the foreſaid two Harbours are, of which I will particularly expreſs ſome of their Names.

Firſt, the Harbour of *St. John's*, *Foriland*, *Formoſa*, *Agafort*, Harbour *de Grace*, and divers other good Harbours, Bays and Roads. Likewiſe not far from *Treſpaſſey*, which lieth ſix Leagues to the Weſt, from the South-cape of the Land, which is called *Cape Deraſſe*, and ſix Leagues to the Northward of the ſaid Cape, lieth the Harbour of *Renouze*, which is a Place eaſily to be defended, there being at a low Ebb not 18 Foot Water, fine Sand.

Cloſe adjoining to the Harbour of *Renouze*, are above 300 Acres of good Land, that is clear without Woods; with freſh Rivers in the Summer-time, with very little Labour; and within a Mile further off from the ſaid Harbours, lie many thouſand Acres more of very good open Land, that are able to receive and relieve many Hundreds of Cattle, and fit, with little Labour, to be manured for Tillage; and ſo in other Places of that Country the like.

There are yearly near unto the ſaid Harbour of *Renouze*, great ſtore of Deer, and no want of good Fiſh, good Fowl, good freſh Water, and ſtore of Wood, *&c*"

Others, on the contrary, repreſent it as a frightful Country, and aſſert, that the whole Iſland is almoſt one continued Rock, *&c.* In order to reconcile theſe oppoſite Deſcriptions, ſays F. *Charlevoix*, we muſt diſtinguiſh the different Parts of the Iſle, which have been viſited by *Europeans*. It is true, adds he, that the Southern and Eaſtern Coaſts do not commonly enjoy a very ſerene Sky, becauſe of their Neighbourhood to the great Bank, which is almoſt conſtantly covered with a thick Fog. But in the Northern and Weſtern Parts the Sky is very clear, both in Summer and Winter. As for the innermoſt Parts of the Country, there is nothing certain concerning them, it being almoſt impoſſible to travel far into the Iſland. Among thoſe who have travelled fartheſt, ſome, perhaps, may have obſerved beautiful Vales, whilſt others, who went another Way, could perceive nothing but ſteep and barren Rocks.

The chief, and almoſt only, Trade and Buſineſs here, is Fiſh; whereof there is ſuch Plenty in this Sea, that all the World almoſt might be ſupplied from it, all ſorts being taken here in immenſe Quantities; but the principal Fiſhery here regarded is that of Cod, whereof, at leaſt, five hundred Sail of Ships are laden every Year for *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *England*, and other Parts. The main Fiſhery is on the *Great Bank*; and on the other Banks about the Iſland, as alſo all along the Coaſt. The Fiſhing-ſeaſon is from Spring till *September*.

Train-oil is drawn off the Livers of the Fiſh, which are thrown up in Heaps, when the Cod is cured; and from thence is drawn all the Oil that comes from *Newfoundland*.

There are two Sorts of Trades in this Navigation; the one, and perhaps the moſt profitable, conſidering the Riſk is leſs, is that driven by the Fiſhers themſelves, who only victual and man their Ships at *Biddeford*, *Pool*, *Dartmouth*, and other Weſtern Ports chiefly, and go away early to fiſh, having the Hands and Ships neceſſary. The other is, when the Maſters ſail directly to *Newfoundland*, to purchaſe Cargoes of Fiſh of the above-mentioned Fiſhers, or of the Inhabitants off their Stages. Theſe Traders purchaſe their Cargoes with Bills of Exchange, at two Months Date, which are very ſeldom proteſted. The Fiſh that is ſhipped for *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, is inconſiderable, in compariſon to what is ſent to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. Some Fiſh is alſo ſhipped for *Barbadoes*, and the other *Sugar-Iſlands*. The Author of *The* Britiſh *Empire in* America, obſerves, That beſides the great Profit which particular Merchants make by this Fiſhery, conſidering the Seamen it conſtantly breeds, the Tradeſmen it maintains, and the Shipping it requires, the Increaſe of the national Stock is no leſs than 3 or 400,000 *l.* yearly; for a Ship of an hundred Tons, with the Charge only of Victual, and Fiſhing-tackle for twenty Hands, ſhall bring to Market in *Portugal*,

gal, *Spain*, or *Italy*, 3000 *l.* Worth of Fiſh, and clear frequently not leſs than 2000 *l.* to the Proprietors; ſo that an hundred and fifty ſuch Ships only will clear 300,000 *l.* and conſequently increaſe the public and private Stock ſo much.

In the Year 1696, the *Engliſh*, ſays *Charlevoix*, had ſeveral conſiderable Settlements here, chiefly on the Eaſtern Coaſt of the Iſland, and had contrived Roads through the Woods, for an eaſy Communication of theſe Settlements with each other. Here were ſeveral very rich Inhabitants, and they traded yearly for 17,000,000 of Livres; that is, above 900,000 *l.* Sterling, conſidering the *French* Money was then much higher than it is at preſent.

As to its modern State, there are a great many fine Bays all round *Newfoundland*, but thoſe on the Eaſt and South Coaſts are beſt known. Thoſe on the Eaſt-ſide are *Bonaviſta*, *Trinity*, and *Conception*, which ſtretch themſelves to the South-weſt; *Torbay*, *Capelin*, *St. John*'s Harbour, the Bay of *Bulls*, *Freſh-water* Bay, and others; for there is no Shore in the World better accommodated with excellent Harbours, and the Bays on the Eaſt and South Coaſts are ſo near each other, that nothing could be more commodious for an eaſy Communication, were there Inhabitants that wanted it. At *Bonaviſta*, the firſt Land made by *Cabot*, the *Engliſh* had a Settlement ſo well fortified, conſidering the Country, that after the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of a great Part of *Newfoundland*, in the Year 1696, they did not dare to attack the Place.

St. John's Harbour is very fine, and capacious enough for two hundred Sail of Shipping; its Entrance is not above half a Muſquet-ſhot wide, lies between two very high Mountains, and was, in 1696, defended by a Battery of eight Guns.

On the South Shore are the Bays of *Biſcay*, *St. Mary's*, *Placentia*, Bay of *Fortune* or *St. Peter's*, and the Bay of *Deſpair*, going from Eaſt to Weſt; but the moſt famous and conſiderable of them is the Bay of *Placentia*, of which *Charlevoix* gives the following Deſcription.

This Bay is ten Leagues deep, and the Harbour is at the Bottom of it. The Entrance of it is a narrow Channel, through which but one Ship can paſs at a time; but it is deep enough for the largeſt Veſſels, and the Harbour can contain a hundred and fifty Ships, which ride there ſecure againſt all Winds, and can fiſh as quietly as in any River. Before the narrow Channel, there is a Road of a League and half in Extent, but expoſed to the North-north-weſterly Wind, which blows very often upon that Coaſt, and is almoſt conſtantly tempeſtuous. What makes the Channel ſo narrow, is a Ridge of dangerous Rocks, which muſt be left on the Right-hand, and above which the *French* had built a Fort, called *St. Lewis*. The Currents are very ſtrong here, ſo that Ships muſt be towed through the Channel.

The great Strand, or drying Place for Fiſh, which is about a League in Extent, lies between two ſteep Hills, one of which, on the South-ſouth-weſt, is ſeparated from the Strand by a ſmall Rivulet, which runs out of the Channel, and forms a kind of Lake, that is called the *Little Bay*. Here they catch Plenty of Salmon. The great Strand may contain at once wherewithal to load threeſcore Ships. There is another leſſer Strand for the Uſe of the Inhabitants, who fiſh all along the Coaſt. On both theſe Places Fiſh may be laid to dry without Danger.

Along the above-mentioned Rivulet, the *French* built Huts to dry their Fiſh in rainy Weather. The Houſes of the Inhabitants were near this Place, and formed a Street, which was the Town of *Placentia*. Fort *St. Lewis* rendered the *French* Maſters of all the Southern Parts of *Newfoundland*, and of the Iſland of *St. Peter*, which lie over-againſt it, and were inhabited. The People of *St. Malo* uſed to fiſh a little farther, at a Place called *Petit Nord*. The Cod is leſs there than in the Bay of *Placentia*, but more proper for the *Mediterranean* and *Levant* Traders.

The great Bank of *Newfoundland* is a vaſt Mountain, concealed under Water, lying about ſix hundred Leagues Weſt of *France*. Mr. *Denys*, Author of a good Treatiſe on *North America*, and a very uſeful Book, gives this Bank a hundred and fifty Leagues from North to South: but, according to the moſt accurate Sea-charts, its Southern Extremity lies in or about the 41ſt Degree of North Latitude, and its Northern Extremity in 49. 25. The truth is, that theſe two Extremities are ſo pointed, that it is not eaſy to mark its Limits that Way. Its greateſt Breadth, from Eaſt to Weſt, is about ninety marine *Engliſh* Leagues, between 42. 30. 51. 30. of Longitude Weſt from *London*. Some Sailors have aſſerted, that they have anchored there in five Fathom, which is contrary to the Sieur *Denys*, who pretends that the Depth is twenty-five Fathom; it is certain, that in ſome Places it has ſixty.

Whatever be the Dimenſions or Figure of this Bank, it is covered with a vaſt Quantity of Shells, and ſeveral Kinds of Fiſh of all Sizes, moſt of which ſerve for Food to the Cod-fiſh, whoſe Number here ſeems to equal the Grains of Sand on the Bank itſelf. Between two and three hundred Veſſels have loaded here annually for two Centuries, and yet this vaſt Conſumption has produced no Alteration in their Plenty. The Gulph and River of *St. Lawrence*, the Coaſt of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, *Cape Breton*, and *Newfoundland*, abound alſo with Cod, as well as the great Bank. Theſe are true Mines, of greater Value, as well as cheaper wrought, than thoſe of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

The next Bank is called the *Green Bank*; the Author of the *Britiſh Empire* in *America* aſſerts, that it is about two hundred and forty Miles long, and a hundred and twenty Miles over; but, by the Charts, we do not find it above a hundred and twenty Miles long, and about fifty over, where broadeſt; it lies off the South Coaſt of *Newfoundland*. The other Banks are not conſiderable enough to deſerve particular Notice.

Cabot ſail'd along the Coaſt, took Poſſeſſion of *Cape Breton*, and all the Continent to the Height of *Cape Florida*, including *Nova-Scotia*, which is thus deſcribed.

NOVA-SCOTIA *or* NEW-SCOTLAND

Is the Eaſtern Part of the *North American* Continent, and has *New-England* on the South-weſt; part of *New-France*, and the River *St. Lawrence*, on the Weſt and North; the Gulph of that Name, and *Cape Breton* Iſland, on the Eaſt; and the *Atlantic* Ocean on the Eaſt and South. According to ſome Geographers, it extends from the Streight of *Canſo* and *Fronſac* (which divides it from *Cape Breton* Iſland) Weſt Longitude 60. 15. to the River of *Kennebeck*, in Longitude 69. 0. and from *Cape Sable* in North Latitude 43. 37. to *Cape Anne*, in the River of *St. Lawrence*, in Latitude 49. 30. It is ſo indented in the Middle by that called the Bay of *Funda*, that the Part of the Country which is on the South-eaſt of the Bay towards the Ocean, is a ſort of triangular Peninſula, only joined by a ſmall Iſthmus to the other Part, which is not much inhabited or known.

Monſ. *De Liſle*, the famous *French* Geographer, varies much in the Situation and Boundaries of this Country. In his Map of *Canada*, publiſhed in 1703, *Acadia* takes in the Country of the *Etchemins*, or *Itchemins*, who are placed in ſome of our Maps on the Weſt Side of the Bay of *Funda*, and a Part of the Continent larger than the Peninſula, extending from Latitude 43 to 45. 20; whereas in Monſ. *De Liſle*'s general Map of *America*, engraved in 1722, *Acadia* (to anſwer certain *French* Purpoſes of Encroachment) is confined within the Peninſula, and bounded on the North-weſt by the *Gaſpeſians* Country. Father *Charlevoix* makes it 250 Leagues in Compaſs. Monſ. *Bellin*, Engineer and Hydrographer to the Marine-office, for the Illuſtration of the *Hiſtory of New-France*, reports the Length of it from Cape *Canſo* on the Eaſt, to *Cape Sable* on the Weſt, according to their way of Reckoning, to be eighty Leagues. He ſays, that Mr. *Popple*'s Map of this Country is not at all correct as to the Figure of the Ports and Bays, and the particular Windings of the Coaſts; but that it is pretty exact in the Longitude and Latitude, tho' it places *Cape Canſo* twenty Minutes too far North.

La Hontan, another *French* Writer, who made a long Stay in *North America*, gives it a much larger Extent than the *Canada* Map juſt now mentioned, for he includes in it a part of *Canada* and *Gaſpeſia*. According to this Author, (who acts the honeſt Part, according to the ancient Limits of this Country) it is three hundred Leagues in Length along the Sea-coaſt, from *Kennebeck*, the frontier River of *New-England*, to the *Iſle Percee*, towards the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, including the Bays of *Funda* and *Chaleurs*. This differs widely from the late Map of Monſ. *D'Anville*; and how far that differs from the real antient Boundaries of this Part of *America*, will appear hereafter.

To proceed, at preſent, with the State of the Country, with regard to its Productions and Commerce.

Here are, ſays Baron *La Hontan*, a great many little Rivers, whoſe Mouths have Depth for the largeſt Ships, with good Anchorage; they abound with Salmon; and that, in moſt of the Rivers and the Gulphs with which they communicate, there is Plenty of Cod-fiſh; that the four Seaſons of the Year are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed here, but that the three winter Months are extremely cold. *La Hontan* further obſerves, that almoſt every Part of *Acadia* yields Corn, Fruit, Peaſe, and other Pulſe; that in ſeveral Places there are Maſts as ſtrong as thoſe of *Norway*; and that, if there were occaſion, all kinds of Shipping might be built here, the Oak-timber that grows here being better than that of *Europe*. The *Baron*, who ſays here is good Hunting, repreſents it in general to be a fine Country, the Climate tolerably temperate, the Air pure and wholeſome, and the Water light and clear. *Charlevoix*, another *French* Writer, ſays, it abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life, in every Seaſon, to ſubſiſt the Inhabitants without much Fatigue. Here is Plenty of feathered Game, ſuch as Partridges, Ducks, Teal, and Buſtards; and that, of the latter, vaſt Numbers come to all the Iſlands, and the Banks of Rivers in *April*, to build their Neſts; where our Author ſays, they have Eggs enough to ſubſiſt the Inhabitants at that time, and yet the Species does not ſeem to be much diminiſhed.

At the End of *March* the Fiſh begin to ſpawn, when they enter the Rivers in ſuch Shoals as are incredible. The Herrings come up in *April*, and the Sturgeon and Salmon in *May*. Here are Multitudes of Beavers, Otters, and the Fiſh called Baſs, whoſe Fleſh is reckoned as good as Veal. In *October* and *November* they hunt the two firſt, and in *January* they fiſh for the laſt. All the Coaſt of the Peninſula from *Cape Sable* on the Weſt, to *Cape Canſo* on the Eaſt, is lined with Shoals or Sand-banks. About *November*, a ſort of Fiſh called *Pocamo*, ſuppoſed to be a Sea-dog, comes and ſpawns on the Ice, and this is the time when the Tortoiſes alſo lay their Eggs.

The Savages, or *Indians* here, much reſemble thoſe of *New-England*; they have, indeed, more of their native Barbarity and Ignorance than their Neighbours, who have more Dealings with the *French* and *Engliſh*.

As ſome Authors have repreſented this to be as indifferent a Country as ever was inhabited by *Barbarians*, we ſhall here add what is farther related by F. *Charlevoix* beforementioned, in ſupport of the above Account given of its general Fertility. He ſays, that M. *Denys*, who publiſhed an accurate Deſcription of this Country, in which he reſided a long Time, and was Proprietary and Governor for the *French* King, of the Eaſt Coaſt, reports, that one ſingle Grain of Wheat, ſown near *La Hurvé*, produced 150 Ears, very long, and ſo loaded, that they were forced to ſupport them with Iron-hoops. The Jeſuit adds, that here are Mines both of Copper and Coal; and that about three-fourths of a League from the Iſle *Monano*, which ſhews the Way into *St. John*'s River on the North-ſide of *Funda* Bay, there is a Rock of *Lapis Lazuli*, which is almoſt covered with the Sea; and Mr. *Denys*, who ſaw a Piece that had been taken off of it, and ſent to *France*, ſays it was valued at ten Crowns an Ounce.

Beſides the Fiſh already mentioned, here are Mackarel, Pilchards, Shad, Trout, Sea-cows and Whales, in ſuch Numbers, that ſeveral Ship-loads may be taken in a Seaſon in the Port of *Monconadi*. The Rivers here are alſo full of the Freſh-water kind.

This Country is ſtrangely indented, on all Sides, with Bays from the Sea. The chief is called the Bay of *Funda*. It breaks above 200 Miles into the Land from *Cape Sable*, the moſt Southern Point of *New-Scotland*, to the Iſthmus which joins the Peninſula to the Continent. According to F. *Charlevoix*, 'tis two *French* Leagues over to the River of *St. John*, and has a clean Shore, with Depth of Water enough to carry the largeſt Ships to the leſſer Bay, on which ſtands its capital, *viz.*

Annapolis, which lies in a fair clean Bay within the Bay of *Funda*, where there are at leaſt ſix or ſeven other good Harbours. It was called *Port-Royal* by Monſ. *De Monts* in 1605, when he brought the *French* Colony hither from *St. Croix*; and it had the Name of *Annapolis* in Honour of Queen *Anne*, in whoſe Reign it was taken by the *Engliſh* under Colonel *Nicholſon*. F. *Charlevoix* ſays, this Harbour has but one Fault, which is, the Difficulty of entering or coming out of it, beſides the Inconvenience of the frequent Fogs here, ſo that only one Ship can paſs in or out of it at a time; and that muſt be with the Stern Foremaſt, and with great Precaution, by reaſon of the ſtrong Currents and Tides. This excepted, ſays the Father, Nature has ſcarce omitted one thing to make it the fineſt Harbour in the World. It is two Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, having a ſmall Iſland, called *Goat-Iſland*, almoſt in the Middle of the Baſon, which it is ſaid is able to contain all the Ships in *America*. Its Depth of Water is no where leſs than four or five Fathom, it being ſix or ſeven on one Side of the Iſland, and on the other ſixteen or eighteen. The Bottom is every where good, and Ships may be ſecure in it from all Winds. When the *French* poſſeſſed it, they often brought their Fiſhing-veſſels into it. The Place ſubſiſts by the Traffic of Skins, which the *Indians* bring down in Exchange for *European* Goods. It has alſo a pretty good Trade in Lumber and Fiſh.

It may not be improper to obſerve, that the Town of *Annapolis Royal* in *Nova Scotia* is reckoned as a Barrier to the Colonies of *New England*, and is of the laſt Importance to prevent the *French* joining, in Time of War, with the Eaſtern *Indians*, either by Land or Sea. In Queen *Anne*'s War, while this Place was in the Hands of the *French*, it actually was, as the ingenious Mr. *Dummer* juſtly ſtiles it, the *Dunkirk* of this Part of the World; continually harbouring Fleets of Privateers and *French* Cruizers, to the Ruin of the Fiſheries, and foreign Trade, of all the *Britiſh* Northern Colonies; and which will inevitably be the Caſe, if *France* is ever ſuffered to obtain any Part, or the Whole, of this important Colony, eſpecially ſince they are poſſeſſed of *Cape Breton*. In 1744, after the *French* from *Cape Breton* had taken and burnt *Canſo*, at the Eaſt-end almoſt of *Nova Scotia*, their *Indians* alarmed *Annapolis* for a Month together, by threatning a general Aſſault, and providing Scaling-ladders; but, the Garriſon happening opportunely to be reinforced, they retired.

Canſo is a Place exceeding convenient for receiving Succours from *France*. The Harbour is about three Leagues in Depth, and conſiſts of ſeveral Iſlands, whereof the biggeſt, which is the middlemoſt, is near four Leagues in Compaſs, having a fruitful Soil, well watered and wooded. It forms two Bays with ſafe Anchorage, and in the Continent, which is very near it, there is a River called *Salmon River*, becauſe of the great Plenty of thoſe Fiſh that are caught there. In ſhort, the Fiſhery here is reckoned one of the beſt in the World. And ſo imperious have the *French* been, that they would not ſuffer any *Britiſh* Subject to catch or cure Fiſh here, without paying for a Licence from the Governor of *Cape Breton*, tho' the *French* have no ſort of Right to any of thoſe Iſlands or Harbours.

Wherefore, the near Neighbourhood of *Cape Breton* to our Colony of *Nova Scotia* is of itſelf ſufficient to alarm us, without ſuffering them to encroach an Inch upon this our *Dunkirk* of *North America*; which would ſo add to the Strength of the *French*, and weaken that of the *Engliſh* there, that we ſhould ever be liable to Inſults, and our Poſſeſſions thereby rendered ever precarious. But,

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, Article the XIIth, the *French* King hath yielded to the Queen of *England*, and her Succeſſors for ever, all *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, with all the ancient Boundaries, as alſo the City of *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis*, and all other Things in thoſe Parts, which depend on Lands and Iſlands, with the Dominion, Property, Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Iſlands, Lands, and all Rights whatſoever, by Treaty, or by any other way obtained, *&c.* To which the *French* King added the Excluſion of the Subjects of *France* from fiſhing on the Coaſts of *Nova Scotia*, and within thirty Leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*,

Sable, and ſtretching along to the South-weſt [*]. And here it is very neceſſary to obſerve, that though the Reſtitution of *Cape Breton* to the Crown of *England* was, doubtleſs, implied in the Terms of this Article, as well as that of *Nova Scotia*; though *Cape Breton* was always reckoned a Part of *Nova Scotia*, and therein included by the Patents; though Queen *Anne*, in her Inſtructions to the late Duke of *Shrewſbury*, when he went Ambaſſador to *France*, declared, that ſhe looked upon *Cape Breton* to belong to her, as a Part of the ancient Territory of *Nova Scotia*; yet, by the 13th Article of the Treaty aforeſaid, the *Engliſh* were bare-facedly tricked out of this important Place, which was treacherouſly given up to the *French*, and they were ſuffered to keep it, till it was taken in the late War by the Force of *New England*, and given to *France* again, by the late Peace made at *Aix la Chapelle*.

The Province of *Nova Scotia*, (known in the *French* Maps under three Denominations, *viz. Acadia*, *Gaſpaſia*, and *Main*) has been conquered by *France* from *England*; re-conquered by *England*, from *France* again; ceded by *England* to *France* by Treaty; and fully, we ſee, receded again, by *France* to *England*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for the laſt Time, without reſerve of any Part or Parcel whatſoever: therefore *France* can have no room to claim any Part of this now.

For, if that Nation ſhould obtain more than their Right in this Part of *America*, they may, with the contiguous Colony of *Cape Breton*, *&c.* be rendered more powerful in *America*, than all the other Acquiſitions ſhe has hitherto ever made there, can poſſibly do; becauſe it may for ever ſecure to her a Superiority in the Fiſhery there; ſecure the whole Fur-trade of the northern Continent; afford her ſeveral of the beſt Ports, Harbours, and Materials for building Ships of the greateſt Force, from whence they may be immediately launched into the Ocean; inſtead of their being brought with great Difficulty and Hazard (as they now are) from *Quebec*, down the River *St. Lawrence*, where, while we poſſeſs, as the Treaty expreſſes, all the ancient Boundaries of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, they might be eaſily intercepted: and, with theſe additional Advantages, *France* will be ever a Terror to all our northern Colonies upon the Continent; and how this muſt affect our Iſland-colonies which depend upon them, is much eaſier conceived than can be repreſented.

The *French* are at preſent ſo much our Rivals in the Fiſheries here, and are increaſed to ſuch a prodigious Degree, that they employ above five hundred Sail of Shipping yearly from *St. Malo*, *Rochelle*, *Granville*, *St. Martin's*, *Iſle of Rea*, *Bayonne*, *St. Jean de Luze*, *Sibour*, &c. to carry on their Fiſhery, both wet and dry, on the great Banks of *Newfoundland*, and on the Coaſt of that Iſland. By this means, they not only ſupply themſelves with the Fiſh they formerly had from us, but furniſh many Parts of *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy* therewith, and rival us there to a prodigious Loſs. They have the propereſt ſort of Salt of their own, which renders their Voyages much ſhorter than ours; we being obliged to go from hence to *Rochelle*, *Oleron*, *St. Martin*, &c. to fetch that Commodity, which they have at their own Doors; and thereby we frequently ſpend a Month or more in our Voyages than they do.

France is ſo extremely ſenſible of the prodigious Advantage of this Fiſhery, and ſo very intent upon purſuing it, that, from their firſt Attempts to make themſelves conſiderable at Sea, they have had it perpetually in View.— They firſt artfully obtained leave to fiſh, upon paying a Duty of five *per Cent.* afterwards they got that Acknowledgment relinquiſhed: this was far from being all they aimed at; for, by the *Utrecht* Treaty, they procured a Ceſſion to be made to them of the Iſland of *Cape Breton*, a maiden Fiſhery, that had ſcarce ever been touched; whereas *Newfoundland* was greatly exhauſted, and alſo ſeveral Iſlands in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*: not content with this, they further obtained a Liberty of curing and drying their Fiſh, ſetting up Stages, and reſorting to our Iſland of *Newfoundland*, during all the Time that it is of any uſe to reſort thither; that is, during the Fiſhing-ſeaſon. They, indeed, delivered up the Poſſeſſion of *Placentia*, and ſome other Places in *Newfoundland*; but did they not take care to have a better Place yielded to them in lieu thereof? And with this extraordinary Favour to them more than to us, that they have the Liberty granted them to frequent our Iſland of *Newfoundland*, and erect Stages, *&c.* thereon, for curing and drying their Fiſh; but we have not the Privilege allowed us of doing the ſame on any of their Iſlands, or on the Iſland of *Cape Breton*. Thus they are our Rivals in the Fiſhery, by our own Conſent, which is the more extraordinary, ſeeing it has been owing to this Fiſhery, that they have dared to contend for the Maſtery at Sea with the maritime Strength of *England* and *Holland* united.

The Hiſtory both of *France* and *England* will ſhew, that it is ſince their procuring leave to fiſh at *Newfoundland*, and their Settlement of *Cape Breton*, that they have grown ſo formidable at Sea, and that their Navy Royal has augmented, in Proportion to the Number of Ships employed in their Fiſheries here.

Beſides theſe Acquiſitions obtained by *France*, to the prodigious Benefit of that Nation, and the no leſs Diſadvantage of our own, have they not turned their Eyes alſo to the *Miſſiſſippi*, having a View, according to their royal Map-maker, of no leſs Extent, than to have a Communication of Commerce from the River *St. Lawrence* to the Bay of *Mexico*? An extenſive Deſign, indeed, but what will not an all-graſping, reſtleſs, and inſatiable Court aim at? Is it out of our Power to check their Career, in thoſe mighty Strides to Dominion? Our *Carolina*, ſtretching to the Mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, if the Country be duly poſſeſſed and fortified, and proper Alliances were made with the *Indians*, could not that River be rendered uſeleſs to them?

As to their Title to the Country bordering upon that River, 'tis as great a Jeſt, as their confident Pretenſions to lop off a Part of our *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*. Grants from Crowns of Lands that never were before heard of by the Granters, are of no more Conſideration in Juſtice and Reaſon, than the Legacies in *Diego*'s Will: but, even according to this Title, the *Engliſh* have a prior Right to the *French* in the *Miſſiſſippi*. King *Charles* the Firſt granted all the Country between *Carolina* and that River to the Southward, which was called *Carolina*. Sir *Robert Heath* and his Aſſigns alienated it to the late Dr. *Daniel Cox*, who, in King *William*'s Reign, ſent two Ships to the *Miſſiſſippi*, with 200 People, to make a Settlement; over whom Sir *William Waller*, ſo active in the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, was to have been Governor. Is not this a plain Proof, that the *Engliſh* have at leaſt as great a Right to the *Miſſiſſippi* as the *French*, at leaſt to a good Part of it, that which lies on the Back of *Carolina*, and extends to the River's Mouth in the Bay of *Mexico*?

I ſhall further obſerve, both in regard to *Newfoundland* and *Nova-Scotia*, that by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which in this reſpect is confirmed by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Newfoundland* was ceded to *Great-Britain*, reſerving to the *French*, through the good Offices of our iniquitous Adminiſtration in 1712, Liberty to viſit and to erect Huts and Stages for drying Fiſh from *Cape Bonaviſta* to the Northermoſt Point of the Iſland, and from thence down the Weſtern Side to the Point *Riche*, contrary to the Treaty of Peace and Neutrality for *America* concluded in *November* 1656, between *England* and *France*, wherein it is ſtipulated, that the Subjects of each Crown are not to trade, fiſh, or harbour (except, in Caſes of Diſtreſs, to repair, wood and water) in one another's Diſtricts. And there is inſerted alſo a Clauſe, in the 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* with *Spain*, whereby a Pretence is given to the *Spaniards* to claim a Right to fiſh at *Newfoundland*, in direct Contradiction to the 7th and 8th Articles of the Treaties made with that Crown in 1667 and 1670, whereby it is agreed that *Great-Britain* ſhall enjoy for ever, with plenary Right of Sovereignty, all thoſe Lands and Places whatſoever, being or ſituate in the *Weſt-Indies*, or in any Part of *America*, which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* do at preſent hold or poſſeſs. And that the Subjects and Inhabitants, Merchants of the Kingdoms and Dominions of each Confederate reſpectively, ſhall forbear to ſail and trade in the Ports and Havens which have Fortifications, Magazines, or Warehouſes, and in all other Places whatſoever, poſſeſſed by the other Party in the *Weſt-Indies*, or in any Part of *America*. The Board of Trade being conſulted on the *Spaniards* claiming a Right to fiſh at *Newfoundland*, returned the following Anſwer to Lord *Dartmouth*, Secretary of State, dated *June* 13, 1712. "We have conſidered the Extract of a Memorial from the Marquis *de Montelon*, relating to a Claim of the Inhabitants of *Guypuſcoa* to fiſh on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*; and thereupon take Leave to inform your Lordſhip, that we have diſcourſed with ſuch Perſons as are able to give Information in that Matter; and we find that ſome *Spaniards* are come hither with Paſſes from her Majeſty, and others may have fiſhed there privately; but never any, that we can learn, did do it as of Right belonging to them. By the Act to encourage the Trade to *Newfoundland*, paſſed in the Tenth and Eleventh of his late Majeſty, when we were in Amity and Alliance with *Spain*, it is declared and enacted, That no Alien or Stranger whatſoever, not reſiding within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, ſhall at any time hereafter take Bait, or uſe any ſort of Trade, or Fiſhing whatever, in *Newfoundland*, or in any of the Iſlands adjacent. Purſuant to which Act, Inſtructions have been every Year given to the Commodores of the Convoys, to prevent Foreigners coming thither." The ſecret Committe of the Houſe of Commons, in 1715, confeſs in their Report, that they were at a loſs to account for the Reaſons that prevailed with the Miniſtry to admit the Inſertion of the above Article into the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for the Management of it was intruſted with an *Iriſh* Papiſt, who was ſent to *Spain* for this Purpoſe, and to negociate what was expected from that Crown relating to the *Pretender*; and no Papers concerning it were to be found in the public Offices. Upon the Foundation of the above Article in favour of *Spain*, we find Don *Uztariz*, formerly Privy-counſellor to the King, and Secretary in the Council and Chamber of the *Indies* in *Spain*, in his moſt excellent *Theory and Practice of Commerce*, &c. adviſing the King his Maſter to avail himſelf of that Right whenever he has Power ſufficient to make good his Pretenſions.

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[*] The Article in the Treaty of Utrecht, whereby Nova Scotia, or Acadia, is made over by the French to the Crown of Great-Britain, is as follows:

"The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall take care to have delivered to the Queen of Great-Britain, on the ſame Day that the Ratifications of this Treaty ſhall be exchanged, ſolemn and authentic Letters, or Inſtruments, by virtue whereof it ſhall appear, that the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's is to be poſſeſſed alone hereafter by the Britiſh Subjects, likewiſe all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient Boundaries, as alſo the City of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other Things on theſe Parts, which depend on the ſaid Lands and Iſlands, together with the Dominion, Propriety, and Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Iſlands, Lands, and Places, and all Right whatſoever by Treaties or by any other way obtained, which the moſt Chriſtian King, the Crown of France, or any the Subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the ſaid Iſlands, Lands, and Places, and the Inhabitants of the ſame, are yielded, and made over to the Queen of Great-Britain, and to her Crown for ever, as the moſt Chriſtian King doth, at preſent, yield and make over all the Particulars aboveſaid; and that in ſuch ample Manner and Form, that the Subjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall hereafter be excluded from all kind of fiſhing in the ſaid Seas, Bays, and other Places on the Coaſts of Nova Scotia, that is to ſay, on thoſe which lie towards the Eaſt, within thirty Leagues, beginning from the Iſland commonly called Sable, incluſively, and thence ſtretching along towards the South weſt."

Acadie, extending from the River of *St. Lawrence* to the River *Pantagoit* or *Penobſcot*, was not only firſt diſcovered, but firſt ſettled by the *Engliſh*; for in 1602 we had, both by the Accounts of *Engliſh* and *French* Hiſtorians, a Settlement in that Country, which is two Years before ever a *French* Family ſettled in any Part of it, as appears from the ſame Authority. In 1620 all that Part of *Acadie* as far as the 48 D. of N. Latitude, was granted by the Crown to the Council of *Plymouth* or *New-England*, which Company I ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of. In 1621 the Council of *New-England* reſigned to the Crown all Parts of their Grant to the Northward of the River *St. Croix*, when it was then granted with the reſt of *Acadie* to Sir *William Alexander*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and called *Nova-Scotia*. In 1623 King *Charles* I. marrying a Daughter of the *French* King, gave all *Acadie*, or *Nova Scotia* to *France*, In 1627 it was taken from the *French* by Sir *David Kirk*. In 1632 it was again ceded to *France* by the Treaty of *St. Germain*. In 1654 *Cromwell* ſent and reduced it. In 1662 it was again delivered up to the *French* King by *Charles* II. and confirmed to *France* at the Treaty of *Breda* in 1667, notwithſtanding a Remonſtrance againſt it from the Parliament of *England* and the People of *New-England*. In 1690 it was taken by 700 *New-England* Men, at the Expence of that Country, which was never reimburſed them. In 1697 it was again ceded to *France*. In 1710 it was reduced again by Forces from *Great-Britain* and *New-England*, and confirmed by the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Aix-la-Chapelle* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, "With its antient Boundaries, as alſo the City of *Port-Royal*, as fully as ever *France* poſſeſſed them by Treaty or other Means."

From this Summary of Facts there cannot be any Doubt of *Great-Britain*'s Right to the whole of the Country called *Acadie* or *Nova-Scotia*. And as the Sovereignty and Poſſeſſion of it has been ſo often changed by Treaty and other Means, one would have imagined it impoſſible any Doubt could have aroſe about the Extent of it. But it is certain that *France* has ever ſince the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* inſiſted on its antient Boundaries to have never extended beyond the South-eaſtern Peninſula, and have accordingly taken Poſſeſſion of all the Country we claim as *Acadie* or *Nova-Scotia*, except the above Peninſula, which is not one third of the Country both Crowns always poſſeſſed for *Acadie* or *Nova-Scotia*, before and ſince its preciſe Bounds were aſcertained in conſequence of the Treaty of *Breda*, as appears by both *Engliſh* and *French* Hiſtorians, &c. tho' no Bounds were expreſſed in the Treaties of *St. Germain* and *Breda*. However, a Diſpute ariſing in the Execution of the Treaty of *Breda*, a Diſcuſſion of its Limits enſued, and it was then ſtipulated by the two Crowns, that *St. Lawrence* River ſhould be its Northern Boundary, the Gulf of *St. Lawrence* and Streight of *Canſo* its Eaſtern, *Cape Sable-ſhore* its South-eaſtern, and the River *Pantagoit* its Weſtern. Which Limits *France* always poſſeſſed as *Acadie*, and it ever retained down to the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, when it was confirmed to the Crown of *Great-Britain* with its antient Boundaries, as fully as ever *France* poſſeſſed it by Treaty or other Means; which is the Subject of the preſent Quarrel between *Great-Britain* and *France*.

CHAP. II.

The NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and State of the* NATIONAL TRADE and COMMERCE, *including the* DISCOVERIES, *and Memoirs of the moſt eminent* SEA-OFFICERS *and* NAVIGATORS, *during the Reign of King* HENRY VIII.

HENRY, the only ſurviving Son of the late King, was about eighteen Years old at his Father's Death[a]; and was immediately proclaimed with univerſal Joy, by the Name of King HENRY VIII. and was crowned with great Solemnity on *Midſummer* Day following[b].

His Youth was ſupplied by very ſtrong natural Parts, a good Fund of ſcholaſtic Learning, and above all, by a Temper inclineable to good Advice, and a Cabinet of able Counſellors, trained up under his Father; by whoſe Advice he gained the Affections of his Subjects at the Price of the Blood of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, two bad Miniſters, that had oppreſſed the People in the former Reign; and by yielding to ſome Reſtraints upon the Royal Prerogative, which had fomented great Diſcontents againſt his Predeceſſor.

King *Henry* VIII. was the firſt of our Kings that began to build a Royal Navy, appointed Commiſſioners, and conſtituted a Navy-office: From the Conqueſt to this time there was not any fixed and conſtant Navy Royal in *England*.

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[a] A. D. 1509. 22d of April. Speed. Stow. Daniel.

[b] Holinſhed.

The State of the Marine at this time appears from various Circumſtances to have been very reſpectable; for this young King had not been long upon the Throne, before we find him diſpatching his Fleets with Aids to the King of *Arragon* againſt the *Moors*, and to the Duke of *Burgundy* to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke of *Guelders* [a]. The former Squadron ſailed from *Plymouth* with 1000 *Engliſh* Archers on-board, and many Voluntiers of Diſtinction, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Darcey*; arrived at *Cadiz* on the 1ſt of *June*, and ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Enemy, that they immediately ſubmitted to the Terms impoſed upon them by King *Ferdinand*, and thereby rendered the Service of the *Engliſh* of no Signification; who returned well contented with the Preſents received from that King. The Squadron ſent to *Flanders* was commanded by Sir *Edward Poynings*, and carried 1500 Soldiers.

The Coaſt at the ſame time was not left defenceleſs; for a *Scotch* Pirate, named *Andrew Breton* or *Barton*, under pretence of Injuries received by the *Portugueſe*, who had killed his Father, and ſeized his Ship, having obtained Letters of Mart from the King of *Scotland* to revenge himſelf on the *Portugal* Ships, made ſuch an ill Uſe of his Power, and under that Pretext, committed Piracy on our Coaſts, ſeizing and plundering what Ships he pleaſed, alledging only, for his Excuſe, that they had *Portugueſe* Goods on-board; Sir *Edward Howard* Lord High-admiral, and Sir *Thomas* his Brother, Sons of the great Earl of *Surrey*, were commiſſioned to chaſtiſe this Inſolence, and had two Ships aſſigned them for that Purpoſe. They met *Breton*, as he was returning from *Flanders* to *Scotland*, off of the *Goodwin* Sands, and after a reſolute Fight, in which the *Scots* Pirate was himſelf killed, they took both his Ships, and brought them up to *London*. The Men were, upon ſubmitting themſelves to the King's Mercy, diſmiſſed and ſent home. But the King of *Scotland* demanded Satiſfaction for this Breach of Peace; and tho' he was told, that to puniſh Pirates was no Infraction of Treaties between Princes, he proteſted againſt the Injuſtice.

The next Year *Henry* having entered with *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* into a League againſt *France*, fitted out another Fleet under the Command of Sir *Edward Howard*, and by an Indenture dated the 8th of *April*, granted Sir *Edward Howard* the following Allowance [b]: "For his "own Maintenance, Diet, Wages and Rewards, 10 *s.* a "Day. For each of the Captains, for their Diet, Wages "and Rewards, 18 *d.* a Day. For every Soldier, Mari- "ner and Gunner, 5 *s.* a Month for his Wages, and 5 *s.* "for his Victuals, reckoning 28 Days in the Month."

This Fleet carried a conſiderable Body of Land-forces, under the Command of *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorſet*. It ſailed on the 16th of *May* 1512, and arrived at *Paſſage*, the Port intended, in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, on the 8th of *June*. The Marquis having landed his Troops, Sir *Edward Howard* put to Sea again with his Squadron to infeſt the Coaſts of *Bretagne* [c]. Having firſt cleared the Seas of Enemies, he landed his Men about *Conquet* and *Breſt*, in ſeveral Places burnt the Towns, and laid waſte the whole Country for ſeveral Miles within Land. Upon Information that *France* was aſſembling a powerful Fleet to put a Stop to theſe Inroads, *Henry* added a Squadron of 25 large Men of War to his Fleet, and went to view them himſelf at *Portſmouth*. The Command of this Reinforcement was intruſted to the chief Perſons about the Admiral. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, who was Maſter of Horſe to the King, had the Command of the *Regent*, a Ship of 1000 Tons; and Sir *Charles Brandon*, who had Sir *Henry Guilford*, with 60 of the talleſt Yeomen of the Guards, for his Aſſiſtant, commanded the *Sovereign*, the largeſt Ship next to the *Regent*. The Deſign of the Admiral was to ſtation this Fleet, which now conſiſted of 45 Ships, on the Coaſts of *Bretagne*, in order to obſerve the Motions of the *French*. They had the Fortune to arrive at *Breſt* on the 10th of *Auguſt*, juſt as the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 39 Men of War, were ſailing out of that Harbour. The Admiral gave the immediate Signal for the Attack, and the Beginning of a bloody Engagement enſued, between the two Fleets: But, at the firſt Onſet, the *Engliſh Regent*, and the *French Cordelier*, the two largeſt Ships of both Fleets, being grappled together, accidentally took Fire and blew up, with all that were on-board. Sir *William Monſon* ſays, that with Sir *Thomas Knevet*, who commanded the *Regent*, were loſt 700 Men; and in the *Cordelier*, Sir *Pierce Morgan* the Commander, with 900 Men. This ſhocking Sight ſtruck ſuch a Pannic into the whole *French* Fleet, that they immediately withdrew from the Battle, and plied with all the Hurry poſſible into *Breſt*, and other neighbouring Ports; though before the two Fleets parted, both Sides had ſuſtained conſiderable Damages. This is the Account our Hiſtorians give us of this Action. On the contrary, the *French* Fleet (ſays Father *Daniel)* conſiſted but of half the Number of the *Engliſh*; but then they had the Advantage of the Wind to ſupply that Want. *Primanget*, an Officer of *Bretagne*, embarked in the *Cordelier*, a Firſt-rate Man of War, which carried 1200 Soldiers; twelve Sail of *Engliſh*, among which was the Admiral, called the Queen of *England* (the *Regent)* ſurrounded him; he fought with great Conduct and Valour, had ſunk ſome of the Enemy's Ships, and the reſt beginning to ſtand off, he reſolved to chace the Admiral; he kept cloſe up to him, when another *Engliſh* Commander, to whom he had given a Broad-ſide, let fly a large Quantity of Fire-works at the *Cordelier*, which ſet fire to her, in ſuch manner, that there was no Hopes of extinguiſhing it. The *Breton* Commander, reſolving not to periſh alone, made up to the *Engliſh* Admiral, and grappled her till ſhe likewiſe took Fire, and they blew up into the Air together. Upon this the two Fleets ſeparated, as it were by Conſent.

King *Henry* having reſolved to make the next Campaign in Perſon, thought it a neceſſary Precaution to clear the Seas, at leaſt, of the *French* Fleet, if he could not entirely deſtroy it [d]. He ordered the Lord High-admiral to fit out, with all Expedition, a Fleet of two and forty Men of War, beſides Frigates and Tenders: which ſail'd for the Coaſts of *Bretagne* in the Month of *April* for that Purpoſe. Being arrived off of *Breſt*, the Admiral got Intelligence that the *French* Fleet lay in that Harbour ready to ſail, waiting only the Arrival of ſix Gallies from the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of Monſieur *Pregent*; and immediately entered the Harbour, with his whole Fleet, reſolving to attack the *French* Fleet, before the Gallies, under Monſieur *Pregent*, could join them. The Enemy, for their Security, had thrown up ſeveral Batteries, and placed Cannon upon them, on each Side of the Harbour; and to ſcreen themſelves from our Cannon, had linked 24 Hulks together, and ranged them in a Line, at a proper Diſtance from their Ships. The Fleet was no ſooner entered the Mouth of the Harbour, than the Lord High-admiral ſent out a Number of Boats, filled with armed Men, and made a Feint, as if he deſigned to land there. This Decoy drew all the *French* down to the Shoar, above 10,000 in Number. In the mean time, the Admiral, advancing farther up into the Harbour, landed his Men oppoſite to the City of *Breſt*, ravaging and burning the Country in the very Sight of the Caſtle.

Monſ. *Pregent* arrived, in the mean time, on the Coaſt, with his ſix Gallies, accompanied by four Foiſts, and being adviſed that the *Engliſh* lay with their Fleet, in the Harbour of *Breſt*, and apprehenſive of being attacked by them, he choſe to make the Bay of *Conquet*, which was the neareſt Place to *Breſt*, and as he thought, the ſafeſt. For his better Security, he laid his Squadron between two Rocks, both of which had Bulwarks on them, well provided with Cannon. The Lord High-admiral was reſolved, notwithſtanding the advantageous Situation of this little Squadron, to try his Fortune on them; and having two Gallies in his Fleet, went on-board one of them in Perſon; the other Galley he entruſted to the Lord *Ferrers*; and thus, with no other Aſſiſtance than two large Barges, and two Boats, he boldly ventured into the Bay of *Conquet*, on the 25th of *April*, to attack the *French* Gallies. He no ſooner came a broad-ſide of the Galley which Monſieur *Pregent* commanded, than he ordered his own Galley to be laſhed cloſe to her, and immediately boarded her, Sword in Hand, being followed by one *Carroz*, a *Spaniſh* Cavalier, and ſeventeen of his Men only. He cauſed, at firſt, a great Diſorder; but his Galley, by ſome Accident or other, ſwinging looſe in the Inſtant, they were left to the Mercy of the *French*, who preſſed upon them, with ſo great a Number of Pikes, that they were not able to reſiſt the ſuperior Force, but were bore into the Sea without any Diſtinction of Perſons. The Lord *Ferrers*, with his Galley and the ſmaller Veſſels, was in the mean time engaged with the other Gallies; but all his Shot being ſpent, without obtaining any Advantage, and ſeeing the Admiral's Galley fall off, he concluded his Perſon was at leaſt in Safety, and therefore retreated. The Admiral being, however, ſoon miſſed, a Flag of Truce, with Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop*, was ſent to *Pregent*, to enquire what Priſoners he had made. The Anſwer was, one common Sailor only, who had informed him, that the Admiral was among the Perſons they had forced over-board. The Fleet having now loſt its Commander, was diſcouraged from any farther Attempt, and ſo returned to the Coaſts of *England*. But *Pregent* fluſhed with this unexpected, tho' inconſiderable Succeſs, ſoon followed them, landed ſome Men in *Suſſex*, ravaged the Country, and carried away ſome Booty; being obliged to retire by the ſuperior Force of Sir *Thomas Howard*, who ſucceeded his Brother as Lord High-admiral, and had put to Sea with a freſh Squadron.

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[a] Rapin with Tindal's Notes. Speed. Cooper's Chronicle, Fol. 274. Stowe's Annals.

[b] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XIII. p. 327.

[c] Herbert. Holinſhed. Burchett.

[d] Holinſhed. Lord Herbert. Burchett. Rapin with Tindal's Notes.

The Seas being freed from the *French*, this Squadron helped to convoy the King and his Army to *Calais*; where he arrived, with four hundred Ships, the thirtieth of *June*, 1513, the beſt Part of his Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Herbert*, having been tranſported thither before him. His Armies had before inveſted *Terouenne*, on the 22d of *June*. The *French* made an Attempt to relieve it, but were defeated, and the Place was obliged to ſurrender on the 22d of *Auguſt*. *Tournay* ſoon after underwent the ſame Fate. The King's Army arrived before it on the 15th of *September*, and it held out but ſeven or eight Days, though they had placed this Inſcription over the Gates, "Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity." With the Reduction of this Place, *Henry* ended the Campaign, and returned to his *Engliſh* Dominions, where he arrived the 21ſt of *October*.

A Treaty of Peace enſued; but in the Year 1514, *Pregent*, of whom Mention is made in the Tranſactions of the foregoing Year, landed on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, and burnt *Brightelmſtone*, whereupon Sir *John Wallop* was ſent to revenge this Affront, by landing in *Normandy*. He burnt 21 Towns and Villages.

A Peace being concluded between *England* and *France*, we read no more of any conſiderable naval Armament till the Year 1522, when a new War broke out with that Nation [a], occaſioned by *Henry*'s Alliance lately concluded with the Emperor of *Germany*, *Charles* V. who thereby engaged to join the *Engliſh* Fleet with 180 Sail.

Sir *Thomas Howard*, now Earl of *Surrey*, and Lord High-admiral, commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet, and, by ſpecial Permiſſion from the King, had a Commiſſion, at the ſame time, of High-admiral, to command the Imperial Fleet likewiſe, in this extraordinary Form [b]:

"*Charles* V. by the divine Favour and Clemency elected, moſt auguſt Emperor of the *Romans*, King of *Germany*, *Spain*, both *Sicilies*, *Jeruſalem*, *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, &c. Archduke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, Earl of *Habſperg*, *Flanders*, *Tirol*, &c. Whereas the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince, *Henry* VIII. King of *England* and *France*, our moſt dear Brother, Uncle and Confederate, according to the Tenor of the League entered into with us, hath moſt juſtly proclaimed War againſt *Francis*, King of *France*, for his Breach and Violation of the Treaty concluded with either of us; joining herein with us, who have been invaded by the ſaid King of *France*: And, to carry this on more effectually, hath, among other warlike Preparations, fitted out a Fleet, which he hath put under the Command of the moſt illuſtrious *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, our moſt dear Couſin, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Lord High-admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Gaſcogne* and *Aquitain*: We likewiſe, with the ſame Reaſon, have decreed to infeſt and invade the ſaid common Enemy, the King of *France*, with our Forces at Sea, by joining our Fleet with that of our aforeſaid moſt ſerene Uncle, both in Conſideration of the Valour, Skill, and Courage, and other ſingular Virtues of the ſaid Admiral, whereby he is rendered capable, not only of this, but even of a greater Truſt, as alſo becauſe whatſoever is undertaken by confederate Forces, and united Arms, may be better executed, by being under the Conduct of one Captain-general than many: Therefore we judged it not unfit, likewiſe to place the Charge of our Fleet, and the Conduct of this War by Sea, under the Command of the ſaid Admiral of *England*. By theſe, therefore, our Letters Patent, we grant and give to the ſaid moſt illuſtrious *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, Lord High-admiral, and Captain-general of the Navy of the aforeſaid King our moſt ſerene Uncle, the ſame Authority, full and plenary Power over our Royal Navy, the Captains, Soldiers, and Seamen thereof, of what Degree, Title or Rank ſoever, which the ſaid Admiral hath in the King his Maſter's Fleet: Both in promoting the Officers, in conferring the Honour of Knighthood on Perſons of Merit, in puniſhing Malefactors, in giving out fitting Orders, judging and trying all Cauſes, as alſo in executing and appointing all and every Thing under his Command, according to the Authority by the aforeſaid King to him granted, and as the ſingular Skill and Prudence of him, as Captain-general and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, ſhall, on all Occaſions, judge needful or expedient to be done. To this end, hereby ſtrictly commanding and enjoining all our Flags, Captains, Lieutenants, Barons, Noblemen, Officers, Maſters, Pilots, Seamen, and all our Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, that either now are, or ſhall be, in our Fleet, that they pay all Obedience, Duty and Reſpect to the ſaid Earl, their Admiral and Captain-general, or to any Perſon by him lawfully deputed, in all Things as is fitting, as they ſhall at their Peril anſwer the contrary. In witneſs whereof, we have ſubſcribed this our Commiſſion with our own Hand, and thereto affixed our Seal."

Given in *London*, *June* the eighth, 1522, in the third Year of our Reign over the *Romans*, and ſeventh over the reſt of our Dominions.

By the Emperor
J. ALLEMAND. CHARLES.

Before theſe two combined Fleets were join'd, King *Henry* order'd his Vice-admiral Sir *William Fitzwilliams* to ſcour the Channel, to take all the *French* he met with, and to ſecure the Navigation for the Merchants [c].

The combin'd Fleet ſail'd together for the Coaſt of *Normandy*; landed at *Cherbourg*, *June* the 13th; and having laid waſte all the Country round about it, re-imbarked their Men, and returned to *Portland*. The Fleet ſet ſail again in a few Days, on a new Expedition againſt *Morlaix* in *Bretagne*; near which they landed on the firſt of *July*, with Succeſs; the Town being taken by Storm, and plundered [d].

The Maſter-gunner diſcharged a Piece [e] ſo fortunately, that he broke the Wicket, by which ſome of the Earl's Men entered in the Smoak, and opened the Gate; and the reſt following, the Town was quickly ſack'd and burnt, and a rich Booty carried to the Navy. The Admiral having beſides burnt ſeventeen Sail of *French* Ships on the Coaſts, returned with the Fleet, and a very great Booty, to *Southampton*; but firſt detached a Squadron, under the Command of Vice-admiral *Fitzwilliams*, with Orders to continue cruiſing, and ſcouring the Seas. The Emperor, lying at *Southampton*, ready to embark for *Spain*, the Lord High-admiral took him on-board, on the ſixth of *July*, and landed him in a few Days at *St. Anderos*, in the Bay of *Biſcay*.

In the Year 1523, a Fleet of ſix and thirty Sail of large Ships was fitted out, and ſent to Sea, under the Command of Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, with Orders to cruiſe on the Coaſts of *France*, and, if poſſible, to intercept the Duke of *Albany*, then Regent of *Scotland*, who was to paſs from *France* into that Kingdom, with ſome Forces [a].

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[a] Herbert. Holinſhed. Echard.

[b] Herbert.

[c] Echard.

[d] A. D. 1522.

[e] Herbert.

Holinſhed ſays the Fleet conſiſted of but 28 Sail; but then he adds, ſeven other Ships were ſent towards *Scotland*, which entered the *Forth*, and would have boarded the *Scotch* Ships that lay in the Havens: But the *Scots* run their Ships on-ſhoar, and the *Engliſh* followed with Boats, landed and ſet them on fire. *Anthony Points* had at the ſame time the Command of a conſiderable Fleet to guard the Weſtern Seas.

Sir *William* had the Fortune to meet with 12 *French* Ships, which had ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Quality of *Scotland* on-board, among whom was the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and purſuing them, obliged them to retire for Shelter into the Ports of *Boulogne* and *Diep*, after having loſt two of their Ships. Here he left a Number of Ships ſufficient to block them up; and ſailing with the Remainder of the Fleet along the Coaſts of *France*, landed in ſeveral Places, and laid the Country waſte wherever he came. His laſt Exploit was at *Treport*, which he attacked, and burnt the Suburbs; and then having deſtroyed all the Ships in the Harbour, and made a very great Booty, returned with the Ships under his Command to the Coaſts of *England*.

Of this Sir *William Fitz Williams* (ſays Mr. Secretary *Burchett*) it was obſerved, that there was not a ſerviceable Man under him whoſe Name he knew not; not a Week paſſed but he paid his Ships; not a Prize, but his Seamen ſhared in it, as well as himſelf; it being his Rule that none fought well, but thoſe who did it for a Fortune.

We read no more of the Royal Navy till [b] *William Fitz Williams* Earl of *Southampton*, was ſent with a Fleet of 50 Sail to bring over the Princeſs *Ann* of *Cleves*, to whom *Henry* was married on the 6th of *January* following. This Marriage was, however, ſoon annulled by a Divorce.

Henry being engaged in a War with *Scotland* [c], the Lord *Liſle*, who had ſucceeded the Earl of *Surrey*, in the Office of Lord High-admiral, received Orders to invade that Kingdom with a Fleet. The Earl of *Hertford*, who was Lieutenant-general in the North, with ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, and a conſiderable Body of Land-forces, embarked on 200 Tranſport Ships at *Newcaſtle*: From thence the whole Fleet ſailed to *Leith*, near which Place the Troops were ſet on-ſhoar on the 5th of *May*. They ſoon became Maſters of *Leith*; and were not long before they reduced the City of *Edinburgh*, which they burnt and plundered for three Days ſucceſſively: Here the Lord *Evers*, Warden of the Eaſt Marches, joined them, having a large Body of Troops under his Command. The Citadel of *Edinburgh* ſtood out againſt this united Force under the Lords High-admiral and General; and they finding little Probability of reducing it, retired to *Leith*, which they likewiſe burnt, together with the Pier of the Haven. From hence the Fleet ſailed to ſcour the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and having every where taken or deſtroyed all the Ships and ſmaller Veſſels they found in the Creeks and Havens as they paſſed, they returned Home. The Land-forces, in the mean time, having burnt *Seton*, *Hadington* and *Dunbar*, with a great Number of other Towns, Caſtles and Places, made their Retreat to *Berwick*, where, after having laid all the Country waſte thro' which they paſſed, they entered the 18th of *May*, without having loſt, in all this Journey, above 40 Perſons.

The Earl of *Lenox* having ſoon after this made a Treaty with King *Henry* [d], he was ſent into *Scotland* in the Month of *Auguſt*, with 12 or 14 Ships, and about 600 Men under the Command of ſome *Engliſh* Knights. With this little Force he ravaged the Iſlands of *Arrain* and *Bute*, and burnt all the Houſes there. He afterwards landed in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Country, near the Caſtle of *Dunvin*, which he burnt, and then took and ſpoiled *Caintyr*. Returning with his Spoil to *Briſtol*, he was again ſent out with ſome Ships, to ſcour the Coaſt of *Scotland*.

King *Henry*, about *Whitſuntide*, tranſported a Part of his Army, conſiſting of 30,000 Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſeveral other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, for *Calais*; and followed them himſelf, with the Remainder of his Troops, in *July*. The Ship the King went over in had Sails of Cloth of Gold. He landed on the 14th at *Calais*; and ordering his Troops to march to *Boulogne*, he beſieged it in Perſon by Land, while the Lord High-admiral ſtreightened it with his Fleet by Sea. The Town was ſo vigorouſly attacked on both Sides, that on the 14th of *September* it ſurrendered, upon Terms, to the King. But *Henry* having loſt a numerous Garriſon, and great Store of Proviſions in *Boulogne*, departed for *England* on the 30th of *September*.

The Loſs of this important Place ſo gauled the *French* King, that in order, if poſſible, to recover it out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*, he aſſembled his whole Fleet, conſiſting of 150 large Ships, and 60 leſſer, on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and gave the Command of it to Monſieur *d'Annebault*, Admiral of *France*. To this Fleet was joined 25 Gallies from the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of *Paulin* Baron *de la Garde*, with Orders to be in a Condition, at the firſt Notice given, to ſail for *Boulogne*, and there to take their Station in ſuch manner, that it might not be practicable for the *Engliſh* to bring any Relief to it by Sea, while the King himſelf beſieged it on the Land-ſide.

In the mean time, our Ships of the Weſt-country, and other Coaſts, cruiſed the Sea, and took above 300 *French* Ships; ſo that the *Grey* Friars Church in *London*, was laid full of Wine, and the *Auſtin* Friars and *Black* Friars full of Herrings and other Fiſh that was taken [e]. And in the Month of *June*, before the *French* Fleet put to Sea, the Lord *Liſle*, with the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of 160 Sail, entered the Mouth of the *Seine*, where lay 200 *French* Ships, and 26 Gallies; and by exchanging ſome Shot with them, gave occaſion to the Gallies to come out. It being at firſt a Calm, the Gallies had ſome Advantage; but a ſudden Storm ariſing, they could not keep the Sea; and the *Engliſh*, for fear of the Flats, were obliged to make the main Sea, and ſo ſailed to *Portſmouth*, where the King was.

The *French* King gave Orders for his Fleet to annoy the Coaſts of *England*. The Admiral accordingly ſet Sail with his whole Fleet for *St. Helens*, in the Beginning of *July* [g]. But before the Departure of the Fleet, the Admiral's Ship, called the *Carracon*, took fire, and notwithſtanding all poſſible Diligence, it was not to be extinguiſhed. She had, according to Mr. *du Bellay*, 100 Pieces of large Braſs-cannon on-board; but they muſt have been very ſmall ones, in proportion to what we now call large Braſs-cannon; for he himſelf allows, ſhe was but of 800 Tons Burden. It is nevertheleſs certain, that ſhe was the ſtouteſt Ship the *French* had. An Author, who wrote about Naval Affairs at that time (*Baif de re navali*) ſays, ſhe appeared like a Caſtle among the other Ships of the Fleet, and that ſhe had nothing to fear at Sea but Fire and Rocks. She had on-board the Money for the Payment of the Troops, and it was not without Difficulty it was ſaved.

King *Henry*, upon the firſt Notice of the great Preparations *France* was making, went to *Portſmouth*, to haſten the Fleet of about 100 Sail, which he had given Orders to be fitted out [f]. Here it was he received Advice of the Approach of the Enemy's Fleet; and to oppoſe it, ordered all the Ships that were ready, to ſail out to *Spithead*. In this ſhort Paſſage, the *Engliſh* had the Misfortune to loſe one of their largeſt Ships, the *Mary-Roſe*, commanded by Sir *George Carew*, with her Commander, and the whole Ship's Crew. This Fleet, which conſiſted of about 60 Sail, had a Skirmiſh with the *French* Fleet, which continued till Night ſeparated them [h]. The *French* landed ſome of their Men the next Morning at three Places in the *Iſle of Wight*, but were quickly obliged to retire [i]. This firſt Repulſe did not however diſcourage them; for they preſently landed again, and began to conſider of Means how they might reduce, and when reduced, keep this Iſland. They found, upon Deliberation, that the latter was not to be done without erecting Forts, which they had neither Time nor Men to effectuate, and ſo wiſely reſolved to re-embark. They ſet Sail for *Portet*, near *Boulogne*; but paſſing by the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, landed ſome Troops near *Brightelmſtone* and *Newhaven*, which were likewiſe repulſed with great Loſs. At *Portet* they landed 4000 Men, but the Wind coming about to the Eaſtward, they returned again to our Coaſts. But the *Engliſh* Admiral, having now a Fleet of 100 Sail, with Orders from the King to engage, offered the *French* Battle, which they accepted. The Engagement was ſharp for the Time it laſted, but Night coming on about two Hours after the Battle begun, ſeparated the two Fleets. The *French* made the beſt of their Way to *Havre de Grace*, and attempted nothing more this Year. The Lord High-admiral reſolved now, in his Turn, to viſit the *French* Coaſts; and landing 6000 Men at *Treport*, burnt the Town and Abbey, with 30 Ships which were in the Harbour; and having done all this with the Loſs of 14 Men only, returned with his Fleet to *England*.

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[a] Holinſhed. Herbert. Buchanan.

[b] A. D. 1539.

[c] A. D. 1544. Holinſhed. Buchanan. Herbert. Burchett.

[d] Herbert.

[e] Holinſhed.

[f] F. Daniel. Hiſt. de la Mil. de France, tom. II. p. 456.

[g] Herbert. Burchett. Rapin with Tindal's Notes.

[h] A. D. 1545.

[i] Herbert. Burchett.

In the Memoirs of Sieur *Martin du Bellay*, we have a particular Account of the Manner of Fighting in theſe three laſt Sea-battles; which, with F. *Daniel*'s Remarks, will be proper to add for the Inſtruction and Entertainment of the Reader.

The Number of Ships, ſays Monſieur *du Bellay*, which were taken into Commiſſion, to compoſe this Fleet, conſiſted of one Hundred and fifty large Ships, beſides fifty Veſſels of ſmaller Burden, and five and twenty Gallies; all which ſet ſail the ſame Day, being the ſixth of *July*, from *Havre de Grace*, *la Foſſe d'Eure*, *Honfleur*, *Harfleur* and *Diep*, and directed their Courſe for the *Iſle of Wight*, and the Harbour of *Portſmouth*, in the latter of which Places the Naval Force of *England* then lay.

The Admiral being arrived off of the *Iſle of Wight*, on the eighteenth, ſent the Baron *de la Garde*, with four Gallies, as well to take a View of the Iſland, as far as *St. Helen*'s Point, as to ſee in what Poſture the *Engliſh* lay, it being his Reſolution to attack them. He returned with the Report, that their Fleet conſiſted of 60 tall Ships, excellently well equipped for War, 14 of which had taken the Opportunity of a Land-wind to get out of *Portſmouth*, with as much Alacrity, good Order, and ſeeming Unconcern, as if their Deſign was to ſtand the Brunt of our whole Fleet: But our Admiral advancing, with the reſt of the Gallies, the whole *Engliſh* Fleet came out of the Harbour, and faced him. After a long, but diſtant Fight, the *Engliſh* began to retreat under Shelter of the Land, to a Place where they were ſecured, on the one Side, by the Cannon of certain Forts, which were on the Eminences on-ſhore, and, on the other Side, by blind Sands and Rocks, which traverſe the Road, and leave only a narrow and oblique Paſſage, juſt enough for a few Ships to paſs in Front. This Retreat, and the approaching Night, put an End to the Battle, for that Day; and, notwithſtanding the continual Fire from the Enemy's Cannon, and ſmall Arms, our Gallies received no conſiderable Damage.

During the Night, the Admiral diſpoſed the Order of Battle, for the next Day; which was in the following Manner. He placed his own Ship, ſupported by 30 other ſelect Veſſels, in the Front; the Lord *de Boutieres* commanded a Squadron of 36 Ships on the Right, as the Baron *de Curton* did another, of the ſame Number, on the Left: And in conſideration of the advantageous Situation of the *Engliſh*, it was ordered, that at Day-break, the Gallies ſhould advance towards their Fleet, while at Anchor, and by firing upon them, with all poſſible Fury, provoke them to an Engagement, and then retreating, endeavour to draw them out of their Hold towards the main Battle. This Order was executed with a great deal of Intrepidity, and the Weather favoured our Attempt beyond our Wiſhes; for it proving in the Morning a perfect Calm, our Gallies had all the Advantages of working which they could deſire, to the great Damage of the *Engliſh*, who, for Want of Wind, not being able to ſtir, lay expoſed to our Cannon; and being ſo much higher and bulkier than our Gallies, hardly a Shot miſſed them; while they, with the Help of their Oars, ſhifted at Pleaſure, and thereby avoided the Danger of the Enemy's Artillery.

Fortune favoured our Fleet in this Manner, for above an Hour, during which Time, among other Damages which the *Engliſh* received, the *Mary-Roſe*, one of their principal Ships, was ſunk by our Cannon, and of 5 or 600 Men, which were on-board, only 35 eſcaped; their Admiral-ſhip, the *Great Henry*, was ſo diſtreſſed, that if ſhe had not been relieved by the Ships which were neareſt her, ſhe would have undergone the ſame Fate. Their Damage would have been far greater if the Weather had not changed in their Favour, and delivered them from this Peril; but a Land-wind ariſing, and the Tide favouring them at the ſame Time, they bore down full Sail upon our Gallies: This Change was ſo ſudden, that our Gallies had hardly Time and Room to manage their Oars to taek about; for during the Calm, and in the Height of the Battle, they were got ſo near to the Enemy, that they muſt inevitably have periſhed, by the Bearing down of their Ships upon them, if, by the Reſolution of their Commanders, and the Alacrity and Experience of the Mariners and Rowers, they had not ſhifted their Prows, and by this Management, with the Help of their Sails, got, in a few Hours, to the Diſtance of a Cannon-ſhot. They then retreated, or ſlacken'd their Courſe, juſt as it was moſt conducive to their main Deſign of drawing the *Engliſh* out of their Cover.

The *Engliſh* had a ſort of light Veſſels or Pinnaces (the *French* called them *Rambarges*) which were longer than ordinary, in Proportion to their Breadth, and were much narrower than the Gallies; but were worked, like them, with Oars and Sails. Theſe Veſſels, their Sailors knew how to manage, with ſuch Dexterity, in the Currents of thoſe Seas, that for Swiftneſs they vied with the Gallies; they bore down upon them with that Impetuoſity, and gauled their Sterns in ſuch Manner, with their Artillery, the Gallies having no Cannon, to defend them on their Poops, that nothing but apparent Deſtruction appeared on all Sides; for if they had offered to tack about, the *Engliſh* would have been on-board of them under full Sail, and muſt inevitably have ſunk them: Nevertheleſs, the Prior of *Capua*, Brother of the Lord *Peter Stroſſe*, not being able to put up with this Indignity any longer, began to tack about upon one of the Enemy's Veſſels, which was advanced before the reſt, and was at the very Stern-poſt of one of our Gallies; but the *Engliſh* Veſſel being ſhorter, and of courſe nimbler, ſhifted quicker, and ſoon regained the Fleet; after which, neither ſhe, nor the reſt of the Fleet, continued the Purſuit any farther. In the mean Time the Admiral, having ranged his Fleet in the Order I have already deſcribed, gave the Signal for the Battle, believing the *Engliſh* would continue their Courſe; but he was ſoon undeceived, and found they were more circumſpect than he expected: They had only purſued the Gallies, as far as they could do it with Safety, and then retreated towards their Forts, thinking that we, depending upon our ſuperior Strength, would have followed them, and have hazarded a Battle at ſo great a Diſadvantage. In this Skirmiſh we loſt ſome Gally-ſlaves, and a few private Soldiers, but not one Perſon of Diſtinction.

The next Day the Admiral, perceiving that the *Engliſh* would not hazard a Battle in the open Sea, began to think of attacking them where they lay: To this End he called together a Council of the Pilots, Captains, and chief Mariners, to be informed of the Nature and Circumſtances of the Place, and by what Means he might beſt form the Attack amidſt the Difficulties which attended it. He repreſented to them how much we were ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, as well in Number of Ships, as the Valour of our Men; and what Advantage a Victory (which he believed was in their Option) would be of to their King and Country. As well the Men as the Officers expreſſed a great Willingneſs to engage; but the Sea-commanders and Pilots declared it was not to be attempted without an evident Loſs: The Reaſons they alledged were theſe; that they could not attack the *Engliſh* without venturing into a Channel, where but four Ships could go in Front, and theſe the *Engliſh* might oppoſe with the ſame Number; and beſides, as they could not go in but by Favour of the Wind and Tide, as ſoon as the firſt Ships were engaged, thoſe which followed would inevitably drive upon them with the Stream, and ſhatter them to Pieces. To this they added, that as they muſt engage the *Engliſh* under the Cannon of their own Forts, they ſhould be expoſed to a great Diſadvantage on that Account; and that, if they ſhould attempt to grapple and board them, the Force of the Stream would certainly drive them a-ſhoar one upon the other. It was then propoſed to engage at Anchor; but to this the Pilots anſwered, that their Cables might be cut; and though they were not liable to that, the Danger would not be the leſs; becauſe, when they were at Anchor, the Stream which carried them in, would naturally oblige them to lye with their Sterns towards the Enemy, inſtead of their Heads, or Broad-ſides: To this they added yet another Difficulty, which was, when they let fall their Anchors, they muſt veer out the Cables by Degrees, and could not pretend to ſtop the Ships ſhort, becauſe the Force of their Run would either ſink them, or if their Cables ſhould give Way, and they ſhould part from their Anchors, they would then be driven a-ground, and beat to Pieces by the Force of their own Weight.

Theſe Reaſons carried ſo evident a Conviction with them, that there was no Room for oppoſing them: However, the Admiral, and other Commanders fearing leſt the Pilots, who were unanimous in their Opinion, might, through Cowardice, repreſent Matters worſe than they, in Fact, were, would not be ſatisfied without ſending proper Perſons to ſound the Channel, and to examine into every Circumſtance of the Gulph that might be of Advantage to the *Engliſh*: To this End, he ſent a Boat the following Night with three Pilots, accompanied with the ſame Number of Captains, to perform this Commiſſion, for which they had all the Leiſure they could wiſh. In the Morning, at their Return, they reported, that they not only found every thing as the Pilots had ſaid the Day before, but obſerved farther, that the Channel was not ſtreight but ſerpentine, and bearing towards the Enemy; inſomuch that it would be hazardous for a foreign Ship to attempt entering without a Pilot, even though ſhe had no Enemy to encounter. This Report being made in the Preſence of all the Officers, the Queſtion was next, What was moſt expedient to be done for the King's Service?

In the mean Time the Gallies got ready to depart in the Evening towards *Calais*, coaſting along the *Iſle of Wight*, to ſtretch over from thence to *Boulogne*: Towards Evening likewiſe, the Admiral retreated, and the next Day the whole Fleet ſtood off from the Coaſt, the Admiral remaining in the Rear with the Gallies to bear the firſt Shock of the *Engliſh*, if they ſhould venture out of their Harbours. When our Fleet put to Sea, the Wind was ſo favourable, that they got the Height of *Walſau*, 14 Leagues from the *Iſle of Wight*, before the Gallies could come up with them. The Wind, however, blowing hard from the *Weſtward*, our Fleet being obliged to ſeek a Harbour, ſtretched away again towards the Coaſt of *England* for Shelter. Being arrived at a Place called *Perrais*, and detained there by the Force of the Wind, and the Swelling of the Sea, the King of *England* began now to think it a proper Time to attack us in his Turn: To this End he ordered his Fleet, which now conſiſted of a Hundred good Ships, to put to Sea with all Expedition, and to take the Advantage of the Wind, which carried them, with full Sail, towards our Fleet. Among other Reaſons, he had two, which ſeemed to promiſe him a certain Victory; one was, that the Violence of the Wind, and the Swelling of the Sea, would deprive us of the Uſe and Service of our Gallies: and the other, that his Fleet ſailing down upon us before the Wind, would oblige us, without fighting, either to run our Ships a-ground, where they would of courſe periſh, or to paſs the Streight of *Calais*, which could not be done without great Diſorder, as well as Danger.

Either of theſe Events ſeemed very natural to him; for if we were to wait, and not unmoor, till they came near us, the Wind and Tide, which brought them down upon us, would force us a-ſhoar; on the contrary, if we were to unmoor before they came ſo near us, they would find us ſeparated, it being impoſſible for us to keep united, becauſe of the Weather; and they would then attack us, with a very great Advantage, on that Account: Or again, if to obviate all theſe Inconveniencies, we ſhould be afore-hand with them, and unmoor long before they came ſo near us, the Wind and Currents would drive us upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and being once paſſed the Streight of *Dover*, it would be eaſy for the *Engliſh* to cut off our Paſſage, and prevent our Return. Beſides, it might very poſſibly happen, that we might be ſo long detained on that Coaſt 'till we were in Want of Proviſions; and, in the mean time, the *Engliſh*, who would probably wait for us at *Boulogne*, might be a Hindrance to the King's Intention of raiſing Forts there. The Admiral foreſaw all theſe Inconveniences, and was thoughtful how to remedy them, by all Means poſſible; and, indeed, there was no Time to loſe; for they had Information by a *Flemming*, who had left the Fleet the Night before, that we might expect to ſee them the ſame Day, or the next Morning.

The Admiral, having maturely weighed all theſe Circumſtances, with the Advice of the reſt of his Officers, came to the following Reſolutions, that at high Water, if the Wind ſhould happen to change, or become calm, the whole Fleet ſhould unmoor, and put out to Sea. That they ſhould advance towards the Enemy, in order to engage on the Main, and to gain the Wind; and whenever the Weather ſhould oblige them to come to Anchor, it was ordered, that the Gallies ſhould anchor to the Windward of the Ships, having the ſmall Veſſels near them, with their Sterns cloſe in towards the Shore, and that the large Ships ſhould anchor a little below them, as cloſe together as the Weather would allow. That ſo the *Engliſh* Fleet, if they ſhould come to attack ours, might be obliged firſt to paſs by the Gallies, and thereby give them the Advantage of the Wind: Or if, to avoid this Inconveniency, they ſhould think to attack the Gallies firſt, they might not be able to do it, becauſe of the Shallowneſs of the Water, which in that Situation would not let even their ſmalleſt Ships approach them: Beſides, as the Interval between the Gallies and our large Ships would be but ſmall, it might very well happen that the Enemy, paſſing by the Gallies, might at the ſame time be driven, by the Force of the Current, beyond our Ships too.

Theſe Reſolutions being taken, we waited at Anchor till it was High-water, hoping a Change of Weather; but it continued as violent all that Day, and obliged us to wait for the Morning-tide, which proved ſo favourable, not only by a Calm, but a Change of the Wind too, that we prepar'd to depart, and ſhape our Courſe that Way where we were told we ſhould find the *Engliſh*. The Calm increaſed ſo much, by Degrees, that before Noon we wiſh'd nothing more than to meet thoſe who but juſt before had threatned us. In the Inſtant we diſcovered ſome Sails, and our Gallies uſed all poſſible Diligence to diſcover what they were. Coming nearer, they found them to be *Flemmings*, and by them they underſtood that the *Engliſh* Fleet was not far off. The Admiral, having received this Advice, went into a large Ship, which he had pitch'd upon to engage the *Engliſh* Admiral, and ordered the Gallies to advance to gain more certain Intelligence, which by Break of Day they did, being come within Sight of the Enemy's Fleet. The Admiral, with the whole Fleet, followed them with all the Expedition he could; but it was ſo great a Calm, that he made very little Way, more than he was carried by the Currents. The *Engliſh* having got a Sight of our Gallies, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to get the Wind, that they might not be hemm'd in between them and our Fleet by the Calm. Our Gallies were as aſſiduous to gain the Weather-gage of them. In this Manner they ſpent the beſt Part of the Day, rowing and ſailing ſo near to one another, that they could eaſily diſcern the Number of each others Ships, and their Bulk.

All this while the *Engliſh* ſtood out, with their Heads towards the Sea, and made a Shew of being deſirous to engage; keeping, however, always within Sight of their Shore: At length, ſeeing our Fleet had got the Weather-gage, and was following them in very good Order, they no longer diſſembled, but ſetting their Sails, they ſhaped their Courſe before the Wind towards the *Iſle of Wight*. Monſieur *de la Garde* obſerving this, in order to ſtop their Courſe, and to give our Fleet Time to come up, reſolved cloſely to purſue ſome of their rear-moſt Ships, which being heavy Veſſels, had lagged a pretty Way behind.

hind. This made the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſlacken their Sails: But the Gale beginning immediately after to freſhen, without, however, cauſing any Swell of the Sea, they retreated without any Diſorder, excepting only that we had an Engagement with them for above two Hours, in ſo cloſe Fight, that we could hardly diſcharge our Guns. They did not ſpare us; but our Gallies being low, were the leaſt expoſed to the Fury of their Cannon. The Skirmiſh was very warm; for the next Morning we ſaw a Number of dead Bodies, and a great deal of Timber, ſwimming on the Surface of the Sea: And there could not be leſs than three hundred Pieces of Cannon fired on both Sides. During the Engagement, both the Current and the Wind carried the *Engliſh* Fleet directly towards their Port; and the Night coming on, put an End to the Combat. The next Morning, when we look'd out for them, we found they were harboured, and in Safety; upon which the Admiral ſteer'd his Courſe for *Havre de Grace*, to take in Refreſhments, and to put on-ſhore the ſick Men.

Father DANIEL'*s Remarks on this Sea-fight*, Tom. II. p. 471.

" We ſee here (ſays this Author) at firſt View, an Order of Battle more regular and leſs confuſed, than we find in other Relations, and that the Attack was very well concerted. The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons. The Admiral with thirty Ships was in the Center, having Monſieur *de Boutieres*, with a Squadron on the Right, and the Baron *de Curton*, with another, on the Left.

The Attack was begun by four Gallies, which were detach'd under Favour of the Calm, and with ſuch Succeſs, that the *Mary-Roſe*, one of the principal Ships of the *Engliſh* Fleet, was ſunk, with near ſix hundred Men in her, and the *Great Henry*, in which the *Engliſh* Admiral was, would have undergone the ſame Fate, had it not been timely ſuccoured.

A Gale riſing, the *French* Gallies were in Danger, the *Engliſh* Ships bearing down upon them, with full Sail. A Danger from which they eſcaped purely by the Skill and Experience of their Commanders, and the Intrepidity of the Prior of *Capua*, who expoſed his Galley with an undaunted Courage, and freed himſelf from the Danger with an equal Addreſs. The Gallies got up again to their Fleet, which lay waiting for the *Engliſh*, in Order of Battle; but they retreated to avoid the Fight, or rather to decoy the *French* Fleet into a dangerous Gulph, in which it muſt inevitably have periſhed. After this, we may obſerve the different Motions of the two Fleets, which appear to have been pretty well regulated; and the Return of the *French* Fleet, which was concerted with a great deal of Prudence.

In the ſecond Place, we ſee that at this time their Ships of War were built with Port-holes for their Ordnance; a Cuſtom, however, which was not then of very long ſtanding. This is certain, that it was in Uſe in the Time of *Lewis* XII. Predeceſſor of *Francis* I. (about the Beginning of the ſixteenth Century) as we know by the Inſtance of the Ship called the *Charente*, which carried a greater Number of Cannon (ſome Authors ſay 200) than could poſſibly have been without Port holes: But, I believe, this manner of Building was not in Uſe before his Reign, or that of his Predeceſſor *Charles* VIII. Before that time, they uſed only to place a few Cannon upon the Deck (for probably they had but one) of ſuch Ships as carried any, and upon the Prow and Poop, as they yet do in Galeaſſes, and upon the Prows of Gallies.

We may farther obſerve, that neither the *French* nor the *Engliſh* Ships, which were in this Fight, had any great Number of Cannon; becauſe Monſieur *du Bellay* remarks it as ſomething very extraordinary, that during an Engagement, in which the two Fleets cannonaded one another for two Hours, there were not leſs than 300 Cannon-ſhot fired on both Sides; which, at this time, would be looked upon as nothing, in a Fight of two Hours, between two Fleets; one of which (the *French*) conſiſted of above 90 Ships, and the other (the *Engliſh*) of 100.

The War continuing [a] between the two Crowns, there were ſeveral Skirmiſhes in the Channel, eſpecially on the Coaſt of *France*, before *Ambleteuſe*. *Herbert* writing of theſe Skirmiſhes, ſays, " ſome Fights paſſed at Sea this while, whereof " one is memorable, of ſeven or eight *Engliſh*, in a ſmall " Veſſel, who being maſtered by a far greater Number of " *French*, entered their Ship, as pretending to ſave them- " ſelves out of their own Bark, which now began to ſink; " but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by caſting " Water on them, raiſed ſuch a Smoak, as thro' their con- " tinual throwing of them, blinded the *French*, and at laſt " made them run under the Hatches, where at length being " ſhut up, their Ship was brought away. Much fighting " alſo paſſed betwixt our Ships and the *French* Gallies in " Calms, while thro' the Benefit of their Oars, they took " and left as they pleaſed." A Treaty of Peace enſued, which was concluded at *Campe*, between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, the 7th of *June*; and King *Henry* dying on the 29th of *June* in the following Year, put an End to the naval Armaments of this Reign.

The State of Trade and Commerce in this Reign may be collected from the following Particulars. 1. The great Care that was taken of our Manufactures, as appears from ſome wiſe Laws which ſtill continue in Force; whereby it was enacted [b], that no Perſon or Perſons within the Realm, ſhall buy or otherwiſe take by Exchange for other Wares, any manner of Wares made, or hereafter to be made out of this Realm, of Tin, or mix'd with Tin, as Platters, Diſhes, Saucers, Pots, Baſons, Ewers, Flaggons, Goblets, Salts, Saltſellers, Spoons, or any other Thing made of Tin or Pewter, upon Forfeiture of the ſaid Wares in whoſe Hands ſoever found or taken, or the full Value thereof; half to the King, the other half to the Finders [c].

And again, that [d] none ſhall convey out of this Realm, Braſs, Copper, Latten, Bell-metal, Pan-metal, Gun-metal, Shruff-metal, clean or mixed (Tin and Lead only excepted) on Forfeiture of double the Value; half to the King, and half to the Informer [e].

2. The extenſive Trade the *Engliſh* now carried on with the *Levant*; for according to the beſt Authority [f], in the Years of our Lord 1511, 1512, *&c.* till the Year 1534, divers tall Ships of *London*, namely, the *Chriſtopher Campion*, wherein was Factor one *Roger Whitcome*; the *Mary-George*, wherein was Factor *William Greſham*; the great *Mary-Grace*, the Owner whereof was *William Gunſon*, and the Maſter one *John Hely*; the *Trinity Fitzwilliams*, whereof was Maſter *Lawrence Arkey*; the *Matthew* of *London*, whereof was Maſter *William Capling*, with certain other Ships of *Southampton* and *Briſtol*, had an ordinary and uſual Trade to *Sicilia*, *Candia*, *Chio*, and ſomewhiles to *Cyprus*, as alſo to *Tripolis* and *Barutti* in *Syria*. The Commodities which they carried thither were fine Kerſies of divers Colours, coarſe Kerſies, white Weſtern dozens, Cottons, certain Cloths called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveſkins, which were well ſold in *Sicily*, &c. The Commodities which they returned back were Silks, Chamlets, Rhubarb, Malmeſies, Muſkadels, and other Wines, ſweet Oils, Cotton-wooll, *Turkey*-carpets, Galls, Pepper, Cinnamon, and ſome other Spices, *&c.* Beſides, the natural Inhabitants of the foreſaid Places, they had, even in thoſe Days, Traffic with *Jews*, *Turks*, and other Foreigners. Neither did our Merchants only employ their own *Engliſh* Shipping before-mentioned, but ſundry Strangers alſo; as namely *Candiots*, *Raguſeans*, *Sicilians*, *Genoeſes*, *Venetian* Galliaſſes, *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Ships. All which Particulars do moſt evidently appear out of certain Leidger-books of the Right Worſhipful Sir *William Locke* Mercer of *London*, of Sir *William Bowyer* Alderman of *London*, of Maſter *John Greſham*, and of others; which I *Richard Hackluit* have diligently peruſed and copied out. And here for Authority's Sake I do annex, as a thing not impertinent to this Purpoſe, a Letter of King *Henry* VIII. unto Don *John* III. King of *Portugal*."

" The Ships called the *Holy-Croſs*, and the *Matthew Gonſon*, made a Voyage to the Iſlands of *Candia* and *Chio* in *Turkey*, about the Year 1534. And in the *Matthew* went as Captain Maſter *Richard Gonſon*, Son of old Maſter *William*

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[a] A. D. 1546.

[b] 25th Henry VIII. cap. 9.

[c] This Act is made perpetual by the Act 33 Henry VIII. cap. 4.

[d] 33d Henry VIII. cap. 7.

[e] Repealed as to Metal made of Britiſh Ore, by 5 & 6 William and Mary, cap. 7. §. 2.

[f] Hackluit, Part: II. page 96—98.

liam Gonſon, Pay-maſter of the King's Navy. In this firſt Voyage went *William Holſtocke* (who was afterwards Comptroller of her Majeſty's Navy, lately deceaſed) as Page to Maſter *Richard Gonſon* aforeſaid, which Maſter *Gonſon* died in *Chio* in this his firſt Voyage. The Ship called the *Holy-Croſs* was a ſhort Ship, and of Burden 160 Tons. And having been a full Year at the Sea in Performance of this Voyage, with great Danger, ſhe returned home; where upon her Arrival at *Blackwall*, in the River of *Thames*, her Wine and Oil-caſks were found ſo weak, that they were not able to hoiſt them out of the Ship, but were conſtrained to draw them as they lay, and put their Wine and Oil into new Veſſels, and ſo to unlade the Ship. Their chief Freight was very excellent Muſcatels and red Malmeſy, the like whereof were ſeldom ſeen before in *England*. They brought home alſo good Quantity of ſweet Oils, Cotton-woolls, *Turkey*-carpets, Galls, Cinnamon, and ſome other Spices. The ſaid Ship called the *Holy-Croſs* was ſo ſhaken in this Voyage, and ſo weakened, that ſhe was laid up in the Dock, and never made Voyage after."

"The good Ship called the *Matthew Gonſon*, of Burden 300 Tons, whereof was Owner old Maſter *William Gonſon*, Pay-maſter of the King's Navy, made her Voyage in the Year 1535. In this Ship went as Captain *Richard Gray*, who long after died in *Ruſſia*. Maſter *William Holſtocke*, afterwards Comptroller of the Queen's Navy, went then as Purſer in the ſame Voyage. The Maſter was one *John Pichet*, Servant to old Maſter *William Gonſon*; *James Rumney* was Maſter's-mate. The Maſter-cooper was *John Williamſon* Citizen of *London*, living in the Year 1592, and dwelling in St. *Dunſtan*'s Pariſh in the Eaſt. The Maſter-gunner was *John Godfrey* of *Briſtol*. In this Ship were ſix Gunners and four Trumpeters, all which four Trumpeters at our return homewards went on-land at *Meſſina* in the Iſland of *Sicilia*, as our Ship rode there at Anchor, and gat them into the Gallies that lay near unto us, and in them went to *Rome*. The whole Number of our Company in this Ship were about 100 Men; we were alſo furniſhed with a great Boat, which was able to carry 10 Tons of Water, which at our return homewards we towed all the Way from *Chio* until we came thro' the Streight of *Gibraltar* into the main Ocean. We had alſo a great Long-boat and a Skiff. We were out upon this Voyage eleven Months, yet in all this time there died of Sickneſs but one Man, whoſe Name was *George Forreſt*, being Servant to our Carpenter called *Thomas Plummer*."

However, the Subject ſuffered much by the King's Neceſſities; into which he was firſt driven by his Connexions with the Continent, tho' with Promiſes of great Advantage to his People, and Honour to his Crown. The Emperor *Maximilian* engaged him in an expenſive War, on condition of aſſiſting him in Perſon to recover the Crown of *France*, of ceding the Duchy of *Milan* to him and his Heirs Male, and even of ſecuring to him the Reverſion of the *Roman* Empire: Conditions which were calculated only to ſerve *Maximilian*'s Turn, at the Expence of the King of *England*; for none of them were ever performed [a]; and both theſe, and the Promiſes with which *Henry* was afterwards drawn into another War on the Continent by *Charles* V. were abſolutely refuſed, when demanded to be put in Execution [b]. Thus he conſumed the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father, by paying numerous Armies to fight other Mens Quarrels, without getting any thing for himſelf worth Notice. Beſides, he run out 150,000 *l. per Annum*, which he ſeized from the religious Foundations granted to him by Parliament at their Diſſolution [c]; alſo a Loan of 10 *l. per Cent.* out of all Eſtates from 20 to 300 *l.* and of 20 Marks from all above that Value [d]; and two other conſiderable Loans demanded and enforced under ſevere Penalties in the 17th and 36th Years of his Reign.

But what was the worſt of all Ways to raiſe Money, he alſo practiſed upon his Coin; which makes a judicious Antiquarian [e] remark, that the State of this King's Money was, like his Mind and Humour, very changeable and uncertain; who alſo informs us, that in the Beginning of his Reign he imitated his Father in his Coin, but afterwards both Gold and Silver were debaſed; *Henry* VIII. firſt of all the Kings of *England* [f], mixing the Money with Braſs, to the Diſhonour of the Kingdom, and the Damage of his Succeſſors and People.

In his firſt Year is an Indenture [g] for coining Money of the ſame Goodneſs and Value as his Father's.

In his fifteenth Year it was enacted [h], that of every hundred Pounds worth of Gold coined at any Mints within the Realm of *England* (except *York*, *Dureſm*, and *Canterbury*) twenty Pounds thereof ſhould be in half Angels, commonly called Pieces of Gold of forty Pence; and every hundred Pounds worth of Silver ſhould be coined half into Groats; twenty Pounds in half Groats, called Pence of Two-pence; ten Marks in Halfpence; and five Marks in Farthings: And all Perſons bringing Bullion to the Mint to be coined, under the Value aforeſaid, were to receive the tenth Part in Halfpence and Farthings. And, becauſe Halfpence and Farthings had ſo near a Reſemblance to each other, being ſtruck with one Coin, that the common People often miſtook the one for the other; all Farthings afterwards made within the Realm, were to have on one Side the Print of the Portcullis, and on the other Side the Roſe with a Croſs.

In his eighteenth Year there was a great Scarcity of Money, and the Cauſes being enquired into, it was found to be owing to the Tranſportation that had been made into the *Low-Countries*; and the only Remedy found, was to raiſe the Money at home, to the ſame Price it paſſed at abroad. Hitherto we are told [i] the Angel-Noble was the ſixth Part of an Ounce, in Value ſix Shillings and eight Pence, which in Silver was two Ounces. Thus the Proportion of Silver to Gold was twelve to one. Again (ſays our Author) an Ounce of Silver (or half Angel) paſs'd for three Shillings and four Pence; ſo twelve Ounces, or a Pound, was juſt forty Shillings; but the 6th of *September*, by Proclamation, the Value of both being raiſed one tenth Part, the Angel was ſeven Shillings and four Pence, which was the Value it then paſſed at in the *Low Countries*; the Royal eleven Shillings, and the Crown (meaning [k] the old *French* Crown) at four Shillings and four Pence; and conſequently the Ounce of Gold was forty-four Shillings, and the Ounce of Silver three Shillings and eight Pence, the Proportion being twelve to one. The Benefit of this ſoon appeared, that the fifth of *November* following, there was another Proclamation, raiſing the Money one forty-fourth Part.

By the firſt Proclamation in *September*, the Pound was raiſed to twenty-ſix Pound eight Shillings, and by the laſt Proclamation to twenty-ſeven Pound. So, in like manner, the Pound of Silver, which, in the Beginning of his Reign, made thirty-ſeven Shillings and ſix Pence in Tale, *viz.* a hundred and twelve Groats and a half, each weighing two Penny-weights three Grains, had been raiſed to forty Shillings in Tale, or a hundred and twenty Groats, weighing two Penny-weights each; and by the two Proclamations raiſed to forty-five Shillings in Tale, or a hundred and thirty-five Groats to the Pound, and conſequently reduced in Weight to one Penny-weight, eighteen Grains and a half.

In his twenty-ſecond Year, an Author tells us [l], Cardinal *Woolſey* had a Commiſſion granted to him for the Alteration of the Coin, which brought in great Confuſion among the Values of Money; and, together with the exceſſive Quantities of Gold and Silver, about that time brought into *Chriſtendom* from the *Weſt-Indies*, was the Occaſion that the Statute of Labourers and Servants was no further obſerved; the Prices of all Things being inhanced, they could not live upon their Statute Wages.

In the thirty-fourth Year of *Henry* VIII. the Standard of the Silver was now firſt debaſed, from the ancient Standard or Sterling of *England*, to only ten Ounces fine, and two Ounces Allay, making forty-eight Shillings in Tale, to be coined into *Teſtoons*, going for twelve Pence a-piece, Groats, half Groats, Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings.

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[a] Holinſhed. Speed. Rapin. Herbert.

[b] Iidem.

[c] Speed's Chron. Dugdale. Burnet's Reformation.

[d] Rapin. Echard. A. D. 1514.

[e] Leake's Hiſtorical Account of Engliſh Money, Second Edit. p. 187.

[f] Camden's Eliz. fol. Lond. 1688, p. 49.

[g] Clauſ. 1 Henry VIII. N. 20.

[h] Statute 14 and 15 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

[i] Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Stow, p. 527. Annals.

[k] Stow, p. 912.

[l] Vaughan of Coining, p. 113.

And by Proclamation[a], the 16th of *May* 1544, and the thirty-ſixth of his Reign, Gold was raiſed to forty-eight Shillings, and Silver to four Shillings the Ounce.

And the next Year it was ſtill worſe[b], the Gold being only twenty Carrats fine, and the Silver but four Ounces fine, and eight Ounces Allay, whereby the Pound of pure Gold was raiſed to thirty-ſix Pound, and the Pound of fine Silver to ſeven Pound four Shiilings. Alſo Rent of Lands and Tenements, with Prices of Victuals, were raiſed, far beyond the former Rates.

The Spirit of ſailing in queſt of unknown Countries greatly increaſed in this Nation as well as in *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Diſcoveries made by them in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and the Way opened by *Cabot* to Cape *Florida* in *North-America*, raiſed an Emulation in our *Engliſh* Navigators. Mr. *Robert Thorne* Merchant, who had reſided many Years at *Seville* in *Spain*, obſerving the great Increaſe of Wealth, in a ſhort time, to *Spain* and *Portugal*, from their new Settlements, wrote a moſt pathetic Letter to King *Henry* VIII. exhorting his Majeſty not to drop the Advantages, which would follow to the *Engliſh* Nation by purſuing the Diſcoveries begun in the late King his Father's Reign, by the *Cabots*. Part of which Letter, as alſo a longer Diſcourſe of his to enforce the ſame Advice, are worthy of our Attention, and will ſhew how greatly the Navigation of *Europe* was improved in a very few Years.

“ Now I conſidering this your noble Courage and Deſire, and alſo perceiving that your Grace may at your Pleaſure, to your greater Glory, by a godly Mean, with little Coſt, Peril, or Labour to your Grace, or any of your Subjects, amplify and enrich this your ſaid Realm, I know it is my bounden Duty to manifeſt this Secret unto your Grace, which hitherto, as I ſuppoſe, hath been hid; which is, that with a ſmall Number of Ships there may be *diſcovered* divers *new Lands* and *Kingdoms*, in the which without doubt your Grace ſhall win perpetual Glory, and your Subjects infinite Profit. To which Places there is left one way to diſcover, which is into the North; for that of the four Parts of the World, it ſeemeth three Parts are diſcovered by other Princes. For out of *Spaine* they have diſcovered all the *Indies* and Seas Occidental, and out of *Portingall* all the *Indies* and Seas Oriental; ſo that by this Part of the Orient and Occident, they have compaſſed the World. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met again in the Courſe or Way of the Middeſt of the Day, and ſo then was diſcovered a great Part of the ſame Seas and Coaſts by the *Spaniards*. So that now reſt to be diſcovered the ſaid North Parts, the which it ſeemeth to me, is only your Charge and Duty. Becauſe the Situation of this your Realm is thereunto neareſt and apteſt of all other; and alſo for that you have[c] already taken it in hand. And in mine Opinion it will not ſeem well to leave ſo great and profitable an Enterprize, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily, and with ſo little Coſt, Labour, and Danger, be followed and obtained: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a Proof, and found not the Commodity thereby as you truſted, at this Time it ſhall be no Impediment. For there may be now provided Remedies for Things then lacked, and the Inconveniences and Lets removed, that then were the cauſe that your Grace's Deſire took no full Effect, which is, the Courſes to be changed, and followed the foreſaid new Courſes. And concerning the Mariners, Ships, and Proviſion, an Order may be deviſed and taken meet and convenient, much better than hitherto. By reaſon whereof, and by God's Grace, no doubt your Purpoſe ſhall take effect. Surely the Coſt herein will be nothing, in compariſon to the great Profit. The Labour is much leſs, yea nothing at all, where ſo great Honour and Glory is hoped for; and conſidering well the Courſes, truly the Danger and Way is ſhorter to us, than to *Spaine* or *Portingall*, as by evident Reaſons appeareth.

“ And now to declare ſomething of the Commodity and Utility of this Navigation, it is very clear and certain, that the Seas that commonly Men ſay, without great Danger, Difficulty and Peril, yea rather it is impoſſible to paſs, that thoſe ſame Seas be navigable and without any ſuch Danger, but that Ships may paſs and have in them perpetual Clearneſs of the Day without any Darkneſs of the Night: which Thing is a great Commodity for the Navigants, to ſee at all Times round about them, as well the Safeguards as Dangers, and how great Difference it is between the Commodity and Perils of others, which loſe the moſt Part of every four and twenty Hours the ſaid Light, and go in Darkneſs groping their Way, I think there is none ſo ignorant but perceiveth this more plainly, than it can be expreſſed. Yea, what Advantage ſhall your Grace's Subjects have alſo by this Light to diſcover the ſtrange Lands, Countries, and Coaſts? For if they that be diſcovered, to ſail by them in Darkneſs is with great Danger, much more then the Coaſts not diſcovered be dangerous to travel by Night, or in Darkneſs. Yet theſe Dangers or Darkneſs hath not letted the *Spaniards* and *Portingals*, and other, to diſcover many unknown Realms to their great Peril. Which conſidered (and that your Grace's Subjects may have the ſame Light) it will ſeem your Grace's Subjects to be without Activity or Courage, in leaving to do this glorious and noble Enterprize. For they being paſt this little Way, which they named ſo dangerous, (which may be two or three Leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they paſs the Pole) it is clear, that from thenceforth the Seas and Lands are as temperate as in theſe Parts, and that then it may be at the Will and Pleaſure of the Mariners, to chuſe whether they will ſail by the Coaſts that be cold, temperate or hot. For they being paſt the Pole, it is plain they may decline to what Part they liſt.

“ If they will go toward the Orient, they ſhall enjoy the Regions of all the *Tartarians* that extend toward the Mid-day, and from thence they may go and proceed to the Land of the *Chinas*, and from thence to the Land of *Cathaio* Oriental[d], which is of all the main Land moſt Oriental that can be reckoned from our Habitation. And if from thence they continue their Navigation, following the Coaſts that return toward the Occident, they fall in with *Malaca*, and ſo with all the *Indies* which we call Oriental, and following the Way, may return hither by the Cape of *Buona Speranſa*; and thus they ſhall compaſs the whole World. And if they will take their Courſe after they be paſt the Pole, toward the Occident, they ſhall go in the Back-ſide of the *Newfoundland*, which of late was diſcovered by your Grace's Subjects, until they come to the Back-ſide and *South-Seas* of the *Indies Occidental*. And ſo continuing their Voyage they may return thorough the Streight of *Magellan* to this Country, and ſo they compaſs alſo the World by that Way: and if they go this third Way, and after they be paſt the Pole, go right toward the Pole Antarctick, and then decline towards the Lands and Iſlands ſituated between the Tropicks, and under the Equinoctial, without doubt they ſhall find there the richeſt Lands and Iſlands of the World, of Gold, precious Stones, Balms, Spices, and other Things that we here eſteem moſt; which come out of ſtrange Countries; and may return the ſame Way.

“ By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not only a great Advantage of the Riches, but alſo your Subjects ſhall not travel half of the Way that other do, which go round about as aforeſaid.”

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[a] Stow's Annals, p. 587.

[b] Lownds, p. 44.

[c] By Sebaſtian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert in the 8th Year of his Reign. And this is the Voyage ſpoken of by Gonſalvo Oviedo, that came to St. Domingo.

[d] Mr. Thorne ſuppoſes a Paſſage by the North Pole to the Eaſt-Indies, which is not yet diſcovered, tho' frequently been attempted.

Part of a Diſcourſe written by the right Worſhipful Mr. Robert Thorne *in the Year* 1527, *in* Sivil, *to Dr.* Ley, *Lord-ambaſſador for King* Henry VIII. *to* Charles *the Emperor, being an Information of the Parts of the World, diſcovered by him and the King of* Portingal; *and alſo of the Way to the* Moluccaes *by the North.*

Right Noble and Reverend in, &c.

“ To write unto your Lordſhip of the new Trade of Spicery of the Emperor, there is no doubt but that the Iſlands are fertil of Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon; and that the ſaid Iſlands, with other thereabout, abound with Gold, Rubies, Diamonds, Balaſſes, Granates, Jacincts, and other Stones and Pearls, as all other Lands that are under and near the Equinoctial. For we ſee, where Nature giveth any Thing, ſhe is no Nigard. For as with us and other, that are aparted from the ſaid Equinoctial, our Metals be Lead, Tin, and Iron, ſo theirs be Gold, Silver, and Copper. And as our Fruits and Grains be Apples, Nuts, and Corn; ſo theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloves, and other Spices. And as we have Jett, Amber, Cryſtal, Jaſper, and other like Stones; ſo have they Rubies, Diamonds, Balaſſes, Saphires, Jacincts, and other like. And though ſome ſay that of ſuch precious Metals, Grains, or Kind of Spices, and precious Stones, the Abundance and Quantity is nothing ſo great, as our Metals, Fruits or Stones above rehearſed; yet if it be well conſidered, how the Quantity of the Earth under the Equinoctial, to both the tropical Lines, (in which Space is found the ſaid Gold, Spices and precious Stones) is as much in Quantity, as almoſt all the Earth from the Tropicks to both the Poles; it cannot be denied but there is more Quantity of the ſaid Metals, Fruits, Spices, and precious Stones, than there is of the other Metals, and other Things before rehearſed. And I ſee that the Preciouſneſs of theſe Things is meaſured after the Diſtance that is between us and the Things that we have Appetite unto. For in this Navigation of the Spicery was diſcovered, that theſe Iſlands nothing ſet by Gold, but ſet more by a Knife and a Nail of Iron, than by this Quantity of Gold; and with reaſon, as the Thing more neceſſary for Man's Service. And I doubt not but to them ſhould be as precious our Corn and Seeds, if they might have them, as to us their Spices: and likewiſe the Pieces of Glaſs that here we have counterfeited, are as precious to them, as to us their Stones; which by Experience is ſeen daily by them that have Trade thither. This of the Riches of thoſe Countries is ſufficient.

“ Touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether it may be profitable to the Emperor or no? it may be without doubt of great Profit: if, as the King of *Portingal* doth, he would become a Merchant, and provide Ships and their Lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the Trade of theſe Iſlands for himſelf. But other greater Buſineſs with-holdeth him from this. But ſtill, as now it is begun to be occupied, it would come to much. For the Ships coming in Safety, there would go thither many every Year, of which to the Emperor is due of all the Wares and Jewels that come from thence the fifth Part for his Cuſtom clear without any Coſt. And beſides this he putteth in every Flote a certain Quantity of Money, of which he enjoyeth of the Gains Pound and Pounds like as other Adventurers do. In a Fleet[*] of three Ships and a Caravel that went from this City armed by the Merchants of it, which departed in *April* laſt paſt, I and my Partner have one thouſand four hundred Duckets that we employed in the ſaid Fleet, principally for that two *Engliſhmen*, Friends of mine, which are ſomewhat learned in Coſmography, ſhould go in the ſame Ships, to bring me certain Relation of the Situation of the Country, and to be expert in the Navigation of thoſe Seas, and there to have Informations of many other Things, and Advice that I deſire to know eſpecially. Seeing in theſe Quarters are Ships, and Mariners of that Country, and Cards by which they ſail, though much unlike ours, that they ſhould procure to have the ſaid Cards, and learn how they underſtand them, and eſpecially to know what Navigation they have for thoſe Iſlands Northwards, and North-eaſtward.

“ For if from the ſaid Iſlands the Sea did extend, without Interpoſition of Land, to ſail from the North Point to the North-eaſt Point 1700 or 1800 Leagues, they ſhould come to the *new-found Iſlands* that we diſcovered, and ſo we ſhould be nearer to the ſaid Spicery by almoſt 2000 Leagues than the Emperor, or the King of *Portingal* are. And to adviſe your Lordſhip whether of theſe Spiceries of the King of *Portingal* or the Emperor's is nearer, and alſo of the Titles that either of them hath, and how our *new-found Lands* are parted from it, (for that by writing without ſome Demonſtration, it were hard to give any Declaration of it) I have cauſed that your Lordſhip ſhall receive herewith a little Map or Card of the World.

“ And for more Declaration of the ſaid Card, your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand, that beginning on the Part Occidental within the Line, the firſt Land that is ſet out, is the main Land and Iſlands of the *Indies* of the Emperor. Which main Land or Coaſt goeth Northward, and finiſheth in the Land that we found, which is called here *Terra de Labrador*. So that it appeareth the ſaid *Land that we found*, and the *Indies* to be *all one main Land*.

“ The ſaid Coaſt from the ſaid *Indies* Southward, as by the Card your Lordſhip may ſee, cometh to a certain ſtreight Sea, called *Eſtrecho de todos Santos*; by which ſtreight Sea the *Spaniards* go to the Spiceries, as I ſhall declare more at large; the which ſtreight Sea is right againſt 315 Degrees of Longitude, and is of Latitude or Altitude from the Equinoctial 53 Degrees. The firſt Land from the ſaid Beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certain Iſlands of the *Canaries*, and Iſlands of *Capo verde*. But the firſt main Land next to the Line Equinoctial is the ſaid *Capo verde*, and from thence Northward by the Streight of this Sea of *Italie*. And ſo followeth *Spayne*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Almaine*, *Denmarke* and *Norway*, which is the higheſt Part toward the North. And over againſt *Flanders* are our Iſlands of *England* and *Ireland*. Alſo returning to the foreſaid *Capo verde*, the Coaſt goeth Southward to a Cape called *Capo de buona ſperanſa*; which is right over-againſt the 60th and 65th Degree of Longitude. And by this Cape go the *Portingals* to their Spicery. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the Land of *Calicut*, as your Lordſhip may ſee in the Head-land over-againſt the 130th Degree. From the ſaid Cape of *Buona ſperanſa* the Coaſt returneth toward the Line Equinoctial, and paſſing forth, entreth the Red-ſea, and returning out, entreth again into the Gulph of *Perſia*, and returneth toward the Equinoctial Line, till that it cometh to the Head-land called *Calicut* aforeſaid, and from thence the Coaſt making a Gulph, where is the River of *Ganges*, returneth toward the Line to a Head-land called *Malaca*, where is the principal Spicery; and from this Cape returneth and maketh a great Gulph, and after the Coaſt goeth right toward the Orient, and over againſt this laſt Gulph and Coaſt be many Iſlands, which be Iſlands of the Spiceries of the Emperor. Upon which the *Portingals* and he be at Variance.

“ The ſaid Coaſt goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right againſt the 155th Degree, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward; which Coaſt not yet plainly known, I may join to the *new-found Land* found by us, that I ſpake of before. So that I finiſh with this brief Declaration of the Card aforeſaid. Well I know I ſhould alſo have declared how the Coaſts within the Streights of the Sea of *Italie* run. It is plain that paſſing the Streights on the North Side of that Sea after the Coaſt of *Granado*, and with that which pertains to *Spaine*, is the Coaſt of that which *France* hath in *Italie*. And then followeth in one Piece all *Italie*, which Land hath an Arm of the Sea, with a Gulph which is called *Mare Adriaticum*. And in the Bottom of this Gulph is the City of *Venice*. And on the other Part of the ſaid Gulph is *Sclavonia*, and next *Grecia*, then the Streights of *Conſtantinople*, and then the Sea called *Euxinus*, which

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[*] This was the Fleet wherein Cabot diſcovered the River of Plate, 1526. See his Life at the End of King Edward VI's Reign.

“is within the ſaid Streights; and coming out of the ſaid Streights, followeth *Turcia major* (though now on both Sides it is called *Turcia*.) And ſo the Coaſt runneth Southward to *Syria*, and over-againſt the ſaid *Turcia* are the Iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Candie* and *Cyprus*. And over-againſt *Italie* are the Iſlands of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*. And over-againſt *Spaine* is *Majorca* and *Minorca*. In the End of the Gulph of *Syria* is *Judea*. And from thence returneth the Coaſt toward the Occident, till it cometh to the Streights where we began, which all is the Coaſt of *Affrike* and *Barbarie*.

“Now to come to the Purpoſe of your Lordſhip's Demand, touching the Difference between the Emperor and the King of *Portingal*; to underſtand it better, I muſt declare the Beginning of this Diſcovery.

“In the Year 1484 the King of *Portingal* minded to arm certain Caravels to diſcover this Spicery. Then foraſmuch as he feared that being diſcovered, every other Prince would ſend and trade thither, ſo that the Coſt and Peril of diſcovering ſhould be his, and the Profit common: Wherefore firſt he gave Knowledge of this his Mind to all Princes chriſtened, ſaying that he would ſeek amongſt the Infidels new Poſſeſſions of Regions, and therefore would make a certain Army; and that if any of them would help in the Coſt of the ſaid Army, he ſhould enjoy his Part of the Profit or Honour that ſhould come of it. And as then this Diſcovering was holden for a ſtrange Thing and uncertain. Now they ſay, that all the Princes of *Chriſtendome* anſwered, that they would be no part of ſuch an Army, nor yet of the Profit that might come of it. After the which he gave Knowledge to the Pope of his Purpoſe, and of the Anſwer of all the Princes, deſiring him that ſeeing that none would help in the Coſts, that he would judge all that ſhould be found and diſcovered to be of his Juriſdiction, and command that none other Princes ſhould intermeddle therewith. The Pope ſaid not as Chriſt ſaith, *Quis me conſtituit judicem inter vos?* He did not refuſe, but making himſelf as Lord and Judge of all, not only granted that all that ſhould be diſcovered from Orient to Occident, ſhould be the King's of *Portingal*, but alſo, that upon great Cenſures no other Prince ſhould diſcover but he. And if they did, all to be the King's of *Portingal*. So he armed a Fleet, and in the Year 1497 were diſcovered the Iſlands of *Calicut*, from whence is brought all the Spice he hath.

“After this, in the Year 1492, the King of *Spaine* willing to diſcover Lands toward the Occident without making any ſuch Diligence, or taking Licence of the King of *Portingal*, armed certain Caravels, and then diſcovered this *India* Occidental, eſpecially two Iſlands of the ſaid *India* that in this Card I ſet forth, naming the one *la Dominica*, and the other *Cuba*, and brought certain Gold from thence. Of the which when the King of *Portingal* had Knowledge, he ſent to the King of *Spaine*, requiring him to give him the ſaid Iſlands. For that by the Sentence of the Pope, all that ſhould be diſcovered was his, and that he ſhould not proceed further in the Diſcovery without his Licence. And at the ſame time it ſeemeth that out of *Caſtile* into *Portingal* had gone for fear of burning infinite Number of *Jews* that were expelled out of *Spaine*, for that they would not turn to be *Chriſtians*, and carried with them infinite Number of Gold and Silver. So that it ſeemeth that the King of *Spaine* anſwered, that it was Reaſon that the King of *Portingal* aſked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would give him the ſaid Iſlands of the *Indies*. Now foraſmuch as it was decreed betwixt the ſaid Kings, that none ſhould receive the other's Subjects Fugitives, nor their Goods, therefore the King of *Portingal* ſhould pay and return to the King of *Spaine* a Million of Gold or more, that the *Jews* had carried out of *Spaine* to *Portingal*, and that in ſo doing he would give theſe Iſlands, and deſiſt from any more Diſcovering. And not fulfilling this, he would not only not give theſe Iſlands, but procure to diſcover more where him thought beſt. It ſeemeth that the King of *Portingal* would not, or could not with his Eaſe pay this Money. And ſo not paying, that he could not lett the King of *Spaine* to diſcover; ſo that he enterpriſed not toward the *Orient* where he had begun and found the Spicery. And conſented to the King of *Spaine*, that touching this diſcovering they ſhould divide the World between them two. And that all that ſhould be diſcovered from *Cape Verde*, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the Degrees of Longitude, to 180 of the ſaid Scale of Longitude, which is half the World toward the Orient, and finiſheth in this Card right over-againſt a little Croſs made at the ſaid 180 Degrees, to be the King of *Portingal*'s. And all the Land from the ſaid Croſs toward the Occident, until it joineth with the other Croſs in the Orient, which containeth the other 180 Degrees, that is the other half of the World, to be the King of *Spaine*'s. So that from the Land over-againſt the ſaid 180 Degrees, until it finiſheth in the 360 on both the Ends of the Card, is the Juriſdiction of the King of *Spaine*. So after this manner they divided the World between them.

“But now touching that your Lordſhip wrote, whether that which we diſcovered toucheth any thing the foreſaid Coaſts: Once it appeareth plainly, that the *new-found Land* [*] that we diſcovered, is all a main Land with the *Indies* Occidental, from whence the Emperor hath all the Gold and Pearls; and ſo continueth of Coaſt more more 5000 Leagues of Length, as by this Card appeareth. For from the ſaid *new Lands* it proceedeth toward the Occident to the *Indies*, and from the *Indies* returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward up till it come to the Streights of *Todos Santos*, which I reckon to be more than 5000 Leagues.

“So that to the *Indies* it ſhould ſeem that we have ſome Title, at leaſt for our diſcovering we might trade thither as other do. But all this is nothing near the Spicery.

“Now then if from the ſaid *new-found Lands* the Sea be navigable, there is no doubt but ſailing Northward, and paſſing the Pole, deſcending to the Equinoctial-line, we ſhall hit theſe Iſlands, and it ſhould be a much ſhorter Way, then either the *Spaniards* or the *Portingals* have. For we be diſtant from the Pole but 39 Degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctial be 90, the which added together, be 129 Degrees, Leagues 2489, and Miles 7440, where we ſhould find theſe Iſlands. And the Navigation of the *Spaniards* to the Spicery is, as by this Card you may ſee, from *Spaine* to the Iſlands of *Canarie*, and from theſe Iſlands they run over the Line-equinoctial Southward to the Cape of the main Land of the *Indians*, called the Cape of *St. Auguſtine*, and from this Cape Southwards to the Streights of *Todos Santos*, in the which Navigation to the ſaid Streights is 1700, or 1800 Leagues; and from theſe Streights being paſt them, they return toward the Line-equinoctial to the Iſlands of Spicery, which are diſtant from the ſaid Streights 4200, or 4300 Leagues.

“The Navigation of the *Portingals* to the ſaid Iſlands, is departing from *Portingal* Southward toward the *Cape Verde*, and from thence to another Cape paſſing the Line-equinoctial, called *Capo de bona Speranſa*, and from *Portingal* to the Cape is 1800 Leagues, and from this Cape to the Iſlands of Spicery of the Emperor, is 2500 Leagues.

“So that this Navigation amounteth all to 4300 Leagues. So that (as afore is ſaid) if between our *new-found Lands*, or *Norway*, or *Iſeland*, the Seas toward the North be navigable, we ſhould go to theſe Iſlands a ſhorter Way by more than 2000 Leagues.

“And though we went not to the ſaid Iſlands, for that they are the Emperor's or King's of *Portingal*, we ſhould by the Way and Coming once to the Line-equinoctial, find Lands no leſs rich of Gold and Spicery, as all other Lands are under the ſaid Line-equinoctial; and alſo ſhould, if we may paſs under the North, enjoy the Navigation of all *Tartarie*. Which ſhould be no leſs profitable to our Commodities of Cloth, then theſe Spiceries to the Emperor, and King of *Portingal*.

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[*] Note, by new-found Lands our Author includes all the Continent along the Coaſt of North-America, diſcovered by Cabot.

“But it is a general Opinion of all Coſmographers, that paſſing the ſeventh Clime, the Sea is all Ice, and the Cold ſo much that none can ſuffer it. And hitherto they had all the like Opinion, that under the Line-equinoctial for much Heat the Land was unhabitable.

“Yet ſince (by Experience is proved) no Land ſo much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I think the ſame ſhould be found under the North, if it were experimented. For as all judge, *nihil ſit vacuum in rerum natura*; ſo I judge there is no Land unhabitable, nor Sea innavigable. If I ſhould write the Reaſon that preſenteth this unto me, I ſhould be too prolix, and it ſeemeth not requiſite for this preſent Matter. God knoweth, that tho' by it I ſhould have no great Intereſt, yet I have had, and ſtill have, no little Mind of this Buſineſs: ſo that if I had Faculty to my Will, it ſhould be the firſt Thing that I would undertake, even to attempt if our Seas Northward be navigable to the Pole, or no. I reaſon, that as ſome Sickneſſes are hereditarious, and come from the Father to the Son, ſo this Inclination or Deſire of this Diſcovery I inherited of my Father, which with another Merchant of *Briſtow* named *Hugh Eliot*, were the Diſcoverers of the *new-found Lands*, of the which there is no doubt, (as now plainly appeareth) if the Mariners would then have been ruled, and followed their Pilot's Mind, the Lands of the *Weſt-Indies*, (from whence all the Gold cometh) had been ours[a]. For all is one Coaſt, as by the Card appeareth, and is aforeſaid.”

Theſe Writings had their deſired Effect ſo far, that King *Henry* ordered two Ships to be manned and victualled, and to ſail under the Direction of Mr. *Thorne*[b], in queſt of a *North-weſt Paſſage* to the *Eaſt-Indies*: But to no Purpoſe. One Ship was loſt; the other was obliged by the Ice to put back, without Succeſs. Mr. *Thorne* was afterwards Mayor of the City of *Briſtol*, and lies buried in the *Temple Church* at *London*, under this Epitaph,

Robertus jacet hic Thorne, quem Briſtolia quondam
Pretoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim ſemper magnæ reſpublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis Patria divitiis.
Ferre inopi auxilium, triſtes componere lites
Dulce huic conſilio, quóſque juvare fuit.
Qui pius exaudis miſerorum vota, precéſque,
Chriſte huic cœli des regione locum.

This Diſappointment in the North did not diſcourage further Attempts towards Diſcoveries in other Parts. For, as *Hackluit* writes, “Old Maſter *William Haukins* of *Plimmouth*, a Man for his Wiſdom, Valour, Experience and Skill in Sea Cauſes much eſteemed, and beloved of King *Henry* VIII. and being one of the principal Sea-captains in the Weſt Parts of *England* in his time, not contented with the ſhort Voyages commonly then made only to the known Coaſts of *Europe*, armed out a tall and goodly Ship of his own, of the Burthen of 250 Tons, called the *Paule* of *Plimmouth*, wherewith he made three long and famous Voyages unto the Coaſt of *Braſil*, a thing in thoſe Days very rare, eſpecially to our Nation. In the Courſe of which Voyages he touched at the River of *Seſtos* upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, where he trafficked with the *Negroes*, and took of them Elephants-teeth, and other Commodities which that Place yieldeth; and ſo arriving on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, he uſed there ſuch Diſcretion, and behaved himſelf ſo wiſely with thoſe ſavage People, that he grew into great Familiarity and Friendſhip with them. Inſomuch that in his ſecond Voyage, one of the ſavage Kings of the Country of *Braſil*, was contented to take Ship with him, and to be tranſported hither into *England*; whereunto Maſter *Haukins* agreed, leaving behind in the Country, as a Pledge for his Safety and Return again, one *Martin Cockeram* of *Plimmouth*. This *Braſilian* King being arrived, was brought up to *London*, and preſented to King *Henry* VIII. lying as then at *Whiteball*; at the Sight of whom the King and all the Nobility did not a little marvel, and not without Cauſe; for in his Cheeks were Holes made according to their ſavage Manner, and therein ſmall Bones were planted, ſtanding an Inch out from the ſaid Holes, which in his own Country was reputed for a great Bravery. He had alſo another Hole in his nether Lip, wherein was ſet a precious Stone about the Bigneſs of a Pea: All his Apparel, Behaviour, and Geſture were very ſtrange to the Beholders.

“Having remained here the Space almoſt of a whole Year, and the King with his Sight fully ſatisfied, Maſter *Haukins*, according to his Promiſe and Appointment, purpoſed to convey him again into his Country: But it fell out in the Way, that by Change of Air and Alteration of Diet, the ſaid ſavage King died at Sea, which was feared would turn to the Loſs of the Life of *Martin Cockeram*, his Pledge. Nevertheleſs, the Savages being fully perſuaded of the honeſt Dealing of our Men with their Prince, reſtored again the ſaid Pledge, without any Harm to him, or any Man of the Company; which Pledge of theirs they brought Home again into *England*, with their Ship freighted, and furniſhed with the Commodities of the Country. Which *Martin Cockeram*, by the Witneſs of Sir *John Haukins*, being an Officer in the Town of *Plimmouth*, was living within theſe few Years.”

And upon the ſame Authority it appears, that the Merchants of *London* and *Southampton* traded to the Bay of *All-Saints* in *Braſil*; and that *Edward Cotton*, Eſq; built a Fort for the *Engliſh* near to the ſaid Bay.

“In the Year 1536, ſays the ſame Author, one Maſter *Hore* of *London*, a Man of goodly Stature and of great Courage, and given to the Study of Coſmography, in the 28th Year of King *Henry* VIII. and in the Year of our Lord 1536, encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being aſſiſted by the King's Favour and good Countenance, to accompany him in a Voyage of Diſcovery upon the North-weſt Parts of *America*; wherein his Perſuaſions took ſuch Effect, that within ſhort Space many Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, and of the Chancery, and divers others of good Worſhip, deſirous to ſee the ſtrange Things of the World, very willingly entered into the Action with him, ſome of whoſe Names were as followeth: M. *Weekes*, a Gentleman of the Weſt-country of 500 Marks by the Year living; M. *Tucke* a Gentleman of *Kent*; M. *Tuckfield*; M. *Thomas Butts*, the Son of Sir *William Butts*, Knt. of *Norfolke*, which was lately living, and from whoſe Mouth I wrote moſt of this Relation; M. *Hardie*, M. *Biron*, M. *Carter*, M. *Wright*, M. *Raſtal* Serjeant *Raſtal*'s Brother, M. *Ridley*, and divers others, which all were in the Admiral called the *Trinitie*, a Ship of 140 Tons, wherein M. *Hore* himſelf was imbarked. In the other Ship, whoſe Name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and virtuous Gentleman, one M. *Armigil Wade*, afterwards Clerk of the Counſels of King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI. Father to the Worſhipful M. *William Wade*, now Clerk of the Privy-counſel; M. *Oliver Dawbeney* Merchant of *London*; M. *Joy*, afterwards Gentleman of the King's Chapel, with divers others of good Account. The whole Number that went in the two tall Ships aforeſaid, to wit, the *Trinitie* and the *Minion*, were about 120 Perſons, whereof 30 were Gentlemen, which all we muſtered in warlike Manner at *Graveſend*, and after the receiving of the Sacrament, they embarked themſelves in the End of *April* 1536.

“From the time of their ſetting out from *Graveſend*, they were very long at Sea, to wit, above two Months, and never touched any Land until they came to part of the *Weſt-Indies* about *Cape-Briton*, ſhaping their Courſe thence North-eaſtwards, until they came to the Iſland of *Penguin*, which is very full of Rocks and Stones, whereon they went, and found it full of great Fowls, white and grey, as big as Geeſe, and they ſaw infinite Numbers of their Eggs. They drove a great Number of the Fowls into their Boats upon their Sails, and took up many of their Eggs; the Fowls they flead, and their Skins were very like Honey-combs, full of Holes, being flead off; they dreſſed and ate them, and found them to be very good and nouriſhing Meat. They ſaw alſo Store of Bears, both black and white, of whom they killed ſome, and took them for no bad Food.

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[a] Which alſo Sebaſtian Cabot writeth in an Epiſtle to Baptiſta Ramuſius.

[b] Hall's Chron. Grafton. A. D. 1527. Hackluit, book III. page 129.

“ M. *Oliver Dawbeney*, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this Voyage, and in the *Minion*, told M. *Richard Hackluit* of the Middle-Temple theſe Things following, to wit, That after their Arrival in *Newfoundland*, and having been there certain Days at Anchor, and not having yet ſeen any of the natural People of the Country, the ſame *Dawbeney* walking one Day on the Hatches, ſpied a Boat with Savages of thoſe Parts, rowing down the Bay toward them, to gaze upon the Ship and our People, and taking view of their coming aloof, he called to ſuch as were under the Hatches, and willed them to come up if they would ſee the natural People of the Country, that they had ſo long and ſo much deſired to ſee; whereupon they came up, and took view of the Savages rowing toward them and their Ship, and upon the view they manned out a Ship-boat to meet them, and to take them. But they ſpying our Ship-boat making towards them, returned with main Force, and fled into an Iſland that lay up in the Bay or River there, and our Men purſued them into the Iſland, and the Savages fled and eſcaped; but our Men found a Fire, and the Side of a Bear on a wooden Spit left at the ſame by the Savages that were fled.

“ There in the ſame Place they found a Boot of Leather garniſhed on the outward Side of the Calf with certain brave Trails, as it were of raw Silk, and alſo found a certain great warm Mitten; and theſe carried with them, they returned to their Ship, not finding the Savages, nor ſeeing any thing elſe beſides the Soil, and the Things growing in the ſame, which chiefly were ſtore of Fir and Pine-trees.

“ And further, the ſaid M. *Dawbeney* told him, that lying there they grew into great Want of Victuals, and that there they found ſmall Relief, more than that they had from the Neſt of an *Oſprey*, that brought hourly to her Young great Plenty of divers ſorts of Fiſhes. But ſuch was the Famine that increaſed amongſt them from Day to Day, that they were forced to ſeek to relieve themſelves of raw Herbs and Roots that they ſought on the Main: But the Famine increaſing, and the Relief of Herbs being to little Purpoſe to ſatisfy their inſatiable Hunger, in the Fields and Deſerts here and there, the Fellow killed his Mate while he ſtooped to take up a Root for his Relief, and cutting out Pieces of his Body whom he had murdered, broiled the ſame on the Coals, and greedily devoured them.

“ By this means the Company decreaſed, and the Officers knew not what was become of them; and it fortuned that one of the Company driven with Hunger to ſeek abroad for Relief, found out in the Fields the Savour of broiled Fleſh, and fell out with one for that he would ſuffer him and his Fellows to ſtarve, enjoying Plenty as he thought; and this Matter growing to cruel Speeches, he that had the broiled Meat, burſt out into theſe Words, If thou wouldſt needs know, the broiled Meat that I had was a Piece of ſuch a Man's Buttock. The Report of this brought to the Ship, the Captain found what became of thoſe that were miſſing, and was perſuaded that ſome of them were neither devoured with wild Beaſts, nor yet deſtroyed with Savages. And hereupon he ſtood up, and made a notable Oration, containing, how much theſe Dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from firſt to laſt, what God had in Caſes of Diſtreſs done for them that called upon him; and told them that the Power of the Almighty was then no leſs, than in all former Times it had been; and added, that if it had not pleaſed God to have holpen them in that Diſtreſs, it had been better to have periſhed in Body, and to have lived everlaſtingly, than to have relieved for a poor Time their mortal Bodies, and to be condemned everlaſtingly both Body and Soul to the unquenchable Fire of Hell. And thus having ended to that Effect, he began to exhort to Repentance, and beſought all the Company to pray, that it might pleaſe God to look upon their miſerable preſent State, and for his own Mercy to relieve the ſame. The Famine increaſing, and the Inconvenience of the Men that were miſſing being found, they agreed amongſt themſelves rather than all ſhould periſh, to caſt Lots who ſhould be killed. And ſuch was the Mercy of God, that the ſame Night there arrived a *French* Ship in that Port, well furniſhed with Victuals; and ſuch was the Policy of the *Engliſh*, that they became Maſters of the ſame, and changing Ships, and victualling them, they ſet Sail to come into *England*.

“ In their Journey they were ſo far Northwards, that they ſaw mighty Iſlands of Ice in the Summer-ſeaſon, on which were Hawks and other Fowls to reſt themſelves, being weary of flying over far from the Main. They ſaw alſo certain great white Fowls with red Bills and red Legs, ſomewhat bigger than Herons, which they ſuppoſed to be Storks. They arrived at *St. Ives* in *Cornwal* about the End of *October*; from thence they departed unto a certain Caſtle belonging to Sir *John Luttrell*, where M. *Thomas Butts*, and M. *Raſtal*, and other Gentlemen of the Voyage were very friendly entertained; after that they came to the Earl of *Bathe* at *Bathe*, and thence to *Briſtol*, ſo to *London*. M. *Butts* was ſo changed in the Voyage with Hunger and Miſery, that Sir *William* his Father, and my Lady his Mother, knew him not to be their Son, until they found a ſecret Mark, which was a Wart upon one of his Knees, as he told me *Richard Hackluit* of *Oxford* himſelf, to whom I rode 200 Miles only to learn the whole Truth of this Voyage from his own Mouth, as being the only Man now alive that was in this Diſcovery.

“ Certain Months after, thoſe *Frenchmen* came into *England*, and made Complaint to King *Henry* VIII. The King cauſing the Matter to be examined, and finding the great Diſtreſs of his Subjects, and the Cauſes of the Dealing ſo with the *French*, was ſo moved with Pity, that he puniſhed not his Subjects, but of his own Purſe made full and royal Recompence unto the *French*.

“ In this Diſtreſs of Famine, the *Engliſh* did ſomewhat relieve their vital Spirits, by drinking at the Springs the freſh Water out of certain wooden Cups, out of which they had drunk their *Aqua compoſita* before.”

The Admiralty and Navy-office, till this Time had been vague, and irregular, the King, properly ſpeaking, not having any Ships of War built at the Expence of the Crown, nor ſupported by a certain Revenue; but either ſupply'd by the *Cinque Ports*, and other Towns, in their Proportions, or hired from the *Flemings*, *Hamburgers*, &c. in Times of great Neceſſity; King *Henry* to obviate all the Delays and Inconveniencies of a Fleet, which depended on ſo many Contingences, and to inſpire a Spirit of Emulation among his Subjects to breed their Children up in the Sea-ſervice, with an Expectation of being rewarded with Employments therein, according to their Merit, eſtabliſhed an *Office* of *Admiralty*, with a *Navy-office*, under certain Commiſſioners, *&c.* and appointed regular Salaries not only for his Admirals, and Vice-admirals, but for his Captains and Seamen[a], which laid the Foundation of the preſent Œconomy and Strength of the Royal Navy, though it has undergone ſeveral Improvements ſince this Date of its Eſtabliſhment[b].

Theſe Regulations and Appointments encouraged the *Engliſh* to conſider the Sea to be a new Means of providing for their Children: and from this Time we have a conſtant Series of good and eminent Officers in the Royal Navy, and ſome of them Noblemen of the firſt Diſtinction. Among whom in this Reign we reckon Sir *Edward Howard*, Knight of the Garter; Sir *Thomas Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Surrey*, and Duke of *Norfolk*; Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, afterwards Earl of *Southampton*, and Knight of the Garter; and JOHN RUSSEL, firſt Earl of BEDFORD.

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[a] See before Page 155 of this Hiſtory.

[b] See the Introduction.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Sir* EDWARD HOWARD, *Lord High-admiral of* ENGLAND, *and Knight of the moſt noble* Order of the GARTER.

Sir *Edward Howard*, the ſecond Son of the moſt noble and ancient Houſe of *Norfolk*, was employ'd by *Henry* VII. under Sir *Edward Poynings* in the Expedition againſt the *Flemiſh* Pirate and Rebels commanded by Baron *de Ravenſtein*; who truſting to their own Strength, and the Situation of *Sluys*, which they had ſeized, not only threw off their Allegiance to the Duke of *Burgundy*, but without diſtinction plunder'd Veſſels of all Nations paſſing by that Coaſt.

In the Attack of this Town both by Sea and Land [a], which the Rebels defended with the greateſt Obſtinacy and Bravery for 20 Days together (and were at laſt obliged to ſurrender, not ſo much by Aſſault, as by an Accident of loſing their Communication of a Bridge of Boats, that lay between their two Caſtles, and took fire) Sir *Edward Howard* behaved with ſo much Bravery, as to deſerve the Degree of a Knight [b].

This, and his other Atchievements, gain'd him ſo much Reputation at Court, that King *Henry* VIII. ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Throne, diſtinguiſhed him in his Favour, by making Sir *Edward* his Standard-bearer [c], which at that Time was the higheſt Mark of the royal Confidence and Reſpect; and was only the Prelude of ſome Poſt of greater Power and Truſt: accordingly in the fourth of this King's Reign we find him created Lord High-admiral [d] of *England*.

The firſt Service he performed for his King and Country in this high Command, was to convoy the auxiliary Forces ſent under the Command of the Marquis of *Dorſet* into *Spain* [e]. In his Return he ſcour'd the *French* Coaſt, landed a Body of Men, and deſtroy'd ſeveral Towns, *&c.* near *Breſt* [f]: But was obliged to return to *England* by an Accident, which blew up one of his capital Ships commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet* [g]. However, this did not prevent an Attempt next Year to attack the *French* Fleet in the very Harbour of *Breſt*; but finding the Entrance barricado'd by 24 large Hulls laſh'd together, and full of combuſtible Matter, which muſt have ſet his Ships on fire, ſhould he attempt to force the way; he contented himſelf with burning the Country round about, till the Arrival of a Reinforcement of *French* Gallies, which he purſued to the Bay of *Conquet*. But theſe Gallies being prime Sailers, and drawing leſs Water than his Men of War, ſecured themſelves in ſhoal Water between two Rocks, on each of which ſtood a ſtrong Fort, and inacceſſible by his Ships of Force. This Accident drew him into a deſperate Reſolution; for his Maxim being, "That a Seaman "can never do any good Service, who is not reſolute to "a Degree of Madneſs;" Sir *Edward* armed two of his own Gallies with the braveſt of his Sailors, determin'd with theſe two Gallies to try what he could do againſt the ſix *Frenchmen* ſhelter'd under the Rocks. On-board one of theſe Gallies, accompanied by Sir *Thomas Cheyne*, and Sir *John Wallop*, the Admiral went in Perſon; and the other carried Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Sidney*. The Admiral's Gally attack'd the *French* Admiral; and grappling him, Sir *Edward*, with Sword in Hand, ſeconded by 17 of his braveſt Sailors, boarded the Enemy, and in all probability would have made a Prize thereof, had not the *Engliſh* been deprived of further Aſſiſtance from their Veſſel, which by Accident broke aſunder in the Heat of the Engagement; and this giving Courage to the *French*, they over-power'd the *Engliſh*, and drove them all, except one Sailor, over-board: Amongſt whom periſhed the great and brave Admiral *Howard* [h], to the great Detriment of his Country, which had often experienced the Advantage of his Counſels, as well as of his Valour and Conduct in War [i].

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Sir* THOMAS HOWARD, *Earl of* SURRY, *Duke of* NORFOLK, *Lord High-admiral,* &c.

Sir *Thomas Howard* was eldeſt Brother of the above unfortunate Lord High-admiral, and ſucceeded him in that high Office: This noble Perſonage, and his Brother abovementioned, were diſpatch'd by the King's Permiſſion, in two Ships of War fitted out at their own or Father's Expence, to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of the *Scotch* Pirate *Barton* [k]. Their Father, then Earl of *Surry*, declaring in the Privy-council, "That the narrow Seas ſhould not be infeſted, while he "had Eſtate enough to furniſh a Ship, or a Son capable "of commanding it." Sir *Thomas* being ſeparated by a Storm from his Brother's Ship, came up with *Barton*, who maintain'd a long, and, for ſome time, a doubtful Fight. The Pirate's Men being a determin'd Crew, and ſpirited up by *Barton* with his very laſt Breath; for when his Tongue failed him under his Wounds, he continued to animate his Men with a Boatſwain's Whiſtle. But his Death, at laſt, put an End to the Battle. In the mean time Sir *Edward* fell in with, engaged, and took their Conſort, a ſtrong and well-mann'd Veſſel. The two Brothers brought their Prizes into the River *Thames* [l].

The next Service we meet with Sir *Thomas* in, is the Expedition againſt *Guyenne*; where he accompanied the Marquis of *Dorſet*; and had the Honour of taking the Command of the *Engliſh* Army in Chief, upon the Sickneſs of the ſaid Marquis. Sir *Thomas* brought home the Remains of that Army, and behaved with ſo much Conduct in that Service, that ſoon after, upon the Death of his Brother, the King immediately created him Lord High-admiral in his Stead [m].

Inveſted with this new Command, and empower'd with a good Fleet to revenge his Brother's Death, Sir *Thomas* puts to Sea in queſt of the Monſieurs; and ſtruck ſuch a Panic into them, that not ſo much as a Fiſhing-boat durſt appear on the Coaſt. He then landed at *Whitſand Bay*, and laid waſte the Country, and burnt ſeveral adjacent Villages [n]; and was proceeding with Devaſtation and Ruin along the Coaſt, when an Invaſion from *Scotland* called him to the Aſſiſtance of his Father, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, marching with a powerful Army againſt King *James* IV. Sir *Thomas* landed 5000 *Veterans*, detach'd from the Army in *Picardy*, where King *Henry* was in Perſon fighting the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Battle; with which the Son found his Father.

King *James*'s Pretence for this Rupture was the Caſe of *Barton* the Pirate, threatening perſonal Vengeance againſt the Earl of *Surry* and his Family, for their Activity in that Affair: Therefore, when the Earl ſent the Herald to offer Battle to that King; Sir *Thomas*, the Lord High-admiral, commanded him to tell King *James*, that he was come in Perſon to anſwer for the Death of *Andrew Barton*. This Defiance produced the Battle of *Floddenfield* [o]; in which Sir *Thomas* commanded the Van, and contributed greatly by his Conduct and Bravery to the Succeſs of that Day, wherein King *James* IV. of *Scotland*, the Flower of his Army, and the Prime of his Nobility, were cut off [p].

This Service ſo ingratiated the *Howard* family in King *Henry*'s Affections, that he not only reſtor'd the Father to the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*, but created by a new Patent the Lord High-admiral Earl of *Surry*, in his own Right [q]; tho' the Cardinal-miniſter did all in his Power to make them uneaſy, and at laſt obliged the Father to reſign the Office of High-treaſurer to his Son.

The Affairs of *Ireland* being ſomewhat diſturb'd by *Deſmond*, *Oneal* and *Carrol*, the Lord High-admiral was ſent over [r] with the Commiſſion of a Lord-deputy; and behaved with that Moderation and Steadineſs, that he ſoon brought Matters into good Order, and was in a fair way, by his great Popularity and wiſe Conduct, to have entirely delivered that Kingdom from future Diſaffection, had not the Cardinal, jealous of his Succeſs, obtained his Revocation in 1521, under a Pretence of that Lord's immediate Aſſiſtance againſt the *French*[a], who, taking the Advantage of our Security, interrupted our Navigation and Trade by private Ships of War, while their Ambaſſadors were treating us with the moſt ſolemn Declarations of Friendſhip.

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[a] See before, p. 143. A. D. 1492.
[b] Stow. Hollinſhed. Herbert. Polyd. Virg. Speed.
[c] Pat. 1 Henry VIII. p. 1. m. 24.
[d] Pat. 4 Henry VIII. p. 2.
[e] See before, p. 155.
[f] Ibid. Goodwin. Herbert.
[g] Daniel. Rapin. See above, p. 155.
[h] Herbert, p. 30. Hollinſhed. Goodwin. Stow. Speed. A. D. 1513. 25th of April.
[i] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141. Aſhmole's Order of the Garter.
[k] See Page 155 of this Hiſtory.
[l] Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Stow's Annals, p. 489.
[m] Lloyd's Worthies, p. 141. Burnet. Herbert, p. 20—24. Hollinſhed. Echard.
[n] See before, p. 156. Cooper. Herbert. Speed.
[o] A. D. 1513. September the 8th.
[p] Stow's Annals. Herbert, p. 44.
[q] A. D. 1514. Echard. Pat. 5 Henry VIII. p. 2. m. 11. Journ. Parlm. eod. anno.
[r] A. D. 1519. Rymer's Fœdera. Hollinſhed. Echard.

To put a Stop to theſe Depredations in Time of Peace, the Lord High-admiral fitted out a ſmall Squadron of clean Ships, which preſently, ſays a good Author, drove thoſe *French* Pirates from their beloved Trade of thieving, to their old Trade of ſtarving[b]. And in the Spring following, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, his Vice-admiral, was appointed with a Fleet of 28 Sail of the Line to guard the narrow Seas; and another Squadron of ſeven Frigates were ordered to ſail into the *Frith* of *Forth*, and to burn all Veſſels they ſhould find there in a Condition to put to Sea[c]. As for the Lord Admiral, he prepared to take upon him the ſole Command of the united Navies of *England* and of the Emperor *Charles* V. for which he received, by King *Henry*'s Permiſſion, the Emperor's ſpecial Commiſſion, as related before[d]; with which his Lordſhip ſailed for the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and performed all that could be expected from his Appointment and Forces; opening a Paſſage for the *Engliſh* Forces into *Champaign* and *Picardy*, taking *Mortlaix*, deſtroying and laying waſte ſeveral Places on the Coaſt, and carrying away an immenſe Booty.

His laſt Act at Sea, mentioned in our Annals, was his convoying the Emperor from *Southampton* to *St. Andero*[e]. For his Father, as ſaid above, diſguſted at the Cardinal's Behaviour, and otherwiſe tired out with Cares of the State, reſigned the Office of Lord-treaſurer, which the King conferred on his Son, the Lord High-admiral, Earl of *Surry*.

From this time, this complete Sailor was changed into a Soldier; for he was made General of the Armies which invaded *Scotland*, to obviate the Intrigues of the *French* in that Kingdom with the Duke of *Albany*, againſt the Intereſt and Peace of *England*[f]. And his political Capacity may be inferred from the Choice which his Sovereign made of him to be his Ambaſſador to the *French* King, previous to that Monarch's Interview with the Pope, *Harry*'s avowed Enemy[g]. Yet, tho' in every Employment this Nobleman approved himſelf to be an active and faithful Servant to the Crown, and very lately aſſiſted in the Suppreſſion of that formidable Inſurrection, that aſſumed the popular Name of the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, he could not eſcape the Ingratitude of his Sovereign, whoſe Foible was, to grow jealous of his Servants Merit, and to ſacrifice his moſt faithful Miniſters to the Terrors of his own Mind. Amongſt theſe, fell by the Ax *Henry* Earl of *Surry*, the Son of this Lord High-admiral, on ſuſpicion of being concerned with his Father in a Conſpiracy to ſeize upon the King's Perſon and Government. And the Admiral, now Duke of *Norfolk*, was condemned for the ſame Crime; but very fortunately met with a gracious Pardon from his royal Succeſſor King *Edward* VI. (*Henry* departing this Life the very Night before this moſt noble Lord was ordered for Execution) and ſurviving King *Edward* alſo, this able Admiral, General, and Stateſman, lived juſt to enjoy the Favour of being reſtored by Parliament to his Title and Eſtate, in the firſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*[h], when his Attainder was repealed, and the Act torn out of the Records.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Sir* WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, *Earl of* Southampton, *Knight of the* GARTER, *and Lord High-admiral*, &c.

Sir *William Fitzwilliams* was the Son of Sir *Thomas Fitzwilliams* of *Aldwarke*, in the County of *York*, Knt. by *Lucia* his Wife, Daughter and Coheir to *John Neville*, Marquis *Montacute*[i]. In the Year 1510, he was made one of the Eſquires for the Body to King *Henry* VIII[k], and in 1512, had that Grant renewed for Life[l]. The Year following, he was one of the chief Commanders in the Fleet ſent out againſt *France*; and had the Misfortune to be ſorely hurt with an Arrow in attempting to deſtroy the *French* Fleet at *Breſt*[m]. Shortly after he attended King *Henry* at the Siege of *Tournay*; and, for his Bravery there, received the Honour of Knighthood[n]. In 1520, he was Vice-admiral of *England*, and employed in guarding the Channel, at the Time the Emperor *Charles* V. came to *England*[o]. He ſo ingratiated himſelf with the King his Maſter, that he obtained from him, in 1521, a Grant of the Manor of *Naveſby* in *Northamptonſhire*, Part of the Poſſeſſions of *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, then lately attainted[p]. At that time he was Embaſſador in *France*; but, upon a Rupture between that Kingdom and *England*, he was recalled in *January* $152\frac{1}{2}$, and ordered to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet of twenty-eight Sail, to ſecure our Merchants, and take what *French* Ships he could[q]. Shortly after, he aſſiſted at the Taking of *Morlaix* in *Bretagne*[r]: and, with Sir *William Sandes*, and Sir *Morice Barkeley*, went and burnt *Marguiſon*, which was newly built and fortified, and many Villages[s]. In 1523, the King of *France* preparing to ſend *John* Duke of *Albany*, Regent of *Scotland*, into that Kingdom, in order to invade *England* from that Quarter; Sir *William Fitzwilliams* was made Admiral, and diſpatched, with a ſtrong Fleet, to try to intercept him. Having miſſed of him, he determined to land on the *French* Coaſt, which he accordingly did, at *Treport* in *Normandy*, and burnt the Suburbs of that Town, and ſeveral Ships in the Harbour; though there were but ſeven hundred *Engliſh*, oppoſed by ſix thouſand *French*[t]. The Year following, being Captain of *Guiſnes* in *Picardy*, he mightily annoyed *Boulogne*, and other Places adjacent[u]. Before the End of that Year, he was made Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold; and, in *October*, ſent to *France*, with *John Taylor*, Doctor of Law, to ſee the Lady-regent (whoſe Son King *Francis* I. was then Priſoner in *Spain*) ſwear to obſerve the Articles of a Treaty newly concluded between the two Crowns[w]. In 1529, he was one of thoſe, who ſubſcribed the Articles exhibited in Parliament againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*[x]. At the grand Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France* in 1532, he attended his Maſter King *Henry* VIII. to *Boulogne*, the Place of Interview, amongſt many other Perſons of the higheſt Quality[y]. In *May* 1535, he was ſent, with the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Fox*, to treat with the *French* King's Commiſſioners, about a League between the Crowns of *England* and *France*: One of the Articles whereof were, That the Duke of *Angouleſme*, third Son to the King of *France*, ſhould marry *Elizabeth* ſecond Daughter of King *Henry*[z]. Shortly after, he was made Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*; and in 1536, conſtituted Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Gaſcoigne*, and *Aquitain*[a]. On the 18th of *October* 1537, he was advanced to the Title of Earl of *Southampton*[b]; and made Lord Privy-ſeal the 27th of *October* 1539[c]. The *April* following, ſome Diſputes having ariſen between *England* and *France*, he, and *John* Lord *Ruſſel*, lately made High-admiral, were ſent over to *Calais* with a few Troops of Horſe; and having ſet all Things in good Order, they quickly returned[d], He was alſo employed as Captain of the *Foreward*, in the Expedition to *Scotland*, in *October* 1542; but, in the Way thither, he died at *Newcaſtle*. However, ſo much eſteemed was he, that for the Honour of his Memory, his Standard was borne in the Vanguard in all that Expedition[e]. By his Will, bearing Date the 10th of *September* the ſame Year, he ordered his Body to be buried in the Church of *Midherſt* in *Suſſex*[f].

He ſeems to have been the firſt Seaman raiſed to the Honour of the Peerage in this Kingdom. And his Title was extinct by his Death; leaving no Iſſue by his Wife, *Mabel*, who was Siſter to *Henry* the firſt Earl of *Cumberland*, and Daughter to *Henry* Lord *Clifford*: But he left a natural Son, *Thomas*, by one ——— *Fiſher*, who aſſumed the Name of *Thomas Fitzwilliams* [a].

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[a] Herbert, p. 109—123. Burnet. Stow. Speed.
[b] Cooper. See alſo Speed and Stow.
[c] A. D. 1522. Stow's Annals, p. 515.
[d] See Page 156 of this Hiſtory.
[e] Ibid. Rapin.
[f] Herbert. Rapin. Buchanan. Drummond. Stow.
[g] Daniel. Mezeray.
[h] Sir Walter Raleigh in his Preface to his Hiſtory of the World.
[i] Catalogue of the Nobility, &c. by R. Brooke, p. 223; and Dugdale's Baron, tom. II. p. 105.
[k] Pat. 2 Henry VIII. p. 1. m. 19.
[l] Pat. 4 Henry VIII. m. 2.
[m] E. Hall's Chron. in Henry VIII. fol. 22. R. Hollinſhed's 3d Volume of Chronicles, edit. 1587. p. 816. col. 2.
[n] Hall, as above, fol. 45; and Hollinſhed, p. 824. col. 2.
[o] Hall, ubi ſupra, fol. 72.
[p] Pat. 13 Henry VIII. p. 3.
[q] Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, under the Year 1522. Hall, as above. fol. 93.
[r] Hall, as above, fol. 100.
[s] Ibid. fol. 103. Hollinſhed. p. 875.
[t] Hall, fol. 113. Hollinſhed, p. 879.
[u] Hall, ibid. fol. 126, &c.
[w] Hall, as above, fol. 145. Hollinſhed, p 892.
[x] Lord Herbert, as above, under the Year 1529.
[y] Hall, as above, fol. 208.
[z] Lord Herbert, as above, under the Year 1535.
[a] Pat. 28 Henry VIII. p. 1.
[b] Pat. 28 Henry VIII. p. 2.
[c] Lord Herbert, as above, under the Year 1540.
[d] Hall, as above fol. 243.
[e] Ib. fol, 254; and Lord Herbert, under the Year 1541. See Hollinſhed, p. 958.
[f] Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 105.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of* JOHN *Lord* RUSSEL *Lord High-admiral of* ENGLAND *and* IRELAND, *firſt Earl of* BEDFORD, *Knight of the* GARTER, *&c.*

John Ruſſel, the firſt Earl of *Bedford*, was deſcended from a very ancient Family in *Dorſetſhire* [b], and born at *Kingſton-Ruſſel* in that County [c]. His Reſidence was at *Berwick*, about four Miles from *Bridport* in the ſame County; and he was remarkable for his Accompliſhments, and Skill in divers Languages, by which he raiſed himſelf to great Honours and Employments. For in the Year 1506, upon the Landing of *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, only Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, at *Weymouth*, whither he was driven by a Storm in his Paſſage from *Flanders* to *Spain* [d], Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, who lived near that Port, endeavouring to give him the beſt Entertainment he could, till he had ſent to Court to acquaint the King with his Arrival, invited Mr. *Ruſſel*, his Neighbour and Relation, then newly returned from his Travels, to wait upon the Archduke at his Houſe; who was ſo highly pleaſed with his Converſation, that he deſired his Company to the Court, then at *Windſor*, whither the King had invited that Prince to come. In which Journey the Archduke being much affected by his learned Diſcourſe and generous Deportment, recommended him to the King, as a Gentleman thoroughly qualified to ſerve him in ſome conſiderable Station [e]; upon which he was taken by his Majeſty into great Favour, and made one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-chamber [f]. In this Poſt he was continued by King *Henry* VIII. upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, whom he attended in 1513 to *Therouenne* [g], where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Conduct and Bravery on ſeveral Occaſions, particularly in recovering a Piece of Ordnance from ten thouſand *French*, under the Count *St. Paul*, with only two hundred and fifty Reformadoes under himſelf as Captain; and with fifteen hundred Men intercepted the Convoy carrying Proviſions into that City [h]. He was likewiſe very active at the Siege of *Tournay*, where he was one of the Sixty, who went with the King to cut off the Paſſage between that City and the *French* Army; and one of the Eleven, who accompanied his Majeſty to entertain the Ladies at *Liſle* [i].

In 1518, upon the Agreement made between his royal Maſter and the King of *France*, he received Letters from the former for the reſtoring of *Tournay* to the *French* [k]; and in 1522 was knighted by the Earl of *Surrey*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, for his Service at the Taking of *Morlaix* in *Bretagne* [l]. The Year following he was made *Marſhal* of the *Marſhalſea* of the King's-houſe, now called *Knight-marſhal*; and ſoon after ſent to *Rome*, where he reſided as Embaſſador for ſome time [m]; and in 1523 went in Diſguiſe into *France*, in order to foment the Difference between the Duke of *Bourbon*, Conſtable of *France*, and the *French* King [n]. This Commiſſion he executed with ſuch Addreſs, that the Duke declared in favour of the Emperor and the King of *England*, to the great Encouragement of the *Engliſh*, the Satisfaction of his Majeſty, and the Succeſs of his Deſign upon *Bray*, and other Places in *France*, where Sir *John Ruſſel* ſhewed himſelf as vigorous in Action, as he had been prudent in Negotiation [o]. In 1525 he was preſent at the famous Battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis* I. King of *France* was taken Priſoner by the Duke of *Bourbon*; and in 1532 attended King *Henry* to his magnificent Interview with the *French* King at *Boulogne* [p]. In 1536, when the King, after the Inſurrection of the Commons in *Lincolnſhire*, had done the Work of Mercy, which was moſt proper for himſelf, as being moſt popular, towards thoſe Rebels, he deputed Sir *John Ruſſel*, together with the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Francis Brian*, to perform that of Juſtice, which is moſt diſtaſteful; wherein, however, he behaved himſelf with ſuch Impartiality and Exactneſs, as was equally ſatisfactory to the Country, and to his Majeſty [q]. The Year following he was appointed *Comptroller of the Houſhold* [r]; which Poſt he diſcharged with great Prudence and admirable Œconomy [s].

On the 8th of *November* the ſame Year, he was made one of the Privy-council; and on the 29th of *March*, 1538, was advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of *England*, by the Title of *Lord Ruſſel*, *Baron Ruſſel* of *Cheyneys*, in the County of *Buckingham*; to ſupport which Honour, the King took the firſt Opportunity to augment his Fortune. For in 1540, upon the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, he had ſeveral large Grants of Lands in *Devonſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, and *Buckinghamſhire*, conferred upon him; and about the ſame time was made *Lord-warden* of the Stannaries, and *Knight* of the *Garter* [t]. And the ſame Year, upon the Differences ariſing between his Majeſty and *Francis* I. he was ſent over to *Picardy* with the Earl of *Southampton*, to oppoſe Monſieur *de Vandome*, who was raiſing Forces in that Country [u]. In 1542, he was appointed *Lord-admiral* of *England* and *Ireland*; and his royal Maſter having eſtabliſhed a Council for the better Government of the weſtern Parts of *England*, he was made Preſident of the Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*. On the 3d of *December*, 1543, he was appointed *Lord Privy Seal*; and two Years after, the King attacking *Boulogne* in Perſon, the Lord *Ruſſel* was *Captain-general* of the Van-guard of his Army [x]. In 1547 he was appointed by the King, at his Death, one of the ſixteen Counſellors to his Son Prince *Edward* [y]; at whoſe Coronation he was conſtituted *Lord High ſteward* of *England* for the Day [z]. Upon the Inſurrection in 1549, occaſioned by the Removal of the Images in Churches, he was the firſt in Commiſſion to put in Force all ſuch Laws, as ſhould be thought moſt neceſſary to be executed; and was diſpatched againſt the *Devonſhire* and *Corniſhmen* with a Body of Troops, with which he defeated thoſe Rebels at *Fenington-bridge*, relieved *Exeter*, killed ſix hundred, and took four thouſand priſoners [a]. For theſe and other Services, he was on the 19th of *January*, 1549-50, created *Earl* of *Bedford*; and in 1550 was ſent, with the Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon*, Embaſſadors to *Guiſnes* in *Flanders*, to negotiate a Peace with *France*, which they concluded [b]. While he reſided there, he diſcovered a Plot, concerted by the Emperor, to tranſport the Lady *Mary*, Half-ſiſter to King *Edward* VI. into his own Dominions, and by that Means oblige her Brother to Terms; upon which his Lordſhip was ordered to watch one of the Ports with two hundred Men, while the Duke of *Somerſet* and Mr. *St. Leger* guarded others, and the Lady herſelf was brought to Court by the Lord-chancellor [c].

Having ſurvived the many Difficulties and Factions of *Edward* VI's reign, he, upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Mary* to the Throne, obtained a new Patent for the Office of Lord Privy-ſeal; and, though very much advanced in Years, was in 1554 ſent into *Spain* to attend King *Philip*, in order to his Nuptials with that Queen. And this was the more remarkable, that as that King's Grandfather, *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, had introduced him firſt to Court, and was the Occaſion of his Riſe to the Fortune and Honours, which he enjoyed; ſo his Lordſhip's laſt publick Office was to bring over his Grandſon to receive the Title of King of *England* [d]. He died at his Houſe in the *Strand*, *London*, on the 14th of *March*, 1554, and was interred at *Cheyneys* in the County of *Bucks*, an Eſtate, which he had in Right of his Lady, who was *Anne*, Daughter and ſole Heir of Sir *Guy Sapcott*, Knight [e].

His Perſon was of a middle Stature, vigorous, and graceful, and accompliſhed with all the Advantages ſuitable to a Court; and his excellent natural Abilities, improved by Education and Travelling, and perfected by the ſlow, but happy Gradation of his Preferments, to Skill and Experience, rendered him one of the moſt eminent Men of his Age [f].

CHAP.

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[a] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 105. [b] Ibid. p. 377. [c] Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 97. Edit. 1741. [d] Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 792. [e] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [f] Collins, ubi ſupra. [g] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [h] David Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 444, 445. 2d Edit. London, 1670. [i] Id. p. 485. [k] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [l] Hollinſhed, p. 874. [m] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [n] Herbert's Life of King Henry VIII. p. 153. [o] Lloyd, ubi ſupra, p. 416. [p] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [q] Lloyd, p. 447. [r] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [s] Lloyd, p. 447. [t] Dugdale, ubi ſupra. [u] Herbert, p. 464. [x] Dugdale, p. 379. [y] Godwini Annales, ad ann. 1547. [z] Dugdale, p. 379. [a] Godwin, ad ann. 1549, and Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 55—61. [b] Dugdale, p. 379. [c] Lloyd, p. 448. [d] Collins, p. 99. [e] Dugdale, p. 279. [f] Lloyd, 442, 443.

CHAP. III.

The Naval Affairs, *and State of the* National Trade and Commerce, *including the* Discoveries, *and Memoirs of the moſt eminent* Sea-officers *and* Navigators, *during the Reign of King* Edward VI.

EDWARD VI. only Son of King *Henry* VIII. by Queen *Jane Seymour*, his third Wife, ſucceeded to the Crown, being about nine Years of Age at his Acceſſion[a]. King *Henry* having no Son living by either of his former Wives, and both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne* being dead before he married Queen *Jane*, no Objection can be made to the Legitimacy of this Prince, or to his Title. King *Edward* VI. was crowned the 20th of *February* 1547.

This Prince is ſaid to have had a ſtrait and well proportioned Body, a ſweet and beautiful Aſpect, eſpecially in his Eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry Livelineſs and Luſtre in them. As there was a great Vivacity in his Looks, ſo the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind were incomparable for his Age. He was not only learned in the Tongues and the liberal Sciences, but was well ſkilled in the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men in the Nation. He ſtudied Fortification, underſtood the Mint, and knew all the Ports, Havens, and Harbours, in his Dominions, with the Depth of the Water, and way of Acceſs to them. He was ſo well verſed in foreign Affairs, that the Ambaſſadors that were ſent into *England* publiſhed extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great Quickneſs of Apprehenſion; but being diffident of his Memory, he took Notes of every material Thing he heard, in *Greek* Characters, which he afterwards copied out fair in the Journal he kept. His Virtues were admirable, being truly juſt, and merciful in his Diſpoſition, and taking ſpecial care of the Petitions that were given him by the Poor and Oppreſſed. But his pious Zeal for Religion crowned all the reſt; which did not proceed from an angry Heat, but from a true Tenderneſs of Conſcience, founded on the Love of God and his Fellow-creatures. Theſe extraordinary Qualities, adorned with a charming Sweetneſs and Affability, made him univerſally beloved by all his People.

The Council appointed by his Father's Will to be King *Edward*'s Governors till he arrived at the Age of eighteen Years, came to a Reſolution to chuſe one of their own Number, to whom Ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and ſhould, under certain Reſtrictions, have the Direction of Affairs in the King's Name; and it was further reſolved, that the ſaid Power and Authority ſhould be placed in the Earl of *Hartford*, with the Title of *The Governor of the King's Perſon, and Protector of the Kingdom*[b]; not without Oppoſition from Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, which proved the Downfal of the latter. For tho' the Protector was made Duke of *Somerſet*, and Lord *Wriotheſley* created Earl of *Southampton*, previous to the King's Coronation, in conformity to the Will of the late King, and theſe two Courtiers met peaceably to tranſact the Buſineſs of the State, *Wriotheſley* raiſed up ſuch a Faction againſt the Protector from without Doors, that made it neceſſary to remove him from the Chancellorſhip. For which there preſently offered a reaſonable Pretence[c].

The *German* Princes, reduced to great Diſtreſs by the Power and Policy of the Emperor, who threatened their Liberties and Independency with utter Ruin, and was actually in Arms to execute his grand Scheme of making himſelf abſolute Maſter of the whole Empire, ſupplicated King *Edward* for a Sum of Money to enable them to pay their Forces to carry on the War. For which Service the Government of *England* promiſed the Ambaſſador that they within three Months would ſend 50,000 Crowns to the Duke of *Saxony*, by the way of *Hamburg*; adding that they would do *no more* till new Emergencies ſhould lead them to new Counſels.

Religious Innovations at this time met with great Oppoſition not only from the People ſpirited up by the *Romiſh* Clergy, but by the Biſhops *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*, and eſpecially by Princeſs *Mary*, the Heir apparent to the Crown; which for a while diſturbed the State. But the Men in Power being moſtly for promoting the Work of Reformation, it was puſhed forward with great Vigour.

What gave the Protector and thoſe at the Helm the moſt Concern was an unavoidable War with *France* and *Scotland*. The *Scots* were daily making Inroads upon *England*, and Deſcents into *Ireland*; and the *French* declared their Intention to aid and aſſiſt them in caſe they were driven to a Neceſſity to demand their Help.

In theſe Straits it was found moſt adviſeable to carry War into the Bowels of *Scotland*; for which Purpoſe a conſiderable Army was levied, and entered that Kingdom, under the Command of the Protector himſelf; who propoſed Terms of Peace, on condition the States would give their Queen in Marriage to King *Edward*; and on the contrary, threatened them with Ruin and Deſtruction.

The *Engliſh* Army was ſupported by a Fleet on the Coaſt of 65 Sail, 35 whereof were Ships of Force, commanded by Lord *Clinton*, Admiral of the North Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouſe*, his Vice-admiral, which upon the Day of Battle greatly annoyed the *Scots*[d]; their Cannon-balls cutting off a whole Lane of Men at once; and gave the Victory to *England* with the Loſs of 14000 *Scots* killed, and 1500 taken Priſoners. The Protector improved this Succeſs, who entered *Leith*, while his Fleet burnt the Sea-towns of *Fife*, deſtroyed all the Craft that lay in the Harbours, and recovered ſeveral Ships that had been taken by the Enemy. He detached alſo a Squadron to the Mouth of the *Tay*, which reduced the Caſtle of *Broughty*, that commanded that River, battered *Edinburgh*, and other Places. But theſe Advantages, which were ſtill growing under the Protector's Conduct, were fruſtrated by the Intrigues of his Brother, who poſſeſſed with an ambitious View to divide the Government with the Protector, and to gain the Poſſeſſion of the King's Perſon, joined with his Brother's Enemies, and forced him to leave the Laurels of a general Conqueſt of *Scotland*, and to return to Court to prevent his own Ruin; who in this glorious Expedition had loſt but 60 Men. So that inſtead of a Peace, the *Scots*, depending upon the Diſſentions at the *Engliſh* Court, reſolved to continue the War; and, to remove the young[e] Queen beyond the *Engliſh* Power, provided a Fleet to convey her to *France*, which was accordingly effected by ſteering their Courſe North about, to avoid the Hazard of the *Engliſh* Fleet, ſtationed by the wiſe Protector to intercept her.

The *French* after this acted openly in favour of the *Scots*. A large Supply was ſent them from *France*, which aſſiſted the *Scots* in the Recovery of ſeveral Forts, and the Siege of *Hadington*. In the mean time the Lord High-admiral of *England* was ſent to ravage the Coaſt, while the Earl of *Shrewſbury* marched to the Relief of *Hadington*; which Service the General performed with Succeſs. But the Admiral, after making two Deſcents, in which he loſt 1200 Men, was obliged to return without Honour; and was next Year[f] empeached for High-treaſon and beheaded.

His Death did not abate the Oppoſition to the Protector, whoſe moſt powerful Enemy, the Earl of *Warwick*, ſtill ſurvived, who improved every Action of the Earl of *Somerſet* to his Diſadvantage: which occaſioned great Miſunderſtandings among the Miniſtry. And the Variety of Opinions about Religion, being ſeconded by the Diſcontents of the Commonalty of the Nation againſt the Nobility, who deprived them of the Privileges of common Grounds, by incloſing them for Paſtures, the internal Peace of the Nation

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[a] A. D. 1546-7. Burnet. Hayward. Speed. Stow.

[b] Echard, p. 718.

[c] Id. p. 719. Burnet's Reformation.

[d] At Muſſelburgh, on the 10th of September Echard, p. 723. This by Scotch Writers is called the Battle of Pinky, Keith's Hiſt. p. 53.

[e] Six Years old. A. D. 1547.

[f] A. D. 1549.

x X

tion began to be diſtracted, and the Government itſelf threatened with Deſtruction by a Rebellion in *Devonſhire* by Lord *Arundel*, in favour of Popery; and by another in *Norfolk*, headed by *Robert Ket*, a Tanner of *Windham*, of a bold and enterpriſing Genius, to aſſert the Peoples Right to the common Lands lately incloſed; in which theſe Rebels were ſeconded by an Inſurrection in *Yorkſhire* [a].

Theſe Troubles encouraged the *French* to attempt the Recovery of *Boulogne*; but their Monarch's Deſign was not kept ſo ſecret, as to prevent its being ſuſpected by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*. And notwithſtanding the *French* King aſſured him *on the Faith of a Gentleman, or Man of Honour*, that *he would not begin Hoſtilities, till he had firſt notified his Intention* (which would be a ſufficient Obligation for Men of inferior Rank) his *Gallic* Majeſty broke his Word, marched againſt *Boulogne* in time of Peace, and, tho' the Plague prevented his Succeſs againſt that Port, he made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Forts in that Neighbourhood.

The Protector in theſe Straits wanted Money to carry on a *French* War, and therefore was willing to try what he could effect by Expedients. His firſt Shift was to prevail with the Emperor to guarantee *Boulogne* to the Crown of *England*, which (tho' *England* had impoveriſhed herſelf by engaging in his Quarrels) being abſolutely rejected, he then declared in Council for a Treaty with *France* for delivering up the ſaid City, in order to prevent a dangerous and expenſive War. A Motion, however juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, for the Maintenance of the public Tranquillity, was immediately turned to his Ruin by the diſplaced Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick*, his irreconcileable Enemies, which ended with the Lord Protector's Life; who, notwithſtanding his preſent Eſcape with only a Fine, was again ſeized on ſuſpicion of new Deſigns againſt the Government, committed to the *Tower*, found guilty of Felony, for intending to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*, late Earl of *Warwick*, a Privy-counſellor, and was beheaded for the ſame on *Tower-hill* [b].

In the mean time Peace had been eſtabliſhed by the Surrender of *Boulogne* to the King of *France*, for the trifling Sum of 400,000 Crowns, or *Engliſh* Nobles [c]; to which the *Engliſh* Council was at laſt brought to conſent by the repeated Attempts of the *French*, not only upon that Port, but alſo upon the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, which they invaded with 2000 Land-forces, ſupported by a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War. The Importance of theſe Iſlands made it neceſſary to ſend them a Reinforcement of 800 Men, which was put under the Convoy of a ſmall Squadron commanded by Commodore *Winter*; who finding all the Ports blocked up, and having no alternative, but either to leave thoſe Iſlands a certain Prey to the Enemy, or to riſque a Battle with their Fleet, reſolved to attack them; and executed his Reſolution with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that with the Help of the Iſlanders from the Shore, he obliged the *French* to retire with ſuch Precipitation, as to embark on the light Veſſels, and to deſert their Ships of Force, which he cauſed to be ſet on fire [d].

Edward Lord *Clinton*, who was Governor of *Boulogne* at the time of its ſurrender to *France*, was made Lord High-admiral of *England*, and otherwiſe rewarded by Grants of certain Eſtates from the Crown [e]. And the firſt Service recorded of this Lord, under this new Title, is his Ambaſſage to the Court of *France*, to treat of a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, a Madame of *France*; while Lord *Henry Dudley* was ordered with four Men of War, and two light Ships, to protect our Merchants againſt the *Flemiſh* Cruizers, who began by the Emperor's Connivance, diſguſted with the Peace between *France* and *England*, to diſturb the Navigation of the narrow Seas [f].

The Negotiations with *France* ſeemed alſo but a Feint in that Court, to recover her Strength. For when *England* thought ſhe had the leaſt to fear from that Quarter, new Claims were invented; and without the leaſt Provocation the *Engliſh* Merchant Ships were piratically ſeized, to the amount of 50,000 *l.* without Redreſs; tho' the *Engliſh* Miniſtry ordered their Ambaſſador to make ſharp Repreſentations againſt thoſe piratical Practices [g].

Thus ſtood the State of the Nation in regard to *France*; a Rupture ſeeming unavoidable, when the King was taken out of this Life by a Conſumption [h]. Which premature Death of ſo promiſing a King, proved an inexpreſſible Loſs to the Trade and Navigation of this Nation; which had, during this ſhort and troubleſome Reign of a Court broken into Parties, enjoyed a greater Attention of the King and Miniſtry, than could be expected.

To recover the public Credit, the Foundation of all Commerce, his Majeſty began with the laudable and juſt Example of paying the Debts of the Crown [i]. Then he ſet about reforming the Coin. Of which Reformation *Stephen Martin Leake*, Eſq; Garter King at Arms, gives the following Account [k]:

The Corruptions made in the Money by King *Henry* the Eighth, were continued by the Guardians of King *Edward*, to the great Diſhonour of the Realm, and Injury of the People, till this young Prince, with an Application beyond his Years, ſet himſelf to the remedying this Inconvenience, which yet was not effected till towards the Cloſe of his Reign.

His firſt Coinage was like the laſt, and worſt of his Father's, the Pound of Gold making thirty Pound in Tale, though but twenty Carrats fine, by which the King had a great Profit: And the Pound of Silver making forty-eight Shillings by Tale, though but one third fine; ſo that every Pound of fine Silver made ſeven Pound four Shillings in Money, and the King's Profit on every ſuch Pound was four Pound four Shillings. As baſe Money is moſt liable to be counterfeited, there was a great deal at this time, and, as if it had been a faſhionable Vice, we find Perſons above the vulgar Sort concerned in this Practice. Sir *William Sherrington* [l] was indicted, and attainted by Confeſſion of High-treaſon, for counterfeiting of Teſtoons, to the Value of no leſs than twelve thouſand Pound, and, probably, did not confeſs the whole: And one *Francis Digby* [m], Gentleman, was convicted for counterfeiting Shillings, Groats, Rials, and Crowns.

In his third Year [n], a Pound of Gold of twenty-two Carrats fine, was coined into Sovereigns at twenty Shillings each, half Sovereigns, Crowns at five Shillings each, and half Crowns, making thirty Pound by Tale; and a Pound of Silver of ſix Ounces fine, and ſix Allay, was coined into ſeventy-two Shillings, to go for twelve Pence apiece by Tale, of which the Merchant, for every Pound-weight of fine Silver, received three Pound four Shillings, and the King above four Pound Gain.

The next Year the Gold was brought to its ancient Purity of twenty-three Carrats, three Grains and a half fine, and half a Grain Allay. But the Silver grew worſe, for the Year following Shillings were coin'd only one fourth Part fine, ſeventy-two to the Pound; by which means, twelve Ounces of fine Silver was exorbitantly raiſed to fourteen Pound eight Shillings. But in *July*, the ſame Year, the baſe Money, both his own and his Father's, was reduced [o] by Proclamation one fourth Part, and the next Month to one half, *viz.* the Shilling to Six-pence, &c.

The 30th of *October* 1551, and the fifth Year of his Reign, the gold Money was raiſed [p]. Silver Crowns, tho' not ſtrictly the firſt ſilver Money of that Species, (becauſe a few ſuch Pieces were coined by his Father) were now firſt made current Money, and bear Date in 1551.

The next Year, by Indenture [q], a Pound-weight of Gold, of the old Standard aforeſaid, was coined into thirty-ſix Pound by Tale; and a Pound-weight of Crown-gold into thirty-three Pound by Tale; and a Pound-weight of Silver of eleven Ounces one Penny-weight fine, and nineteen Penny-weight Allay, was coined into three Pound by Tale.

Upon the Coinage of this good new Money, it ſeems, the ſame was bought up with the old bad Money at a Premium, and hoarded, the natural Conſequence of permitting good and bad to be current at the ſame time: Wherefore it was enacted [a], that if any Perſon, after the firſt of *April* next following, ſhould exchange any coin'd Gold, coin'd Silver, or Money, receiving or paying any more in Value than the ſame was, or ſhould be declared by the King's Proclamation to be current for, the Money ſo exchanged ſhould be forfeited, and the Party ſuffer Fine and Impriſonment.

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[a] Hayward. Godwin. Stow. Cooper.

[b] 22d of January, A. D. 1551.

[c] Echard's Hiſtory, p. 738.

[d] Speed. Godwin. Hayward.

[e] Burnet. Strype's Memorials. Hayward.

[f] King Edward's Diary, March 26th 1552.

[g] Strype's Memorials, Vol. II, p. 289.

[h] A. D. 1553. 6th of July.

[i] Echard's Hiſtory, p. 346.

[k] Hiſtorical Account of Engliſh Money, Edit. 2d. p. 211.

[l] Statute 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 17.

[m] Rymer, tom. XV. p. 292.

[n] Lownds, p. 46.

[o] Stow's Annals, 1551, AR. 5. p. 605, 606.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Lownds, p. 47.

Among other ways this *Engliſh Joſias* took to improve the Grandeur and Wealth of his Crown and Subjects, his Majeſty revoked the Charter of the *German Steelyard* Factors, who had ingroſſed all the Markets of *England* into their own Hands; and by being thereby enabled to ſet ſuch Prices as they pleaſed on the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and alſo on Goods imported, threatened the national Merchant-adventurers [b] with final Deſtruction; and cauſed it to be enacted, That no Perſons ſhall ſhip, lade, carry or convey any White-aſhes towards the Parts beyond the Seas, on pain of Forfeiture of 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for every Buſhel ſo to be ſhipp'd or laded, to be carried or conveyed into the Parts beyond the Seas; half to the King, and half to the Informer [c]. Which ſalutary Law, ſo neceſſary for the well-being of our Woollen Manufactures, is ſtill in Force [d].

To theſe we add the great Encouragement his Majeſty gave to thoſe Adventurers, who undertook Diſcoveries of unknown Lands, and hazarded their Fortunes in the new Settlements. Of the former, we have a remarkable Inſtance in the large Penſion of 166 *l.* 13 *s.* and 4 *d.* granted to *Sebaſtian Cabot* [e], who at the ſame time was created Pilot-major of *England*, in conſideration of his great Skill in Coſmography and Navigation, and of the Service done to the Nation by his Diſcoveries. Of the latter, the Act againſt the Exaction of Money or any other Thing by any Officer to traffic into *Newfoundland* and *Iceland*, is a laſting Proof [f]. By which the Fiſhing-trade in thoſe Seas was laid entirely open, and thoſe Obſtructions with which that Infant-fiſhery had been clogg'd, were removed. But nothing expreſſed his Majeſty's Zeal more for the Trade of his Subjects, than his Commands to Mr. *Smith*, his Agent at *Antwerp*, upon a Complaint of the Merchants, to tell the Regency of that City (who thought it ſtrange that King *Edward* paid more regard to his Merchants than to the Emperor's Friendſhip) that the King of *England* would ſupport the Commerce of his Subjects at the Hazard of any Monarch's Friendſhip upon Earth [g]. The ſame Spirit appeared in his Majeſty's Remonſtrances and Meaſures taken to proſecute the Injuries done to his Merchant-adventurers by the *French*. And when Death took him off the Throne he was buſy in preparing certain Schemes for the Increaſe and Encouragement of Seamen, and for preventing the ruinous Method of carrying on a Trade here in foreign Bottoms [h].

By theſe Means his Subjects were prevail'd upon to conſider Trade, as the only Means to enrich the Nation, and to venture their Fortunes in its Support; and a Foundation was laid for all the Riches and Commerce that has ſince that Time ſo much flouriſh'd in this Nation.

The moſt eminent Navigators within this Period were *Sebaſtian Cabot*, the Son of *John Cabot*, employ'd by *Henry* VII. in the Diſcovery of *Newfoundland*, *Roger Bodenham*, *Thomas Windham*, and *Richard Chancellor*.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of* SEBASTIAN CABOT.

Sebaſtian Cabot, of whom Mention is made before in Partnerſhip with his Father *John Cabot*, commiſſion'd to make Diſcoveries of unknown Lands by King *Henry* VII [i]. was the ſecond Son of that great Navigator and Coſmographer, born at *Briſtol*, and educated in all the Knowledge for which his Father is celebrated; who the better to engraft the Theory of his firſt Rudiments in Navigation, ſent *Sebaſtian* early to Sea, by which Means our young Sailor gain'd a competent Skill in the practical Part of Navigation alſo, before he was ſeventeen Years old. From whence it appears more credible, what has been advanced [k] concerning his ſole undertaking of the Voyage in the Year 1497, by which our Seamen were firſt taught how to ſteer to *North America*; if not, it muſt be allowed, from the concurring Evidences of *Peter Martyr* [l], *Sebaſtian*'s intimate Acquaintance; of *Ramuſius*, the moſt faithful Collector of Voyages in *Italian* [m]; the different Accounts of the Ships [n] employed, and of the Degree of Longitude [o] to which the Voyage was made; that after the Return of *John Cabot* the Father, this Son *Sebaſtian* undertook a ſecond Voyage into thoſe Seas of *North America*, and extended the Diſcoveries made by his Father in 1497; which ſeems the moſt probable; and is moſt certainly referred to by Sir *William Monſon*, who in his Preface to the third Volume of his excellent Collection, has this remarkable Paſſage:

“To come to particulars of Augmentation of our Trade, of our Plantations, and of our Diſcoveries; becauſe every Man ſhall have his Due therein, I will begin (ſays he) with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main Continent of *America*; which the King of *Spain* challenges as firſt Diſcoverer. But as we acknowledge the King of *Spain* the firſt Light of the Weſt and S. W. Parts of *America*; ſo he, and all the World muſt confeſs, that we were the firſt that took Poſſeſſion for the Crown of *England*, of the North Part thereof, and not above two Years Difference betwixt the one and the other. And as the *Spaniards* have from that Day and Year held their Poſſeſſion in the Weſt; ſo have we done the like in the North. And tho' there is no reſpect in compariſon of the Wealth betwixt the Countries, yet *England* may boaſt that the Diſcovery from the Year aforeſaid to this very Day, hath afforded the Subjects *annually* 120,000 *l.* and encreaſed the Number of many a good Ship and Mariners, as our Weſtern Parts can witneſs by their Fiſhing in *Newfoundland*.—Diſcovered in the Reign of *Henry* VII. by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who called it by the Name of *Bacallao*, an *Indian* Name for a *Fiſh*, which was found by him in great Abundance on that Coaſt.” Which is a great preſumptive Proof that *Sebaſtian Cabot* was not only the Principal in the Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Newfoundland*, but alſo that he eſtabliſhed a *Fiſhery* at the ſame Time on that Iſland and Coaſt, which was continued with great Advantage to *England*; and has been ever ſince to this Day a Source of Riches and naval Power to *Great-Britain*.

Is it not then extremely ſurprizing that this great Navigator (who may in juſtice be ſaid to lay the Foundation of our maritime Strength, by erecting a Nurſery of Seamen, and open'd a way to thoſe Improvements in *America*, which can be better conceiv'd than expreſſed, and enable us to give Laws to the Ocean, and to extend our Trade to the moſt diſtant Climates) was ſo neglected or diſguſted as to be driven to a Neceſſity of entering into the Service of *Spain?* Some attribute this Change of Maſters and Intereſt to his Diſappointment in a Voyage, which he undertook by the Advice, and with the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Pert*, Vice-admiral of *England*, who lived at *Blackwall*, in the Hamlet of *Poplar*, about three Miles Eaſt of *London*, near the *Thames*. Of which we have the following Account in *Hackluit* [p].

“Sir *Thomas Pert* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, about the 8th of *Henry* VIII. [q] were ſent by the ſaid King *Henry* with certain Ships, upon a Voyage of Diſcovery towards *Brazil* and the *South-Seas*; which had it not been for the Faint-heartedneſs of *Pert*, the Riches of which now are carried from *Peru* to *Spain*, might have been poſſeſs'd by the Crown of *England*, and conſign'd to the *Tower* of *London*. Theſe Adventurers made the Coaſt of *Brazil*, which he was obliged to quit by Sir *Thomas Pert*'s Miſconduct; and thence ſteer'd for the Iſland of

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[a] Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 19. [b] Echard's Hiſtory, p. 747. [c] Statute 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 26. [d] See Carcaſſe's Book of Rates. [e] A. D. 1549. Hackluit, Part III. p. 10. [f] 2 Edward VI. in Hackluit, ibid. p. 131. [g] Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 151. [h] Mr. Barnaby's Information to Secretary Cecil, MS. [i] See Page 147 of this Hiſtory. [k] See Page 148, ibid. [l] Ibidem. [m] Ibidem. [n] His Father is ſaid to ſail with five Ships; one ſtout Ship belonging to the King, and four belonging to the Merchants of Briſtol. Fabian's Chron. A. D. 1497. See alſo Page 149 of this Hiſtory. [o] John Cabot is ſaid to have ſailed beyond Cape Labrador ſomewhat more than 58° N. Latitude, then turning Weſtward he ſailed along the Coaſt to 38°. See Lopez de Gomera's Hiſt. des Ind. Occid. lib. II. cap. 4. and compare this with Ramuſius, who writes, that Sebaſtian Cabot ſailed N. by W. to 67° ½. [p] Part. III. p. 498. Richard Eden's Dedication to the Duke of Northumberland in his Treatiſe of New India. [q] Ramuſius placeth this Voyage in 1517, as does alſo Gonſalvo de Oviedo, Hiſt. Ind. Occid. lib. XIX. cap. 13.

“ *Hiſpaniola* in a large Ship. He arrived before the Port of *St. Domingo* on that Iſland, and ſent his Pinnace aſhore to deſire leave to traffic with his Cargo of Merchandize, which was denied; and *Cabot* was obliged, by the great Guns from the Town, to ſheer off towards the Iſland of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, where he was kindly received, and truck'd certain Veſſels of wrought Tin, and other Trifles, for Proviſions ſufficient to ſupply the Neceſſities of his Men till they arrived in *England*.”

Whether this Diſappointment, or what other Cauſe ſoever it might be, that determined *Sebaſtian Cabot* to leave his native Country; it is certain that the firſt News we hear of him after this unſucceſsful Voyage, was his Appointment to the Office of *Grand Pilot* of the Kingdom of *Spain*, being greatly carreſs'd by that Court for his extraordinary Capacity; and entruſted with all Projects, which in thoſe Days were very numerous, for the Diſcovery of the new World. In which Office he behaved with ſuch Judgment, Impartiality and Integrity, that in the Year 1524, he was ſolicited, and at laſt prevailed upon by a Company of Merchants to undertake, at their private Expence, a Voyage to the *Moluccos* or *Spice Iſlands*, through the new-diſcovered Streights of *Magellan* [a]. He departed from *Seville* [b] with three Ships and a Caravel. Mr. *Robert Thorne* (of whom Mention has been made before [c]) and his Partner, were Parties concerned in this Adventure to the Amount of 1400 Ducats.

The firſt Land he made was the *Canaries*; and ſailing by the *Cape Verde* Iſlands, and *Cape St. Auguſtin*, he came to Anchor at the Iſland of *Patos* or *Geeſe*, near the *Bay of All Saints* in *Brazil*, where he met a *French* Ship, and was ſupplied with a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions; but impoliticly, and ungratefully carried away with him four Sons of the principal Men of the Iſland. From hence he ſteered for the River of *Plate*; but by his Severity towards the Seamen, and their Diſguſt at his putting *Martin Mendez* his Vice-admiral, Captain *Francis de Rojas*, and *Miguel de Rodas* aſhore on a deſart Iſland, only becauſe they cenſured his Conduct, he could not prevail with his Men to proceed to the Streights of *Magellan*. So that *Sebaſtian* contented himſelf with making Diſcoveries up the River of *Plate*.

The firſt Place he anchor'd at up that River was a ſmall Iſland, about a League in Compaſs, which he named *St. Gabriel*, about 30 Leagues from the Ocean, and half a League from the Continent of *Brazil*. About three Leagues higher he met with another large River, in which was a ſafe Harbour, and deep Water. This River he called *San Salvador*. And here he unloaded his Veſſels, and built a Fort for their Protection, till he explor'd with his Boats, and a flat-bottomed Caravel, more towards the Head of the River. Having ſailed 30 Leagues higher, he diſcovered the River *Zarcarana*, at the Mouth of which he built *Cabot*'s Fort, or as he called it Fort *Spirito Santo*; and proceeded to the *Parana*, which he entered, and keeping up the broadeſt Channel for 200 Leagues, he diſcovered the River *Paraguay*, which gives Name to that Tract of Country on the Continent of *Brazil*, lately erected into an independent Kingdom by the *Jeſuits*; one of which Order has aſſumed the Title of King of *Paraguay*, by the Name of *Nicholas* I. From hence paſſing forward to the Right for 34 Leagues, he was greatly ſurpriſed to meet with a People tilling the Ground, and ſo jealous of his Appearance, that after a ſharp Skirmiſh, in which *Cabot* had 25 of his *Spaniards* killed, and three taken Priſoners, he was obliged to make the beſt of his Way back to Fort *Spirito Santo*.

Cabot in his return from *Paraguay* was joined by *James Garcia*, who entered the River of *Plate* after him for the ſame Purpoſe of making Diſcoveries. They retreated to Fort *Spirito Santo*, and agreed to continue in that Station, till they could receive freſh Orders from *Spain*, in anſwer to their Report of theſe fine Countries bordering on the River of *Plate*, and abounding with Gold, Silver, and other rich Commodities, ſent by *Francis Calderon* and *George Barlow*. But the Merchants Proprietors in this Voyage not agreeing to *Cabot*'s Requeſt of a Supply of Proviſion, Ammunition, proper Sortments of Goods for Trade, and a Recruit of Seamen and Soldiers, the Expedition was eſcheated to the Crown; which delayed the Anſwer ſo long, that after five Years *Sebaſtian*, deſpairing of Succours, returned with the Remains of his Men to *Seville*; leaving *Garcias* and his Crew in the Country [d].

The Severity of which he was accuſed towards his Men and Vice-admiral, raiſed him up great Enemies at Court; and the Failure of the intended Paſſage to the *Spice* Iſlands broke his Credit with the Merchants; ſo that, notwithſtanding he was permitted to keep his Poſt of *Grand Pilot*, it does not appear that he ever undertook, or was concerned in any further Diſcoveries from *Spain*; which not ſuiting his active Genius, made him hearken to the Invitation of Mr. *Thorne*, then a Merchant at *Seville*; and upon his Return to *England*, to quit his Employment in *Spain*, and to ſettle with him at *Briſtol*, his native Place. Which *Cabot* agreed to; and returned to *Briſtol* with his Family near the Concluſion of the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. Upon whoſe Demiſe the Duke of *Somerſet* introduced him to the young King *Edward*, whoſe Talent was peculiarly bent to diſcourſe on maritime Knowledge: which made *Cabot*'s Converſation the more agreeable to, and more regarded by his Majeſty. In Proof whereof King *Edward* created a new Office in *Cabot*'s Favour; and appointed him the firſt *Pilot Major*, or *Grand Pilot* of *England*, by way of Requital for the Office he had left in *Spain*; and added thereto a Penſion as mentioned before, as more fully appears by the following Letters Patent [e].

“ *Edward* VI. by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, to all Chriſtian People to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, ſendeth Greeting: Know ye, that we, in conſideration of the good and acceptable Service done, and to be done, unto us, by our beloved Servant, *Sebaſtian Cabot*, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, meer Motion, and by the Advice and Counſel of our moſt honourable Uncle, *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our Kingdoms, Dominions and Subjects, and of the reſt of our Council, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant, to the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a certain Annuity, or yearly Revenue, of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Sterling, to have, enjoy, and yearly receive the aforeſaid Annuity, or yearly Revenue, to the aforeſaid *Sebaſtian Cabot*, during his natural Life, out of our Treaſury, at the Receipt of our Exchequer, at *Weſtminſter*, at the Hands of our Treaſurers and Paymaſters, there remaining for the time being, at the Feaſts of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, the Nativity of *St. John Baptiſt*, *St. Michael* the Arch-angel, and the Nativity of our Lord, to be paid by equal Portions. And farther, of our more ſpecial Grace, and by the Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, we do give, and by theſe Preſents do grant, unto the aforeſaid *Sebaſtian Cabot*, ſo many and ſo great Sums of Money, as the ſaid Annuity, or yearly Revenue, of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* doth amount and riſe unto, from the Feaſt of *St. Michael* the Arch-angel, laſt paſt, unto this preſent time, to be had and received by the aforeſaid *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and his Aſſigns, out of our aforeſaid Treaſury at the Hands of our aforeſaid Treaſurers, and Officers of our Exchequer, of our free Gift without Account, or any thing elſe therefore to be yielded, paid or made to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, foraſmuch as herein expreſs Mention is made to the contrary.

“ In Witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patent. Witneſs the King at *Weſtminſter*, the 6th Day of *January*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign. The Year of our Lord 1549.”

From this time there was nothing done concerning Trade without conſulting of this great Navigator. He was at the Head of the Merchants Adventurers, who exhibited their Information to the Privy-council againſt the Merchants of the *Steelyard* or *Hanſe* Towns[a]. And he was choſen Chairman or Governor of a Company, which, by the King's Licence, agreed to find out a Paſſage by the North to the *Eaſt-Indies*; it being his Opinion that ſuch a Paſſage was to be found, and practicable[b]. This Expedition was at firſt to be undertaken by two Ships only, the *Primroſe* and *Moon*, lent by the King to Mr. *Barnes* Lord-Mayor of *London*, to Mr. *Garret* one of the Sheriffs, and to Meſſ. *York* and *Wyndham*, on condition that they ſhould deliver two Ships of like Burden, and in good Condition, at *Midſummer* 1554, to his Majeſty's Order; but this did not take Effect. It was then agreed to fit out three Ships, the *Bona Eſperanſa*, *Edward Bonaventure*, and the *Confidentia*; the King granting out of his Privy-purſe 200 *l.* to Mr. *Cabot*, towards the Expence of this Voyage[c], and the extraordinary Trouble he was at to bring it to bear, which did not take place till the next Year, as appears from the following Directions, by which the Commander in Chief was to regulate his Conduct.

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[a] Herreira Decad. III. lib. III. cap. 2. Decad. III. Churchil's Voyage, Vol. I. Introduction.

[b] In April 1524.

[c] See Page of this Hiſtory.

[d] Herreira, book V. cap. 3.

[e] Hackluit, part III. p. 10.

Ordinances, Inſtructions, and Advertiſements of and for the Direction of the intended Voyage for Cathay, *compiled, made, and delivered by the right Worſhipful M.* Sebaſtian Cabota, *Eſq; Governor of the Myſtery and Company of the Merchants-adventurers for the Diſcovery of Regions, Dominions, Iſlands and Places unknown, the ninth Day of* May, *in the Year of our Lord God* 1553, *and in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of our moſt dread Sovereign Lord* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *in Earth ſupreme Head.*

" Firſt, the Captain-general, with the Pilot-major, the Maſters, Merchants and other Officers, to be ſo knit and accorded in Unity, Love, Conformity, and Obedience in every Degree on all Sides, that no Diſſention, Variance, or Contention may riſe or ſpring betwixt them and the Mariners of this Company, to the Damage or Hinderance of the Voyage; for that Diſſention (by many Experiences) hath overthrown many notable intended and likely Enterpriſes and Exploits.

" 2. Item, for as much as every Perſon hath given an Oath to be true, faithful, and loyal Subjects, and liege Men to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and for the Obſervation of all Laws and Statutes, made for the Preſervation of his moſt excellent Majeſty, and his Crown Imperial of his Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and to ſerve his Grace, the Realm, and this preſent Voyage truly, and not to give up, intermit, or leave off the ſaid Voyage and Enterpriſe until it ſhall be accompliſhed, ſo far forth as Poſſibility and Life of Man may ſerve or extend: Therefore it behoveth every Perſon in his Degree, as well for Conſcience, as for Duty's Sake, to remember his ſaid Charge, and the Accompliſhment thereof.

" 3. Item, where furthermore every Mariner or Paſſenger in his Ship, hath given like Oath to be obedient to the Captain-general, and to every Captain and Maſter in his Ship, for the Obſervation of theſe preſent Orders contained in this Book, and all other which hereafter ſhall be made by the twelve Counſellors in this preſent Book named, or the moſt Part of them, for the better Conduction, and Preſervation of the Fleet, and atchieving of the Voyage, and to be prompt, ready and obedient in all Acts and Feats of Honeſty, Reaſon, and Duty to be miniſtred, ſhewed and executed, in Advancement and Preferment of the Voyage and Exploit: Therefore it is convenient that this preſent Book ſhall once every Week (by the Diſcretion of the Captain) be read to the ſaid Company, to the Intent that every Man may the better remember his Oath, Conſcience, Duty and Charge.

" 4. Item, every Perſon by virtue of his Oath, to do effectually, and with good Will (as far forth as him ſhall comply) all, and every ſuch Act and Acts, Deed and Deeds, as ſhall be to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enjoined (during the Voyage) by the Captain-general, with the Aſſent of the Council and Aſſiſtants, as well in doing the whole Navigation and Voyage, as alſo in diſcovering and landing, as Caſes and Occaſions ſhall require.

" 5. Item, all Courſes in Navigation to be ſet and kept, by the Advice of the Captain, Pilot-major, Maſters, and Maſters-mates, with the Aſſents of the Counſellors, and the moſt Number of them, and in Voices uniformly agreeing in one to prevail and take place, ſo that the Captain-general ſhall in all Councils and Aſſemblies have a double Voice.

" 6. Item, that the Fleet ſhall keep together, and not ſeparate themſelves aſunder, as much as by Wind and Weather may be done or permitted; and that the Captains, Pilots and Maſters ſhall ſpeedily come aboard the Admiral, when and as often as he ſhall ſeem to have juſt Cauſe to aſſemble them for Counſel or Conſultation to be had concerning the Affairs of the Fleet and Voyage.

" 7. Item, that the Merchants, and other ſkillful Perſons in Writing, ſhall daily write, deſcribe, and put in Memory the Navigation of every Day and Night, with the Points and Obſervation of the Lands, Tides, Elements, Altitude of the Sun, Courſe of the Moon and Stars; and the ſame ſo noted by the Order of the Maſter and Pilot of every Ship to be put in Writing, the Captain-general aſſembling the Maſters together once every Week (if Wind and Weather ſhall ſerve) to confer all the Obſervations and Notes of the ſaid Ships, to the Intent it may appear wherein the Notes do agree, and wherein they diſſent; and upon good Debatement, Deliberation, and Concluſion determined, to put the ſame into a common Leger, to remain of Record for the Company: the like Order to be kept in proportioning of the Cards, Aſtrolabes, and other Inſtruments prepared for the Voyage, at the Charge of the Company.

" 8. Item, that all Enterpriſes and Exploits of diſcovering or landing to ſearch Iſles, Regions, and ſuch like, to be ſearched, attempted, and enterpriſed by good Deliberation, and common Aſſent, determined adviſedly. And that in all Enterpriſes, notable Embaſſages, Suits, Requeſts, or Preſentment of Gifts, or Preſents to Princes, to be done and executed by the Captain-general in Perſon, or by ſuch other, as he by common Aſſent ſhall appoint or aſſign to do or cauſe to be done in the ſame.

" 9. Item, the Steward and Cook of every Ship, and their Aſſociates, to give and render to the Captain and other head Officers of their Ship weekly (or oftner if it ſhall ſeem requiſite) a juſt or plain and perfect Account of Expences of the Victuals, as well Fleſh, Fiſh, Biſket, Meat, or Bread, as alſo of Beer, Wine, Oil, or Vinegar, and all other kind of Victualling under their Charge; and they, and every of them ſo to order and diſpend the ſame, that no Waſte or unprofitable Exceſs be made otherwiſe then Reaſon and Neceſſity ſhall command.

" 10. Item, when any inferior or mean Officer of what Degree or Condition he ſhall be, ſhall be tried untrue, remiſs, negligent, or unprofitable in or about his Office in the Voyage, or not to uſe himſelf in his Charge accordingly, then every ſuch Officer to be puniſhed or removed at the Diſcretion of the Captain and Aſſiſtants, or the moſt Part of them; and the Perſon ſo removed not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the Time of his Remove, any more for an Officer, but to remain in ſuch Condition and Place, as he ſhall be aſſigned unto; and none of the Company to reſiſt ſuch Chaſtiſement or worthy Puniſhment, as ſhall be miniſtred unto him moderately, according to the Fault or Deſert of his Offence, after the Laws and common Cuſtoms of the Seas, in ſuch Caſes heretofore uſed and obſerved.

" 11. Item, if any Mariner or Officer inferior ſhall be found by his Labour not meet nor worthy the Place that he is preſently ſhipped for, ſuch Perſon may be unſhipped and put on Land at any Place within the King's Majeſty's Realm and Dominion, and one other Perſon more able and worthy to be put in his Place, at the Diſ-

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[a] A. D. 1551. December the 29th.

[b] Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 504. This Licence was granted in May 1552.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 402.

“cretion of the Captain and Maſters, and order to be taken that the Party diſmiſſed ſhall be allowed proportionably the Value of that he ſhall have deſerved to the Time of his Diſmiſſion or Diſcharge; and he to give order with Sureties, Pawn, or other Aſſurance, to repay the Overplus of that he ſhall have received, which he ſhall not have deſerved; and ſuch Wages to be made with the Party newly placed as ſhall be thought reaſonable, and he to have the Furniture of all ſuch Neceſſaries as were prepared for the Party diſmiſſed, according to Right and Conſcience.

“12. Item, that no blaſpheming of God, or deteſtable Swearing be uſed in any Ship, nor Communication of Ribaldry, filthy Tales, or ungodly Talk to be ſuffered in the Company of any Ship, neither Dicing, Carding, Tabling, nor other deviliſh Games to be frequented, whereby enſueth not only Poverty to the Players, but alſo Strife, Variance, Brawling, Fighting, and oftentimes Murder, to the utter Deſtruction of the Parties, and provoking of God's moſt juſt Wrath, and Sword of Vengeance. Theſe, and all ſuch like Peſtilences, and Contagions of Vices, and Sins to be eſchewed, and the Offenders once moniſhed, and not reforming, to be puniſhed at the Diſcretion of the Captain and Maſter, as appertaineth.

“13. Item, that morning and evening prayer, with other common Services appointed by the King's Majeſty, and Laws of this Realm, to be read and ſaid in every Ship daily by the Miniſter in the Admiral, and the Merchant, or ſome other Perſon learned in other Ships, and the Bible or Paraphraſes to be read devoutly and chriſtianly to God's Honour, and for his Grace to be obtained and had by humble and hearty Prayer of the Navigants accordingly.

“14. Item, that every Officer is to be charged by Inventory with the Particulars of his Charge, and to render a perfect Account of the diffraying of the ſame, together with modeſt and temperate diſpending of Powder, Shot, and Uſe of all kind of Artillery, which is not to be miſuſed, but diligently to be preſerved for the neceſſary Defence of the Fleet and Voyage, together with due keeping of all Inſtruments of your Navigation, and other Requiſites.

“15. Item, no Liquor to be ſpilt on the Ballaſt, nor Filthineſs to be left within Board; the Cook-room, and all other Places to be kept clean for the better Health of the Company; the Gromals and Pages to be brought up according to the laudable Order and Uſe of the Sea, as well in learning of Navigation, as in exerciſing of that which to them appertaineth.

“16. Item, the Liveries in Apparel given to the Mariners to be kept by the Merchants, and not to be worn but by the Order of the Captain, when he ſhall ſee cauſe to muſter or ſhew them in good Array, for the Advancement and Honour of the Voyage, and the Liveries to be re-delivered to the keeping of the Merchants, until it ſhall be thought convenient for every Perſon to have the full Uſe of his Garment.

“17. Item, when any Mariner or any other Paſſenger ſhall have need of any neceſſary Furniture of Apparel for his Body, and Conſervation of his Health, the ſame ſhall be delivered him by the Merchant, at the Aſſignment of the Captain and Maſter of that Ship wherein ſuch needy Perſon ſhall be, at ſuch reaſonable Price as the ſame coſt, without any Gain to be exacted by the Merchants, the Value thereof to be entred by the Merchant in his Book, and the ſame to be diſcounted off the Party's Wages, that ſo ſhall receive, and wear the ſame.

“18. Item, the ſick, diſeaſed, weak, and viſited Perſon within board, to be tendred, relieved, comforted, and holpen in the Time of his Infirmity; and every manner of Perſon, without reſpect, to bear another's Burden, and no Man to refuſe ſuch Labour as ſhall be put to him, for the moſt Benefit, and publick Wealth of the Voyage, and Enterpriſe, to be atchieved exactly.

“19. Item, if any Perſon ſhall fortune to die, or miſcarry in the Voyage, ſuch Apparel, and other Goods, as he ſhall have at the Time of his Death, is to be kept by the Order of the Captain and Maſter of the Ship, and an Inventory to be made of it, and conſerved to the Uſe of his Wiſe, and Children, or otherwiſe according to his Mind and Will, and the Day of his Death to be entred in the Merchants and Stewards Books; to the Intent it may be known what Wages he ſhall have deſerved to his Death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

“20. Item, that the Merchants appointed for this preſent Voyage, ſhall not make any Shew or Sale of any kind of Merchandizes, or open their Commodities to any foreign Princes, or any of their Subjects, without the Conſent, Privity, or Agreement of the Captains, the Cape-merchants and the Aſſiſtants, or four of them, whereof the Captain-general, the Pilot-major, and Cape-merchant to be three, and every of the petty Merchants to ſhew his Reckoning to the Cape-merchant, when they, or any of them ſhall be required; and no Commutation or Truck to be made by any of the petty Merchants, without the Aſſent aboveſaid: and all Wares and Commodities trucked, bought, or given to the Company, by way of Merchandiſe, Truck, or any other Reſpect, to be booked by the Merchants, and to be well ordered, packed, and conſerved in one Maſs entirely, and not to be broken or altered, until the Ships ſhall return to the right Diſcharges, and Inventory of all Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſes ſo trucked, bought, or otherwiſe diſpended, to be preſented to the Governor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in *London*, in good Order, to the Intent the King's Majeſty may be truly anſwered of that which to his Grace by his Grant of Corporation is limitted, according to our moſt bounden Duties; and the whole Company alſo to have that which by Right unto them appertaineth, and no Embezelment ſhall be uſed, but the Truth of the whole Voyage to be opened to the Commonwealth and Benefit of the whole Company and Myſtery, as appertaineth, without Guile, Fraud, or Male-engine.

“21. Item, no particular Perſon to hinder or prejudicate the common Stock of the Company, in Sale or Preferment of his own proper Wares, and Things, and no particular Emergent or Purchaſe to be employed to any ſeveral Profit, until the common Stock of the Company ſhall be furniſhed; and no Perſon to hinder the common Benefit in ſuch Purchaſes or Contingents, as ſhall fortune to any one of them, by his own proper Policy, Induſtry, or Chance; nor no Contention to riſe in that Behalf, by any occaſion of Jewel, Stone, Pearls, precious Metals, or other Things of the Region where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or given: but every Perſon to be bounden in ſuch Caſe, and upon ſuch Occaſion, by Order and Direction, as the general Captain, and the Council ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe Order and Diſcretion the ſame is left; for that of things uncertain, no certain Rules may or can be given.

“22. Item, not to diſcloſe to any Nation the State of our Religion, but to paſs it over in Silence, without any Declaration of it, ſeeming to bear with ſuch Laws and Rites, as the Place hath, where you ſhall arrive.

“23. Item, for as much as our People and Ships may appear unto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered how they may be uſed, learning much of their Natures and Diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch Perſon, as you may firſt either allure, or take to be brought aboard your Ships, and there to learn as you may, without Violence or Force, and no Woman to be tempted, or entreated to Incontinency, or Diſhoneſty.

“24. Item, the Perſon ſo taken to be well entertained, uſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on Land, to the Intent that he or ſhe may allure others to draw nigh to ſhew the Commodities; and if the Perſon taken may be made drunk with your Beer or Wine, you ſhall know the Secrets of his Heart.

“25. Item, our People may not paſs further into a Land, than that they may be able to recover their Pinnaces or Ships, and not to credit the fair Words of the ſtrange People, which be many times tried ſubtle and falſe, nor to be drawn into Peril of Loſs, for the Deſire of Gold, Silver, or Riches, and eſteem your own Commodities above all other, and in Countenance ſhew not much to deſire the foreign Commodities; nevertheleſs take them as for Friendſhip, or by way of Permutation.

“ 26. Item, every Nation and Region is to be conſidered adviſedly, and not to provoke them by any Diſdain, Laughing, Contempt, or ſuch like, but to uſe them with prudent Circumſpection, with all Gentleneſs and Courteſy; and not to tarry long in one Place, until you ſhall have attained the moſt worthy Place that may be found, in ſuch ſort, as you may return with Victuals ſufficient, proſperouſly.

“ 27. Item, the Names of the People of every Iſland are to be taken in Writing, with the Commodities and Incommodities of the ſame, their Natures, Qualities, and Diſpoſitions, the Site of the ſame, and what Things they are moſt deſirous of, and what Commodities they will moſt willingly depart with, and what Metals they have in Hills, Mountains, Streams, or Rivers, in, or under the Earth.

“ 28. Item, if People ſhall appear gathering of Stones, Gold, Metal, or other like, on the Sand, your Pinnaces may draw nigh, marking what Things they gather, uſing or playing upon the Drum, or ſuch other Inſtruments, as may allure them to hearkening, to fancy, or deſire to ſee, and hear your Inſtruments and Voices; but keep you out of Danger, and ſhew to them no Point or Sign of Rigour and Hoſtility.

“ 29. Item, if you ſhall be invited into any Lords or Rulers Houſe, to dinner, or other Parliance, go in ſuch order of Strength, that you may be ſtronger than they, and be wary of Woods and Ambuſhes, and that your Weapons be not out of your Poſſeſſions.

“ 30. Item, if you ſhall ſee them wear Lions or Bears-ſkins, having long Bows and Arrows, be not afraid of that Sight; for ſuch be worn oftentimes more to fear Strangers, than for any other Cauſe.

“ 31. Item, there are People that can ſwim in the Sea, Havens, and Rivers, naked, having Bows and Shafts, coveting to draw nigh your Ships, which if they ſhall find not well watched, or warded, they will aſſault, deſirous of the Bodies of Men, which they covet for Meat: If you reſiſt them, they dive, and ſo will flee, and therefore diligent Watch is to be kept both Day and Night, in ſome Iſlands.

“ 32. Item, if Occaſion ſhall ſerve, that you may give Advertiſements of your Proceedings in ſuch Things as may correſpond to the Expectation of the Company, and Likelihood of Succeſs in the Voyage, paſſing ſuch Dangers of the Seas, Perils of Ice, intolerable Colds, and other Impediments, which by ſundry Authors and Writers, have miniſtred Matter of Suſpicion in ſome Heads, that this Voyage could not ſucceed for the Extremity of the North Pole, lack of Paſſage, and ſuch like, which have cauſed wavering Minds, and doubtful Heads, not only to withdraw themſelves from the Adventure of this Voyage, but alſo diſſuaded others from the ſame; the Certainty whereof, when you ſhall have tried by Experience (moſt certain Maſter of all worldly Knowledge) then for Declaration of the Truth, which you ſhall have experted, you may by common Aſſent of Counſel, ſend either by Land, or otherwiſe, ſuch two or one Perſon, to bring the ſame by Credit, as you ſhall think may paſs in Safety; which ſending is not to be done, but upon urgent Cauſes, in likely Succeſs of the Voyage, in finding of Paſſage, in towardlineſs of beneficial Traffic, or ſuch other like, whereby the Company being advertiſed of your Eſtates and Proceedings, may further provide, foreſee, and determine that which may ſeem moſt good and beneficial for the public Wealth of the ſame; either providing before-hand ſuch Things as ſhall be requiſite for the Continuance of the Voyage, or elſe otherwiſe to diſpoſe as Occaſion ſhall ſerve; in which Things your Wiſdoms and Diſcretions are to be uſed, and ſhewed, and the Contents of this Capitule, by you much to be pondered, for that you be not ignorant, how many Perſons, as well the King's Majeſty, the Lords of his honourable Council, this whole Company, as alſo your Wives, Children, Kinſfolks, Allies, Friends and Familiars, be repleniſhed in their Hearts with ardent Deſire to learn and know your Eſtates, Conditions, and Welfares, and in what Likelihood you be in to obtain this notable Enterpriſe, which is hoped no leſs to ſucceed to you, than the Orient or Occident *Indies* have to the high Benefit of the Emperor, and Kings of *Portingal*, whoſe Subjects Induſtries, and Travels by Sea, have inriched them, by thoſe Lands and Iſlands, which were to all Coſmographers, and other Writers both unknown, and alſo by Appearances of Reaſon void of Experience, thought and reputed unhabitable for Extremities of Heats and Colds, and yet indeed tried moſt rich, peopled, temperate, and ſo commodious, as all *Europe* hath not the like.

“ 33. Item, no Conſpiracies, Partakings, Factions, falſe Tales, untrue Reports, which be the very Seeds and Fruits of Contention, Diſcord, and Confuſion, by evil Tongues to be ſuffered, but the ſame, and all other Ungodlineſs to be chaſtened charitably with brotherly Love, and always Obedience to be uſed and practiſed by all Perſons in their Degrees, not only for Duty and Conſcience Sake towards God, under whoſe merciful Hand Navigants above all other Creatures naturally be moſt nigh and vicine, but alſo for prudent and worldly Policy, and public Weal, conſidering and always having preſent in your Minds that you be all one moſt royal King's Subjects and Naturals, with daily Remembrance of the great Importance of the Voyage, the Honour, Glory, Praiſe, and Benefit that depend of, and upon the ſame, toward the common Wealth of this noble Realm, the Advancement of you the Travellers therein, your Wives, and Children, and ſo to endeavour yourſelves as that you may ſatisfy the Expectation of them, who at their great Coſts, Charges, and Expences, have ſo furniſhed you in good Sort, and Plenty of all Neceſſaries, as the like was never in any Realm ſeen, uſed, or known, requiſite and needful for ſuch an Exploit, which is moſt likely to be atchieved, and brought to good Effect, if every Perſon in his Vocation ſhall endeavour himſelf according to his Charge, and moſt bounden Duty. Praying the living God to give you his Grace, to accompliſh your Charge to his Glory, whoſe merciful Hand ſhall proſper your Voyage, and preſerve you from all Dangers.

“ In Witneſs whereof I *Sebaſtian Cabota*, Governor aforeſaid, to theſe preſent Ordinances, have ſubſcribed my Name, and put my Seal, the Day and Year above written.”

Theſe Inſtructions were graced by a Letter from the King himſelf, written in the *Saracen*, *Turkiſh*, *Egyptian*, *Tartarian*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and divers other Languages, to the Princes, Potentates, and Kings inhabiting the North-eaſt Parts of the World, towards the mighty Empire of *Cathay*. Of which the following is a literal Tranſlation.

“ *Edward* VI. by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. to all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governors of the Earth, and all other having any excellent Dignity on the ſame, in all Places under the univerſal Heaven: Peace, Tranquillity, and Honour be unto you, and your Lands and Regions, which are under your Dominions, and to every of you, as is convenient.

“ Foraſmuch as the great and Almighty God hath given unto Mankind, above all other living Creatures, ſuch an Heart and Deſire, that every Man deſireth to join Friendſhip with other, to love, and to be loved, alſo to give and receive mutual Benefits: it is therefore the Duty of all Men, according to their Power, to maintain and increaſe this Deſire in every Man, with well deſerving to all Men, and eſpecially to ſhew this good Affection to ſuch, as being moved with this Deſire, come unto them from far Countries. For how much the longer Voyage they have attempted for this Intent, ſo much the more do they thereby declare that this Deſire hath been ardent in them. Furthermore alſo, the Examples of our Fathers and Predeceſſors do invite us hereunto, foraſmuch as they have ever gently and lovingly intreated ſuch as of friendly Mind came to “them, as well from Countries near hand, as far remote, commending themſelves to their Protection. And if it be Right and Equity to ſhew ſuch Humanity toward all Men, doubtleſs the ſame ought chiefly to be ſhewed to Merchants, who wandering about the World, ſearch both the Land and the Sea, to carry ſuch good and profitable Things, as are found in their Countries, to remote Regions and Kingdoms, and again to bring from the ſame, ſuch Things as they find there commodious for their own Countries; both as well that the People, to whom they go, may not be deſtitute of ſuch Commodities as their Countries bring not forth to them, as that alſo they may be Partakers of ſuch Things, whereof they abound. For the God of Heaven and Earth greatly providing for Mankind, would not that all Things ſhould be found in one Region, to the End that one ſhould have Need of another, that by this means Friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed among all Men, and every one ſeek to gratify all. For the Eſtabliſhing and Furtherance of which univerſal Amity, certain Men of our Realm, moved hereunto by the ſaid Deſire, have inſtituted and taken upon them a Voyage by Sea into far Countries, to the Intent that between our People and them, a Way may be opened to bring in, and carry out Merchandiſes, deſiring us to further their Enterpriſe. Who aſſenting to their Petition, have licenſed the right valiant and worthy Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Knt. and other our truſty and faithful Servants, which are with him, according to their Deſire, to go to Countries to them heretofore unknown, as well to ſeek ſuch Things as we lack, as alſo to carry unto them from our Regions, ſuch Things as they lack. So that hereby not only Commodity may enſue both to them and us, but alſo an indiſſoluble and perpetual League of Friendſhip be eſtabliſhed between us both, while they permit us to take of their Things, ſuch whereof they have Abundance in their Regions, and we again grant them ſuch Things of ours, whereof they are deſtitute. We therefore deſire you Kings and Princes, and all other, to whom there is any Power on the Earth, to permit unto theſe our Servants free Paſſage by your Regions and Dominions; for they ſhall not touch any Thing of yours unwilling unto you. Conſider you that they alſo are Men. If therefore they ſhall ſtand in need of any Thing, we deſire you of all Humanity, and for the Nobility which is in you, to aid and help them with ſuch Things as they lack, receiving again of them ſuch Things as they ſhall be able to give you in Recompence. Shew yourſelves ſo towards them, as you would that we and our Subjects ſhould ſhew ourſelves towards your Servants, if at any time they ſhall paſs by our Regions.

“Thus doing, we promiſe you by the God of all Things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and the Sea, and by the Life and Tranquillity of our Kingdoms, that we will with like Humanity accept your Servants, if at any time they ſhall come to our Kingdoms, where they ſhall as friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were born in our Dominions, that we may hereby recompence the Favour and Benignity which you have ſhewed to our Men. Thus after we have deſired you Kings and Princes, *&c.* with all Humanity and Favour, to entertain our well-beloved Servants, we will pray our Almighty God, to grant you long Life and Peace, which never ſhall have End. Written in *London*, which is the chief City of our Kingdom, in the Year from the Creation of the World 5515, in the Month of *Jiar*[a], the 14th Day of the Month, and ſeventh Year of our Reign.”

If this Expedition or Voyage did not anſwer every Expectation; yet the Inſtructions are a convincing Proof of the Sagacity and Penetration of Mr. *Cabot*, and a Juſtification of his Conduct therein. And the *Ruſſian* Company date their Origin from this Undertaking. For tho' their Charter was not granted till the Year 1555, under *Philip* and *Mary*, it is therein particularly ordained, “That in Conſideration of *Sebaſtian Cabota* had been the chiefeſt Setter-forth of this Journey or Voyage, he the ſaid *Sebaſtian* ſhould be the firſt and preſent Governor of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, to *have* and *enjoy* the ſaid Office of Governor to him, the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota*, during his natural Life, without removing or diſmiſſing from the ſame Place[b].” A Declaration and Privilege, which will do him more Honour to all Poſterity, than the greateſt Titles which the Crown could grant him. And, according to the beſt Accounts, *Cabot* greatly merited the Honour of this new Poſt, not only by his former Conduct, but by his continued Activity in the Management of the Company's Affairs till the Day of his Death, which happened about the Year 1567, being turned of 70 Years of Age.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Captain* ROGER BODENHAM.

Mr. *Roger Bodenham*, Captain of a ſtout Ship, named the *Aucher*, from its Owner Sir *Anthony Aucher*, departed from *Graveſend* on the 13th of *November* 1550, for *Candia* and *Chio*, two Iſlands in the *Levant*; but was by contrary Winds detained in the *Hope* till the 6th of *January* following. In his Way he touched at *Cales*, where he unloaded part of his Merchandiſe, and took more on-board. He did the ſame at *Meſſina*, on the Iſland of *Sicily*; where alſo he had been promiſed by his chief Merchant *Anſelm Salgado*, a Paſs-port to keep him clear of the *Turk*, whoſe Ships at that time greatly interrupted the Chriſtian Navigation in the *Levant*; but it could not be obtained, the *Muſſelmen* preparing to beſiege *Malta*.

In this Strait Captain *Bodenham*, who had engaged to deliver the Cargo at his own Hazard to the Merchants in *Chio*, reſolved to try his Fortune, and to run, hoping to ſteer clear of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, having nothing to fear from any ſmaller Craft that might lie on the Coaſt a Privateering; tho' his Men were exceeding unwilling to venture. The firſt Place he touched upon in the *Archipelago* was the ſmall Iſland of *Micone*, where he ſtopped 10 Days, and took in a *Greek* Pilot; and when he ſailed took under his Convoy a Number of Hoys, which traded among the Iſlands, bound for *Chio*; which were attacked within Sight of the deſired Port by three *Turkiſh* Privateer Long-boats; but Captain *Bodenham* obliged them with his great Guns to ſheer off without their Prey.

The Captain having come to an Anchor before the Mole of *Chio*, having performed his Contract, notified to the Merchants his Arrival, and that if they did not ſend immediately for their Goods, he muſt return directly for *Candia*, where he would depoſit his Lading. Nor could they prevail with him on any other Conditions than an Indemnification of 12000 Ducats for the Security of his Ship, in caſe of any Damage from the *Turks* accruing to her by her Detention, on their Account, at *Chio* for 20 Days.

But at the time of his intended Departure, having landed all his Goods, and prepared his Veſſel ready for Sailing, his Sailors, by the bad Advice of ſome *Engliſh* Merchants on-ſhore, mutinied; and had it not been for the Attachments, which ſome of them had in *England*, many of them being married, he probably had been deſerted, and fallen a Prey to the next *Turkiſh* Rover, that might enter that Port. But, what with Threats, and their own natural Connections, the Seamen were at length brought to Reaſon, and had juſt got clear of the Port, when ſeven *Turkiſh* Gallies entered therein to ſeize on the Ship *Aucher*. The Admiral, diſappointed of his Prey, wreaked his Vengeance on all the Chriſtian Veſſels he found within the Mole, and made Galley-ſlaves of their Men: this being the Place of Rendezvous for the Fleet intended for the Siege of *Malta*, which together amounted to 250 Sail.

From hence Captain *Bodenham* took his Courſe for *Candia*, which was well fortified againſt an Invaſion; it not being certain to what Place the *Turkiſh* Armament was deſtined; where the *Aucher* lay till the Fleet ſailed paſt for the *Mediterranean*. Then taking in a Loading of Wine and other Commodities, he departed for *Meſſina*; and by the Way reſcued certain *Venetian* Veſſels, transporting Soldiers, from ſome *Turkiſh* Galliots that had laid them on-board. He alſo touched at *Cales* in his Way home, and arrived ſafe in the Port of *London*; his Crew conſiſting of 70 Men, beſides Boys, amongſt whom were 12 Gunners, and a Maſter-gunner: *Richard Chancellor*, who afterwards undertook the Diſcovery of *Ruſſia*, and *Matthew Baker*, who was afterwards Maſter-ſhipwright under Queen *Elizabeth*.

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[a] Jiar, I would read Mair, that is, in the Sarazen Language, mixt of Turkiſh and Egyptian, February, interpreted by them the Month to ſet Ships to the Sea.

[b] See Hackluit, part I. p. 268.

This Captain ſoon after left *England*; and marrying a *Spaniſh* Woman, ſettled at *Seville* in *Spain*. From whence he carried on a new Trade with the City of *Fez*, and other Parts of the Coaſt of *Barbary*; in which he ſuffered great Loſs. This obliged him to conſider of better Means to provide for his Family, and to apply to his *Engliſh* Friends, who procured him the good Ship *Fox* of *London*, of about 90 Tons Burthen; with which, laden with *Spaniſh* Property, he ſailed for *New-Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Convoy and Direction of General Don *Pedro Melendes*, departing from *Cales* or *Cadiz* on the laſt Day of *May* 1564.

He arrived ſafe at *Vera Cruz*, and unloaded his Cargo, to be carried thence to the City of *Mexico*, diſtant about 65 Leagues, and ſituate in the Midſt of a very large Lake, ſo as to need no Walls for its Defence. Here he loaded with Silver and other Produce of the Country for *Old-Spain*; whoſe Freight amounted to 13000 Ducats and upwards. In this Voyage the Captain obſerved that the *Cochinelle* grew in great Abundance about the Town of *Pueblo de los Angelos*, and was ſold at 40*d.* the Pound.

What I would infer from theſe Memoirs is, that in his Time the *Engliſh* Trade to the *Levant* was carried on with great Spirit; that our Merchant-ſhips in that Trade were ſtout Veſſels, and well mann'd and arm'd; that the Method of inſuring of a Cargo was the Captain's Engagement to deliver it ſafe at the Port of Deſignation; and that our Navigator was the firſt *European*, we are acquainted with in Hiſtory, that opened a Trade with the Kingdom of *Fez*.

Memoirs of Captain WINDHAM.

Amongſt other Diſcoverers and Navigators in this Reign, Captain *Windham* merits our particular Regard; tho' the Age in which he lived may not have done him that Juſtice, which his Diſcoveries deſerve. In the Years 1551 and 1552 he made two Voyages to *Zuphin* or *Santa Cruz*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and loaded with Almonds, Dates, Sugar and Molaſſes[a]. And in 1553, prompted by one *Antonio Ares Pintado*, a *Portugueſe*, he ſailed from *Portſmouth* with three Ships for the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and traded as far as *Benin*, along the Coaſt for Gold, where they intended to load with Pepper. But both Captain *Windham*, and his Friend and Companion *Antonio Ares Pintado*, and moſt of their Men dying before they could accompliſh their Intention, the Remainder, being about 40, made the beſt of their Way back for *Europe* in one Ship, and arrived ſafe at *Plymouth*[b].

From this ſmall Beginning we date the *Engliſh* Trade to the Coaſt of *Guinea*; which has been of ſo great Advantage to this Nation, and is ſtill capable of being greatly improved. But what is ſtill moſt remarkable, the Courſe of theſe Adventurers has always been the ultimate Extent of our Settlements on that Coaſt, as appears by the following Deſcription.

Of the SITUATION, PRODUCE, TRADE, *and Coaſt of* GUINEA.

Guinea in *Africa*, is divided into two large Countries, called *Upper* and *Lower Guinea*, the latter of which is commonly called *Congo*. Theſe two together extend above 2500 Miles along the Sea-coaſt.

The moſt general Diviſion of *Upper Guinea* is into three Parts, *viz. Malagueta*, *Guinea Proper*, and *Benin*; which together extend 500 Leagues from Weſt to Eaſt.

Malagueta. This Country is generally known under the Name of the *Grain-coaſt*, from the Paradiſe-grain, or *Guinea* Pepper, called *Malagueta* in *Spaniſh*, which grows here plentifully.

This Country is divided into the Kingdoms of *Sherbro*, *Quoja*, and *Sanguin*, along the Coaſt, and *Manou* Inland. But theſe are little known, except near the Coaſt.

The chief Places frequented by the *Europeans* are *Sherbro*, the Capital of a petty Kingdom of the ſame Name. *Sherbro* River, in 7 Deg. N. Lat. from the Line, is navigable for Canoes a great way up.—The chief Trade here is in Camwood.—Near the Mouth of this River there is *York Iſland*, on which the *Engliſh* had once a Factory, and a good Fort, which is now in Ruins.—There is alſo another Iſland, called *Farellons*, which abounds with Poultry, Rice, Potatoes, Banana's, Orange and Lemon-trees. About 25 Leagues diſtant from the Mouth of the River *Sherbro*, to the South-eaſt, is *Cape Monte*. It is furniſhed with numerous Villages, and the Negroes on this Part of the Coaſt are extremely induſtrious: in planting of Rice and boiling of Salt they are indefatigable.

Guinea Proper. This Country extends from *Cape Palmas* to the River *Volta*, about 140 Leagues along the Sea-coaſt, which bounds it on the South: it has the Kingdom of *Benin* on the Eaſt; *Gago* and *Melli* on the North; and *Malagueta* on the Weſt. The *Europeans* divide it into two Parts, the Tooth and the Gold-coaſt; the former extends from *Cape Palmas* to the River *Sueira da Caſta*; and the latter from thence to the River *Volta*.

The *Tooth*, or *Ivory*, or *Quaqua-coaſt*, is thus called from the great Plenty of Elephant's-teeth traded in here. When they come to trade with any Ship, the Natives take ſome Water into their Hands, and let a few Drops of it fall into their Eyes, which is a kind of Oath, by which they ſignify that they would rather loſe their Eye-ſight than cheat thoſe they trade with. They are no leſs averſe to Drunkenneſs than to Fraud; and, though their Country produces a prodigious Number of Palm-trees, yet they drink no Palm-wine, but only a certain ſmall Liquor, which they mix with Water. They have Manufactures of Cotton-habits, which are called *Quaqua*-gowns. A fundamental Law of the Country is, that every one is obliged to continue all his Life-time in the Condition in which he was born: ſo that one whoſe Father was a Fiſherman, for Inſtance, can never become any thing elſe but a Fiſherman; and ſo of all other Trades and Profeſſions.

The *Gold-coaſt* follows next: but why it is particularly ſo called cannot be well accounted for, ſince other Countries in *Guinea* produce Gold alſo.

Undoubtedly all the Countries in *Guinea* abound with Gold-mines; and, tho' the Natives are not Artiſts enough to know where or how to follow a Vein, yet they find great Quantities of Gold in ſeveral of their Mines, which are all ſo ſacred to them, that they will not permit any *European* Miner either to ſee their Mines, or to ſearch for others. Nevertheleſs, they bring down good Store of what they find to the Sea-coaſt, to traffic with all. Beſides which, the Natives near the Sea have another way of finding Gold, thus: in the rainy Seaſons, after a wet Night, the Sea-ſhore is covered with People, moſtly Women, each having a Couple of Bowls, made of Calabaſhes; the largeſt of which they fill with ſuch Sand and Earth as is drove down from the Mountains, by violent Floods, into the Rivers, Brooks, *&c.* This they waſh with many Waters, by often turning the Bowl round, till it waſhes over the Brim; the Gold, if there be any, ſinks to the Bottom, by reaſon of its Weight; and thus they continue, till they have waſhed all the Earth and Sand away, except two or three Spoonfuls of the Bottom, which they carefully take out, and lay by in the ſmall Bowl, after filling of which they carry the Dregs home, and ſearch it diligently for the Gold.

The moſt remarkable Places of Trade are as follow, *viz.*

Aſſinee, a Country abounding with Gold, and formerly a conſiderable Trade was carried on here, before the Devaſtation made by a neighbouring Nation, and the little Gold-duſt that is brought hither, is either ſophiſticated, or of very ſmall Value. From the *Aſſinee* to *Cape Apollonia*, there is a great deal of Land cleared, and ſowed with *Indian* corn.

Axim. The Inhabitants here are generally pretty opulent, driving a great Trade with the *Europeans* for Gold, which they chiefly vend to the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*. The Natives induſtriouſly employ themſelves either in Trade, Fiſhing, or Agriculture; and the latter is chiefly exerciſed in the Culture of Rice, which grows here, above all other

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[a] See Churchill's Voyages, Vol. V. p. 146.

[b] Id. ibid.

Places, in an incredible Abundance, and is tranſported hence all the *Gold-coaſt* over. The Inhabitants, in lieu thereof, return Fraught with Millet, Yams, Potatoes, and Palm-oil, all which are very ſcarce here; for the Soil is generally moiſt, and, though fit to produce Rice and ſome Fruit-trees, doth not kindly yield other Fruits.

The Country upon all the *Gold-coaſt* abounds in Hills, all adorned with extraordinary high and beautiful Trees; the Vallies between the Hills are wide and extenſive, proper for the Planting of all ſorts of Fruits; and, if they were as well cultivated as watered, would ſupply half the Coaſt with Proviſions. The Earth produces, in great Abundance, very good Rice, the richeſt ſort of Millet, the Grain of which is red; Yams, Potatoes, and other Fruits, all good in their kind; nor is the Soil deficient in Fruit-trees. The Sugar-canes grow here in greater Plenty, and larger, than any-where elſe on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. Palm-wine and Oil are here in abundance, and very good: the Country alſo abounds in all ſorts of tame and wild Beaſts.

Benin. This Country, which comprehends alſo the *Slave-coaſt*, has *Guinea Proper*, or, more particularly, the *Gold-coaſt*, on the Weſt; *Gago*, *Braſera*, with the Deſert of *Seth*, on the North; *Mujac* and *Makoko* on the Eaſt; and part of *Congo*, with the *Ethiopic Ocean*, on the South. It is commonly divided into three Parts, *viz.* *Whydah* and *Ardah*, which two contain the *Slave-coaſt*, and *Benin Proper*.

Whydah, as it is called by the *Engliſh*, is called *Juda* by the *French*, and *Fida* by the *Dutch*. It is bounded on the Weſt by the River *Volta*; on the South it has the Gulph of *Guinea*; on the Eaſt the Kingdom of *Ardah*; and, on the North, the Kingdom of *Dahomy*. *Whydah* is allowed to be a very delightful Country; the Number and Variety of tall and beautiful Trees ſeem as if planted in fine Groves for Ornament; the Lands were in general well cultivated, till the King of *Dahomy* conquered it; before which, the Natives were ſo induſtrious, that few Places thought fertile eſcaped Cultivation; they were ſo anxious in that Particular, that, the Day after they had reaped, they always ſowed again, without allowing the Land time for reſt.

The *Engliſh African* Company have a Fort here, wherein are mounted ſeveral Pieces of Cannon; and a little Diſtant there is alſo a *French* Fort.

Sabee, the capital Town of *Whydah*, is about four Miles diſtant from the *French* Fort, towards the North. The Town was very populous, and here were daily Markets, wherein many Sorts of *European*, as well as *African* Commodities, were exhibited to public Sale, as alſo great Variety of Proviſions. Near the *European* Factories was a ſpacious Place, where grew a Parcel of fine tall ſhady Trees, under which the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Portugueſe* Governors, Factors, and Sea-captains, walked and tranſacted Buſineſs every Day, as on an Exchange. All theſe Places were reduced to Aſhes by the King of *Dahomy*'s Army.

Adjoining to the Kingdom of *Whydah* are ſeveral ſmall Royalties, as *Coto Little* and *Great*, *Popo*, and *Quaboe*, ſituate on the *Slave-coaſt*. At *Coto* their Land is flat, ſandy, and barren; they have indeed the Palm and wild Cacao-trees, in tolerable Plenty.—Their Trade is chiefly that of Slaves and Fiſh. *Quaboe*, according to *Boſman*, abounds with Gold, which the Inhabitants carry through *Aquamboe* to *Acra*.

Dahomy Country is ſituated to the North of the *Slave-coaſt*, and extends greatly Inland: its Boundaries on the Weſt, North, and Eaſt, are unknown. This Country is mighty healthy, lying high, and being refreſhed with cool Breezes. Their Commerce here is chiefly in Slaves, and ſome Gold.

Benin Proper, has part of the Gulph of *Guinea*, and the *Slave-coaſt*, or *Ludra*, on the Weſt; part of *Gago*, and *Braſera*, on the North; *Mujac* and *Makoko* on the Eaſt; and *Congo* on the South. Its Extent, from Weſt to Eaſt, is about 600 Miles; but that from South to North remains unaſcertained.

The Country abounds with wild Beaſts, as Elephants, Tygers, Leopards, Boars, &c. as alſo with Game, as Harts, Hares, Patridges, Pigeons, Turtle-doves, &c. The Soil alſo produces great Variety of Trees and Plants, as Orange, Lemon, and eſpecially Cotton-trees; Pepper, but not in ſuch Quantities as in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The Natives here are pretty well civilized, and, if humoured in their ceremonious way of Traffic, they may be managed to pretty good Advantage. They are very expert in Buſineſs, though tedious; which, however, they manage with ſo much Civility, that you cannot well be angry. The Natives ſeem very obliging to each other; but this is only external Grimace; for they repoſe little Confidence in their Countrymen: they are jealouſly prudent, and very reſerved, eſpecially in the Management of their Trade, which they conduct with the utmoſt Secrecy, leſt they ſhould be repreſented as great Traders to their Governors; who, upon ſuch Diſcovery, would certainly accuſe them of ſome Crime or other, in order to poſſeſs themſelves, though ever ſo unjuſtly, of the Effects of theſe rich Merchants: wherefore, thoſe who have no Share in the Government, always pretend to be poorer than they really are, to eſcape the rapacious Hands of thoſe in Authority. This obliges them to a cunning Sort of Civility, to avoid Accuſers; but thoſe *European* Dealers, who will conceal their Tranſactions with them, and deal upon the Square, may do Buſineſs with them to great Profit.

Thoſe Men, who have any thing of Stock, apply to Merchandizes; very few of the Commonalty among the Males are induſtrious; they lay the Burden of Labour on their Wives and Slaves, whether it be Tilling of Ground, Spinning of Cotton, Weaving of Cloth, or any other handicraft Employ.—Here are very few manual Arts, beſides Weaving, practiſed or underſtood: the chief Workmen are either Smiths, Carpenters, or Leather-dreſſers; but all their Workmanſhip is but mean, for want of proper Inſtruction.

Benin, which gives Name to the Empire, and is the King's Reſidence, is ſituate about 60 Miles from *Agatton*, a Town at the Entrance of the River *Formoſa*, near the Sea. Continual Markets are kept here of Kine, Cotton, Elephant's-teeth, and *European* Wares.

The Inhabitants of this City are all Natives, Foreigners not being permitted to live there. Here are ſeveral rich Men, who continually attend at Court, not concerning themſelves with either Trade, Agriculture, or any thing elſe, but leaving all their Affairs to their Wives, who go to all the circumjacent Villages, to trade in all Sorts of Merchandizes, and are obliged to bring the greateſt Part of their Gains to their Huſbands. All Male-ſlaves here are Foreigners, for the Inhabitants cannot be ſold for Slaves, and only bear the Name of the King's Slaves. Nor is it allowed to export any Male-ſlaves that are ſold in this Country, for they muſt remain there; but Females may be dealt with at every one's Pleaſure.

Awerri, is about 20 Leagues from *Benin* to the South, and is the Capital of the Kingdom of the ſame Name, whoſe King is independent from the King of *Benin*.

Areba, a common Trading-place for the *Europeans*, ſituate above 50 Miles higher up than the Mouth of the River *Formoſa*. So far Ships may conveniently come in their Paſſage, ſailing by a great Variety of Branches of that River, beſides Creeks. There were here formerly two Factories, one of which belonged to the *Engliſh*, the other to the *Dutch*; but, the *Engliſh* not having traded here but very little for ſeveral Years paſt, they have no Fort or Factory.

Agatton, has ſeveral circumjacent Villages, whoſe Inhabitants come hither at every conſiderable Market, which is held here for five Days.

At *Cape Formoſa* the Trade conſiſts in Elephant's-teeth, Wax, and Honey.

The ſeveral Settlements are ranged in order of Situation as follows, *viz.* Firſt, the Northern Settlements are thoſe already mentioned, which ſtand in order thus:

At Cape de Verde *Two Factories*.

One on the North-ſide of the *Cape*, } Both *French*.
One on the South.

At the River Gambia *Two.*

One on *Charles Iſland*,
One on *James Iſland*. } Both *Engliſh*.

At the Rio Grande *Two.*

One at *Catcheco*,
One at *Biſſeo*. } Both *Portugueſe*.

At Sierra Leon *and* Sherbro' *Two.*

One on *Bence Iſland*,
One on *York Iſland*. } Both *Engliſh*.

Beyond theſe Southward, and after the Coaſt falls off Eaſt lies the Country more immediately called *Guinea*, diſtinguiſhed as I have ſaid, and in which the ſeveral *European* Nations have their particular Factories and Forts, ſome upon the very Edge of the Shores, and ſome farther within the Country. Thoſe upon the Edge of the Coaſt are ranged in the following Order; being all upon, or near that which they call the *Gold-coaſt*.

Forts and Settlements on the Gold-coaſt *of* Africa.

One at *Ancobra*. *Dutch*.
One at *Aim*, or *St. Anthony*, *Dutch*.
One at *Acquedah*,
One at *Fredrickſburgh*. } Both *Brandenburgh* or *Pruſſian*.
One at *Dickies Cove*. *Engliſh*.
One at *Boutry*. *Dutch*.
One at *Succonda*, or *Zaconda*. *Engliſh*.
One at the ſame Place, called *Orange*. *Dutch*.
One at *Shuma*. *Dutch*.
One at *Syma*. *Engliſh*.
Two at *Commenda*. One *Dutch*, one *Engliſh*.
One at *de Minha*, or *Elmina*. *Dutch*. } Chiefs of either
One at *Cape Coaſt*. *Engliſh*. } Nation.
One at *Fort Royal*,
One at Queen *Anne's Point*. } Both *Engliſh*.
One at *Morea*. *Dutch*.
One at *Anniſhan*. *Engliſh*.
One at *Annamabo*,
One at *Agge*. } Both *Engliſh*.
One at *Commanyne*,
One at *Apough*. } Both *Dutch*.
One at *Winnebah*,
One at *Shuddo*. } Both *Engliſh*.
Three at *Accra*, or *Aquambo*. { One *Engliſh*.
{ One *Dutch*.
{ One *Daniſh*.
One at *Alampo*. *Engliſh*.
Four at *Whidah*. { One *Engliſh*, one *Dutch*,
{ One *French*, one *Portugueſe*.

There are ſeveral other ſmall trading Houſes, ditch'd and palliſado'd about, and ſituated within the Country, which ſome call Forts; but we take Notice only of thoſe which appear on the Coaſt, and are fairly and regularly fortified.

All theſe Factories ſtruggle for Trade, and are maintained at the Expence of the ſeveral Nations to which they belong; notwithſtanding which there is yet a greater Trade than perhaps they all carry on, which the ſeparate Traders of every Nation drive to the ſame Place, and with far leſs Expence, and without being at the Trouble of Forts and Factories: For thoſe Ships coming upon the Coaſt, and the Men going on-ſhore in their Boats and Sloops, or the *Negroes* coming off to them in their Canoes, they exchange their Goods, and take on-board their Slaves with all poſſible Safety and Eaſe, and oftentimes get their Loading, and finiſh their Trade ſooner than the Company's Ships; which being under the Orders of the Governors or Officers at the Factories, are obliged to wait for their Diſpatches, as they think proper.

Congo, or *Lower Guinea*. This large Country has *Upper Guinea*, or the Kingdom of *Benin*, on the North; the *Ethiopic* Ocean on the Weſt; the Kingdom of *Mataman*, reckoned Part of *Cafreria*, on the South; but its Boundaries Eaſt and North-eaſt are not well known. The Extent of this Country, from *Cape Lopo*, in the firſt Degree of South Latitude, to *Cape Negro*, 23. 30. of the ſame Latitude, is about 16 Degrees 30 Minutes, or about 990 *Engliſh* Miles: How far it extends Eaſtward is not known. But this being entirely the Property of *Portugal*, I ſhall ſay no more of it.

There are no conſiderable Rivers upon this Coaſt, the Reaſon of which is obvious, *viz.* becauſe the Situation of the Country being alter'd, and the Courſe of the Rivers which are here, coming naturally from the neighbouring Hills, and running North and South, there can be no Stream of any longer Courſe than about 200 Miles: If their Courſe was longer, the Water would naturally run the other way due North, and fall into the great River *Niger*, which runs from Eaſt to Weſt, parallel with the *Guinea-coaſt*, and receives all the Waters on both Sides as it goes along.

For this Reaſon the Rivers on this Side are ſmall, and of a ſhort Courſe; the Streams rapid in the Winter, but in the Summer ſome of them are almoſt dry.

While the rainy Seaſon (*June*, *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*) laſts, the Rivers, though ſmall before, are filled with Water; every Dike or Ditch is a Brook, every ſmall Brook is a River, and every River like a Sea, and ſo on, in proportion to the things that appear: And while they are thus, nothing is to be expected as to the Gold; but when the Heats come on, the Rains abate, and the dry Seaſon ſets in, then the Waters ſink in proportion; the Rivers fall, the Brooks fail, and in a word, the ſmall Rivers are as it were dried up; and then the People fall to work, and gather the golden Crop or Harveſt, as we may call it: For at the very firſt falling of the Water, the Gold ſhall appear glittering among the Sand and dried Earth on the Shores, and in the Bottom of the ſmaller Streams; and as when the Sand is very dry, the lighteſt Part of it will blow away upon any ſmall Breeze of Wind, ſo it lets the Gold be ſeen very plain. Then they gather the ſaid Sand together in little Heaps, and put it into Bowls, waſhing it gradually away, ſo that the Gold reſts at the Bottom; juſt as our Waſhers in *Derbyſhire* waſh the Lead-oar.

When they have thus wrought upon the Surface, and in the ſmaller Streams, they ſearch in the larger Rivers; and when all the dried-up Channels are wrought over, they go to the Water itſelf, and they ſometimes find the Sands where the Water has ſettled them, and which flows ſtill over them, as rich with Gold as any of the other.

There is likewiſe ſome Gold pick'd out of the Mountains, which it may be ſaid ſtuck too faſt there for the Waters to waſh it out, or rather did ſo for a while; and this they call Rock-gold, which is generally in larger Pieces than that which they waſh out.

Theſe Waters and Channels where the Gold is thus found, are not, as ſome have ſuggeſted, at the Mouths of the Rivers, and on the Sea-ſhore, from whence the Notion ſpread among the Poets of the golden Shores of *Africa*: On the contrary, the Shores of *Africa* ſhew no more Gold than other Places, nor are there any Tokens of the Duſt or ſmall Particles of Gold found there; if it were otherwiſe, it would be a hard Matter for any of our Sea-captains to keep their Men together when they come upon the Coaſt, but they would all run away a waſhing the Sands, and fiſhing for Gold.

But the Gold is found within the Land, either in the ſmall Brooks and Channels of Water falling from the Mountains, or in the Mountains themſelves, and that at the Diſtance of ſometimes 200 Miles, ſometimes 400 Miles from the Coaſt, and farther; and the *Negroes* bring it down at the Seaſons of their Trade, to ſell it to the *Europeans*.

The firſt River is the *Aneober* or *Ancobra*, which bounds the Country properly call'd the *Gold Coaſt* on the Weſt-ſide, and where the firſt *European* Factory is placed, which belongs entirely to the *Dutch*, and where they have a Fort. The *Portugueſe* call this the *Rio Cobra*, *the Serpent River*, or *the River of Snakes* or *Serpents*, either from its innumerable Windings and Turnings, Serpent-like; or from a great Number of Snakes, Serpents, and venomous Creatures found in it. It is navigable about 30 to 40 Miles, but not more, being then divided into many ſmaller Rivulets.

This River is very broad and ſhoal at the Mouth, except after the Freſhes from the Country have carried off the Bar of Sand which blocks it up. After being entered, it has Water enough for good large Veſſels: The *Negroes* have Canoes upon it, and come down in them with Gold, and ſometimes alſo with Teeth, from the remoteſt Part of the Country that way; and therefore ſome will have it call'd the *Golden-river*.

There is another ſmall River flows down through a Part of the Country, call'd *Boutry*: The River is call'd *Boutry* alſo. This was a moſt delicious plentiful Country, before a mortal Feud between the *Negroes* on the Coaſt, and ſome other Nations of *Negroes* up the Country, cauſed the whole Diſtrict to be ſo ravag'd and ruin'd, that nothing can now look more deſolate.

The next River is call'd *Rio de St. Juan*: 'Tis a Port for ſmall Boats only, but uſeful on that account, becauſe the Ships Long-boats can go into this River deep loaden, and ſo deliver their Cargoes ſafe; whereas the Surf on the Shore in other Places makes it very dangerous for Boats to come near with any Loading.

This River is likewiſe uſeful to the *European* Traders, eſpecially to bring down Timber, Fuel, and Fruits for their Subſiſtence, from the inland Country, as alſo for bringing *Indian* Corn and Rice, which this Country produces in great Plenty.

Farther Eaſt is a pretty large River call'd *Rio Volta*, or *Rio Ladincour*, the Boundary between the *Gold-coaſt* and the *Slave-coaſt*.

The *Salt-river* at the Opening is capable to receive ſmall Veſſels, but not Ships of Burden. On the whole Coaſt we meet with no good Harbour, nor any River in which a Ship of 100 Tun can ride: So that all the Ships which uſe the Trade here, are obliged to come to an Anchor in the open Sea; and this is the Reaſon why upon Occaſion of any War among the *Europeans*, the Merchants Ships are all expos'd to the ſuperior Strength of an Enemy; and particularly in a War with *France*, the *French* Men of War often ſwept the whole Coaſt, as they call'd it, and carried away or burnt all the Ships they found there.

This likewiſe has been their Fate on a worſe Occaſion ſince, *viz.* when the Pirate Ships from the *Weſt-Indies* have come here: Theſe have made terrible Havock of the Merchants, deſtroying their Ships, murdering their Men, and even the innocent *Negroes*, who have been put on board as Slaves for the Market.

All the Remedy the Merchants Ships have had in theſe Caſes, has been to run in as cloſe to the Shore as poſſible, under the Cannon of the Caſtles on the Land: But of theſe there are hardly any in condition to protect the Ships, except the *Engliſh* Fort at *Cape Corſo*, or as we corruptly call it *Cape Coaſt*.

The *Dutch* Forts at *Elmihna* are conſiderable, and have large Batteries to Seaward of 20 or 30 Guns each: But they are not able to protect the Trade againſt the Pirates or Men of War, becauſe the Ships cannot come cloſe under Shore.

From this Part of the Country the Coaſt ſlopes away to the Northward, or rather North-eaſt, making a great Bay or Gulph, which ſome call the *Gulph of Benin*, others the *Gulph of Guinea*, others the *Bay of Formoſa*; 'tis not material by which of its Names it is known. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that it is an exceeding deep Bay; for it may be ſaid to begin at *Acra*, or the Mouth of the *Rio Volta*, on the Weſt, and drawing a Line Eaſt and by South, to end at *Cape Formoſa*, which is by the Scale above 260 Miles in breadth: Then meaſuring by the ſame Scale, from the ſaid *Cape Formoſa* South, to the Bottom of the Bay at the Mouth of the *Rio Lagos* North, 'tis above 200 Miles in depth, reaching alſo to the great River of *Benin* North-eaſt.

In this Gulph or Bay, the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and the ſeveral *European* Settlements already mention'd, may be properly ſaid to end as well as their Trade, whether for Gold, Teeth, or Slaves: The Factory at *Whidah* being the fartheſt Eaſt, where any of our Companies have Footing, at leaſt till we come farther South.

But here the *Portugueſe* Dominion on the *African* Coaſt may be ſaid to begin: For the River *Benin*, the City and Coaſt of *Angri*, and the *Rio Formoſa*, are all under the Government or Influence of the *Portugueſe*; and the Trade there is wholly their own.

From this falling away of the Coaſt to the North-eaſtward, the Land turns off again full South as far as *Benin*, and the River *Formoſa*. Here the Climate is exceſſive hot; for the Mountains behind returning the Heats of the Sun, and the Country ſloping towards the South, doubles the Heat, eſpecially as the Sun paſſes to the South of the Line: ſo that it ſeems to be much hotter on this Coaſt than upon any other Coaſts of the ſame Latitude; or than the Kingdom of *Congo*, even where it is under the very Line: alſo the Depth of the Bay, according to ſome, attracts the Heats and Calms, and makes it unſufferable; and were not the Gold and the Gain the great Attractive, no *Europeans* would come to any Part of this Country. *Sed auri ſacra fames!*

What will not the Thirſt of Gold do? and what Riſques will not Mankind run in ſearch of ſuch a Wealth as is found upon all this Coaſt? We therefore ſee great Numbers of *Europeans*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *French*, &c. continually arrive there, and above all of *Portugueſe*: and tho' moſt of theſe, eſpecially of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, die, and very few return to their own Countries; yet bad Circumſtances at home, and the Hopes of bettering them abroad, bring daily new Supplies of People to the Place.

It is certain, that two Things principally deſtroy the Health of the *Europeans*, who come over to this Country; namely,

1. Want of Conveniences of Life, that is to ſay, want of ſettled Families, ſuitable Proviſions, Shelter from the Extremies of the Heat, and eſpecially of the Wet in the rainy Seaſons, which expoſe the Body to many Diſeaſes, and particularly ſuch as are nervous; the Wet in thoſe Climates often taking away the uſe of their Limbs.

2. Intemperance, which our People in particular will not be kept from, how fatal ſoever it be to them; but which, if they had Settlements and Habitations and Families of their own, would in a great meaſure be prevented.

And here I think it cannot be improper to mention, that were this Country planted in Colonies and ſettled Habitations, Towns and Cities built, and People brought over to inhabit, as it is at *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*, there might be little or no Occaſion to complain of Unhealthineſs, and of particular chronical Diſtempers, as Fevers, Calentures, Rheumatiſms, Scurvy, *&c.* any more than there is in *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*, or in other Countries inhabited by the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards* in the ſame Latitudes; as particularly in *Congo* and *Angola*, ſome Parts of *Peru*, and in the *Braſils*. But the true Reaſon why *Engliſh* and *Dutchmen* die, when *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* live and are in Health, is, becauſe the latter are patient of Heat, careful of Wet and Night Damps, temperate in Drinking as to Quantity, and wary of their Liquors as to Quality; inſtead of which, the *Britiſh* and *Dutch*, careleſs of their Health when they are well, give a looſe to all Manner of Luxury and Exceſs, as well in Drink as in Women; and abandoning themſelves to Deſpair under the exceſſive Heats, turn raging mad when they are ill, and periſh for want of neceſſary Remedies and Relief: ſo that they hurry themſelves out of the World with the utmoſt Application.

It is to be obſerved, that on all this Coaſt, from *Sierra Leon* to *Whidah*, the Rains begin at the latter End of *May*, and continue till the Beginning of *October* ſometimes, and eſpecially about *Sherbro'*: And from thence, about that Country called *Benin* and *Malegette*, the Rains begin at the Beginning of *May*, and then, during the latter End of our Summer, that is, when the Sun paſſes their Zenith and approaches the Southern Tropick, that is, in *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, they have ſuch terrible Lightnings and Thunders, with the Travado's, or violent Guſts of Wind, that the Sea is hardly tolerable, or the Land either; and eſpecially the ſoutherly Winds, which (ſeeing you are now ſuppoſed to be where the Shore turns to the Eaſt) make a Lee-ſhore, blow ſo violently, that the Sea comes rolling on the Land with irreſiſtible Fury, and ſuch prodigious Waves, that no Ship can be able to bear it. If then there are any Ships ſo unhappy as to be upon the Coaſt at that time, they run for the River at *Sierra Leon*, or where they can, to get a ſhelter'd Road; or if they cannot do ſo, they go off to Sea, and make for the *Cape* *de Verd* Iſlands, where there are two or three very good Harbours.

From the Eaſtermoſt part of this Country where the Gold-coaſt ends, there are two *Negroe* Kingdoms extended upon the Sea-ſhore; here they carry on a conſiderable Trade; and ſome therefore call this the Beginning of the Slave-coaſt: Theſe are *Popo* and *Fida*. It is true, great Numbers of Slaves are brought hither, which is occaſioned partly by the frequent Wars among the petty Nations of *Negroes* in the inland Country on that ſide, and more eſpecially by the infinite Number of Inhabitants: For the Country is populous almoſt beyond Expreſſion; and the People of *Popo* and *Fida* have learned the Art of Correſpondence ſo well, and are ſo dextrous in the treacherous Part, that they have Slaves brought them by their Agents out of the Country 2 or 300 Miles, and as they pretend a great deal farther. They are indeed perfidious as well to their own People as to the *Europeans*; and their Treachery with the latter is ſo notorious, that now, no *European* Ship cares to trade with them, unleſs they bring the Slaves immediately on-board, before they receive the Price agreed on.

It is incredible what Numbers of Slaves are ſhipped off in this part of the Country, take it from the Gold-coaſt to *Benin:* They who ſpeak leaſt, tell us there are above 100,000 bought every Year, who, beſides an infinite Number from other Parts, are all carried over to *America*, and ſold there. A horrid Trade!

We have no fortified Towns or beautiful Cities to give an Account of here, as in ſome other Places, nor public Edifices to deſcribe. The Towns here are noted for their Smallneſs, and the Oddneſs of their Figure, if for any thing. The little Towns, which we call Factories of the *Europeans*, generally conſiſt of a few wooden Houſes, ſometimes framed in *England*, and carried to be ſet up when they arrive there, with Warehouſes for Goods; and their Fortifications are in proportion, being only palliſado'd round, inſtead of having Walls and Ditches: Sometimes they are doubly palliſado'd; ſo that if they are attacked by the *Negroes*, they may ſtand between the Rows of Palliſadoes, and fire at them; and others within the inner Row may fire over the Heads of thoſe without. And tho' this is but an indifferent Fence in itſelf, yet we never found that the *Negroes*, however numerous, have been able to ſtorm them.

This way of fortifying has been uſed chiefly, where the Factory has thought fit to place little out-lying or detached Factories, for trading with the Country, up ſome Rivers, or at a Diſtance from the grand Settlement: And in thoſe little Towns (for ſuch they are called) they have always four eſſential Articles: (1) A Warehouſe for their Goods. (2) A Magazine for their Powder. (3) A ſtrong Houſe or Priſon for the Slaves which they receive in Trade. (4) Huts or little Dwellings for themſelves.

All theſe are bigger or leſs, as the Number of People, and Quantity of Goods belonging to the Factory require. I ſhould have added a 5th, namely, that as theſe little Towns are generally placed on the Bank of ſome navigable River or Stream, ſo they have always a Boat to attend the Buſineſs of the Factory, to bring up their Goods, and carry down their Slaves to the chief Factory upon the Coaſt.

As for the *Negroe* Towns, there is little to be ſaid of them: And they differ too, as the *Indians* or Natives have been more or leſs converſant among the *Europeans*, and ſeen their Cuſtoms and Uſages, by which they are brought to be more or leſs regular in their own. They are generally nothing but a confuſed Cluſter of low Huts, built with Reeds or Canes, upon the Ground; and if they have a King among them, as few of their little Nations are without, the Monarch fails not to have the peculiar Honour of his Place allowed him, that is, he has always a Tree before his Door, under the Shade whereof he ſits upon the Ground, or upon a little Bank, to air and cool himſelf. Their Cuſtoms and Manner of living having nothing remarkable, and varying almoſt in every Place, I ſhall take no Notice of. What is ſaid, is only to intimate that they do not live in Cities, or large Towns, as the *Æthiopians* or *Chineſe* do, or as the *Americans* did at *Mexico*, at *Cuſco*, &c. when they were firſt diſcovered. Nor do they ramble from Place to Place in Hoords and Droves, as the *Tartars*, *Arabs*, and other Nations which go under thoſe Names, do to this Day; but they live in little Bodies, or ſmall Numbers together, in Huts fixed like Houſes, tho' mean and ſmall, and which they ſeldom if ever remove, but chuſe their Habitation as their Subſiſtence allows; and having a King over every Clan, or Tribe, or Nation, they all keep to their proper Poſſeſſion, as if it was their own by ſome eſtabliſhed Law.

By converſing with the *Europeans* they are taught to labour, that is, to ſearch among the Sands in the Rivers, and in the Rocks and Mountains, for Gold, and upon the Plains and Deſarts for Teeth; and it is to them, as hunting for wild Beaſts is to other Savages, for they will range the Country for Teeth ſo far, that, as I have been frequently told, they ſometimes bring them more than 300 Miles, tho' ſome of them are ſo heavy as to be a Load for four or five Men.

The Trade carried on here, whether by the *Engliſh*, or other *European* Nations, conſiſts in but three capital Articles, *viz.* Slaves, Teeth, and Gold; a very gainful and advantageous Commerce, eſpecially as it was once carried on, when theſe were all purchaſed at low Rates from the Negroes; and even thoſe low Rates paid in Trifles and Toys, ſuch as Knives and Sciſſars, Kettles, Glaſs-beads and Cowries, Things of little Value; but even this Part of the Trade is greatly declined in Profit, ſince by the Strife and Envy among the Traders, eſpecially between our late royal *African* Company and the ſeparate Traders, we have had the Folly to inſtruct the Negroes in the Value of their own Goods, and of the Cheapneſs of ours; endeavouring to ſupplant one another, by under-ſelling and over-bidding, by which we have taught the Negroes to ſupplant both, by holding up the Price of their own Productions, and running down the Rates of what we carry them for Sale.

Thus that gainful Commerce, once ſuperior to all the Trades in the World, which carried out the meaneſt of all Exportations, and brought home the richeſt, is ſinking daily, and we are ſometimes ſaid to buy even their Gold too dear.

But all this while here is not the leaſt Uſe made of the Land; the fruitful Soil lies waſte, a vaſt extended Country, pleaſant Vallies, the Banks of charming Rivers, ſpacious Plains, capable of Improvement and Cultivation to infinite Advantage, barren and untouched.

Let the ſame Climates be examined in other Parts of the World, and the Soil in thoſe Climates be compared with the Soil in the ſame Latitudes on this Coaſt; and if it is the ſame, or ſo near the ſame, as no viſible Difference is found in them, why ſhould they not produce the ſame Harveſt, the ſame Plants, Fruits, Drugs; or, whatever grows and is produced in one, why ſhould it not be planted, grow, and produce the ſame in another?

Let us reduce this to Practice, and bring the Latitude of Places together, with the Productions proper to thoſe Places. For Example:

1. The Coffee-berry is the natural Product of the Earth at *Mocha*, on the Eaſtern Bank of the *Red-Sea*, and the South-weſt Point of *Arabia-Fœlix*, in the Latitude of 13 to 14 Degrees; there it grows, thrives, and is produced, as it were wild, and with the leaſt Help of Labour imaginable; what Aſſiſtance of Art is added to it, is after the Fruit is ripened and gathered, *viz.* in the curing and drying the Berry, and preſerving them for a Market; and that is to be done in the ſame Manner in any Part of the World as well as there.

The diligent *Dutch*, ſeeing the Eaſineſs of the managing and curing the Berry, and how that part had no Dependance, either upon the Earth, the Air, the Water, or any thing elſe more there than in another Place, took the Hint, and planted the Coffee-tree in the Iſland of *Java*, near their City of *Batavia*; there it thrives, bears, and ripens every jot as well as at *Mocha*; and now they begin to leave off the *Red-Sea*, and bring 20 to 30 Tons of Coffee at a time from *Batavia*, in the Latitude of 5 Degrees South.

Not content with this happy Improvement, others of the ſame Nation have made the ſame Experiment, in near the ſame Latitude, in another Quarter of the World, and with the like Succeſs; and now they begin to bring large

Quantities of Coffee from *Surinam*, on the North Coaſt of *South-America*, Lat. 6 ½ Deg.

Now, if at *Batavia* and *Surinam*, in Latitude 5 to 6 Degrees; if at *Mocha*, in Latitude 14 Degrees; if at *Port Dauphin*, in Latitude 23 ½ Degrees; why not at *Seraleon*, under *Cape de Verd*, in Latitude 13 to 15 Degrees? Why not at *Cape Coaſt* and at *Acra*, in Latitude 5 to 6 Degrees? And in a word, why not upon all the Grain-coaſt, Tooth-coaſt, Gold and Slave-coaſt, where we have a free Poſſeſſion, Strength for Protection, and Soil for Production?

2. The Sugar-cane. Our Succeſs with the Sugar-canes is well known, it is produced to a very great Advantage in our Iſland-colonies of *America*. From *St. Chriſtopher*'s in Latitude 17 ½ Degrees, and *Jamaica* in Latitude 18 Degrees to *Barbadoes*, in Latitude 13 Degrees. It is produced by the *Portugueſe* in the *Braſils*, in the ſame Latitude, South of the Line from the Port of *Fernambuco*, in the Latitude of 9 Degrees, to the *Bay de Todos los Santos*, or *Bay of All Saints*, in the Latitude of 13 Deg. 20 Min. and it is produced by the *Spaniards* on the Continent of *North-America*, in the Provinces of *Guaxara*, *Guatimala*, &c. in the Latitude of 14 Degrees. And why not then by us on the Coaſt of *Africa*, where we have the Choice of the Country in the very ſame Latitude from the Gold-coaſt in the Latitude 6, to the *Cape de Verd* in the Latitude 15?

Add to this the particular Advantages which offer themſelves to the Planter, in ſuch an Attempt as this, on the Coaſt of *Africa*.

1. The Eaſineſs of procuring Negro labourers, which here would not coſt above 4 or 5 *l. per* Head.

2. The Eaſineſs of getting Proviſions, which they would be ſo far from fetching from *Ireland* or *New-England*, as our Colonies of *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes* do, and at a very monſtrous Rate; that they would be always able to furniſh themſelves as they do now by the Produce of the Soil: As for Rice, *Indian* Corn, or Maize, with Roots, ſuch as Potatoes, Parſnips, Carrots, Plantanes, and innumerable other Sorts, they grow freely upon all the Coaſt.

The Shortneſs of the Diſtance, and the ſafe Paſſage between *England* and theſe Colonies, is ſuch, that the Voyage is often performed in 15 or 20 Days; whereas ſix or ten Weeks is counted no bad Voyage between *Jamaica* and *London*: The Expence as well as other Inconveniencies of which are exceeding great, and the Difference would give the Sugars of *Africa* a great Advantage at Market.

3. Of the planting of Tea. Every one that has been the length of *Amoy* or *Chuſan* on the Coaſt of *China*, knows the Tea is produced chiefly in the Provinces of *Xantung*, *Nanquin*, and *Canton*, as alſo in the Iſlands of *Japan*, moſt of it between the Latitudes of 30 Degrees and 24 Degrees North of the Line. With how much greater Advantage then of the Climate, might the ſame Plant be produced at *Seraleon* and on the Gold-coaſt of *Africa*, the Plants being fetched from *China*, as well as the Method of curing it; which, according to *Mynheer Nieuhoſt*, is not difficult.

I ſhall add the great Article of the Spices, ſuch as Nutmegs, Cloves, and Cinnamon; the two laſt are found in the Iſlands of *Ternate*, and others adjacent in the Latitude of 2 to 4 Degrees. The Nutmegs, indeed, are found only at *Banda*, and ſome ſmall Iſlands adjoining and almoſt under the Line, and ſo it may be doubtful except in the ſame Latitude, which is farther South than any of our Settlements in *Africa* go: But the Trial might be made of that too.

But, as to the Clove, it is found in the Iſland of *Borneo* at *Gilolo*, and ſeveral other Iſlands, from the Latitudes of 2 to 7 Degrees, which is exactly the Climate of our Gold-coaſt; likewiſe the Cinnamon is found in *Ceylon*, in the Latitude of 6 to 7 Degrees, and hits punctually with this Coaſt; and we can ſee no reaſon why the ſame Climate on the Shore of *Africa* may not, by the Help of Art and Induſtry, produce the ſame Fruit.

There is no reaſon to doubt, but all or moſt of the Productions, either of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, might be produced here; ſuch as the Cotton, Ginger, Sugar, Cacao, Piemento, Indigo, and ſeveral others known at *Jamaica*; as alſo the Cocheneal, the Vanelloes, and even the *Peruvian* Bark, if Induſtry and Application were ſet on work to plant them.

The Importance of this Trade on the Coaſt of *Africa* was eaſily penetrated by the Government; but the Death of King *Edward* VI. and the Intereſt of Queen *Mary*'s Conſort, *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, let it remain unnoticed, except by ſome private Traders, who made their Advantage of it, till Queen *Elizabeth* granted a Licence or Charter to a Society of Merchants to purſue this Diſcovery, by the Stile and Name of the *Senegal* Company; which afterwards we find give way to the Royal *African* Company.

The Ships which followed the Courſe of Capt. *Windham* traded only for Gold, Elephant's-teeth, and Malaguetta; and all ſuch Voyages were undertaken and performed at the Hazard of loſing the Ships and Cargoes, if they fell into the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, without the leaſt Ground to hope for any Redreſs or Satisfaction for the ſame; the *Portugueſe* being the firſt Diſcoverers of the *African* Coaſt.

Queen *Elizabeth*, in the 30th Year of her Reign, being then at War with *Spain* and *Portugal*, erected a Company for the better diſcovering and carrying on a Trade from the northermoſt Part of the River *Senegal*, and from and within that River, all along that Coaſt, unto the ſouthermoſt Part of the River *Gambia*, and within the ſame; and gave and granted unto them the whole and ſole Trade in, to, and from the ſaid Rivers and Countries, for a certain Term of Years; with Prohibition to all others her Subjects to trade to the ſame Places, on Pain of Forfeiture of Ships and Goods: and theſe were the firſt *Engliſh* Merchants that ever traded to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, by and under the Authority and Protection of the Crown of *England*. And perhaps the firſt Charter, with an excluſive Right of Navigation.

In the Reigns of King *James* I. and King *Charles* I. and during the Time of the *Uſurpation*, ſundry Perſons were encouraged, by public Authority, to trade to other Parts of *Africa*, and to take ſuch Meaſures for the better carrying on and improving the ſame, as they ſhould judge moſt proper. In purſuance whereof, they built one Fort, at a Place called *Cormantine*, on the *Gold-coaſt*, and another in the River *Gambia*, on the *North-coaſt*; and theſe were the only Places of any Conſequence which the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of at the Reſtoration.

The States-general of the *United Provinces* obſerving, as we may imagine, the Meaſures taken in *England* for encouraging of a Trade to *Africa*, did alſo, about the Year 1621, erect and eſtabliſh a Company, which they called the *Weſt-India* Company; and, for their Encouragement, gave and granted unto them all the Lands and Countries which they could conquer, or gain Poſſeſſion of in *Africa*, from the *Tropic* of *Cancer* to the *Cape of Good Hope*; and in *America*, from the ſouthermoſt Part of *Newfoundland* to the *Streights* of *Magellan* and *La Maire*, on the Eaſt-ſide, and from thoſe Streights to the *Streights* of *Anian*, on the Weſt-ſide; with the whole and ſole Trade, and Liberty and Right of trading into and from all ſuch Lands and Countries; and alſo with Prohibition to all others their Subjects to trade to, or frequent them, or any of them, under the ſevereſt Penalties. Whereupon the ſaid Company applied themſelves to the making of divers great and important Conqueſts in *Brazil* and *Africa*: and ſuch Succeſs attended their Arms, eſpecially in *Africa*, that, in the Year 1637, they took the ſtrong Fortreſs of *St. George del Mina*, on the Gold-coaſt; and, in a Year or two more, all the other *Portugueſe* Forts and Settlements on the ſame Coaſt: All which Places were afterwards yielded to them by the Treaty of Truce and Navigation, concluded (anno 1641) between the Crown of *Portugal* and the *States*.

From this time, and in virtue of theſe Poſſeſſions, thus taken from and yielded by the *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company took upon themſelves to claim the ſole Right and Property in and to all the Lands and Countries in *Africa*, from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Lopez*, comprehending all the Gold-coaſt and *Whydah*, and ſundry other great and populous Countries on each Side of them. And, although the *Engliſh* had built a Fort at *Cormantine*, and ſettled Factories at ſundry other Places on the Gold-coaſt, before the *Dutch* had made the ſaid Conqueſts, and had, therefore, as good a Right and Title as themſelves to a free Trade at all Places on the ſame Coaſt, not in their actual Poſſeſſion or Occupation; yet, from this time forward, the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company always kept one or two Cruizers on the ſaid Coaſt, whoſe chief Buſineſs was to watch all ſuch *Engliſh* Ships as came to trade there, and to follow them from Place to Place, and either to lie between them and the Shore, and intercept their Trade with the Natives, or to frighten them off the Coaſt, and ruin their Voyages, or to ſeize and carry them to *St. George del Mina*; and this not only when ſuch Ships were found trading on the Gold-coaſt, and at Places near any of the ſaid *Dutch* Company's Forts and Settlements, but alſo at Places ſeveral hundreds of Miles diſtant from them.

King *Charles* II. ſoon after his Reſtoration, being made acquainted with the dangerous and precarious State and Condition to which the Trade of his Subjects in thoſe Parts was reduced; and having likewiſe received many Complaints touching the Interruptions given to, and Depredations committed upon, the Ships of this Nation, by the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company on the Coaſt of *Africa*, it became neceſſary to conſider not only of a proper Method for protecting and ſecuring the ſaid Trade for the future, but likewiſe how and in what manner Reparation might be obtained for ſuch Damages and Depredations.

For the firſt, it being now evident that the ſingle and ſeparate Endeavours of private *Engliſh* Merchants were by no means ſufficient to contend with the united Power and Intereſt of the ſaid *Dutch Weſt-India* Company in thoſe Parts of the World; and the *Engliſh* having found, by former Experience in the *Eaſt-Indies*, what little Streſs was to be laid on any Treaty that might be concluded between the two Nations in *Europe*, for the Security of ſuch a diſtant Branch of our Trade: The only Choice which his Majeſty had left for maintaining and defending the Right of his Subjects to a free and unmoleſted Trade in *Africa*, againſt the Pretenſions and Incroachments of ſuch a Rival, was to incorporate and unite ſuch of his own Subjects, as ſhould be willing to engage in the ſaid Trade, into one Body, and to give and grant unto them ſuch Powers, Privileges, and Encouragements, as the Circumſtances of the Trade at that time required; which was accordingly done by Letters Patents under the Great-ſeal of *England*, bearing Date the 10th Day of *January* 1662; and the ſaid united Body of *Engliſh* Merchants was called *The Company of Royal Adventurers of* England *trading into* Africa.

As to the ſecond, his Majeſty was pleaſed to cauſe a particular Account of the Damages complained of to be drawn up, and tranſmitted to his Envoy at the *Hague*, with Orders to demand and inſiſt upon full Reparation for the ſame. And, for the better protecting of the new Company, it was likewiſe judged neceſſary to fit out a Man of War to the Coaſt of *Africa*, under the Command of Capt. *Holmes*. But neither the one nor the other of theſe Steps had the deſired Effect: For in *Holland* the States ſtarted ſo many Difficulties, and made ſuch Delays, that no Satiſfaction could be obtained for any paſt Injuries. And as to Affairs in *Africa*, as ſoon as they had Advice that Capt. *Holmes* had by Aſſault taken, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a Fort near *Cape de Verde*, belonging to their *Weſt-India* Company, they made all imaginable Preparations to fit out a Squadron for the Coaſt of *Africa*, to retake the ſaid Fort by Force of Arms; notwithſtanding his Majeſty aſſured them, that he had given no Commiſſion or Order to Capt. *Holmes* for that Purpoſe, nor did know upon what Grounds he had proceeded to that Act of Hoſtility; that he expected him ſhortly at home, and that he would then proceed in a very ſtrict Examination of his Proceedings, and would cauſe exemplary Juſtice to be done, as well in redelivering the Fort, as in puniſhing the Perſon, if his Carriage and Demeanor deſerved it. Which having no better Succeſs than the former Meſſages, in relation to Reparation for about twenty Ships taken from his Subjects on the Coaſt of *Guinea*; and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador telling his Majeſty in plain Terms, That they had given Inſtructions to the Admiral of their Fleet, that was then going for *Guinea*, to take their Fort near *Cape Verde* by Force, and to take any *Engliſh* which had had a Hand in doing them Injury: His Majeſty then found himſelf under a Neceſſity of fitting out a ſtrong Squadron likewiſe for the ſame Parts, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*; which the States no ſooner had Notice of, but they altered their Language, and, for avoiding the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as they pretended, propoſed that the Fleets on either Side might be detained within the Harbours, and not ſuffered to put to Sea; and that ſome Expedients might be found out by Treaty for each other's Satiſfaction: But, in the mean time that they were making this plauſible Offer, they ſent ſecret Orders to their Fleet in the *Streights*, under the Command of *De Ruyter*, to make all poſſible Haſte to *Guinea*, to execute all thoſe Inſtructions, which they had given to their Fleet at home; which Orders he executed ſo rigorouſly, that he not only retook the Fort near *Cape de Verd*, and ſeized and confiſcated all the *Engliſh* Ships that he could meet with, but alſo, by the Aſſiſtance of the Natives of one of the adjacent Countries, who had been bribed by the *Dutch* General at *del Mina* for that Purpoſe, he attacked and took the *Engliſh* Fort at *Cormantine*, and put a *Dutch* Garriſon into the ſame.

Some time before this the Parliament had made an Enquiry into the Obſtructions and Incroachments of the *Hollanders* upon our Trade, and into the Loſſes which our Merchants had ſuſtained thereby; which they found to amount to the Value of 7 or 800,000 *l.* and thereupon both Houſes came to this Reſolution, *April* 21, 1664, That the Wrongs, Diſhonours, and Indignities done to his Majeſty, by the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, by invading his Rights in *India*, *Africa*, and elſewhere; and the Damages, Affronts, and Injuries done by them to our Merchants, were the greateſt Obſtructions of our foreign Trade; and that the ſame be humbly and ſpeedily preſented to his Majeſty, and that he be moſt humbly moved to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for Redreſs thereof, and all other of the like Nature, and for Prevention of the like in future; and that, in proſecution thereof, they would, with their Lives and Fortunes, aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all Oppoſitions whatſoever.

This Reſolution being preſented to his Majeſty the 27th of *April* 1664, he was thereupon pleaſed to renew his Inſtances with the *States* for the Satiſfaction ſo long demanded, with more Vigour than ever; inſomuch, that in an Audience of the 25th of *June* following, he told the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, That it was not to be ſuffered that the *Dutch Weſt India* Company, only by the means of a few Forts, and three or four Ships, ſhould pretend to render the Coaſts of *Africa* inacceſſible to all others, by blocking up the Havens againſt their Commerce, and keeping them off, and driving them from every Place. But the States turned a deaf Ear to all theſe Remonſtrances: The Loſſes of our Merchants amounted to too great a Sum to be eaſily reimburſed; and the Advantages of the Trade to *Africa*, could they have wholly engroſſed and ſecured the ſame to themſelves, were too great and important to be willingly parted with. And therefore, inſtead of ſhewing any Inclination to give the requiſite Satiſfaction on either of thoſe Heads, they choſe to renew their Attacks upon the *Engliſh* in *Africa* with more Reſolution than ever, under the Conduct of their Admiral *De Ruyter*, as aforeſaid. And on the other hand, the King having tried all other Methods in vain, found himſelf obliged, upon the firſt Notice of *De Ruyter*'s Proceedings in *Africa*, to comply with the Deſires of his Parliament, and with the Voice of his People; and accordingly, on the 22d Day of *February* 166$\frac{4}{5}$, his Majeſty declared War in Form againſt the *States-general* of the *United Provinces*.

Nothing is more evident, than that the chief View of the *Dutch* at this time, and for ſome Years before, had been to exclude the *Engliſh* entirely from the Trade to *Africa*, and to engroſs the ſame wholly to themſelves. And it is equally apparent, that the Value which they then ſet upon this Trade was ſuch, that, rather than conſent that the *Engliſh* ſhould enjoy a Share thereof peaceably and quietly, they made it their Choice to ſtand all the Hazards, and to bear all the Inconveniencies of a War with *England*. But, however, it ſo fell out, that the Event did not anſwer their Expectations: For, in ſpite of all the Efforts of the *Dutch*, the *Engliſh* Company kept their footing in *Africa*; and, by the third Article of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Breda*, Anno 1667, it was mutually agreed, that each Party ſhould keep and enjoy all ſuch Lands, Iſlands, Towns, Fortreſſes, Places, and Colonies, as during that War, or before, the one had by Force of Arms, or otherwiſe, taken from the other. And, in virtue of this Article, the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company kept Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Fort at *Cormantine*, and the Royal *African* Company kept Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle at *Cabo Corſo*, which they had (by the Aſſiſtance of Capt. *Holmes)* retaken from the *Dutch* before the War began, and to which they had an undoubted Right.

But the Stipulations in this Treaty, in favour of the ſaid *Engliſh* Company, were by no means ſufficient to enable them to bear up againſt the many Difficulties they had to ſtruggle with. They had found it extremely difficult to perſuade People to come in at firſt, and be concerned with them in ſo precarious and hazardous a Trade, by which means their Stock was much too ſmall for ſuch an Undertaking; they had been obliged to be at great Charges in *Africa*, and they had met with many ſevere Loſſes by Captures, and otherwiſe at Sea during the War; and, for want of a ſufficient Stock to begin with, they had contracted a large Debt at home; and, under theſe Circumſtances, they were ſo far from being able to carry on and improve their Trade, or to make any new Acquiſitions, that it was with the utmoſt Difficulty that they could keep and preſerve thoſe Places, which they had ſtill in their Poſſeſſion.

For extricating themſelves, therefore, out of theſe and the like Difficulties, as well as for opening a Way for others to undertake the Care, Management, and Improvement of ſo valuable a Trade with more Succeſs, they conſented and agreed, for and in Conſideration of a certain Sum of Money, which was to be paid unto them by another new Company, then intended to be eſtabliſhed, to ſurrender their Charter to the Crown, and to aſſign and transfer all their Eſtate, Property, Intereſts, and Effects in *Africa*, and elſewhere, unto the ſaid new Company.

His Majeſty likewiſe approving of this, as the moſt proper Expedient, as well for doing Juſtice to the Company of royal Adventurers, as for the better preſerving and enlarging the Trade to *Africa*, was thereupon pleaſed to accept of the ſaid Surrender; and by his Letters Patents under the Great-ſeal of *England*, bearing Date the 27th Day of *September* 1672, to eſtabliſh and incorporate the late royal *African* Company of *England*; and to give and grant unto them, all and ſingular, the Lands, Countries, Havens, Roads, Rivers, and other Places in *Africa*, from the Port of *Sallee* in *South Barbary*, to the *Cape of Good Hope*, for and during the Term of one thouſand Years; with the ſole, intire, and only Trade and Traffic into and from the ſaid Countries and Places, with prohibition to all others his Subjects, to viſit or frequent the ſame, without the Licence and Conſent of the ſaid Company; and alſo, with ſuch other Powers and Privileges, as were then judged proper and neceſſary, for enabling and encouraging them to undertake ſo hazardous and chargeable a Work.

Hereupon the new Company provided proper Books to take Subſcriptions in, and kept them open for near twelve Months, and invited all his Majeſty's Subjects that pleaſed to become Adventurers with them, and to ſubſcribe for what Sums they thought fit, towards raiſing a ſufficient Joint-ſtock for retrieving the ſaid Trade out of the dangerous and precarious Condition it was then in, and for the better ſecuring and enlarging the ſame for the future. But ſo backward and fearful were Merchants and others at this time to be concerned therein, that all the Subſcriptions they could get from all Parts of the Kingdom, amounted only to the Sum of 111,100 *l*.

With this Stock, however, ſmall as it was, this Company applied themſelves with all poſſible Vigour, to purſue the Ends of their Eſtabliſhment. At this time the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company were in Poſſeſſion of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *St. George del Mina*; and of the *Engliſh* Fort at *Cormantine*, then called Fort *Amſterdam*; and they had likewiſe another, called Fort *St. Anthony* at *Axim*; another, called Fort *St. Sebaſtian*, on the River *Chamah*; a fifth, called Fort *Naſſau*, at a Place called *Mouree*, about two Leagues to the Leeward of *Cape Coaſt*; a ſixth, called *Creveceur*, at *Acra*; and a ſeventh, called Fort *Conraadſburg*, at *St. Jago*, within Cannon-ſhot of *St. George del Mina*; all on the Gold-coaſt, and lying very commodious to ſuccour and aſſiſt one another in any Caſe of Need. The *Danes* were in Poſſeſſion of one ſmall, but impregnable Fort, (afterwards called Fort *Royal)* on the Top of a Hill, within Gun-ſhot of *Cape Coaſt*; and of another at *Acra*, to the Eaſtward of the *Dutch* Fort at the ſame Place. The Elector of *Brandenburg* (the late King of *Pruſſia)* had one good Fort, at *Cape Three Points*, and two ſmaller ones at ſome little Diſtance to the Eaſtward of the ſame: And the new *Engliſh* Company were in Poſſeſſion of one ſmall Fort at *Cabo Corſo*, that being the only Fort on this Coaſt, which the *Dutch* had not diſpoſſeſſed the former Company of during the late War.

The firſt thing, therefore, which this Company found moſt neceſſary to be done, was to endeavour, by all lawful Ways and Means, to ſtrengthen themſelves, as much as poſſible on this Coaſt, as other Nations, and eſpecially the *Dutch* had done before them. And, for this Purpoſe, they enlarged *Cape Coaſt* Caſtle, and made it ſix times larger, ſtronger, and more commodious than before; they built one Fort at *Acra*, another at *Dixcove*, a third at *Winnebah*, a fourth at *Succundee*, a fifth at *Commenda*, and rebuilt a ſixth at *Anamaboe*, all on the Gold-coaſt, and three of them within Muſket-ſhot of *Dutch* Forts; and they likewiſe purchaſed *Frederickſburg*, now Fort *Royal*, of the *Danes*, without which *Cape Coaſt* Caſtle could not be ſafe; and they alſo built another Fort from the Ground at *Whydah*, for the Security of the Negro-trade at that Place.

And, although in the Proſecution of theſe Works, the ſaid Company met with all poſſible Oppoſition from the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company on the Gold-coaſt, which often broke out into open Hoſtilities, and many times ended not without Bloodſhed on both Sides; and the Company were put to an incredible Charge and Expence in purchaſing the Conſent and Aſſiſtance of the Natives, for making ſuch Settlements, as well as for tranſporting, from time to time, the neceſſary Supplies of Soldiers, Artificers, Proviſions, and all other Neceſſaries and Materials from *England* for ſuch Buildings; all which were rendered ſtill more difficult, chargeable, and hazardous, by the long War which enſued with *France*: Yet, nevertheleſs, the ſaid Company never ceaſed their Care and Endeavours, till they had completely finiſhed their ſaid Undertakings, and thereby put the *Engliſh* Intereſt on this Part of the Coaſt of *Africa* on an equal Foot with the *Dutch*, and much ſuperior to that of any other Nation whatſoever. All which they effected during the ſhort time that they were permitted to enjoy the Privileges granted them by their Charter.

On the North Coaſt, where it was natural to think the Company ſhould have met with leſs Oppoſition, and more Succeſs, Matters did not ſucceed altogether to their Wiſhes. The *Dutch Weſt-India* Company were in Poſſeſſion of the Forts of *Arguin* and *Goree*; the *French Senegal* Company (which was eſtabliſhed anno 1673) were in Poſſeſſion of a ſmall Fort on an Iſland within the Bar, in the River *Senegal*; and the Royal *African* Company of *England* had one ſmall Fort in the River *Gambia*, and another Settlement in the River *Sierra Leon*. In this Situation Affairs continued till about the Year 1677; and the Companies of each Nation traded freely to all Places on the open Coaſt (not in the actual Poſſeſſion of any of the others) frome *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Mount*.

In the Years 1677 and 1678, the *French* took the *Dutch* Forts on the Iſlands of *Arguin* and *Goree*, which ſoon after were yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Nimenguen*. And, in the Year 1685, the *French* King, judging the Grant to the *Senegal* Company, which extended from *Cape Blanco* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, too large, reſtrained that Company to that part of the Coaſt, which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the River *Sierra Leon*; and erected another Company, which was called the *Guinea* Company, and gave and granted unto them the ſole Trade to, and from all that part of the Coaſt which extends from the River *Sierra Leon* to the *Cape of Good Hope*. And from this time the *French* Trade to *Africa* was managed and carried on by thoſe two diſtinct Companies.

The laſt of theſe Companies made no great Progreſs in their Trade till about the Year 1702, that the *French* King gave them the Contract, which he had made with *Spain*, for introducing a certain Number of Negroes yearly into the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. But that Contract being afterwards transferred to *Great-Britain*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the ſaid Company was ſoon after aboliſhed, and the Trade to *Africa*, within their Limits, laid open to all the Subjects of *France*; in which Condition it continued from the Year 1716 to 1720, and no longer.

As for the *Senegal* Company, they were ſcarcely warm in their new Poſſeſſions, before they ſet up a Claim to all that part of the Coaſt, which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the River *Gambia*, comprehending above 500 Miles in Length. In the Year 1681, they would fain have hindered the *Royal African Company of England*'s Ships from trading all along that Coaſt: But, not being as yet in a Condition to conteſt that Point with them, they dropped their Pretenſions againſt them for that time. In the Years 1683, 1684, and 1685, they ſeized and confiſcated ſeveral Ships belonging to the *Portugueſe*, *Dutch*, and *Pruſſians*. And, in the laſt of thoſe Years, they renewed their Claim againſt the *Royal African Company*; from which time they continued to give them frequent Interruptions in their Trade, till at laſt a War broke out between the two Nations; which, together with the Difficulties the Company fell under at home ſoon after, put it in a manner wholly out of their Power to aſſert and maintain their own and their Country's Rights againſt ſuch Incroachments, as otherwiſe they might and would undoubtedly have done.

The Loſſes and Damages which the Company ſuſtained, during the Courſe of the War, were more and greater than can be eaſily imagined. But one of the chiefeſt was the Loſs of their Fort in the River *Gambia*, anno 1695, which, by the Negligence of their Servants, making no Defence, was taken and plundered by a Squadron of *French* Men of War, and all the Fortifications demoliſhed and razed to the Ground. And, as a farther Addition to this Misfortune, when the Company came to take Poſſeſſion thereof again, after the Peace, they found the *French* ſettled in the River, and claiming an equal Share of the Trade thereof with themſelves.

In the Year 1697, the Parliament, having taken the Trade to *Africa* into their Conſideration, thought fit, as a further Means of inlarging and improving the ſame, to lay the Trade open to all his Majeſty's Subjects for 13 Years, and from thence to the End of the next Seſſion of Parliament; and, in regard that the *Royal African Company of England* had been at the Charge of building and maintaining a conſiderable Number of Forts and Caſtles on the ſaid Coaſt, which the Parliament likewiſe judged neceſſary to be kept up and maintained in future, for the Preſervation, and better carrying on the ſaid Trade, they were further pleaſed to impoſe a Duty of 10 *per Cent, ad valorem*, on all Goods and Merchandiſe exported to *Africa*, during the ſaid Term, to be anſwered and paid to the ſaid Company for enabling them to keep and maintain their ſaid Forts and Caſtles.

This Act continued in Force from the 24th of *June*, 1691, to the 24th of *June*, 1712; in which time the Charges which the Company were at in maintaining their ſaid Forts and Caſtles amounted, at a Medium, to about 20,000 *l.* *per Annum*; and, in 14 Years, to 280,000 *l.* in the whole. The Duty which the ſeparate Traders paid in the ſame time amounted, in the whole, to 73,785 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, and no more; and 10 *per Cent.* upon the Company's own Exports for the ſame time, amounted to the Sum of 36,387 *l.* 13 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. From whence it appears, that, even while that Act continued in Force, the Total of the 10 *per Cent.* Duty came very much ſhort of half the Charges and Expences which the Company were at in keeping and maintaining their ſaid Forts and Caſtles.

Since the Expiration of this Act, in 1712, to this Day, all others his Majeſty's Subjects have traded as freely and openly to all Parts of *Africa*, as they did or might do under the Authority of the ſaid Act; and the ſaid Company did, at their own Coſt and Charge, bear and defray the Charges and Expences of keeping and maintaining their ſaid Forts and Caſtles, which, at a very moderate Computation, has been repreſented, by the ſaid late *Royal African Company*, to amount to above 250,000 *l.* By which Means, and by the extravagant Riſe in the Prices of Negroes at *Anamaboe*, and other Places on the Coaſt, and by the Decay of the Gold-trade, which enſued thereupon, the Proprietors of the Company were, for many Years paſt, obliged either to raiſe ſundry great Sums of Money for keeping and maintaining their ſaid Forts and Caſtles, without receiving any Profit from the Trade in return for the ſame; or to run the Riſque not only of loſing all the Money which they had from time to time raiſed and expended for ſupporting their own Property, but of becoming Acceſſaries to the intire Loſs of the Trade to *Africa*, and, conſequently, by relinquiſhing and abandoning their ſaid Forts and Caſtles, to be ſeized and poſſeſſed by ſuch foreign Nations as were long watching for an Opportunity to get them into their Hands.

This being the Caſe with regard to the Company, and it being the Senſe of the Nation, that the Trade to *Africa* ſhould continue *free* and *open* to *all* his Majeſty's Subjects, the only thing that remained to be conſidered was, whether, or no, Forts and Caſtles were neceſſary to be kept up and maintained for the Preſervation of the ſaid Trade to this Kingdom? And, if they were neceſſary to be kept up and maintained for that Purpoſe, who, upon the Foot of an open Trade, ought in Juſtice and Reaſon to bear and Defray the Charges of them?

That it is abſolutely neceſſary that Forts and Caſtles ſhould be kept up and maintained in *Africa*, was urged from theſe Conſiderations.

For 250 Years paſt, it has been the conſtant Policy of all ſuch *European* Nations as have been ſo fortunate as to make any new Diſcoveries, and to gain any eſtabliſhed Power and Authority in remote and barbarous Countries, to build and maintain Forts and Caſtles; and, in virtue of ſuch Poſſeſſions, to claim a Right to whole Kingdoms, and to Tracts of Land of a vaſt Extent, and to exclude all other Nations from trading in, to, or from them.

By this Method the *Portugueſe* long enjoyed the whole Trade to *Africa* and to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

By the like Meaſures the *Spaniards*, for many Years, claimed and engroſſed almoſt the whole Continent of *America*, and moſt of the Iſlands adjacent thereto, to themſelves.

By this Method the *Hollanders* have rendered themſelves abſolute Maſters of all thoſe Iſlands in the Eaſt which produce Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace; and from them ſupply the whole World with thoſe Commodities, by ſuch Quantities, and at ſuch Prices, as they think fit.

By this Method the ſame People, for ſome time before and after the Year 1660, attempted to gain the whole and intire Poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable Parts of the Coaſt of *Africa*, and to exclude this Nation from any Part, Share, or Intereſt therein; and thereby brought upon themſelves a War with this Kingdom in 1664.

Before the *Royal African Company* had built a ſufficient Number of Forts and Caſtles on the Gold-coaſt, the *Dutch* interrupted our Trade, and ſeized and confiſcated our Ships on the ſaid Coaſt, and within its Dependencies; which, as they pretend, extend from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Lopez*, and contains a Tract of Land of above 1200 Miles. Since the *Royal African Company* have built and maintained a ſufficient Number of Forts and Caſtles on the Gold-coaſt, the ſaid Company, and all other *Britiſh* Ships and Veſſels, have traded freely to the ſaid Coaſt, and to all Places dependent thereon, without the leaſt Interruption or Moleſtation from the *Dutch*, or any other Nation.

Before the *French* got Poſſeſſion of the Forts in the River *Senegal*, and on the Iſlands of *Arguin* and *Goree*, on the North Coaſt, the *Engliſh* traded freely and openly to all Places on the ſaid Coaſt, without any Lett or Moleſtation. Since the *French* have been in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Forts, they have not only taken upon themſelves to exclude the *Britiſh* Nation from thoſe Parts, and do now actually take and confiſcate all ſuch *Britiſh* Ships and Veſſels as venture to go thither; but they come freely and uninterruptedly to trade within our *African* Company's Rights and Privileges, and traffic under the very Noſe of our Forts and Cannon.

In thoſe Places where the *Royal African Company* have Forts, as in the River *Gambia*, the *Britiſh* ſeparate Traders trade freely with the Natives. In thoſe Places where other Nations have Forts and Caſtles, and the *Royal African Company* have none, there all *Britiſh* private Traders are either abſolutely denied the Liberty of trading, or their Ships are actually taken and confiſcated.

Since Forts and Caſtles on the Coaſt of *Africa* are abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of that Trade to this Kingdom, and ſince it has been free and open to all his Majeſty's Subjects, it was but juſt and equitable that the Public ſhould have ſupported thoſe Forts and Settlements.

While the Company enjoyed the whole and ſole Trade to *Africa*, they purchaſed, built, and maintained their ſaid Forts and Caſtles at their own ſole Coſt and Charge, and thereby acquired an undoubted Right and Property in and to them. The Charges of keeping them from the Year 1672 to the Year 1698, was not leſs, according to the Company's Accounts, than 15,000*l. per Annum*, which, in 26 Years, amounts to the Sum of 390,000*l.* The Charges for the next 14 Years, *viz.* from 1698 to 1712, at 20,000*l. per Annum*, deducting the Amount of the Duty which the ſeparate Traders paid in the ſame Time, came to about 206,000*l.* And the Charges which the Company were at on the ſame Account, for the ſucceeding 17 Years, reckoning but 15,000*l. per Annum*, comes to 255,000*l.* which three Sums make together the Sum of 851,000*l.* And ſo much, at leaſt, the Company repreſented that they had expended in keeping and maintaining their ſaid Forts and Caſtles ſince the Commencement of their Charter; and that, excluſive of many other neceſſary Articles of Expence, which might be brought in, if they had a mind to ſwell the Account. Now, although the Company did willingly and chearfully bear the Expence of the firſt Period, becauſe nothing had been done by public Authority in all that Time to deprive them of any of their Privileges; although they continued to keep and ſupport their ſaid Forts and Caſtles for the next ſucceeding 14 Years, in hopes that the Duty of 10 *per Cent.* upon their own and the ſeparate Traders Exports to *Africa* would have fully defrayed that Charge, as the Parliament undoubtedly intended it ſhould; and although the Company, for the Preſervation of their own Property, as well as for the Protection of the Trade, continued to keep up and maintain their Forts and Caſtles for 17 Years after, at their own ſole Coſt and Charge; whereby they expended in the Service of their Country above 250,000*l.* yet, while the Trade to *Africa* remained free and open to all others his Majeſty's Subjects, there was no Reaſon why the Company ſhould be obliged to keep and maintain the ſaid Forts and Caſtles at their own ſole Coſt and Charge.

Accordingly, in the Year 1730, the Company petitioned the Parliament, and they obtained 10,000*l.* to enable them to ſupport their Forts and Settlements; which Sum was annually continued to them, except two or three Years Interruption, till the laſt Change made in the State of this Company, by an Act of Parliament made in the Year 1751, intitled,

“ An Act for the Application of a Sum of Money
“ therein mentioned, granted to his Majeſty, for making
“ Compenſation and Satisfaction to the *Royal African Company of England*, for their Charter, Lands, Forts, Caſtles,
“ Slaves, Military-ſtores, and all other their Effects whatſoever; and to veſt their Lands, Forts, Caſtles, Slaves,
“ and Military ſtores, and all other their Effects, in the
“ Company of Merchants trading to *Africa*, and for other
“ Purpoſes in the Act mentioned.”

By this Act the ſaid Company were diveſted of their Charter, and, after the 10th of *April* 1752, ceaſed to be a Corporation, and their Forts, Caſtles, and all other their Poſſeſſions in *Africa*, are veſted in the *New Company of Merchants trading to Africa*; and, in conſequence of the Trade to *Africa* being, by virtue of the ſaid Act, and that alſo of the 23d of *Geo.* II, made free and open to all his Majeſty's Subjects, the Parliament allows the ſaid Company 10,000*l. per Annum*, for the Support of the Forts and Caſtles for the public Service.

This is a brief and faithful Hiſtory of the Beginning and End of the *African* Corporation.

The EXPORTS *from* England *to* Africa.

Annabaſſes, Arrangos, Rough-amber, Braſs of all Sorts; Blanckets, Bays, Bells, Amber-beads, Cryſtal beads, Coral-beads, all other Beads, Broad-cloth, Boyſadoes; Carpets, Camblets, Copper of all Sorts, Coral, Cotton-ſtuffs of many Sorts; Worſted-damaſks, Druggets, Durois; Earthern-ware; Fringe, Flints, Fire-ſteels, Fuzees, Muſkets, Carbines, Blunderbuſſes, Buccaneers, Fowling-pieces, Trading-guns, Piſtols, Gun-powder. Goods from the *Eaſt-Indies*, *viz.* Atlaſſes, Atchabannies, Allejars, Allibahnies; Brawls, Bafts, Bejutepauts, *Bombay*-ſtuffs; Callicoes, Carridarries, Cherconnies, Chelloes, Chillas, Chints, Coopees, Cowries, Chucklaes, Cuſhlaes, Cuttanees; Elatches; Ginghams, *Guinea*-cloths; Jamewares; Long-cloths, Longees, Herba-longees, Silk or Phota-longees, Lemannes; Muſlins; Negannepauts, Nillaes, Niconees; Pintadoes, Photahs, Poizees; Romalls; Salampores, Sattins, Seerſuckers; Tapſeels, Taſfaties-herba, Taffaties-ſilk, Tepoy's, Souſees, and many other Silks and Callicoes. Fine-hats, Felt-hats, Handkerchiefs, Hollands; Iron-bars, Wrought-iron, Knives, Lead-bars, and Lead-ſhot. Liquors, *viz.* Arrack, Brandy, Beer, Rum, Malt-ſpirits, Wine. Long-ells, Looking-glaſſes; Medicines; Paper, Padlocks, Pewter, Perpetuanoes, or Ranters. Proviſions, *viz.* Beef, Bread, Butter, Cheeſe, Flour, Pork, Suet, Vinegar, Oil, Sugar, Raiſins, Spices, Tobacco. Shalloons, *Sileſia*-linen, and all other *German*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*-linens, Sealing-wax, Swords of all Sorts, Hangers, Scymetars, Cutlaſſes, Soap, Slops, Tallow. Trimming, as Lace, Buttons, Gold and Silver-thread, Mohair-buttons, Silk, Thread. Ticking, Striped hollands and Striped-linens, Welch-plains. Coats, Waiſtcoats, Breeches-drawers, Shirts, Shoes, Slippers, Stockings, Perukes, Wool-cards, all coarſe Woollen-cloths, *&c. &c. &c.*

The IMPORTS *from* Africa *to* England.

Gold, Bees-wax, Elephants-teeth, Gums of various Sorts, Cotton-wool, divers Dyeing-woods, and Negroes, or Labourers, for the Plantations, *&c.*

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Captain* RICHARD CHANCELLOR.

This eminent Navigator is found on board the Ship *Amber*, under the Command of Captain *Bodenham*[a]. His Experience and Capacity in Sea-affairs gained him the Reputation of an eminent Seaman, and particularly recommended him to the Favour of *Sebaſtian Cabot*; who, by the Recommendation hereafter mention'd, join'd him with Sir *Hugh Willoughby* in the Service of the Company, lately erected for the Diſcovery of new Lands. The Voyage was undertaken by a Subſcription of ſix thouſand Pounds in Shares of 25*l.* each; and with three Ships, *viz.* the Admiral Ship[b] of 120 Tons, commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*; another[c] of 160 Tons, commanded by *Richard Chancellor*, with the Character of *Pilot-major*; and one of 90 Tons[d]. Each of theſe Ships had a Pinnace and a Boat; and the Seamen were ſubjected to the Directions already recited in the Life of *Sebaſtian Cabot*[e].

“ I wote not, ſays my Author, whether I may more admire the Care of the Merchants, or the Diligence of the Shipwrights; for the Merchants they get very ſtrong and well-ſeaſoned Planks for the Building, the Shipwrights they with daily Travail and their greateſt Skill do fit them for the Diſpatch of the Ships; they caulk them, pitch them, and among the reſt, they make one moſt ſtanch and firm, by an excellent and ingenious Invention. For they had heard that in certain Parts of the Ocean, a kind of Worms is bred, which many times pierceth and eateth through the ſtrongeſt Oak that is; and therefore that the Mariners and the reſt to be employed in this Voyage might be free and ſafe from this Danger, they cover a Piece of the Keel of the Ship with thin Sheets of Lead; and having thus built the Ships, and furniſhed them with Armour and Artillery, then followed a ſecond Care no leſs troubleſome and neceſſary than the former, namely, the Proviſion of Victuals, which was to be made according to the Time and Length of the Voyage. And whereas they afore determined to have the Eaſt-part of the World ſailed unto, and yet that the Sea towards the ſame was not open, except they kept the Northern-tract, whereas yet it was doubtful whether there were any Paſſage yea or no, they reſolved to victual the Ships for eighteen Months, which they did for this Reaſon: For our Men being to paſs that huge and cold Part of the World, they wiſely foreſeeing it, allow them ſix Months Victual to ſail to the Place, ſo much more to remain there if the Extremity of the Winter hindered their Return, and ſo much more alſo for the time of their coming home.

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[a] Page 176.

[b] See Page 174.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid.

[e] See Page 172.

Now this Proviſion being made and carried on board, with Armour and Munition of all Sorts, ſufficient Captains and Governors of ſo great an Enterpriſe were as yet wanting; to which Office and Place, although many Men (and ſome void of Experience) offered themſelves, yet one Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, a moſt valiant Gentleman, and well born, very earneſtly requeſted to have that Care and Charge committed unto him; of whom before all others, both by Reaſon of his goodly Perſonage (for he was of a tall Stature) as alſo for his ſingular Skill in the Services of War, the Company of the Merchants made greateſt Accompt; ſo that at the laſt they concluded and made Choice of him for the General of this Voyage, and appointed him to be the Admiral, with Authority and Command over all the reſt. And for the Government of other Ships, although divers Men ſeemed willing, and made Offers of themſelves thereunto, yet by a common Conſent *Richard Chancellor*, a Man of great Eſtimation for many good Parts of Wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great Hope for the Performance of this Buſineſs reſted. This Man was brought up by one Mr. *Henry Sidney*, a noble young Gentleman, and very much beloved of King *Edward*; who at this Time coming to the Place where the Merchants were gathered together, began a very eloquent Speech or Oration, and ſpake to them after this Manner following:"

"My very worſhipful Friends, I cannot but greatly commend your preſent godly and virtuous Intention, in the ſerious Enterpriſing (for the ſingular Love you bear to your Country) a Matter, which (I hope) will prove profitable for this Nation, and honourable to this our Land: Which Intention of yours, we alſo of the Nobility are ready to our Power to help and further; neither do we hold any thing ſo dear and precious unto us, which we will not willingly forego, and lay out in ſo commendable a Cauſe. But principally I rejoice in myſelf, that I have nouriſhed and maintained that Wit, which is like by ſome Means, and in ſome Meaſure, to profit and ſtead you in this worthy Action. But yet I would not have you ignorant of this one thing, that I do now part with *Chancellor*, not becauſe I make little Reckoning of the Man, or that his Maintenance is burdenous and chargeable unto me, but that you might conceive and underſtand my good Will and Promptitude for the Furtherance of this Buſineſs, and that the Authority and Eſtimation which he deſerveth may be given him. You know the Man by Report, I by Experience; you by Words, I by Deeds; you by Speech and Company, but I by the daily Trial of his Life have a full and perfect Knowledge of him. And you are alſo to remember, into how many Perils for your Sakes, and his Country's Love, he is now to run; whereof it is requiſite that we be not unmindful, if it pleaſe God to ſend him good Succeſs. We commit a little Money to the Chance and Hazard of Fortune; he commits his Life (a thing to a Man of all things moſt dear) to the raging Sea, and the Uncertainties of many Dangers. We ſhall here live and reſt at home quietly with our Friends and Acquaintance; but he in the mean Time labouring to keep the ignorant and unruly Mariners in good Order and Obedience, with how many Cares ſhall he trouble and vex himſelf? with how many Troubles ſhall he break himſelf? and how many Diſquietings ſhall he be forced to ſuſtain? We ſhall keep our own Coaſts and Country; he ſhall ſeek ſtrange and unknown Kingdoms. He ſhall commit his Safety to barbarous and cruel People; and ſhall hazard his Life amongſt the monſtrous and terrible Beaſts of the Sea. Wherefore in reſpect of the Greatneſs of the Dangers, and the Excellency of his Charge, you are to favour and love the Man thus departing from us; and if it fall ſo happily out that he return again, it is your Part and Duty alſo, liberally to reward him."

This petty Squadron weigh'd Anchor and departed from *Ratcliffe*, in the Pariſh of *Stepney* near *London*, on the 10th of *May* 1553, and kept Company till the third of *Auguſt*; when in a violent Storm of Wind, and thick foggy Weather, Captain *Chancellor* ſeparated from the other two at the Entrance of the Harbour of *Wardhouſe*, near the North Cape on the Coaſt of *Finmarke*.

By this Incident Captain *Chancellor* was driven to a new Diſcovery; for though he according to Agreement recover'd and ſtaid ſeven Days in the Port of *Wardhouſe*, not finding his Admiral according to Appointment, proceeded upon the Diſcoveries intended, notwithſtanding the great Diſcouragements he met with from certain *Scotchmen* in thoſe Parts of *Norway*, who amplify'd the Dangers of thoſe Seas, into which no Ship from the South had yet dar'd to adventure.

Chancellor reſolved either to execute his Inſtructions to the Liking of his Maſter-adventurers, or to die in the Attempt; and being ſo well beloved by his Men, that they determined to commit their Service implicitly to his Conduct, weigh'd Anchor and left the Coaſt of *Norway*, towards that unknown Part of the World, and ſailed ſo far, that he came at laſt to the Place where he found no Night at all, but a continual Light and Brightneſs of the Sun ſhining clearly upon the huge and mighty Sea. And having the Benefit of this perpetual Light for certain Days, at length it pleaſed God to bring them into a certain great Bay, which was of one hundred Miles or thereabout over; whereinto they enter'd, and ſomewhat far within it caſt Anchor; and looking every way about them, it happened that they eſpied a far off a certain Fiſher-boat, which Captain *Chancellor*, accompanied with a few of his Men, went towards to diſcourſe with the Fiſhermen that were in it, and to know of them what Country it was, and what People, and of what Manner of Living they were; but they being amazed with the ſtrange Greatneſs of his Ship (for in thoſe Parts before that Time they had never ſeen the like) began preſently to avoid and to flee; but he ſtill following them, at laſt overtook them, and being come to them, they (being in great Fear, as men half dead) proſtrated themſelves before him, offering to kiſs his Feet; but he (according to his great and ſingular Courteſy) looked pleaſantly upon them, comforting them by Signs and Geſtures, refuſing thoſe Duties and Reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving Sort from the Ground. And it is ſtrange to conſider how much Favour afterwards in that Place, this Humanity of his did purchaſe to himſelf. For they being diſmiſſed, ſpread by and by a Report abroad of the Arrival of a ſtrange Nation, of a ſingular Gentleneſs and Courteſy; whereupon the common People came together offering to theſe new-come Gueſts Victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffick with them, except they had been bound by a certain religious Uſe and Cuſtom, not to buy any foreign Commodities, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the King, who was *Juan Vaſiliwich*; the Name of the Country they learned was *Muſcovy* or *Ruſſia*; and the Port where they came to Anchor was *Archangel*, 1500 Miles from the Capital.

After ſome Stay, the Arrival of theſe Strangers being notified to the King, Captain *Chanceller* was invited, and conducted ſafely on a Sledge to *Moſcow*, the Place of the King's Reſidence. But could not obtain Audience of his Majeſty for twelve Days; which was at laſt granted, and admitted in this Form, as related by the Captain himſelf.

"Now to declare my coming before his Majeſty. After I had remained twelve Days, the Secretary, which hath the hearing of Strangers, did ſend for me, advertiſing me that the Duke's Pleaſure was to have me to come before his Majeſty, with the King my Maſter's Letters; whereof I was right glad, and ſo I gave mine Attendance. And when the Duke was in his Place appointed, the Interpreter came for me into the outer Chamber, where ſat one hundred or more Gentlemen, all in Cloth of Gold very ſumptuous, and from thence I came into the Council-chamber, where ſat the Duke himſelf with his Nobles, which were a fair Company. They ſat round about the Chamber on high, yet ſo that he himſelf ſat much higher than any of his Nobles in a Chair gilt, and in a long Garment of beaten Gold, with an imperial Crown upon his Head, and a Staff of Cryſtal and Gold in his Right-hand, and his other Hand half leaning o his Chair. The Chancellor ſtood up with the Secretary before the Duke. After my Duty done, and my Letter delivered, he bad me welcome, and enquired of me the Health of the King my Maſter; and I anſwered that he was in good Health at my Departure from his Court, and that my Truſt was that he was now in the ſame. Upon which he bad me to Dinner. The Chancellor preſented my Preſent unto his Grace bare-headed (for before they were all covered) and when his Grace had received my Letter, I was required to depart; for I had Charge not to ſpeak to the Duke, but when he ſpake to me. So I departed unto the Secretary's Chamber, where I remained two Hours, and then I was ſent for again unto another Palace, which is called the golden Palace; but I ſaw no cauſe why it ſhould be called ſo, for I have ſeen many fairer than it in all Points; and ſo I came into the Hall, which was ſmall, and not great as is the King's Majeſty's of *England*; and the Table was covered with a Table-cloth, and the Marſhal ſat at the End of the Table with a little white Rod in his Hand, which Board was full of Veſſels of Gold; and on the other Side of the Hall did ſtand a fair Cupboard of Plate. From thence I came into the Dining-chamber, where the Duke himſelf ſat at his Table without Cloth of Eſtate, in a Gown of Silver, with a Crown imperial upon his Head; he ſat in a Chair ſomewhat high; there ſat none near him by a great way. There were long Tables ſet round about the Chamber, which were full ſet with ſuch as the Duke had at Dinner; they were all in white. Alſo the Places where the Tables ſtood were higher by two Steps than the reſt of the Houſe. In the midſt of the Chamber ſtood a Table or Cupboard to ſet Plate on, which ſtood full of Cups of Gold; and amongſt all the reſt there ſtood four marvellous great Pots or Crudences as they call them, of Gold and Silver; I think they were a gond Yard and a half high. By the Cupboard ſtood two Gentlemen with Napkins on their Shoulders, and in their Hands each of them had a Cup of Gold ſet with Pearls and precious Stones, which were the Duke's own drinking Cups; when he was diſpoſed, he drunk them off at a Draught. And for his Service at Meat it came in without Order, yet it was very rich Service; for all were ſerved in Gold, not only he himſelf, but alſo all the reſt of us, and it was very maſſy; the Cups alſo were of Gold and very maſſy. The Number that dined there that Day was two hundred Perſons, and all were ſerved in golden Veſſels. The Gentlemen that waited were all in Cloth of Gold, and they ſerved him with their Caps on their Heads. Before the Service came in, the Duke ſent to every Man a great Shiver of Bread, and the Bearer called the Party ſo ſent to by his Name aloud, and ſaid, *John Vaſilivich* Emperor of *Ruſſia* and Great Duke of *Moſcovia* doth reward thee with Bread; then muſt all Men ſtand up, and do at all times when thoſe Words are ſpoken. And then laſt of all he giveth the Marſhal Bread, whereof he eateth before the Duke's Grace, and ſo doth Reverence, and departeth. Then cometh the Duke's Service of the Swans all in Pieces, and every one in a ſeveral Diſh; the which the Duke ſendeth as he did the Bread, and the Bearer ſaith the ſame Words as he ſaid before. And as I ſaid before, the Service of his Meat is in no Order, but cometh in Diſh by Diſh; and then after that the Duke ſendeth Drink, with the like Saying as before is told. Alſo before Dinner he changed his Crown, and in Dinner-time two Crowns; ſo that I ſaw three ſeveral Crowns upon his Head in one Day. And thus when his Service was all come in, he gave to every one of his Gentlemen-waiters Meat with his own Hand, and ſo likewiſe Drink. His Intent thereby is, as I have heard, that every Man ſhall know perfectly his Servants. Thus when Dinner is done, he calleth his Nobles before him Name by Name, that it is wonder to hear how he could name them, having ſo many as he hath. Thus when Dinner was done I departed to my Lodging, which was an Hour within Night."

Tho' *England* had no Commerce with this vaſt Northern Empire, it was evident from the following Circumſtance, that the *Muſcovites* were well known to the *Flemings*; as it is certain from the foregoing Account of their Riches at Court, that they were well acquainted with the Treaſures and Merchandiſe of *China* and *Perſia*. For during the Stay of Captain *Chancellor* at *Moſcow*, the *Flemings*, who had forfeited their Privileges which they enjoyed in ancient Times, by their deceitful Traffic, and were now ſoliciting their Reſtoration to his Majeſty's Favour, without Succeſs, endeavoured to prevent the Settlement of the *Engliſh* Traders in thoſe Parts, by accuſing them as Pirates and Diſturbers of the common Peace of all Nations upon the Seas. This Oppoſition threw the Captain into great Fear for his Safety; the *Ruſſians* at that time being ſcarce a Degree above the Nature of Brutes, and very jealous of Strangers. But their Sovereign paid more Regard to the King of *England's* Letter [a], than to the *Flemiſh* Calumny; and diſmiſſed the Navigators with Aſſurances of Friendſhip, and Permiſſion to trade with his People: as more expreſsly appears by the following Letter, which the ſaid King, who ſtiled himſelf Duke of *Muſcovy* and Emperor of *Ruſſia*, ſent by Captain *Chancellor*, to King *Edward* VI.

"The Almighty Power of God, and the incomprehenſible Holy Trinity, rightful Chriſtian Belief, *&c.* We great Duke *Juan Vaſiliwich* [b], by the Grace of God great Lord and Emperor of all *Ruſſia*, great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Moſco*, and *Novogrod*, King of *Kazan*, King of *Aſtracan*, Lord of *Pleſko*, and Great Duke of *Smolenſko*, of *Twerria*, *Jougboria*, *Permia*, *Vadſka*, *Bulghoria*, and others, Lord and Great Duke of *Novogrod* in the Low-country, of *Chernigo*, *Rezan*, *Polotſkoy*, *Roſtoue*, *Yaruſlaveley*, *Bealozera*, *Liefland*, *Oudoria*, *Obdoria*, and *Condenſa*, Commander of all *Siberia*, and of the North Parts, and Lord of many other Countries, Greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of Honour *Edward* King of *England*, &c. according to our moſt hearty and good Zeal, with good Intent and friendly Deſire, and according to our holy Chriſtian Faith, and great Governance, and being in the Light of great Underſtanding, our Anſwer by this our honourable Writing unto your kingly Governance, at the Requeſt of your faithful Servant *Richard Chancellor*, with his Company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know, is this. In the Strength of the twentieth Year of our Governance, be it known, that at our Sea-coaſts arrived a Ship, with one *Richard*, and his Company, and ſaid, that he was deſirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his Requeſt, hath ſeen our Majeſty, and our Eyes [c]; and hath declared unto us your Majeſty's Deſire, as that we ſhould grant unto your Subjects, to go and come, and in our Dominions, and among our Subjects, to frequent free Marts, with all ſorts of Merchandiſes, and upon the ſame to have Wares for their return. And they have alſo delivered us your Letters, which declare the ſame Requeſt. And hereupon we have given Order, that whereſoever your faithful Servant *Hugh Willoughby* land or touch in our Dominions, to be well entertained, who as yet is not arrived, as your Servant *Richard* can declare.

"And we with Chriſtian Belief and Faithfulneſs, and according to your honourable Requeſt, and my honourable Commandment will not leave it undone; and are furthermore willing that you ſend unto us your Ships and

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[a] See this Letter on Page 176.

[b] Juan Vaſiliwich, that is to ſay, John the Son of Baſilius.

[c] That is, come into our Preſence.

"Veſſels, when and as often as they may have Paſſage, with good Aſſurance on our Part to ſee them harmleſs. And if you ſend one of your Majeſty's Counſel to treat with us whereby your Country Merchants may with all kinds of Wares, and where they will make their Market in our Dominions, they ſhall have their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions with all kind of Wares to come and go at their Pleaſure, without any Lett, Damage, or Impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word, and our Seal, which we have commanded to be under ſealed. Written in our Dominion, in our City and our Palace in the Caſtle of *Moſco*, in the Year 7060, the ſecond Month of *February*."

This Letter was written in the *Muſcovian* Tongue, in Letters much like to the *Greek* Letters, very fair written in Paper, with a Broad-ſeal hanging at the ſame, ſealed in Paper upon Wax. This Seal was much like the Broad-ſeal of *England*, having on the one Side the Image of a Man on Horſe-back in complete Harneſs fighting with a Dragon. Under this Letter was another Paper written in the *Dutch* Tongue, which was the Interpretation of the other written in the *Moſcovian* Letters. Theſe Letters were ſent the next Year after the Date of King *Edward*'s Letters, 1554[a].

The Succeſs of this Voyage was the Eſtabliſhment of the *Ruſſia* Company, which was incorporated in the 2d Year of *Philip* and *Mary*, and confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the 8th of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Subſcribers to this Expedition were the firſt Members of this Company, and the Trade and Navigation was completely ſettled by Captain *Chancellor*, in ſeveral ſucceeding Voyages.

His next Voyage took Place in the Year 1555, when he carried an Anſwer from King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* to the Letter wrote by *Juan Vaſiliwich*, Emperor of *Ruſſia*, to King *Edward* VI. deceaſed, in this Form:

"*Philip* and *Mary* by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of *Spaine* and *Sicilie*, Archdukes of *Auſtrich*, Dukes of *Burgundie*, *Millaine*, and *Brabant*, Counties of *Haſpurge*, *Flanders*, and *Tiroll*; to the right high, right mighty, and right excellent Prince, garniſhed with all Gifts of Nature, by God's Grace *John Vaſiliwich* Emperor of all *Ruſſia*, Great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Moſco*, and *Novogrod*, King of *Cazan*, King of *Aſtracan*, Lord of *Pleſco*, and Great Duke of *Smolenſke*, of *Tueria*, *Jougboria*, *Permia*, *Vadſka*, *Bulghoria*, and others, Lord and Great Duke of *Novogrod* of the Low-country, of *Chernigo*, *Rezan*, *Polotſkay*, *Roſtove*, *Teraſlave*, *Bealozera*, *Liefland*, *Oudoria*, *Obdoria*, and *Condenſa*, Commander of all *Siberia*, and of the North Parts, and Lord of many other Countries, Greeting. Whereas by the Conſent and Licence of our moſt dear and entirely beloved late Brother, King *Edward* VI. whoſe Soul God pardon, ſundry of our Subjects Merchants of the City of *London*, within this our Realm of *England*, did at their own proper Coſts and Adventure furniſh three Ships to diſcover, ſearch, and find Lands, Iſlands, Regions, and Territories before this Adventure not known, ne commonly haunted and frequented by Seas: The one of which three Ships, named the *Edward Bonaventure* (whereof our right well-beloved *Richard Chancellor* was then Governor and great Captain) chanced by the Grace of God, and the good Conduct of the ſaid *Chancellor* to arrive and winter in the North Part of your Empire of *Ruſſia*: Foraſmuch as we be credibly informed by the Report of our truſty and well-beloved Subject, that your Majeſty did not only call him and certain of his Company to your imperial Preſence and Speech, entertained and banquetted them with all Humanity and Gentleneſs; but alſo being thereunto requeſted partly by the Letters of our ſaid Brother, and partly by Requeſt of the ſaid *Richard Chancellor*, have by your Letters Patents under your Seal among other things granted, that all ſuch Merchants as ſhall come forth of any of our Realms of *England* or *Ireland* with all manner of Wares, if they will travel or occupy within your Dominions; the ſame Merchants with their Merchandiſes in all your Lordſhip may freely, and at their Liberty travel out and in without Hinderance or any manner of Loſs: And of your farther ample Goodneſs have promiſed that our Ambaſſadors, if we ſend any, ſhall with free good Will paſs to and from you without any Hinderance or Loſs, with ſuch Meſſage as ſhall come unto you, and to return the ſame to our Kingdoms well anſwered, as by the ſame your Letters, written in your lordly Palace and Caſtle of *Moſco* in the Year 7060, the Month of *February*, more at large appeareth. Like as we cannot but much commend your princely Favour and Goodneſs, and in like manner thank you for the aboundant Grace, extended to the ſaid *Richard Chancellor*, and others our Subjects Merchants: Even ſo theſe are to pray and requeſt you to continue the ſame Benevolence toward them, and other our Merchants and Subjects, which do or hereafter ſhall reſort to your Country: And for the more Aſſurance and Incouragement to trade and exerciſe the feat of Merchandiſe with your Subjects and all other Merchants within your Dominions, that it may pleaſe you at this our Contemplation to aſſign and authoriſe ſuch Commiſſaries as you ſhall think meet to trade and confer with our well-beloved Subjects and Merchants, the ſaid *Richard Chancellor*, *George Killingworth*, and *Richard Graie*, Bearers of theſe our Letters, who are by us authoriſed for that Purpoſe; and to confirm and grant ſuch other Liberties and Privileges unto the Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of the Fellowſhip of the ſaid Merchants, as the ſaid Bearers in their Name propone and require by you to be granted for their ſafe Conduct, good Government, and Order to be erected and continued among them in your ſaid Dominions; and this with ſuch your Clemency and Expedition, as we, upon the next Arrival of the ſaid *Richard Chancellor* may be informed of your gracious Diſpoſition and Anſwer. Which your Benevolences ſo to be extended, we be minded to requite towards any your Subjects Merchants, that ſhall frequent this our Realm at your Contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right excellent, and right mighty, Almighty God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, have you in his bleſſed Keeping. Given under our Seal at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 1ſt of *April*, in the Year from the bleſſed Incarnation of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt 1555, and in the firſt and ſecond Years of our Reigns."

In this Letter was incloſed the Charter of Incorporation to the Merchant-adventurers in thoſe Parts. And the Emperor *Vaſiliwich* having received it in the ſame Pomp, as at his firſt Audience given to Capt. *Chancellor*; he alſo, on his Part, confirmed the ſame by granting the following Privileges to the *Engliſh* Merchants that ſhould thence-forward purſue that Trade.

The firſt Privileges granted by the Emperor of Ruſſia *to the* Engliſh *Merchants in the Year* 1555.

"*John Vaſiliwich*, by the Grace of God Emperor of *Ruſſia*, Great Duke of *Novogrode*, *Moſcovia*, &c. to all People that ſhall ſee, read, hear or underſtand theſe Preſents, Greeting. Foraſmuch as God hath planted all Realms and Dominions in the whole World with ſundry Commodities, ſo as the one hath need of the Amity and Commodities of the other, and by means thereof Traffic is uſed from one to another, and Amity thereby increaſed; and for that as amongſt Men nothing is more to be deſired than Amity, without the which no Creature being of a natural good Diſpoſition can live in Quietneſs, ſo that it is as troubleſome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the Body to lack Air, Fire, or any other Neceſſaries moſt requiſite for the Conſervation and Maintenance thereof in Health; conſidering alſo how needful Merchandiſe is, which furniſheth Men of all that which is convenient for their Living and Nurture, for their Clothing, Trimming, the ſatisfying of their Delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them; and that Merchandiſe bringeth the ſame Commodities from divers

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[a] Hackluit, part I. p. 255.

“Quarters in ſo great Abundance, as by means thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in every Place (where Intercourſe of Merchandiſes is received and imbraced) generally in ſuch ſort, as Amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the Injoiners thereof be as Men living in a golden World: Upon theſe Reſpects, and other weighty and good Conſiderations, us hereunto moving, and chiefly upon the Contemplation of the gracious Letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queen *Mary*, by the Grace of God Queen of *England*, *France*, &c. in the Favour of her Subjects, Merchants, the Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers for Diſcovery of Lands, *&c.*

“Know ye therefore, that we of our Grace ſpecial, mere Motion, and certain Knowledge, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto *Sebaſtian Cabota* Governor, Sir *George Barnes*, Knt. *&c.* Conſuls, Sir *John Greſham*, *&c.* Aſſiſtants, and to the Commonalty of the aforenamed Fellowſhip, and to their Succeſſors for ever, and to the Succeſſors of every of them, theſe Articles, Grants, Immunities, Franchiſes, Liberties and Privileges, and every of them hereafter following, expreſſed and declared, *videlicet*,

“1. Firſt, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do by theſe Preſents give and grant free Licence, Faculty, Authority and Power, unto the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of the ſaid Fellowſhip, and to their Succeſſors for ever, that all and ſingular the Merchants of the ſame Company, their Agents, Factors, Doers of their Buſineſs, Attorneys, Servants, and Miniſters, and every of them, may at all Times hereafter for evermore ſurely, freely and ſafely, with their Ships, Merchandiſes, Goods, and Things whatſoever, ſail, come and enter, into all and ſingular our Lands, Countries, Dominions, Cities, Towns, Villages, Caſtles, Ports, Juriſdictions and Diſtricts, by Sea, Land, or Freſh-waters, and there tarry, abide and ſojourn, and buy, ſell, barter, and change all Kind of Merchandiſes, with all Manner of Merchants and People, of whatſoever Nation, Rite, Condition, State, or Degrees they be, and with the ſame or other Ships, Wares, Merchandiſes, Goods and Things, whatſoever they be, unto other Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Parts, and to any other Place or Places at their Pleaſure and Liberty, by Sea, Land, or Freſh-waters, may depart, and exerciſe all Kind of Merchandiſes in our Empire and Dominions, and every Part thereof, freely and quietly, without any Reſtraint, Impeachment, Price, Exaction, Preſt, Streight-cuſtom, Toll, Impoſition, or Subſidy, to be demanded, taxed, or paid, or at any Time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, ſet, levied, or inferred upon them or any of them, or upon their Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandiſes, and Things of, for, or upon any Part or Parcel thereof, or upon the Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandiſes, and Things of any of them, ſo that they ſhall not need any other Safe-conduct or Licence-general, ne ſpecial of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, neither ſhall be bound to aſk any Safe-conduct or Licence in any of the aforeſaid Places ſubject unto us.

“2. Item, we give and grant to the ſaid Merchants this Power and Liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their Goods, Wares, Merchandiſes or Things, ne any Part thereof, ſhall be by any means within our Dominions, Lands, Countries, Caſtles, Towns, Villages, or other Place or Places of our Juriſdiction, at any Time hereafter attached, ſtaied, arreſted, ne diſturbed, for any Debt, Duty, or other Thing, for the which they be not principal Debtors or Sureties; ne alſo for any Offence or Treſpaſs committed, or that ſhall be committed, but only for ſuch as they or any of them ſhall actually commit, and the ſame Offences (if any ſuch happen) ſhall be by us only heard and determined.

“3. Item, we give and grant, that the ſaid Merchants ſhall and may have free Liberty, Power, and Authority, to name, chuſe, and aſſign Brokers, Shippers, Packers, Weighers, Meaſurers, Waggoners, and all other meet and neceſſary Labourers, for to ſerve them in their Feat of Merchandiſes, and miniſter and give unto them and every of them a corporal Oath, to ſerve them well and truly in their Offices; and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their Oath, may puniſh and diſmiſs them, and from Time to Time chuſe, ſwear, and admit other in their Place or Places, without Contradiction, Lett, Vexation, or Diſturbance, either of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or of any other our Juſtices, Officers, Miniſters, or Subjects whatſoever.

“4. Item, we give and grant unto the ſaid Merchants and their Succeſſors, that ſuch Perſon as is, or ſhall be commended unto us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, by the Governor, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip, reſident within the City of *London*, within the Realm of *England*, to be their chief Factor within this our Empire and Dominions, may and ſhall have full Power and Authority to govern and rule all *Engliſhmen* that have had, or ſhall have Acceſs, or repair in or to this ſaid Empire or Juriſdictions, or any Part thereof; and ſhall and may miniſter unto them, and every one of them, good Juſtice in all their Cauſes, Plaints, Quarrels, and Diſorders between them moved, and to be moved; and aſſemble, deliberate, conſult, conclude, define, determine and make ſuch Acts and Ordinances, as he ſo commended with his Aſſiſtants ſhall think good and meet for the good Order, Government, and Rule of the ſaid Merchants, and all other *Engliſhmen* repairing to this our ſaid Empire and Dominions, or any Part thereof; and to ſet and levy upon all, and every *Engliſhman*, Offender or Offenders, of ſuch their Acts and Ordinances made, and to be made, Penalties and Mulcts, by Fine or Impriſonment.

“5. Item, if it happen that any of the ſaid Merchants, or other *Engliſhman*, as one or more, do rebel againſt ſuch chief Factor or Factors, or his or their Deputies, and will not diſpoſe him or themſelves to obey them and every of them as ſhall appertain, if the ſaid Rebels or Diſobedients do come, and be found in our ſaid Empire or Juriſdictions, or any Part and Place thereof, then we promiſe and grant, that all and every our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects ſhall effectually aid and aſſiſt the chief Factor or Factors, and their Deputies, and for their Power ſhall really work, to bring ſuch Rebel or diſobedient Rebels, or Diſobedients, to due Obedience: And to that Intent ſhall lend unto the ſame Factor or Factors, or their Deputies, upon Requeſt therefore to be made, Priſons, and Inſtruments or Puniſhments, from Time to Time.

“6. Item, we promiſe unto the ſaid Merchants, and their Succeſſors, upon their Requeſt, to exhibit and do unto them good, exact, and favourable Juſtice, with Expedition, in all their Cauſes; and that when they or any of them ſhall have Acceſs, or come to or before any of our Juſtices, for any their Plaints moved, and to be moved, between any our Subjects or other Stranger, and them or any of them, that then they ſhall be firſt and forthwith heard, as ſoon as the Party which they ſhall find before our Juſtices ſhall be depeached; which Party being heard forthwith, and as ſoon as may be, the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants ſhall be rid and diſpatched: And if any Action ſhall be moved by or againſt any of the ſaid Merchants, being abſent out of our ſaid Empire and Dominions, then ſuch Merchants may ſubſtitute an Attorney, in all and ſingular his Cauſes, to be followed as need ſhall require, and as ſhall ſeem to him expedient.

“7. Item, we grant and promiſe to the ſaid Merchants, and to their Succeſſors, that if the ſame Merchants or any of them ſhall be wounded, or (which God forbid) ſlain in any Part or Place of our Empire or Dominions, then good Information thereof given, we, and our Juſtices and other Officers, ſhall execute due Correction and Puniſhment without Delay, according to the Exigence of the Caſe; ſo that it ſhall be an Example to all other not to commit the like. And if it ſhall chance the Factors, Servants, or Miniſters of the ſaid Merchants, or any of them, to treſpaſs or offend, whereby they or any of them ſhall incur the Danger of Death or Puniſhment, the Goods, Wares, Merchandiſes, and Things of their Maſters, ſhall not therefore be forfeited, confiſcated, ſpoiled, ne ſeiſed, by any Means by us, our Heirs or

“ Succeſſors, or by any our Officers, Miniſters, or Subjects, but ſhall remain to their Uſe, frank, free, and diſcharged from all Puniſhment and Loſs.

“ 8. Item, we grant that if any of the *Engliſh* Nation be arreſted for any Debt, he ſhall not be laid in Priſon, ſo far as he can put in ſufficient Surety and Pawn; neither ſhall any Serjeant or Officer lead them or any of them to Priſon, before he ſhall have known whether the chief Factor or Factors, or their Deputies, ſhall be Sureties, or bring in Pawn for ſuch arreſted; then the Officers ſhall releaſe the Party, and ſhall ſet him or them at Liberty.

“ 9. Moreover, we give, grant, and promiſe to the ſaid Merchants, that if any of their Ships or other Veſſels ſhall be ſpoiled, robbed, or damnified in ſailing, anchoring, or returning to or from our ſaid Empires and Dominions, or any Part thereof, by any Pirates, Merchants, or other Perſon, whatſoever he or they be, that then, and in ſuch Caſe, we will do all that in us is to cauſe Reſtitution, Reparation, and Satisfaction to be duely made to the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants by our Letters and otherwiſe, as ſhall ſtand with our Honour, and be conſonant to Equity and Juſtice.

“ 10. Item, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, we do promiſe and grant to perform, maintain, corroborate, authenticate, and obſerve all and ſingular the aforeſaid Liberties, Franchiſes, and Privileges, like as preſently we firmly do intend, and will corroborate, authenticate, and perform the ſame, by all Mean and Way that we can, as much as may be to the Commodity and Profit of the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants, and their Succeſſors, for ever.

“ And to the Intent that all and ſingular the ſaid Gifts, Grants and Promiſes, may be inviolably obſerved and performed, we the ſaid *John Vaſilivich*, by the Grace of God Emperor of *Ruſſia*, great Duke of *Novogrode*, *Moſco*, &c. for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by our imperial and lordly Word, inſtead of an Oath, have and do promiſe by theſe Preſents, inviolably to maintain and obſerve, and cauſe to be inviolably obſerved and maintained, all and ſingular the aforeſaid Gifts, Grants and Promiſes, from Time to Time, and at all and every Time and Times hereafter. And for the more Corroboration hereof, have cauſed our Signet hereunto to be put. Dated in our Caſtle of *Moſco* the 20th Day of
“ in the Year

Captain *Chancellor*, it is certain, made a third Voyage to the ſame Coaſt in the Year following with four Ships. But we have no farther Account thereof, than in his Return home he loſt his Life on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, being drowned by trying to ſave the Life of the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, in the Wreck of his own Ship [a].

The Perſon his *Czarian* Majeſty made Choice of, for this Embaſſy, to carry his Letters and Preſents to King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, was *Oſep Napea*, his chief Officer in the Town and Country of *Vologda*. He embarked in the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, together with Captain *Chancellor*, and ſixteen *Ruſſian* Attendants, on the twentieth of *July*, on the Ship *Edward Bonaventure*, loaded with Wax, Train-oil, Tallow, Furs, Felts, Yarn, and ſuch like, to the Value of twenty thouſand Pound, and accompanied by the *Bona Speranza*, the *Confidenza* (probably the ſame in which Sir *Hugh Willoughby* and his Company were frozen to Death) and the *Philip* and *Mary*, three Ships likewiſe belonging to the Company.

During their Voyage, theſe Ships were ſeparated in a Storm, the latter were driven on the Coaſt of *Norway*, where the *Confidenza* periſhed on a Rock; the *Bona Speranza* was then ſuppoſed to have wintered there, but it afterwards appeared ſhe was loſt likewiſe; and the *Philip* and *Mary* arrived in the *Thames* on the eighteenth of *April* the Year following, having wintered in *Norway*. The *Edward Bonaventure*, after having beat the Seas for four Months, arrived on the tenth of *November* on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, in *Pettiſlego* Bay, where ſhe parted from her Anchors, and being driven on the Rocks, ſplit. Captain *Chancellor* being, in this Misfortune, intent upon nothing more than ſaving the Life of the Ambaſſador, took him, with as many of his Attendants as he could, into the Boat; which (being probably overloaded) before they reached the Shoar, overſet; and it was with great Difficulty the Ambaſſador, with a very few of the *Ruſſians*, were ſaved; the Captain, with the reſt, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Mariners, being drowned. The Ship, with her whole Cargo, the *Czar*'s Preſents, and the Ambaſſador's Baggage, were either loſt in the Sea, or plundered by the Inhabitants.

Upon the firſt Notice of this Misfortune at *London*, the Company deputed two of their Body to wait on the Ambaſſador, who after encountring a great many Difficulties, and being at a great Charge, tho' to no Purpoſe, to recover ſome of his Goods and Effects, arrived the 10th of *February* 1557, at *Berwick*, and the 27th within twelve Miles of *London*. He was there received by fourſcore Merchants, richly apparrell'd, and all having Chains of Gold about their Necks; their Servants, in great Numbers, being all in one uniform Livery, and well mounted. They conducted him to a Merchant's Houſe, within four Miles of *London*, where he remained that Night, and in the mean time a proper Riding-habit was prepared for him. The next Day the Company of Merchants-adventurers, in a Body, to the Number of 140 Perſons, with a greater Number of Servants, all in the ſame uniform Livery, conducted him towards *London*. By the way he was met by the Lord Viſcount *Montague*, who waited on him, with a Compliment from the Queen, being attended by Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and others, to the Number of 300 Horſe. Near the City four Merchants, richly apparrell'd, preſented him a ſtately Gelding, finely capariſoned, which he immediately mounted. At *Smithfield* Bars the Lord-mayor and Court of Aldermen, in their Robes, waited to receive him. From whence he rode thro' the City, between the Lord Viſcount *Montague* on the one Side, and the Lord-mayor on the other, preceded by the Merchants, and followed by their Servants, to the Lodgings which the Company had furniſhed in a ſplendid Manner in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*. At his Entrance into his Apartment were preſented him, in the Name of the Queen, for his Apparel, a Piece of Cloth of Tiſſue, another of Cloth of Gold, another Piece of Cloth of Gold raiſed with Crimſon-velvet, a Piece of Crimſon, and another of Purple-velvet, and two Pieces of Damaſk, one Crimſon and the other Purple; all which he received with an apparent Satisfaction and grateful Acknowledgment.

A DESCRIPTION *of the* COAST *of* FINMARK *and* MUSCOVY, *diſcovered by Captain* CHANCELLOR.

In Latitude 72 may be placed the Departure of Captain *Chancellor*, where he loſt *Willoughby*; and where a Cape ſhooting out North in a ſmall Iſland called *Maggere*, and being the moſt Northerly Land of that part of *Europe*, is for Diſtinction called the *North Cape*, or the *Northward Cape*.

It is true, this is not part of the main Land of *Europe*; and there is a Sound or Paſſage of Sea, of about two Leagues broad, between the Iſland and the Main; but as the Land falls away behind it, and this is moſt obvious to Sailors, who at a Diſtance cannot ſo well ſee the main Land, this is taken the moſt Notice of for the Uſe of Navigation.

Hence the Shore falls off again, and goes away more due Eaſt than before; ſo that now we are quite round the North Part of *Europe*; and the firſt Land they make beyond this Iſland is a long Promontory of rocky Ground, being part of the *Daniſh* Dominion, and is called by the Inhabitants *Kynnæs*, by the *Dutch* the North *Kyn*, and by Geographers the *Naze of Lapland*.

There is nothing remarkable upon this Coaſt, except that here begins the moſt barren, unhoſpitable, and almoſt unhabitable Part of all the Sea-coaſts of *Europe*. The Shores are full of Rocks and Gulphs, producing little in Summer; for they have not Abundance, no not of Wood to burn; and 'tis frightful and horrid in the Winter, the Land being all covered with Snow, and the Harbours all blocked up with Ice.

The moſt Northerly Part, and on which the Cape ſtands, is called the Government of *Wardhuyſe*, extending itſelf with a Sweep or Arch, being ſomewhat leſs than a Quarter of a Circle, from the Government of *Drontheim* South, to the *North Cape*, thence about to *Wardhuyſe* Eaſt, and from thence to *Arzina*: And this part is called alſo by the Geographers *Finmark*. From the North Cape to the Fort of *Wardhuyſe* is about 27 Leagues, or 80 Miles, falling off to the South Eaſt.

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[a] See Hackluit, part I. p. 272—285.

Wardhuyſe is a Village on an Iſland, where the King of *Denmark* keeps a Block-houſe, with a Fort or ſmall Caſtle upon it. The Inhabitants of moſt of the Country withdraw from the Sea-coaſt in the Winter, and go up the Rivers, which are many, for warmer Habitations and better Proviſions. So that if any Ships have been brought to the Calamity of wintering here, they have been obliged to bear it out as well as they could, the Conſequence of which has been, that ſome have been preſerved, and others loſt; and the famous Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was among the laſt, who made the Experiment to his Loſs; for he and all his Company had the Honour of being frozen to Death here, or hereabout, after he had diſcovered Land as far as the Latitude of 80 Degrees, which, it is believed, muſt be the Iſlands called *Spitſbergen* by the *Dutch*, and by our Sailors, tho' falſely, *Greenland*.

The Ship it ſeems was found the next Year riding ſafe, but the People all dead and frozen in the great Cabbin, in a Sound or Harbour called *Arzina*, where Sir *Hugh Willoughby* himſelf was found among them, anno 1553.

Going Eaſt from hence there is a great River which opens into the Sea, called the River *Kola*.

From *Kola* the Coaſt goes away S.E. with frequent Harbours and good Roads, to the Entrance into the White-ſea, the Mouth of which may be truly ſaid to be the *ne plus* of the *European* Navigation this Way: Nor does the Coaſt, the Country, or the People, require any Deſcription, only that indeed the firſt is convenient and full of ſafe Roads and good Harbours, which Nature ſeems to have prepared for very little Purpoſe, very few Ships ever making uſe of them; and ſince the eſtabliſhing the *Ruſſian* Commerce at *Peterſburgh* in the *Gulph of Finland*, fewer ſtill are like to come this Way. As to the Country, it is waſte and deſolate, ſtocked plentifully with Bears, Foxes, Otters, Badgers, Beavers, and ſuch wild Creatures, whoſe Furs are the moſt profitable thing the Country produces, for their Fleſh is good for nothing. As to the People, you ſee few upon the Coaſt but the *Danes*, who are not properly Inhabitants, becauſe they only reſide in Summer there, and retire in Winter farther South. The native *Laplanders* are little better than Savages, and live after a wild and brutal Manner.

Some have attempted to ſail beyond the Mouth of the White-ſea, in ſearch of a Paſſage this way to *China* and the *Eaſt-Indies*: It muſt be confeſſed, if ſuch a Paſſage was practicable, it would very well anſwer, eſpecially for a Trade to *China*. But tho' both the *Dutch* as well as the *Engliſh* have attempted it, it has been hitherto all in vain: The famous *Heemſkirk*, afterwards Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet to the *Eaſt-Indies*, actually went round *Nova Zembla*, and found it to be really an Iſland; wintered on the Eaſt-ſide of it, and made a miraculous Eſcape back with his Crew, tho' they loſt their Ship in that deſperately cold Place. Captain *Wood*, an *Engliſhman*, attempted it in the Reign of King *Charles* II. in the Year 1676, and loſt one Ship (the *Speedwell* Man of War) but fortunately came off again with the other. Several alſo have attempted, but in vain, to paſs between the ſaid *Nova Zembla* and the Main, believing the firſt to be an Iſland; and have gone a great way thro', calling the Paſſage the *Streights of Waygate*, or of *Naſſau*; yet they have all come home diſappointed: Nor can any thing be yet ſaid with Certainty beyond thoſe Streights to the Eaſt, either of the Sea or the Land.

The White-ſea is all that remains to mention, upon this Coaſt. It is a vaſt large Gulph, or inland Sea; the Mouth or Entrance lies in the Latitude of 66 ½; the Arctic or Polar Circle croſſes the very Mouth or Entrance into it. There is little to ſay hiſtorically of the Place but this, that the Diſcovery of this Gulph being made by the famous Mr. *Chancellor*, who made four Journeys and Voyages from *England* thither, and thence to *Perſia*, and back again, the Trade from *England* to *Muſcovy*, was by him begun, and afterwards eſtabliſhed by Queen *Elizabeth*.

In this Gulph, and at the Mouth of the great River *Dwina*, is the City of *Archangel*; which, in ſhort, is all that is remarkable in the Place, and that no otherwiſe than as it has ſince thoſe Days been made a Place of Trade by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships coming thither in the Summer to load the Goods, which now they are effectually ſupplied with at *Peterſburgh*: By which Turn of the Channel of the *Ruſſian* Trade, the late *Czar*, as he raiſed his new City of *Peterſburgh*, ſo he has effectually ruined *Archangel*, and alſo the Navigation of the *Dwina*, which for 460 Miles was (all the open Seaſon) full of Boats and Floats, bringing down the Merchandiſe of *Muſcovy* to load the *European* Ships with; whereas *Archangel* may now in a few Years return to the ſame poor Fiſhing-town it was at firſt.

The COURSE *of the River* DWINA *in* RUSSIA.

The River *Dwina*, or as it is in ſome Places called the *Suchana*, riſes in the Province of *Jeraſlow*, paſſing within 30 Miles of the Lake *Bielejezero* in the Province of *Bielejezero*, and in the Latitude of 57 Deg. 40 Min. North. It runs Weſt for about 40 Miles, and then turns North for at leaſt 40 more; during which Courſe it is that, as I ſaid, it paſſes within 30 Miles of the ſaid Lake; which Lake emptying itſelf into the great River *Wolga*, here it was that a Navigation was ſaid to be deſigned by the Czar to begin from the *Dwina*, and to be carried into that Lake, and ſo into the *Wolga*, by a Canal of only 30 Miles in length.

From this part the *Dwina* turns away Eaſt, and being increaſed with ſeveral ſmaller Rivers forms a ſufficient Stream, ſo as to bear Boats tolerably large, but eſpecially Floats of Timber; with which they ſupply the Carriage to *Wologda*, the firſt City of Note upon the River *Dwina*, and which has been thereabout 60 Miles navigable.

From this City of *Wologda* to *Jeraſlow*, on the *Wolga*, is about 70 Miles by Land. Here the Goods which formerly came from *England* to *Archangel*, and were to go to *Aſtracan* on the *Caſpian-ſea*, and ſo to *Perſia*, uſed to be landed; and being carried upon Camels to *Jeraſlow*, were then embarked on-board their great Ballatoons upon the *Wolga*, and went down that River above 2000 Miles to *Aſtracan*.

Wologda is a large ill-built, but populous City, upon the *Dwina*, about 120 Miles from its Head; it was always a Town of great Trade before the building of *Peterſburgh*, becauſe of the Navigation to and from *Archangel*, which conveyed Merchants Goods by two ſuch great Rivers.

This City, as all the *Ruſſian* Cities are, is built of Wood; the very Streets are paved with Wood, that is, the great Trees are laid croſſwiſe in the Streets, ſo that the Horſes go upon them a-croſs without ſlipping; but this makes Fires very frequent there, and very terrible; even the Churches and Bridges are all built with Wood, and the Steeples alſo.

From *Wologda* the *Dwina* goes on to *Toropiloez* and *Cheleeb* 60 Miles, thence to *Strelitza*, where the *Strelitz* Guards were firſt raiſed; thence paſſing through ſeveral populous Towns it runs on to *Oſterough*, another large wooden City in the Latitude of 60; then turning its mighty Channel to the N. W. it runs by innumerable populous, and ſome fortified Places, to *Archangel*. The Diſtance of theſe Cities from one to another is uncertain; but from this laſt to *Archangel*, 'tis not leſs than 300 Miles.

Tho' it muſt neceſſarily be a long way about, yet it is to be obſerved, that the *Ruſſian* and *Muſcovite* Merchants and Travellers, who undertake the Paſſage from *Moſcow* to *China* by Land, come all this Way, *viz.* to *Jeraſlow* by the *Wolga* in Boats; and then hiring Horſes to carry their Baggage to *Wologda*, they there take Boat again, and go near 400 Miles N. E. down the River *Dwina*; then they land, and buy Horſes or Camels, and ſo go away Eaſt about 600 Miles more to *Tobolſkoy*, upon the River *Tobol*.

This is the Rout by which the *Muſcovites* might with eaſe, or at leaſt with more eaſe than any other Nation, critically examine and fully determine, whether there is any Paſſage by Sea to the North-eaſt or not; that ſo *Europe* might once for all make the brave Attempt, and be ſure of Succeſs; or for ever give over the Thoughts of it as a thing impracticable.

Memoirs of the LIFE *of Sir* HUGH WILLOUGHBY, *Admiral in the* firſt *Expedition for a Diſcovery of a* NORTH-EAST PASSAGE *to the* EAST-INDIES.

Sir *Hugh*, as obſerved in the foregoing Memoirs of Captain *Chancellor*, was the chief Commander in the Expedition firſt propoſed by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, as may be more largely ſeen in his Life, and now forwarded by a Joint-ſtock raiſed by Subſcription for the Diſcovery of a Paſſage by the N. E. Seas to the *Eaſt-Indies*; upon a Suppoſition that there ſhould be Streights near the North Pole anſwerable to thoſe of *Magellan* at the South Pole.

The Admiral's Ship was named the *Bona Eſperanza*, or *the Good Hope*, Burden 120 Tons; and was accompanied by two more; the *Edward Bonaventure* of 160 Tons, commanded by Captain *Chancellor*; and the *Bona Confidentia*, or *the good Truſt*, Burden 90 Tons, one *Cornelius Durſuth*, a *Dutchman*, as I preſume, Commander. Theſe all ſailed from *Ratcliffe* in Company, as related in the Life of Captain *Chancellor*; and kept together till ſeparated by a violent Storm on the 2d or 3d of *Auguſt*, off the *North Cape*.

By this Storm the *Edward Bonaventure* was blown quite away; and Sir *Hugh* recovering the *Bona Confidentia*, after beating a conſiderable Time in thoſe unknown Seas, as far as 72° N. Lat. and diſcovering *Greenland*, as appears from his Journal; an Honour uſurped by the *Dutch*; he was obliged by the Extremity of the cold Weather to ſeek for a Haven, to paſs the Winter in, and put into *Arzina*, a Port in *Lapland*, to provide the beſt he was able againſt the Severities of the approaching Seaſon.

The two Ships arrived in this Harbour on the 18th of *September*, and by the Papers found aboard of Sir *Hugh's* Ship, the Admiral and moſt of his Fellow-adventurers were alive in *January* 1554. But all their Bodies were found frozen to Death, and his Ship riding ſafe at Anchor, by ſome *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen.

This unfortunate Accident at once deprived Sir *Hugh* of his Life, and the Nation of the great Expectations they had conceived of his Abilities; who beſides his Capacity as a Mariner, was born of an honourable Family, was a Gentleman of great Parts, much Experience, and undaunted Courage.

This Reign was alſo memorable for the Execution of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whoſe high Office in the Admiralty, and great Abilities both at Sea, in the Field, and Cabinet, will be more particularly collected from the following Memoirs:

The LIFE *of* JOHN DUDLEY, *Baron* Malpas, *Viſcount* Liſle, *Earl of* Warwick, *Duke of* Northumberland, *Knight of the Garter*, *Lord High-admiral*, &c.

John Dudley, eldeſt Son of *Edmund Dudley*, the eminent Lawyer, and unfortunate Stateſman, ſacrificed to the Reſentment of the Populace by King *Henry* the Eighth, for his Services towards King *Henry* the Seventh. This *John* was born ſome time in the Year 1502, when his Father was in the very Zenith of his Power, and ſtood in equal Credit with the King and his Subjects, as appears by his being choſen, the Year after, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons[a]. At the time his Father was put to Death, he was about eight Years old; and it being well enough known, that the Severity exerciſed in that Act was rather to ſatisfy the People than Juſtice, *John Dudley*, by *Edmund Guilford*, Eſquire of the Body to the King his Guardian, petitioned the Parliament that the Attainder might be reverſed of *Edmund Dudley*, his late Father, and himſelf reſtored in Blood; which was accordingly obtained, and a ſpecial Act paſſed for that Purpoſe in 1511[b]. When his Mother, with the King's Conſent, married *Arthur Plantagenet*, who, in her Right, was created Viſcount *L'Iſle*[c], which was about the Year 1523, we find that he was brought to Court, and, being a young Gentleman of a fine Perſon, and highly accompliſhed, he attended the King's Favourite *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, in his Expedition into *France*[d], where his gallant Behaviour procured him the Honour of Knighthood[e]. Upon his Return, he met with a kind Reception at Court, having many Relations in great Favour; but it ſeems he truſted chiefly to his own Abilities, and very wiſely attached himſelf to the King's firſt Miniſter Cardinal *Wolſey*[f], whom he accompanied in his Embaſſy to *France*[g]; and, making a proper Uſe of the Advantage which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the King's Service, as appears from a Patent[h] granted him for the Office of Maſter of the Armory in the *Tower*, with the Allowance of a Groom. In 1536, he was Sheriff of *Staffordſhire*, where he lived hoſpitably, and had the goodwill of his Neighbours in a much greater Degree, than when he was exalted to a far ſuperior Station[i]. About two Years after this he entered himſelf of the Society of *Gray's-Inn*[k], and ſtudied the Laws[l]. But the Court was ſtill his home, and *Wolſey* his Patron ſo long as he had Power. He was alſo in great Confidence with the next Prime-miniſter, *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*; ſo that upon the coming over of Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to the intended Queen[m]. On the firſt of *May* 1539, he was the firſt of the Challengers in the triumphant Tournament held at *Weſtminſter*, in which he appeared with great Magnificence[n]. The Fall of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which happened ſoon after, did not in the leaſt affect the Favour or the Fortune of Sir *John Dudley*, who had a very great Dexterity in maintaining himſelf in the good Graces of powerful Miniſters, without embarking too far in their Deſigns[o], preſerving always a proper Regard for the Sentiments of his Sovereign, which kept him in full Credit at Court in the midſt of many Changes, as well of Men as of Meaſures. Soon after the Death of his Father-in-law, the King, by Letters Patents, bearing Date the 12th of *March* 1542, raiſed him to the Dignity of Viſcount *Liſle*[p], with very ſingular Marks of his Eſteem and Conſideration. At the next Feſtival of *St. George* he was alſo elected Knight of the Garter[q]. This was ſoon after followed by a much higher Inſtance, both of Kindneſs and Truſt; indeed, ſuch an Inſtance, as had ſcarce any Example in former Times, and has not been conſidered as a Precedent fit to follow in thoſe that have ſucceeded ſince; for the King, conſidering his Prudence, his Courage, and his Activity, as well as the Occaſion he had, and was like to have, for a Man of ſuch Talents in that Office, conſtituted him Lord High-admiral of *England* for Life[r]. The next Year he commanded a Fleet of 200 Sail, with which he proceeded to the *Scotch* Coaſts, where he performed all the Service that was expected from him; and, having landed his Forces, marched through the ſouthern Provinces of *Scotland* by Land, and moſt effectually reſtored the Tranquillity of the Marches[s]. He next embarked for *France*, and on the 28th of *July* 1543, apeared before *Bologne*, then beſieged by King *Henry* VIII. in Perſon; and, by his great Diligence and Courage, facilitated very much the taking of the Place, of which the King left him the Charge, with the Title of his Lieutenant[t]. In this important Employment he did more than his Maſter had reaſon to expect, and as much as the Nation or himſelf could deſire. On the 27th of *March* 1646, the King declared him, by Patent, Lieutenant-general, and Commander of all his Forces at Sea[u], for the more effectual carrying on of the War againſt *France*; and this at a time when the *French*, by the Help of Money, and Alliances with the maritime Powers of *Europe*, had drawn together a very great naval Force, and threaten'd to make the *Engliſh* feel the Weight of it, not only at Sea, but by covering an Invaſion, which they had long meditated; all which vaſt Deſigns were fruſtrated by the Courage and Conduct of the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, with a Force much inferior to theirs[w]. After this the Lord High-admiral returned their Viſit, landed 5000 Men upon their Coaſts, burnt the Town of *Treport*, and ſome other Villages; and, the *French* Army advancing, offered them Battle, which they declined; and he thereupon reimbarked his Troops, having, in this Expedition, loſt only a ſingle Man, and done infinite Miſchief to the Enemy[a]. The ſame Year he was, together with Dr. *Cutbbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, appointed a Commiſſioner to take the Oath of *Francis* the *French* King, for obſerving the Treaty of Peace ſigned *June* the 7th, 1546[b]; which he performed with great Solemnity. On the 16th of *October* following he was, together with many other Perſons of Rank, named in a Commiſſion for ſettling the Accompts of the Army. This was one of the laſt Services he performed in the Reign of that great Prince, to whom he owed all his Honours and Fortune; receiving from him, towards the Cloſe of his Reign, very large Grants of Church-lands, which delivered him from the Inconveniences that muſt otherwiſe have enſued from his unbounded Generoſity; which Grants, however, created him many Enemies[c]. The King's Health daily declining, his Majeſty made the beſt Proviſion he could for the Safety and Quiet of his Son's Reign; in order to which he cauſed his laſt Will and Teſtament to be framed, with much Deliberation, by the ableſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors, which he ſealed and ſubſcribed *December* the 30th, 1546[d]; and therein, as the laſt Mark of his Affection and Truſt, he named Sir *John Dudley*, Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, one of his ſixteen Executors, and gave him alſo a Legacy of 500 *l.* which was the higheſt that he beſtowed upon any of them[e]. By this Will they were conſtituted Privy-counſellors, and had the Government put into their Hands, which gave them a legal Authority, ſince this Will was founded upon an Act of Parliament[f]. On the laſt Day of the Month of *January* ſucceeding, King *Henry* VIII. died, and his Son *Edward* VI. ſucceeded him, to the general Joy and Satiſfaction of the Nation[g]. It was not long before great Alterations were made in the Diſpoſitions by the late King's Will. The Earl of *Hertford*, who was the King's Uncle, got himſelf declared Protector, that the State might have ſome viſible Head. And amongſt the firſt of the Protector's Projects one was, to get his Brother, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, made High-admiral, in whoſe Favour the Lord Viſcount *Liſle* reſigned, not willingly[h] to be ſure, but upon the beſt Terms he could make. Accordingly, *February* the 17th, 1547, the very ſame Day that the new Lord Admiral's Patent paſſed, he was created Earl of *Warwick*, and made Great-chamberlain of *England*; neither was it long before he had great Grants from the Crown, particularly *Warwick* Caſtle and Manor[i]. The Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord-protector, finding himſelf under a Neceſſity of marching an Army into *Scotland*, reſolved to command it in Perſon, and took the Earl of *Warwick* with him, in Quality of his Lieutenant-general[k]; in this Expedition he added to that great Reputation which he had already acquired, as even his Enemies themſelves confeſs, being the chief Author of that Victory which was then obtained, and would alſo have puſhed the War to a glorious Concluſion, if he had been intruſted with the ſole Command; as it was, his Conduct was univerſally commended, and all the Blame fell elſewhere[l]. He was next employed by the Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord-protector, in conjunction with many other honourable Perſons, to compromiſe Matters with the *French*, who, after the Death of King *Henry*, were very deſirous of getting *Boulogne* again into their Hands[m]; which it was of great Conſequence to the Protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if poſſible, engaging in a War. Both which Ends were effected for the preſent; to which the Induſtry and Authority of the Earl of *Warwick* did not a little contribute[n]. An Army of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, were ſent under the Command of *John* Earl of *Warwick*, againſt the Rebel *Ket*; whoſe known military Abilities rendered him fitteſt for this Service. He preſerved *Norwich* with ſome Difficulty, and afterwards fought with the Rebels, who both, in drawing up their Men, and in the Courſe of the Action, behaved much better than could have been expected from ſuch raw Soldiers[o]. The Earl, however, defeated them, and killed about 1000 Men, other Writers ſay many more. This greatly diſcouraged, but did not diſſipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their ſcattered Parties, and offered him Battle a ſecond time. The Earl marched directly towards them, but, when he was on the very Point of engaging, he ſent them a Meſſage, "That he was ſorry to "ſee ſo much Courage expreſſed in ſo bad a Cauſe; but "that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, they might de"pend upon the King's Pardon, on delivering up of their "Leaders:" To which they anſwered, "That he was a "Nobleman of ſo much Worth and Generoſity, that, if "they might have this Aſſurance from his own Mouth, "they were willing to ſubmit[p]." The Earl accordingly went amongſt them: upon which they threw down their Arms, delivered up *Robert Ket*, and his Brother *William*, and the reſt of their Chiefs, who were hanged; upon hearing which the *Yorkſhire* Rebels diſperſed, and ſo all was quiet again[q]. This Rebellion being ſuppreſſed in the Summer, the Lords of the King's Council, amongſt whom was the Earl of *Warwick*, began in the Autumn to confer amongſt themſelves, as to the Cauſes of that diſtreſſed and diſcontented State into which the Nation was reduced. The Protector upon this ſent Secretary *Petre* to know the meaning of their Meetings, whom they kept with them; and, *October* the 8th, 1549, they went into the City, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, that they had no other Views than for the Safety of the King's Perſon, the Redreſs of Grievances, and the reſtoring the Peace of the Kingdom, the City thankfully concurred with them; upon which the Protector, who had removed the King from *Hampton-court* to *Windſor*, ſubmitted himſelf, and was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* on the twenty-eighth of the ſame Month[r]. The Earl of *Warwick* was again made Lord High-admiral, by the King's Letters Patents, with very extenſive Powers[s]. He ſtood, at this time, ſo high in the King's Favour, and had ſettled ſo firm a Friendſhip with the reſt of the Lords of the Council, that nothing was done but by his Advice or Conſent; to which, therefore, we muſt attribute the Releaſe of the Duke of *Somerſet* out of the *Tower*, and reſtoring him to ſome Share of Power and Favour at Court. The King was much pleaſed with this, and, being deſirous that the Friendſhip of theſe two great Men ſhould not be barely in Appearance, a Marriage was propoſed between the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lady *Anne Seymour*, Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of *June*, 1550, was ſolemnized in the King's Preſence, who expreſſed great Satiſfaction thereat[t]. The King's Favour to him ſtill continued, or rather increaſed, ſo that upon his ſurrendering the Office of Lord High-chamberlain of *England*, which was beſtowed upon the Marquis of *Northampton*, the King was pleaſed to make him Lord-ſteward of his Houſhold[u]. In the Month of *April*, 1551, he was conſtituted Earl-marſhal of *England*[w]; a ſhort time afterwards he was made Lord-warden of the northern Marches[x]; and, on the 11th of *October* the ſame Year, he was advanced to the Dignity of Duke of *Northumberland*[y]. About *Chriſtmas* he was elected Chancellor of *Cambridge*[z], in the Room of the Duke of *Somerſet*; but at what Time he became High-ſteward, which Dr. *Heylyn* aſſures us he was[*], and that theſe two Officers have never been in one Perſon before or ſince, is very uncertain. This great Politician had now raiſed himſelf as high as it was poſſible, in Point of Dignity and of Power; the Aſcendancy he had gained over the young King was ſo great, that he directed him entirely at his Pleaſure; and he had, with ſuch Dexterity, wrought moſt of the great Nobility into his Intereſts, and had ſo humbled and depreſſed all who ſhewed any Diſlike to him, that he ſeemed to have all Things to hope, and little to fear[a]. It does not indeed appear, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had any Cauſe to ſuſpect the Loſs of his Power while that King lived, nor did he ſeem to fear it; but, when he diſcerned his Majeſty's Health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to conſider how he might render himſelf and his Family ſafe. This appears plainly, from the Hurry with which the Marriage was concluded between the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and his fourth Son Lord *Guildford Dudley*, which was celebrated in the Month of *May*, 1553, that is, not above two Months before the King died[b]. We may however ſuppoſe that he had, for ſome time, been contriving in his Mind that Plan, for the Diſpoſal of the Kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution. In the Parliament held a little before the King's Death, the Duke of *Northumberland* procured a conſiderable Supply to be granted, and, in the Preamble of that Act, a direct Cenſure of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration; and, having wiſely anſwered his Purpoſes by this ſingle Meaſure, diſſolved that Parliament immediately[c]. He then applied himſelf to the King, and ſhewed him the Neceſſity of ſetting her aſide, from the Danger the Proteſtant Religion would be in, if the Lady *Mary* ſhould ſucceed him; in which, from the Piety of that young Prince, he met with no great Difficulty. At this Time the Duke, either from the Hurry of his Paſſions, the Fear he had of what might happen from Delays, or the Haughtineſs ariſing from a Series of good Fortune which had ſo long continued, began to loſe much of his former Gentleneſs and Affability; as he ſhewed himſelf amazingly rapacious in the Grants which he obtained from a King, whoſe Age, excluſive of his Sickneſs, made it indecent at leaſt, if not illegal, to accept ſuch mighty Bounties, the Worth of which he could never be preſumed to know, from his giving them thus laviſhly away. The Duke was no leſs careful in drawing to himſelf as much Power, and diffuſing his Intereſt as wide as poſſible; ſo that whatever happened he might not want a Retreat, or find his Schemes in danger of being broken through an Oppoſition by the diſcontented Nobility; in which Schemes, notwithſtanding their Difficulty, he ſucceeded to his Wiſh, his Eſtate being enlarged, and his Offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had in former Times been beſtowed upon any Subject[d]. The Letters Patents for diſpoſing of the Crown were ſigned by King *Edward* on the 21ſt of *June*[e], and on the 6th of *July* that Monarch expired, expreſſing, to the laſt, great Satiſfaction in the Proviſion he had made for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Happineſs of his People[f]. It is ſaid, that the Duke of *Northumberland* was very deſirous of concealing the King's Death for ſome time; but this being found impoſſible, he carried his Daughter-in-law, the Lady *Jane*, from *Durham-houſe* to the *Tower* for the greater Security, and on the 10th of *July* proclaimed her Queen[g]; the Council alſo wrote to Lady *Mary* requiring her Submiſſion; but they were very ſoon informed that ſhe was retired into *Norfolk*, where many of the Nobility, and Multitudes of People, reſorted to her[h]. It was then reſolved to ſend Forces againſt her under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, but Queen *Jane*, as ſhe was then ſtiled, would by no means part with her Father; and the Council earneſtly preſſed the Duke of *Northumberland* to go in Perſon, to which he was little inclined, as doubting their Fidelity. He ſignified as much in the Speech he made at taking his Leave, and was anſwered with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances that Men could give; the Earl of *Arundel* particularly told him, he was ſorry it was not his Chance to go with him, in whoſe Preſence he could find in his Heart to ſpend his Blood even at his Feet[i]. On the 14th of *July* the Duke, accompanied by the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Lord *Grey*, and others, marched through *Biſhopſgate* with two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot; but, as they rode through *Shoreditch*, he could not forbear ſaying to the Lord *Grey*, *The People preſs to ſee us, but not one ſays God ſpeed us*[k]. His Activity and Courage, for which he had been ſo famous, ſeemed, from this Time, to have deſerted him; for though he advanced to *St. Edmund's-bury* in *Suffolk*, yet finding his Troops diminiſh, the People little affected to him, and no Supplies coming from *London*, though he had wrote to the Lords in the moſt preſſing Terms, he retired back again to *Cambridge*[l]. In the mean time the Council thought of nothing but how to get out of the *Tower*, and at laſt effected it, under Pretence of going to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Houſe at *Baynard's-caſtle*, to give Audience to the foreign Ambaſſadors. This was on the 19th of the ſame Month; and the firſt Thing they did when they came there, was to ſend for the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to *Cheapſide*, and there Garter-king at Arms proclaimed Queen *Mary*: the Earl of *Arundel*, and Lord *Paget*, went the ſame Night Poſt to pay their Duty to her[m]. The Duke of *Northumberland* had Advice of this on the 20th, and about five in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, cauſed her to be proclaimed at *Cambridge*, throwing up his Cap, and crying, *God ſave Queen Mary!* with how much Joy and Sincerity may be eaſily imagined[n]. About an Hour afterwards came Letters from the Council to the Duke of *Northumberland*, by one of the Heralds, requiring him to diſband his Forces, upon receiving which the Duke gave leave to every Man to depart, and ſoon after he was arreſted in *King's-college* by *Slegge*, Serjeant at Arms; but other Letters coming from the Council, that all Men ſhould go each his Way, the Duke ſaid to thoſe that kept him, *Ye do me Wrong to withdraw my Liberty, ſee ye not the Council's Letters, without exception, that all Men ſhould go whither they would.* Whereupon they who guarded him and the other Noblemen, ſet them at Liberty, and ſo they continued for that Night, and the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Son, was ready in the Morning to have rode away; at which Time the Earl of *Arundel* came from the Queen to the Duke into his Chamber, who, when he ſaw him, ſaid, *For the Love of God conſider, I have done nothing but by the Conſent of you, and all the whole*

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[a] Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. p. 6. [b] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 218. [c] Pat. 15 Henry VIII. p. 1. [d] Stowe's Annals, p. 519, 520. [e] November the 6th, 1523. [f] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421. [g] Stowe's Annals, p. 531. [h] Pat. 26 Henry VIII. p. 1. [i] Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 53. [k] Origines Juridiciales, p. 299. [l] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 189. [m] Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 919. b. [n] Stowe's Annals, p. 579. [o] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421. [p] Pat. 34 Henry VIII. p. 3. [q] Regiſter of the Order of the Garter. [r] Pat. 34 Henry VIII. p. 7. [s] Cowper, Hollinſhed, and Strype. [t] Stowe's Annals, p. 585. [u] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XV. p. 84. [w] The valiant Exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount Liſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr. Cock, Lancaſter-herald, preſerved among the Papers of the Sidney Family.

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[a] Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 16. [b] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XV. p. 98. [c] Tanner's Notitia, p. 452, 239. Weever's Mon. p. 500. Newcourt's Rep. Vol. I. p. 602, 611, 668. [d] Alen, Qu. p. 32.

[e] See the King's Will in Fuller's Church Hiſtory. [f] See Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. and Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation. [g] Stowe's Annals, p. 593. [h] Stowe's Annals, p. 594. [i] Pat. 1 Edward VI. p. 6—9.

[k] Stowe's Annals, p. 595. [l] See Patten's Relation, inſerted both in Hayward and Hollinſhed. [m] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XV. p. 135. [n] Hayward. Burnet. Strype. [o] There is a long and very diſtinct Relation of this Expedition in Speed. [p] Hollinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1036. [q] Stowe's Annals, p. 597. [r] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II, p. 136.

[s] Rymer's Fœdera, tom XV. p. 194. [t] Taken from King Edward's Journal. [u] Pat. 4 Edward VI. p. 2. [w] Pat. 5 Edward VI. p. 4. [x] Pat. 5 Edward VI. p. 7. [y] Pat. 5 Edward VI. p. 4. [z] Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 128.

[*] Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 161.

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[a] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 176.

[b] Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

[c] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 195. Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

[d] If all the Inſtances that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would ſwell this Note very much beyond its proper Bounds; and therefore, it ſhall ſuffice to alledge here, the Teſtimony of the induſtrious Strype, who, though in other Places he has diſtinctly conſidered them, thus ſums up the Matter at once, ſpeaking of the Duke's State and Condition in the Year 1553. "Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now bore all the Sway at Court, and, in effect, did what he liſted. This Year, beſides the County Palatine of Durham, the Honour and Power of which was like to fall to him; the King gave him Bernard's-caſtle there, with very great Additions of Lands and Lordſhips in that County, and in Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and York, or any otherwhere in the Biſhoprick of Durham for Life. He had alſo granted to him the Manors of Feckenham, Bromeſgrove, King's Norton in Worceſterſhire, with many other Lands. The Year before, he was made Chief-ſteward of the Eaſt-riding of York, and of all the King's Lordſhip in Holderneſs and Cottingham in the ſaid County. The Year before that, he was conſtituted General-warden, or Keeper of the Marches of England, towards Scotland, namely, of the Eaſt, Weſt, and Middle Marches. Which were ſcarcely before, put into one Man's Hand (except the Marquis of Dorſet immediately before him) and he to appoint his Deputy-wardens. And his Patent was ordered to be drawn up, in the moſt large and comprehenſive Manner, endowing him with as much Authority, Power, Pre-eminence, Commodity, and Liberty, as any before him had enjoyed, from Richard the Second's Time, to Henry the Eighth, as the Warrant ran. Beſides theſe Things in the North, he obtained of the King great and ſpreading Demeans in Somerſetſhire, Warwick, and Worceſterſhire, and many other Counties. So that by this Time, the Duke had prodigiouſly enriched himſelf, and made himſelf formidably great, by Lands and Lordſhips, Honours and Offices, Caſtles and Places of Truſt heaped upon him by the King, by whom it was not ſafe to deny him any Thing he aſked. He had ſtrengthened his Intereſt alſo, by raiſing himſelf Friends upon the King's Coſt, as more eſpecially the Lord Clinton, and Sir John Gates, and his Brother Sir Andrews Dudley, Maſter of the Wardrobe and taken into the Order of the Garter; and his own Sons, John, raiſed to the Degree of Earl of Warwick and Maſter of the King's Horſe; Sir Robert Dudley made a Lord and the King's Carver, and Guildford Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one of the royal Blood, viz. the Lady Jane, eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of Suffolk."

[e] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

[f] Fuller's Church Hiſtory, cent. xvi. p. 425.

[g] Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

[h] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

[i] Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.

[k] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 161.

[l] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 238.

[m] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 164.

[n] Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

whole Council. My Lord, replied the Earl of *Arundel*, *I am ſent hither by the Queen's Majeſty, and in her Name I arreſt you. I obey it*, ſaid the Duke, *I beſeech you, my Lord of* Arundel, *uſe Mercy towards me, knowing the Caſe as it is. My Lord*, anſwered the Earl, *you ſhould have ſought for Mercy ſooner, I muſt do according to my Commandment.* And thereupon committed the Charge of him, and of others, to the Guard, and Gentlemen that ſtood by[a]. The 25th of *July*, the Duke, with the reſt, were brought to the *Tower* of *London*, under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, with a Body of Light-horſemen[b]. On *Friday* the 18th of *Auguſt* he was arraigned, a great Scaffold being ſet up in *Weſtminſter-hall*, with *John* Earl of *Warwick*, his Son and Heir, and *William Parr* Marquis of *Northampton*, before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, High-ſteward of *England* on that Occaſion. As to his Behaviour at his Trial, it was equally modeſt and decent[c]. The Indictment having been read, containing a Charge againſt him of High-treaſon; the Duke of *Northumberland*, with great Reverence towards the Judges, proteſted his Faith and Allegiance to the Queen, whom he confeſſed grievouſly to have offended, and ſaid he meant not to ſpeak any thing in defence of his Acts, but requeſted to underſtand the Opinion of the Court in two Points[d]:

Firſt, Whether a Man doing any Act by the Authority of the Prince's Council, and by Warrant of the Great-ſeal of *England*, and doing nothing without the ſame, might be charged with Treaſon for any thing he might do by Warrant thereof?

Secondly, Whether any ſuch Perſons as were equally culpable in that Crime, and thoſe by whoſe Letters and Commandments he was directed in all his Doings, might be his Judges, or paſs upon his Trial as his Peers?

To which it was anſwered: "That the Great-ſeal which he had for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, nor paſſed by Authority, but the Seal of an Uſurper, and therefore could be no Warrant to him. And that if any were as deeply to be touched in the Caſe as himſelf, yet ſo long as no Attainder was of Record againſt them, they were Perſons able in Law to paſs on any Trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's Pleaſure." After which Anſwer the Duke uſed few Words, but confeſſed the Indictment; by whoſe Example the other Priſoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had Judgment. The Duke, on receiving his Sentence, ſaid: "I beſeech you, my Lords, all to be humble Suitors to the Queen's Majeſty, and to grant me *four* Requeſts: *Firſt*, That I may have that Death which Noblemen have had in times paſt, and not the other. *Secondly*, That her Majeſty will be gracious to my Children, which may hereafter do good Service, conſidering that they went by my Commandment, who am their Father, and not of their own free Wills. *Thirdly*, That I may have appointed to me ſome learned Men for the Inſtruction and Quiet of my Conſcience. And, *fourthly*, That ſhe will ſend two of the Council to commune with me, to whom I will declare ſuch Matters as ſhall be expedient for her and the Commonwealth. And thus I beſeech you all to pray for me."

After his Condemnation he was carried back to the *Tower*, where he remained a cloſe Priſoner. *Monday*, the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, was the Day fixed for his Execution, when a vaſt Concourſe of People aſſembled upon *Tower-hill*, all the uſual Preparations being made, and the Executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome Hours, the People were ordered to depart. This Delay was to afford time for his making an open Shew of the Change of his Religion, for on that very Day, in the Preſence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as ſome of the Privy-council, he heard Maſs in the *Tower*[e]. The next Day he was actually brought out to ſuffer Death, on the ſame Scaffold, on *Tower-hill*, where he made a very long Speech to the People; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his Religion, which he not only profeſſed to be then that of the Church of *Rome*, but that it had been always ſo; taking upon himſelf the odious Character of a Hypocrite in the Sight of God, as well as a Diſſembler with Men[f]. *John Fox* affirms, that he had a Promiſe of Pardon even if his Head was upon the Block, if he would recant and hear Maſs[g]; and ſome have believed that he entertained ſuch a Hope to the laſt. However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming Courage and Compoſure, putting off his Damaſk-gown when he had done ſpeaking, and then kneeled down, ſaying, to them that were about him, *I beſeech you all to bear me witneſs that I die in the true Catholic Faith*, and then ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, his *Paſter noſter*, and ſix of the firſt Verſes of the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi*, ending with this Verſe, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit.* And when he had thus ended his Prayers, the Executioner aſked him Forgiveneſs: to whom he ſaid, *I forgive thee with all my Heart, do thy part without fear.* And bowing towards the Block, he ſaid, *I have deſerved a thouſand Deaths*; then laid his Head on the Block, and was beheaded; whoſe Body, with the Head, was buried in the *Tower* near the Body of *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*: ſo that there lie between the High-altar in *St. Peter*'s Church, two Dukes between two Queens, *viz.* Queen *Anne* and Queen *Catherine*, all four beheaded[h]. Such was the End of this potent Nobleman, (who, with the Title of a Duke, exerciſed, for ſome time, a Power little inferior to that of a King) in the 51ſt, or at moſt in the 52d Year of his Age.

CHAP. IV.

The NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and State of the* NATIONAL TRADE and COMMERCE, *including the* DISCOVERIES, *and Memoirs of the moſt eminent* SEA-OFFICERS *and* NAVIGATORS, *during the Reign of King* PHILIP *and Queen* MARY.

THE Death of King *Edward* made way for the Execution of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s grand Scheme of ſecuring the Throne to Lady *Jane Grey*, who a little before had been married to Lord *Guildford Dudley*, his Grace's eldeſt Son; according to a Plan contrived with great Artifice during the late King's Sickneſs[i]. She was accordingly proclaimed[k] Queen of *England*, purſuant to the Will of King *Edward*; tho' not till the Duke had gained a conſiderable Intereſt in the Corporation and principal Citizens of *London*, whom he, in Confidence, made privy to the King's Death ſome Days before it was divulged. Amongſt theſe Confidants were ſix Merchants of the Staple, and ſix Merchants-adventurers. Such was the Eſteem in which Trade was then held.

The Duke's next Precaution was to block up the Port of *Yarmouth* with ſix Men of War, to prevent the Eſcape of Princeſs *Mary*, the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* VIII. who was the next Claimant of the Crown by Blood, and was, at all Events, to be detained from ſeeking foreign Aid. But the News of the King's Death arriving in thoſe Parts before the Squadron of Obſervation, Matters were ſo well concerted by thoſe in *Mary*'s Intereſt, that the Seamen were gained to her Party, and declared in her Favour, not only on-board this Fleet, but at the *Cinque-ports* in *Kent*; where the Lord Warden proclaimed her by the Stile of *Mary* Queen of *England*. This Defection, and the Declaration of the *Suffolkmen* alſo for her Title to the Crown, ſo over-awed the reſt of the Nation, that the Defection became general: the very Privy-council, who had ſet up Queen *Jane*, revoked and annulled their Proceedings in her Favour, directed the City of *London* to renounce her, and to proclaim Queen *Mary*; and deputed a ſolemn Embaſſy to inform her of their Reſolutions, and to invite her to accept of the Government [a].

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[a] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 612.
[b] Hollinſhed and Speed.
[c] Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.
[d] Stowe's Annals, p. 614.
[e] Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 243. Stowe's Annals, p. 614.
[f] Hollinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.
[g] Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 12, 13.
[h] Stowe's Annals, p. 615.
[i] Echard. Kennet. Rapin. Speed.
[k] A. D. 1553. July the 10th.

This Act of Juſtice to the eldeſt Child of King *Henry* VIII. and who, by the Doctrine of hereditary Right, was the undoubted Heir of her Father, on the Demiſe of his only Son *Edward*, was brought about by the Proteſtants, on condition of a Promiſe that ſhe would make no Alteration in the State of Religion, as it had been ſettled in the former Reign, and permit her Subjects to ſerve God in the way they ſhould chuſe. How well her Majeſty performed this Promiſe, is ſo largely recorded by the Perſecution of the Proteſtants in general, and particularly by her reſtoring of Popery in its full Extent, and the burning of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and other Biſhops, *&c.* and ſo little connected with the Intention of this part of *Engliſh* Hiſtory, that we ſhall paſs over that Scene of Blood, Bigotry, and Inhumanity.

Mary being fixed ſecure upon the Throne, ſhe determined, contrary to the Inclinations of her Subjects, and the Repreſentation of her Parliament, to marry *Philip* the Son of the Emperor *Charles* V. and diſpatched a ſolemn Embaſſy, eſcorted by a ſtrong Squadron, under the Command of Commodore *Winter*, to conclude the Match at the Emperor's Court; who preſented the Commodore with a very fine Gold chain at *Oſtend.* And tho' this Match ſtirred up a Rebellion, headed by Sir *Thomas Wyat*, which endangered her Majeſty's Safety, ſhe perſiſted in her Reſolution; and commanded *William* Lord *Howard*, her High-admiral, to ſail with a Fleet of 28 Men of War upon the Coaſt, to wait Prince *Philip*'s Arrival; who arrived ſoon after in the narrow Seas, eſcorted by 160 Sail [b], and the *Spaniſh* Flag at his Main-top, till the *Engliſh* Admiral obliged him by a Shot to take it down, before he would ſalute the intended Conſort to the Queen of *England.* Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton* on the 19th of *July* [c], and was married to Queen *Mary* at *Wincheſter*, on *St. James*'s Day [d], the Patron of *Spain.* A Wedding ſo diſagreeable to the Nation in general, that her Majeſty could never curb their implacable Hatred to the *Spaniſh* Name, nor allay the Jealouſies they conceived of ſome time falling a Prey to *Spaniſh* Tyranny, or being drawn into Connections with the Continent, prejudicial and ruinous to their Religion and Liberties. For, tho' by the Act of Settlement it was then enacted, That the Queen's Dominions ſhould not be engaged in any War, particularly with the Crown of *France*, on account of any Diſputes between the *French* and King *Philip*; the People were ſoon convinced that a Parchment-ſecurity was of very little Signification, when the Sovereign had a ſeparate Intereſt from his Subjects. *Philip* quarrelled with *Henry* II. of *France*; and his Influence in the *Engliſh* Court obliterated or explained away the Spirit of the Act of Settlement; and while it remained a dead Letter, the Intereſts of *England* were forgot, and her Blood and Treaſure waſted in a War with *France* and *Scotland*, in the Cauſe of *Spain.*

The *Scots* entered the Borders, and carried Deſolation with their Arms wherever they came; and by their Privateers greatly interrupted and damaged the Trade to *Ireland*, which was then in a very flouriſhing Condition; which obliged the Government to ſend a Fleet of 12 Ships, under the Command of Vice-admiral Sir *John Clare*, to protect that Trade; who unfortunately being drowned, as he retired with Precipitation from the Iſland of *Kirkway* (one of the *Orkneys)* whereon he had made a Deſcent; being beat off by 3000 *Scots*, who killed three of his Captains, took all his Artillery, and entirely routed his Men; the Remains of his Fleet returned for *England* with the utmoſt Speed. And if the religious Troubles in *Scotland* had not interpoſed, the *Scotch* had then an Opportunity to have wreeked their Vengeance on the *Engliſh*, who had ſo often, and upon very ſhallow Pretences, over-run their Country [e].

The *French* alſo ſeized upon this Opportunity to beat the *Engliſh* out of the laſt Poſſeſſion they enjoyed of the Conqueſts made by her *Henrys* and *Edwards.* For this Purpoſe King *Henry* II. ordered a very large Fleet to be fitted in the ſeveral Ports of *France*, under the Name of Privateers, to interrupt the *Engliſh* Navigation; but with ſecret Orders to rendezvouſe before *Calais* by a certain Day in Winter; and at the ſame time [f] attacked the ſame Place in Perſon with a ſelect Body of choice Troops. By which Means that ſtrong Fortification was forced in eight Days to ſurrender by Capitulation [g], which had coſt King *Edward* III. eleven Months Siege.

The *Engliſh* kept Poſſeſſion of it for two hundred and ten Years, and thought it ſo impregnable, that they had cauſed an Inſcription to be ſet over one of the Gates, importing, "That when Lead would ſwim upon Water, "like Cork, then the *French* would retake *Calais.*" Several of the Kings of *France* had made Preparations for the Recovery of it; but none had dared to attack it. Upon the taking of this Town, it was obſerved, that the *French* had loſt it under one *Philip*, and that the *Engliſh* had let them retake it under another; to which the Pope, *Paul* IV. added, that the Loſs of *Calais* was Queen *Mary*'s Dowry, and indeed it was all *England* got by the Marriage.

About a Week after the Surrender of *Calais* to the *French*, the Duke of *Guiſe* marched to *Guiſnes*, and took the Town without any Difficulty; but the Caſtle, being defended by the Lord *Grey*, was not carried ſo eaſily. But that was taken at laſt, as was likewiſe *Hames* Caſtle: And ſince that time, neither in *France*, which our Kings poſſeſſed almoſt entire, and of which our King *Henry* VI. had been crowned King, at *Paris*, in the Year 1431. nor in *Normandy* or *Aquitain*, the ancient Patrimony of the Kings of *England*, do our Princes retain any Thing, except the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, which have continued firm to us ever ſince the Conqueſt.

The Loſs of *Calais* ſate ſo heavy upon the Queen, that it is generally thought to have been the Occaſion of her Death. She was ſo affected with it, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to Deſpair, and told thoſe about her, ſhe ſhould die, tho' they were yet Strangers to the Cauſe of her Death; but if they would know it hereafter, they muſt diſſect her, and they would find *Calais* at her Heart. To be, however, in ſome Meaſure revenged on the *French* King, ſhe ſent her High-admiral, the Lord *Clinton*, in the Month of *July*, with a Fleet of one hundred and forty Sail, to which King *Philip* added thirty Sail of *Flemiſh* Ships, commanded by his Admiral of the *Netherlands.* Their Orders were, if they found it practicable, to endeavour the Reduction of *Breſt.* When they arrived on the Coaſt of *Bretagne* they found this Project impracticable. But not to return without doing ſomething worthy of Remark, they landed at *Conquet*, and taking Poſſeſſion of that Town, they ſack'd and burnt it, together with the Abbey of *St. Matthew*, and ſeveral other Places in the Neighbourhood. This done, the *Engliſh* were ſo wiſe to retreat in time to their Fleet, and carried a very conſiderable Booty on-board with them: But the *Flemings* imprudently rambling farther up into the Country, the greater Part of them were cut off in their Retreat. Beſides this deſigned Revenge, the Queen had the Satisfaction of another ſmall one, which was accidental. The Count of *Egmont*, Governor of the Earldom of *Flanders*, had advanced with a great Part of the *Spaniſh* Army towards *Newport.* Monſieur *de Termes*, Marſhal of *France*, and Governor of *Calais*, who had made ſome Excurſions that Way, with an Army, not exceeding twelve thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, which was much inferior to that of *Egmont*, would have avoided him, and returned back to *Calais*; but the Count preſſing him to a Battle, he was at length obliged to engage. Both Sides fought with great Courage and Reſolution, and Victory balanced between them, when an unexpected Incident turned the Scale on the *Spaniſh* Side. Ten or twelve *Engliſh* Ships, happening accidentally to be on the Coaſt, heard the Noiſe of Cannon, and concluded it was a Battle. The Tide favouring them, they entered the River, and having ranged themſelves in a Line, with their broad Sides towards the *French* Army, they ſo gauled their right Wing, with their Cannon, that it was impoſſible to ſtand ſo terrible a Fire. It ſoon gave way, a Pannick ſeized the whole Army, and the Victory on the *Spaniſh* Side was compleat[a]. The *French* loſt by this Action 5000 Men, part in the Battle, part in Flight, and great Numbers were puſhed into the Ocean. Their chief Officers were almoſt all taken, among whom was the Marſhal himſelf, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; 200 fled to their Ships, and tho' they might eaſily have been drowned, obtained Quarter, and were carried Priſoners to *England*.

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[a] A. D. 1553. July the 19th. Hollinſhed. Burnet. Speed. Rapin. Echard.

[b] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 24.

[c] A. D. 1554.

[d] 25th of July. Cooper. Hollinſhed. Speed. Stowe. Rapin.

[e] Stowe. Hollinſhed. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 429.

[f] A. D. 1557-8. 1ſt of January.

[g] P. Daniel's Hiſt. de France, tom. VIII. p. 210.

The Diſcontents and Murmurs of the People were ſo great and open at theſe Meaſures of the Miniſtry, for the Support of the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, contrary to the Intereſt of *England*; that one of the Repreſentatives for the City of *London* in Parliament, boldly, and with a Freedom of Speech, and an honeſt Heart becoming a true *Engliſhman*, laid open in the Houſe of Commons the Grievances of his Fellow-ſubjects, and particularly vouch'd, that the City of *London* was then worth 300,000 *l.* leſs than at the Death of King *Edward*; and that from thence it was eaſy to collect the declining State of the Nation, occaſioned by the marrying of the Queen to a foreign Prince.

However, theſe Meaſures ſo alarmed the Nation at laſt, that from thenceforward the Crown of *England*, for more than a Century, carefully avoided all Connections with Princes on the Continent; who by an unreaſonable Attachment to the Houſe of *Burgundy*, from the Time that the Heireſs of the laſt Duke was married to *Maximilian*, to the Death of Queen *Mary*, coſt *England* in Subſidies and bare Expences of War, granted and entered into on their Account, above ſix Millions of Money; beſides the inexpreſſible Advantages they reaped from our Trade.

The Obſervations to be made on the Trade and Navigation of this Reign, may neverthleſs deſerve the Attention of the Curious. For as there were ſeveral of King *Edward*'s Miniſters employed by Queen *Mary*, ſo we find that in the Reign of this Princeſs the ſame Meaſures were purſued, and the ſame Attention ſhewn for new Diſcoveries, and for giving all the Aſſiſtance that was in the Power of the Crown, to ſuch as engaged in theſe Undertakings. But after the Marriage between the Queen and King *Philip* of *Spain* took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all the Circumſtances relating to the *Weſt-Indies*, than in former Times, and it became faſhionable at Court to read and underſtand whatever had been publiſhed, in any Language, relating to the Conqueſts and Diſcoveries of the *Spaniards*; the *Spaniſh* Officers that attended their King hither, took a great deal of Pains to ſet forth the Exploits of their Nation in the *Weſt-Indies*; and our Sea-officers, with whom they converſed, did not fail to make their Advantage of theſe Diſcourſes, and to gain ſuch Knowledge of the Situation Things were in throughout all their Dominions in *America*, as afterwards coſt the *Spaniards* very dear.

This Intercourſe with that Nation, alſo furniſhed many *Engliſhmen* with Opportunities of going to their Settlements, and of obtaining ſuch Lights with reſpect to their Navigation and Commerce, as proved afterwards of the higheſt Uſe. But notwithſtanding all this, our Trade and naval Power ſuffered deeply by this Connection between the two Nations, which not only hindered, during that Reign, thoſe Voyages we had formerly made to *America*, from being purſued, but involved us likewiſe in a tedious, dangerous, and unneceſſary, War with *France*; by which we ſuffered deeply in our Shipping; for it appears by ſome Fragments which ſtill remain of Speeches made in the Houſe of Commons, that loud Complaints were made on this Subject in Parliament by the Citizens of *London* eſpecially, as mention'd above; whoſe Loſſes were greater than thoſe of the reſt of the Kingdom by thoſe miſtaken Meaſures.

Yet ſuch Branches of our Commerce as did not immediately interfere with that of *Spain*, were greatly favoured in this Reign, in which the *Ruſſian* Merchants were incorporated, and *Sebaſtian Cabot* appointed their Governor for Life, and a *Ruſſian* Embaſſador, who came over hither, was treated with great Diſtinction, both by the King and Queen; which procured us ſuitable Returns, by the granting extraordinary Privileges to ſuch Merchants, and Subjects of *England*, as traded in any Part of that extenſive Empire. The Trade to *Guinea*, likewiſe, met with ſome Countenance from the Court, by which Means the Shipping engaged therein was increaſed, and many more Traders drawn to be concerned therein; ſo that as great a Spirit in this reſpect appeared as could well be expected; while the trading Corporations throughout the Kingdom were expoſed to great Inconveniencies, by taking their Ships for the public Service; for ſo, at that time, aſſiſting King *Philip* was called, though it was evidently againſt the Intereſt of the Nation: and it was our Want of Succeſs in that War which ſaved the Balance of *Europe*, which muſt have been totally loſt, if he had compaſſed his Deſign, and ruined the Power of *France*; ſo that in fact, our naval Force was employed againſt itſelf.

One[b] of the firſt Acts of this Queen, to ingratiate herſelf with her People, upon her Acceſſion to the Throne, was the Regulation of the Coin. This was done by Proclamation[c] the fourth of *September*, wherein her Majeſty calling to remembrance the great Charges that had come to her, and her loving Subjects (in their Trade) by reaſon of the baſe Monies, as well made in the Realm, as counterfeited in other Realms, and iſſued here; and reſolving no longer to ſuffer the ſaid Inconvenience, declares, ſhe had ordered within her Mints, theſe ſeveral Coins, as well of Silver, in Fineneſs of the Standard Sterling, as alſo of Gold, *viz.* the whole Sovereign of fine Gold, to be current for thirty Shillings; the half Sovereign, to be called the *Royal*, for fifteen Shillings; the Angel current for ten Shillings, and half Angel: And of Silver, the Groat, the half Groat, and Penny: And all baſe Monies were to be current, at the Rates declared in a Proclamation made in the Time of King *Edward* VI. and to counterfeit foreign Coin[d] current within the Realm, or to import falſe Money, was made Treaſon.

The Queen's further Attention to the Trade and Commerce of her Subjects appears from the Enforcement of King *Edward*'s Decree againſt the Merchants of the *Steelyard*, which entirely aboliſhed the ancient and extenſive Privileges of that Company; becauſe they eſtabliſhed in thoſe Merchants a Monopoly, and a kind of foreign Republic in the Metropolis of the Nation, by ſecreting the Myſtery of Traffic from the natural-born Subjects of *England*.

The Succeſs of Captain *Chancellor*'s Voyage to *Archangel*[e], gave great Satisfaction to her Majeſty; who, on that Occaſion, diſcovered her royal Inclination for the Purſuit of thoſe Diſcoveries for the Increaſe of Commerce, by readily granting and ſigning a Charter to the Adventurers in that Diſcovery; which, as it is ſtill in Force, and perhaps the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful Eſtabliſhment that was ever founded, being calculated for the Diſcovery of new Trades, I ſhall preſent you with it at large.

The Charter of the Merchants of Ruſſia, *granted upon the Diſcovery of the ſaid Country, by King* Philip *and Queen* Mary.

“ *Philip* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God King and “ Queen, *&c.* To all manner of Officers, true Jury-men, “ Miniſters and Subjects, and to all other People, as well “ within this our Realm, or elſewhere under our Obeiſance, “ Juriſdiction, and Rule, or otherwiſe unto whom theſe “ our Letters ſhall be ſhewed, ſeen or read, Greeting.

“ Whereas we be credibly informed, that our right “ truſty, right faithful, and well-beloved Counſellors, *Wil-* “ *liam* Marquis of *Wincheſter* Lord High-treaſurer of this “ our Realm of *England*, *Henrie* Earl of *Arundel* Lord “ Steward of our Houſhold, *John* Earl of *Bedford* Lord “ Keeper of our Privy-ſeal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, “ *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* Lord High-admiral “ of our ſaid Realm of *England*, &c. have at their own “ Adventure, Coſts and Charges, provided, rigged, and “ tackled certain Ships, Pinnaces, and other meet Veſſels, “ and the ſame furniſhed with all Things neceſſary, have “ ad-

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[a] July 3, A. D. 1558.

[b] Leake's hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Money, p. 223. 2d Edit.

[c] Kennet's Hiſt. England, L. Q. Mary, p. 335. Notes Stow's Annals, p. 616.

[d] Stat. 1 Mary, Stat. 2. c. 6. 1 Ph. & M. c. 11.

[e] See Memoirs of Capt Chancellor on page 187. of this Hiſtory.

advanced and ſet forward, for to diſcover, deſcry, and find Iſles, Lands, Territories, Dominions, and Seignories unknown, and by our Subjects before this not commonly by Sea frequented, which by the Sufferance and Grace of Almighty God, it ſhall chance them ſailing Northwards, North-eaſtwards, and North-weſtwards, or any Parts thereof, in that Race or Courſe which other Chriſtian Monarchs (being with us in League and Amity) have not heretofore by Seas trafficked, haunted, or frequented, to find and attain by their ſaid Adventure, as well for the Glory of God, as for the illuſtrating of our Honour and Dignity royal, in the Increaſe of the Revenues of our Crown, and general Wealth of this and other our Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects of the ſame: And to this Intent our Subjects above ſpecified and named, have moſt humbly beſeeched us, that our abundant Grace, Favour and Clemency may be graciouſly extended unto them in this Behalf: Whereupon we inclined to the Petition of the foreſaid our Counſellors, Subjects and Merchants, and willing to animate, advance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godly, honeſt, and good Purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable Adventure; and that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieve the ſame, of our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by theſe Preſents do grant, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, unto our ſaid right truſty, and right faithful, and right well-beloved Counſellors, and the other before named Perſons, that they by the Name of Merchants-adventurers of *England*, for the Diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions, and Seignories unknown, and not before that late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Sea or Navigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall be from henceforth one Body and perpetual Fellowſhip and Commonalty of themſelves, both in Deed and in Name, and them, by the Names of Merchants-adventurers for the Diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles and Seignories unknown, and not by the Seas and Navigations, before their ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Sea or Navigation commonly frequented, we do incorporate, name, and declare by theſe Preſents, and that the ſame Fellowſhip or Commonalty from henceforth ſhall be, and may have one Governor of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers.

“ And in conſideration that one *Sebaſtian Cabota* hath been the chiefeſt Setter-forth of this Journey or Voyage, therefore we make, ordain, and conſtitute him the ſaid *Sebaſtian* to be the firſt and preſent Governor of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, by theſe Preſents; to have and enjoy the ſaid Office of Governor, to him the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota* during his natural Life, without removing or diſmiſſing him from the ſame Room.

“ And furthermore, we grant unto the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors, that they the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors, after the Deceaſe of the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota*, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in Places convenient and honeſt, aſſemble themſelves together, or ſo many of them as will or can aſſemble together, as well within our City of *London*, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them, in ſuch ſort and manner, as other worſhipful Corporations of our ſaid City have uſed to aſſemble, and there yearly name, elect and chooſe one Governor or two, of themſelves, and their Liberties, and alſo as well yearly during the natural Life of the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota* now Governor, as alſo at the Election of ſuch ſaid Governor or Governors before his Deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint twenty-eight of the moſt ſad, diſcreet, and honeſt Perſons of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchant-adventurers, as is above ſpecified, and four of the moſt expert and ſkilful Perſons of the ſame twenty-eight to be named and called Conſuls, and twenty four of the reſidue to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaid Governor or Governors, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhall remain and ſtand in their Authorities for one whole Year then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaid, to die within the Year after his or their Election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, to elect and chooſe of themſelves other Governor or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, in the Place and Stead of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerve out the ſame Year.

“ And further we do make, ordain, and conſtitute *George Barnes* Knight and Alderman of our City of *London*, *William Garret* Alderman of our ſaid City, *Anthonie Huſie*, and *John Suthcot*, to be the firſt and preſent four Conſuls of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, by theſe Preſents, to have and enjoy the ſaid Offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid *George Barnes*, *William Garret*, *Anthonie Huſie*, and *John Suthcot*, for Term of one whole Year next after the Date of theſe our Letters Patents: And we do likewiſe make, ordain, and conſtitute Sir *John Greſham*, Knt. Sir *Andrew Judde*, Knt. Sir *Thomas White*, Knt. Sir *John Yorke*, Knt. *Thomas Offley* the Elder, *Thomas Lodge*, *Henry Herdſon*, *John Hopkins*, *William Watſon*, *William Clifton*, *Richard Pointer*, *Richard Chamberlaine*, *William Mallorie*, *Thomas Pallie* the Elder, *William Allen*, *Henry Becher*, *Geffrey Walkenden*, *Richard Fowles*, *Rowland Heyward*, *George Eaton*, *John Ellot*, *John Sparke*, *Blaſe Sanders*, and *Miles Mording*, to be the firſt and preſent twenty-four Aſſiſtants to the ſaid Governor or Governors, and Conſuls, and to the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, by theſe Preſents, to have and enjoy the ſaid Offices of Aſſiſtants to them for Term of one whole Year, next after the Date of theſe our Letters Patents. And further, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, as much as in us is, will and grant by theſe Preſents unto the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Company of Merchants-adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſors, that the ſaid Governor or Governors, four Conſuls, and 24 Aſſiſtants, that now by theſe Patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers, or the more Part of them, which ſhall be then preſent, ſo from time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be fifteen at the leaſt wholly agreed thereof, the ſaid Governor or Governors, or one of them, and two of the ſaid Conſuls ſhall be there, and twelve of the reſidue of the ſaid Number of 15, ſhall be of the ſaid Aſſiſtants, and in the Abſence of ſuch Governor, that then three of the ſaid Conſuls, and twelve of the ſaid Aſſiſtants at the leaſt, for the time being, ſhall and may have, uſe and exerciſe full Power and Authority to rule and govern all and ſingular the Merchants of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to execute and do full and ſpeedy Juſtice to them, and every of them, in all their Cauſes, Differences, Variances, Controverſies, Quarrels, and Complaints, within any our Realms, Dominions and Juriſdictions, only moved, and to be moved, touching their Merchandiſe, Trafficks, and Occupiers aforeſaid, or the good Order or Rule of them or any of them.

“ Alſo we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſo much as in us is, do likewiſe by theſe Preſents grant, that the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors ſhall and may have perpetual Succeſſion, and a common Seal which ſhall perpetually ſerve for the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty. And that they and their Succeſſors, ſhall and may be for ever able Perſons, and capax in the Law, for to purchaſe and poſſeſs in Fee and Perpetuity, and for Term of Life or Lives, or for Term of Years or otherwiſe, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and other Poſſeſſions, and Hereditaments whatſoever they be, by the Name of the Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the Merchants-adventurers by Seas and Navigations for the Diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions, and Seignories unknown, and before the ſaid laſt Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas not frequented, as before is ſpecified; and by the ſame Names ſhall and may lawfully alien, grant, let and ſet the ſame, or any Part thereof, to any Perſon or Perſons able in the Law to take and receive the ſame. So that they do not grant nor alien the ſame, or any Part thereof, into *Mortmaine*, without ſpecial Licence of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, firſt had and obtained.

“Alſo we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors have granted, and by theſe Preſents do grant unto the ſaid Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants, and to their Succeſſors, that they and their Succeſſors, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe unto them and their Succeſſors for ever, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments whatſoever, of the clear yearly Value of 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* of lawful Money of *England*, and not above, as well of ſuch Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as be holden, or ſhall be holden of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, as of any other Perſon or Perſons, the Statutes provided againſt Alienations into *Mortmaine*, or any of them, or any Article or Clauſe in them, or any of them contained, or any other Law, Cuſtom, Statute or Proviſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that they by the Name of the Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers, for the Diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions and Seignories unknown by the Seas and Navigations, and not before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the Law to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwer, and to be anſwered, to defend, and to be defended, before whatſoever Judge or Juſtice, temporal or ſpiritual, or other Perſons whatſoever, in whatſoever Court, or Courts, and in all Actions perſonal, real, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all Plaints of *Novel Diſſeiſon*, and alſo in all Plaints, Suits, Quarrels, Affairs, Buſineſſes and Demands whatſoever they be, touching and concerning the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſame only, in as ample Manner and Form, as any other Corporation of this our Realm may do.

“Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſors, that the ſaid Governor, or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſors, in Manner, Form, and Number afore-rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority from time to time hereafter, to make, ordain, eſtabliſh and erect all ſuch Statutes, Acts and Ordinances, for the Government, good Condition, and laudable Rule of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers aforeſaid, as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary, and alſo to admit unto the ſaid Corporation and Fellowſhip to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many Perſons, as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary. And that every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhall fortune hereafter to be admitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip, Commonalty and Corporation, ſhall from the time of his or their Admittance, be free of the ſame. And alſo we will, and by theſe Preſents grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, unto the ſaid Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſors, that the Governor, or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſame, in Manner, Form, and Number afore-rehearſed, and their Succeſſors for the Time being, ſhall, and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents from time to time, as to them ſhall ſeem good, to limit, ſet, ordain, and make Mulcts, and Penalties by Fines, Forfeitures, and Impriſonments, or any of them upon any Offender of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, for any Offence touching the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty; and alſo that all Acts and Ordinances by them or their Succeſſors to be made, which Time ſhall think not neceſſary or prejudicial to the ſaid Fellowſhip or Commonalty, at all times to revoke, break, fruſtrate, annihilate, repeal and diſſolve at their Pleaſure and Liberty. And further, we will, that if any of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty ſhall be found contrarious, rebellious, or diſobedient to the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any Statutes, Acts or Ordinances by them made, or to be made, that then the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants, in Manner, Form, and Number above ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by virtue of theſe Preſents, mulct, and puniſh every ſuch Offender or Offenders, as the Quality of the Offence requireth, according to their good Diſcretions.

“And further, we will that none of the ſaid Offender or Offenders ſhall decline from the Power of the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, in Manner, Form, and Number aboveſaid for the Time being: ſo always, that the ſaid Acts, Statutes and Ordinances, do only touch and concern the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of our before-named Merchants-adventurers, or the Men of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and none other; and ſo always, that ſuch their Acts, Statutes and Ordinances be not againſt our Prerogative, Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of our Realms and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeveral Duty of any of our Subjects towards us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, nor contrary to any Compacts, Treaties or Leagues by us, or any our Progenitors heretofore had or made, or hereafter by us, our Heirs and Succeſſors to be made, to or with any foreign Prince or Potentate, nor alſo to the Prejudice of the Corporation of the Mayor, Commonalties and Citizens of our City of *London*, nor to the Prejudice of any Perſon or Perſons, Body politick, or corporate, or incorporate, juſtly pretending, claiming, or having any Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges, Rights or Preheminences, by Virtue or Pretext of any Grant, Gift, or Letters Patents, by us, or any our Progenitors heretofore given, granted, or made.

“Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, will, and by theſe Preſents do grant unto the ſaid Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of our Merchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſors for the Time being, in Manner, Form and Number above rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority to aſſign, conſtitute and ordain one Officer, or divers Officers as well within our aforeſaid City of *London*, as alſo in any other Place or Places of this our Realm of *England*, or elſewhere within our Dominions; which Officer or Officers, we will to be named and called by the Name of Serjeant or Serjeants to the Fellowſhip or Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants; and that the ſaid Serjeant or Serjeants ſhall and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents, to take, levy and gather all manner of Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties and Mulcts of every Perſon and Perſons, of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty convict, and that ſhall be convicted, upon or for breaking of any Statutes, Acts, Ordinances, to be made by the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants for the Time being.

“And further, we will and alſo grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, that the ſaid Officer or Officers ſhall have further Power and Authority for the Default of Payment, or for Diſobedience in this Behalf (if need be) to ſet Hands and arreſt as well the Body and Bodies, as the Goods and Chattles of ſuch Offender and Offenders, and Tranſgreſſors, in every Place and Places not franchiſed. And if it ſhall fortune any ſuch Offender or Offenders, their Goods and Chattles, or any Part thereof, to be in any City, Borough, Town incorporate, or other Place franchiſed or privileged, where the ſaid Officer or Officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle; that then the Mayor, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other head Officers or Miniſters, within every ſuch City, Borough, Town incorporate, or Place or Places franchiſed, upon a Precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the Governor or Governors, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip, in Number and Form aforeſaid, under the common Seal of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty for the Time being, ſhall and may attach and arreſt the Body or Bodies of ſuch Offender or Offenders, as alſo take and ſeize the Goods and Chattels of all and every ſuch Offender or Offenders, being within any ſuch Place or Places franchiſed, and the ſame Body and Bodies, Goods and Chattels of all and every ſuch Offender and Offenders, being within any ſuch Place or Places franchiſed, and every Part thereof ſo attached and ſeized, ſhall according to the Tenor and Purport of the ſaid Precept, return and deliver unto the ſaid Officer or Officers of the aforeſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty.

“And further, we will and grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors by theſe Preſents, that all, and every ſuch Mayor, Sheriff, Bailiff, or other Head-officers or Miniſters of any City, Borough, Town incorporate, or other Places franchiſed, ſhall not be impeached, moleſted, vexed or ſued in any our Court or Courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the ſaid Precept or Precepts.

“And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant Grace, mere Motion, and certain Knowledge, for us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, as much as in us is, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſaid Governor, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Merchants-adventurers, and to their Succeſſors, and to the Factor and Factors, Aſſign and Aſſigns of every of them, full and free Authority, Liberty, Faculty and Licence, and Power to ſail to all Ports, Regions, Dominions, Territories, Lands, Iſles, Iſlands, and Coaſts of the Sea, whereſoever before their late Adventure or Enterpriſe unknown, or by our Merchants and Subjects by the Seas not heretofore commonly frequented, under our Banner, Standard, Flags and Enſigns, with their Ship, Ships, Barks, Pinnaces, and all other Veſſels of whatſoever Portage, Bulk, Quantity or Quality they may be, and with any Mariners, and Men as they will lead with them in ſuch Ship or Ships, or other Veſſels at their own and proper Coſts and Expences, for to traffic, deſcry, diſcover and find, whatſoever Iſle, Iſlands, Countries, Regions, Provinces, Creeks, Arms of the Sea, Rivers and Streams, as well of Gentiles, as of any other Emperor, King, Prince, Governor or Lord whatſoever he or they ſhall be, and in whatſoever Part of the World they be ſituated, being before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe unknown, and by our Merchants and Subjects not commonly frequented; and to enter and land in the ſame, without any manner of denying, Pain, Penalty or Forfeiture to be had or taken by any our Laws, Cuſtoms or Statutes to our Uſe, or to the Uſe of our Heirs or Succeſſors for the ſame [a].

“And we have alſo granted, and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to their Succeſſors, and to their Factors and Aſſigns, and to every of them, Licence for to rear, plant, erect, and faſten our Banners, Standards, Flags, and Enſigns, in whatſoever City, Town, Village, Caſtle, Iſle, or main Land, which ſhall be by them newly found, without any the Penalties, Forfeitures, or Dangers aforeſaid, and that the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors, Factors and Aſſigns, and every of them ſhall, and may ſubdue, poſſeſs and occupy, all manner of Cities, Towns, Iſles, and main Lands of Infidelity, which is, or ſhall be by them, or any of them, newly found or deſcried, as our Vaſſals and Subjects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, Title, and Juriſdiction of the ſame Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Villages, Iſles, and main Lands, which ſhall be by them, or any of them, newly diſcovered or found unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors for ever.

“And furthermore, whereas by the Voyage of our Subjects in this laſt Year [b] attempted by Navigation, towards the Diſcovery and Diſcloſure of unknown Places, Realms, Iſlands, and Dominions by the Seas not frequented, it hath pleaſed Almighty God to cauſe one of the three Ships by them ſet forth for the Voyage, and Purpoſe above-mentioned, named the *Edward Bonaventure*, to arrive, abide, and winter within the Empire and Dominions of the high and mighty Prince our Couſin and Brother, Lord *John Baſiliwich* Emperor of all *Ruſſia*, *Volodomer*, Great Duke of *Moſcovie*, &c. who, of his Clemency, for our Love and Zeal, did not only admit the Captain, and Merchants our Subjects into his Protection, and princely Pleaſure, but alſo received and entertained them very graciouſly, and honourably, granting unto them by his Letters addreſſed unto us, frank Acceſs into all his Seignories and Dominions, with Licence freely to traffic in and out with all his Subjects in all kind of Merchandiſe, with divers other gracious Privileges, Liberties and Immunities ſpecified in his ſaid Letters under his Signet: Know ye therefore, that we of our further royal Favour and Munificence, of our meer Motion, certain Knowledge, and ſpecial Grace, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſame Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty above-named, and to their Succeſſors, as much as in us is, that all the main Lands, Iſles, Ports, Havens, Creeks, and Rivers of the ſaid mighty Emperor of all *Ruſſia*, and Great Duke of *Moſcow*, &c. and all and ſingular other Lands, Dominions, Territories, Iſles, Ports, Havens, Creeks, Rivers, Arms of the Sea, of all and every other Emperor, King, Prince, Ruler and Governor, whatſoever he or they before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe not known, or by our foreſaid Merchants and Subjects by the Seas, not commonly frequented, nor by any Part nor Parcel thereof lying Northwards, North-eaſtwards, or North-weſtwards, as is aforeſaid, by Sea ſhall not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any our Subjects, other than of the ſaid Company and Fellowſhip, and their Succeſſors, without expreſs Licence, Agreement and Conſent of the Governor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty above-named, or the more Part of them, in Manner and Number aforeſaid, for the time being, upon pain of Forfeiture and Loſs, as well of the Ship and Ships, with the Appurtenances, as alſo of all the Goods, Merchandiſes, and Things whatſoever they be, of thoſe our Subjects, not being of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſail to any of thoſe Places, which be, or hereafter ſhall happen to be found, and trafficked unto; the one Half of the ſame Forfeiture to be to the Uſe of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and the other Half to be to the Uſe of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty. And if it ſhall fortune any Stranger or Strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the ſame Merchants, their Factors, Deputies or Aſſigns, or any of them in ſailing, going, or returning at any time in the ſaid Adventure, or for to ſail or trade to or from any thoſe Places, Lands or Coaſts, which by the ſaid Merchants, their Factors, Deputies and Aſſigns have been, or ſhall be deſcried, diſcovered and found, or frequented, as well within the Coaſts and Limits of Gentility, as within the Dominions and Seignories of the ſaid mighty Emperor and Duke, and of all and every other Emperor, King, Prince, Ruler and Governor whatſoever he or they be, before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe not known by any our ſaid Merchants and Subjects, by the Seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, North-weſtwards or North-eaſtwards as aforeſaid, then we will and grant, and by theſe Preſents do licenſe, and authoriſe for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the ſaid Merchants, their Factors, Deputies and Aſſigns, and every of them to do their beſt in their Defence, to reſiſt the ſame their Enterpriſes and Attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraitly commanding and charging all and ſingular our Officers, Mayors, Sheriffs, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailiffs, and all and ſingular other our Miniſters and Liege-men, and Subjects whatſoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping and aſſiſting unto the ſaid Governor or Governors, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to their Succeſſors and Deputies, Factors, Servants, and Aſſigns, and to the Deputies, Factors and Aſſigns of every of them, in executing and enjoying the Premiſes, as well on Land as in the Sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you ſhall be thereunto required. In witneſs whereof, *&c.*

“Apud *Weſtmonaſterium*, 6° die *Feb* [c]. Annis regnorum noſtrorum, primo & ſecundo.”

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[a] King Philip and Queen Mary hereby do diſanull Pope Alexander's Diviſion.

[b] Anno 1554.

[c] Anno 1555.

The Advantages that might follow to the Nation from this Trade were ſo conſpicuous, that we find the Charter of *Philip* and *Mary* confirmed by Parliament in the very next Reign [a]; in which Act it was enacted, That, in regard the former Name was too long, they ſhould now be called the Company of *Engliſh* Merchants for diſcovering new Trades; under which Name they ſhould be capable of acquiring and holding all kinds of Lands, Manors, Rents, *&c.* not exceeding 100 Marks *per Annum*, and not held of her Majeſty. That no part of the Continent, Iſlands, Harbours, *&c.* not known or frequented before the firſt Enterpriſe of the Merchants of their Company, ſituate to the North or North-eaſt of *London*; nor any part of the Continent, Iſlands, *&c.* under the Obedience of the Emperor of *Ruſſia*, or in the Countries of *Armenia*, *Media*, *Hircania*, *Perſia*, or the *Caſpian-Sea*, ſhall be viſited by any Subjects of *England*, to exerciſe any Commerce, without the Conſent of the ſaid Company, on pain of Confiſcation.—The ſaid Company ſhall uſe no Ships in her new Commerce but thoſe of the Nation, nor tranſport any Cloths, Serges, or other Woollen-ſtuffs, till they have been dyed and preſſed.—That in caſe the Company diſcontinue of itſelf to unload Commodities in the Road of the Abbey of *St. Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, or ſome other Port in the North Coaſts of *Ruſſia*, for the Space of three Years, the other Subjects of *England* ſhall be allowed to traffic to *Narva*, while the ſaid Company diſcontinues its Commerce into *Ruſſia*, only uſing *Engliſh* Veſſels.

This Company ſubſiſted with Reputation almoſt a whole Century, till the time of the Civil-wars. It is ſaid, the Czar then reigning, hearing of the Murder of King *Charles* I. ordered all the *Engliſh* in his States to be expelled; which the *Dutch* taking the Advantage of, ſettled in their Room.—After the Reſtoration, the Remains of the Company re-eſtabliſhed part of their Commerce at *Archangel*, but never with the ſame Succeſs as before; the *Ruſſians* being now well accuſtomed to the *Dutch* Merchants and Merchandiſe.

This Company ſubſiſts ſtill, nearly on the Foot of that of *Hamburgh*, and the Northern and *Turkey* Companies, *i. e.* each Member thereof trafficks for himſelf, and on his own Bottom, only paying an Acknowledgment for Admiſſion-money, beſides ſome other Dues impoſed from time to time, for the Occaſions of the Company, and the Commerce in general.

There are no Monopolies or excluſive Privileges aſſumed by the *Ruſſia* Company, nor any Rule of Conduct eſtabliſhed, which has the leaſt Appearance of being injurious to this Nation; for any natural-born Proteſtant Subject may, for 5 *l.* take his Freedom of the Company, go into *Ruſſia*, and eſtabliſh a Houſe of Buſineſs, under the Protection of the *Britiſh* Crown [b]. The *Engliſh* Merchant may alſo conſign Goods to any Perſon who is a Native of *Ruſſia*, or a Subject of *Great-Britain*, remembering that the Advantage in favour of the *Britiſh* Subjects in *Ruſſia*, according to the 27th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, is about one-third Part in the Cuſtoms of Soldiers Cloths [c], *Yorkſhires* [d], and Flannels. Nor is there any Reſtraint with regard to the Markets of theſe Kingdoms, for any *Ruſſian*, as well as Freeman of the Company, may ſend *Ruſſian* Goods into *England*; he is only to pay the Aliens Duty, as eſtabliſhed by Law [e].

The Factors employ'd abroad in the Name of the *Ruſſia* Company, removed from *Archangel* to *St. Peterſburgh* ſoon after this City was founded by Czar PETER *the Great*, and made the chief Mart of the *Ruſſian* Commerce; of which we have lately publiſhed the following State, as it now ſtands with *Great-Britain* [f].

Ruſſia has made great Strides in the Improvement of her Commerce for ſeveral Years paſt, enjoying ſome Advantages beyond any other Nation: the Number and Greatneſs of her Rivers open a Communication almoſt to every Part of the Globe, but particularly within her own extended Dominions. As to Timber, Hemp, Iron, which are the inſtrumental Cauſes of Trade, no Country in the World produces a greater Quantity, which is a natural Conſequence of the Cheapneſs of Land and Labour: the former of theſe *Great-Britain* enjoys in her *American* Dominions, though not the latter; but if we have occaſion for the Commodities of *Ruſſia*, that Empire has the greateſt Source of her Revenues in the Trade which this Iſland carries on with her Subjects.

Hemp, which twenty Years ſince was hardly worth five Rubbles the Berquevitz [g], of late Years has been about twice that Value; the Increaſe of Silver makes Money every Year leſs valuable: as they can afford this Article in *St. Peterſburgh* at ſix or ſeven Rubbles, they will certainly bring enough of it to Market ſo long as they can obtain eight or nine.

Iron is alſo a very improvable Article, they have both Wood, Hands, and Ore in *Siberia*, ſufficient to make a Quantity, which would depreciate the Value of the *Swediſh* Iron. It is not 40 Years ſince the *Ruſſians* began to open Iron Mines, and yet in the Year 1750, they exported 20,000 Tons: the ordinary annual Export may now be called 12 or 15,000 Tons, which is ſo much more in favour of the *Ruſſians*, as the *Swediſh* Forges for theſe few Years paſt, have not produced ſo much by one third as formerly.

The ordinary Computation of the *Ruſſian* general Export from *St. Peterſburgh* is three Millions [h], of which the *Britiſh* Subjects in *Ruſſia* take off two, conſiſting chiefly in Hemp, Flax, Iron, Hog's-briſtles, Hare-ſkins, hempen and flaxen Manufactures, *Ruſſia* Leather, and other Articles.

The ordinary Imports of the *Ruſſians* were two Millions, conſiſting in Indigo, Cochineal, Lead, Pewter, Tin, wrought Silks, Gold and Silver-lace, Toys, Cotton and Linnen-manufactures, Woollens and Wines. The *Ruſſians* receive the Balance in their favour in Silver and Gold, of which part is a Sum of about 500,000 ſilver Rixdollars, of the Coin of the *United Provinces*; theſe do not, however, paſs current in *Ruſſia*, but the Duties on Goods muſt be paid in them at a certain Rate, according to Weight. The Conſumption of the *Ruſſians* is ſo far increaſed with their Acquiſitions by Commerce, that they import now more than uſual; but the *Engliſh* have ſtill above a Million balance againſt them.

It ſeems to be a Maxim eſtabliſhed in all Countries where Commerce has made any Progreſs, that the Value of Exports muſt exceed that of the Imports, for otherwiſe the Balance muſt neceſſarily be paid in Money: againſt this the *Ruſſians* have taken the Precaution of making it Death to export their Coin; nor is any Plate or Bullion exportable without expreſs Permiſſion.

But to comprehend the real Intereſt and Extent of the *Ruſſia* Trade, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, That *Ruſſia*, or *Muſcovy*, is bounded on the North by the northern Ocean; on the Eaſt by *Great* and *Chineſe Tartary*, and part of the *Japonic Sea*; on the South by the *Calmuc* and *Cuban Tartary*, *Perſia*, *Georgia*, and the *Caſpian* and *Euxine Seas*; and on the Weſt by *Poland* and *Sweden*. Its Extent from Eaſt to Weſt, that is, from the Confines of *Sweden* to thoſe of *China*, is computed, by ſome Geographers, to be 1500 Leagues; and from North to South, that is, from the *Frozen Sea* to the *Euxine*, 600; though others differ in their Accounts: the whole Country lying between the 47th and 70th Degrees of North Latitude, and in ſome Parts eaſtward reaches even beyond it, and between the 30th and 160th of Eaſt Longitude.

Theſe Dominions are ſomething wonderful in their Situation, and which qualifies them for Commerce with almoſt all the World, in a manner which no Empire but this can boaſt of.

They have a Communication with four Parts of the World, by Seas ſo remote from one another, that nothing can be ſhewn like it in the whole Globe; and, in the obſerving this, we ſhall be able with the greater Eaſe to deſcribe the prodigious Commerce they now carry on.

1. They have the Port of *Archangel* in the *White-Sea*, as it is called by ſome, the *Frozen-Sea* by others; and by

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[a] 8 Eliz. Rot. Parl. [b] By an Act of Parliament in the Reign of King William III. [c] Coarſe Cloths ſo called. [d] A thick coarſe Cloth. [e] This Duty amounts to 3 s. and 4 d. on a Ton of Hemp, or about ¾ per Cent. on the preſent Value of Hemp, at 23 l. per Ton, which, in general Terms, is provided for in the Treaty of Commerce. [f] Hanway's View of the Britiſh Trade and Factory at St. Peterſburgh. [g] Or 6 l. per Ton firſt Coſt at St. Peterſburgh. [h] In 1750, the Exports were four Millions of Rubbles, or 880,000 l. Value.

this they have a Navigation to the Northern Ocean, can fit out Ships to *Spitſbergen (Groenland)* and, by the North Cape, into the *German* and *Caledonian* Oceans, and may ſend Ships to any Part of *America*, paſſing by the North of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with as great Eaſe as the *Dutch*, who go North about, do to the ſame Countries.

2. They have the Port of *Peterſburgh*, in the Gulph of *Finland*; by which they have opened a Door into the *Baltic Sea*, and by that Sea, into the *Britiſh* Channel, and ſo with all the reſt of the World. They have alſo the intire Poſſeſſion of *Wiborg*, *Narva*, *Revel*, and *Riga*, four of the beſt Ports for Trade in that Part of the *Baltic-Sea*.

3. They have the Port of *Aſtracan*, in the *Caſpian-Sea*, by which they have a Navigation to the Coaſt of *Georgia* and *Perſia*, and where they are likely one Day to open effectually the moſt important Trade in that Part of the World, notwithſtanding they met with ſome Obſtruction, in relation to the *Perſian* Raw-ſilk Trade from *Geylan*, on the ſide of *Georgia*; and to that Purpoſe the late Czar fortified *Terki*, on the utmoſt Weſtern Bound of *Circaſſia*, and the late Czarina built a Fort and royal City there, which they boaſt will, in time, be equal to that of *Peterſburgh* in the Gulph of *Finland*.

4. They have three ſmall Ports on the ſide of the *Black-Sea*, which, when they took *Aſoph* from the *Turks*, they ſlighted, as having reſolved to make *Aſoph* the Seat of a naval Power, equal to that of the *Turks*, and ſo have obliged the Grand Seignior to allow them a free Paſſage out of the *Palus-Meotis*, and the *Black-Sea*, by *Conſtantinople*, into the *Mediterranean*, which would have been a Door of Trade worth a Kingdom itſelf; but that great Deſign miſcarried afterwards, by the Loſs of *Aſoph* [*], which they were obliged to reſtore to the Grand Seignior, by that fatal Treaty made on the Banks of the River *Pruth*, in *Moldavia*; and, ſince that, they are glad to make uſe of theſe ſmaller Ports in the *Black-Sea*; but they have not yet appeared to be of much Service, either in Matters of Trade or War, having no Harbours to Seaward capable of receiving any Ships of Burthen, nor any navigable River by which to carry on their Commerce by Land, the Country next adjoining being moſtly deſart, and incapable of Trade: Yet it is ſaid the late Czar, had he lived, would have ſettled a Communication that way by Caravans, and ſo have had a Trade to *Terki* on the *Caſpian-Sea*.

Theſe are the four Seas into which the great Extent of their Dominions gives them an Entrance; which yet are ſo exceedingly diſtant and remote in their Situation, as to have no practicable Communication by Sea with one another: But the Situation of *Muſcovy* is ſuch, that, by the great River *Wolga*, which runs from North to South thro' the Heart of their Dominions, they may one Day form a Communication for Trade between all theſe Parts, being able, with the Help of two ſmall Canals, which his Czariſh Majeſty had begun before his Death, to join the Waters of the Lake *Onega* with the Stream of the *Wolga*, and ſo in effect cauſe the Waters of the *Caſpian*, the *Baltic*, and the *White-Sea*, to meet one with another. In the like manner, by a Canal at *Varonitza*, he had brought the Navigation of the Rivers *Wolga* and the *Don*, or *Tanais*, together, and ſo joined the Waters of the *Caſpian* with thoſe of the *Euxine-Sea*; tho' by the diſmantling of *Aſoph*, as above, that Communication is not rendered near ſo uſeful to this Country as it otherwiſe might have been.

Having theſe Advantages for extending their Commerce by ſuch a ſtrange kind of River navigation, we will proceed to enquire into the Funds of Trade which are to be found in this vaſt Dominion. And here we may obſerve, that tho' the Induſtry of the People of *Muſcovy* is really ſcandalous (at leaſt it was ſo before their Prince fired their Minds with Expectations of getting great Things from Trade) and that their Manufactures were very few; yet now no ſingle Country (take it complexly) has ſo many, and ſuch valuable Things for Exportation, as the *Muſcovite* Dominions, and thoſe both of Land-produce and Manufacture, and which, conſequently, bring a prodigious Return to the Country in Money; but till the late Czar ſettled his Court at *Peterſburgh*, opening a Trade by the *Baltic-Sea*, and bringing his Subjects to cloath and Dreſs after the *German* and *French* Manner, they had no great Conſumption of *Britiſh* or *French* Manufactures among them, and, conſequently, no great Commerce this way; but now their Exports and Imports are exceedingly increaſed, and are daily increaſing; and certain it is, that the Balance of Trade is greatly to the Advantage of the *Ruſſians*, with moſt Countries with which they have Dealings.

The Produce of the *European* Part of this Country is as follows:

From *Ruſſia* and North Parts of *Muſcovy*,	Tar in a prodigious Quantity. Honey and Bees-wax. *Ruſſia* Leather, Deer, Bear, and Elk-ſkins. Pot-aſhes, Timber and Plank, Iron, and ſome Copper, the laſt from *Kexholm*, or *South Finland*. Hemp and Flax. Linnen and Linnen-yarn. Furrs, ſuch as Sable, Black-fox, Ermin, Raindeer, Martins. Raw-ſilk, by the *Wolga*. *Perſian*, *Indian*, and *China* Goods, the laſt by Land-carriage.
From *Ruſſia* by the Port of *Wiborg*, conquered from *Sweden*,	Tar, Deals, Fir-timber, Maſts, Iron, and alſo Copper.
From *Livonia*, *Eaſthonia*, and *Narva*, *New Conqueſts*, and from *Lower Ruſſia*,	Hemp, Flax, Linſeed the beſt in *Europe*. Corn, Sturgeon, and Cavear. Pitch and Tar. Linnen-yarn. Linnen-cloth of ſeveral Sorts. *Ruſſia*-linnen, properly ſo called, Diaper, a late Manufacture. Sail-cloth, the like, } both improving. Canvas and Duck, } Pot-aſhes.
From *Siberia*,	Rich Furrs, as Sables, Ermins, Black-fox, White-bear. Beaver, *&c.* as above.

From *Circaſſia*,—Tobacco, which is very much increaſed.

All theſe are extraordinary Exportations, and the more becauſe exported in an extraordinary Quantity: but their Manufactures are but ſmall in Proportion to theſe, except their Linnen, Linnen-yarn, and *Ruſſia*-leather; and theſe, it muſt be acknowledged, are Articles of very great Extent, and have been much increaſing for many Years paſt. Of theſe Merchandizes, the Tar is a prodigious Article. The late Czar was, as the Czarina now is, the ſole Merchant, and it is principally exported at *Archangel* and *Wiborg*.

The Czarina is likewiſe ſaid to be the only Merchant in the Tobacco of *Circaſſia*, which, as it grows in exceeding Plenty, and very good, the *Ruſſians* are ſupplied from thence wholly, and the Government makes a very great Revenue from it. The Country of *Circaſſia*, they ſay, yields above 60 or 70,000 Hogſheads of Tobacco yearly, and they vend no inconſiderable Quantity of it in the *Baltic*, and in *Sweden* and *Poland*.

Between the Port of *Aſtracan* and the Coaſt of *Perſia*, there is a very large Commerce carried on.

From *Siberia*, the Czarina's Share only of the Sables and rich Furrs taken there, is ſaid to amount to above 150,000*l.* Serling a Year, and the Duty paid upon the reſt to as much more.

The Trade in their new Conqueſts was very great before, and is not leſſened ſince their falling into the Hands of the *Ruſſians*. The Hemp, Flax, and other naval Stores ſhipped off every Year at *Riga*, *Revel*, *Narva*, *Wiborg*, and *Peterſburgh*, are ſo exceeding great, that the *Dutch* only are ſaid to load 300 Ships a Year at *Peterſburgh*, and near as many at *Wiborg*.

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[*] This Town ſtanding on the Frontiers of Ruſſia, againſt Turkey, has been ſeveral times taken and retaken of late Years; but on the laſt Peace, concluded in the Year 1739, between thoſe Powers, it was agreed that the Fortifications ſhould be demoliſhed, and the Town remain ſubject to Ruſſia.

The Tar being a monopoly in the Czarina's own Hands, brings in about 250,000 *l.* ſterling Profit to her Exchequer.

The late Czar erected two or three foreign Trades out of the way of all *Europe* beſides, and in which none could diſturb him, nor does any one yet pretend to it: the one is, a Trade by Caravans to *China*.

Theſe Caravans, or Companies of Merchants, ſometimes conſiſt of ſeveral hundred Horſes and Camels, and bring a very large Quantity of rich Goods; and would the *Chineſe* Emperor have done his Part towards opening a Trade with *Europe* that way, as the Czar would have done, it might have been made eaſier to them both, and infinitely more conſiderable.

And, indeed, if there was a friendly Diſpoſition in the *Perſians*, or in the Great Mogul, it would appear moſt eaſy to eſtabliſh a Commerce with *India* that way almoſt all by Sea; and then the Commerce from *India* to *China* by Sea likewiſe will be a thing ſo eaſy, that it would by no means be worth while to make any Attempt by Land. For example:

From the Mouth of the *Wolga* in the *Caſpian-Sea*, to the Mouth of the *Sibun*, or to the Mouth of the *Oxus*, is an eaſy Voyage; the former of theſe Rivers is navigable up to *Bokara*, a City already full of Merchants, and which has a great Trade for all the kinds of Goods which we now bring from the Coaſt of *Malabar*, from *Bombay* or *Surat*.

Theſe Goods are brought up the River *Indus* to *Cachemire*; alſo the Trade of the Bay of *Bengal*, is brought up the River *Ganges* to the Lake of *Tibber*; and both being in the Great Mogul's Country, they are brought within eight Days Journey the laſt, and within five Days the firſt to the City of *Termed* on the *Gybun*, from whence they come by Water to *Bokara*, and after into the *Caſpian-Sea*.

So that to bring it to a ſhort Concluſion, the whole Trade of the *Indies* from the Mouth of the Gulph of *Perſia*, which is very near to *Surat*, and the Mouth of the River *Indus* to *Achim* on the Iſland of *Sumatra*, may be brought by Water (eight Days Caravan only excepted) to *Bokara* on the *Sibun*, thence over the *Caſpian-Sea* to *Aſtracan* on the *Wolga*, and thence to *Peterſburgh*, the late Czar's new Canal to *Peterſburgh* being ſuppoſed to be completely finiſhed, as he originally intended.

From *China* then to *Bengal* every one knows, is no long Voyage; and the Goods of *China* are every Year brought by the *Chineſe* Junks through the Streights of *Sincapore* to *Achim* in the Iſland of *Sumatra*, and thence to *Hugeli* on the *Ganges*, and that with much leſs Charge and Time, than they can come one-twentieth Part of the Way over the Deſarts from *Pekin* to *Moſcow*. So that the *Ruſſians* ſeem to have no more to do, than to induce the Great Mogul by a proper Treaty of Commerce, to open the Trade of the *Ganges* and the *Indus*, and ſettle a ſafe Correſpondence between his Subjects and the *Muſcovites*, and the Trade to *China* would be effectually ſecured.

On the Eaſtern Side of this great Empire, and on or near the Bank of the great *Kama*, they have great Quantities of Rock-ſalt, which they dig out of the Earth, then diſſolve it in its own Brine, as it may be called, that is, in Salt-water, which riſes out of the Mines of Salt, and then boil it up again to be very fine white and ſtrong Salt.

They drive a conſiderable Trade in this Salt, inſomuch that it is ordinary to ſee 20,000 People employed in making it, all at a time.

They bring this Salt down the River *Kama*, thence carry it up by the *Wolga* and the *Occa* to *Moſcow*, and down the *Wolga* to other Cities, even as far as the City of *Aſtracan*.

They cure alſo vaſt Quantities of Fiſh in the great Lakes at the Head of the *Oby*, the *Janizea*, and other Lakes in the Frontiers of *Kathay*; which Fiſh is brought down thoſe Rivers to *Caſan*, and ſo into the *Wolga*, and up to *Moſcow*.

In negociating Money by Bills of Exchange between *England* and *Ruſſia*, it is commonly done by the way of *Amſterdam*. The Computation of which is thus: (1.) The *Ruſſian* Rubbles are converted into Florins current Money of *Amſterdam*; this current Money is reduced into Bank-money, according to the Agio, which is generally from 3 to 5 *per Cent.* i. e. 103 to 105 Florins, or Gilders, current Money, are equal to 100 Florins, or Gilders, Bank-money of *Amſterdam*; and this Bank-money of *Amſterdam* is reduced into Sterling-money, according as the Courſe of the Exchange ſhall be between *England* and *Amſterdam*.

All Merchandizing coming from *Ruſſia* pay a Duty to the King of *Denmark* in paſſing through the *Sound*.

The DUTIES *which the following* Ruſſia *Goods pay in paſſing through the* Sound.

		rixd.	ſtiv.
Linnen	Fine, 1000 Arſheens, pay	1	12
	Middling, ditto	0	40
	Coarſe, ditto	0	30
1 Shipon of fine Flax		0	12
1 ditto of coarſe		0	8
1 ditto of Hemp		0	8
1 Piece of Canvas		0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
6 Shipon, or 1 Laſt of Iron		0	24

Note, 10 pood is 1 ſhipon, and 6 ſhipon is 1 Laſt.
N. B. 48 ſtivers make 1 rixdollar.

When the Captains of Ships run the Goods through the *Sound* without paying the Duty to the King of *Denmark*, the Merchant allows the Captain $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Duties ſaved, for his Trouble.

Sir *Hugh Willoughby* and Company not returning in time, *Stephen Burroughs* was fitted out to proſecute his Attempt to find a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*; who returned without Succeſs; tho' he ran up as far towards the North-pole as the Streights of *Weygatz*[a]. Captain *Chancellor* made two more Voyages to *Archangel*[b]. And in the Year 1557, the *Ruſſia* Company purſuing the original Intention of their Charter, and the Advantages of thoſe Privileges[c] granted to them by the Emperor of *Ruſſia*, made an Attempt to carry on a Trade with *Perſia* by way of the *Caſpian-Sea*. For this Purpoſe they diſpatched Captain *Anthony Jenkinſon* to traverſe thoſe Countries. Of which Diſcovery we read the following remarkable Account[d].

On the 23d of *April* of this Year, *Anthony Jenkinſon*, of whom Mention is made in the Tranſactions of the foregoing Year, having ſent back his Fleet from the Bay of *St. Nicholas*, for *England*, and ſpent the Winter himſelf at *Moſcow*, where he was nobly entertained by the Czar, departed from thence for the City of *Boghar* in *Bactria*. He travelled about 600 Leagues by Land, then entered the *Caſpian Sea*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, and landed near the ſouthermoſt Bay of that Sea on the third of *September*. After a tireſome Journey of 25 Days, 20 of which were through a Wilderneſs, without ſeeing Town or Habitation, where he ſuffered much by Hunger and Thirſt, he came again to a Gulph of the *Caſpian* Sea, where formerly the River *Oxus* fell into it, but then, he ſaid, run into another River not far from thence, called *Ardock*, the Courſe of which is towards the North, and under Ground, above 500 Miles, after which it riſes again, and unburdens itſelf into the Lake of *Kitay*. From thence he departed on the fourth of *October*, and after a tireſome and dangerous Journey, arrived, on the 23d of *December*, at *Boghar* in *Bactria*. He departed from thence the eighth of *March*, to return the Way he went, and the ſecond of *September* arrived again at *Moſcow*.

Here was a fine Paſſage opened for the Company thro' *Ruſſia* to *Perſia*, yet it is certain they did not improve it. For till the ſixteenth Century we had no *Caſpian* Commerce, and then only ſmall Trials. His preſent Majeſty King *George* II, renewed a Treaty of Commerce with *Ruſſia* in 1734, by which a Liberty of this Trade is granted. In 1741 the Parliament of *Great-Britain* paſſed an Act, granting a Liberty to ſuch Perſons as are free of the *Ruſſia* Company, to import the raw Silk of *Perſia* into *Great-*

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[a] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 282.

[b] See Page 187 of this Hiſtory, p. 231. as alſo in the Introduction to Churchill's Voyages.

[c] See Chancellor's Life, p. 187.

[d] Purchas, part III.

Great-Britain, in return for *Britiſh* Manufactures ſold in *Perſia*; in conſequence whereof, were ſent 170,000 *l.* Value into *Perſia*.—In 1743, *John Elton*, one of the Factors in *Perſia*, engaged himſelf as a Ship-builder in the Service of *Nadir Shah*, which offended the *Ruſſians*, and at length occaſioned a Decree of the *Ruſſian* Court, publiſhed in 1746, prohibiting this Trade.—The Cruelties of *Nadir Shah* involved his People in ſuch Miſery, that no Sales of Goods could be made by the *Britiſh* Factors in the North of *Perſia*, from 1744 to 1747.—In *June* 1747 *Nadir* ſuffered a violent Death.—His Nephew *Ali* ſucceeded to the Throne, and Trade revived.—In *January* following, *Amur Aſlan Khan*, a Couſin of *Nadir*, revolting from *Ali*, ſent a Body of Forces, who pillaged the *Britiſh* Factors in *Reſhd*, to the Amount of 80,000 *l.*—Yet the *Britiſh Caſpian* Traders did not give over all Hopes of the Recovery of their Loſs.—The Rebel *Amur Aſlan Khan*, the Author of the Plunder of the *Britiſh* Factory, was ſoon ſeized by *Ibrahim*, and put to Death.—After that, *Shahrokh* was choſen King, and ſupported by a powerful Party.—This carried *Ibrahim* back, but his Fortune was reverſed, by the Deſertion of his Army, and his total Defeat.—The *Britiſh Caſpian* Traders applied to *Shahrokh* for Redreſs, about the Month of *January* 1750.—Afterwards the *Engliſh* Factors in *St. Peterſburgh* united in ſending a Perſon of Reputation to act in concert with Mr. *Wilder* in *Perſia*, intending to reconcile certain Difficulties which had ariſen among the Adventurers, and apprehending that a Coalition of Intereſt would be the beſt Means of preſerving that Unanimity, without which, a Solicitation for the Recovery of their Loſs would prove fruitleſs.

Theſe Diſtractions having continued, the Cultivation of raw Silk in *Perſia* has alſo been much neglected. Many other Reaſons concurred to raiſe the Price of Silk to this Nation. Under theſe Circumſtances, the *Britiſh* Parliament was induced to try if our own Plantations could produce this valuable Commodity, and accordingly an Act was paſſed, intitled, *An Act for encouraging the Culture of raw Silk in his Majeſty's Colonies or Plantations in* America.

The *Eaſt-India* Company alſo applied to Parliament for an Alteration of the Duty of *China* Silk, the obtaining of which affords an Encouragement to the Importation of it.

The *Ruſſia* Company finding themſelves thus excluded a Branch of Trade, from which they had expected many private as well as national Benefits, applied their Thoughts how beſt to repair this Injury: the moſt natural Expedient was to obtain a Liberty to purchaſe the ſame Commodity in *Ruſſia*, which they could no longer provide in the North of *Perſia*, at leaſt not to tranſport it through *Ruſſia*; they might, indeed, purchaſe Silk in *Ruſſia* to tranſport to other Countries; but an Act of Parliament was neceſſary for the Importation of it into *England*. Accordingly the following Petition was preſented to the Parliament.

The Petition of the Merchants of London *trading through* Ruſſia *into* Perſia

Sheweth,

"That your Petitioners did in the Year 1741, obtain an Act of Parliament to enable them to import *Perſian* Raw-ſilk by the way of *Ruſſia* from *Perſia*, if purchaſed there with the Produce of *Britiſh* Woollens, and other Manufactures. Your Petitioners having, in conſequence of the ſaid Act, ſent into *Perſia* about 200,000 *l.* value in *Britiſh* Manufactures, and received part of their Returns in *Perſian* Raw-ſilk, are now prevented by the many Revolutions and Fatalities which have happened in *Perſia* ſince the Commencement of this Trade. Other Accidents alſo have intervened to obſtruct the Deſign as at firſt propoſed, his Majeſty not having any Miniſter at the Court of *Perſia*, to protect our Factors, his Majeſty's Subjects, and our Effects in that Country, which gives the *Ruſſians* and *Armenians* very great Advantage over us, your Petitioners.

"And as the *Ruſſians* and *Armenians* do bring large Quantities of *Perſian* Raw ſilk yearly into *Ruſſia*, which cannot be purchaſed by your Petitioners to be ſent into *Great-Britain*, the preſent Act reſtraining all Imports of *Perſian* Commodities, but ſuch as are in return of Goods actually ſold in *Perſia*; the Raw-ſilk in Queſtion is therefore carried to *Holland* by the *Armenians*, and Woollen Goods taken of the United Provinces in return.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that, in order not to loſe ſo valuable a Branch of Trade, as that of importing Raw-ſilk, a Commodity at this time ſo much wanted, a Clauſe may be annexed to the Bill now depending, relating to the Importation of *China* Raw-ſilk, to permit your Petitioners to import *Perſian* Raw-ſilk from *Ruſſia*, ſubject to the ſame Reſtrictions as they have done from *Perſia* by the way of *Ruſſia*.

"*And your Petitioners*, &c."

In conſequence of this Application, the following ſeparate Act was obtained.

An Act for permitting Raw-ſilk of the Growth of Perſia, *purchaſed in* Ruſſia, *to be imported into this Kingdom from any Port or Place belonging to* Ruſſia, *in* 1750, 23d *Year of his Majeſty's Reign.*

Which, after reciting their former Act, 14 *George* II. *A. D.* 1741, continues in theſe Words:

"But whereas the ſaid Trade between *Great-Britain* and *Perſia*, through *Ruſſia*, hath been for ſome time paſt interrupted, the Subjects of *Great-Britain* not having been of late permitted to tranſport *Britiſh* Manufactures, Goods, and Commodities into *Perſia*, through the Dominions or Territories of or belonging to the Empire of *Ruſſia*, in conſequence whereof the Importation of Raw-ſilk, and other Commodities of the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of *Perſia* from *Ruſſia*, hath been diſcontinued; and whereas it would be of great Advantage to the Trade of this Kingdom in general, as well as contribute to the Increaſe and Improvement of the Silk Manufactures in particular, if Raw-ſilk of the Growth or Produce of *Perſia*, purchaſed in *Ruſſia*, were permitted to be imported from any of the Countries, Dominions, or Territories of the Empire of *Ruſſia*, in return for Woollen and other Manufactures exported from *Great-Britain* to *Ruſſia*, although the ſame be not carried from thence into *Perſia*, may it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by the Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that from and after the 24th Day of *December* 1750, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any Perſon or Perſons, free or to be made free, of the ſaid Fellowſhip of *Engliſh* Merchants for Diſcovery of new Trades, commonly called the *Ruſſia* Company, excluſive of all others, to bring and import into this Kingdom, in *Britiſh* built Shipping, navigated according to Law, from any Port or Place within the Countries, Territories, or Dominions, of or belonging to the Empire of *Ruſſia*, Raw-ſilk of the Growth or Produce of *Perſia*, which ſhall be purchaſed by Barter with Woollen or other Manufactures, Goods, or Commodities exported from *Great-Britain* to *Ruſſia*, although the ſame be not carried from thence into *Perſia* (Gold and Silver in Coin or Bullion excepted) or with the Produce ariſing from the Sale of ſuch Manufactures, Goods, or Commodities, exported from *Great-Britain* to *Ruſſia* as aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe, upon paying, or ſecuring to be paid, the Cuſtoms and other Duties now payable for the ſame, by any Law now in force, according to ſuch Rules, Methods, and Directions, and in the ſame Manner and Form, and with ſuch Allowances, Abatements, Diſcounts, and Drawbacks, and under ſuch Penalties, Forfeitures, and Diſabilities, as are by Law preſcribed and practiſed, on the Importation of raw Silk of the Growth or Produce of *Perſia*, imported into this Kingdom from any Port or Place in the *Levant* Seas, by any Perſon or Perſons free of the *Levant* or *Turky* Company; any Thing in the ſaid Act made in the 14th Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, or in the ſaid Act made in the 12th Year of the Regn of King *Charles* II, entitled, *An Act for encouraging and increaſing of Shipping and Navigation*, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

"Provided always, and be it further enacted, that no Silk of the Growth or Produce of *Perſia*, ſhall be "imported into *Great-Britain*, from any of the Countries, Dominions, or Territories of or belonging to the Empire of *Ruſſia*, by virtue of this Act, unleſs the Importer or Importers thereof do make Oath, before the Collector, Cuſtomer, or Comptroller of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms (who are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter ſuch Oath) at the Port or Place of Importation, that to the beſt of his or their Knowledge and Belief, the Silk, contained in his or their Entry or Entries was really and truly purchaſed by Barter with Woollen or other Manufactures, Goods, or Commodities, exported from *Great-Britain* to *Ruſſia* (not being Gold or Silver in Coin or Bullion) or with the Produce ariſing from the Sale of ſuch Woollen, or other Manufactures, Goods, or Commodities, ſo exported as aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe; and in default of making ſuch Oath, all ſuch Silk ſo imported from any of the Countries, Dominions, or Territories, of or belonging to the Empire of *Ruſſia*, ſhall be liable to be ſeized and forfeited, in like manner as if the ſame had been imported contrary to the ſaid Act, made in the twelfth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* II, entitled, *An Act for encouraging and increaſing of Shipping and Navigation.*

"Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to deprive the Corporation of the United-company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, of any of the Powers, Privileges, Franchiſes, and Benefits, which do or ſhall belong to them, or which they could or might have had and enjoyed in any Manner whatſoever, if this Act had not been made; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding."

The Benefits of the Silk-manufactory muſt ever appear conſiderable, even upon the moſt ſuperficial View, when it is conſidered, that a Pound of 16 Ounces of the plaineſt manufactured Silk is commonly worth 35 or 40*s.* and that rich Silks increaſe in proportion to the greater Labour which is beſtowed on them. The great Pound of 24 Ounces, coſting 21*s.* the ſmall Pound is 14*s.* let us now ſee what Profit ariſes from it, and how much it increaſes in Value, as it paſſes thro' the Hands of the ſeveral Workmen; and here the Charge only of throwing the ſmall Pound is 5*s.* dyeing, Grain-colours included, on a Medium, is 2*s.* and Winding, Weaving, *&c.* is 10*s.* ſo that allowing 1*s.* for the Dyeing-materials, the Nation gains 16*s.* at leaſt on every Pound of Silk manufactured here and exported abroad, and in ſome Articles much more. To inſtance only in one particular, a Pair of Silk-gauſe-ſtockings weighs about 2 ½ Ounces of Silk, which computed as above, is 2*s.* 2*d.* and 20 *per Cent.* Brokerage, and other Contingencies on the Silk, is leſs than 3*s.* and yet the Stockings ſell for 9, 10, or 12*s.* Thus this beneficial Branch of Commerce gives a Subſiſtence to the induſtrious Artificer, and enriches the Nation. A Conſideration greatly in favour of the *Ruſſia* Company. [*]

CHAP. V.

The NAVAL AFFAIRS, *and State of the* NATIONAL TRADE *and* COMMERCE, *including the* DISCOVERIES, *and Memoirs of the moſt eminent* SEA-OFFICERS *and* NAVIGATORS, *during the Reign of Queen* ELIZABETH.

KING *Philip* being abſent from the Kingdom at the Death [a] of his Queen *Mary*, and the Parliament ſitting, the Privy-council, who were ſtrict Papiſts, concealed the Alteration for ſome Hours: But wanting Power, and dreading the Effects of ſetting up a diſtant Claim, which Foible, upon the Demiſe of King *Edward* VI. had brought ſo many to the Block, they prudently notified the Queen's Death to the great Council of the Nation; and from thence received Orders to proclaim Princeſs *Elizabeth* Queen and Succeſſor to her Siſter *Mary*'s Crown [b].

Elizabeth was at that time at *Hatfield*; but being invited to the Throne by the unanimous Voice of the States aſſembled; her Majeſty, who very lately had been put in fear of her Life, by the Intrigues of the late Miniſtry, which dreaded her ſecret Attachment to the reformed Religion, ſhould ſhe ever aſcend the Throne, was conducted with great Solemnity to *London*, on the 19th. The Biſhops, in particular, diſhinguiſhed their Forwardneſs on this Occaſion, by meeting her at *Highgate*, whom her Majeſty received very graciouſly, marking out only *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* to be the Object of her Diſpleaſure, on account of his extreme Cruelties in the late Perſecution of the Proteſtants, under her Siſter *Mary*.

This was not the only Inſtance Queen *Elizabeth* gave of her Moderation towards the Papiſts. She continued the Privy-council left by her Siſter, only adding an equal Number of Proteſtants, to moderate their intemperate Zeal in Caſes of Religion; received the Crown from the Hands of a Popiſh Biſhop; and ſhe even ſtooped ſo low, for the Sake of Peace, as to notify her Acceſſion to the Pope: but when it was repreſented to her that the haughty Pontiff took upon him to reſent her mounting the Throne without his Leave, the Queen recalled her Ambaſſador, and never more correſponded with the Court of *Rome*.

From this Incident the Papiſts took the Alarm; the exiled Proteſtants were encouraged to return from *Germany*, where they had ſought an Aſylum from the *Marian* Perſecution; and the Queen began to put herſelf into a Condition to ward off the Schemes, which the Pope might form againſt her Dominions, and royal Perſon; and which ſhe had the greater Reaſon to fear; becauſe her Siſter had left *England* involved in the fatal Conſequences of a War abroad, in favour of a foreign Prince, and at home threatened with an Invaſion from *Scotland*, without an Ally on the Continent, and without Money in the Exchequer; whoſe Forts and Caſtles were mouldering into Ruins, whoſe Power at Sea had loſt much of its ancient Reputation, and the Subjects in general were reduced to the laſt Degree of Dejection [c].

Elizabeth raiſed to the Throne under theſe Diſadvantages, which were the Effects of thoſe foreign Counſels, that influenced the Cabinet in the late Reign, immediately in Council diveſted herſelf and People of all Connections with *Spain*, otherwiſe than the Trade of her Subjects required [d]. And to aſſert her Independency, and Reſolution to maintain the ancient Right of her Kingdom to the Dominion of the Seas, before ſhe had governed four Days, her Majeſty commanded Vice-admiral *Malyn* to ſail [e] with as many Ships as were fit for Sea, to protect her Trade, to defend the Channel, and to prevent all Fugitives from leaving the Kingdom. And her Orders for the Defence of *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, the *Iſle of Wight*, and other Fortreſſes, were ſo well executed, that in a few Months ſhe baffled all the Projects of her Enemies; and procured an advantageous Peace with *France* [f]; in which it was promiſed to ſurrender *Calais* to the Queen of *England* within eight Years, or pay her 50,000 Crowns by way of Penalty.

By this Treaty a Peace with *Scotland* was alſo included. But the Part which the *French* ſoon after took in the Affairs of that Country, to extirpate the reformed Religion, which then had taken great Root in *Scotland*, preſently interrupted the Tranquillity and Harmony expected from this Event. For, upon the Repreſentations and earneſt Solicitations of the *Scotch* Nobility, who found themſelves and Country intended by their Queen to be ſacrificed to a *French* Army, and annexed to the Crown of *France*, *Elizabeth* was in good Policy obliged to take them under her Protection, and to aſſiſt them, with all her Power, both by Sea and Land [g].

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[*] Here ſhould be inſerted the Life of *John Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, printed on Page 194.

[a] 17th of November, 1558. Hollinſhed. Echard. Speed.

[b] 18th of November.

[c] Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 2, 3. Camden. Ann. Eliz. Vol. I. p. 27.

[d] Cotton Library, Tit. c. 10.

[e] Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 6.

[f] Cotton Library, Tit c. 10. A.D. 1559, in April. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XV. p. 505—513—516.

[g] Burnet. Rapin. Daniel. Buchanan. Camden. Keith, Vol. I p. 113.

The Treaty with the confederate Lords was ſigned at *Berwick* [a]; and in conſequence thereof the Queen of *England* fitted out a Squadron, under the Command of Vice-admiral *William Winter*, Maſter of the naval Ordnance, who had Orders to act in Conjunction with the Land-forces, which ſhe was about to ſend into that Kingdom. Captain *Winter* ſailed with his Fleet to the *Firth* of *Forth*, and went up to *Leith* Road, where ſeveral of the *French* Ships were riding at Anchor. While the Land-forces were preparing to beſiege the Town of *Leith*, he attacked, and ſoon became Maſter of the *French* Ships; and then blocked up the Iſland of *Inch-Keith*, defended by a *French* Garriſon; which was ſoon reduced to the laſt Extremity for want of Proviſions.

The *French* had ſent out a Fleet, under the Command of the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*, to tranſport a Reinforcement; but a violent Tempeſt had diſperſed the Ships [b], and obliged him to return to *France*.

The Army conſiſting of ſix or ſeven thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe under the Lord *Grey*, being advanced to *Leith*, and having joined the Confederates, formed the Siege of that Town. At this Siege Captain *Winter* was of very conſiderable Service with his Ships. There was a large Body of *French* Troops in the Place, who defended themſelves with Bravery for ſome Weeks; but at length the *French* King, being ſenſible, that it would be very difficult to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, made Advances towards a Peace. He offering every Thing that the Queen could deſire, the Treaty was, in a few Days, concluded; and the Fleet and Army returned to *England* [c].

This cordial Action in favour of the Proteſtants in *Scotland*, added to her Majeſty's abſolute rejecting the Overtures of Marriage made to her by *Philip* II. of *Spain*, her late Siſter's Huſband, in behalf of himſelf firſt, and then of his Kinſman *Charles* Duke of *Auſtria*, convinced the *Roman Catholic* Powers of her fix'd Reſolution to eſtabliſh the Reformation, and put them upon new Schemes to make her feel their Reſentments. But her ſteady and high Spirit, animated by a warm and tender Affection for her People, and Zeal for the Cauſe of the Goſpel-liberty, was not to be deterr'd. On the contrary, ſhe made all poſſible Preparations for her Security againſt the impending Storm. She took Care to fill her Magazines; and ordered ſeveral Pieces of new Braſs and Iron-cannon to be caſt. She cauſed a great Quantity of Gunpowder to be made, which was the firſt that *England* had produced. She conſiderably increaſed the Number of her Ships, and got together a powerful Fleet. For whoſe Security ſhe cauſed a Fortreſs, called *Upnore Caſtle*, to be built, upon the Banks of the River *Medway*. She alſo very much augmented the Wages of her naval Officers and Seamen: So that, as Mr. *Camden* ſays, ſhe was juſtly ſtiled by Foreigners, the *Reſtorer of naval Glory, and the Queen of the Northern Seas* [d].

What put *Elizabeth* more upon her Guard was the Delays on the Part of *France*; whoſe King, after having ſued for, and obtained Peace on his own Conditions, and thereby ſaved his Army ſhut up in *Leith*, refus'd to ratify the ſame, under a Pretence that therein the confederate Lords, who had made a Treaty with *Elizabeth* in their own Names, without any Warrant from the royal Authority, were ſtiled faithful Subjects: though it is preſumed the true Reaſon was, becauſe *Mary* thereby gave up her Pretenſions of Right to the Crown of *England*, during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*. However, it was at length concluded at *Edinburgh* [e].

The laudable Example of the Sovereign, who not only diſpenſed her royal Favours of Encouragement to the Officers of her Navy, but alſo to private Adventurers, created ſuch a noble Emulation in many of her rich Subjects, who inhabited the Sea-port Towns, that they ſet themſelves ſo much to building of Ships, as in a ſhort Time, (what with the Ships of the Crown, and thoſe of private Perſons) they became ſo numerous, that they could, on Occaſion of a naval War, employ twenty thouſand Men.

On the fifth of *December*, of this Year, died *Francis* II. King of *France*, by whoſe Death, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, became a Widow: And, from this Time, we may date the Beginning of this unhappy Queen's Miſfortunes. *Francis* was ſucceeded by his Brother *Charles* IX. This Year likewiſe *Shan Oneal*, a Nobleman of great Power and Intereſt in *Ireland*, rebelling, ſome Troops were ſent out of *England*, and others raiſed in *Ireland*, to reduce him; upon which, after ſome Skirmiſhes, he ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy.

In the Year 1561, *Mary* left *France*, and returned to *Scotland* directly by Sea, Queen *Elizabeth* having refuſed her a Safe-conduct, and ſome ſay ſhe eſcaped in a Fog the *Engliſh* Fleet, which waited to intercept her. This, tho' a bare Conjecture, is very likely. She would, probably, have been detained, at leaſt till ſhe had alſo ratified the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

The Death of *Francis* II, King of *France*, Huſband to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, made a conſiderable Alteration in the *Scottiſh* Affairs. The Widow-queen was ſent home to *Scotland*; and *Charles* IX, who ſucceeded *Francis*, being a Minor of eleven Years old, had enough to do at home, in a Kingdom broke into Factions by the Duke of *Guiſe* a Papiſt, and the Prince of *Condè* a Proteſtant, whoſe Animoſities produced a civil War of thirty Years Continuance in the Bowels of *France*. But tho' theſe Troubles prevented any great Attempts being carried into Execution againſt *England*; our wiſe and watchful Queen ſoon diſcovered a Tendency in the Duke's Politicks, to engage the King of *Navarre* to aid him in the Extirpation of the *Hugenots*, and the Ruin of his Rival the Prince of *Condè*, at the Expence of her Crown and Safety. For the *Guiſes*, in conſideration of that King's Aſſiſtance, offered him the Crown of *France*, the Queen of *Scots* for his Wife, and the Kingdom of *England* in Dowry. For which Purpoſe, the Pope promiſed to diſſolve the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, and depoſe the Queen of *England*; and the King of *Spain* engaged to furniſh the Treaſure that ſhould be neceſſary to execute their Agreement.

Under theſe Apprehenſions, Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo far from retracting, or from being diſpirited, that ſhe, failing of the moderate Means propoſed by her Embaſſador Sir *Henry Sidney*, to perſuade each Party to an Accommodation [f], reſolved to turn the Tables; and in order to cut the *French* ſufficient Work out at home, took the *French* Proteſtants in *Normandy* under her Protection, and ſigned a Treaty with the Prince of *Condè*, and other Heads of his Faction, on Condition that one half of her Men [g] ſhould defend *Dieppe* and *Roan*, and that the other half ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of *Havre de Grace* [h], to hold the ſame in the *French* King's Name, till *Calais* ſhould be reſtored [i].

This Succour by Land [k] was backed with a Force by Sea, to protect the Navigation of *England* from the Inſults and Piracies of the *French*. But, the Royal-navy not proving ſufficient to cover thoſe Towns put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and to ſcour the Seas from the *French* Privateers, which their Court immediately commiſſion'd to prey upon our Ships, *Elizabeth* was oblig'd to follow their Example, and by Proclamation ſhe gave Leave to her Subjects to make Repriſals; which was attended with ſuch Succeſs, that one *Clarke*, with three Frigates only, for his Share, carried into *Newhaven*, within a Cruiſe of ſix Weeks, eighteen Prizes, valued at 50,000 *l.* Sterling [l]. The like Spirit prevailed all over the Nation. But the Agreement which was ſoon after ſtruck up between the two Factions in *France*, rendered the *Engliſh* Aid of no Uſe; and therefore the Letters of Marque were called in. The Earl of *Warwick* alſo, who held Poſſeſſion of *Havre de Grace*, was ordered to ſurrender it up upon honourable Conditions.

From this Time *Elizabeth* enjoyed a long State of Tranquillity; and employed her Councils chiefly in the ſettling of Religion, increaſing her Strength, in promoting and extending the Trade, Produce, and Manufactures of the Nation, and in the Diſcovery of foreign Lands.

In 1562 Captain *John Hawkins* made a Voyage to *Guinea*, and thence to the *Weſt-Indies*, with good Succeſs;

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[a] A. D. 1560. Feb. 27.
[b] Camden.
[c] Rymer's Fœdera, T. XV. p. 593.
[d] Camden. Echard.
[e] Rymer's Fœd. ut ſupra, 6 July 1560. Echard, Vol. I. p. 796.
[f] Echard, Vol. I. p. 799.
[g] 6000 in all.
[h] Or Newhaven.
[i] Echard, Vol. I. p. 800.
[k] Sent in Sept. 1562.
[l] P. Daniel. Stowe. Holinſhed. Speed. Camden.

and repeated the ſame in the Year following, as will be more particularly ſet forth in his Life. In the Year 1565 *Richard Johnſon*, *Alexander Kitching*, and *Arthur Edwards*, were ſent by the *Ruſſia* Company into *Perſia*, by the Way of the *Caſpian* Sea, and obtained ſome Privileges in Commerce.

In the Month of *December* 1566, one Mr. *George Fenner* ſailed with three Ships and a Pinnace from *Plymouth* to *Guinea*, and *Cape Verde* Iſlands. One of his Ships in the *May* following having parted Company, fell in with, and was attacked by ſeven *Portugueſe* large Ships, one of them carrying 400 Ton and three hundred Men, off the *Tercera*; with all which he ſingly engaged for two Days ſucceſſively, and at laſt obliged them to ſheer off. In this ſame Year the *Ruſſia* Company obtained a Confirmation in Parliament of their Charter, granted to them in the laſt Reign, as is there ſet forth at large.

This Act of Parliament ſets forth, that ſince the paſſing of the ſaid Company's Charter by *Philip* and *Mary*, they had greatly improved the Navigation to *Ruſſia*, and improv'd the Trade, by paſſing thro' *Muſcovy*, and over the *Caſpian* Sea into *Armenia*, *Media*, *Hyrcania*, *Perſia*, and other Dominions in *Aſia Minor*; and that it was expected they would ſoon diſcover a Way thro' the ſaid Empire of *Ruſſia*, to the Country of *Cathay*, and other Regions in the Eaſt. And it provides, for the better Maintenance of the Navy and Mariners of this Realm, "that it ſhall not be lawful to the ſaid Fellowſhip and Company, nor to any of them, to carry and tranſport, or cauſe to be carried and tranſported, any Commodity of this Realm to their new Trade, but only in *Engliſh* Ships, and to be ſailed for the moſt Part with *Engliſh* Mariners; nor alſo to bring into this Realm, nor into *Flanders*, from their ſaid new Trade, any Merchandizes, or other Commodities, but in *Engliſh* Ships, and ſailed for the moſt Part by the *Engliſh* Mariners, on Pain to forfeit for every ſuch Offence two hundred Pounds, whereof the one Moiety ſhall be to the Queen's Majeſty, her Heirs and Succeſſors, the other Moiety to the Head-officers of any Port-town, having any Haven or Harbour decayed, by what Name ſoever they be incorporated, to the Reparation of ſuch Harbour, that will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by Action, Bill, Plaint or Information, wherein no Eſſoin, Protection, or Wager of Law, for the Defendant, ſhall be admitted or allowed."

Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon*, ſoon after this Act was paſſed, was diſpatched to notify the ſame, and upon other Buſineſs from the Queen to the Emperor of *Ruſſia*; who, on his Part, renewed his former Grant of Privileges, and added more, amongſt which theſe are the moſt remarkable. "That when any matter of Law doth fall out in their Trade of Merchandiſe, then they ſhall be judged by our Chancellors, and Law ſhall be done with Equity betwixt our People and them; and when they cannot be judged by Law, they then ſhall be tried by Lots, and whoſe Lot is firſt taken out, he ſhall have the Right. And if it happen any of thoſe Merchants to have any Matter of Law in any other Part of our Dominions for Trade of Merchants, then our Captains, Judges, and chief Officers ſhall hear the Matter, and adminiſter Juſtice with Equity and Truth, and where Law can take no place, to be tried by Lots, and his Lot that is firſt taken out to have the Right, and for their Matters of Law no Cuſtom to be paid.

"Furthermore, we for our Siſter's Sake *Elizabeth* have granted, that none beſide Sir *William Garrard* and his Company, out of what Kingdom ſoever he be, *England* or other, ſhall come in Trade of Merchandiſe nor otherwiſe to *Colmogro*, nor to the River *Ob*, nor within *Wardhouſe*, nor to *Petzora*, nor *Cola*, nor *Mezen*, nor to the Abbey of *Petchingo*, nor to the Iſland of *Shallawy*, nor to any Mouth of the River of *Dwina*, nor to any Part of the North Country of our Coaſt. And if any Merchant, out of what Country ſoever it be, do come with Ship or Ships, Buſſes, or any other kind of Veſſel to any of our Harbours, within all our North Parts, we will that then the People and Goods, Ship or Ships, ſhall be confiſcate, and forfeited to us the Emperor and Great Duke.

"Given in our Kingdom and Houſe of *Moſcow*, the Year from the Beginning of the World 7076, in the Month of *September*, and in the 34th Year of our Reign, and in our Conqueſt of *Cazan* 16, and in our Conqueſt of *Aſtracan* 15."

In the Year 1568 the Trade to *Guinea* was further advanced by a third Voyage under the Direction of Captain, afterwards Sir *John Hawkins*, who ſailed as Admiral in one of the Queen's Ships named the *Jeſus* of *Lubec*, of 700 Tons. Beſides this, he had five other Ships under his Command; the *Minion*, Captain *John Hampton*; the *William* and *John*, Captain *Thomas Bolton*; the *Judith*, Captain *Francis Drake*; together with the *Angel*, and the *Swallow*[*]. He ſailed on the ſecond of *October* from *Plymouth*, with tolerable Weather, for five Days; but being then 40 Leagues North of Cape *Finiſterre*, they had ſo violent a Storm for four Days, that the Ships were ſeparated, all their Boats loſt, and the *Jeſus* almoſt diſabled for the Voyage; the Storm ceaſing on the eleventh, they purſued their Courſe to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, where they took in, after great Difficulties, and with the Loſs of many of their Men, about 500 Negro-ſlaves, and ſailed with them to the Iſlands of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, departing from *Guinea* about the third of *February*, 1568, to ſell them to the *Spaniards*, as they had a Right to do, by Virtue of a Treaty, yet ſubſiſting, between *Charles* V. and *Henry* VIII.

On the 27th of *March* they got Sight of the Iſland of *Dominica*, in 14 Degrees. From thence they coaſted from Place to Place, as to *Margarita*, *Carthagena*, *Capo de la Vela*, and others; where, with ſome Difficulty, they carried on a tolerable good Trade.

At *Rio de la Hacha*, all Commerce with them was prohibited; till landing 200 Men, they took the Town by Storm, with the Loſs of two Men only; after which they were allowed to carry on a private Trade by Night. From hence being driven by Streſs of Weather to the Port of *St. Juan de Ullua*, in the Bay of *Mexico*, in 19 Deg. Sir *John* fell in with the *Spaniſh* Flota, on the 16th of *September*, which he could with Eaſe have hindered from entering that Port, ſuch was the Nature of the Harbour, and deſtroyed the whole Fleet, valued at 180,000*l*. And beſides, at his Entrance into the Port, he found 12 Ships, which were reported to be worth 200,000*l*. in Gold and Silver, and were all in his Power; but he generouſly releaſed them, without taking from them the Value of one Penny; being fully reſolved not to do any thing that could be looked upon as a Breach of the Peace; and therefore required no more of the *Spaniards* than Security for himſelf, with all that belonged to him; Victuals for his Money; Liberty of Trade; and that, during his Abode there, he might keep Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, with 11 Pieces of Braſs-cannon, which were planted upon it. To which Conditions the *Spaniards* ſubmitted, giving ten Hoſtages for their Performance.

But behold their Perfidy! the *Spaniards*, a few Days afterwards, having privately got a Supply of 1000 Men from the Continent, took an Opportunity to ſurpriſe the *Engliſh*, and perfidiouſly fell upon them, on the 23d of *September*; of which we have Sir *John*'s own Account, as follows:

"At the End of three Days the Treaty was concluded, and the Fleet (*viz.* the *Spaniſh*) entered the Port, the two Fleets ſaluting one another, according to Cuſtom. We then laboured two Days to place the *Engliſh* by themſelves, and the *Spaniſh* by themſelves; the Captains and Seamen on each Side promiſing all friendly Offices to each other; which as faithfully as it was meant on our Parts, was as treacherouſly deſigned on theirs; for they had furniſhed themſelves from the Continent with a Supply of 1000 Men, and had formed a Deſign of falling upon us, on all Sides at once, on the 23d of *September*, at Noon.

"The ſame Morning, the Time fixed for the Execution of their Villainy being then near at hand, we began to diſcover ſome Appearances of it, ſuch as ſhifting of Arms from one Ship to the other, planting and level-

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[*] Camden. Hackluit, part III. p. 521. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1177.

ing of their Cannon from their Ships towards the Iſland, where our Men had the Guard, Companies of Men moving to and fro, more than their common Occupations required, and many other Circumſtances, which gave us a vehement Suſpicion. We therefore ſent to the Viceroy (the ſame who had ſigned the Agreement) to enquire what this meant. He immediately ſent ſtrict Orders to remove all Cauſe of Suſpicion, and aſſured us, that he, *on the Faith of a Viceroy*, would be our Defence, againſt all Treachery. This Anſwer not being, however, ſatisfactory, and we ſuſpecting a great Number of Men to be hid in a large Ship of 900 Tons, which was moored next to the *Minion*, we ſent the Maſter of the *Jeſus*, who could ſpeak *Spaniſh*, again to the Viceroy, and deſired to be informed of the Truth. The Viceroy, ſeeing he could now conceal his Treachery no longer, detained our Maſter; and cauſing the Trumpet to be ſounded, the *Spaniards* ſet upon us on all Sides at once. Our Men on-ſhoar being diſmayed at the unexpected Onſet fled, and endeavoured to recover their Ships; but the *Spaniards* landed their Men in ſuch Numbers on all Sides, that but very few of them got on-board of the *Jeſus*, the reſt being ſlain, without Quarter. The great Ship, which had about 300 Men privately put on-board, fell immediately on-board the *Minion*; but in the time we had the Suſpicion of the Treachery, which was not above half an Hour, ſhe had looſened her Faſtenings to the Shoar, and ſo, eſcaping this firſt Brunt, got out of the Harbour. Upon this the great Ship, with two others, ſet upon the *Jeſus*; but ſhe, likewiſe, with great Difficulty, and the Loſs of many of her Men, got out to Sea.

“ No ſooner were the *Jeſus* and the *Minion* got about two Ships Length from the *Spaniſh* Fleet, than the Fight began to be ſo warm on all Sides, that, in leſs than an Hour, the *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſuppoſed to be ſunk, the Vice-admiral burnt; and another of their chief Ships believed to ſink, ſo that they, from their Veſſels, could not do us much harm.

“ The Cannon on the Iſland was, in the mean time, fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and it was with them they now chiefly gauled us. The Maſts, Yards and Rigging of the *Jeſus* were ſo ſhattered, that we had now no Hopes left of carrying her off. With this Cannon, likewiſe, they ſunk our ſmall Ships. We therefore reſolved to place the *Minion* in ſuch manner, that the *Jeſus* might lie between her and the Shore, and be, as it were, a Fence, to ſecure her from the Enemy's Cannon till Night, when we determined to take what Proviſions and Neceſſaries we could, out of the *Jeſus*, and then to leave her.

“ While we were thus conſulting, and endeavouring to place the *Minion* out of Danger of the Shot from the Shore, the *Spaniards* ſet fire to two great Ships, and let them drive down towards us. Upon this the Men on-board the *Minion*, without either the Captain's or Maſter's Conſent, ſet ſail in ſuch Hurry and Confuſion, that it was not without great Difficulty that I was received on-board.

“ Moſt of the Men, which were left alive in the *Jeſus*, made ſhift to follow the *Minion* in a ſmall Boat: But the reſt, who could not get into the Boat, were left to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*. Thus the *Minion*, with only one ſmall Bark of fifty Tons, the *Judith*, eſcaped the Treachery of the *Spaniards*; but, the ſame Night, the *Judith* likewiſe forſook us. We were now left alone with only two Anchors and two Cables, our Ship ſo damaged, that it was as much as we could do to keep her above Water, and a great Number of us with very little Proviſions. We were beſides divided in Opinion what to do. Some were for yielding to the *Spaniards*; others choſe rather to ſubmit to the Mercy of the *Savages*; and again others thought it more eligible to keep the Sea tho' with ſo ſcanty an Allowance of Victuals, as would hardly ſuffice to keep us alive.

“ In this miſerable Plight we ranged an unknown Sea for fourteen Days, till extreme Famine obliged us to ſeek for Land. So great was our Miſery, that Hides were reckoned good Food. Rats, Cats, Mice and Dogs, none eſcaped us, that we could lay our Hands on: Parrots and Monkies were our Dainties. In this Condition we came to Land, on the eighth of *October*, at the Bottom of the Bay of *Mexico*, in 23 Degrees and a half, where we hoped to have found Inhabitants of the *Spaniards*, Relief of Victuals, and a proper Place to repair our Ship: But we found every thing juſt contrary to our Expectation. Neither Inhabitants, nor Proviſions, nor a Haven for the Relief of our Ship. Many of our Men, nevertheleſs, being worn out with Hunger, deſired to be ſet on Shore, to which I conſented.

“ Of about two hundred Souls, which we then were, one hundred choſe to ſeek their Fortune on Land, on which they were ſet, with great Difficulty; and with the Remainder, after having watered, I again ſubmitted to the Mercy of the Seas, and ſet ſail on the ſixteenth of *October*.

“ Of the Men who were put on Shore, ſays *Purchas*, one Boat not being able to get on-ſhore, two of the Men were drowned, and the reſt got a Mile through the Sea to the Shore, as well as they could. Some died in two Hours Space, with abundant drinking of freſh Water; others were ſwoln exceedingly with Salt-water, and Fruits they found; a Shower of Rain alſo leaving them not one Thread dry; as if Heaven had purſued the Sea's Challenge without; and partly Hunger, and partly the Water and Fruits of the Earth, within their Bowels, had conſpired againſt this unhappy Crew.

“ The *Chichemici Indian* Savages added their Inhumanity, killing eight of their Company in the firſt Onſet; but they yielding (having neither Weapons nor Heart to reſiſt) the *Savages* perceiving them not to be their *Spaniſh* Enemies, pointed them to the Port of *Panuco*. They divided themſelves into two Companies, one going Weſtward, among whom was one *Miles Philips*, and the other Northward, among whom was *David Ingram*, who both came afterwards to *England*, and the former gave *Purchas* a good Part of this Relation.

“ After the Stinging of Flies, Deaths by *Indians*, and manifold Miſeries, the weſtern Company got to *Panuco*, where the Governor ſtripped them of the little they had, and deprived them of their Liberty, calling them *Engliſh Dogs and Lutheran Hereticks*. When they deſired the Aſſiſtance of their Surgeons, for ſuch as the *Indians* had wounded by the Way, he anſwered, *they ſhould have no other Surgeon but the Hangman*. After four Days he ſent for them out of the Priſon, and with many new Halters (with which they were in Expectation of ſuffering) bound and ſent them to *Mexico*, ninety Leagues diſtant, with a great Guard of *Indians*. If ſome of their Keepers uſed them mercifully, the others would knock them down, and cry *march, march Engliſh Dogs, Lutherans, Enemies of God*. After their Coming to *Mexico* many died; but the reſt had kind Uſage in the Hoſpital. Thence they were carried to *Teſcuco*, to be uſed as Slaves, where by the Means of one *Robert Sweeting*, (Son of an *Engliſhman* by a *Spaniſh* Woman) they met with great Aſſiſtance from the *Indians*, or elſe had all periſhed.

“ After this, they were put to the *Spaniards*, as Servants, and were allowed the Means to get ſomething for themſelves, till they became a Prey to the helliſh Inquiſition, which ſeized their Goods and Perſons, and ſhut them aſunder in Dungeons for a Year and a half. By frequent Examinations, they endeavoured to pump ſomething out of them, in Matters of Faith, and not being able, they yielding to their Aſſertions in that kind, craving Mercy, as Men who came into that Country by Streſs of Weather; nevertheleſs they put them to the Rack, to extort Confeſſion that way, which made ſome betray their own Lives. After ſolemn Proclamation, that all might come to this Sight, they were brought in Fool's Coats, with Ropes about their Necks, and Candles in their Hands, to the Scaffold. *George Rively*, *Peter Momfrie*, and *Cornelius* an *Iriſhman*, were burnt, others condemned to two hundred or three hundred Blows on Horſeback with long Whips, and to ſerve in the Gallies ſix, eight or ten Years; others to ſerve in Monaſteries in the *S. Benito* (or *Fool's Coats*) divers Years, of “which *Philips* was one. The Whipping was cruelly executed on *Good-friday*, two Criers going before and proclaiming, *Behold theſe Engliſh Lutherans, Dogs, Enemies of God*; the Inquiſitors themſelves, and their Familiars, crying, *Strike, lay on thoſe Engliſh Hereticks, Lutherans, God's Enemies.* They were remanded to Priſon, all bloody and ſwoln, in order to be ſent to *Spain*, to perform the reſt of their Martyrdom. *Philips* and the reſt having ſerved their Times, had their Fool's-Coats hung up in the chief Church. The reſt married there; but *Philip* eſcaped a ſecond Impriſonment, and, after many Travels in the Country, and Dangers in *Spain*, returned to *England* in 1582.

“*Job Hortob*, another of this Company, with ſome others, were ſent Priſoners into *Spain*, by the Viceroy, with Don *Juan de Velaſco de Varre*, Admiral and General of the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Offering to make their Eſcape, they were diſcovered, and ſeverely ſtocked; then impriſoned a Year in the Contrectation-houſe in *Seville*; but breaking Priſon, were taken, and by the Inquiſition ſentenced, *Robert Barret* and *John Gilbert*, to be burnt; *Job Hortob* and *John Bone* to the Gallies for ten Years, and after that to perpetual Impriſonment. Others were adjudged to the Gallies, ſome eight, ſome five Years. *Hortob* ſerved twelve Years in Hunger, Thirſt, Cold, and Stripes; and after four Years Impriſonment, in his Fool's Coat, was redeemed to the Service of *Hernando de Soria*, from whom, after three Years Service more, he ſtole away, and landed at *Portſmouth* in *December* 1590, after 23 Years miſerable Bondage.”

As for Mr. *Hawkins* and his Crew, they were greatly diſtreſs'd, firſt by a Storm, and afterwards by Famine. In this Condition, wanting all Neceſſaries, and having loſt many of his Men, he firſt made the Port of *Ponte Vedra*; but was obliged to depart thence to *Vigo*, the *Spaniards* ſhewing a great Inclination to take Advantage of his Weakneſs. At *Vigo* he met with ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships, who ſupplied him with Proviſions; and from thence he made the beſt of his way to *England*, where he landed at *Mounts-Bay* in *Cornwall* on the 25th *January* 1568.

The *Spaniſh* Treachery ſo enraged the Nation, that it was with great Difficulty the Queen could reſtrain the ſea-faring People from breaking the Peace with thoſe perfidious People, at a Time the Situation of her Affairs would not ſupport ſuch a Proceeding; tho' it is certain ſhe laid hold on the firſt Opportunity to take a juſt Revenge. One of which ſhe preſently embraced, by the Aid ſhe lent to the *Dutch*; who about this Time being very hardly uſed by the *Spaniſh* Government, were come to a Reſolution to ſhake off that heavy Yoke. To this Perſecution of the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, *England* owes the Eſtabliſhment of our Bay-and-Say Manufactures; for being driven from their native Soil, they fled to this Iſland; and ſettled at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, *Canterbury* and *Southampton*[a].

The Trade to *Ruſſia* continued to flouriſh, and gained additional Privileges from the Czar; for by a Grant dated this very Year, it appears amongſt other Things, that the *Engliſh Ruſſia* Company were admitted to ſearch in the Czar's Dominions for Mines of Iron; and to erect Forges, and to cut down Wood, for the making of the ſaid Iron: And that the Czar did promiſe to furniſh the Servants of the ſaid Company at all Times, when required, with ſuch Conducts, Guides, Mariners, Veſſels, Men and Victuals, as they ſhall ſtand in need of, at what Time ſoever they ſend to the Diſcovery of *Cataya*. A Circumſtance well worth the Attention of the preſent Adventurers in that Diſcovery. Theſe Privileges, as a particular Mark of the Czar's great Content and Satisfaction, were wrote in gold Letters on a blue Ground.

Thomas Randolfe Eſq; was the Perſon to whom theſe Privileges were delivered by the Czar. His Excellency being ſent to *Ruſſia* from the Queen, and as he himſelf writes, ſailed from *Harwich* on the 22d of *June*, attended with about 20 Gentlemen deſirous to ſee the World; and carried very large Silver-cups of curious Workmanſhip, repreſenting ſeveral Hiſtories, explain'd by proper Labels or Verſes, engraved thereon; which the Czar received with ſolemn Formality, and great Reſpect for the Queen or Company that ſent it.

The ſame Year *Thomas Baniſter* and *Geoffry Ducket*, Servants of that Company, undertook the ſame Voyage, and embarked[b] at *Tereſlave*, in a Bark of 70 Ton, called the *Thomas Bonadventure*, mann'd with 13 *Engliſh* and 40 *Ruſſians*; who, about 40 Miles ſhort of *Aſtracan*, were aſſaulted by about 300 *Nagayan Tartars*, in 18 Boats, armed with Swords and Spears, and ſome with Bows and Arrows. The Fight continued two Hours, in which the *Tartars* were ſo galled with their Fire-arms, that they loſt two hundred Men, and retired. Their Voyage afterwards, and Succeſs of their Trade in *Perſia*, where they continued till the Year 1573, were very proſperous. And *Harris* writes, that while they were in *Perſia*, the Sophy purpoſing to ſend a great Sum of Money to *Mecca* in *Arabia*, for an Offering to *Mahomet*, would not ſend any of his own Coin, but ſent to the *Engliſh* Merchants to exchange it for theirs, giving this Reaſon for it: “That the Merchants Money was gotten by good Means, and was therefore worthy to be made an Oblation to their holy Prophet; but his own Money was gotten by Fraud, Oppreſſion, and diſhoneſt Means, and therefore was not fit to ſerve for ſo holy a Uſe.” But in their Return from *Bibil*, on the *Caſpian* Sea, the eighth of *May* 1573, they beat up and down with contrary Winds till the eight and twentieth, when being at Anchor upon the Flats, they were attacked by an hundred and fifty *Ruſſian Coſſacks* (a Sort of Outlaws) who, in divers Boats, under Colour of Friendſhip, entered their Veſſel unſuſpected. But were no ſooner on board, than they ſlew ſeveral of the *Ruſſians*. *Ducket*, with ſome *Engliſh*, who were under the Spar-deck, behaved ſo gallantly, that they ſcoured the Hatches, ſlew 14 of the *Coſſacks*, and wounded about 30 more. However, being overpowered with Numbers, and all ſorely wounded, they were at length obliged to capitulate, and ſurrender their Ship and Cargo, to ſave their Lives.

An Accident happened about the Cloſe of this Year, which ripened the Diſſention between *England* and *Spain*. The *French* Pirates, which at this time infeſted the Chops of the Channel, gave Chace to a Convoy of Veſſels bound from the Coaſt of *Biſcay*, with a large Quantity of Money on-board from *Spain*, for the *Low-countries*. The *Spaniards* eſcaped into the ſeveral Ports of *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*, for Protection; alledging that the ſaid Cargo of Money was deſigned to raiſe a Bank in *Flanders*. But the Queen, after ſhe had granted her Protection, and they had landed the Money, being informed that the Money was on the Merchants Account, and that the Duke of *Alva* would certainly ſeize it to enable him to carry on the War, ſhe made bold to borrow the ſame, giving Security for its Payment, in caſe the King of *Spain* could make good his Claim thereunto, or to gratify the private Merchants with juſt Intereſt, if it was theirs. This brought Matters to an Extremity. Reprizals were made by *Spain* and the Duke, and the *Engliſh*, in their Turn, made Seizures on the *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Ships and Effects. The Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with *England*; and *Philip* King of *Spain* endeavoured to bribe the Duke of *Norfolk* to raiſe a Rebellion there, and the Earl of *Ormond* to do the ſame in *Ireland*. But theſe two Lords diſcovered his Intrigues to the Queen[c]. And it is incredible with what Alacrity the *Engliſh* thereupon put to Sea, and fell upon all Merchant-ſhips belonging to the *Spaniards*: And the Damages they did by their continual Cruiſing were ſo great, that the Queen, fearing to be involved in a formal War, was forced to put a Stop to their Depredations, by publiſhing a Proclamation to forbid the buying of any Goods or Merchandiſe ſo taken. However, when the Goods of our *Engliſh* Merchants were attacked by the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, and by King *Philip* in *Spain*, the Queen arreſted likewiſe the Goods of the *Low-Dutch* in *England*, that amounted to a greater Value, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh*[d].

The Navigation to *Ruſſia* was ſo interrupted by *Daniſh* Pirates about this time, that they were ſtrong enough to attack 13 Ships ſent into the White-ſea by the Company in the Year 1570; of which, and their Battle, we have the following Account, ſent from the Company's Servants, Mr. *Chriſtopher Hodſdon* and Mr. *William Burrough*, to the Czar of *Muſcovy*.

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[a] Camden.
[b] 3d of July. 1568.
[c] Camden.
[d] Raleigh's Eſſays.

Moſt mighty Emperor, &c.

“ Sir *William Gerrard*, and his Fellowſhip, the Company of *Engliſh* Merchants, having this laſt Winter ſent hither to the *Narve* three Ships, laden with Merchandiſe, which were left here, and with them *Chriſtopher Hodſdon*, a Member of that Society, and their chief Factor in this Place, who when he came firſt hither, and during the Time he was diſpatching thoſe Ships from hence, was in hopes of Goods to load twelve or thirteen Sail of good Ships, againſt this Shipping; he therefore wrote to the ſaid Sir *William Gerrard*, and his Company to ſend hither, this Spring, the Number of thirteen Ships. And becauſe that in his Voyage hither, he found there were *Free-booters* (or Pyrates) on the Seas, and believing they would this Year be very ſtrong, he adviſed Sir *William* and the Company, to furniſh that Number of Ships, in ſuch manner, that they might be able to withſtand the Force of the *Free-booters*. According to this Advice, they ſent this Year thirteen good Ships together, well furniſhed with Men and Munition, and other Neceſſaries for War. Of theſe thirteen Ships *William Burrough*, one of the Society, is Captain-general, whoſe Orders are, that if he meet with any of the *Daniſh Free-booters*, or any other Robbers, who are Enemies to your Highneſs, he ſhall do his beſt to apprehend and take them. It happened, that the tenth of this Month, the ſaid *William* with his Fleet met with ſix Ships of the *Free-booters*, near unto an Iſland called *Tuttee*, which is about fifty Verſts (a *Muſcovite* Meaſure about a Quarter of a League) from *Narve*, to which he gave Chaſe with his Fleet, and took their Admiral; in which, however, he found but three Men, the reſt being fled on Shore with their Boats, upon which he ſet fire to the Ship and burnt her. He alſo took four more of thoſe Ships, which are now here, but the other Ship eſcaped him. Out of theſe four Ships, ſome of the Men eſcaped in their Boats, others were ſlain in the Fight, and ſome, when they ſaw there was no Poſſibility of their eſcaping, caſt themſelves voluntarily into the Sea and were drowned; ſo that of all the Men of theſe five Ships, only 83 were left.

“ When *William Borrough* came hither to *Narve*, finding here *Chriſtopher Hodſdon*, both *Chriſtopher* and *William* together, in the Name of Sir *William Gerrard*, and their whole Company, did preſent unto your Highneſs 82 of theſe Men, which we delivered here unto *Knez Voivoda*, the 13th of this Month. One, whoſe Name is *Hans Snark*, a Captain, we have kept, at the earneſt Requeſt of above fifty of our Men, on their Knees, becauſe ſome of them having been taken by the *Free-booters*, they had by his Means, their Lives ſaved, and received ſeveral other Favours at his Hands. Wherefore, if it pleaſe your Highneſs to permit it, we will carry him home with us to *England*; wherein we requeſt your Majeſty's Favour: notwithſtanding, what you command of him ſhall be obſerved.

“ We have alſo ſent our Servant to your Highneſs with ſuch Beſtellings (or Diſpatches) and Writings as we found in thoſe Ships; whereby your Majeſty may ſee by whom, and in what Order they were ſet out, and what they pretended; which Writings we have recommended unto *Knez Yorive*, your Majeſty's *Voivoda*, at *Pleſco*, by our Servant; and have requeſted his Furtherance, for the ſafe Delivery of them to your Majeſty's Hands. Which Writings, when you have peruſed, we deſire that they may be returned unto us, by this our Servant, as ſpeedily as may be: For theſe Ships which we now have here will be ſoon diſpatched from hence; becauſe we have not Goods to load above the half of them. The Reaſon of which is, that we have this Winter (by your Majeſty's Orders) been kept from trafficking, to the Company's great Loſs. But hoping your Majeſty will hereafter have Conſideration thereof, and that we may have free Liberty to traffick in all Parts of your Majeſty's Dominions, according to the Privilege given unto us, we pray for your Majeſty's Health, with proſperous Succeſs to the Pleaſure of God. From *Narve*, the 15th of *July*, Anno 1570.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
and obedient Servants,

Chriſtopher Hodſdon.
William Burrough.

The Difference between *England* and *Spain* was not cordially made up. But *Elizabeth* informed of *Philip*'s Intention to marry *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, was ſo polite as not only to grant the Princeſs a ſafe Conduct, but ſent a Fleet under the Command of her Admiral *Charles Howard* to convoy her to *Spain* from *Zealand*.

The Trade to *Guinea*, which had been greatly interrupted by the *Portugueſe*, claiming, as firſt Diſcoverers, an excluſive Right to the whole Coaſt, was this Year [a] ſettled by a Treaty; in which the two Nations agreed to keep within certain Diſtricts, and to trade in Amity with each other. The *French* alſo ſigned a Treaty of Peace with *England* at *Blois* [b]: But with what Sincerity it is eaſy to judge by the immediate Preparations they made for War. The Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in cold Blood at *Paris*, and the powerful Fleet which was ſtationed between *Rochelle* and *Bourdeaux*, convinced *Elizabeth*, that nothing but an Opportunity was wanting for ſuch perfidious and bloody Councils to put ſome ruinous Scheme againſt her in Execution. Therefore ſhe did not in the leaſt heſitate to ſend Aid to the Prince of *Orange* in the *Netherlands*; and applied herſelf more diligently to the Augmentation of her Navy, and the fortifying of her Sea-ports.

Her Majeſty alſo (if ſhe did not adviſe) connived at the Expeditions which ſome of her Subjects made to the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to force a Trade, and even to make Settlements. Amongſt the foremoſt of theſe was Mr. (afterwards Sir *Francis Drake)* who with two ſmall Veſſels, and 73 Men and Boys, ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*, to make Repriſals on the *Spaniards* for the Loſſes he had ſuſtained in Sir *John Hawkins*'s Expedition above-mentioned. He ſailed on the 24th of *May* 1572, from *Plymouth*, and arrived at Port *Pheaſant* on the Continent, near the Iſland *Dominica*, on the 12th of *July*.

In this Expedition he landed and ſurpriſed the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; but was not able to keep it, as will appear more particularly in his Life. For being wounded, his Men forced him on-board; but in his Return he landed again, made great Diſcoveries, and ſaw the great South-ſea from an Eminence between *Panama* and *Carthagena*. He alſo took a great Number of Prizes, and returned home [c] laden with Riches, and reſolved to ſail, as ſoon as poſſible, to make a perfect Diſcovery of the South-ſeas.

But before Captain *Drake* could get ready for his intended Voyage to the South-ſeas, one *John Oxenham*, who had ſerved under him in his former Voyages as a Soldier, Sailor and Cook, with ſeveral others, having obſerved in how poor a State of Defence the *Spaniards* were in thoſe Parts, and with what Eaſe they might ſecure a Fortune to themſelves, fitted out a Ship, of 140 Tons Burden, and ſailed in the Year 1575, with ſeventy Seamen to the ſame Place where Captain *Drake* had made his Fortune [d]. He drew up his Veſſel into a woody Place, and covered it with Boughs, to prevent any Notice of his Arrival; and he buried his great Ordnance and Proviſions; then marched with his Company, having only two ſmall Guns, and their ſmall Arms, and ſix *Negroes* for Guides, about 12 Leagues over the Mountains upon the Continent, to a River that diſcharges itſelf into the South-ſea. Then cutting down Timber, and building a Pinnace, which was 45 Foot by the Keel, he fell down with her into the Bay of *Panama*, and went over to the Pearl Iſlands, 25 Leagues diſtant from the City of *Panama*, a convenient Station for intercepting the Plate Ships, coming from *Peru* to *Panama*. And where, after ten Days, he took a ſmall Bark coming from

[a] A. D. 1571.

[b] A. D 1572. April the 11th.

[c] A. D. 1573. Auguſt the 9th, at Plymouth.

[d] Camden. Hackluit, part III. p. 526. Purchas. Vol. IV. p. 1160.

from *Quito*, in the Kingdom of *Peru*, to *Panama*, and found in her 60,000 *Pezzoes* (or Pieces) of Gold, and a great Quantity of Proviſions: At the End of ſix Days he took another Bark coming from *Lima*, in which he found 100,000 *Pezzoes* of Silver, with which he thought to have gone, and entered the River; but firſt he went in ſearch of Pearls, to the Iſland called by that Name. He found a few, and then returned to his Pinnace, and ſo ſailing to the River from whence he came, when he came near to the Mouth of it, he diſmiſſed his two Prizes, and went with the Pinnace alone up the River.

Had not *Oxenham* ſpent fifteen whole Days in going to the Iſland in queſt of Pearls, and afterwards in quarrelling with his Men, he would have had time enough to carry off his Booty, before the *Spaniards* could have known any thing of the Matter; or he might have kept it an entire Secret, if he had detained or killed the *Spaniards* he took in the two Ships, and then they would never have known who had hurt them. A Want of this Foreſight, and his unbounded Avarice, betrayed him to his Ruin, as we ſhall ſee below.

The *Negroes* who inhabited the Iſland of Pearls, went the very ſame Night he left them in Canoes to *Panama*, to give Intelligence of what had befallen them; and the Governor of that Place within two Days ſent four Barks, each with 25 Men, beſides *Negroes* to row, under the Command of Captain *John de Ortega*, in ſearch of the *Engliſh*. At the Iſland of Pearls they got Intelligence which way they were gone, and following them, met in their Paſſage the two Prizes which the *Engliſh* had ſo indiſcreetly diſmiſſed. From them they learnt that *Oxenham*, with his Men, were gone up the River; thither *Ortega* followed them, till he came to a Place where two ſmaller Rivers fell into it. Here he was at a Loſs which of the three Streams to go up. He, at laſt, thought it would be moſt probable to find them in the largeſt, and was therefore determined to that; when he accidentally perceived a great Quantity of Feathers of Fowls, which the *Engliſh* had plucked to eat, and with their former Unwarineſs had ſuffered to ſwim down the Stream of one of the ſmaller Rivers.

This was a ſufficient Guide to the *Spaniards* which way to go, and after having been four Days in that River, they diſcovered *Oxenham*'s Pinnace upon the Sands, with only ſix Men in her. Of theſe they killed one; but the other five eſcaped, leaving the Pinnace to be plundered by the *Spaniards*, who however found nothing but Proviſions in her. The *Spaniſh* Captain was not ſatisfied with this ſmall Advantage; but reſolved to ſeek out the *Engliſh* on the Shoar. He therefore left 20 of his Men to guard the Pinnace and his Barks, and with the other 80 marched up the Country. He had not gone above half a League, before they diſcovered a Hut made of Boughs, in which they found all the *Engliſhmens* Goods, together with their Booty of Gold and Silver. The *Spaniards* carried every thing to their Barks, and being ſatisfied with having recovered their Gold and Silver, were determined to depart, without purſuing the *Engliſh* any farther.

While the *Spaniards* were about to depart, *Oxenham* came down upon them with all his Men, and above 200 *Negroes*, and attacked them with great Fury; but the *Spaniards*, having the Advantage of being covered by ſome Trees, ſoon got the better of the *Engliſh*, of whom they killed eleven, with five *Negroes*, and took ſeven Priſoners, with only two of their Men killed, and five wounded.

The Account of this Skirmiſh, *Hackluit* and *Purchas* had from *Lopez Vaz*, a *Portugueſe*, who would not ſpeak too favourably of the *Engliſh*. But the *Spaniards* (ſays the ſame Author) among other things queſtioned their Priſoners how they came to delay their Departure 15 Days, when in all that time they might have eſcaped with their Booty unmoleſted. Their Anſwer was, that the chief Occaſion of this Delay was a Difference between the Captain and them, which happened upon the following Account: The Captain inſiſted upon their conveying his Booty to their Ship, for which however he offered a Reward over and above their Wages: They accepted of his Offer, but inſiſted upon the immediate Performance of it: But he, on his ſide, was ſo enraged at this Diſtruſt they profeſſed to have of him; and reſolving, upon this Account, that they ſhould not carry at all, went out in ſearch of *Negroes*, to do him this Service. Having got a Number of them together for that Purpoſe, upon his Return with them he met the five *Engliſhmen* who had eſcaped from the Pinnace and from the Hut. They gave him an Account of what had happened, upon which he was reconciled to his Men, and promiſed them half of the Treaſure, if they would ſtand by him to recover it out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and the *Negroes* promiſed to aſſiſt them with their Bows and Arrows. But that now having loſt ſo many of his Men, killed, taken, and wounded, he was returned to his Ship, in order to go back to *England*.

The *Spaniſh* Captain having heard this Account, returned with the Booty he had recovered, and his *Engliſh* Priſoners, with their Pinnace, to *Panama*. At his Return thither, an Account was ſent to *Nombre de Dios* of all that had paſſed; upon which the Inhabitants of that Place fitted out four Barks, which (as the *Spaniards* ſay) found *Oxenham*'s Ship, and carried it back to their Port. The Viceroy of *Peru* ſent in the mean time a Detachment of 150 Men in ſearch of the remainder of the *Engliſh*, who, to the Number of 50, were retired to the Mountains. They found them buſied in making ſome Canoes, to go into the North-ſea, where they hoped to ſurpriſe ſome Veſſel. Some of them who were ſick, were immediately made Priſoners, and the reſt fled; but they were ſoon after betrayed by the *Negroes* into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who carried them to *Panama*.

At *Panama*, *Oxenham* was examined, what Authority he had from his Queen for theſe Proceedings; but not being able to produce any Power or Commiſſion for ſo doing, he, with all his Company were ſentenced to Death as Pirates, and common Enemies of Mankind. Purſuant to this Sentence, they were all executed, excepting *Oxenham*, with his Maſter, Pilot, and five Boys, who were carried to *Lima*, where the three Men likewiſe ſuffered, but the Boys were pardoned. And thus ended this memorable Adventure.

In the mean time the Aſſiſtance which the Queen lent to the Prince of *Orange*, cut the *Spaniards* out Work enough in the *Netherlands*, where the confederate States were come to a Reſolution to place themſelves under the Protection of *England*; and for that Purpoſe ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy with a Tender of their Country to Queen *Elizabeth*. To which her Majeſty return'd this wiſe and noble Anſwer: "That ſhe thanked the Prince of *Orange*, and the Confederates, for their apparent Good-will towards her: But that ſhe eſteemed nothing more glorious than to deal with Faith and Honour, and as beſeemeth a Prince. That ſhe was not yet ſatisfied how ſhe might, with her Honour, and a ſafe Conſcience, take thoſe Provinces, upon their Proffer, into her Protection, much leſs Poſſeſſion. But ſhe would deal ſeriouſly with the *Spaniard*, to procure them a happy Peace."

To the Complaints of *France* againſt her Majeſty's Subjects, who ſupplied the Proteſtants ſhut up in *Rochel* by a long Blockade, with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries; and alſo againſt the Earl of *Montgomery*, (who by the Aſſiſtance of ſome *French* Refugees had fitted out a conſiderable Squadron of ſtrong Ships, and forced the Duke of *Anjou* to raiſe the Siege after he had fir'd 30,000 Cannon-balls, made nine great, beſides 20 leſs conſiderable Aſſaults, ſprung ſixty Mines, and loſt 12,000 Men before the City) the Queen evaded giving a direct Anſwer: diſowning her Knowledge of the firſt; and for the latter alledging, that Merchants were Men who followed their Gain where-ever they hoped to find it, and that ſince they, as Proteſtants, were in Danger of being butchered in every other Port of *France*, it was no Wonder they carried their Goods where they might hope to vend them in Safety.

The civil Wars in *France* and *Flanders* colour'd many illicit Proceedings at Sea. For the *French* Proteſtants, driven to extreme Neceſſities by Land, fitted out ſeveral Privateers to cruize upon their Enemies by Sea. But not confining their Hoſtilities to their proper Objects, or not meeting with a ſufficient Number of Reprizals, they piratically, and moſt ungratefully ſtopp'd and plunder'd the

Engliſh alſo: Amongſt whom was the Earl of *Worceſter*, whoſe Ship, ſeparating from the Squadron appointed to convoy him to *France*, was ſeized and plundered by theſe Rovers.

Hereupon a Squadron was ſent out, under the Command of *William Holſtock*, Comptroller of the Navy, who retook ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Ships, and ſeizing ſome of the Cruizers, diſperſed the reſt; by which the Seas were freed from them for ſome time.

The Navigation alſo ſuffered greatly from the Depredations made by the *Zealanders* and *Hollanders*, under pretence that they ſupplied their Enemies, the *Dunkirkers*, with Proviſions, and carried on a colluſive Trade with *Spain*, for the *Antwerpians* and others. *William Holſtocke* was again employed, and ſent out with ſome Men of War againſt them. He took above 200 of their Mariners, and threw them into ſeveral Priſons on the Coaſts.

Mr. *Andrew Barker*, a Merchant of *Briſtol*[a], being arreſted and caſt into Priſon under Suſpicion of fictitious Crimes by the Inquiſition of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary* Iſlands, then under the *Spaniſh* Government, to which he had ventured with a Cargo of Cloths and other Goods to a conſiderable Value, (on-board the *Chriſtopher* of *Dartmouth*, Captain *Henry Roberts* Commander, in the Year 1574; and thereby ſuffered great Affliction, and the Loſs not only of his own Effects, but of others conſign'd to his Care, before he could be permitted to depart in an empty Ship) meditated Revenge for their ill Uſage and Injuſtice; and prevail'd with his Friends in *England*, at his Return, to fit him out with two Ships, the one called the *Ragged Staff* commanded by himſelf, and *Philip Roche* Maſter; the other called the *Bear* commanded by *William Cox* of *Limehouſe*, near *London*. With theſe two Veſſels Mr. *Barker* ſail'd[b] from *Plymouth* to make Reprizals in the *Weſt-Indies* for the Damage receiv'd as above.

The firſt Place they touched at was the Iſland *del Sale*, one of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands; and from thence they ſailed to the Iſland of *Mayo*, where they took in freſh Water, and at firſt traffick'd peaceably with the *Portugueſe*; but, their Trumpeter being treacherouſly murdered, they in Revenge burnt two ſmall Villages; and ſhaping their Courſe over the Ocean to the *Weſt-Indies*, arrived at the Iſland of *Trinidad*. Here they framed a Pinnace, which they had carried out in Joints, in the *Ragged Staff*, and traded with the *Indians* for Proviſions.

After ſix Days Stay they departed for the Iſle of *Margarita*, where they took out of a ſmall *Spaniſh* Ship, loaded with Pitch and *Canary* Wine, only four or five Tons of Wine, and then diſmiſs'd her.

They proceeded to the Iſland of *Curaçao*, where fourteen of their Men were treacherouſly wounded by the *Indians* and *Spaniards*. But this was not ſo unfortunate as the Quarrel which happened at Cape *de la Vela*, between Mr. *Barker*, and Mr. *Roche*, the Maſter of the *Ragged Staff*, concerning their Skill in Navigation. From hence they ſailed to the Bay of *Tulu*, about 18 Leagues Southweſt of *Carthagena*, where they took a Frigate, Value 500 *l.* in Bars of Gold, and Ingots of Silver, beſides a Quantity of coined Silver, or Rials of Plate, and ſome Emeralds; among which was one very large, ſet in Gold, which Captain *Barker*, having firſt taken out the Treaſure for his own uſe, left behind him, making the beſt Way to *Nombre de Dios*.

On their Arrival at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, 18 Leagues Northweſt of *Nombre de Dios*, eight or nine of the *Engliſhmen* died of a Calenture. And between *Chagre* and *Veragua*, they took a *Spaniſh* Frigate, on-board of which were found ſome Gold, 23 *Spaniards*, whom they ſet on-ſhore, and two *Flemmings*, with four Braſs cannons, three Harquebuſſes, and 16 *Spaniſh* Callivers.

At *Veragua* Captain *Barker*, and the Maſter of the *Ragged Staff*, renewed their Quarrel, and fought a Duel, in which the Captain was hurt in the Cheek; and the *Ragged Staff* proving leaky they ſunk her, and the Company removed into the *Spaniſh* Prize.

They then ſailed to the Bay of *Honduras*, and took a Bark, in which was to the Value of a hundred Pounds of Rials of Plate, with ſome *Indian* Wheat, and other Proviſions. Among the *Spaniards*, who were on-board of this Bark, was the Secretary of *Carthagena*, who, being a Perſon of ſome Note, was put to a Ranſom, which was paid in Gold; the reſt were freely diſmiſſed. After paſſing by ſeveral Iſlands, the *Engliſh* Veſſels came to the Iſland of *S. Franciſco*, at the Mouth of the Bay of *Honduras*, where two Days after their Arrival, *William Cox* Captain of the *Bear*, having conſpired with ſeveral more of the Company, came on-board of the Ship, in which Captain *Barker* was, and diſpoſſeſſed him, as well of the Ship, as of the Treaſure which was in her; ſetting the Captain, with ſeveral others, by Violence, on-ſhore; where he and one *German Weibourne* fought, and were both wounded.

The Captain attempted to get on-board again; but was reſiſted by the ſame Perſons who ſet him on-ſhore, and who told him, that he ſhould not be taken on-board till they were ready to depart. In the mean time they appointed about ten Men on-ſhore for the keeping of the Iſland; but one Morning, by Break of Day, when they had about thirty Men on-ſhore, ſixty *Spaniards* came unexpectedly upon the Iſland, and ſurprized them, killed Captain *Barker* and eight more, and wounded the Captain's Boy, and one more.

The Captain being ſlain, the Mal-contents admitted the Remainder into the Ship; and ſailing to an Iſland about a League's Diſtance from *S. Franciſco*, *Cox* divided a Chain of Gold, which he had found in the Captain's Cheſt after his Death, among the Company. And being now Commander in Chief, went in a Pinnace, which they had taken at the Iſland of *S. Franciſco*, and a Skiff, with ſeveral others of the Company, to the Town of *Truxillo*, in the Bay of *Honduras*, and ſurprized the Town, where they found Wine, Oil, and ſeveral other good Commodities, more than they could carry away; but neither Gold nor Silver, nor any other Treaſure, at leaſt that they would ever confeſs. Before theſe could recover their Company, their Companions in the Barks were chaſed by ſeveral *Spaniſh* Men of War, which obliged every Man to ſhift for himſelf, as well as he could. And the Skiff, in which were eight Perſons, being left to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, in the Bay of *Honduras*, they were never afterwards heard of.

This Misfortune determin'd them upon a Reſolution to return for *England*; and being in the main Sea, homeward-bound, about ſixty Leagues from the Iſland of *S. Franciſco*, the Frigate, in which was the Treaſure for the Adventurers, and what belonged to the Captain, to the Amount of two thouſand Pounds, carrying too much Sail, was overſet by a Flaw of Wind. Thus all their Goods periſhed, together with fourteen Men. Nine Men only were ſaved; among whom where *William Cox*, and *William Gillam*. *Philip Roche*, the firſt Occaſion of the Quarrels and Diviſions among the Company, which coſt the Captain his Life, and overthrew the whole Deſign, died in their Paſſage home.

The Remains of this unhappy Company arrived at the Iſlands of *Scilly*, near *Cornwall*, where they left their Frigate, which they had new built on the Shore of the *Honduras*, having in her, at their Landing, ten Buts of Oil, four Braſs-cannon, which had been in *Oxenham*'s Frigate, taken the Year before in the Streights of *Darien*, three Harquebuſſes, ſome Callivers, and Part of the Treaſure. *William Cox*, and *Andrew Brown* took upon them here to divide the Remainder of Treaſure among their Company, at the Rate of five, ſix or ſeven Pound a Man, or more, according to their Deſerts. The Bark, and the reſt of the Ordnance, were left in the Iſland for the Uſe of *Andrew Brown*. But ſome of the Company returning to *Plymouth*, were committed to Priſon, at the Suit of Mr. *John Barker* of *Briſtol*, the Captain's Brother, as Acceſſaries to his Death, and for having betrayed him to the Enemy. After a ſtrict Examination, by particular Commiſſion from the Privy-council, ſome of the chief were long impriſoned, though it was the Opinion of moſt they had juſtly deſerved Death.

The Length of the Voyage, and the Hazards which the *Engliſh* were obliged to encounter with from the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* in their Trade by the Way of the *Cape of Good*

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[a] Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1180. Hackluit. Part III. p. 528.

[b] In the Beginning of June 1576.

Good Hope to *China*, had put them upom many Expedients to open a more ſecure, expeditious, and convenient Courſe for the Improvement thereof. This had been the grand Point in View in all their Attempts to the N. E. and in their Treaties with *Ruſſia*. But thoſe Projects not anſwering their ſanguine Expectations; ſeveral *London* Merchants were prevailed upon by Mr. *Martin Forbiſher*, in the Year 1576, to fit him out upon a Diſcovery of a N. W. Paſſage, after a Solicitation of 15 Years Continuance, as Capt. *Fox* remarks [a]. His principal Patron in this Scheme was *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*; and our Navigator was contented with two ſmall Barks, the *Gabriel* and *Michael*, of 25 Tons each, and one Pinnace of 10 Tons only.

Mr. *Forbiſher* took the Command of the *Gabriel*; the *Michael* was given to one Captain *Kinderſley*, ſubject to the Direction of Mr. *Forbiſher*. This little Squadron, with which few would now-a-days ſcarce venture to the Extent of the *Engliſh* Coaſt, ſailed from *Blackwall*, on the River *Thames*, about four Miles Eaſt of *London*, on the 15th of *June* [b], to ſearch the moſt Northern Seas for a Paſſage thro' the Ice-ſea, the frozen Zone, and the North Pole, to the Coaſt of *China*, and the *Weſt-Indies*. Of the Succeſs of which Voyage we have the following Accounts.

The 15th of *July* he had Sight of a ragged Land, he took to be *Friezland*, but durſt not approach the ſame for Ice and Fog; and thereabouts he loſt the Sight of his ſmall Pinnace by Storm, which he thought the Sea had devoured, wherein were only four Men.

The *Michael* miſliking the Matter, ſlipt back for *England*, with Report that the Captain was loſt at Sea.

The worthy Captain, notwithſtanding he had ſprung his Mainmaſt in the Storm, proceeded on Weſt-northwards; and the 20th he had Sight of a high Land, which he named Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Foreland*; and ſailing more Northerly along the Coaſt, deſcried another Foreland with a Gut, Bay or Paſſage Weſtward: He met great Store of Ice along the Coaſt, and was croſt with Winds that he could not thwart thoſe Streights in few Days; he diſcerns the Ice to be well conſumed, either ingulfed therein by Indrafts, or elſe ſet ſo Southwards by Currents; he enters the 21ſt, ſails Weſtwards 50 Leagues, with Land on both Sides, and imagines the one the main Continent of *Aſia*, the other on Larboard the firm Land of *America*; he named the Streight *Forbiſher*'s *Streight*. After he had ſailed 60 Leagues up, he went on-land, found Signs where Fire had been made, and Deer ſo fierce that he was fain to defend himſelf againſt them. The People reſorted to him in their Canoes of Leather, and had like to have ſtolen his Boat from him before he was aware; they came on Ship-board, brought him Salmon, Fleſh and Fiſh; appeared to be nimble of their Joints, and ſtrong; they fall to trade for Fiſh, Seal, Coats of Seal-ſkins, and Bear-ſkins, for Bells, Looking-glaſſes, and other Toys; they intercept his Boat with five Men. The Captain by the Ringing of a Bell intices one of the Savages to him, as though he would give it him, he lets the Bell fall into the Sea, as the Savage ſhould have took it; he takes him by the Hand, and pulls him with his Boat into the Ship; whereupon the Savage bit his Tongue in twain, yet he lived till he came into *England*, and then died of Cold he had taken at Sea. With this Prize he returned for *England*, having firſt commanded his Company at their Landing in the foreſaid Country, to bring away ſomething with them of the firſt they could lay their Hand upon, in Token of Poſſeſſion in the Right of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Whereupon ſome brought Stones, ſome Flowers, ſome Graſs, and one brought a Piece of Stone much like to Sea-coal in Colour, but by Weight ſeemed to be Metal or Mineral; but as yet not eſteemed of, but from the Place from whence it came.

Of this bright Stone he gives a Piece (as of ſomething brought from that far Country) to one of his Adventurers Wives, who threw the ſame into the Fire to burn; and after it was quenched with Vinegar, it glittered with a bright Marqueſſet of Gold; whereupon it was tried by certain Goldſmiths in *London*, who upon Eſſay made gave out that it held Gold, and that very richly for the Quantity; and the ſaid Goldſmiths promiſed great Matters, if any Quantity thereof could be had; which Hopes produced a ſecond Voyage.

In this Voyage they gave Names to Sounds, Iſlands, Bays, Capes, Streights, &c. as *Elizabeth*'s Foreland, Cape *Labrador*, *Gabriel*'s Iſland, *Prior*'s Sound, *Thomas William*'s Iſland, *Bourcher*'s Iſland, *Forbiſher*'s Streights. And deſcribed the Country-people to be like the *Tartars*, with long Black-hair, broad Faces, flat Noſes, tawny coloured, wearing Garments of Seal-ſkins. He arrived at *Harwich* the 2d of *October*. All which is more particularly confirmed by the Journal of *Chriſtoper Hall*, Maſter with *Forbiſher* in this his firſt Voyage.

Secretary *Woolley* was ſent from her Majeſty to give Charge to the Company of the Ship to obey their Captain, and be diligent in all Things; he obſerves at *Graveſend*, and found the Latitude 51 Deg. 23 Min. Variation 11 Deg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

June 24th, He had Sight of *Faires* Iſle. The 25th he had Sight of the *Swinborne* in *Shetland*, the Southermoſt Cape bears N. N. W. *Fairely* at the ſame time W. S. W. ſailing from theſe Bearings with *Swinborne*, Lat. 59. 46, he had Depth 60, 50, 40 Fathoms.

Fairely bearing W. N. W. 6 Leagues offryn, he had Depth 59 and 46 Fathom; and went into *Tromius* Sound in *Shetland* to ſtop a Leak.

14 Leagues Weſt Southward from *Faires* Iſle, he had Variation W. 11 Deg. 9 Min.

July 11th, He had Sight of *Frieſland*'s ſharp pinnacled high Land, covered with Snow, Lat. 61; bearing W.N.W. the Captain attempted to get on-land, but could not for great Store of Ice, and had no Ground at 120 Fathom. Sailing from thence 20 Leagues S. W. obſerving the Sun in the Meridian 52 Degrees, judges the Variation W. 2 Points and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The 28th was foggy, but at the breaking up thereof he had Sight of Land, ſuppoſed *Labrador*; he found great Store of Ice about the Land, but had no Ground at 100 Fathom, a Cable's Length off Shore; and a great Current ſets S. W. and N. E.

1 League $\frac{1}{2}$ in the Hour, the Tide ſets to the Shore, and then a great Piece of Ice breaking made a Noiſe, as if the Cliff had fallen into the Sea.

Auguſt 10th, The Flood ſets S. W. along the Land; and it flows ſo.

11th, Latitude here 63 $\frac{1}{8}$. This Day they enter the Streights, and ſet ſail for *Gabriel*'s Iſland, then diſtant 10 Leagues.

13th, They enter within a Sound, in a ſandy Bay, the Land bears E. S. E. depth 8 Fathom, a S. E. Moon full Sea; they name this Sound *Prior*'s Sound, diſtant from *Gabriel*'s 10 Leagues.

16th, Calm and fair; in two Hours the Ice was froze about the Ship a Quarter of an Inch thick.

The 19th, the Captain and he went on-ſhore upon an Iſland with eight Men, and from the Top thereof they had Sight of ſeven Boats, which came rowing from the Eaſt-ſide to the Iſland; then they returned on Ship-board, and ſent their Boat with five Men to ſee which way they took; and ſo with a white Cloth or Waff brought one of their Boats with their Men in her along the Shore, rowing after the Boat until they ſaw the Ship, and then they rowed on-ſhore, and he followed and gave every one of them a thread Point, and brought one of them a-board, where he did eat and drink, and then carried him a-ſhore again; whereupon the reſt, being 19 Perſons, came on-board, but he could not underſtand their Language; they were like *Tartars*, with long Black-hair, broad Faces, flat Noſes, and tawny coloured, wearing Seal-ſkins, and ſo did the Women, nothing differing; but the Women in the Face had blue Strokes down the Cheeks, and about the Eyes; their Boats were made of Seal-ſkins, with a wooden Keel within them, much like unto a *Spaniſh* Shallop, ſave only they were flat-bottomed, and ſharp ended.

20th, They went on-land upon the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland with four Men more in the Boat, where they ſaw their

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[a] See N. W. Fox, p. 17.

[b] A. D. 1576. Id. ib. See alſo Hackluit, Part III. p. 39, 57. Harris's Collection, Part I. p. 575. Churchill's Voyages in the Introduction. Purchas Pilgr. p. 811.

their Houſes, the People came to them calling (and rowing) one of them came into their Boat, they carried him on-board, and gave him a Bell, and a Knife; the Captain commanded five Men to ſet him on-ſhore in an Iſland, and not amongſt their Company; but they not regarding went to them, who ſurpriſed their Boat and themſelves, who have never as yet been heard of.

21ſt, The next Day they ſhot off a Falken-gun, and ſounded a Trumpet to hear from their Men, but were not anſwered; this Morning the Snow was one Foot thick upon the Hatches.

22d, They went to the Place where their Men were loſt, and had ſight of 14 Boats, and ſome came near them, but they could hear nothing of their Men.

26th, Returns homeward; at eight o'Clock in the Night was thwart of *Gabriel*'s Iſle, and had Cape *Labrador*, as he ſuppoſed, W. 10 Leagues off.

September 1ſt, Had ſight of *Frieſland* 8 Leagues off; from this Day to the 6th they run along *Iceland*.

25th, Sight of *Orkney*.

October 1ſt, Anchor at *Yarmouth*.

The Account of this Diſcovery raiſed the Attention not only of the Merchants, but of the Court alſo. And the Queen diſpatched *Forbiſher* with three Ships, the *Aid* Burthen 180 Tons, the *Michael*, and the *Gabriel*[a], as above, mann'd with 140 Gentlemen, Soldiers and Sailors, and victualled for ſix Months. On-board the *Aid*, with the Commander in Chief, who went by the Name of General of the whole Company for her Majeſty, were ſeven Officers, a Lieutenant, an Enſign, a Corporal of the Shot, a Maſter, Mate, Pilot, and Maſter-gunner, with nine Gentlemen, about twenty Soldiers, and about fifty Sailors. The *Gabriel* had a Captain, Maſter, one Gentleman, ſix Soldiers, and ten Sailors; and the *Michael*, a Captain, Maſter, one Gentleman, five Soldiers, and nine Mariners.

The ſeventh of *June* he arrived at the Iſles of *Orkney*, and the fourth of *July* at *Friſeland*. The ſixteenth he came to his *Streight*, which he had diſcovered the laſt Year, and much Ice appearing, durſt not venture in with his Ship, but went with two Pinnaces, and aſhore took one of the Savages. The nineteenth of *July* the Ice driving away the Ships, he run into the Streight, and anchored in a Bay, which he called *Jackman's Sound*; here he landed with moſt of his Men.

The General marched up into the Land, took Poſſeſſion in the Queen's Name, and employed his Men about the Buſineſs they came thither for.

Whilſt they continued in this Harbour, they kept watch continually, with Boats and Ropes ready to hawl and tow away the Ice, which otherwiſe might have driven athwart the Ships with Ebb and Flood.

The General not finding Commodity anſwerable to his Expection in the ſuppoſed *America*, left the Ships, coaſted on to the ſuppoſed *Aſia*, the Stones on Land, and Sand in Sea, ſparkling like Gold on both Sides (if all be Gold that glitters). Upon the Weſt-ſhore they found a dead Fiſh floating, which proved by the Horn to be a Sea-unicorn; the Spiders put therein died.

The General in further ſearch found Gold-ore, as he ſuppoſed, with a good Harbour, and returned to the Ships. By the Way he eſpy'd a Tent covered with Seal-ſkins the People were fled; he left Glaſſes, Bells, and Knives therein, and only took one Dog, and nothing elſe; but left a Letter, with Pen, Ink and Paper for his Men to write (which were taken from him the laſt Year) if they were living.

Their Men march'd up again, and finding their Tents removed to the Foreſide of the Bay, fled by Sea; our Men encompaſſed them both by Land and Sea, and they defended themſelves with Bows and Arrows, and fiercely aſſaulted our Men, who wounded three with their Arrows; who perceiving themſelves hurt, deſperately leapt from the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themſelves. The reſt eſcaped by flying into the Mountains, only two Women ſtayed, the one for Age, the other having had a Child.

Hackluit[b] adds, that at the ſame Time they took the Woman and Child, they took an old Woman too; but of ſo hideous a Form, that they ſtripped her to ſee whether ſhe had cloven Feet, or any other Mark to convince them ſhe was not of human Kind.

The Woman that had the Child was brought on Shipboard, being ſhot through the Hair of her Haid, but her Child was ſhot through the Arm; which the Surgeon endeavouring to cure, ſhe pluckt off the applied Salves, and like a Dog, with licking healed up the Child's Arm.

The Man-ſavage formerly taken, and ſhe brought together, every Man with Silence deſired to behold the Manner of their Meeting, the which was more worth the beholding than can well be expreſſed. At their firſt Sight they beheld each the other very wiſtly a good Space, without Speech or Word uttered, with great Change of Colour and Countenance, as though it ſeemed the Grief of their Captivity had taken away the Uſe of their Tongues; the Woman at firſt very ſuddenly, as though ſhe diſdained or regarded not the Man, turned away, and began to ſing as tho' ſhe minded another Matter; but being again brought together, the Man broke up the Silence firſt, and with a ſtern and ſtaid Countenance, began to tell a long ſolemn Tale to the Woman, whereunto ſhe gave good Hearing, and interrupted him nothing till he had finiſhed; and afterwards being grown into more familiar Acquaintance by Speech, they were turned together, ſo that I think the one would hardly have lived without the Comforts of the other; and for ſo much as we could perceive, albeit they lived continually together, yet they did never uſe as Man and Wife, though the Woman ſpared not to do all neceſſary Things that appertain to a good Houſewife, indifferently for them both; as in making clean their Cabbin, and in every other thing appertaining to his Eaſe. For when he was ſick, ſhe would make him clean, and kill and flea the Dogs for their eating, and dreſs his Meat. Only I think it worth the noting, the Continency of them both, for the Man would never ſhift himſelf, except he had firſt cauſed the Woman to depart out of his Cabbin; and they both were moſt ſhamefaced, leſt any of their Privy-parts ſhould be diſcovered, either of themſelves or of any other.

Our Men returned to their Tents (ſeeing there was no Hopes of bringing them to Civility) and ſpoiled them; wherein they found an old Shirt, a Doublet, a Girdle, and Shoes of the *Engliſhmen* loſt the laſt Year.

This done, they return again to their Ship. And the third Day they depart from this ſuppoſed *America*. The fourth they came to the General in a fair Harbour on the Eaſt-ſide, which they named the Counteſs of *Warwick*'s Sound; in this Place they fully intended to lade with the ſuppoſed Gold-mineral, to countervail the Charge of their firſt, and this ſecond Voyage.

The Inhabitants come to them again, and make ſhew that three of the five Men were alive, making Signs for Pen and Ink, and that within three or four Days they would return, and bring thoſe that were living.

Sir Martin Forbiſher*'s Letter to the* Engliſh *Captives, taken the laſt Year in* Meta Incognita.

" In the Name of God, in whom we all believe, who I " truſt hath preſerved your Bodies and Souls among thoſe " Infidels, I commend me unto you, I will be glad to " ſeek by all means you can deviſe for your Deliverance, " either with Force, or with any Commodities within my " Ships, which I will ſpare for your Sakes, or any thing " elſe I can do for you. I have on-board, of theirs, a Man, " a Woman and Child, which I am contented to deliver " for you; but the Man of theirs which I carried away " the laſt Year, is dead in *England*. Moreover you may " declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will " not leave a Man alive in their Country. And thus, if " one of you can come to ſpeak with me, they ſhall have " either the Man, Woman or Child in pawn for you; and " thus unto God whom I truſt you do ſerve, in haſte I " leave you to him; we will daily pray for you. This " *Tueſday* Morning the 7th of *Auguſt*.

" Yours to the utmoſt of my Power,

" MARTIN FORBISHER.

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[a] See the Authors above-mentioned, A. D. 1577.

[b] Vol. III. p. 60.

"I have ſent you by theſe Bearers, Pen, Ink and "Paper to write back again; if perſonally you can, come "to ſatisfy me of their Eſtate."

Here their Captive being on-ſhore, ſet up five ſmall Sticks in a Circle one by another, with a ſmall Bone placed in the Midſt. The *Engliſh* conceited thereby, that he would give his Countrymen to underſtand, that for five Men betrayed the laſt Year, he was taken Priſoner, which he ſignified by the Bone in the Midſt.

They alſo made Signs that they had a King carried on Mens Shoulders, a Man far ſurpaſſing any of ours in Bigneſs and Stature. It may be thought they are uſed to traffic with ſome other Nation; yet for all this fair Dealing they lay lurking to betray our Men, with divers Signs. One amongſt them counterfeited himſelf lame, who being ſhot at with a Calliver to affiright him, he preſently took to his Legs, and ran away.

Their Weapons were Bows, Arrows, Slings and Darts; they had two ſorts of Boats, the one for a ſingle Man, and cloſe deckt, ſhaped like a Weaver's-ſhuttle; the other open to carry fourteen Men, more or leſs, and plankt with Seal-ſkins.

The Winter drawing on, the Admiral departed on the 24th of *Auguſt* for *England*, having loaded his Veſſels with a ſort of ſhining Sand, and black Stones, which the Refiners had called, and he imagined to be, Gold-ore; but they happened to be miſtaken. He arrived at *Milford-haven* on the 20th of *September*. In their Return home the two Barks were ſeparated from him: But they afterwards arrived ſafe in *England*, one at *Briſtol*, the other at *Yarmouth*; only two Men were loſt during the whole Voyage; one of which, the Maſter of the *Gabriel*, was drowned.

The Deſcription of this Country and its Inhabitants, as brought back by theſe Adventurers was: That they are Men of large Corporature, good Proportion, and of Colour not much unlike the Sun-burnt Countryman.

They wear their Hair ſomething long, cut diſorderly before; their Women wear their Hair long, knit up with two Loops; ſome of them race their Cheeks, Chins, and Faces, whereupon they lay a Colour like dark Azure.

They eat all their Meat raw, as Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, or but lightly parboiled; with Water and Blood they will eat Ice as we do Sugar.

For Neceſſity they will eat Graſs like brute Beaſts, without Table or Stool; and when their Hands are imbrued in Blood they lick them clean with their Tongues.

They yoke their Dogs for uſe, as we do Oxen, and when they grow old they fatten them to eat, and if they die they do the like.

They apparel themſelves in Skins of Beaſts and Fowls, ſewed together with the Sinews thereof, to defend them from Cold.

They make their Apparel with Heads and Tails, which Tails they beſtow as Favours to ratify any Friendſhip ſhewn them; the Mens Garments are not ſo long as the Womens.

They wear their Hoſe cloſe to their Legs, from the Waiſt to the Knee without any Opening before, as well the one kind as the other; upon their Legs they wear Hoſe of Leather, with the Fur-ſide inward, three Pair at once, eſpecially the Women; in theſe Hoſe they put their Neceſſaries they carry about them; they put alſo a Bone into their Hoſe from the Foot to the Knee, whereon their Hoſe being drawn, are held up inſtead of Garters.

They dreſs their Skins very ſoft and ſupple with the Hair on; in Winter they wear the Skin-ſide inwards, in Summer outwards; other Apparel they have none.

Their Beaſts, Fiſhes, and Fowls, are all their Meat, Drink, Apparel, Houſes, Bedding, and all their Riches.

Their Houſes are Tents covered with Skins, pitched with Quarters four Square, meeting at Top, ſewed together with Sinews; their Entrance is always over againſt the Sun.

They have other ſorts of Houſes which they found not to be inhabited, raiſed with Stones and Whale-bones, and covered with Skins; the entering not unlike unto an Ovens-mouth, which they frequent during their Hunting-time, and ſo leave them until they come thither again.

They have two ſorts of Boats, as before; the one only for one Man, the other for 16; they kill their Fiſh and Fleſh with Darts; and it may be thought they repair to ſome other Place to live in Winter, farther from the Sea-ſide; they will eat their Fleſh and Fiſh, ſmell it never ſo filthily. What Knowledge they have of God, or what Idol they adore, is unknown. They make Signs of People that wear bright Plates of Gold in their Foreheads. The Country is high and mountainous, great Quantities of Snow lying thereon; there is little plain Ground, and no Graſs, but that which is like unto Moſs, growing upon ſoft Ground, ſuch as we get Turf upon. There is no Wood at all. There is great Quantity of Deer, their Skins like unto Aſſes, their Heads or Horns do far exceed any, both in Length and Breadth, of theſe Countries; their Feet are great as Oxen, which meaſured were ſeven or eight Inches in Breadth. There are alſo Hares, Wolves, Fiſhing-bears, and ſundry ſorts of Sea-fowls.

The Trade of *Guinea* was alſo continued this Year with three Ships, the *Minion*, called the Admiral, commanded by Mr. *William Towerſon*; the *Chriſtopher*, Vice-admiral; and the *Tyger*; to which was added the *Unicorn Pinnace*. This little Squadron ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 30th of *January*[a] with Letters of Marque, being then at War with *France*. In the Chops of the Channel they ſearch'd a *Dantzicker*, and took out of him a Quantity of *French* Goods. At the *Canaries* they met with the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet of nineteen Ships, who at firſt demanded their Obeiſance to the *Spaniſh* Flag; but upon the Refuſal of our Admiral, the Diſpute was accommodated without coming to a Rupture. From the *Canaries* they ſtretched over to the Coaſt of *Barbary*, and traded for a whole Month with the *Moors*. On the firſt of *April* they fell in, and had a ſmart Engagement with five *Portugueze* Ships, till the *Portugueze* ſteer off clear under favour of the Night. But they had better Luck on the fifth, when they ſurprized three *Frenchmen* at Anchor, one of which they boarded, and rifled of a conſiderable Booty of Goods, and fifty Pounds Weight and five Ounces of Gold. In the mean time the other two eſcap'd. On the 24th of *June*, having mann'd their Boats and Pinnace well, they ſurprized, plunder'd, and burnt the Town of *Shamma*; and next Day ſteer'd their Courſe back for *England*: where after touching at the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, *Cape de Verde* Iſlands, and ſome other Ports, they arrived at the *Iſle of Wight* on the 20th of *October* 1577.

The North-weſt Adventurers were poſſeſſed with ſuch great Expectations from Mr. *Forbiſher*'s Diſcoveries, both in regard to the *Golden Regions*, and the Paſſage by the North-weſt to the *Eaſt-Indies*, that before *Midſummer* in the next Year[b] they furniſhed him with a conſiderable Fleet of fifteen Ships, well mann'd and provided with all Neceſſaries to complete his grand Deſign.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.
The *Aid*, Admiral, *Thomas Allen*	*Forbiſher*.
Vice-admiral,	*York*.
Judith, Lieutenant-general,	*Fenton*.
Ann-Francis,	*Beſt*.
Hopewell,	*Carew*.
Bear,	*Filpot*.
Thomas of *Ipſwich*,	*Tanfield*.
Emanuel of *Exeter*,	*Courtney*.
Francis of *Foy*	*Moyles*.
Moon,	*Upcot*.
Emanuel of *Bridgwater*	*Newton*.
Solomon of *Weymouth*,	*Randal*.
Bark *Dennis*,	*Kendal*.
Gabriel,	*Harvey*.
Michael,	*Kinnerſly*.

Aboard of this Fleet were alſo embarked 100 Soldiers, and a wooden Fort capable to cover them; and ordered to be erected, and left in Poſſeſſion of that Country, ſuppoſed to be rich in Gold[c].

As the Expectations from this Voyage were greatly enhanſed by the favourable Reports of the chief Projector, ſo his Care for the well-governing of the Fleet was not leſs, as appears by the following Articles to be obſerved therein, deviſed and preſcribed by Captain *Forbiſher*, under the Queen's Sanction and Commiſſion, who honoured him alſo with a Chain of Gold.

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[a] A. D. 1577. Hackluit, part II. Churchill's Introduction. Holinſhed.

[b] A. D. 1578.

[c] Hackluit, Part III. p. 39, 74. Purchas, p. 81.

ARTICLES *to be obſerved in this* FLEET.

Imprimis, To baniſh Swearing, Dice, and Card-playing, and filthy Communication; and to ſerve God twice a Day with the ordinary Service uſed in the Church of *England*; and to clear the Glaſs according to the old Order of *England*.

2. The Admiral ſhall carry the Light, and after his Light be once put out, no Man to go on-head of him, but every Man to fill his Sails to follow as near as they may, without indangering one another.

3. That no Man ſhall by Day or Night depart further from the Admiral than the Diſtance of one *Engliſh* Mile, and as near as they may, without indangering one another.

4. If it chance to grow thick, and the Wind contrary, either by Day or Night, that the Admiral be forced to caſt about; before her caſting about ſhe ſhall give Warning by ſhooting off a Piece, and to her ſhall anſwer the Vice-admiral, and the Rear-admiral, each of them with a Piece, if it be by Night, or in a Fog; and that the Vice-admiral ſhall anſwer firſt, and the Rear-admiral laſt.

5. That no Man in the Fleet deſcrying any Sail, or Sails, give upon any Occaſion any Chaſe before he have ſpoken with the Admiral.

6. That every Night all the Fleet come up and ſpeak with the Admiral, at 7 of the Clock, or betwixt that and eight; and if the Weather will not ſerve them all to ſpeak with the Admiral, then ſome ſhall come to the Vice-admiral, and receive the Order of their Courſe from Mr. *Hall*, chief Pilot of the Fleet, as ſhe ſhall direct them.

7. If to any Man in the Fleet there happeneth any Miſchance, they ſhall preſently ſhoot off two Pieces by Day, and by Night two Pieces, and ſhow two Lights.

8. If any Man in the Night come up, and hail his Fellow, knowing him not, he ſhall give him his Watch-word, *Before the World was God*, the other ſhall anſwer him if he be one of our Fleet, *After God came Chriſt his Son*; ſo that if any be found amongſt us not of our Company, he that firſt deſcrieth any ſuch Sail or Sails, ſhall give Warning to the Admiral by himſelf, or other that he can ſpeak unto, that ſails better than he, being nearer unto him.

9. That every Ship in the Fleet in the time of Fogs, which continually happen with little Winds, and moſt Calms, ſhall keep a reaſonable Noiſe with Drum and Trumpet, or otherwiſe to keep themſelves clear one of the other.

10. If it fall ſo thick and miſty, that we lay to hull, the Admiral ſhall give Warning with a Piece, and putting out three Lights one over the other, to the end that every Man may take in his Sails, and at his ſetting of Sails again do the like if it be not clear.

11. If any Man diſcover Land by Night, that he give like Warning that he doth for Miſchances, two Lights and two Pieces; if it be by Day one Piece, and put out his Flag, and ſtrike all the Sails he hath abroad.

12. If any Ship ſhall happen to loſe Company by Force of Weather, then any ſuch Ship or Ships ſhall get him into the Latitude of——and ſo keep that Latitude until they get *Frieſland*, then ſhall get them into the Latitude of——and to the North of——and being once entered into the Streights, all ſuch Ship or Ships ſhall every Watch ſhoot off a good Piece, and look out well for Smoak and Fire, which thoſe that get in firſt ſhall make every Night, until all the Fleet be come together.

13. That upon the Sight of an Enſign in the Maſt of the Admiral, a Piece being ſhot off, the half Fleet ſhall repair to the Admiral, to underſtand ſuch Conference, as the General is to have with them.

14. If any chance to meet with any Enemy, that four Ships ſhall attend upon the Admiral, *viz.* the *Francis* of *Foy*, the *Moon*, the Bark *Dennis*, and the *Gabriel*; and four Ships upon my Lieutenant-general in the *Judith*, *viz.* the *Hopewell*, the *Armenal*, the *Bear*, and the *Solomon*; and the other four upon the Vice-admiral, the *Anne Francis*, the *Thomas* of *Ipſwich*, the *Emanuel*, and the *Michael*.

15. If there happen any diſordered Perſon in the Fleet, that he be taken and kept in ſafe Cuſtody until he may conveniently be brought aboard the Admiral, there to receive ſuch Puniſhment as his or their Offence ſhall deſerve.

This Fleet ſailed from *Harwich* on the 31ſt of *May*, ſteering Weſtward; and on the 6th of *June* made *Cape Clear*, and keeping forwards on the N. W. of *Ireland*, they on the 20th deſcried *Frieſland*. The People fled at their Approach; but in their Tents they found a Box of ſmall Nails, ſome Red-herrings, and Deal-boards, well cut, with ſeveral other things, artificially wrought; by which they were ſenſible, that theſe People were either Workmen themſelves, or traded with others who were ſo. And as they departed from hence, the *Solomon*, one of their Ships, being under both her Courſes and Topſails, happened to ſtrike with her full Stern againſt a Whale, with ſuch Force that the Ship ſtood ſtill. The Whale made a hideous Noiſe, and after having appeared with its Tail and part of its Body above Water, ſunk; ſo that two Days after they found it dead.

On the 2d of *July* they arrived at *Forbiſher*'s Streight, and found it choaked up with Ice; and as they ſtruggled to work thro' it, a ſudden Storm aroſe, and ſo incloſed them with Mountains of Ice, that they had almoſt periſhed. The Bark *Dennis* was loſt, but the Men were ſaved; two others had not been ſeen in 20 Days before; and four, which were fartheſt out at Sea, beſt eſcaped the Danger of the Ice, clearing themſelves of it in time. The Wind turning to the North-weſt, and being got into Sea-room, they were driven down by the Current to the Southward of *Forbiſher*'s Streight; and run into another about 60 Leagues, without knowing where they were, the cloudy Weather obſtructing their Obſervations.

As they returned out of this Streight or Bay, moſt of the ſcattered Fleet met, and made for *Forbiſher*'s Streight; and, after many Difficulties, *Forbiſher* with moſt of the Ships worked his way through, and on the 31ſt of *July* reached his long-deſired Port of *Warwick*'s Sound, now named by the Queen *Meta Incognita*, where they landed, and thought of erecting the Houſe or Fort brought from *England*; but part of it being loſt in the Ship which was caſt away, and more of it, as alſo of the Proviſions, not yet come, being in four Ships, the Deſign of wintering in thoſe Parts was laid aſide.

Here they ſet their Miners to work, who, after having made ſeveral Eſſays, and found * the Ore to anſwer their Expectations, loaded a vaſt Quantity of it on-board their Ships. The time they had ſpent in the miſtaken Streights or Bay, and afterwards in ſtruggling with the Storms and Ice, before the Fleet could aſſemble again, had ſo far advanced the Seaſon, that they were obliged to lay aſide all Thoughts of attempting any farther Diſcovery that Year. And having built a Houſe of Lime and Stone on the Counteſs of *Warwick*'s Iſland, as a Trial to ſee what Effect the Froſt and Snow would have upon it againſt the next Seaſon, and whether the Inhabitants would be ſo ſavage as to tear it in Pieces; in order to divert them from ſuch Barbarity, and, if poſſible, to give them ſome Senſe of Humanity, they left in the Houſe ſuch Things as they knew they delighted in, Bells, Knives, Looking-glaſſes, Whiſtles, Pipes, Pictures of Men and Women in Lead, and the like. They likewiſe built an Oven, and left Bread ready baked in it. The Timber of their intended Fort they buried; and they ſowed Peaſe, Corn, and other Grain, to ſee what the Soil would produce againſt the next Seaſon. And on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, and the Day following, the whole Fleet ſet Sail from *Warwick* Iſland.

They met with a very bad Paſſage, and were ſeparated in Storms; but all arrived in Safety, in ſome Port or other of *England*, about the Beginning of *October*. The *Emanuel* Buſs, of *Bridgewater*, which was left far behind, and in great Danger of never getting out of the Ice, was forced to ſeek a Way Northward, thro' an unknown Channel, full of Rocks, into the North-ſea, on the Back-ſide of *Forbiſher*'s Streights, where he himſelf, and afterwards ſome other of his Company, diſcovered (as they affirmed) a great Foreland, where they would have it alſo, that there was a great Likelihood of the wideſt Paſſage towards the South-ſea. The *Emanuel* in her Courſe homeward, diſcovered to the S. E. of *Frieſland*, a great Iſland in Latitude 57° 30′, which had not till then been known; along the Coaſt of which they ſailed for three Days, and found the Land ſeemingly fruitful, full of Wood, and a champain Country. It was remarkable, that in a Fleet of 15 Ships, which encountered ſo many Difficulties and Dangers, no more than 40 Perſons died.

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* At a Place called by them Beſt's Bleſſing; from the Name of the Captain, that found the Mine.

What raiſed the Spirit of the Nation to promote this Diſcovery, which has at ſeveral Periods revived, and is not yet without its ſtrenuous Advocates, were chiefly the Reaſons given by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, Knt. before the Queen's Council, againſt the Poſſibility of the N. E. Paſſage, which hitherto had engroſſed their Attention, without the leaſt Hope of ſucceeding any further than in the Diſcoveries made by Captain *Chancellor* to *Archangel*, and the *Cabots* to *Cape Florida*; and his Arguments for a N. W. Paſſage to *Cataia*, *China*, *Eaſt-Indies*, &c.

Sir *Gilbert*'s Arguments, and upon which our modern Advocates build their Opinion of a N. W. Paſſage, are taken from Reaſon, Experience, Circumſtance, and other uncontroverted Motives.

He firſt takes it for granted, that *America* is by all Deſcriptions or Maps, ancient and modern, an Iſland ſurrounded by Sea; on the South by the Streights of *Magellan*; on the Weſt by the South-ſea, running towards the North, and ſeparating *America* from the Eaſt-parts of *Aſia*, where the *Cataians* inhabit; on the Eaſt by the Weſtern Ocean; and on the North by the Sea that ſevereth it from *Greenland*; "thro' which Northern-ſeas, ſays Sir *Gilbert*, the Paſſage lieth, which I now take in hand to diſcover." To confirm this Aſſertion he quotes *Plato*, who, in *Timeo*, and in the Dialogue called *Critias*, "diſcourſeth of an incomparable great Iſland, then called *Atlantis*, being greater than all *Affric* and *Aſia*, which lay Weſtward from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, navigable round about; affirming alſo that the Princes of *Atlantis* did as well enjoy the Governance of all *Affric*, and the moſt Part of *Europe*, as of *Atlantis* itſelf.

"Alſo to prove *Plato*'s Opinion of this Iſland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient Time, by them of *Europe*, to be of the more Credit, *Marineus Siculus*, in his Chronicle of *Spain*, reporteth that there hath been found by the *Spaniards* in the Gold-mines of *America*, certain Pieces of Money engraved with the Image of *Auguſtus Ceſar*; which Pieces were ſent unto the Pope for a Teſtimony of the Matter, by *John Rufus* Arch-biſhop of *Coſentinum*.

"Moreover, this was not only thought of *Plato*, but by *Marſilius Ficinus*, an excellent *Florentine* Philoſopher, *Crantor* the *Grecian*, *Proclus* [a], and alſo *Philo* the famous *Jew* (as appeareth in his Book *De Mundo*, and in the Commentaries upon *Plato*) to be overflown, and ſwallowed up with Water, by reaſon of a mighty Earthquake, and ſtreaming down of the heavenly Floodgates. The like whereof happened unto ſome Part of *Italy*, when by the Forcibleneſs of the Sea, called *Superum*, it cut off *Cicilia* from the Continent of *Calabria*, as appeareth in *Juſtin* [b]. And there chanced the like in *Zealand*, a Part of *Flanders*.

"And alſo the Cities of *Pyrrha* and *Antiſſa*, about *Meotis Palus*; and alſo the City *Burys*, in the *Corinthian* Boſom, commonly called *Sinus Corinthiacus*, have been ſwallowed up with the Sea, and are not at this Day to be diſcovered: By which Accident *America* grew to be unknown of long Time unto us of the later Ages, and was lately diſcovered again by *Americus Veſpucius*, in the Year of our Lord 1497, which ſome ſay to have been firſt diſcovered by *Chriſtopherus Columbus*, anno 1492.

"The ſame Calamity happened unto this Iſle of *Atlantis* 600 and odd Years before *Plato*'s Time, which ſome of the People of the S. E. Parts of the World accounted as 9000 Years; for the Manner then was to reckon the Moon's Period of the *Zodiac* for a Year, which is our uſual Month, depending a *Luminari minore*.

"So that in theſe our Days there can no other Main or Iſland be found, or judged to be Parcel of this *Atlantis*, than thoſe Weſtern Iſlands which bear now the Name of *America*, countervailing thereby the Name of *Atlantis*, in the Knowledge of our Age.

"Then, if when no Part of the ſaid *Atlantis* was oppreſſed by Water and Earthquake, the Coaſts round about the ſame were navigable; a far greater Hope now remaineth of the ſame by the N. W. ſeeing the moſt Part of it was, ſince that Time, ſwallowed up with Water, which could not utterly take away the old Deeps and Channels, but rather be an Occaſion of the inlarging of the old, and alſo an inforcing of a great many new. Why then ſhould we now doubt of our N. W. Paſſage and Navigation from *England* to *India*? &c. ſeeing that *Atlantis*, now called *America*, was ever known to be an Iſland, and in thoſe Days navigable round about, which by Acceſs of more Water could not be diminiſhed.

"Alſo *Ariſtotle* in his Book *De Mundo*, and the learned *German*, *Simon Gryneus*, in his Annotations upon the ſame, ſaith that the whole Earth (meaning thereby, as manifeſtly doth appear, *Aſia*, *Afric*, and *Europe*, being all the Countries then known) to be but one Iſland, compaſſed about with the Reach of the Sea *Atlantine*; which likewiſe approveth *America* to be an Iſland, and in no part adjoining to *Aſia*, or the reſt.

"Alſo many ancient Writers, as *Strabo* [c], and others, called both the Ocean Sea (which lieth Eaſt of *India*) *Atlanticum Pelagus*, and that Sea alſo on the Weſt Coaſts of *Spain* and *Afric*, *Mare Atlanticum*; the Diſtance between which two Coaſts, is almoſt half the Compaſs of the Earth.

"So that it is incredible, as by *Plato* appeareth manifeſtly, that the *Eaſt-Indian* Sea had the Name *Atlanticum Pelagus*, of the Mountain *Atlas* in *Afric*, or yet the Sea adjoining to *Afric* had Name *Oceanus Atlanticus* of the ſame Mountain; but that thoſe Seas and the Mountain *Atlas* were ſo called of this great Iſland *Atlantis*; and that the one and the other had their Names for a Memorial of the mighty Prince *Atlas* [d], ſome time King thereof, who was *Japhet*, youngeſt Son to *Noah*, in whoſe Time the whole Earth was divided between the three Brethren, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet* [e].

"Wherefore I am of Opinion that *America* by the N. W. will be found favourable to this our Enterpriſe."

1. His Proof from Reaſon for a N. W. Paſſage is an Obſervation, that as all Rivers, Bays and Havens wax ſhallower near to their Terminations, and the Seas towards the N. W. are found to grow deeper towards that Place where the Paſſage is expected, there is good Hope that the ſaid Paſſage to the South ſeas may be diſcovered. Another Reaſon is taken from a Suppoſition, That was *America* joined to *Aſia*, either the *Arians*, or *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, or other People bordering thereon, would long ago have penetrated into that Part of the World; whereas it is very certain, that there were no Appearances of any ſuch Viſiters found by the *Europeans*, when they firſt diſcovered *America*. He urges the ſame Argument from the Diverſity of Animals, alledging, that there cannot be found any Beaſt proper to *Cataia*, or *Tartary*, &c. in *America*, or they proper to *America* in *Cataia*, *Tartary*, &c. or any Part of *Aſia*. He draws ſeveral Inferences alſo to prove *America* to be an Iſland from the Current of the Seas: which are very judicious, but too long to be inſerted in this Hiſtory.

His next Proof is by Experience of divers Travellers; ſuch as *Paulus Venetus*, who dwelt many Years in *Cataia*, and affirmed that he ſailed 1500 Miles upon the Coaſts of *Mangia* and *Anian*, towards the North-eaſt, always finding the Seas open before him, not only as far as he went, but alſo as far as he could diſcern.

And after enumerating ſeveral more Authorities to the ſame Purpoſe, concludes with this Declaration of our Countryman and eminent Navigator *Sebaſtian Cabot*, that he ſailed very far Weſtward, with a Quarter of the North, on the Northſide of *Terra de Labrador*, the 11th of *June*, until he came to the ſeptentrional Latitude of 67 ½ Degrees, and finding the Seas ſtill open, ſaid that he might, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mutiny of the Maſter and Mariners had not been.

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[a] Proclus, p. 24. [b] Juſtin, lib. IV. [c] Strabo, lib. XV. [d] Valerius Anſelmus in Catalogo annorum & principum, fol. 6.
[e] Geneſis, cap. IX. and X.

The circumſtantial Evidences he produceth is firſt, that *Gemma Friſius* reciteth, there went from *Europe* three Brethren through this Paſſage; whereof it took the Name of *Fretum trium Fratrum*.

That *Pliny*[a] affirmeth out of *Cornelius Nepos*, (who wrote 57 Years before Chriſt) that there were certain *Indians* driven by Tempeſt upon the Coaſt of *Germany*, which were preſented by the King of *Suevia* unto *Quintus Metellus Celer*, then Proconſul of *France*. And that it is no marvel, though there be Sea by the North, where there is ſuch abundance of Moiſture; which argueth, that he doubted not of a navigable Paſſage that Way through which thoſe *Indians* came.

The ſame Authority of *Cornelius Nepos*, is affirmed more plainly in that Behalf, by the excellent Geographer *Dominicus Marius Niger*[b], who ſheweth how many Ways the *Indian* Sea ſtretcheth itſelf, making in that Place Recital of certain *Indians*, that were likewiſe driven through the North Seas from *India*, upon the Coaſts of *Germany*, by great Tempeſt, as they were ſailing in trade of Merchandiſe.

That when *Frederic Barbaroſſa* reigned Emperor, *Anno Dom.* 1160, there came certain other *Indians* upon the Coaſt of *Germany*[c].

And that *Othon*, in the Story of the *Goths* affirmeth, that in the Time of the *German* Emperors, there were alſo certain *Indians* caſt by Force of Weather upon the Coaſt of the ſaid Country; which foreſaid *Indians* could not poſſibly have come by the South-eaſt, South-weſt, nor from any Part of *Africk*, or *America*, nor yet by the North-eaſt; therefore they came of Neceſſity by this our North-weſt Paſſage.

This honourable Knight concludes with the national Reaſons for engaging in this Diſcovery. “First, ſays he, ſuch a Paſſage is moſt commodious for our Traffic to *India*; for by the North-eaſt (if your Winds do not give you a marvellous ſpeedy and lucky Paſſage) you are in Danger (being ſo near the Pole) to be benighted almoſt the one half of the Year; and what Miſery and Danger that were, to live ſo long comfortleſs, void of Light, (if the Cold killed you not) each Man of Reaſon or Underſtanding may judge.

“2. Alſo *Mangia*, *Quingit*, and the *Mollucca* are nearer unto us by the North-weſt, than by the North-eaſt, more than $\frac{2}{5}$ Parts, which is almoſt by the half.

“3. Alſo we may have by the Weſt a yearly Return, it being at all Times navigable; whereas you have but ſix Months in the whole Year to go by the North-eaſt, the Paſſage being at ſuch Elevation, as it is formerly expreſſed, for it cannot be any nearer the South.

“4. Furthermore, it cannot be finiſhed without divers Winterings by the Way, having no Havens in any temperate Climate to harbour in there. For it is as much as we can well ſail from hence to *S. Nicholas*, in the Trade of *Muſcovia*, and return in the navigable Seaſon of the Year; and from *S. Nicholas* to *Cerimiſſi Tartarii*, which ſtandeth at 80 Degrees of the ſeptentrional Latitude, it is at the leaſt 400 Leagues, which amounteth ſcarce to the third Part of the Way to the End of your Voyage by the North-eaſt.

“5. And yet after you have doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a navigable Sea to carry you South-eaſt, according to your Deſire, yet can you not winter conveniently until you come to 60 Degrees, and to take up one Degree running South-eaſt, you muſt ſail 24 Leagues $\frac{3}{4}$, which amounteth to 495 Leagues.

“6. Furthermore, you may by the North-weſt ſail thither with all Eaſterly Winds, and return with any Weſterly Winds; whereas you muſt have by the North-eaſt ſundry Winds, and thoſe proper, according to the Lying of the Coaſts and Capes you ſhall be inforced to double, which Winds are not always to be had, when they are looked for; whereby your Journey ſhould be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured ſo near the Pole: As we are taught by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who was frozen to Death far nearer the South.

“7. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether we ſhould long enjoy that Trade by the North-eaſt, if there were any ſuch Paſſage that Way, the Commodities thereof once known to the *Muſcovite*, what Privilege ſoever he hath granted; ſeeing Policy with the Maze of exceſſive Gain, to the enriching (ſo greatly) of himſelf and all his Dominions, would perſuade him to reſume the ſame, having ſo great Opportunity to utter the Commodities of thoſe Countries by the *Narve*.

“But by the Northweſt we may ſafely trade without Danger or Annoyance, of any Prince living, Chriſtian, or Heathen, it being out of all their Trades.

“8. Alſo the Queen's Majeſty's Dominions are nearer the North-weſt Paſſage, than any other great Princes that might paſs that Way, and both in their Going and Return they muſt of neceſſity ſuccour themſelves and their Ships upon ſome Part of the ſame, if any tempeſtuous Weather ſhould happen.

“Further, no Prince's Navy of the World is able to encounter the Queen's Majeſty's Navy, as it is at this preſent; and yet it ſhould be greatly increaſed, by the Traffick enſuing upon this Diſcovery, for it is the long Voyages that increaſe and maintain great Shipping.”

Then he ſhews the Commodities or Advantages that would ariſe to the Nation therefrom: “Firſt, ſays he, it were the only way for our Princes to poſſeſs the Wealth of all the Eaſt Parts (as they term them) of the World, which is infinite; as appeareth by the Experience of *Alexander* the Great, in the Time of his Conqueſt of *India*, and other the Eaſt Parts of the World, alledged by *Quintus Curtius*, which would be a great Advancement to our Country, wonderful enriching to our Prince, and unſpeakable Commodities to all the Inhabitants of *Europe*.

“2. For through the Shortneſs of the Voyage we ſhou'd be able to ſell all Manner of Merchandiſe, brought from thence, far better cheap, than either the *Portugal* or *Spaniard* doth, or may do: And further, ſhare with the *Portugal* in the Eaſt, and the *Spaniard* in the Weſt, by trading to any Part of *America*, through *Mare de Sur*, where they can no manner of way offend us.

“3. Alſo we may ſail to divers marvellous rich Countries, both civil and others, out of both their Juriſdictions, Trades and Trafficks, where there is to be found great abundance of Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Cloth of Gold, Silks, all Manner of Spices, Grocery-wares, and other Kinds of Merchandiſe, of an ineſtimable Price; which both the *Spaniard* and *Portugal*, thro' the Length of their Journeys, cannot well attain unto.

“4. Alſo we might inhabit ſome Part of thoſe Countries, and ſettle there ſuch needy People of our Country, which now trouble the Commonwealth, and thro' Want here at home are enforced to commit outragious Offences, whereby they are daily conſumed with the Gallows.

“5. Moreover, we might from all the aforeſaid Places have a yearly Return, inhabiting for our Staple ſome convenient Place of *America*, about *Sierra Nevada*, or ſome other Part, whereas it ſhall ſeem beſt for the Shortening of the Voyage.

“6. Beſides the uttering of our Country Commodities, which the *Indians*, &c. much eſteem, as appeareth in *Eſther*, where the Pomp is expreſſed, of the great King of *India*, *Abaſuerus*[d], who matched the coloured Cloths wherewith his Houſes and Tents were apparelled, with Gold and Silver, as Part of his greateſt Treaſure; not mentioning either Velvets, Silks, Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, or ſuch like, being in thoſe Countries moſt plentiful: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great Eſtimation they would have the Cloths of this our Country; ſo that there would be found a far better Vent for them, by this Means, then yet this Realm ever had; and that without depending either upon *France*, *Spain*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Hamburgh*, *Embden*, or any other Part of *Europe*.

“7. Alſo hereby we ſhall increaſe both our Ships and Mariners, without burdening of the State.

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[a] Lib. II. cap. 66.

[b] Page 590.

[c] Avouched by Franciſcus Lopez de Gomara in his Hiſtory of India.

[d] Eſther, cap i.

"8. And alſo have occaſion to ſet poor Mens Children to learn Handicrafts, and thereby to make Trifles and ſuch like, which the *Indians* and thoſe People do much eſteem: By reaſon whereof there ſhould be none occaſion to have our Country cumbred with Loiterers, Vagabonds, and ſuch like idle Perſons.

"All theſe Commodities would grow by following this our Diſcovery, without Injury done to any Chriſtian Prince, by croſſing them in any of their uſed Trades, whereby they might take any juſt Occaſion of Offence."

Theſe were the Reaſons which animated the Adventurers in the Search for a N. W. Paſſage, and prevailed with her Majeſty to grant Sir *Humphrey* a Patent to proceed in the Diſcovery, and to make Settlements on the Shores of thoſe unknown Seas, to the Diſtance of 200 Leagues within Land; which is prior to any Diſcoveries made in thoſe Parts by the *French*; and therefore by the Law of Nations is a judicial Proof againſt the Encroachments made from *Canada* towards the N. W. Seas.

The Letters Patents granted by her Majeſty to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, *Knt. for the inhabiting and planting of our People in* America.

"*Elizabeth* by the Grace of God Queen of *England*, &c. to all People to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Know ye that of our eſpecial Grace, certain Science, and meer Motion, we have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant to our truſty and well-beloved Servant Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* of *Compton*, in our County of *Devonſhire*, Knt. and to his Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, free Liberty and Licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to diſcover, find, ſearch out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous Lands, Countries and Territories not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian Prince or People, as to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and to every or any of them, ſhall ſeem good; and the ſame to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, with all Commodities, Juriſdictions and Royalties both by Sea and Land; and the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, and all ſuch as from time to time by Licence of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall go and travel thither, to inhabit or remain there, to build and fortify at the Diſcretion of the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, and of his Heirs and Aſſigns; the Statutes or Acts of Parliament made againſt Fugitives, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remain, or continue out of our Realm of *England* without Licence, or any other Act, Statute, Law, or Matter whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And we do likewiſe by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, give full Authority and Power to the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every, or any of them, ſhall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the ſame Voyages, to travel thitherward, and to inhabit there with him, and every or any of them, ſuch and ſo many of our Subjects as ſhall willingly accompany him and them, and every or any of them, with ſufficient Shipping and Furniture for their Tranſportations, ſo that none of the ſame Perſons, nor any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be ſpecially reſtrained by us, our Heirs and Succeſſors. And further, that he the ſaid *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every or any of them ſhall have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and every of them for ever, all the Soil of all ſuch Lands, Countries and Territories ſo to be diſcovered or poſſeſſed as aforeſaid, and of all Cities, Caſtles, Towns and Villages, and Places in the ſame, with the Rights, Royalties and Juriſdictions, as well Marine as other, within the ſaid Lands or Countries of the Seas thereunto adjoining, to be had or uſed, with full Power to diſpoſe thereof, and of every Part thereof in Fee ſimple, or otherwiſe, according to the Order of the Laws of *England*, as near as the ſame conveniently may be, at his, and their Will and Pleaſure, to any Perſon then being, or that ſhall remain within the Allegiance of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, paying unto us for all Services, Duties and Demands, the fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch Diſcovery, ſubduing and poſſeſſing, ſhall be there gotten; all which Lands, Countries and Territories, ſhall for ever be holden by the ſaid Sir *Humphrey* his Heirs and Aſſigns of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors by Homage, and by the ſaid Payment of the ſaid fifth Part before reſerved only for all Services.

"And moreover, we do by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, give and grant Licence to the ſaid Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and to every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them ſhall, and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their Defence, encounter, expulſe, repel, and reſiſt, as well by Sea as by Land, and by all other Ways whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons whatſoever, as without the ſpecial Licence and Liking of the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, and of his Heirs and Aſſigns, ſhall attempt to inhabit within the ſaid Countries, or any of them, or within the Space of 200 Leagues near to the Place or Places within ſuch Countries as aforeſaid, if they ſhall not be before planted or inhabited within the Limits aforeſaid, with the Subjects of any Chriſtian Prince, being in Amity with her Majeſty, where the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their Aſſociates or Companies, ſhall within ſix Years next enſuing, make their Dwellings and Abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by Sea or Land, the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their Companies; giving and granting by theſe Preſents, further Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter to take and ſurpriſe by all manner of means whatſoever, all and every Perſon and Perſons, with their Ships, Veſſels, and other Goods and Furniture, which without the Licence of the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, or his Heirs or Aſſigns as aforeſaid, ſhall be found trafficking into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, within the Limits aforeſaid, (the Subjects of our Realms and Dominions, and all other Perſons in Amity with us, being driven by Force of Tempeſt or Shipwreck only excepted) and thoſe Perſons and every of them, with their Ships, Veſſels, Goods and Furniture, to detain and poſſeſs, as of good and lawful Prize, according to the Diſcretion of him the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and of every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect League and Amity of ſuch Countries, Lands and Territories ſo to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid, with our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the better Encouragement of Men to this Enterpriſe; we do by theſe Preſents grant, and declare, that all ſuch Countries ſo hereafter to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid, from thenceforth ſhall be of the Allegiance of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors. And we do grant to the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other Perſon and Perſons, being of our Allegiance, whoſe Names ſhall be noted or entered in ſome of our Courts of Record, within this our Realm of *England*, and that with the Aſſent of the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, ſhall now in this Journey for Diſcovery, or in the ſecond Journey for Conqueſt hereafter, travel to ſuch Lands, Countries and Territories as aforeſaid, and to their and every of their Heirs, that they, and every or any of them being either born within our ſaid Realms of *England* or *Ireland*, or within any other Place within our Allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabited within any the Lands, Countries and Territories, with ſuch Licence as aforeſaid, ſhall, and may have, and enjoy all the Privileges of free Denizens and Perſons native of *England*, and within our Allegiance; any Law, Cuſtom, or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

"And foraſmuch, as upon the finding out, diſcovering and inhabiting of ſuch remote Lands, Countries and Territories as aforeſaid, it ſhall be neceſſary for the Safety of all Men that ſhall adventure themſelves in thoſe

“ Journies or Voyages, to determine to live together in Chriſtian Peace and civil Quietneſs each with the other, whereby every one may with more Pleaſure and Profit enjoy that whereunto they ſhall attain with great Pain and Peril: We for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, are likewiſe pleaſed and contented and by theſe Preſents do give and grant to the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, and his Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the ſaid mentioned remote Lands and Countries, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, have full and mere Power and Authority to correct, puniſh, pardon, govern and rule by their, and every or any of their good Diſcretions and Policies, as well in Cauſes capital or criminal, as civil, both Marine and other, all ſuch our Subjects and others, as ſhall from time to time hereafter adventure themſelves in the ſaid Journies or Voyages habitative or poſſeſſive, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabit any ſuch Lands, Countries or Territories as aforeſaid, or that ſhall abide within 200 Leagues of any the ſaid Place or Places, where the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, or his Heirs or Aſſigns, or any of them, or any of his or their Aſſociates or Companies, ſhall inhabit within ſix Years next enſuing the Date hereof, according to ſuch Statutes, Laws and Ordinances, as ſhall be by him the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, or every or any of them deviſed or eſtabliſhed for the better Government of the ſaid People as aforeſaid; ſo always that the ſaid Statutes, Laws and Ordinances may be as near as conveniently may, agreeable to the Form of the Laws and Policy of *England*; and alſo, that they be not againſt the true Chriſtian Faith or Religion now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, nor in any wiſe to withdraw any of the Subjects or People of thoſe Lands or Places from the Allegiance of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, as their immediate Sovereigns under God. And further we do by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, give and grant full Power and Authority to our truſty and well-beloved Counſellor Sir *William Cecil*, Knt. Lord *Burleigh*, our High-treaſurer of *England*, and to the Lord Treaſurer of *England* for us, for the time being, and to the Privy-council of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, or any four of them for the time being, that he, they, or any four of them ſhall, and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their Hands or Seals, by Virtue of theſe Preſents, authoriſe and licenſe the ſaid Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every or any of them by him and themſelves, or by their or any of their ſufficient Attornies, Deputies, Officers, Miniſters, Factors and Servants, to embark and tranſport out of our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, all or any of his or their Goods, and all or any the Goods of his or their Aſſociates and Companies, and every or any of them, with ſuch other Neceſſaries and Commodities of any our Realms, as to the ſaid Lord Treaſurer, or four of the Privy-council of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors for the time being, as aforeſaid, ſhall be from time to time, by his or their Wiſdoms or Diſcretions thought meet and convenient for the better Relief and Supportation of him the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every or any of them, and his and their, and every or any of their ſaid Aſſociates and Companies; any Act, Statute, Law, or other thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

“ Provided always, and our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do hereby declare to all Chriſtian Kings, Princes and States, that if the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, or any of them, or any other by their Licence or Appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter rob or ſpoil by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjuſt and unlawful Hoſtility to any of the Subjects of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor or State being then in perfect League and Amity with us, our Heirs or Succeſſors; and that upon ſuch Injury, or upon juſt Complaint of any ſuch Prince, Ruler, Governor or State, or their Subjects, we our Heirs or Succeſſors ſhall make open Proclamation within any the Ports of our Realm of *England* commodious, that the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, or any other to whom theſe our Letters Patents may extend, ſhall within the Term to be limited by ſuch Proclamations, make full Reſtitution and Satiſfaction of all ſuch Injuries done, ſo as both we and the ſaid Princes, or other ſo complaining, may hold us and themſelves fully contented: And that if the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, ſhall not make or cauſe to be made Satiſfaction accordingly, within ſuch time ſo to be limited; that then it ſhall be lawful to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, to put the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and Adherents, and all the Inhabitants of the ſaid Places to be diſcovered as is aforeſaid, or any of them, out of our Allegiance and Protection; and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of Protection the ſaid Sir *Humphrey*, and his Heirs, Aſſigns, Adherents and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid Places within their Habitation, Poſſeſſion and Rule, ſhall be out of our Protection and Allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to purſue with Hoſtility, as being not our Subjects, nor by us any way to be avowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our Protection, Dominion or Allegiance any way belonging, for that expreſs Mention, *&c.* In witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs ourſelf at *Weſtminſter* the 11th Day of *June*, the 20th Year of our Reign. *Anno Domini* 1578.

“ *Per ipſam Reginam*, &c”.

What Sir *Humphry* did in conſequence of theſe Letters Patents will be ſeen hereafter. At preſent we muſt attend to the famous Voyage made by Captain, afterwards Sir *Francis Drake*, round the Globe; for which he had been preparing from the Time of his Return home from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, not knowing any thing of *Oxenham*'s Adventure, as above related.

The Fleet provided for this hazardous Voyage into the *South-Seas*, &c. conſiſted of no more than five Veſſels; the *Pelican* of 100 Tons, commanded by himſelf as Admiral; the *Elizabeth* of 80 Tons, under Capt. *John Winter*; the *Marygold* of 30 Tons, under Capt. *John Thomas*; the *Swan* of 50 Tons, under Capt. *John Cheſter*; and the *Chriſtopher Pinnace* of 15 Tons, commanded by Capt. *Thomas Moore*; and ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 13th of *December* *, well ſtor'd with every Neceſſary for ſo long and dangerous a Courſe. Nor were ſuch, as ſerved only for Ornament and Delight, forgotten. He took with him very expert Muſicians for ſeveral Inſtruments. His Furniture, of all kinds, was rich and ſumptuous, all the Veſſels for his Table, and many in the Cook-room being of pure Silver, curiouſly wrought, and many other Things whereby the Magnificence of his native Country might be diſplayed. And he had with him one hundred and ſixty-three ſtout and able Seamen, under the Pretence of making a Voyage to *Alexandria* only.

After 25 Days ſailing, they came off of Cape *Cantin* in *Barbary* in 31 Degrees of North-latitude; and on the 27th arriv'd at the Iſland of *Magador*, where the Admiral framed a Pinnace, having brought the Hulks of four from *England*. During this Employment ſome of the Inhabitants of the Country came to the Sea-ſide, ſhewing a Flag of Truce; and, having exchanged, Hoſtages, they came on board, and promiſed to bring the next Day freſh Proviſions, as Sheep, Fowls, and the like. *Drake* made them Preſents of ſome Linnen-cloth, Shoes and a Javelin, which they received with a ſeeming Joy. The next Morning they came according to Promiſe with Camels, ſuppoſed to be loaded with Merchandiſe; and *Drake* ſent out his Boat, with ſome Men to traffick with them: But *John Fry*, one of his Men, leaping raſhly out on the Shore before the reſt, and offering to embrace them, in a friendly Manner, they ſeized him, and with a Dagger to his Throat, threatening Death if he made any Reſiſtance, they carried him off on Horſeback, to get Intelligence what the Fleet was, and whether belonging to the King of *Portugal*, with whom the King of *Fez* was at War. For being preſented to the King, and giving an Account, that this Fleet belonged to the Queen of *England*, and was come, in an amicable Manner,

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* A. D. 1577. Camden. MSS. in Cotton. Library. Hackluit, Part III. p. 730, 742. Harris's Voy. Churchill's Voy.

ner, to traffick, he was immediately ſent back, with Preſents to the Captain; and, the Fleet being departed before his Return, was afterwards ſent to *England* in another Ship.

The Fleet departed thence the laſt Day of *December*, and coaſting along the Shore, took three *Spaniſh* Fiſhermen, and three Caravels. On the 17th of *January*[a] they arrived at Cape *Blanco*, in 21 Degrees of North-latitude, where they found a Ship, with only two Mariners on-board, which they took, and carrying her into the Harbour, ſtaid there four Days. Here *Drake* muſtered and exercis'd his Men, took ſome Neceſſaries out of the Fiſhermen, and alſo one of their Barks, of about 40 Ton, leaving a little Bark of their own, (the *Chriſtopher*) in the Room of it; and departing from this Harbour, on the 22d of *January*, proceeded to the Cape *Verd* Iſlands, where the Fleet took in Refreſhments of all ſorts, at the Iſle of *Mayo*.

On the 31ſt of *January* they ſail'd over towards *St. Jago*, the Principal of thoſe Iſlands, and chaſed two *Portugueze* Ships, and took one of them, loaded with Wine. *Drake* gave the Command of her to one *Doughty*, but diſmiſſed her Crew; retaining only *Nuno de Silva*, the Maſter of her, in order to make uſe of him for a Pilot, on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, with which they found him to be well acquainted. The Ship's Company were put on-board the Pinnace, with a But of Wine and ſome Proviſions.

Purſuing their Voyage, they paſs'd by the Iſlands of *Fuego* (or *Fire*, ſo called from the ſulphurous Flame, which the Earth throws up) and *Brama*, the two Southermoſt of thoſe Iſlands; and croſſing the equinoctial Line, on the 13th of *March*, after having been 55 Days without ſeeing Land, arrived on the fifth of *April* in Sight of *Braſil*, in 33 Degrees of South-latitude. Coaſting along that Country, on the ſeventh they loſt the *Chriſtopher*, the Bark they had taken in *Barbary*, in a Tempeſt; but on the 11th they found her again, and the Place where all the Ships, which were diſperſed in Search of the Bark, met again, the Admiral called *Cape Joy*: a good Climate, an agreeable Air, a pleaſant Country, an exceeding fruitful Soil, with great Store of Deer of an uncommon Size. They ſaw none of the Inhabitants, though the Print of their Feet was viſible in the Clay.

They arrived at the Mouth of the River of *Plate* on the 26th, and diſpatch'd the *Marygold* and *Chriſtopher* to diſcover a convenient Harbour, into which they went, with all their Ships. The Inhabitants came boldly to them, while they were working on-ſhore. Their Faces were painted, and they were cloathed with Skins of Beaſts about their Waiſts. From thence ſailing Southward, they arrived the 20th of *June* at Port *St. Julian*, where they found a Gibbet, erected by *Magellan* for the Puniſhment of his Mutineers; and where now *John Doughty*, a ſtout and induſtrious Seaman, but haughty and turbulent, (who was the next in Command to *Drake*) was brought to his Trial, for raiſing a Mutiny in the Fleet, and conſpiring his Commander's Death, and by a Jury of above forty of the chief Men of the Fleet, condemned to die. It being put to his Choice, whether he would rather be ſet on-ſhore, or be ſent to take his Trial in *England*, or ſubmit to his Sentence, he preferred the latter; and he was beheaded the next Day, ſubmitting patiently to his Fate, and dying with an undaunted Preſence of Mind. The Morning before his Execution he received the holy Communion with *Drake*, and ſeveral others of the Officers. He afterwards dined with them at the ſame Table, ſeemingly as chearful as ever he had done before, and took Leave of them all, by drinking to them, as if he had been going a Journey. Dinner being ended, he roſe from Table, and, without any Heſitation, walked out to the Place prepared for his Execution.

Having moved the Men and Stores out of the two leaſt Veſſels, the three remaining Ships departed from hence on the 17th of *Auguſt*, and arrived on the 20th or 21ſt at the Streight of *Magellan*. And on the 24th landing on a certain Iſland, they killed three thouſand Pengwins, Fowls as big as Geeſe, which proved very good Proviſion.

They paſſed this Streight after a difficult Navigation of ſixteen Days, and came out on the ſixth of *September* into the great *South-Sea*, otherwiſe called the calm or pacifick Ocean: But it did not prove ſo to them; for they met with ſuch tempeſtuous Weather there, that they were forced back to the Weſtward more than two hundred Leagues in Longitude, and one Degree to the South of the Streight; and the *Marygold*, Capt. *Thomas*, was loſt.

They entered a Bay in S. Lat. 57°, where they found a naked People ranging from one Iſland to another, in Canoes, to ſeek Proviſions. Sailing Northward from thence, on the third of *October*, they found three Iſlands, in one of which was an incredible Plenty of Birds. On the eighth they loſt Sight of the *Elizabeth*, commanded by Mr. *John Winter*; which returned through the Streight, and arrived ſafe in *England* on the ſecond of *June* of the Year following, being the firſt Ship that ever came back that Way. Thus *Drake* himſelf, with one ſingle Ship, was left alone, and driven into 55 Degrees of Southern Latitude; from whence, with great Difficulty, he got up again into the Height of the Streight: where ſuppoſing the Coaſt of *Chili* to lie as the Maps had deſcribed it, they ran North-weſt; but found it to lie and trend to the North-eaſt, and Eaſtwards.

Continuing this Courſe, on the 29th of *November* he fell in with the Iſland of *Mocha*, in S. Lat. 38° 30'; and caſting Anchor, ordered his Boat to be hoiſted out. *Drake* went with ten of his Men on-ſhore, where he found a People, whom the cruel Uſage of the *Spaniards* had forced, for their own Safety and Liberty, to quit the Continent, and to fortify themſelves in that Iſland. But they came down to the *Engliſh* with an Appearance of great Humanity, bringing Potatoes, Roots, and two Sheep exceeding fat, for which they had other Things in return. However, this was only outſide Shew. The next Day, when two Men were ſet on-ſhore, with Barrels to fill Water, theſe very Savages laid violent Hands on them, and, it was ſuppoſed, ſlew them, taking them perhaps for *Spaniards*, to whom they were uſed to ſhew no Mercy. Their Deſign was, without doubt, upon the whole Boat's Crew, being nine in Number; for they followed them with ſuch a Flight of Arrows, that not one Man eſcaped being wounded in ſeveral Parts of the Body. The Captain receiv'd a dangerous Wound under his Right-eye, and another in his Head: And, as an Addition to the Miſfortune, they had then no Surgeon.

This Treachery drove *Drake* off that Iſland, and he ſail'd towards the Coaſt of *Chili*; where he got Intelligence from an *Indian* Fiſherman, in a Canoe, who took them for *Spaniards*, that a large *Spaniſh* Ship lay at *Villa Paraiſo*, or *Valparizo*, laden from the Kingdom of *Peru*. *Drake* took him for his Pilot, and ſailed in Search of the *Spaniards*, who being no more than eight, and three Negroes on-board, and believing the *Engliſh*, who were coming towards them, to be their own Countrymen, beat a Drum, and drinking full Cups of Wine of *Chili* to them, received them with all Teſtimonies of Joy. The *Engliſh* clapping them on-board, immediately thruſt them all under the Hatches, excepting one *Spaniard*, who leap'd over-board, and ſwam on-ſhore, to bring Tidings to the Town of *St. Jago*. Having Poſſeſſion of the Ship, they plundered a neighbouring Town, conſiſting only of nine Habitations, together with the Chapel, the Spoil of which latter was given to *Fletcher*, the Chaplain of *Drake*'s Ship. The Plunder of the Town conſiſted only of *Chili* Wine, and Cedar-wood, and that of the Chapel, of a ſilver Chalice, two Cruets, and an Altar-cloth. It was the 6th or 7th of *December* that they met with this rich Prize, which more than recompenſed all their Loſſes, excepting that of their Companions. The *Spaniards* they put on-ſhore, but carried away the Maſter, who was a *Grecian*, and the Ship, wherein was four hundred Pound-weight[b] of *Baldivian*, or the pureſt of Gold, ſo called of the Place; and a Croſs of the ſame Metal, ſet with Emeralds.

Capt. *Drake* propoſing to attack *Lima*, put in, on the 19th of *December*, at *Coquimbo*, in 29 Degrees, and 30 Minutes: where ſetting aſhore fourteen Men, the *Spaniards* had the Courage to attack them, with an Army of 300 Horſe, and 200 Foot. But the *Engliſh* retreated, and recovered their Ship with the Loſs of one Man only; and next Day they fell in with a more convenient Harbour, in near 28 Degrees, where they ſtaid above a Month, to trim their own, and the *Spaniſh* Ship they had taken, and to frame a Pinnace. From hence they proceeded, and landed at a Port called *Tarapaxa*; where finding a *Spaniard* aſleep upon the Shore, with 30 [a] Bars of Silver lying by him, to the Value of 400,000 Ducats, they carried them off, leaving the *Spaniard* to take out his Nap. And not far from hence, going on-ſhore for Water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* driving eight *Peruvian* Sheep, as big as Aſſes, laden with fine Silver, each Sheep having two Leather-bags, containing each Bag 50 Pounds Weight, on his Back. They eaſed the poor Beaſts of their Burdens, which amounting together to 800 Pound Weight of Silver, they lodged in their Ship, and ſuffered their Drivers to go on in Peace. Theſe Sheep have Necks like Camels, but their Heads perfectly reſemble thoſe of Sheep. Their Wool is exceeding fine, and their Fleſh very good Meat. There are ſome of them which are as big as middling Cows, and exceed them in Strength. Three large and tall Men and a Boy were ſet upon the Back of one of them, which ſeemed to give the Creature no manner of Uneaſineſs [b].

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[a] A. D. 1578.

[b] MSS. in Cot. Lib. Iſaac Caſaubon.

Then entring the Port of *Arica*, which is in 18 Degrees and 30 Minutes South Latitude, they found there three Ships with not a Man on-board of them; in which were, beſides other Merchandiſes, 57 Wedges of Silver, each weighing 20 Pound. The Town, conſiſting of 20 Houſes only, tho' cloſe by, they did not think fit to venture upon; but putting off to Sea again, they met with a little Bark laden with Linen-cloth, part of which they took out, and then let her go.

It was the 13th of *February* before they arrived at *Callao*, the Port of *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*, which lies in 11 Degrees and 50 Minutes of South Latitude. Here they found 30 Ships [c], among which were 17, the chief of the *South-Sea*, laden with great Quantities of Silk and Linen, a Cheſt full of coined Money, and 1500 Bars of Silver; but not ſo much as a Boy on-board any one of them; ſo great was the Security on thoſe Coaſts, where by reaſon of their great Remoteneſs from *Europe*, they feared neither Pirates, nor other Enemies; nor indeed had ever any one but *Magellan*, before *Drake*, navigated that Ocean, except the *Spaniards* themſelves, who built there all the Ships they made uſe of in thoſe Seas.

Theſe Ships being ſet adrift, the *Engliſh* proceeded with all the Sail they could make in Chace of the *Cacofogo*, a very rich Ship, which they underſtood was ſailed from thence on the 2d of *February* for *Panama*. By the way they met with a Brigantine, out of which they took 80 Pound Weight of Gold, a Crucifix of the ſame Metal, ſome Emeralds of a Finger's Length, and ſome Cordage. And in few Days after they came up with the *Cacofogo*, near Cape *St. Francis*, in one Degree of North Latitude, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*. It was eſpied firſt from the Top by *John Drake*, who was rewarded by the Admiral with a Gold-chain, according to a Promiſe. She was deſcried about three in the Afternoon, and about ſix they came up with her, and had the good Fortune to bring one of her Maſts by the Board; on which they preſently boarded her, and made themſelves Maſter of the Ship, and a great Treaſure of Pearls and precious Stones, 80 Pound Weight of Gold, 13 Cheſts full of Silver coined, and as much unrefined Silver, as would almoſt ſerve to ballaſt a Ship, *viz.* 26 Ton Weight [d], to the Amount of 360,000 Pieces of Eight, or near 90,000 *l.* all which being removed into the *Pelican*, they let the *Cacofogo* go adrift. The Maſter of her, at parting, is reported to have thus merrily bidden them farewel. "We reſign (ſaid he) "the Name of our Ship to yours, let that, for the future, "be called the *Cacofogo*, that is (if I may be allowed the "Expreſſion) the *Shitefire*, and ours the *Cacoplata*, that "is, the *Shiteplate*."

Drake continued his Courſe to the Weſt, and in the Way, about the Middle of *March*, met with a *Spaniſh* Ship laden with Linen-cloth, *China*-diſhes, and Silk of that Country. Out of which he took a Falcon, wrought in Maſſy-gold, with a large Emerald ſet in the Breaſt of it, and as much of the Merchandiſes as he thought fit, and then ſeizing the Pilot for his own Service, turned her going alſo.

Then bending his Courſe Northward, he cruiſed along the Coaſt of *Mexico*, and on the 15th of *April* landing at *Aquapulco*, in 15 Degrees and 40 Minutes, found a Court of Juſtice ſitting in the Town-hall, and a Judge juſt going to pronounce Sentence againſt ſome poor Negroes, who were accuſed of a Plot to fire the Town. The Admiral thought fit to make a ſmall Alteration in the Sentence, and to order the Judge, Court and Criminals, to be conveyed Priſoners to his Ship; which Sentence was no ſooner pronounced, than executed. He then plundered the Town, and collected about a Buſhel of Rials of Plate. *Thomas Moon*, one of their Company, took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who rewarded his Trouble in purſuing him, with a Gold-chain and ſome Jewels. Here the Admiral ſet aſhore ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners, and diſmiſſed his *Portugueſe* Pilot, taken at the Iſlands of *Cape de Verde*.

Drake ſet ſail for the Iſland of *Canno*, where he haled his Ship on-ſhore, unloaded her, graved and repaired her. In the mean time a *Spaniſh* Ship bound for the *Phillipine* Iſlands, having a Governor on-board, came in the Way, whom the *Engliſh* eaſed of Part of her Burden, and then ſuffered her to proceed on her Voyage.

Theſe Repriſals on the *Spaniards*, as well for the publick Injuries, as for his own former Loſſes, appearing more than ſufficient, the Admiral reſolved to make the beſt of his Way to *England*; not by the Streights of *Magellan*, which were very dangerous, as well by reaſon of the frequent Tempeſts, and the uncertain Shelves and Shallows, as for fear of the *Spaniards*, who might lay Wait for him at his coming back; therefore he boldly reſolved to attempt finding a Paſſage by *North-America*. He ſailed to the North latitude of 42 or 43 Degrees on that Coaſt, to diſcover if there were any Streight on that Side, by which he might return the neareſt Way home. But meeting with nothing but Severity of Colds, thick Clouds, and open Shores, covered with Snow, tho' it was then the Beginning of *June*, he then came back into the Latitude of 38, and put into a convenient Harbour, in the North Parts of *California*, and met with a very kind Reception from the *Indian* Inhabitants, who were naked, of an affable Temper and merry, and received them dancing in a Ring, offering Sacrifices, and by many ſignificant Tokens ſhewing their Willingneſs to make *Drake* their King.

The King of this Country offered to reſign his Dignity to him, and become his Vaſſal; in Token of which he took his Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and placed it on *Drake*'s, and his Chain about *Drake*'s Neck. The Admiral accepted of this new offered Dignity, as her Majeſty's Repreſentative, in her Name, and for her Uſe; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in Jeſt or in Earneſt by theſe *Indians*, ſome real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *Engliſh* Nation and Intereſt, in thoſe Parts; eſpecially as the *Spaniards* had never ſet Footing in this Country, nor had they ever diſcovered the Land by many Degrees to the Southward of this Place.

Drake named this Country *New-Albion*, on account of the white Banks and Cliffs which lie towards the Sea, raiſed a Pillar, and put an Inſcription on it, containing the Date of the Year, together with the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*, the time of their Arrival there, and under it ſome of the Queen's Coin, with *Drake*'s Name at the Bottom of all.

Departing from hence, they loſt the Sight of Land till the 13th of *October*, upon which Day, in the Morning, they came in with certain Iſlands (the *Ladrones*) in eight Degrees North Latitude, and met with a great Number of Canoes coming laden with Cocoes and other Fruit [e]. Theſe Canoes were hollowed within, with a great deal of Art, and looked ſmooth and ſhining without, like burniſhed Horn. The People that were in them had the lower Part of their Ears cut round, and ſtretched down a conſiderable Way upon their Cheeks, by the Weight of thoſe Things they hang in them. They ſeemed to deſign their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in Length. Their Teeth were as black as Pitch, and they had a way to renew the Colour, by eating of an Herb, with a ſort of Powder, which they carried about them for that Purpoſe. On the 18th of *October* they came to ſeveral other Iſlands, in ſome of which there was an Appearance of Inhabitants; and continued their Courſe by the Iſlands of *Taquloda*, *Zelon*, and *Zevena*; the firſt of which had good Store of Cinnamon. On the 14th of *November* they arrived at the *Molluccos*, and were kindly entertained by the King at *Ternate*.

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[a] Camden.

[b] Drake Revived.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Harris. Hackluit. Purchas.

[e] A Spaniſh Writer relates that theſe Indians attacked Drake in two Canoes, and that he killed 20 of them.

This potent Prince, who has ſeveral (ſome ſay ſeventy) Iſlands under his Dominion, beſides that ſo called, offered to lay himſelf and his Kingdom at the Feet of ſo glorious a Princeſs as Queen *Elizabeth*, and to make her his Sovereign.

A *Spaniſh* Author in his Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the *Spice Iſlands*, gives a much different Account of this Interview at *Ternate*. *Drake*, ſays he, came to *Ternate*, but ſucceeded not at firſt; that People being war-like, and at that time arm'd by their own Malice, and an implacable King. He attempted to barter for Clove, without his Leave, was inform'd how ſeverely he handled ſuch as tranſgreſs'd, and ſlighting the Advice, the King came to hear of it, and order'd him to be kill'd. It came very near the Execution; but *Drake*, whoſe Genius well experienced in Frauds was no Stranger to Diſſimulation, retir'd to his Ships to make his Eſcape by Flight. Thence he contriv'd to appeaſe the King, which was no difficult Matter, by means of ſome Preſents he ſent him. With them he purchas'd the Good-will, and an Audience of that cunning Tyrant; and going aſhore ſeveral times to viſit him, agreed he ſhould enter into Amity with the Queen and Nation of *England*, and that Factories ſhould be ſettled out of hand. The King conſented, and *Drake* promis'd him the Protection and Arms of *England*; and taking with him, among other Gifts, a rich Ring the King gave him for the Queen, he ſail'd homewards, with a great Quantity of Clove. He met a *Portugueze* Ship croſſing the ſmall Channel of *Tydore*, but either durſt not, or thought not fit to attack her; whether it was for being inferior in Strength, or out of a Deſire of ſecuring the new acquir'd Wealth. Scarce was he got clear of *Ternate*, before the Winds began to toſs him, in that Sea full of Flats, whence they forc'd him, in order to deliver him quite up to Tempeſts. He was oblig'd to lighten his Ships, and among other Things of Value, threw overboard a Cannon of an extraordinary Bigneſs, which the King of *Ternate*, hearing afterwards of the Storm, cauſed to be taken out of the deep Sea. Then he built a Houſe before his Palace, on the Roof whereof he planted it openly, and pointing over, either on Account of its Magnitude, or by way of Oſtentation, and in Memory of the firſt *Engliſhman* that came into his Kingdoms, from whom and the Sea he had taken that new offenſive Booty.

The next Place they fell[a] in with was the fruitful Iſland of *Borateve*, about ſeven Degrees South of the Line, the People of which are of a comely Make of Body, but a far more beautiful Diſpoſition of Mind, being very civil and courteous to Strangers, and punctually juſt in all their Dealings. This Iſland affords Gold, Silver, and ſeveral other valuable Commodities; and, excepting *Ternate*, they met with no Place which yielded more Plenty of all agreeable Comforts for human Life.

On the tenth they touched at *Java Major*, where they received great Civility from one of the five Kings of the Iſland; and in return, on their Side, treated once four, and ſeveral times two or three of them on-board. The Admiral had here the News of ſome great Ships lying not far off, ſo reſolved, without Delay, to continue his Courſe for the Cape of *Good-Hope*, where they arrived in *June*; and landed on the Weſt-ſide for freſh Water, but could find no Springs. They paſſed the Cape on the 18th of *June*.

Hence they ſailed to *Rio Grande* in *Negroland*, where they arrived in *July*, and taking in Water, made the beſt of their Way for *England*. On the third of *November* they arrived at *Plymouth*; having in leſs than three Years ſailed round the Globe, and loſt one Day in their Reckoning.

In the Year 1579, the Queen's Attention for the Improvement of foreign Trade is alſo diſtinguiſhed by her Letters to the Sophi of *Perſia*, ſent by the Agents for the *Ruſſia* Company in their ſixth Voyage to thoſe Regions begun in this Year, with Propoſals to *Shaugh Thomas*, who had lately ſucceeded to his Father's Throne and Dominions, to renew the Privileges granted in the laſt Reign to her Subjects trading into *Perſia*, &c. which had been interrupted by reaſon of the Wars that had increaſed in thoſe Parts ſince his Death.

In this Voyage, which laſted till the 25th of *September* 1581, before the Ships returned to *Limehouſe*, it appears from the Directions given on that Occaſion by Mr. *Richard Hackluit*[b], that ſeveral Artiſts were ſent to dive into the Secret of the *Perſian* Method of Dying, and into the Art of making *Turky* Carpets, their Charges being borne by the City of *London*; as may be gather'd more particularly from his own Words:

> "1. For that *England* hath the beſt Wool and Cloth of the World, and for that the Cloths of the Realm have no good Vent, if good Dying be not added; therefore it is much to be wiſhed, that the Dying of foreign Countries were ſeen, to the End that the Art of Dying may be brought into the Realm in greateſt Excellency; for thereof will follow Honour to the Realm, and great and ample Vent of our Cloths; and of the Vent of Cloths, will follow the ſetting of our Poor on work, in all Degrees of Labour in Cloathing and Dying; for which Cauſe moſt principally you are ſent over at the Charge of the City; and therefore for the ſatisfying the Lords, and of the Expectation of the Merchants, and of your Company, it behoves you to have Care to return home with more Knowledge than you carried out.
>
> "2. The great Dearth of Cloths, is a great Lett in the ample Vent of Cloths, and the Price of a Cloth, for a fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Part, riſeth by the Colour and Dying; and therefore to deviſe to dye as good Colours, with the one half of the preſent Price, were to the great Commodity of the Realm, by ſaving of great Treaſure in time to come. And therefore you muſt have great Care to have Knowledge of the Materials of all the Countries that you ſhall paſs through, that may be uſed in Dying, be they Herbs, Weeds, Barks, Gums, Earths, or what elſe ſoever.
>
> "3. In *Perſia* you ſhall find Carpets of coarſe thrummed Wool, the beſt of the World, and excellently coloured; thoſe Cities and Towns you muſt repair to, and you muſt uſe Means to learn all the Order of the Dying of thoſe Thrumms, which are ſo died, as neither Rain, Wine, nor yet Vinegar, can ſtain; and if you may attain to that Cunning, you ſhall not need to fear dying of Cloth; for if the Colour hold in Yarn and Thrumb, it will hold much better in Cloth.
>
> "4. For that in *Perſia* they have great Colouring of Silks, it behoves you to learn that alſo, for that Cloth-dying and Silk-dying have a certain Affinity, and your Merchants mind to bring much raw Silk into the Realm, and therefore it is more requiſite you learn the ſame.
>
> "5. In *Perſia* there are that ſtain Linen-cloth; it is not amiſs you learn it if you can; it hath been an old Trade in *England*, whereof ſome excellent Cloths yet remain; but the Art is now loſt, and not to be found in the Realm.
>
> "6. They have a Cunning in *Perſia* to make in Buſkins of *Spaniſh* Leather, Flowers of many kinds, in moſt lively Colours, and theſe the Courtiers do wear there; to learn which Art were no harm.
>
> "7. If any Dyer of *China*, or of the Eaſt Parts of the World, be to be found in *Perſia*, acquaint yourſelf with him, and learn what you may of him.
>
> "8. You ſhall find *Anile* there, if you can procure the Herb that it is made of, either by Seed or by Plant, to carry into *England*, you may do well to endeavour to enrich

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[a] Feb. 8. A. D. 1580.

[b] Vol. I. p. 432.

“ enrich your Country with the ſame; but withal learn you the making of the *Anile*, and if you can get the Herb, you may ſend the ſame dry into *England*, for poſſibly it groweth here already.

“ 9. Return home with you all the Materials and Subſtances that they dye withal in *Ruſſia*, and alſo in *Perſia*, that your Company may ſee all.

“ 10. In ſome little Pot in your Lodging, I wiſh you to make daily Trials in your Art, as you ſhall from time to time learn ought among them.

“ 11. Set down in writing whatſoever you ſhall learn from Day to Day, leſt you ſhould forget, or leſt God ſhould call you to his Mercy; and by each Return I wiſh you to ſend in writing whatſoever you have learned, or at the leaſt keep the ſame ſafe in your Coffer, that, come Death or Life, your Country may enjoy the thing that you go for, and not loſe the Charge and Travel beſtowed in this Caſe.

“ 12. Learn you there to fix and make ſure the Colour to be given by Log-wood; ſo ſhall we not need to buy Woad ſo dear, to the enriching of our Enemies.

“ 13. Enquire of the Price of Leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

“ 14. In any wiſe ſet down in writing a true Note from whence every of them do come, and where, and in what Country each of them doth grow, I mean where the natural Place of each of them is, as how near to ſuch a City, or to ſuch a Sea, or to ſuch a portable River in *Ruſſia*, *Perſia*, or elſewhere.

“ 15. If before you return you could procure a ſingular good Workman in the Art of *Turkiſh* Carpet making, you ſhould bring the Art into this Realm, and alſo thereby increaſe Work to your Company.”

Mr. *Chriſtopher Burroughs*, who penn'd the Journal of this Voyage, makes their Departure on the 19th of *June* 1579 from *Graveſend*, and their Arrival at *St. Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, on the 22d of *July*; from whence travelling partly by Land, and partly in Boats, up the Rivers towards *Aſtracan*, they in Lat. 51 Deg. 30 Min. near *Oueack*, which is half way, met with Store of Liquorice, fine Apples, Cherries, and a fruitful Soil. They alſo view'd the Ruins of a Town, which the *Ruſſes* called *Sodom*, and ſaid had been ſwallowed into the Earth by the Juſtice of God, for the Wickedneſs of its Inhabitants[a]. Amongſt thoſe Ruins there remained to be ſeen part of a Caſtle, and certain Tombs of eminent Perſons; one of which contained the Repreſentation of a Man on Horſeback, with a Bow in his Hand, and Arrows by his Side; on ſome others there could be diſcovered the Traces of Inſcriptions in *Armenian* Characters.

At *Aſtracan*, where they arrived on the 16th of *October*, it was reſolved by the Advice of the Company's Factors in that City, to wait the breaking up of the Ice, which then began to appear, and continues four Months on thoſe Waters; as alſo to obtain a more certain Account of the *Perſian* State, and with what Safety they might proceed into thoſe Regions, which were invaded by the *Turks*.

During their Stay in this City, they obſerved between 8 and 9 at Night a Croſs dart from the Moon with two Tails at the S. and N. Ends thereof[b]. And on the 31ſt of the ſame Month there happened an Eclipſe of the Moon at 12 at Night, which continued about an Hour and a half, ending at about half an Hour paſt one, on the firſt Day of *February*, having been wholly darkened for the Space of half an Hour.

They departed from *Aſtracan* on the firſt Day of *May*, and thro' a very hazardous Navigation among Shoals and Rocks, arrived at a *Perſian* Port named *Bacbu*[c], ſubject to the *Turks*; where they were kindly received by the Governor or *Baſſa*, on the 27th of the ſame Month. But having the Miſfortune on their Return to be ſhipwrecked, the Merchants were great Sufferers by the Loſs of the Money received for their Goods ſold, and of ſeveral Packs of Cloth that were left on-hand; the Men narrowly ſaving their own Lives, and a few Neceſſaries. They afterwards were provided with another Veſſel to carry them back to *Aſtracan*, but met with many Difficulties, and had like to have periſhed for Proviſions in their Return to that Port.

The Trade alſo into the *Levant*, which had been pretty much frequented ever from the Year 1511 to 1534, but ſomewhat neglected afterwards, till the proſperous Voyage of Captain *Bodenham*[d], had now been diſcontinued, and almoſt quite forgotten for upwards of 20 Years, notwithſtanding the Grand Seignor's Privileges granted to Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon*[e], and the ſtrong and weighty Reaſons of *Gaſpar Campion* for its Improvement. When about the Year 1575 Sir *Edward Oſborne* and Mr. *Richard Staper*, ſeriouſly conſidering what Benefit might grow to the Commonwealth by renewing of the foreſaid diſcontinued Trade, to the Enlarging of her Majeſty's Cuſtoms, the Furthering of Navigation, the Venting of divers general Commodities of this Realm, and the Enriching of the City of *London*, determined to uſe ſome effectual Means for the re-eſtabliſhing and augmenting thereof; and at their Charges and Expences ſent *John Wight* and *Joſeph Clements* by the Way of *Poland* to *Conſtantinople*, where the ſaid *Joſeph* remained eighteen Months to procure a Safe-conduct from the Grand Seignor for Mr. *William Harborne*, then Factor for Sir *Edward Oſborne*, to have free Acceſs into his Highneſs's Dominions, and obtained the ſame.

Which being accompliſhed, the ſaid Mr. *Harborne*, the firſt of *July* 1578, departed from *London* by Sea to *Hamburgh*; and thence, accompanied with *Joſeph Clements* his Guide, and a Servant, he travelled to *Leopolis* in *Poland*; and then apparelling himſelf, his Guide, and his Servant after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion (having firſt obtained the King of *Poland* his Safe-conduct to paſs at *Camienijecz*, the Frontier-town of his Dominions next unto *Turky*) by good Means he obtained Favour of one *Acmet Chaus*, the *Turk*'s Embaſſador then in *Poland*, and ready to return to *Conſtantinople*, to be received into his Company and Caravan. And ſo the fourth of *September* 1578, he departed with the ſaid *Acmet* from *Leopolis* in *Poland*, and travelling thro' *Moldavia*, *Valacia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, he arrived at *Conſtantinople* the 28th of *October* next enſuing. Where he behaved himſelf ſo wiſely and diſcreetly, that within few Months after, he obtained not only the *Great Turk*'s large and ample Privilege for himſelf, and the two worſhipful Perſons aforeſaid, but alſo procured his honourable and friendly Letters unto her Majeſty, in Manner following:

The Letters ſent from the Imperial Muſſelmanlike Highneſs of Zuldan Murad Can, *to the ſacred regal Majeſty of* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *the 15th of March* 1579. *containing the Grant of the firſt Privileges.*

“ In Greatneſs and Glory, moſt renowned *Elizabeth*, moſt ſacred Queen, and noble Prince of the moſt mighty Worſhippers of *Jeſus*, moſt wiſe Governor of the Cauſes and Affairs of the People and Family of *Nazareth*, Cloud of moſt pleaſant Rain, and ſweeteſt Fountain of Nobleneſs and Virtue, Lady and Heir of the perpetual Happineſs and Glory of the noble Realm of *England* (whom all Sorts ſeek unto and ſubmit themſelves) we wiſh moſt proſperous Succeſs and happy Ends to all your Actions, and do offer unto you ſuch Pleaſures and Curteſies as are worthy of our mutual and eternal Familiarity: Thus ending, (as beſt beſeemeth us) our former Salutations.

“ In moſt friendly Manner we give you to underſtand, that a certain Man hath come unto us in the Name of your moſt excellent regal Majeſty, commending unto us from you all Kindneſs, Curteſy and friendly Offices on your Part, and did humbly require that our Imperial Highneſs would vouchſafe to give Leave and Liberty to him and unto[f] two other Merchants of your Kingdom, to reſort hither and return again, and that by way of Traffick they might be ſuffered to trade hither with their Goods and Merchandiſes to our Imperial Dominions, and in like ſort to make their Return.

“ Our ſtately Court and Country hath been ever open for the Acceſs both of our Enemies and Friends. But becauſe we are informed that your moſt excellent regal Majeſty doth abound with Good-will, Humanity, and

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[a] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 419.

[b] Jan. 7. 1580.

[c] In lat. 40 Deg. 25 Min.

[d] See Page 177. of this Hiſtory.

[e] A. D. 1553.

[f] Theſe two were Sir Edward Oſborne and M. Richard Staper.

"all kind of loving Affection towards us, ſo much the rather ſhall the ſame our Country be always open to ſuch of your Subjects, as by way of Merchandiſe ſhall trade hither; and we will never fail to aid and ſuccour any of them that are or ſhall be willing to eſteem of our Friendſhip, Favour, and Aſſiſtance; but will reckon it ſome Part of our Duty to gratify them by all good Means. And foraſmuch as our Imperial Highneſs is given to underſtand that your moſt excellent Regal Majeſty doth excel in Bounty and Curteſy, we therefore have ſent out our Imperial Commandment to all our Kings, Judges, and Travellers by Sea, to all our Captains and voluntary ſeafaring Men, all condemned Perſons, and Officers of Ports and Cuſtoms, ſtraitly charging and commanding them, that ſuch foreſaid Perſons as ſhall reſort hither by Sea from the Realm of *England*, either with great or ſmall Veſſels, to trade by way of Merchandiſe, may lawfully come to our imperial Dominions, and freely return home again, and that no Man ſhall dare to moleſt or trouble them. And if in like Sort they ſhall come into our Dominions by Land, either on Foot or on Horſeback, no Man ſhall at any time withſtand or hinder them; but as our Familiars and Confederates, the *French*, *Venetians*, *Polonians*, and the [a] King of *Germany*, with divers other our Neighbours about us, have Liberty to come hither, and to return again into their own Countries, in like ſort the Merchants of your moſt excellent regal Majeſty's Kingdom, ſhall have Safe-conduct and Leave to repair hither to our imperial Dominions, and ſo to return again into their own Country; ſtraitly charging that they be ſuffered to uſe and trade all Kind of Merchandiſe, as any other Chriſtians do, without Lett or Diſturbance of any.

"Therefore when theſe our imperial Letters ſhall be brought to your moſt excellent royal Majeſty, it ſhall be meet, according to our Benevolence, Humanity, and Familiarity towards your moſt excellent Majeſty, that you likewiſe bethink yourſelf of your like Benevolence, Humanity, and Friendſhip towards us, to open the Gate thereof unto us, and to nouriſh by all good Means this Kindneſs and Friendſhip; and that like Liberty may be granted by your Highneſs to our Subjects and Merchants, to come with their Merchandiſes to your Dominions, either by Sea with their Ships, or by Land with their Waggons or Horſes, and to return home again; and that your moſt excellent regal Majeſty do always declare your Humanity, Good-will, and Friendſhip towards us, and always keep open the Door thereof unto us.

"Given at our City of *Conſtantinople* the fifteenth Day of *March*, and in the Year of our moſt holy Prophet *Mahomet* [b] 987."

Which were confirm'd in the *June* following by a particular League of Peace and Commerce [c].

As this was the firſt firm Eſtabliſhment of a Trade, which has ſince proved the moſt advantageous of all other to our Manufactures, as it carries nothing but Goods fully wrought out of the Nation, and brings little or nothing but raw or unwrought Goods back again, I ſhall inſert a Tranſlation of the Articles of theſe firſt Privileges.

1. Our (the Grand Signor's) imperial Command and Pleaſure is, that the People and Subjects of the ſaid Queen (*Elizabeth*) may ſafely and peaceably come to our Dominions, with their Goods, Merchandiſes, Loadings, and Commodities, by Sea, in great or ſmall Veſſels; and by Land, with their Carriages and Cattle; and that no Man ſhall do them any Damage: But, on the contrary, they ſhall buy and ſell, without any Impediment, and obſerve the Cuſtoms and Orders of their own Country.

2. If the ſaid People and Merchants ſhall, in the Courſe of their lawful Journeying and Dealings, be any way ſtay'd or detained, they ſhall be immediately freed and ſet at Liberty, notwithſtanding any Pretence or Evaſion to the contrary.

3. Whenever they ſhall intend or purpoſe to ſend any of their Ships to our Ports or Havens, it ſhall be lawful for them ſo to do, and again from thence at Pleaſure to depart, without Let or Impediment.

4. If it ſhall happen, that any of their Ships be in Danger or Diſtreſs in tempeſtuous Weather, and ſhall ſtand in need of our Help, we will and command, that our Men and Ships be ready to aſſiſt and ſuccour them.

5. Whenever they ſhall have Occaſion to buy Proviſions for their Money, they ſhall be at Liberty ſo to do, without any Oppoſition.

6. If, by any Caſualty, their Ships ſhall be driven on ſhore, and in Peril of Shipwreck, our Begs and Judges, and all other our Subjects, ſhall aid and aſſiſt them; and ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes of theirs as ſhall be ſaved, ſhall be reſtored them, and no wrong be done them by any Man.

7. When any of the ſaid Queen's Subjects, their Interpreters and Merchants, ſhall, on account of Trade, repair to our Dominions, either by Land or Sea, they ſhall have quiet Paſſage, paying our lawful Toll and Cuſtom: And none of our Captains or Governors of the Sea, and Ships, or any other Perſons whatſoever, ſhall any way moleſt or hurt them, either in their Bodies, Goods or Cattle.

8. If any *Engliſhman* become indebted to another Perſon, and abſcond, ſo that he cannot be found, no other Perſon ſhall be arreſted or apprehended for his Debt, unleſs he has been Surety for the ſame.

9. If any *Engliſhman* ſhall make his Will or Teſtament, it ſhall take Effect, and his Goods be delivered to his Heirs accordingly: And if any one die inteſtate, his Effects ſhall be diſpoſed of according to the Will of the *Engliſh* Conſul, for the Time being.

10. If any *Engliſhmen*, or the Merchants and Interpreters belonging to any Places under the Juriſdiction of the Queen of *England*, ſhall have any Controverſy or Diſpute concerning Trade, or any other Engagement, let them go to the Judge, and cauſe their Matter to be recorded; and, if they pleaſe, take Copies of the ſame, atteſted by the Judge, to be produced, as may be neceſſary, and proceeded upon according to the Tenour thereof. But if ſuch Matters ſhould not be recorded, nor Copies thereof taken, yet they ſhall admit of no falſe Evidence, but ſhall act according to Law and Juſtice, and ſuffer no Wrong to be done them.

11. If, at any Time, it ſhall be alledged that an *Engliſhman*, being a Chriſtian, has reviled or ſpoken opprobriouſly of our holy Faith and Religion, in that Caſe, as in all others, no falſe Evidence ſhall be admitted.

12. If any *Engliſhman* ſhall be guilty of a Crime, and thereupon abſcond, no Perſon ſhall be arreſted or detained for another Man's Deed, unleſs he have been Surety for him.

13. If any Slave be reclaimed by the *Engliſh* Conſul or Governor, he ſhall be ſtrictly examined; and if it appear that he is an *Engliſhman*, he ſhall be diſcharged, and delivered to the Conſul.

14. No *Engliſhman*, who comes either to trade or ſettle in our Dominions, be he married or a Bachelor, ſhall pay any Poll or Head-money.

15. If the *Engliſh* ſhall think fit to chuſe and eſtabliſh Conſuls or Governors for their Nation, either in *Alexandria*, *Damaſcus*, *Samos*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, in the Weſt, the Ports of *Egypt*, or any other Places in our Dominions, they ſhall have Liberty ſo to do, and to remove or change them at their Pleaſure, without Let or Moleſtation.

16. If at any Time their Interpreter be abſent on other weighty Affairs, any Matter or Concern for which his Preſence is required ſhall be deferred till his Return, and in the mean Time no one ſhall moleſt them.

17. If any Difference or Controverſy ariſe between two *Engliſhmen*, the adjudging of which they are willing to refer to their Conſul, no Man ſhall interrupt them; but the Cauſe ſhall be determined according to their own Cuſtoms.

18. If, after the Date of this Privilege, any Pirate, or other Captain of Ship, ſailing the Seas, ſhall take any *Engliſhman*, and ſhall made ſale of him, either beyond, or

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[a] He calleth the German Emperor but King of Germany.

[b] With us the Year 1579.

[c] See Hackluit, Vol. II. p. 143.

on this Side of the Sea, the Matter ſhall be examined into according to Juſtice; and if the Perſon ſhall be found to be of the *Engliſh* Nation, and ſhall embrace our holy Religion, he ſhall be releaſed: But if he ſtill perſiſt to be a Chriſtian, he ſhall be reſtored to the *Engliſh* Nation, and the Buyers ſhall ſeek their Money again of them who ſold him.

19. If any of our Ships of War ſhall at any Time meet any *Engliſh* Ships at Sea, laden with Merchandiſe, they ſhall ſuffer them peaceably, and as Friends, to paſs, and not do them any Wrong; in the ſame Manner as the *French*, *Venetians*, and other Nations, our Confederates, are entitled to do, by Virtue of Articles and Privileges granted them by us for that Purpoſe; and let no Man preſume to violate this our divine Law and Privilege.

20. If any of their Ships, either great or ſmall, ſhall, in the Courſe of their Voyages, or in any Harbour into which they ſhall come, be ſtopp'd or arreſted, let no Man preſume to detain them, but rather let them be aiding or aſſiſting to them.

21. If any Thieves or Robbers ſhall forcibly take away any of their Ships and Merchandiſes, theſe Thieves or Robbers ſhall be diligently ſought for, and be puniſhed with all Severity.

22. Laſtly, all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captains, our Slaves, and Servants of Captains, frequenting the Seas; as likewiſe all our Judges, Officers of our Cuſtoms, and Commanders of Ships called *Reiz*, and free *Reiz*, all theſe ſhall be obliged to conform to the Tenour of theſe Articles and Privileges: And as long as the Queen of *England*, on her Part, ſhall duly keep, and ſtrictly obſerve the League and Peace expreſſed in this Privilege, we alſo, on our Part, do charge and command the ſame ſo long to be ſtrictly kept and obſerved.

Given at *Conſtantinople*, in the 988th Year of our moſt Holy Prophet, in the Beginning of the Month of *June*, and in the Year of *Jeſus* 1580.

On the Part of *England* Queen *Elizabeth* wrote to the *Ottoman* Emperor, reciprocally engaging to receive and protect, aid and aſſiſt his Subjects who might, at any time, make the Voyage of her Dominions. She likewiſe granted her Letters Patents and Privilege to Sir *Edward Oſborne*, *Thomas Smith*, of *London*, Eſq; *Richard Staper* and *William Garret*, of *London*, Merchants, their Executors and Adminiſtrators, and to ſuch other Perſons as Sir *Edward Oſborne* and *Richard Staper*, excluſive of the other two Patentees, ſhould nominate and appoint, as their Copartners, not exceeding the Number of twelve, the four firſt nominated included, and two other Perſons to be nominated by the Crown, with Privilege, for the Term of ſeven Years, to trade and traffick, excluſive of all others, to and from the Dominions of the Grand Seignor, with Liberty of making By-laws, *&c.* Sir *Edward Oſborne* was appointed Governor of the Society for theſe ſeven Years, or, in caſe of his Deceaſe, Mr. *Richard Staper*: But in caſe of both their Demiſes before the Expiration of that time, then a Governor to be elected by the Society for the Reſidue of the Term. Their Ships had the Liberty allowed them of bearing the Arms of *England*, on their Tops, with a red Croſs over them. The Society was obliged, after the firſt Year, to export and import yearly as many Goods and Merchandizes, as the Cuſtom and Subſidy ſhould amount to five hundred Pounds, provided they or their Ships met with no Let, Hindrance or Misfortune in their Trade, as ſhould prevent it.

Theſe were the principal Articles of theſe Letters Patents, which were dated the 11th of *September* 1581[a].

Another Body of Merchants, not diſheartened by the Miſcarriages of thoſe Adventurers, who failed hitherto in the Diſcovery of a N. E. Paſſage to *China*, revived the Project; and for that Purpoſe employed thoſe two eminent Navigators, Captain *Charles Jackman*, and Captain *Arthur Pett*[b].

Theſe two Captains received their Commiſſion[c] from the Governors of the Company of *Engliſh* Merchants, incorporated for the Diſcovery of new Trades.

Commiſſion given by Sir Rowland Hayward, *Knt. and* George Barne, *Aldermen and Governors of the Company of* Engliſh *Merchants, for Diſcovery of new Trades, unto* Arthur Pet, *and* Charles Jackman, *for a Voyage by them to be made, for Diſcovery of* Cathay, 1580. *In Form following:*

" In the Name of God Almighty, and everlaſting, *Amen.* This Writing for Commiſſion Tripartite, made the 20th Day of *May*, *Anno Domini* 1580, and in the 22d Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* Between Sir *Rowland Hayward*, Knt. and *George Barne*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, and Governors of the Company of *Engliſh* Merchants, for Diſcovery of new Trades, for the Behoof, and in the Name of the ſaid Company, on the firſt Party; and *Arthur Pet* of *Ratcliffe*, in the County of *Middleſex*, Captain, Maſter, and chief Ruler of the good Bark, called the *George* of *London*, of the Burthen of 40 Tons, or thereabouts, on the ſecond Party; and *Charles Jackman* of *Poplar*, in the ſaid County of *Middleſex*, Captain, Maſter and Ruler of the good Bark, called the *William* of *London*, of the Burthen of 20 Tons, or thereabouts (which Barks are now riding at Anchor in the River of *Thames* againſt *Limehouſe*) on the third Party; witneſſeth, that the ſaid Governors and Company have hired the ſaid *Arthur Pet*, to ſerve in the ſaid Bark, called the *George*, with nine Men and a Boy; and likewiſe the ſaid *Charles Jackman*, to ſerve in the ſaid Bark, called the *William*, with five Men and a Boy, for a Voyage by them to be made by God's Grace, for Search and Diſcoveries of a Paſſage by Sea from hence by *Borough*'s Streights, and the Iſland *Vaigats*, Eaſtwards, to the Countries or Dominions of the mighty Prince, the Emperor of *Cathay*, and in the ſame unto the Cities of *Cambalu* and *Quinſay*, or to either of them.

" The which Paſſage (upon Authority of Writers, and great Reaſon) is conceived to be from the *Vaigats* Eaſtwards, according to the Deſcription in Plate of ſpiral Lines, made by Maſter *William Burrough*, whereof either of the ſaid *Arthur Pet* and *Charles Jackman*, have one delivered unto them, and alſo one other ſailing Card, and a Blank-plate for either of them. But if it ſhould not be in all Points, according to that Deſcription, yet we hope that the Continent or firm Land of *Aſia* doth not ſtretch itſelf ſo far Northwards, but that there may be found a Sea paſſable by it, between the Latitude of 70 and 80 Degrees. And therefore we have appointed you with theſe two Barks to make Trial of the ſame; wiſhing you both to join in Friendſhip together, as moſt dear Friends and Brothers, to all Purpoſes and Effects, to the Furtherance and orderly performing of the ſame Voyage. And likewiſe order your Companies, that they of the one Bark may have ſuch Love and Care, to help and ſuccour them of the other, as moſt dear Friends and Brothers would do; ſo as it may appear, that tho' they be two Barks, and two Companies (which is ſo appointed for your greater Comfort and Aſſurance) yet that you are wholly of one Mind, and bend yourſelves to the uttermoſt of your Powers, to perform the thing that you are both employed of.

" Do you obſerve good Order in your daily Service, and pray unto God, ſo ſhall you proſper the better.

" We would have you to meet often together, to talk, confer, conſult, and agree how, and by what means you may beſt perform this purpoſed Voyage, according to our Intents. And at ſuch Meeting we think it requiſite, that you call unto you your Mates, and alſo *Nicholas Chancellor* (whom we do appoint as Merchant, to keep Account of the Merchandiſe you ſhall buy or ſell, barter or change) to the end that whatſoever God ſhould diſpoſe of either of you, yet they may have ſome Inſtructions and Knowledge how to deal in your Place or Places. And of all your Aſſemblies and Conſultations together, and the Subſtance of Matter you ſhall at every time,

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[a] Dated 11 Sep. 1581. Apud Hackluit, Part. I. p. 146. 1ſt Edit.

[b] Camden. Hackluit, Part I. p. 433. Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 533.

[c] A. D. 1580.

time agree upon, we would have you to note them in the Paper-books that we give you for that Purpoſe, unto each Bark one. We do appoint *Arthur Pet* in the *George* as Admiral, to wear the Flag in the Main-top; and *Charles Jackman* in the *William* as Vice-admiral. For good Orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of Company together, which we wiſh may be ſuch, as you ſhould never loſe Sight the one of the other, except by both your Conſents, to diſcover about an Iſland, or in ſome River, when and where you may certainly appoint to meet together again, we refer the ſame to your Diſcretions.

“ And now for your good Direction in this Voyage, we would have you with the next good Wind and Weather, that God ſhall ſend thereunto meet and convenient, after the 22d Day of this preſent Month of *May*, ſail from this River of *Thames*, to the Coaſt of *Finmark*, to the North Cape there, or to the *Wardhouſe*, and from thence direct your Courſe to have Sight of *Willoughby*'s Land, and from it paſs along to the *Nova Zembla*, keeping the ſame Lands always in your Sight on your Larboard-ſides (if conveniently you may) to the end you may diſcover whether the ſame *Willoughby*'s Land be continent and firm Land with *Nova Zembla*, or not; notwithſtanding we would not have you to entangle yourſelves in any Bay, or otherwiſe, ſo that it might hinder your ſpeedy Proceeding to the Iſland *Vaigats*.

“ And when you come to *Vaigats*, we would have you to get ſight of the main Land of *Samoeda*, which is over againſt the South-part of the ſame Iſland; and from thence, with God's Permiſſion, to paſt Eaſtwards along the ſame Coaſt, keeping it always in your Sight (if conveniently you may) until you come to the Mouth of the River *Ob*; and when you come unto it, paſs over the ſaid River's Mouth, unto the Border of Land, on the Eaſt-ſide of the ſame (without any Stay to be made for ſearching inwardly in the ſame River) and being in ſight of the ſame Eaſterly-land, do you, in God's Name, proceed along by it, from thence Eaſtwards, keeping the ſame always on your Starboard-ſide in ſight, if you may, and follow the Tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at Times it may do both) until you come to the Country of *Cathay*, or the Dominion of that mighty Emperor.

“ And if God proſper your Voyage with ſuch good Succeſs, that you may attain to the ſame, do you ſeek by all Means you can to arrive to the Cities *Cambalu* and *Quinſay*, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conveniently come to either of thoſe Places, or ſhall be driven to remain and winter in ſome other Port or Place of his Dominions, do you ſeek by all Means poſſible to win Favour and Liking of the People, by Gifts and friendly Demeans towards them, and not to offer Violence, or do Wrong to any People or Nation whatſoever, but therein to be innocent as Doves, yet wily as Serpents, to avoid Miſchief, and defend you from Hurt. And when you ſhall have gotten Friendſhip, through your diſcreet Ordering of yourſelves towards the People, do you learn of them what you can of their Prince, and ſhew them one of the Queen's Majeſty's Letters, which ſhe ſendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one Subſtance and Effect, for each of you particularly) written in *Latin*, whereunto her Majeſty hath ſubſcribed, and cauſed her Signet-ſeal to be ſet, the Effect of the ſame Letters you have alſo written in *Engliſh*, for your own underſtanding thereof.

“ The ſame her Majeſty's Letters you ſhall procure to deliver unto the ſame mighty Prince, or Governor, with ſome Preſent to be given, ſuch as you ſhall think meet and convenient, uſing yourſelves in all Points according to the Effect of the ſame Letters, and procure again from the ſame Prince his Letters accordingly.

“ And if God ſo proſper your Voyage, that you may this Summer paſs the Streights, and compaſs about the northermoſt Land of *Aſia*, unto the Country of *Cathay*, or Dominion of that mighty Prince, and wintering in it, may obtain from him his Letters of Privilege againſt the next Year's Spring, you may then after your firſt ſetting forth; ſearch and diſcover ſomewhat farther than you had diſcovered before your wintering, ſo far as you ſhall think convenient, with Regard had, and always provided, that you may return home hither, to give us Advice of your Proceedings the ſame Summer, or before the Sharpneſs or Extremity of Winter overtake you.

“ And if it happen you cannot this Summer attain to the Border of *Cathay*, and yet find the Land beyond the *Ob* to ſtretch itſelf Eaſterly, with the Sea adjoining unto it navigable, do you then proceed on your Diſcovery (as before ſaid) along the ſame Continent, ſo far as you can this Summer, having care in the Travel to find out ſome convenient Harbour and Place where you may winter; and when you think it convenient, put yourſelf to wintering; where if you happen to find People, you ſhall deal with them, as we have before adviſed you to do with the People of *Cathay*, &c. And if you can learn that they have a Prince or chief Governor, do you procure to deliver unto the ſame Prince or Governor one of the Queen's Letters, as before ſaid, and ſeek to obtain again his Letters accordingly. If you happen to winter, and obtain Letters of Privilege, finding the Country and People, with the Commodities to be ſuch, that by uſing Trade thither with the People, and for the Commodities, it may be beneficial unto us (as we hope you may) the ſame will be ſome good Liking unto us: notwithſtanding we would have you the next Summer (by the Grace of God) at your firſt ſetting out of your wintering Harbour, proceed along that Tract of Land to *Cathay*, if you ſee likelihood to paſs it (for that is the Country that we chiefly deſire to diſcover) and ſeeing you are fully victualed for two Years and upwards, which you may very well make to ſerve you for two Years and a half, though you find no other Help, you may therefore be the bolder to adventure in proceeding upon your Diſcovery; which if you do, we doubt not but you ſhall atchieve the Country of *Cathay*, and deliver to the Prince there one of her Majeſty's Letters, bringing from thence the ſame Prince's Letters anſwerable; and ſo in the Year of our Lord 1582 return home with good News, and glad Tidings, not only unto us the Adventurers in this Voyage, but alſo to our whole Country and Nation, which God grant you may do. Amen.

“ But if it happen that the Land of *Aſia*, from beyond the River *Ob*, extend itſelf Northwards to 80 Degrees, or nearer the Pole, whereby you find it to lead you into that Extremity, that ſmall or no Hope may be looked for, to ſail that way to *Cathay*, do you notwithſtanding follow the Tract of the ſame Land, as far as you can diſcover this Summer, having care to find out by the way a convenient Place for you to winter in, the which (if you may diſcover the ſame Land of *Aſia* this Summer to extend itſelf to 80 Degrees of Latitude, and upwards, or to 85 Degrees) we wiſh then that the ſame your wintering Place may be in the River of *Ob*, or as near the ſame River as you can, and finding in ſuch wintering Place, People, be they *Samoeds*, *Yowgorians*, or *Molgomzes*, &c. do you gently entreat with them as aforeſaid, and if you can learn that they have a Prince or chief Governor amongſt them, do you deliver him one of her Majeſty's Letters, and procure thereof an Anſwer accordingly; do you procure to barter and exchange with the People, of the Merchandiſe and Commodities that you ſhall carry with you, for ſuch Commodities as you ſhall find them to have, *&c.*

“ If you ſo happen to winter, we would have you the next Summer to diſcover into the River *Ob*, ſo far as conveniently you may; and if you ſhall find the ſame River (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be alſo navigable and pleaſant for you, to travel far into, happily you may come to the City *Siberia*, or to ſome other Town or Place habited upon or near the Border of it, and thereby have liking to winter out the ſecond Winter; uſe you therein your Diſcretions.

“ But if you find the ſaid River *Ob* to be ſhoal, or not ſuch as you may conveniently travel in with your Barks, do you then the next Summer return back through

“ *Borough*'s Streights; and from that Part of *Nova Zembla*, adjoining to the ſame Streights, do you come along the Tract of that Coaſt Weſtwards, keeping it on the Star-board-ſide, and the ſame always in Sight, if conveniently you may, until you come to *Willoughby*'s Land, if Outwards bound you ſhall not happen to diſcover and try whether the ſaid *Willoughby*'s Land join Continent with the ſame *Nova Zembla*, or not. But if you ſhall then prove them to be one Firm and Continent, you may from *Nova Zembla* direct your Courſe unto the ſaid *Willoughby*'s Land, as you ſhall think good, and as you may moſt conveniently: and from *Willoughby*'s Land you ſhall proceed Weſtwards along the Tract of it, (tho' it incline Northerly) even ſo far as you may or can travel, having regard that in convenient Time you may return home hither to *London* for wintering.

“ And for your orderly paſſing in this Voyage, and making Obſervations in the ſame, we refer you to the Inſtructions given by Mr. *William Burrough*, whereof one Copy is annexed unto the firſt Part of this Indenture under our Seal, for you *Arthur Pet*, another Copy of it is annexed to the ſecond Part of this Indenture, under our Seal alſo, for you *Charles Jackman*, and a third Copy thereof is annexed unto the third Part of this Indenture, remaining with us the ſaid Company, ſealed and ſubſcribed by you the ſaid *Arthur Pet* and *Charles Jackman*.

“ And to the obſerving of all Things contained in this Commiſſion (ſo near as God will permit me Grace thereunto) I the ſaid *Arthur Pet* do covenant by theſe Preſents to perform them, and every Part and Parcel thereof. And I the ſaid *Charles Jackman* do for my Part likewiſe covenant by theſe Preſents to perform the ſame, and every Part thereof, ſo near as God will give me Grace thereunto.

“ And in witneſs thereof theſe Indentures were ſealed and delivered accordingly, the Day and Year firſt above written. Thus the Lord God Almighty ſend you a proſperous Voyage, with happy Succeſs, and ſafe Return. Amen.”

Their ſailing Inſtructions were drawn up by *William Burrough* [a], and the Directions for Conduct by Mr. *Richard Hackluit* [b]. Both which are worthy the Attention of Navigators on the like Occaſion; and are recorded as referr'd to in the Notes [a], [b], at the Bottom of this Page.

They embark'd at *Harwich*, in Search for a Paſſage by the N. E. beyond *Weygatz*, through the Northern *Cronian* or *Frozen Ocean*, to *China*, and the *Indies*; Capt. *Pett* with nine Men and a Boy on-board the *George*, a Veſſel of forty Tons; and Capt. *Jackman* with only five Men and a Boy on-board a Hoy of twenty Tons.

They departed from that Port on the 30th of *May*, and on the 22d of *June* they doubled the North Cape of *Norway*, and next Day arrived off *Wardhouſe*, and ſtaid there till the firſt of *July*. From thence they ſet Sail for the Bay of *Pechora*: But *Jackman*'s Veſſel not being in a Condition to keep the Sea, he was forced to ſeek a Harbour to repair in. *Pett* continued his Voyage for the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*; and there in the Month of *July* met with ſuch Drifts of Ice, that it was with great Difficulty he made his Way thro' to the Streights of *Weygatz*. He drew up into two Fathom and a half; and not being able to go farther with his Ship, he ſent in his Boat to ſound; but found there was not Water enough in the Streight not even for his Boat; and therefore was obliged to return by the ſame Way he entered.

On the 24th of *July* he recovered Sight of the *William*; but there was ſuch an Iſland of Ice between them, that they could not come at one another till next Morning; the *William* not being able to ſteer, and his Ship's Stern-poſt being broken, and the Rudder hanging from the Stern.

This Evil being remedied in the beſt Manner they could for the preſent, they both ſet Sail again on the 26th, and ſtood Northward, with the Wind at W. N. W. to endeavour to find ſome clear Paſſage that way, to go to the Eaſtward; but the Ice increaſing hourly upon them, inſomuch that they advanced but one League the whole Day; they deſpairing of Succeſs, reſolved to return back to *Weygatz*. And on the 16th of *Auguſt* found they were athwart of the S. E. Part of *Weygatz*, between the Ice and the Shore. But their Attempt now to find a Paſſage was to as little Purpoſe as the former, the Ice obſtructing their Progreſs; which, with other Diſcouragements, and the Approach of the Winter, determined them to return home; and after being ſeveral times aſhore, and among Rocks, the *William* was again ſeparated from the *George*. Captain *Pett* arrived in the River *Thames* on *Chriſtmas* Day. But, tho' the *William*, after being parted from the *George*, got in Safety into a Port of *Norway*, between *Tronden* and *Roſtock*, in the Month of *October*, where ſhe wintered, and in *February* following departed from thence for *Ireland*, in Company of a Ship belonging to the King of *Denmark*, ſhe was never more heard of. This unſucceſsful Voyage diſcouraged the *Engliſh* from making any farther Attempts this way for many Years.

The *Turkey* Trade now promiſed great Advantages to the Adventurers, who in the Year 1582 fitted out the *Suſan*, a tall Ship of 34 Guns, which ſailed with a conſiderable Cargo of the Woollen Manufacture of *England*, and her Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Port of *Conſtantinople*; this being the firſt Voyage to that Capital of the *Ottoman* Empire. The Ambaſſador was *William Harborne*, Eſq; the Captain was *John Gray*, and the Maſter *Richard Parſons*, a very excellent and ſkilful Mariner [c].

This Ship ſailed from *Blackwall*, four Miles Eaſt of *London*, on the North-ſide of the River *Thames*, on the 14th Day of *November*, and with a fair Courſe arrived off the Iſland of *Majorca*, on the 1ſt of *February*, in the *Mediterranean*; where ſome of the Men going aſhore to traffic for freſh Proviſions, were decoyed under fair Pretences ſome Miles within Land, and detained by the *Spaniſh* Viceroy of the Iſland; who alſo artfully endeavoured to perſuade the Captain by ſeveral Meſſages, that the Detention of the *Engliſh* was not by any hoſtile Intention, but that they might accompany him in his intended Viſit on-board of their Ship, in a few Days time; while the *Spaniards* were preparing all in their Power to bring Cannon to the Shore by Night, to ſeize upon the Ship; which being diſcovered before they had brought their Cannon to bear, Captain *Gray* came to a Reſolution to weigh Anchor with all Expedition; and it was agreed unanimouſly to leave the Men on-ſhore, rather than endanger the Loſs of the Ship, their own Liberty, and the Hopes of their Voyage.

By this time the Viceroy was come in Perſon, attended by upwards of 500 armed Men to the Shore, and ordered a Cannon on the North-ſide to be levelled againſt the Ship, which, for want of Wind, was obliged to be towed out of the Harbour, about the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London-bridge* over. The Ambaſſador and Captain put on their Armour; the Maſter placed every Man to their Quarters, and took Care of the Sails; and the Pilot, in his proper Station on the Poop, attending to his Charge, puſhed by them with their Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, and other Inſtruments of Muſic playing; the *Spaniards* not daring to fire, when they obſerved the Ship's Guns pointed, and the Reſolution and Courage of the Crew. On the contrary, when the perfidious daſtardly Iſlanders ſaw that they could not ſurpriſe the *Engliſh* without the Hazard of a ſtout Reſiſtance, the Viceroy fram'd Excuſes, and ſent the Men aboard he had detained, with an obliging Letter, deſiring that the Captain would not take his Proceedings in ill Part, for that he did not mean them any Harm. However, the Ambaſſador ordered the Captain to make the beſt Way he could out of the Power of thoſe inſidious Friends.

On the 29th of *March* they arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, came to an Anchor facing the *Grand Seignor*'s Palace; gave a Salute of their Ordnance, and landed the Ambaſſador with a Salute of only 24 Pieces. His Excellence was received on his Landing by fifty or ſixty Horſemen, and conducted to proper Quarters. And at a proper Seaſon, having made ſeveral Preſents to the Baſhaws in Waiting, was admitted into their Maſter's Preſence, to whom his Excellence preſented twelve fine broad Cloths, two Pieces of fine Holland, ten Pieces of Plate double gilt, one Caſe of Candleſticks, the Caſe whereof was very large, and three Foot high and more; two very great Cans or Pots, and one leſſer; one Baſin and Ewer, two Poppinjays of Silver, the one with two Heads, they were to drink in; two Bottles with Chains, three fair Maſtiffs in Coats of red Cloth, three Spaniels, two Blood-hounds, one common hunting Hound, two Grey-hounds, two little Dogs in Coats of Silk; one Clock valued at five hundred Pounds Sterling; over it was a Foreſt with Trees of Silver, among the which were Deer chaſed with Dogs, and Men on Horſeback following; Men drawing of Water, others carrying Mine-ore on Barrows; on the Top of the Clock ſtood a Caſtle, and on the Caſtle a Mill. All theſe were of Silver; and the Clock was round beſet with Jewels.

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[a] Hackluit, Part I. p. 435.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 437.

[c] A. D. 1582. Id. Part II. p. 165.

In conſequence of this Ambaſſy the *Turky* Merchants ſettled Factories, and obtain'd Conſuls [a] for their Protection, and the Encouragement of their Commerce at *Alexandria*, *Grand Cairo*, and other Places in *Egypt*; at *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Aman*, *Tripolis*, *Jeruſalem*, and other Ports in *Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Judea*. To which Commiſſions the Ambaſſador annex'd the following wiſe and ſeaſonable Directions, as appears by thoſe directed to Mr. *Richard Foſter*, the firſt Conſul of the *Engliſh* Nation at *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

" Couſin *Foſter*, theſe few Words are for your Remembrance, when it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to ſend you ſafe Arrival in *Tripolis* of *Syria*. When it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend you thither, you are to certify our Nation at *Tripolis* of the certain Day of your Landing, to the end they both may have their Houſe in a Readineſs, and and alſo meet you perſonally at your Entrance to accompany you, being yourſelf apparelled in the beſt Manner. The next, ſecond, or third Day, after your coming, give it out that you be crazed and not well diſpoſed, by means of your Travel at Sea; during which Time, you and thoſe there are moſt wiſely to determine in what Manner you are to preſent yourſelf to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other Officers, who every of them are to be preſented according to the Order accuſtomed of others formerly in like Office; which after the Note of *John Blanke*, late Vice-conſul of *Tripolis* for the *French*, delivered you herewith, is very much; and therefore, if thereof you can ſave any thing, I pray you do it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to give you there alſo another Janizary, according as the *French* hath; whoſe outward Proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in ſuch ſort as you be not his Inferior, according as thoſe of our Nation heretofore with him reſident can inform you. Touching your Demeanour after your placing, you are wiſely to proceed, conſidering both *French* and *Venetian* will have an envious Eye on you; whom if they perceive wiſe and well adviſed, they will fear to offer you any Injury. But if they ſhall perceive any Inſufficiency in you, they will not omit any Occaſion to harm you. They are ſubtile, malicious, and diſſembling People, wherefore you muſt always have their Doings for ſuſpected, and warily walk in all your Actions; wherein if you call for God's divine Aſſiſtance, as doth become every faithful good Chriſtian, the ſame ſhall in ſuch ſort direct you, as he ſhall be glorified, yourſelf preſerved, your Doings bleſſed, and your Enemies confounded. Which if contrariwiſe you omit and forget, our Enemies Malice ſhall be ſatisfied with your Confuſion, which God defend, and for his Mercies Sake keep you. Touching any Outlopers of our Nation, which may happen to come thither to traffic, you are not to ſuffer, but to impriſon the chief Officers, and ſuffer the reſt not to traffic at any time, and together enter into ſuch Bonds as you think meet, that both they ſhall not deal in the Grand Seignor's Dominions, and alſo not harm, during their Voyage, any his Subjects Ships, Veſſels, or whatſoever other, but quietly depart out of the ſame Country, without any Harm doing. And touching thoſe there for the Company, you are to defend them according to your Privilege, and ſuch Commandments as you have had hence, in the beſt Order you may. In all and every your Actions, at any hand, beware of Raſhneſs and Anger, after both which Repentance followeth. Touching your Dealings in their Affairs of Merchandiſe, you are not to deal otherwiſe than in Secret and Council. You are carefully to foreſee the Charge of the Houſe, that the ſame may be in all honeſt Meaſure to the Company's Profit, and your own Health, through Moderation in Diet, and at the beſt Hand, and in due Time to provide Things needful, to ſave what may be; for he that buyeth every Thing when he needeth it, harmeth his own Houſe, and helpeth the Retailer: So as it is, in my Opinion, Wiſdom to foreſee the buying of all Things in their native Soil, in due Time, and at the firſt Hand every Year, as you are to ſend the Company the particular Accounts of the ſame Expences. Touching yourſelf, you are to cauſe to be employed fifty or threeſcore Ducats, *videlicet*, twenty in Soap, and the reſt in Spices, whereof the moſt Part to be Pepper, whereof we ſpend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our Friend *William Barrat*, and the Soap buy you at your firſt Arrival, for that this Ship lading the ſame Commodity, will cauſe it to amount in Price. From our Manſion *Rapamat*, the fifth of *September* 1583."

The Affair at *Majorca*, added to the continual Examples of *Spaniſh* Perfidy for ſeveral Years paſt, and the ſecret Intelligence of King *Philip*'s Diſpoſition to unite all the *Popiſh* Powers againſt the Queen, and of his private Inſtructions to his Governors, Captains, *&c.* to diſtreſs and to deſtroy her Subjects and their Trade, when Opportunity ſerved, ſo as not to involve his royal Perſon in the Conſequences, convinced our *Elizabeth*, that her beſt Policy was to counteract the *Spaniſh* Farce of ſuch a felloneous Peace. Thus we have related ſeveral Expeditions of her Subjects to make Repriſals for perſonal Damages, by the Connivance of the State; but none of them ſailed with her Commiſſion till this Year 1582; when *Edward Fenton* [b], under the Pretence of trading to *China* and *Cathay*, was ſent with two ſtout Men of War, and two other armed Veſſels, to make Prizes in the *South-Seas*, and to intercept the Treaſure which the King of *Spain* drew from thence, in order to execute his hoſtile Projects in *Europe*.

The Queen put great Confidence in this Scheme; and the Lords of her Council gave the following Inſtructions to Mr. *Fenton*, the Admiral of this little Squadron.

" 1. You ſhall enter, as Captain-general, into the Charge and Government of theſe Ships, *viz.* the *Bear* Gallion, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the Bark *Francis*, and the ſmall Frigate or Pinnace [c].

" 2. You ſhall appoint for the furniſhing of theſe Veſſels in the whole, to the Number of 200 able Perſons, accounting in that Number the Gentlemen and their Men, the Miniſters, Surgeons, Factors, *&c.* which ſaid Number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be to be Seamen, and ſhall diſtribute them into every Veſſel, as by Advice here, before your going, ſhall be thought meet. Provided, that you ſhall not receive under your Charge and Government any diſordered or mutinous Perſon, but that, upon Knowledge had, you ſhall remove him before your Departure hence, or by the way, as ſoon as you can conveniently avoid him, and receive better in his Place.

" 3. For the more and better circumſpect Execution and Determination in any weighty Cauſes incident in this Voyage, we will that you ſhall take unto you for Aſſiſtants, Captain *Hawkins*, Captain *Ward*, Mr. *Nicholas Parker*, Mr. *Maddox*, Mr. *Walker*, Mr. *Evans*, *Randolph Shaw* and *Matthew Talboys*, with whom you ſhall conſult and confer in all Cauſes, Matters and Actions of Importance, not provided for in theſe Inſtructions, touching

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[a] See Hackluit, part II. p. 171, &c.

[b] Hackluit, part III. p. 754. Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

[c] Theſe were the Ships firſt put in Commiſſion for this Voyage; but they were afterwards altered thus: The Galleon Leiceſter, of 400 Tons, Admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Fenton, as General, and under him William Hawkins the Younger, Lieutenant-general, and Chriſtopher Hall Maſter. The Edward Bonaventure, 300 Tons, Vice-admiral, of which Captain Luke Ward was Commander, aud Thomas Perry Maſter. The Francis, of 40 Tons, commanded by Captain John Drake, and William Markham Maſter. And the Elizabeth, of 50 Tons, Captain Thomas Skevington Commander, and Ralph Crane Maſter.

“ ing the Service now in Hand. And in all ſuch Matters ſo handled, argued and debated, we think that convenient always to be executed, which you ſhall think meeteſt, with the Conſent alſo of any four of them, the Matter having been debated, and ſo aſſented to, in the Preſence of your ſaid Aſſiſtants. And in caſe that ſuch Conference and Debating the Opinions of the aforeſaid Aſſiſtants be found, in effect, any way to differ; then it is thought meet, that all ſuch Matters ſo argued upon, ſhall reſt to be put in Execution, in ſuch ſort as you ſhall think moſt meet, having the Aſſent of any four of them, as aforeſaid. And if any of theſe Aſſiſtants ſhall die, then the Number of the one half of the Survivors to join with the Captain-general, for Conſent in all Things aforeſaid.

“ 4. Of all which your Aſſemblies and Conſultations for the Matters aforeſaid, we think it very convenient that a particular and true Note ſhould be kept. For which Cauſe we appoint Mr. *Maddox* Miniſter, and if he ſhould deceaſe, then the General, with half the Aſſiſtants Survivors, to name one to keep a Book of all ſuch Matters, as ſhall be brought in Conſultation, and of all ſuch Reaſons as ſhall be propounded by any Perſons, either on the one Side, or on the other; what was reſolved on, and by whoſe Conſent; who diſſented from them, and for what Cauſes. In which Book he ſhall in the Beginning of the Note of every ſuch Aſſembly, ſet down particularly the Day and the Place, if it may be, the Names of the Perſons then preſent, and upon what Occaſion the ſaid Conſultation was appointed or holden; and ſhall have, to every Act, the Hands of the General, and of all, or ſo many of the ſaid Aſſiſtants, as will ſubſcribe; which Book, the ſaid Maſter *Maddox*, or the other, upon his Deceaſe appointed in his Place, ſhall keep ſecret, and in good Order, to be exhibited unto us at your return home.

“ 5. If there happen any Perſon or Perſons employed in this Service, of what Calling or Condition he or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire, or attempt privately or publickly any Treaſon, Mutiny, or other Diſcord, either touching the taking away of your own Life, or any other of Authority under you, whereby her Majeſty's Service, in this Voyage, might be overthrown or impugned; we will therefore, that upon juſt Proof made of any ſuch Treaſon, Mutiny, or any other Diſcord, attempted as aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you, or your Lieutenant, according to the Quality and Enormity of the Fact. Provided always, and it ſhall not be lawful, neither for you, nor your Lieutenant, to proceed to the Puniſhment of any Perſon, by Loſs of Life or Limb, unleſs the Party ſhall be judged to have deſerved it by the reſt of your Aſſiſtants, as is before expreſſed, or at the leaſt by four of them. And that which ſhall concern Life to be by the Verdict of twelve Men of the Company employed in this Voyage, to be impannelled for that Purpoſe, with the Obſervation of the Form of our Country Laws, in that Behalf, as near as you may. Provided, if it ſhall not appear, that the forbearing of the Execution by Death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to increaſe the Fact of the Offender, then it were better to convince the Party of his Fact, by the Oaths of twelve indifferent Perſons, and to commit him to hard Impriſonment, until the Return. And as well of the Facts committed by any, as alſo of the Proof thereof, and of the Opinion of you, and your Aſſiſtants, and the Manner of the Puniſhment, the Regiſter ſhall make a particular and true Note, in the Book of your Conſultation, as is before appointed.

“ 6. You ſhall not remove Captain *William Hawkins*, your Lieutenant, Captain *Luke Ward*, your Vice-admiral, or Captain of the *Edward Bonaventure*, nor Captain *Carliſle*, from his Charge by Land, whom we will not to refuſe any ſuch Service, as ſhall be appointed to him, by the General and the Council; (it appears however, that Captain *Carliſle* did not go the Voyage) nor any Captain of other Veſſels, from their Charges, but upon juſt Cauſe duly proved, and by Conſent of your Aſſiſtants, or of four of them, at the leaſt.

“ 7. For the Succeſſion of the General, Governor of this whole Voyage, if it ſhould pleaſe God to take him away, it is thought meet that there ſhould be the Names of ſuch Gentlemen ſecretly ſet down to ſucceed in his Place, one after the other, which are ſeverally written in Parchment, included in Balls of Wax, ſealed with her Majeſty's Signet, put into two Coffers, locked with the ſeveral Locks, whereof one Key is to be in the Cuſtody of Captain *Luke Ward*, the other of *William Hawkins*; and the third of Mr. *Maddox* the Miniſter; and the ſame two Coffers to be put into two ſeveral Ships, *viz.* the one Coffer in the Galleon, in the Cuſtody of the General, and the other in the *Edward Bonaventure*, in the Cuſtody of the Vice admiral: The ſame two Coffers, upon any ſuch Caſualty of the General's Death, by the Conſent of the Aſſiſtants which ſhall overlive, to be opened, and the Party therein named to ſucceed in the Place, who ſhall thereupon take upon him the Charge in the ſaid Voyage, according to theſe Inſtructions, in ſuch ſort as if they had been ſpecially directed unto him; and the reſt of the Company ſo to take and repute him, in every Reſpect, as they will anſwer to the contrary. But if it ſhall ſo fall out (as we hope it will) that there ſhall be no ſuch Need, but that the General do continue ſtill, then ſhall you, at your Return, deliver back the ſaid Coffers, and Balls of Wax, ſealed, in ſuch ſort as they be, without opening them, unleſs it be in the Caſe aforeſaid.

“ 8. You ſhall make a juſt and true Inventory in every Ship and Veſſel appointed for this Voyage, of all the Tackle, Munition, and Furniture belonging to them, at their ſetting forth hence, and of all the Proviſions whatſoever, and one Copy thereof, under your Hand, and under the Hands of your Vice-admiral and Lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the other to the Governor of the Company for them, before your Departure hence, and the like to be done at your Return home, of all Things then remaining in the ſaid Ships and Veſſels, with a true Certificate how, and by what Means any Parcel of the ſame ſhall have been ſpent or loſt.

“ 9. You ſhall uſe all Diligence poſſible to depart from *Southampton*, with your ſaid Ships and Veſſels, before the laſt of this preſent Month of *April*, and ſo go on your Courſe, by the *Cape of Good Hope*, not paſſing by the Streight of *Magellan*, either going or returning, except upon great Occaſion incident, that ſhall be thought otherwiſe good to you, by the Advice and Conſent of your ſaid Aſſiſtants, or four of them at the leaſt.

“ 10. You ſhall not paſs to the North-eaſtward of the 40th Degree of Latitude at the moſt; but ſhall take your right Courſe to the Iſles of *Moluccos*, for the better Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, if, without Hinderance of your Trade, and within the ſame Degree, you can get any Knowledge concerning that Paſſage, whereof you ſhall do well to be inquiſitive, as Occaſion in this ſort may ſerve.

“ 11. You ſhall have ſpecial Regard, after your Departure from the Coaſt of *England*, ſo to order your Courſe, as that your Ships and Veſſels loſe not one another, but keep Company together, both outward and homeward. And leſt, if they happen to ſever, the one from the other, by Tempeſt, or otherwiſe, it ſhall not be amiſs, that you appoint to the Captains and Maſters, certain Places, wherein you will ſtay certain Days. And every Ship paſſing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other Ships, to leave, upon every Promontory or Cape, a Token to ſtand in Sight, with a Writing lapped in Lead, to declare the Day of their Paſſage. And if any Wilfulneſs or Neglect, in this Behalf, ſhall appear in any Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall have Charge of any of the Ships, or Veſſels aforeſaid; or if they, or any of them, ſhall do otherwiſe than to them appertaineth, you ſhall puniſh ſuch Offenders ſharply, to the Example of others.

“ 12. We do ſtraitly enjoin you, and conſequently all the reſt employed in this Voyage, in any wiſe, and as you and they will anſwer the contrary, at your coming home, by the Laws of this Realm, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you do ſpoil or take any

“ thing from any of the Queen's Majeſty's Friends or Allies, or any Chriſtians, without paying juſtly for the ſame, nor that you uſe any Manner of Violence or Force againſt any ſuch, except in your own Defence, if you ſhall be ſet upon, or otherwiſe be forced, for your own Safeguard, to do it.

“ 13. We will that you deal altogether in this Voyage, like good and honeſt Merchants, trafficking and exchanging Ware for Ware, with all Courteſy to the Nations you ſhall deal with, as well *Ethnicks*, as others; and, for that Cauſe, you ſhall inſtruct all thoſe that ſhall go with you, that whenſoever you, or any of you, ſhall happen to come in any Place to Conference with the People of thoſe Parts, that in all your Doings and theirs, you and they ſo behave yourſelves towards the ſaid People, as may rather procure their Friendſhip and good Liking toward you, by Courteſy, than to move them to Offence and Miſliking; and, eſpecially, you ſhall have great Care of the Performance of your Word and Promiſe to them.

“ 14. We will, that by the Advice of your Aſſiſtants, in Places where you and they ſhall think moſt fit, you ſettle, if you can, a Beginning of a farther Trade, to be had hereafter: And from ſuch Places do bring over with you ſome few Men and Women, if you may, and do alſo leave ſome one or two, or more, as to you and your Aſſiſtants ſhall ſeem convenient, of our Nation, with them for Pledge, and to learn the Tongue and Secrets of the Country, having diligent Care, that in delivering and taking of Hoſtages, you deliver not Perſonages of more Value than you receive, but rather deliver mean Perſons, under Colour of Men of Value, as the Infidels do for the moſt Part uſe. Provided that you ſtay not longer, to make Continuance of farther Trade, than ſhall be expedient for good Exchange of the Wares at preſent carried with you.

“ 15. You ſhall have Care, and give general Warning, that no Perſon of what Calling ſoever he be, ſhall take up, or keep to himſelf, or his private Uſe, any Stone, Pearl, Gold, Silver, or other Matter of Commodity, to be had or found in Places where you ſhall come; but he, the ſaid Perſon, ſo ſeized of ſuch Stone, Pearl, Gold, Silver, or other Matter of Commodity, ſhall with all Speed, or ſo ſoon as he can, detect the ſame, and make Delivery thereof to yourſelf, or your Vice-admiral, or Lieutenant, and the Factor appointed for this Voyage, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Recompence he is to have for his Service in this Voyage, by Share or otherwiſe; and further to receive ſuch Puniſhment, as to you and your Aſſiſtants, or the greater Part of them, ſhall ſeem good, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed here, at his Return, if, according to the Quality of his Offence, it ſhall be thought needful.

“ 16. If the Captains, Merchants, or any other, ſhall have any Apparel, Jewels, Chains, Armour, or any other Thing whatſoever, which may be deſired in Countries where they ſhall traffick, that it ſhall not be lawful for them, or any of them, to traffick or ſell any Thing thereof, for their private Account: But the ſame ſhall be prized by the moſt Part of thoſe, that ſhall be in Commiſſion in the Places where the ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch Value as it may be reaſonably worth in *England*, and then ſold to the Profit of the whole Voyage, and to go as in Adventure for thoſe to whom it doth appertain.

“ 17. You yourſelf ſhall in the Galleon keep one Book, and the Factors appointed for the ſame Ship another, wherein ſhall be a juſt Account kept, as well of the Merchandiſe carried hence, as of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And as well at your ſetting forth, as from time to time, as Exchange ſhall be made, you ſhall ſet your Hand to their Book, and they theirs to yours, and the like Order ſhall you ſee, that the Captain and the Factors, in the *Edward-Bonaventure*, ſhall uſe in their Ship, and the other Captains and Factors in each other Veſſel.

“ 18. You ſhall give ſtrait Order to reſtrain, that none ſhall make any Charts or Deſcriptions of the ſaid Voyage, but ſuch as ſhall be deputed by you, the General; which ſaid Charts and Deſcriptions, we think meet that you, the General, ſhall take into your Hands, at your Return, to this our Coaſt of *England*, leaving with them no Copy; and to preſent them unto us, at your Return: The like to be done, if they find any Charts or Maps in thoſe Countries.

“ 19. You ſhall, at your Return, ſo direct your Courſe, that all the Ships under your Government may come home together, and arrive here in the River of *Thames*, if it may conveniently be. And whereſoever in this Realm, you, or any of the Ships ſhall arrive, you ſhall give ſpecial and ſtrait Order, that no Perſon of whatſoever Condition he be, ſhall unlade, or bring on Land, or out of the Veſſels in which he came, any Part or Parcel of Merchandiſe, or Matter of Commodity, brought in any of the ſaid Veſſels, until we, being certified of your or their Arrival, ſhall give farther Order or Direction therein, under the Penalties and Forfeitures expreſſed in the fifteenth Article, againſt ſuch as ſhall retain any Thing to their private Uſe, as in the ſaid Article is farther expreſſed.

“ 20. To the Intent that all ſuch Perſons as ſhall go with you, in this Voyage, may better underſtand what they ought to do, and what to avoid, we think it requiſite, that as well out of theſe, as otherwiſe, with the Advice of your Aſſiſtants, and Maſters of the Ships, you ſhall cauſe ſome convenient Order to be ſet down in Writing, for their better Government, both at Sea and Land, if they ſhall happen to go on Land any where: And the ſame to be openly read, and made known unto them, to the Intent they may underſtand how to behave themſelves, and upon any Fault committed, not to have any Excuſe to pretend Ignorance, and ſo to avoid ſuch Puniſhment as it is requiſite to have miniſtred, for the keeping of them in good Order.

“ 21. And to the End GOD may bleſs this Voyage, with happy and proſperous Succeſs, you ſhall have an eſpecial Care to ſee that Reverence and Reſpect be had to the Miniſters appointed to accompany you, in this Voyage, as appertaineth to their Place and Calling, and to ſee ſuch good Order, as by them ſhall be ſet down, for Reformation of Life and Manners, duly obeyed and performed, by cauſing the Tranſgreſſors and Contemners of the ſame to be ſeverely puniſhed, and the Miniſters to remove ſometimes from one Veſſel to another.

“ 22. Provided always, that the whole Direction and Government of the People, Life and Limb excepted, as in the fifth Article, and the Courſe of this Voyage, ſhall be wholly at your Diſpoſition, except in the Courſe by the Streight of *Magellan*, either outward or homeward, and in your Paſſage by the Northward of 40 Degrees in Latitude, wherein you ſhall follow Directions ſet down in the ninth and tenth Article, as alſo in the Diſplacing the Captain of the *Edward-Bonaventure*, and other Captains, wherein you ſhall follow the Order appointed in the ſixth Article. Provided, that we mean not, by this Article, to derogate any Thing from the Authority of your Aſſiſtants eſtabliſhed in the third Article, or in any other Article in theſe Inſtructions.

“ 23. In all Occaſions and Enterprizes, that may fall out to be upon the Land, we will that Captain *Carliſle* ſhall have the general and chief Charge thereof.

“ 24. And finally, we require you, and every of you, to have a due Regard to the Obſervation and Accompliſhment of theſe our Inſtructions, and of all ſuch other Things, as may, any kind of way, tend to the Furtherance and Benefit of this Service committed to your Charge.”

This Squadron ſailed from *England* in *May*, and met with nothing remarkable till the 22d of *Auguſt*; when lying at Anchor in the Bay of *Sierra Leon*, and in great Want of Proviſions, and eſpecially of Meal, which had proved very bad, and was all periſhed, the Admiral and his Council agreed to truck the *Elizabeth*, and all her Tackle and Sails, for a Cargo of Rice and Elephants Teeth, brought down in a large Hoy by ſome *Portugueſe* Traders, on condition of a further Supply of Rice, and other Proviſions; which were accordingly delivered; and the *Engliſh* continued their Traffic on this Coaſt for Negroes, *&c.* till the 3d of *October*, when they departed for the Coaſt of *Brazil*, which they made on the 1ſt of *December*, and came to Anchor in a fine Bay, Latitude 28°, or thereabouts, where they, by digging of Wells, ſupplied themſelves with freſh Water, and found ſo great Plenty of Fiſh, that at one Haul, in a ſmall Net, they drew up 600 large Mullets, and ſix great Baſſes. In the mean time, on the 6th, early in the Morning, the *Francis*, with the Admiral's Skiff, was ordered to give Chace to a *Spaniſh* Bark of 46 Tons, which appeared in the Offing, and was ſoon obliged to bring to. On-board was found *Don Franciſco de Torre Vedra*, Nephew to the Governor of the River of *Plate*, whither ſhe was bound, and a Quantity of Sugar and Ginger. The Admiral took as much of the Cargo as he thought neceſſary for the Uſe of his Fleet, detained two of the Paſſengers, and diſmiſſed the Bark to proceed on its Voyage [a].

By this Capture the Admiral was informed that his Expedition had perſpired before he left *England*, and that *Diego Flores de Valdes*, with a ſufficient Strength had been diſpatched to intercept him at the Mouth of the *Magellanic* Streights; that this Fleet had lain ſeven Months in *Rio Janeiro*, and had ſailed from thence for the Streights aforeſaid, about ſix Weeks.

Tho' this Intelligence magnified the Strength of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, it was immediately reſolved by a Council of War to proceed according to their original Plan, without Delay; and accordingly, having laid in a good Supply of Water, this little Squadron weighed Anchor, and proceeded on the 12th. But upon a Review of the Intelligence, and a further Examination of all Circumſtances, on the 20th it was, after a long Debate in Council, determined, that inſtead of paſſing the Streight, as was at firſt reſolved, they ſhould victual and furniſh themſelves with all Neceſſaries on that Coaſt, before they proceeded any farther; and two Places were propoſed, the River of *Plate* and *St. Vincent*. *Richard Carter* was examined with regard to the former, who told them, that for Wine he could not aſſure them of any, unleſs they would ſtay four Months for it; but for Victuals they would have Plenty. He added, that the River was ſhoal and dangerous, and the Road 7 Leagues diſtant from any Town, or other convenient Place; which being duly weighed, and conſidering beſides, that from thence they might be betrayed to the *Spaniards*, in the Streight of *Magellan* by Sea, or to thoſe at *Peru* by Land, they concluded unanimouſly to go to *St. Vincent*, a Place inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, where they might conveniently tranſact all their Affairs.

In the Morning of the 22d, the *Francis*, commanded by Captain *John Drake*, was miſſing; and it afterwards appeared, that he went to the River of *Plate*, and within five Leagues of *Seal* Iſland [b], not far from the Place where the Earl of *Cumberland*'s Ship took in freſh Water, where ſhe was caſt away on a Ledge of Rocks; but the Men were ſaved in their Boat, to the Number of eighteen. They landed on the North-ſide, and went a Day's Journey into the Land, where they met with Savages, who were not indeed Canibals, but who were wont to take all the Chriſtians they could, and make them Slaves.

The Savages killed five of them in a Skirmiſh, and obliged the other 13 to ſurrender. After 15 Months Slavery, *Richard Fairweather*, the Maſter of the Veſſel, weary of his Condition, and being informed that there was a Town of Chriſtians on the other Side of the Water, reſolved to attempt his Eſcape. Having ſecured a very ſmall Canoe, with two Oars, he, with *John Drake*, and a young Man of the Company, took the Opportunity of the Night to put off from the Shore. The River being 19 Leagues broad in that Place, they were three Days in their Paſſage without any Suſtenance. When they landed, they found a High-way, and ſeeing the Tracks of Horſes, they followed it, till they came to a Houſe where Corn was ſowed, and there met with ſome *Indian* Servants, belonging to the *Spaniards*, who gave them Meat, and ſomething to cover their Nakedneſs; while they ſent to acquaint the Captain of the Place of their Arrival. He immediately ſent four Horſemen, who carried them to the Town behind them.

This Officer treated them with all Civility, clothed and dieted them, and had *Drake* always at his own Table. He deſigned to have ſent them to *Spain*, but the Viceroy of *Peru* ſent for them; what became of them afterwards does not appear.

In the Courſe to *St. Vincent* they touched at a deſart Iſland [c], abounding with Woods; and gave it the Name of *Falcon* Iſle, from ſeeing a Falcon on the Shore where they landed. And on the 19th they landed, killed Plenty of Fowl, and got a Supply of good Water on *Citron* Iſland, which was a very wiſe Precaution; for next Day when they appeared off *St. Vincent*, the Pinnace which was ſent aſhore for Intelligence, was driven back at the Sight of three armed Canoes, manned each with 20 *Portugueſe* and *Indians*; and after four Days conſumed in ſending Meſſages to the Governor, by a Flag of Truce ſent off by him, for Leave to land and buy Neceſſaries, it was judged moſt adviſeable to depart from that Coaſt, upon the Information of one *John Whitehall*, an *Engliſhman*, ſettled and married on that Iſland, who ſlipt privately aboard with two *Indians*, and told the Admiral that the Governor was fortifying the Place, and had begun to ſend the Wives of the *Portugueſe* out of the Garriſon. But that ſame Afternoon, before they could get to Sea, three *Spaniſh* Ships entered the Harbour, and an Engagement enſued. Of which Captain *Ward* has left the following Account.

“ About four in the Afternoon we ſaw three Sail come bearing in about the Point, which as ſoon as they ſaw us, anchored on the Bar, and put themſelves in a Readineſs, ſending from one Ship to another with their Boats, and preparing their Ordnance to attack us. We on our Side were not idle; but before Night getting our Men and other Neceſſaries from the Shore, put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence. I went on-board the Admiral to know what he deſigned to do, and he determined to ſet his Watch in a warlike Manner; and ſo he did: For after his Trumpets and Drum had ſounded, he ſhot off a great Piece, as they before had done. Preſently the Enemy's Vice-admiral ſhot at me, and I anſwered him. We then ſet up our Main-top and Top-maſt, which we had taken down ſince we lay here, and before eleven at Night we were rigged. In the mean time they let ſlip their Anchors and Cables, and came driving and towing with their Boats in upon us, deſigning to have boarded us. When they came near our Admiral haled them, and they not anſwering, let fly at them; but was, however, glad to let an Anchor ſlip to avoid them. Then they came all driving down athwart my Hawſer, ſo that I was forced to ſlip an Anchor and Cable to ſhun the Galleon. All this while the Ordnance and ſmall Shot plied hard on all Sides, and I was forced to ſend the Galleon my Skiff, with a Hawſer to ride by; for ſhe was looſe, and with the Flood drove up within me. The Enemy's Vice-admiral was then on my Broad-ſide, and was pretty much ſhattered; yet I did not leave gauling of him, till I thought our Powder ſpent on him in vain, he being already in ſuch a miſerable torn Condition. About four in the Morning it rained ſo hard, the Moon being likewiſe gone down, we could not ſee one another.

“ On the 25th by Day-light we ſaw the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral ſunk hard by us, ſo that his Yards, which were hoiſed acroſs, and his Tops, with all above them, was out of the Water. Moſt of their Men were gotten away in their Boats, excepting about 40 Perſons, who hung in the Shrouds and Tops, whom I adviſed our General to fetch away. His Pinnace was made ready and manned for that Purpoſe, but he countermanded his Orders. Three of their Boats were likewiſe going from their Ships to ſave them; but I fired at them, and obliged them to retire, and leave them upon the Shrouds. At length our General ſent for two of the Men; but one of them, a *Marſilian*, being ſorely wounded, and not like to live, was thrown over-board; the other,

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[a] Among the Priſoners they found an Engliſhman, one Richard Carter of Limehouſe, who had been out of England 24 Years, and had lived 12 Years at a Town called Aſcenſion, on the River of Plate, 300 Leagues up the River, whither the Ship was now bound. The Paſſengers, beſides the two I have already mentioned, who were detained, were two Women, two young Children, and ſeven Friers, which, with ſome Boys, and the Sailors, made together 21 Perſons.

[b] Lopez Var, a Portugueze Writer, gives this Account.

[c] On the 17th of January, 1583.

"who was Boatſwain of the Vice-admiral, was a *Greek*, born at *Zante*. Of the reſt, ſome ſwam away on Rafts, others were drowned, and ſome remained ſtill hanging on the Shrouds.

"By this time it was fair Day-light, and I called to our General to weigh, and drive down upon them; but he required me to go firſt, and anchor on their Quarter; and he would follow, and anchor on their Bows. I weighed and went down; and anchored by them; but not ſo near as I deſigned, becauſe the Ebb put me off to the Northward. There I rode alone, ſpending my Shot at them, and they both at me, for four Hours, before our Admiral's Anchor would come up. During which time I received ſome Damage; but when our Admiral came, he had his Part, and eaſed me.

"At length our Admiral began to warp away, and being come without me, ſet Sail, and began to ſtand out into the Sea. I went on-board of him to know his Pleaſure. He determined to get out of Shot, but could not, becauſe the Wind ſcanted on them. The *Edward*, before ſhe could get up her Anchors, endured a great many more Shot, after the Galleon was farther off than ſhe, and ſometimes the Galleon had two or three. Thus the Battle ended about two in the Afternoon. The reſt of this Day, and part of the Night we ſpent in repairing our Damages, fitting and putting our Ordnance and Furniture in Order, for the next Morning, thinking they would have been with us.

"The 26th in the Morning they were gone ſo far up the River that we could not ſee them; ſo we manned our Boats and Pinnaces, and ſent them up the River, to weigh the Anchors and Cables we had let ſlipt the Night before, which they ſuffered us peaceably to do. An *Indian*, who came off to us, told us the *Spaniards* had buried a great Number of dead, and had landed a great many wounded Men in the Bay. Our Loſs of Men was inconſiderable; the Admiral for his part had but one Man killed, a Sailor."

Yet notwithſtanding this Advantage, the *Engliſh* found their Ships and Rigging in ſuch Diſorder, that it was neceſſary to ſeek for ſome Harbour to repair their Damages, before they durſt venture into the tempeſtuous Climate of *Terra del Fuego*. But before this Rendezvous could be ſettled, the Admiral was ſeparated [a] from the Vice-admiral, and was never more heard of. And this well-concerted Expedition was entirely fruſtrated by this Diſaſter, and by the Return of the Vice-admiral to *England*, where he arrived after a calamitous and tireſome Voyage, on the laſt Day of *May*.

The Patent granted to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, as recited above [b], continuing only on the Condition of making ſome Settlements within the Limits, and Term of time therein ſpecified, was now near expiring by various Accidents and Diſappointments. At the firſt many Gentlemen of very good Repute ſhewed a Willingneſs to be concerned with him in it. Great Preparations were made to that end, and a Plan was laid for equipping a Fleet, which if it had been brought to bear, might juſtly have been called a Royal Fleet: But when the Ships were in a manner ready, and Men lying on the Coaſt to embark, Jarrings and Diviſions among the Proprietors brought every thing into Confuſion, and put an end to the Expedition, before it was begun. Some were for proceeding on the intended Voyage, but in a manner different from what had been concerted; others failed in their Engagements, and, in ſhort, the whole Company were ſo diſperſed, that Sir *Humphrey* was left with very few of his faithful Friends; with whom he ventured to Sea, but after having been expoſed to ſome Misfortunes, was driven to the Neceſſity of returning, with the Loſs of one large Ship, and, among others, of Mr. *Miles Morgan*, a Gentleman of great Worth, and his very good Friend.

This Miſcarriage had ſo impaired Sir *Humphrey*'s Eſtate, that he was obliged to lay aſide the Project for the preſent; and to branch Aſſignments out of his general Grant to ſome Perſons of Subſtance, to plant and fortify in the North Parts of *America*, about the River of *Canada*, of *St. Lawrence*: But theſe Aſſigns being likewiſe dilatory; he was obliged once more to enter upon an Expedition in Perſon, to keep his Patent in Force. In which Reſolution he was principally ſupported by Sir *George Peckham*, who ſhewed himſelf particularly zealous, as well by his Advice, as by contributing largely towards defraying the Expences of the Undertaking; with whom joined ſeveral Gentlemen, and others of good Subſtance, who reſolved not only to ſtand by him with their Fortunes, but to attend him in Perſon. Sir *Humphrey*, on his Part, ſold his Eſtate; and a ſmall Fleet of five Ships and Barks were fitted out, *viz*. The *Delight*, alias the *George*, of 120 Tons, Admiral, in which went Sir *Humphrey* himſelf as General, *William Winter* Captain and Part-owner, and *Richard Clarke* Maſter. The Bark *Raleigh*, fitted out by Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, of 200 Tons, Vice-admiral, Mr. *Butler* Captain, and *Robert Davis* of *Briſtol* Maſter. The *Golden Hind*, of 40 Tons, Rear-admiral, Captain *Edward Hayes* Commander and Owner, and *William Cox* of *Limehouſe* Maſter. The *Swallow*, of 40 Tons, Captain *Morrice Brown*. The *Squirrel*, of 10 Tons, *William Andrews* Captain, and one *Cade* Maſter. The whole Number of Men were about 260; among whom were many Shipwrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Miners and Refiners.

This Fleet was ordered to begin its Courſe Northerly, and follow as directly as poſſible the Trade-way to *Newfoundland*; and from thence, after having refreſhed and ſupplied themſelves with all Neceſſaries, to proceed into the South, and not to paſs by any River or Bay, which in all that large Tract of Land ſhould appear worthy their looking into. The Manner of their Courſe was ſettled, and the Orders to be obſerved in their Voyage were delivered in writing by the Proprietors to the Captains and Maſters of every Ship.

Orders agreed upon by the Captains and Maſters to be obſerved by the Fleet of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

"*Firſt*, The Admiral to carry his Flag by Day, and his Light by Night.

"2. *Item*, If the Admiral ſhall ſhorten his Sail by Night, then to ſhew two Lights until he be anſwered again, by every Ship ſhewing one Light for a ſhort time.

"3. *Item*, If the Admiral after his ſhortening of Sail, as aforeſaid, ſhall make more Sail again, then he to ſhew three Lights one above another.

"4. *Item*, If the Admiral ſhall happen to hull in the Night, then to make a wavering Light over his other Light, wavering the Light upon a Pole.

"5. *Item*, If the Fleet ſhould happen to be ſcattered by Weather, or other Miſhap, then ſo ſoon as one ſhall deſcry another, to hoiſe both Top-ſails twice, if the Weather will ſerve, and to ſtrike them twice again; but if the Weather ſerve not, then to hoiſe the Main-top-ſail twice, and forthwith to ſtrike it twice again.

"6. *Item*, If it ſhall happen a great Fog to fall, then preſently every Ship to bear up with the Admiral, if there be Wind; but if it be a Calm, then every Ship to hull, and ſo to lie at hull till it be clear. And if the Fog do continue long, then the Admiral to ſhoot off two Pieces every Evening, and every Ship to anſwer it with one Shot; and every Man bearing to the Ship, that is to Leeward ſo near as he may.

"7. *Item*, Every Maſter to give Charge unto the Watch to look out well, for laying aboard one of another in the Night, and in Fogs.

"8. *Item*, Every Evening every Ship to hail the Admiral, and to fall aſtern him, ſailing thorough the Ocean; and being on the Coaſt, every Ship to hail him both Morning and Evening.

"9. *Item*, If any Ship be in Danger any way, by Leak or otherwiſe, then he to ſhoot off a Piece, and preſently to hang out one Light, whereupon every Man to bear towards her, anſwering her with one Light for a ſhort time, and ſo to put it out again; thereby to give Knowledge that they have ſeen her Token.

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[a] On the 29th of January, 1583.

[b] See Page 221, of this Hiſtory.

“10. *Item*, Whenſoever the Admiral ſhall hang out her Enſign in the Main-ſhrowds, then every Man to come aboard her, as a Token of Counſel.

“11. *Item*, If there happen any Storm, or contrary Wind to the Fleet after the Diſcovery, whereby they are ſeparated, then every Ship to repair unto their laſt good Port, there to meet again.

Our COURSE *agreed upon.*

“The Courſe firſt to be taken for the Diſcovery is to bear directly to Cape *Raſe*, the moſt Southerly Cape of *Newfoundland*, and there to harbour ourſelves either in *Rogneux* or *Fermous*, being the firſt Places appointed for our Rendezvous, and the next Harbours unto the Northward of Cape *Raſe*; and therefore every Ship ſeparated from the Fleet to repair to that Place ſo faſt as God ſhall permit, whether you ſhall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to ſtay for the Meeting of the whole Fleet the Space of ten Days; and when you ſhall depart, to leave Marks.

A Direction of our COURSE *unto the* Newfoundland.

“Beginning our Courſe from *Scilly*, the neareſt is by W. S. W. (if the Wind ſerve) until ſuch time as we have brought ourſelves in the Latitude of 43 or 44 Degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubject much to Southerly Winds in *June* and *July*. Then to take traverſe from 45 to 47 Degrees of Latitude, if we be inforced by contrary Winds; and not to go to the Northward of the Height of 47 Degrees of Septentrional Latitude by no means, if God ſhall not inforce the contrary; but to do your Endeavour to keep in the Height of 46 Degrees, ſo near as you can poſſibly, becauſe Cape *Raſe* lieth about that Height.

NOTES.

“If by contrary Winds we be driven back upon the Coaſt of *England*, then to repair unto *Scilly* for a Place of our Aſſembly or Meeting.

“If we be driven back by contrary Winds, that we cannot paſs the Coaſt of *Ireland*, then the Place of our Aſſembly to be at *Bear-haven* or *Baltimore-haven*.

“If we ſhall not happen to meet at Cape *Raſe*, then the Place of Rendezvous to be at Cape *Breton*, or the neareſt Harbour unto the Weſtward of Cape *Breton*.

“If by means of other Shipping we may not ſafely ſtay there, then to reſt at the very next ſafe Port to the Weſtward; every Ship leaving their Marks behind them for the more Certainty of the After-comers to know where to find them.

“The Marks that every Man ought to leave in ſuch a Caſe, were of the General's private Device, written by himſelf, ſealed alſo in cloſe Wax, and delivered unto every Ship one Scrowl, which was not to be opened until Occaſion required, whereby every Man was certified what to leave for Inſtruction of After-comers; that every of us coming into any Harbour or River might know who had been there, or whether any were ſtill there up higher into the River, or departed, and which way.”

They ſet Sail from *Cauſet-bay*, near *Plymouth*, on the 10th of *June* 1583; but, two Days after, the *Raleigh*, under Pretence that the Captain, and a great Number of her Men, were ſuddenly taken ill of a contageous Diſeaſe, left the Fleet, and returned to *Plymouth*; which advanced the *Golden Hind* to the Place of Vice-admiral.

They had the firſt Sight of Land on the 30th of *July*, and, as they computed, in about 51 Degrees; but with ſuch foggy Weather, that they could not perfectly diſcern the Land, nor take the Sun's Height. They then followed the Coaſt to the South, with clear Weather, till they came to the Iſland called *Baccalaos*; and here met with the *Swallow*, which had been ſeparated from them in the Fog; but her Men were in a different Garb from what they had on at their Separation, having met a *Newlander* Fiſhing-bark returning homewards, and rifled her of Tackle, Sails, Cables and Proviſions, and the Men of their Apparel.

They came the ſame Day[*] to the Harbour of *St. John*, where they found the *Squirrel*, which had likewiſe been ſeparated from them, riding at Anchor, at the Mouth of the Harbour, having been refuſed Entrance by the Veſſels which were fiſhing within, to the Number of 36 Sail, of all Nations. This oblig'd Sir *Humphrey* to prepare to make good his Paſſage, by Force of Arms; but having firſt ſent in his Boat to inform the Maſters of the Fiſhing-barks, that he had a Commiſſion from the Queen to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands for the Crown of *England*, they were ſatisfied, and ſubmitted to the Levying of a Tax of Proviſions from each Ship, for ſupplying the Wants of Sir *Humphrey*'s ſmall Squadron: And on the fourth, Sir *Humphrey*, and his Company, were conducted on-ſhore, by the Maſters of the *Engliſh* Fiſhing-veſſels, and their Merchants.

The fifth, the General having cauſed a Tent to be ſet up, in View of all the Ships in the Harbour, to the Number of between 30 and 40 Sail, and being accompanied by all his Captains, Maſters, Gentlemen and Soldiers, ſummoned all the Merchants and Maſters, both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, to be preſent at his taking a formal and ſolemn Poſſeſſion of thoſe Territories. Being aſſembled, he cauſed his Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, to be openly read, before them, and to be interpreted to thoſe who were Strangers to the *Engliſh* Tongue. By virtue of this Commiſſion, he declared, that he took Poſſeſſion of the Harbour of *St. John's*, and 200 Leagues every Way, inveſted her Majeſty with the Title and Dignity thereof; and, having had (according to Cuſtom) a Rod and a Turf of the Soil delivered to him, entered Poſſeſſion alſo for himſelf, his Heirs and Aſſigns for ever. He ſignified to thoſe who were preſent, and through them to all Men, that from thenceforward, they ſhould look upon thoſe Territories as appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and himſelf authorized, under her Majeſty, to poſſeſs and enjoy them; with Power to ordain Laws for the Government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the Laws of *England*; under which all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by Way of Traffick, ſhould ſubmit and be governed.

To exerciſe this Act of Juriſdiction, he enacted three Laws, which were to take Place and be of Force immediately:

1. With regard to Religion; “That the public Exerciſe of it ſhould be according to the Rites of the Church of *England*.”

2. For the Maintenance of her Majeſty's Right and Poſſeſſion of thoſe Territories; “That if any Thing were attempted by any one, to the Prejudice thereof, the Party or Parties offending ſhould be adjudged and executed, as in Caſes of High-treaſon, according to the Laws of *England*.

“3. That if any Perſon ſhould ſpeak any thing to her Majeſty's Diſhonour, that he ſhould loſe his Ears, and his Ship and Goods be confiſcated.”

This being done, and Obedience promiſed, by the general Voice and Aſſent of the Aſſembly, as well Foreigners as *Engliſh*, they were diſmiſſed; and the General cauſed a Pillar of Wood to be erected on the Spot, with the *Engliſh* Arms, in Lead, affixed to it. As a farther Eſtabliſhment of this Poſſeſſion, in Right of her Majeſty, and to the Behoof of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, he granted divers Parcels of Land, lying by the Sea-ſide, as well in this Harbour of *St. John's*, as elſewhere, in Fee-farm; for which the Perſons, to whom they were granted, covenanted to pay a certain Rent and Service to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, his Heirs or Aſſigns for ever, and yearly to maintain Poſſeſſion of the ſame, by themſelves, or their Aſſigns.

There now remained only to gather in the Tax of Proviſions, granted by every Ship which fiſhed upon the Coaſt adjoining; and while ſome of the Men were employed in doing this, others were ſet to repair or trim the Ships; and the Remainder, the General ſent to enquire concerning the Commodities and Singularities of the Country, which were to be found by Sea or by Land.

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[*] The third of Auguſt.

Among other Enquiries, the General had in a particular Manner recommended a Search after Metals. They had in their Company a *Saxon* Miner, who, at firſt, brought a Sort of Ore to the General, which had more the Reſemblance of Iron, than of any other Metal. Soon after he found another Sort of Ore, which he delivered with a Shew of great Satisfaction to Sir *Humphrey*, and aſſured him, upon the Peril of his Life, that if Silver was what he and his Companions ſought, there it was, and they need to ſeek no farther. That Sir *Humphrey* at leaſt believed it to be Silver-ore, is plain from his Anſwer to Mr. *Edward Hayes*, Commander of the *Golden Hind*, when he ſeemed to queſtion it, and deſired to have ſome Part of the Ore. "Content yourſelf, (ſaid he) I have ſeen enough: and, were "it not to ſatisfy my private Humour, I would proceed "no farther. The Engagement I am under to my Friends, "and the Neceſſity of bringing the South Countries alſo, "within the Compaſs of my Patent, which is near expired, as we have already done theſe North Parts, do "alone prevail upon me to continue my Voyage. For "the Ore, I have ſent it on-board, and deſire no more "Mention may be made of it, as long as we are in the "Harbour, there being *Portugueſe*, *Biſcayans* and *French*, "not far off, from whom this muſt be kept a Secret. "When we are at Sea, an Eſſay ſhall be made of it; and "then, if we think proper, we may return the ſooner "hither."

While the better ſort of the Company were employed in ordering every thing for the Advantage of the Voyage; others contrived and plotted to overthrow it; and ſome had conſpired to ſteal away the Ships by Night, when the General and Captains were on-ſhore: But their Plot being diſcovered, the Execution thereof was prevented. But others, in a piratical Manner, ſeized a Ship laden with Fiſh in one of the adjoining Harbours, and ſetting her Crew on-ſhore, put to Sea. Many more of their Men fled into the Woods and hid themſelves, waiting Time and Opportunity to return home by ſuch Shipping as daily departed from thence. Several were afflicted with the Flux, many died; and the General gave leave to others to depart. So that upon a Review of their Men, he had not ſufficient to navigate all their Ships; and therefore reſolved to leave the *Swallow*, with ſuch Proviſions as could be ſpared, to carry home the Sick.

The General choſe to go in the *Squirrel*, Burden only ten Tons, becauſe ſhe was the moſt convenient for obſerving and diſcovering the Coaſt, and ſearching into every Harbour or Creek. But to command Reſpect, ſhe was over-charged with Baſes, and ſmall Ordnance, which was the Occaſion of her Loſs.

They ſet Sail, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, from the Harbour of *St. John*, with three Ships, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*; and proper Boats or Pinnaces for Diſcovery: Having made an exact Obſervation of *St. John*'s Harbour, which found it to be in 47 Degrees 40 Minutes, they reached *Cape Race*, which is 25 Leagues diſtant, by the next Night: And from thence ſailed, in eight Degrees more, about 87 Leagues towards *Cape Briton*, with an indifferently good Wind; but never could get Sight of the Land, being hindered by the Currents.

On the 27th, the General ordered his Men in the Frigate to ſound, and found 35 Fathom, white Sand, in the Latitude of about 44 Degrees. And the Wind coming South, the next Evening, they bore in with the Land, all that Night Weſt-north-weſt, contrary to the Advice of Mr. *Cox*, Maſter of the *Golden Hind*, who would have kept Sea-room enough, againſt all Events, on a ſtrange Shore.

On the 29th, the Wind blew vehemently at South and by Eaſt, with Rain, and ſo thick a Miſt, that they could not ſee a Cable's Length before them: and betimes in the Morning they found themſelves in the Midſt of Shoals and Sands, from which they could not extricate themſelves without the Loſs of the *Delight*; for though a Signal was given for her to caſt about to the Seaward, it was too late, for ſhe immediately ſtruck, and her Stern and Hind-quarters preſently beat to Pieces. The *Golden Hind* and the Frigate eſcaped with much Difficulty.

Captain *Motrice Brown*, with near a hundred Perſons, periſhed in the *Delight*. Fourteen Perſons leaped into a ſmall Pinnace, of a Ton and a half Burden: they looked out ſome time for the Captain, but, not ſeeing him, took in Mr. *Clark*, the Maſter of the *Delight*, and one more. Theſe ſixteen cut the Rope, and committed themſelves to the Mercy of the raging Waves, with only one Oar, and without any Proviſion, or a Drop of freſh Water; and the Boat ſeeming to be over-loaded, one *Edward Headly*, thinking it was better for ſome to periſh, than all, propoſed to caſt Lots, and that four of the Number, upon whom the Lot might fall, ſhould be thrown over-board, to lighten the Boat; but he was over-ruled by Mr. *Clark*, who, though it was propoſed that he ſhould be excepted from the Number, perſuaded his Comrades rather to ſubmit to Providence. In this Diſtreſs the Boat was driven before the Wind ſix Days and ſix Nights, during which Time theſe poor Wretches had no other Suſtenance but their own Urine, and ſome Weeds, which ſwam on the Surface of the Water. In this Extremity of Cold, Wet, Hunger and Thirſt, *Headly*, and one more, periſhed on the fifth Day. The other fourteen lived till they were driven, the ſeventh Day, on-ſhore, on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, from whence they got in a *French* Ship to *France*, and ſo to *England*, before the End of the Year.

The Men of the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, were greatly diſpirited by this Misfortune: which, together with the approaching Winter, and Want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries, eſpecially Cloaths, (the *Delight* having been their Store-ſhip) induced Sir *Humphrey* to think of returning; which he propoſed to his Company, and gave them his Reaſons for it. The Captain and Maſter of the *Golden Hind* ſhewed at firſt a Reluctance; but Sir *Humphrey* often repeated, "Be content; we have ſeen enough; take no "Thought of the Expences we have been at. If God "ſends us ſafe home, I will ſet you out royally the next "Spring: Therefore I pray you, let us no longer ſtrive "here, where we fight againſt the Elements."

They altered their Courſe, and returned back for *England*. The ſecond of *September* they paſs'd in Sight of *Cape Race*, and had afterwards frequently very bad Weather, with ſuch high Seas, that they in the *Hind* often expected to ſee the *Squirrel* ſwallowed up. Yet Sir *Humphrey* would, by no means, be perſuaded to leave her. The ninth, the Storm and Swelling of the Seas increaſing, he was again preſſed to leave the Frigate; but his Anſwer was, *we are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land*. About Midnight, the *Squirrel* being a-head of the *Golden Hind*, her Lights were at once extinguiſhed, which thoſe in the *Hind* ſeeing, cried out, our General is loſt; and it was ſuppoſed ſhe ſunk that Inſtant. The *Golden Hind* arrived in Safety at *Falmouth*, on the 22d of *September*, having loſt but one Man during the whole Courſe of this unfortunate Undertaking.

About this Time the Trade to *Muſcovy* fell into great Diſcouragement, by means of the Intrigues of other ſtranger Merchants, eſpecially the *Dutch*; who, diſregarding the excluſive Privilege granted by the *Ruſſian* Emperor to the *Engliſh*, had intruded themſelves into the *Ruſſian* Trade, by means of certain Courtiers, whom they found ready to protect them for their private Intereſt. The *Dutch* had corrupted three of the chiefeſt Counſellors to the Czar, among whom was the Chancellor. For beſides the continual Feeding of them with Preſents; and borrowing Money at the Rate of 25*l. per Cent.* and that in large Sums; and as the *Engliſh* Merchants would not enter into the ſame Meaſures, they loſt all their Intereſt at Court, and could not help themſelves againſt the Encroachments made on their Privileges by the *Dutch*, &c. wherefore a ſolemn Ambaſſy was thought neceſſary to prevent the entire Loſs of this Trade, and as far as poſſible to maintain the *Engliſh* Intereſt with the Czar.

For this Purpoſe Sir *Jerome Bowes*, Kt. was appointed Ambaſſador by her Majeſty[a], and was honourably equipp'd, and in Company with the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador, who had Leave to return home, embarked at *Harwich*[b]. Upon their Arrival at *St. Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, the *Ruſſian* Ambaſ-

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[a] A. D. 1583. 19 June.

[b] On 22 June.

ſador made the beſt of his way to *Moſco*; but Sir *Jerome* was obliged to wait the Arrival of a proper Perſon from Court to conduct him to the Capital, whom Sir *Jerome* preſently diſcovered to be inſtructed by the Friends of the *Dutch* Merchants, to put him to the greateſt Inconveniencies, and by protracted Ceremonies to delay his Negotiations; that by gaining of Time, and by Miſrepreſentations of his Behaviour and Conduct, the corrupt Counſellors might find an Opportunity to wrong him in the Czar's good Opinion, who was ſtill well-inclin'd to favour, and to confirm his former Grants to the *Engliſh* Nation. And theſe Schemes were ſo well laid, that, as my Author writes [a],

"The Ambaſſador after this, was often called to Court, where he had Conference both with the Emperor and his Council, of the Matters in Queſtion, touching both Ambaſſages, which divers Times raiſed many Jars; and in the End, after ſundry Meetings, the Emperor finding himſelf not ſatisfied to his Liking, for that the Ambaſſador had not Power by his Commiſſion to yield to every thing that he thought fit, as a Man whoſe Will was ſeldom wonted to be gainſaid, let looſe his Paſſion, and with a ſtern and angry Countenance told him, that he did not reckon the Queen of *England* to be his Fellow; for there are (quoth he) that are her Betters.

"The Ambaſſador greatly miſliking theſe Speeches, and being very unwilling (how dangerous ſoever it might prove to his own Perſon) to give way to the Emperor, to derogate aught from the Honour and Greatneſs of her Majeſty; and finding alſo that to ſubject himſelf to the angry Humour and Diſpoſition of the Emperor, was not the Means to win ought at his Hands, with like Courage and Countenance to anſwer his, told him, that the Queen his Miſtreſs was as great a Prince as any was in *Chriſtendom*, equal to him that thought himſelf the greateſt; well able to defend herſelf againſt his Malice whoſoever; and wanted no Means to offend any that either ſhe had, or ſhould have Cauſe to be Enemy unto. Yea (quoth he) how ſayeſt thou to the *French* King, and the King of *Spain?* Marry (quoth the Ambaſſador) I hold the Queen my Miſtreſs as great as any of them both. Then what ſayeſt thou (quoth he) to the Emperor of *Germany?* Such is the Greatneſs of the Queen my Miſtreſs (quoth the Ambaſſador) as the King her Father had (not long ſince) the Emperor in his Pay, in his Wars againſt *France*.

"This Anſwer miſliked the Emperor yet ſo much more, as that he told the Ambaſſador, that were he not an Ambaſſador, he would throw him out of the Doors. Whereunto he anſwered, that he might do his Will, for he was now faſt within his Country; but he had a Miſtreſs, who (he doubted not) would be revenged of any Injury that ſhould be done unto him. Whereupon the Emperor in great Sudden bade him get him home; and he, with no more Reverence than ſuch Uſage required, ſaluted the Emperor, and went his way."

However, the Emperor not inſenſible of the Exceſs of Choler into which he had run on this Occaſion, and how unbecoming it was in one of his Station to uſe ſuch Speeches, eſpecially to the Repreſentative of ſo powerful a Nation, immediately commended to his Council the reſolute Behaviour of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and recommended him for their Example, wiſhing he might have ſuch a Servant in the like Circumſtances; and about an Hour after ſent his principal Secretary to aſſure him, that he would ſhortly enter into a Conference with him concerning the Matters in Diſpute, and give him full Satisfaction in regard to the Subject of his Ambaſſy. He even entered into a Propoſal with him to marry an *Engliſh* Lady of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Recommendation, and gave ſome Hopes of his Willingneſs to embrace the Reform'd Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England* [b]. So that at laſt the corrupt Courtiers durſt no longer oppoſe the Ambaſſador by Delays or otherwiſe, but found it their Intereſt to court his Favour, as the beſt Means to recommend their Services to their Maſter. For *Shalkan*, the Chancellor, preſuming on his Authority with the Czar, having taken the Liberty to reprimand his Maſter for ſhewing ſo much Favour to Sir *Jerome*, he beat him ſeverely, and threatened the total Extirpation of his whole Race, if he ſhould hear any more of his Diſlike to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; who, on his Part, obtained a Confirmation of all former Grants, and the Addition of divers more Privileges for his Countrymen.

But when all theſe Privileges were near being ſign'd and ſealed, and were ready to be delivered to the Ambaſſador at his firſt coming to Court, the Emperor was cut off, ſome ſay by a Surfeit, but more probably by Poiſon, or ſome other ſecret Means contrived by the Chancellor, and his diſcontented Aſſociates, if we may be allowed to form a Conjecture on the following Paſſage of the ſame Author;

"After whoſe Death the Caſe was wonderfully altered with the Ambaſſador; for whereas both in his own Conceit, and in all Mens Opinion elſe, he was in great Forwardneſs to have grown a great Man with the Emperor, what for the Love he bore to her Majeſty, and the particular Liking he had of himſelf, he now fell into the Hands of his great Enemies, *Mekita Romanowich* and *Andre Shalkan* the Chancellor, who after the Death of the Emperor, took the ſpecial Government upon themſelves, and ſo preſently cauſed the Ambaſſador to be ſhut up a cloſe Priſoner in his own Houſe, for the Space of nine Weeks, where he was ſtraitly guarded, and badly uſed by thoſe that attended them: after this he was ſent for to Court to have his Diſpatch, and to take his Leave of the Emperor; whither being conducted (not after the wonted Manner) and brought to the Council-chamber, came to him only *Shalkan* the Chancellor, and a Brother of his, who without more ado told him for the Sum of his Diſpatch, that this Emperor would not treat of further Amity with the Queen his Miſtreſs, than ſuch as was between his late Father and her, before his coming thither; and would not hear any Reply to be made by the Ambaſſador, but preſently cauſed both himſelf and all his Company to be diſarmed of their Weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which Paſſage there were ſuch Outrages offered him, as had he not uſed more Patience than his Diſpoſition afforded him, or the Occaſion required, he had not in likelihood eſcaped with Life; but yet at length was brought to the Preſence of the Emperor, who ſaid nothing to him, but what the Chancellor had already done, but offered him a Letter to carry to her Majeſty, which the Ambaſſador (for that he knew it contained nothing that did concern his Ambaſſage) refuſed, till he ſaw his Danger grow too great; neither would the Emperor ſuffer the Ambaſſador to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpoſe taken away his Interpreter, being yet unwilling (as it ſeemed, and ſuſpecting the Ambaſſador's Purpoſe) that the Emperor and others ſhould know how diſhonourably he had been handled."

The Chancellor ſoon after ſignified to Sir *Jerome* that it was time for him to return to *England*; which he did with all convenient Speed, not without great Fears for his own Safety by the Way to the Sea-ſide. But when he was departing from the Shore at *St. Nicholas*'s to take Ship, his Excellence ordered four Gentlemen of his Company to return the Emperor's inſignificant Letter to the *Ruſſian* Gentleman who had conducted him ſo far, as being unworthy of his Carriage, and of his Queen's Acceptance.

While Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was employed in that unfortunate Voyage to *Newfoundland*, Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Walter Raleigh*, forming a Judgment from the Accounts of the great Riches which the *Spaniards* imported from that Coaſt, and of the Fertility and Wholeſomneſs of *America*, engaged ſeveral ingenious and wealthy Friends to join with him in a new Diſcovery of Lands in that new World, not already inhabited or poſſeſſed by Chriſtian People; and obtained a Royal Patent in the ſame Form as that granted, as above [c], to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, dated the 25th of *March* 1584.

The Ships employed in this Adventure were two ſmall Barks fitted out by himſelf, Sir *Richard Grenville*, Mr. *William Saunderſon*, and others; and commanded by Capt. *Philip Amidas* and Capt. *Arthur Barlow*, whoſe Inſtructions did not confine them to any Latitude, but directed them

[a] Apud Hackluit, Part I. p. 460.

[b] Id. ib. p. 461.

[c] See Page 221.

to diſcover ſome Coaſt of *America*, not yet poſſeſſed by any *European* State.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 27th of *April*[a]; they fell in with the Coaſt of *Florida*, in ſhoal Water, on the 2d of *July*, and ſmelt a moſt delightful Flavour, as if they had been in the Midſt of a Garden abounding with the moſt odoriferous Flowers, which was a Sign of being near, tho' they ſaw no Land. Accordingly on the fourth they diſcovered the Continent, and ſailed along the Coaſt 40 Leagues, till they came[b] to a River where they anchored, and going on ſhore upon the Iſland of *Wokoken*, on the Coaſt of the Country ſince called *Virginia*, in 34 Degrees of Latitude, they took Poſſeſſion in Right of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for the Uſe of the Proprietors; and in it they found Deer, Rabbits, Hares, Fowl, Vines, Cedars, Pines, Saſſafras, Cypreſs and Maſtich-trees. The Author of the Hiſtory of *Virginia* ſays, they anchored at the Inlet by *Roenocke* (or *Roannock*, another Iſland at about 7 Leagues Diſtance) at preſent under the Government of *North-Carolina*. From the Tops of the Hills which were neareſt the Shore, they diſcovered the Sea on all Sides, and ſo found it to be an Iſland of twenty Miles in Length, and ſix in Breadth. On the third Day they ſaw a little Boat with three Natives, and one of them going aſhore, they rowed up to him, who not only waited their coming without any Signs of Fear, but went on-board. They gave him a Shirt and Hat, with ſome Wine and Meat, for which he expreſſed a Liking; he with a ſeeming Satisfaction narrowly viewed the Barks with all that were in them, then went in his own Boat to about a Quarter of a Mile's Diſtance, and having fiſhed for about half an Hour, he loaded his Boat with Fiſh as deep as it could ſwim, came again to the Point of Land, and, to ſhew his Gratitude, he divided it into two Parts, making Signs that he deſigned it for the two Ships equally.

After his Departure, the Natives from the Continent repaired to their Ships, and exchanged ſeveral ſorts of Skins, white Coral, and ſome Pearls, for ſome Tin-things, and other Bawbles, of an inferior Value. And the very next Day after ſeveral Boats appeared in View, in one of which was the King of the Country's Brother, attended by 40 or 50 Men of a tolerable good Appearance. The *Engliſh* preſented him, and four of his Chiefs, with ſeveral Toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himſelf, and gave them to underſtand, that none there had Right to any thing but himſelf. Amongſt their Merchandiſe, nothing ſeemed to pleaſe him more than a Pewter-diſh, for which he gave 20 Deer-ſkins; he made a Hole in the Rim of it, and hung it over his Neck, for a Breaſt-plate, making Signs that it would defend him againſt his Enemies Arrows; he bought alſo a Copper-kettle, for which he gave 50 Skins, for a Head-piece. But ſo long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none but ſuch as, like him, wore Plates of Gold or Copper on their Heads, were allowed either to buy or ſell. As ſoon as they had done, every Man had his Liberty; who offered very good Exchange for Hatchets, Axes and Knives, and would have given any thing in Truck for Swords; but the *Engliſh* would not part with thoſe Weapons.

The King's Brother came afterwards frequently on-board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them. Once he brought his Wife and Children with him, who afterwards came frequently, with their Followers only. And this Viſiter was ſo punctual, that they often truſted him with Goods upon his Word, to bring the Value at a certain time, which he never failed of doing! He had a ſtrong Inclination to have a Suit of Armour, and a Sword, which he ſaw in one of the Ships, and would have left a large Box of Pearls in Pawn for them; but they refuſed it, not to let him know they ſet a Value upon them, till they could diſcover whence he got them. They underſtood from the Natives, that their Country, which they found to be very fruitful, and productive of all Things in ſo very ſhort a time, as is hardly credible, was called by the Name of *Wingandacoa*, and their King *Wingina*. From whence, after mutual Civilities, being ſatisfied with what they had ſeen, they returned to *England* about the Middle of *September*; with a Report that the Country diſcovered was entirely new and ſurpriſing, pleaſant, and abounding with all the Neceſſaries of Life; and the Climate and Air was ſo temperate, ſweet and wholeſome; the Woods and Soil ſo charming and fruitful, and all other Things ſo agreeable, that Paradiſe itſelf ſeemed to be there in its primitive State. They repreſented they found Grapes in ſuch Abundance, as was never any where known; ſtately, tall, large Oaks, and other Timber; Red-cedar, Cypreſs, Pines, and other Evergreens and Sweetwoods, for Tallneſs and Largeneſs, exceeding all they had ever heard of; Wild-fowl, Fiſh, Deer, and other Game in ſuch Plenty and Variety, that no Epicure could deſire more than this new World did ſeem naturally to abound with. To all which they added, that the native *Indians*, the only Inhabitants, were ſo affable, kind, and good-natured; ſo uncultivated in Learning, Trades, and Faſhions; ſo innocent and ignorant of all manner of Politicks, Tricks, and Cunning; and ſo deſirous of the *Engliſh*, that they ſeemed rather to be like ſoft Wax, ready to take any Impreſſion, than any ways likely to oppoſe the ſettling of the *Engliſh* near them. They repreſented it as a Scene laid open for the good and gracious Queen *Elizabeth* to propagate the Goſpel in, and extend her Dominions over; as if purpoſely reſerved for her Majeſty by a peculiar Direction of Providence, that had brought all former Adventures in this Affair to nothing; and to give a farther Taſte of their Diſcovery, they took with them in their Return for *England*, *Wancheſe* and *Manteo*, two native Male *Indians*.

Her Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this Account, that as the greateſt Mark of Honour ſhe could do the Diſcovery, ſhe called the Country by the Name of *Virginia*, as well becauſe it was firſt diſcovered in her Reign, a *Virgin Queen*, as becauſe it did ſtill ſeem to retain the *Virgin Purity* and *Plenty* of the firſt Creation, and the People their primitive Innocence, being neither debauched nor corrupted with thoſe Pomps and Vanities which had depraved and enſlaved the reſt of Mankind; nor were their Hands hardened by Labour, nor their Minds corrupted by the Deſire of hoarding up Treaſure. They were without Boundaries to their Lands, without Property in Cattle, and by their Pleaſure alone, *i. e.* by Fiſhing, Fowling and Hunting, Skins being their only Cloathing, they ſupplied all their Wants; living without Labour, and only gathering the Fruits of the Earth when ripe, or fit for Uſe.

Theſe Reports fluſhed the Proprietors with great Expectations, who were ſo far from truſting to the ſole Judgment and Management of the fore-mentioned Captains, that Sir *Richard Grenville* reſolved to ſuperintend the next Voyage; for which the Adventurers fitted out a ſtout Squadron of ſeven Ships, with ſufficient Stores of Arms, Ammunition, and Proviſions, and with a choice Sett of ſpare Men to make a Settlement.

The Ships were the *Tyger* of 140 Tons; a Fly-boat, called the *Roebuck*, of the ſame Burden; the *Lion*, of about 100 Tons; the *Elizabeth*, of 50 Tons; and the *Dorothy*, a ſmall Bark; to which were added, for any ſudden Expedition, two ſmall Pinnaces. The chief Perſons in Command with him were Mr. *Ralph Lane*, Mr. *Thomas Candiſh*, Mr. *John Arundel*, Mr. *Stuckly*, Mr. *Bremige*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Heryot*, and Mr. *John Clark*; whereof ſome were Captains, and others for Council or Aſſiſtants.

They departed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April* 1585, paſs'd the *Canaries* on the 14th, and on the 7th of *May* fell in with *Dominica*, landed at *Puerto Rico*, built a Fort and a Pinnace, and gained ſome Advantages over the *Spaniards*. In their Courſe to *Florida* they took two rich *Spaniſh* Prizes, and obliged the Paſſengers to pay a conſiderable Ranſom; fell in with the Port *Iſabella* on the N. of *Hiſpaniola*; and after driving an advantageous Traffic with the *Spaniards* aſhore, they arrived in ſight of the Continent of *Florida* on the 20th of *June*; tho' it was the 26th before they came to an Anchor at the Iſland of *Wokoken* in *Virginia*, where the Admiral's Ship was ſunk[c] thro' the Ignorance of the Pilot, and after they had all narrowly eſpaced being ſhipwreck'd off *Cape Fear*.

Sir *Richard* ſet Mr. *Lane* and 108 Men aſhore, and provided them with all Neceſſaries to make a Settlement. He alſo inveſted him with the Dignity of the Chief or

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[a] A. D. 1584.

[b] On the 13th of July.

[c] Purchas.

Governor of the new Colony, created Mr. *Philip Amydas* Commander in Chief, and placed under him nineteen other Officers. He then ordered ſome Beans and Peas to be ſown, which grew very expeditiouſly; traded with the Natives for Skins, Furs, Pearl, *&c.* and having made ſome little Diſcovery farther in the *Sound*, to the Southward, he prepared for the Return of the Fleet to *England*, where they arrived on the 18th of *October*[a] at *Plymouth*, having in their Paſſage taken a rich *Spaniard* of three hundred Tons.

Mr. *Hackluit* in his curious Collection has preſerv'd a Letter, wrote to him from Governor *Lane*, dated on the third of *September* this ſame Year, which gives a very advantageous Account of their new Colony, and of the Importance it would be, when improv'd, to their Mother-country. In this Letter he writes thus:—

"In the mean while you ſhall underſtand, that ſince Sir *Richard Grenville*'s Departure from us, as alſo before, we have diſcovered the Main to be the goodlieſt Soil under the Cope of Heaven; ſo abounding with ſweet Trees, that bring ſuch ſundry rich and pleaſant Gums, Grapes of ſuch Greatneſs, yet wild, as *France*, *Spain*, nor *Italy* have no greater; ſo many Sorts of Apothecary Drugs, ſuch ſeveral Kinds of Flax, and one Kind like Silk, the ſame gathered of a Graſs, as common there, as Graſs is here. And now within theſe few Days we have found here Maiz or *Guiney* Wheat, whoſe Ear yieldeth Corn for Bread 400 upon one Ear, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect Sugar, alſo *Terra Samia*, otherwiſe *Terra Sigillata*. Beſides that, it is the goodlieſt and moſt pleaſing Territory of the World; for the Continent is of an huge and unknown Greatneſs, and very well peopled and towned, though ſavagely, and the Climate ſo wholeſome, that we had not one ſick ſince we touched the Land here. To conclude, if *Virginia* had but Horſes and Kine in ſome reaſonable Proportion, I dare aſſure myſelf being inhabited with *Engliſh*, no Realm in Chriſtendom were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what Commodities ſoever *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, or the Eaſt-parts do yield unto us, in Wines of all Sorts, in Oils, in Flax, in Roſins, Pitch, Frankincenſe, Currants, Sugars, and ſuch like, theſe Parts do abound with the Growth of them all, but being Savages that poſſeſs the Land, they know no Uſe of the ſame; and ſundry other rich Commodities, that no Parts of the World, be they *Weſt* or *Eaſt-Indies*, have, here we find great Abundance of. The People naturally are moſt courteous, and very deſirous to have Cloaths, but eſpecially of coarſe Cloth rather than Silk; coarſe Canvas they alſo like well of, but Copper carryeth the Price of all, ſo it be made red. Thus good M. *Hackluit* and M. *H.* I have joined you both in one Letter of Remembrance, as two that I love dearly well; and commending me moſt heartily to you both, I commit you to the Tuition of the Almighty. From the new Fort in *Virginia*, this third of *September*, 1585.

"*Your moſt aſſured Friend*,

"RALPH LANE."

Theſe Settlers purſuing the Plan of their Proprietors, preſently applied themſelves to the Diſcoveries of the Extent, Produce, and Contents of this new World. They proceeded Southward to a Place called *Secotan*, about 80 Miles from *Roanoak*, their fixt Aboad. This was made by 15 Men in a Boat with four Oars only, over a broad, ſhallow Sound or Bay. Northward they travelled 130 Miles over a ſhallow and moſt dangerous Sound, and arrived aſhore in the Country of the *Cheſepic Indians*, who inhabited a Territory about 15 Miles from the Shore; which for the Pleaſantneſs of its Situation, Fertility of its Soil, Temperature of the Climate, and Proximity to the Sea, greatly engaged their Attention. This Tract of Land abounded with Bears fit to eat, with Woods of Saſſafras and Walnut-trees. To the N. W. they alſo penetrated about 130 Miles, as far as *Chavanock*, over a broad, deep, Freſh-water Sound, which waſhed ſeveral good *Indian* Towns, and terminated by the River *Chavanock*, which grows narrower till, at the Town of *Chavanock*, it repreſents the Breadth of the *Thames* between *Weſtminſter* and *Lambeth*: And then ſearching Weſtward, they proceeded up the River *Moratoc* for about 90 Miles, through many Turnings and Windings.

In theſe Excurſions and Explorations Mr. *Lane* gained ample Knowledge of the adjacent Countries, and Intelligence of a Prince, whoſe Country lay N. W. from thence, on the Sea-coaſt, and was very rich in Pearl, caught upon thoſe Seas that waſhed his Territories, and only four Days Journey from *Moratoc*.

But all his Hopes were ſoon cut off by an Aſſociation of all the neighbouring *Indians*; who ſuſpecting the Intention of the *Engliſh* in theſe Explorations, to cut them off, or to enſlave them, and ſeize upon their Countries, united in Defence of the common Intereſt, and made ſeveral Attempts to drive them away, by denying them Proviſions, or to deſtroy them by Ambuſcades, which frequently killed thoſe that ventured out of their Fort; and had they not been providentially relieved, and carrid off by Sir *Francis Drake*, they muſt very ſhortly have been reduced to the miſerable Alternative of periſhing with Hunger, or yielding to the Mercy of the jealous *Indians*[b].

This ſame Year the Government, eſteeming themſelves the true Lords and Proprietors of that valuable Trade of fiſhing on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, exerted their Authority and Power to maintain their Claim and Right, by ſending a Squadron of Men of War under the Command of Sir *Barnard Drake* of *Devon*, who took on that Coaſt ſeveral *Portugueze* Ships, and brought them as lawful Prizes to *England*, laden with Fiſh and Oil[c]. And

Her Majeſty for the more effectual Security and Improvement of the *Guinea* Trade, as ſhe was inform'd, granted her Letters Patents to the Earl of *Warwick* and others, with an excluſive Right, for twelve Years, to trade to the Coaſt of *Guinea*[d]. And for the more effectual Eſtabliſhment of this Company, and the carrying on this Branch of Trade, her Majeſty alſo appointed *Henry Roberts*, Eſq; her Miniſter and Agent to the aforeſaid *Muley Hamet*, Emperor of *Morocco*, and King of *Fez* and *Suz*; who having received his Commiſſion, Inſtructions and Letters, departed from *London* the 14th of *Auguſt*, in a large Ship called the *Aſcenſion*, accompanied by the *Minion* and the *Hopewell*, and arrived in Safety at *Azafi*, a Port of *Barbary*, the 14th of *September* following; where he was received very honourably, and all Neceſſaries furniſhed him, to carry him to *Morocco* with Mr. *Richard Evans*, Mr. *Edward Salcot*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants reſiding there, and a large Train of Attendants.

The Emperor received him with great Humanity, and ſhewed him many Marks of his Favour during the three Years he reſided there: whenſoever his Buſineſs required it, he was admitted either to his Majeſty himſelf, or to his Viceroy, a very wiſe and diſcreet Perſon.

Amongſt other Acts of this Ambaſſy, we find the Copy of an Edict or Privilege granted by *Muley Hamet*, King of *Fez*, and Emperor of *Morocco*, that no *Engliſhmen* ſhould be moleſted or made Slaves in any Part of his Dominions; obtained by the aforeſaid Mr. *Henry Roberts*, in this Form.

"In the Name of the moſt gracious and the merciful God, *&c.* the Servant of the ſupreme God, the Conqueror of his Cauſe, the Succeſſor advanced by God, the Emperor of the *Moors*, the Son of the Emperor of the *Moors*, the *Jariffe*, the *Haceny*, whoſe Honour God long increaſe, and advance his Eſtate. This our princely Commandment is delivered into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Merchants, who remain in the Protection of our ſtately Palaces. To the end that all Men which ſhall ſee this preſent Writing, may underſtand that our princely Counſel will defend them, by the Favour of God from any thing that may moleſt or hurt them, in what ſort ſoever they ſhall be wronged, and that which way ſoever they ſhall travel, no Man ſhall take them Captives in theſe our Kingdoms, Ports and Places, which belong unto us, which alſo may protect and defend them, by our Authority, from any Moleſtation whatſoever, and that

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[a] Hackluit.

[b] Id. Part III. p. 256.

[c] Britiſh Empire in America.

[d] See Page 183 of this Hiſtory.

“no Man ſhall hinder them, by laying violent Hands on them, and ſhall not give Occaſion that they may be grieved, in any ſort, by the Favour and Aſſiſtance of God. And we charge and command our Officers of our Havens and Fortreſſes, and all ſuch as bear any Authority in theſe our Dominions, and likewiſe all the common People, that in no wiſe they do moleſt them; in ſuch ſort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our Commandment ſhall remain inviolable, being regiſtered in the Midſt of the Month of *Rabel*, in the Year 996.”

The Date of this Letter agrees with the 20th of March, *1587, which I,* Abdel Rachman el Catan, *Interpreter for his Majeſty, have tranſlated out of the Arabian, into Spaniſh,* Word for Word as is contained therein, and in Witneſs hereof have ſubſcribed my Name, as aforeſaid.

ABDEL RACHMAN EL CATAN.

About the ſame Time the Queen, by a very ſurprizing Incident, got a very convincing and authentic Proof of the King of *Spain*'s Treacheries, and hoſtile Intentions againſt *England*, which hitherto he had ſo artfully cover'd and denied. It was as follows: The good Ship *Primroſe*, Capt. *Foſter* of *London*, Burden 150 Tons, laden with Bale-goods, and delivering the ſame at *Bilboa*, in the Bay of *Biſcay*, was on the ſecond Day after her Arrival viſited by a *Spaniſh* Pinnace, in which was the Corregidor, or chief civil Magiſtrate of the Province of *Biſcay*, with ſix other Perſons; who ſeeming all to be Merchants of *Biſcay*, or Traders, were readily admitted on-board. They brought Cherries with them, and ſpoke very friendly to the Captain, who entertained them with the beſt the Ship afforded. Soon after the Corregidor, with three of theſe Perſons, went back in the Pinnace, leaving the other three Men drinking, and who affected to be very merry with the Captain.

But the Captain miſtruſting ſome ill Deſign on him or his Ship, gave private Orders to his own People to be upon their Guard, and at the ſame time continued his friendly Behaviour to his Gueſts, without making the leaſt Shew of Miſtruſt. Soon after he perceived a large Boat, in which, as it afterwards appeared, there were 70 Perſons, and the Pinnace, which had brought the firſt ſeven Perſons, with 24 more, making off from the Shore directly towards the Ship; theſe likewiſe put on the Appearance of *Biſcayan* Merchants. The Corregidor, with three or four of theſe Men, came on-board; but the Captain ſeeing their great Number, and conſidering he had but 27 Men in his Ship, inſiſted on it that the Remainder ſhould continue in their Boats along-ſide. The *Spaniards*, who were already on-board, as well as they in the Boats, agreed to this Requeſt; but they ſoon embracing, as they thought, a proper Opportunity, at a Signal given by a Drum they had with them, every Man drew their Weapons, which till then were concealed, and boarded the Ship on all Sides at once, with great Fury; ſome planting themſelves in ſeveral Parts of the Ship, the better to maintain their Hold; while others waited for the Word of Command.

The Corregidor, who now diſcovered himſelf, and had an Officer ſtanding by him, with a white Wand in his Hand, cried out to the Captain, *Yield, for you are the King's Priſoner*. The Captain at the ſame time gave the Signal to his Men, by calling out, *We are betrayed*. The *Spaniards* upon this pointed their Daggers to the Captain's Breaſt, and threatened him with immediate Death, if he or his Men offered to make any Reſiſtance. But the Men knowing the Inquiſition would be their Lot, if they ſhould be carried Priſoners on-ſhore, had reſolved to reſcue their Captain, and free themſelves from the worſt of Captivity, or to die in the Attempt; and ſeizing their Javelins, Lances, Boar-ſpears, and other Weapons, laid about them ſo vigorouſly, that every Stroke either killed a *Spaniard*, or frightened two or three of them into Inactivity. Some of them who were under the Hatches, having five ſmall Arms, which were all they had charged in Readineſs, fired upon the *Spaniards* through the Gratings, and continued plying them ſo warmly with their Shot, that they concluded the Number of the Crew was far greater, and grew diſmayed. The *Spaniards* beſought the Captain to lay his Command on his Men, to give over the Fight. But his Anſwer was, “That ſuch was the Courage of the *Engliſh* Nation in Defence of their Lives and Liberties, that they would make no Scruple of killing him, with them, if he ſhould offer to curb their Fury.”

Their Deck was covered with *Spaniards*, dead or wounded, who lay weltring, or rather ſwimming in their own Blood; and their Companions, who were not yet entered, were glad, as faſt as they boarded, to retire again, by jumping either into their Boats, or into the Sea, with the faint and uncertain Hopes of recovering the Shore. Thus by one Means or other, the Ship was in a very little time cleared of them; and very few eſcaped to give an Account on-ſhore, what was become of their Companions. Four of them endeavouring to ſcramble up the Ship's Side, the Captain took Pity of them, and perceiving they were all wounded, ordered them to be taken on-board, and their Wounds to be dreſſed by the Surgeon, not knowing then who they were; but it afterwards appeared that one of them was the Corregidor himſelf; and that they had all ſtuffed their Boſoms with Paper, to defend them againſt the Force of the ſmall Shot. In this gallant Action 28 *Engliſhmen* gained a compleat Victory over 97 *Spaniards*, with the Loſs of one Man only killed, and ſix wounded.

Captain *Foſter* ſaw it was in vain to ſtay any longer; and preferring a ſmall Evil to a greater, tho' he had already landed upwards of 20 Tons of Goods, and had then two Men on-ſhore, ſet Sail with all Expedition, and arrived at *London* on the 8th of *June*, with the Corregidor, and his other *Spaniſh* Priſoners, tho' they offered him a conſiderable Sum to be ſet on-ſhore in any other Place.

The Corregidor being aſked, during the Voyage, what had induced him to deal thus treacherouſly by the *Engliſh*, who were then in Amity with the *Spaniards*, produced a Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*, for what he had done: Of which, this is a Tranſlation.

The King of Spain*'s Commiſſion for a general Embargo to be laid on the* Engliſh, *&c. directed to his Majeſty's Corregidor of the Seignory of* Biſcay.

“I have cauſed a great Fleet to be put in Readineſs in the Haven of *Liſbon*, and in the River of *Seville*; and there is required for the Soldiers, Armour, Victuals, and Munition, which are to be employed in the ſame great Store of Shipping, of all ſorts, againſt the time of Service; and to the end there may be Choice made of the beſt, upon Knowledge of their Quantities and Qualities, I do therefore require you, that immediately after the Arrival of this Courier, and with as much Diſſimulation as may be (that your Deſign may not be known, till it be put in Execution) that you give Orders for the Stopping and Arreſting (with all poſſible Foreſight) all the Shipping that ſhall be found upon the Coaſt, and in the Ports of the ſaid Seignory, excepting none of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Eaſterland*, *Germany*, *England*, and other Provinces that are in Rebellion againſt me, ſaving thoſe of *France*, which being of ſmall Burden, and no Force, are deemed unfit for the Service.

“And they being in this manner ſtopped, you are to have eſpecial Care that ſuch Merchandiſes, as the ſaid Ships or Hulks have brought, whether they be all or part unladen, may be taken out, and that the Armour, Munition, Tackling, Sails, and Proviſions, may be ſafely beſtowed; and alſo that you have Care, that none of the ſaid Ships or their Men eſcape. All which Things being thus executed, you are to adviſe me, by a Meſſenger ſent expreſs for that Purpoſe, of your Proceedings therein; and you are to ſend me a plain and diſtinct Declaration of the Number of Ships, which you ſhall have, in ſuch manner, ſtopped on your Coaſts and Parts, *viz.* whence every ſuch Ship, belonging to my Rebels, is come? Of what Burden they are, and what Goods are in them? What Number of Men is in every one of them; and what Quantity of Armour, Ordnance, Munition, Proviſions, Tackling, and other Neceſſaries they have on-board? To the end that upon the Sight thereof, having made Choice of ſuch as ſhall be fit for Service, I may farther direct you what you have to do.

“In the mean time you are to ſee this my Command immediately put in Execution; and if there come any more Ships thither hereafter, you ſhall alſo cauſe them to be ſtopped and arreſted, according to the ſame Order, uſing therein ſuch Care and Diligence, as may anſwer the Confidence which I repoſe in you, wherein you will render me ſingular Service. Dated at *Barcelona*, the 29th of *May*, 1585.”

This Violation of Treaties, ſo manifeſtly diſcovered in the recited Commiſſion, remov'd all Scruple in the *Engliſh* Miniſtry about their Conduct with *Spain*: And as her Majeſty could not obtain Satisfaction for her Subjects in a more effectual Manner, ſhe immediately granted Letters of Repriſals for the taking and arreſting all Ships and Merchandiſes, that might be found at Sea or elſewhere, belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Spain*; and ſent Sir *Francis Drake*, now made an Admiral, with a Fleet of 21 Sail of Men of War to annoy that Monarch in the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to cut off, or to prevent the Supplies ſent yearly from thence in Gold and Silver to *Old Spain*.

This Fleet, the Names of whoſe Ships and Commanders were as follows:

Captain *Martin Forbiſher* Vice-admiral, a Man of great Experience in ſea-faring Actions, and had had chief Command of many Ships himſelf, in ſundry Voyages before, being now ſhipped in the *Primroſe*;
Captain *Francis Knollis*, Rear-admiral in the Galliot *Leiceſter*;
Mr. *Thomas Venner*, Captain in the *Elizabeth-Bonaventure*, under the General;
Mr. *Edward Winter*, Captain in the *Aid*;
Mr. *Chriſtopher Carliſle* the Lieutenant-general, Captain in the *Tyger*;
Henry White, Captain of the *Sea-dragon*;
Thomas Drake, Captain of the *Thomas*;
Thomas Seely, Captain of the *Minion*;
— *Bailey*, Captain of the Bark *Talbot*;
Robert Croſs, Captain of the Bark *Bond*;
George Forteſcute, Captain of the Bark *Bonner*;
Edward Careleſs, Captain of the *Hope*;
James Erizo, Captain of the *White-lion*;
Thomas Moone, Captain of the *Francis*;
John Rivers, Captain of the *Vantage*;
John Vaughan, Captain of the *Drake*;
John Varnay, Captain of the *George*;
John Martin, Captain of the *Benjamin*;
Edward Gilman, Captain of the *Scout*;
Richard Hawkins, Captain of the Galliot, called the *Duck*;
— *Bitfield*, Captain of the *Swallow*.

Theſe carried 2300 Men, Seamen and Soldiers, under their proper Land-officers; who were

Mr. *Chriſtopher Carliſle* Lieutenant-general, a Man of long Experience in the War, as well by Sea as Land, and had formerly carried high Offices in both Kinds in many Fights, which he diſcharged always very happily, and with great good Reputation;
Anthony Powell Serjeant-major;
Capt. *Matthew Morgan*, and Capt. *John Sampſon*, Corporals of the Field.

Theſe Officers had Command over the reſt of the Land-captains, whoſe Names hereafter follow:

Capt. *Anthony Plat*;
Capt. *Edward Winter*;
Capt. *John Goring*;
Capt. *Robert Pew*;
Capt. *George Barton*;
Capt. *John Merchant*;
Capt. *William Cecil*;
Capt. *Walter Bigs*;
Capt. *John Hannam*;
Capt. *Richard Stanton*.

This Fleet ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 14th of *September*, 1585, for the Coaſt of *Spain*, ſtrictly examining every Ship by the Way: amongſt which was a *French* Brig, deſerted by its Crew, and detain'd by the Admiral, to ſerve him as a Tender; and a *Spaniſh* Banker, laden with *Poor Jack*, which the Admiral made a Prize, and ordered the Fiſh to be diſtributed amongſt the whole Fleet. Two Days after, the Wind ſlacking, the Fleet came to Anchor before *Bayonne*; and the Admiral preparing to ſurprize that City by a ſelect Number of Men well arm'd in Boats, with his own Galley commanded in Perſon at their Head, was met in the Way by an *Engliſh* Merchant, ſent by the Governor to demand the Reaſon of their coming into that Port, whom the Admiral detain'd; and ſent Capt. *Sampſon* to demand of the Governor, whether he knew that there were any Wars between *Spain* and *England*? and why the *Engliſh* Merchants, and their Ships, were arreſted and detain'd in the Harbours of *Spain*? To which the Governor replied, that he knew of no Wars between thoſe Nations; and that he had received Command from his *Spaniſh* Majeſty to diſcharge all *Engliſh* Merchants, Goods and Ships; confirming the ſame by the Atteſtation of thoſe *Engliſh* Merchants, then trading at *Bayonne*.

The Night approaching, and the Admiral with his Boats being advanced almoſt to the City, thought it moſt adviſeable to land for that Night; and accordingly being lodg'd aſhore in a convenient Place, and under a proper Guard, he was preſented by the Governor with a Regale of Bread, Wine, Oil, Apples, Grapes, Marmalade, *&c.* About Midnight the Weather overcaſting, it was thought neceſſary to make the beſt of their way on-board: but before they could recover the Ships, many of them were driven from their Anchors, the *Talbot* and *Hawkins* were driven out to Sea, and the *Speedwell* as far as *England*, by a ſudden Tempeſt. This Storm continued three Days; at the End of which Lieutenant-general *Carliſle* was detach'd with his own and three more Ships to plunder *Vigo*, where amongſt other Booty he ſeized in a Boat, as it was carrying off, a great ſilver Croſs of curious Workmanſhip, double gilt, and other Church-furniture. He was follow'd by the whole Fleet, and they all anchor'd a little above *Vigo* to take in freſh Water, which was permitted by the Governor of *Galicia*, who on this Occaſion was march'd into that Neighbourhood with 2000 Foot and 300 Horſe; on promiſe that the *Engliſh*, having taken on-board what Water they wanted, and other Proviſions to be provided by the *Spaniards* for ready Money, would depart from that Coaſt.

Admiral *Drake* leaving theſe Parts, bent his Courſe toward *Cape Verd Iſlands*, where he arrived on the 16th of *November*, coming to an Anchor between the Town *St. Jago*, and another Town called *Ploje* or *Praje*. A thouſand Men, under the Command of Lieutenant-general *Carliſle*, landed here in the Evening, ſurprized *St. Jago*, the chief Town, ſacked the Place, and carried off a conſiderable Booty of Gold, Meal, Wine and Oil. And after a Stay of about fourteen Days, neither the Governor, nor the Biſhop, nor any of the Inhabitants, either of the Town or Iſland, coming near them, to entreat ſome Favour for the Place, they deſtroy'd the Town, and all the Houſes in the adjacent Country, with Fire, ſparing none but the Hoſpital.

From hence they ſail'd for *Dominica*: But ſoon after their Departure from the Iſland there died near 300 Men of a burning Fever and continual Ague; and many that recovered of this Diſtemper were not able to do Duty for a long time. In this Condition the Fleet arrived at *Dominica*, after a Paſſage of eighteen Days; and after taking-in freſh Water, it ſail'd Weſtward to *St. Kits*, where they went aſhore, and ſpent their *Chriſtmas*, without ſeeing one Inhabitant.

On the 1ſt of *January*, in purſuance of a Reſolution taken by a Council of War held in the Holidays, they arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, and landed about 1200 Men under Lieutenant-general *Carliſle*, on a convenient Beach, about 10 Miles from the City of *St. Domingo*; which, having routed 150 *Spaniſh* Horſe, and an Ambuſh of Muſqueteers, ſent to impede their March, the *Engliſh* entered pell-mell with the *Spaniards* at the Weſtern Gate, while the Towns-people in great Fear ran out by the North Gate. This Reſolution of the *Engliſh* to march with ſo much Intrepidity into the very Mouths of their Cannon, which began to do ſome Execution, ſaved them a great many Men. They now marched up in two Bodies to the Market-place, near the great Church, which they fortified with Barricadoes, and thus became Maſters of the Place.

About Midnight the *Spaniards*, who hearing the *Engliſh* were approaching the Gates of the Caſtle, abandoned it alſo; ſome of whom were taken Priſoners; others eſcaped in Boats to the other Side of the Haven, and ſo into the Country. The next Day they quartered more at large, and in that manner kept Poſſeſſion of the Place a whole Month. The Inhabitants offering but a ſmall Sum to redeem it, they began at laſt to burn the Houſes of the Suburbs, which being all of ſolid Stone, coſt them no ſmall time to deſtroy; but when the Citizens ſaw their Houſes in Danger, they choſe rather to reſcue them from the Flames with a Ranſom of 25,000 Duckets, of 5*s.* and 6*d.* each: which being paid, the Fleet, after having carried on-board a conſiderable Booty, conſiſting chiefly of Proviſions, Mercery-wares, Apparel and Houſhold-furniture, with ſome, tho' but little Plate, ſailed over to *Carthagena*; where the Forces being landed, at about five Miles Diſtance from the City, *Drake* with his Pinnaces and Boats well manned, attempted the Haven, which was defended by a Fort. *Carliſle*, in the mean time, putting his Men in Battle-array, marched all the Dead of the Night along the Shore to the Town; which after a ſhort Defence, wherein many of the *Engliſh* were killed with poiſoned Arrows, and poiſoned Spikes ſtuck into the Ground, in the way they were to paſs, was taken by Storm. The *Spaniards* were as backward here, as they had been in *Santo Domingo*, to redeem their City from the Flames; but when they ſaw the *Engliſh* were in earneſt, and had begun to ſet fire to ſome Houſes, they came to Terms, and ranſomed it for 110,000 Duckets, and 1000 Crowns for the Abby, which were ſhared among the Seamen and Soldiers. Beſides this, they got very little Booty; for the Citizens having Warning before-hand from *Hiſpaniola*, had conveyed away all their Treaſure to Places more remote. After ſix Weeks ſtay at this Place, the Calenture or Fever which raged among them, having taken away a great Number of the Men, Sir *Francis* was obliged to lay aſide the Deſign he had formed of attacking *Nombre de Dios*, to go from thence afterwards by Land to *Panama*; and ſet Sail for *England* on the laſt Day of *March*. But they had not been above two or three Days at Sea, when a great Ship which they had taken at *St. Domingo*, and was now loaded with Ordnance, Hides, and other Booty, ſprung a Leak, and it was with great Difficulty they kept her above Water, till they got back again to *Carthagena*, where they were obliged to ſtay 10 Days longer on that Account.

Sailing from thence a ſecond time, they paſſed between *Cuba* and *Juccatan*, and ſailing along the Coaſt, in their way took and burnt *St. Anthony*'s, and *St. Auſtin*'s, two ſmall Towns, which were abandoned by the *Spaniards*; in a Fort belonging to the latter, they found among other Booty, a Cheſt containing to the Value of about 2000 *l.* in Money, deſigned for the Payment of the Soldiers there. After this, they formed a Deſign upon *St. Helena*, another ſmall Town, about 12 Leagues farther to the North; but the Shoals appearing dangerous, and they having no Pilot who would undertake to carry them in, they thought it beſt to drop this Project. So that continuing their Courſe along the Coaſt of *Florida*, and near the Shore, about ſix Degrees more Northward, they came to the Colony left by Sir *Richard Greenville* in *Virginia*, which Sir *Francis Drake* had Orders from her Majeſty to take a View of, and ſee what Aſſiſtance and Encouragement it wanted. And on the 9th of *June*, ſeeing a large Fire on the Coaſt, the General ſent his Boat on-ſhore, and there found ſome of the Men belonging to this Colony; one of whom came on-board, by whoſe Direction they proceeded along to the Place, which they made their Port; but ſome of the Ships being of too great Draught of Water to enter, they all anchored without the Harbour, two Miles from Shore, in a wild Road, at Sea.

The General ſent a Meſſage to Mr. *Ralph Lane*, who was then at his Fort at *Roannock*, to let him know he was ready to ſupply all his Wants. And Mr. *Lane* coming the next Day, with ſome of his Company, requeſted the General to grant them a freſh Supply of Men and Proviſions, with a ſmall Veſſel, and Boats to attend them; that ſo, if they ſhould be put to Diſtreſs for want of Relief, they might embark for *England*. Sir *Francis* promiſed to do this; and a Ship was appointed them, which they began immediately to fit up, and ſupply plentifully with all manner of Stores, for a long Stay. But while this was doing, a great Storm aroſe, which laſted three Days, and drove that very Ship, with ſome others, from her Anchors to Sea; and ſo ſhe was loſt to them for that Occaſion, and not ſeen again by any of them till they came to *England*, whither ſhe got, with ſome others, who were driven from all their Anchors and Cables. They loſt, beſides, in this Storm, many more Anchors, and a large Number of Boats and Pinnaces. Sir *Francis* would have given them another Ship; but this Accident coming on the Back of ſo many Hardſhips, which they had before undergone, daunted them, and put them upon imagining that Povidence was averſe to their Deſigns. And now, having given over, for that Year, the Expectation of their promiſed Supply from *England*, they (in all 103) conſulted together, and agreed to deſire Sir *Francis Drake* to take them along with him home; which he did.

They left the Coaſt on the 18th of *June*, and arrived at *Portſmouth* on the 28th of *July*, 1586.

Thus ended Sir *Francis Drake*'s Expedition: The Booty taken from the *Spaniards* being valued at 600,000 *l.*[a] beſides 240[b] Pieces of Braſs and Iron-cannon; with the Loſs of about 750 Men, who all, or moſt of them, died of the Calenture.

Above 200 of the Cannon were Braſs, and were taken, in *St. Jago* 53 Pieces.

In *St. Domingo* about 80; among which many were great Ordnance, as whole Cannon, Demi-cannon, Culverins, and the like.

In *Carthagena* 63 Pieces, moſt of the greater Sort.

In Fort *St. Auſtin* 14 Pieces Braſs; the reſt was Iron-ordnance, of which the moſt were found at *St. Domingo*, and the reſt at *Carthagena*.

The Loſs to the *Spaniards* was, without doubt, far greater on all Hands, than the Booty was of Value to us: However, as this Expedition not only terrified, but weakened them in thoſe Parts, it had in ſome meaſure its deſired Effect.

In this Voyage, Sir *Francis Drake* was the firſt *Engliſhman* who landed in *New-England*, being Part of the Continent which was diſcovered by *Barlow* and *Amidas*. He ſtaid two or three Days on the Coaſt, and traded with the People for what he wanted; during which time, one of the *Indian* Kings ſubmitted to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The King of *Spain* in his Turn granted Letters of Reprizals for his Subjects to ſeize and to make Prizes of all *Engliſh* Ships they ſhould meet with at Sea, eſpecially in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*; by which the *Turky* Merchants were greatly endanger'd and interrupted. Therefore the Company trading to *Turky* fitted out five ſtout Ships[c], with Letters of Marque, well mann'd, arm'd and provided for Defence. They ſail'd together from the *Thames*, with Inſtructions not to ſeparate till they arriv'd off *Sicily*, when each Ship was directed to take its proper Courſe to the Place of its Deſtination; and in their Return home to rendezvous at the Iſland of *Zante*.

Here being inform'd that the *Spaniards* had fitted out two Fleets, one of twenty, and another of thirty Gallies, to intercept them, it was reſolv'd to put themſelves into the beſt Poſture of Defence, and to force their Paſſage, if oblig'd to come to Blows; and Mr. *Edward Williamſon*, Captain of the *Merchant Royal*, was choſen their Admiral, and the Commander of the *Toby* their Vice-admiral; the other three agreeing to ſubmit to their Commands.

On the 13th of *July*, early in the Morning, as this Squadron juſt made the Iſland of *Pantalarea*, which lies between *Sicily* and the *African* Coaſt, they deſcry'd eleven Gallies and two Frigates with *Sicilian* and *Malteſe* Colours, in the Service of *Spain*, and commanded by Don *Pedro de Leiva*, who diſpatch'd his two Frigates to order the Captains and Purſers

[a] Columna Roſtrata.

[b] Camden.

[c] The Merchant Royal, the Toby, the Edward Bonaventure, the William, the John, and the Suſan.

Purſers of the *Engliſh* Ships to repair immediately on-board his Galley. But the Meſſenger was contented to take with him only Mr. *Rowet*, a Supercargo, and to engage for his Safety and Return.

The Admiral received Mr. *Rowet* in a moſt haughty Manner, and inſiſted upon the Surrender of all the *Engliſh* Ships, at his Diſcretion; and at Mr. *Rowet*'s Return ſignified his Reſolution by firing a Gun of Defiance; which being immediately return'd by the *Engliſh* Admiral, the Engagement began: and though they were very heavy laden, they maintain'd an obſtinate Fight for five Hours, and ſo ſhatter'd the *Spaniſh* Ships of War, that the Admiral firſt, and then two more were oblig'd to warp off out of the Line, ſcarce being able to keep above Water; and the reſt were ſo diſabled, that they not having Men enough left to man their Guns, and work their Veſſels, ſoon after made for the Shore, leaving the *Engliſh* the Laurels of Victory, and Room to purſue their Voyage.

The *Engliſh* loſt but two Men in this Engagement: But their Ladings were too valuable to run any riſque in the Purſuit of the Enemy. Therefore they made the beſt of their Way for *England*, where they arriv'd in Safety; having, by favour of a thick Fog, and a briſk eaſterly Wind, eſcap'd the other *Spaniſh* Squadron, which waited for them at the Streight's Mouth.

This Year is alſo memorable for an Expedition intended for the *South-Seas* by the noble and brave *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, who at his own Charge fitted out the three following Ships and a Pinnace; namely, the *Red Dragon*, Capt. *Robert Widrington*, Burden 160 Tons, and 130 Men, which was the Admiral's Ship; the *Clifford*, Capt. *Chriſtopher Liſter*, Burden 130 Tons, and 70 Men, Vice-admiral; the *Roe*, Capt. *Haws*, Rear-admiral; and the *Dorothy* Pinnace.

Theſe Adventurers departed from *Plymouth* on the 7th of *Auguſt*, 1586, for the *South-Seas*; and before they got clear of the Channel, falling in [a] with ſixteen *Hamburgh* Hulks from *Liſbon*, they fired at them firſt for refuſing to ſtrike to the *Engliſh* Flag; and then oblig'd them to bring to, and rifled them of what they thought convenient, under Pretence of being loaded with *Spaniſh* Property.

It was the 17th of *September* before they made the Road of *Santa Cruz*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. From thence, having firſt touched at *Rio del Oro*, they proceeded to *Sierra Leona*; where 50 of their Men, ſent aſhore for Wood and Water, fell upon a Town of *Negroes*, who ſaluted them with a Volley of Arrows, but were ſo frighted at the Re-ſalute of the Fire-arms, that they fled immediately into the Woods.

On the 17th of *November* they left this Coaſt, having burnt a Town of *Negroes*, neatly built, and conſiſting of about 200 Houſes, walled round with large Trees and Stakes, ſo compact, that a Rat could not get through. This Town was on the S. E. ſide of the Harbour, and deſerted by the Inhabitants, upon the Approach of the *Engliſh*, who entered the Wall by a Port left open by Chance. They found little Prey therein worth their Notice; but carried off about 15 Tons of Rice, which they found ſtacked in the neighbouring Lands. The firſt Land they made on the Coaſt of *America* was in 30° 40' S. Latitude, with temperate calm Weather, on the 2d of *January*, 1587. And on the 10th, bearing about eight Leagues from the Shore, and a little ſhort of *Rio del Plata*, they took a ſmall *Portugueſe* Ship, of no great Value, of about 50 Tons Burden, bound to a Town called *Santa Fe*, in that River, and commanded by one *Abraham Cook*, an *Engliſhman*, born at *Lee*. She had 45 *Negroes* on-board, for *Peru*, and two *Portugueſe* Women and a Child, Paſſengers, with ſome Sugar, Rice and Sweetmeats. They met the next Day with another *Portugueſe* Ship, the only Riches of which (beſides Slaves and Friars) were Beads, Pictures, and other ſpiritual Trinkets; a Furniture deſigned for the Uſe of a new Monaſtery, and coſt, as they ſaid, 1000 Duckets. The Pilot of this Ship informed them of the Fate of Mr. *John Drake*, of whom I have given ſome Account in Mr. *Fenton*'s Voyage [b]; ſaying, that the ſaid Mr. *Drake* was yet living, and in good Health, the laſt Year, at *Tucaman*, whither he himſelf had carried him; and that *Richard Fairweather* had married in the Country.

On the 12th they came to *Seal* Iſland, and the 14th to *Green* Iſland, where, and in which Neighbourhood, they remained 16 Days to water, and to take in Seals and other Proviſions; and took on-board *Miles Philips*, one of the Men left by Captain *Hawkins*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, as mentioned in this Voyage.

Being put out again to Sea, the Admiral called a Council [c] of all the Officers and Gentlemen in the Fleet, on-board his own Ship, to determine what Courſe, under their preſent Circumſtances, was moſt proper to be taken; who after great and long Debates, and taking a View of their Proviſions, concluded to take the beſt Neceſſaries out of the Prizes, and then to caſt them off; and then, the Wind coming North, to ply away for the Streights of *Magellan*. But this Reſolution was afterwards over-ruled, partly for want of Proviſions, and partly on account of the Seaſon of the Year; and put off till Spring. In the mean time the Majority being for bearing away for the Coaſt of *Braſil*, they return'd; and on the fifth of *April* got Sight thereof, with which they fell in at about 16 Degrees. They watered firſt in the Road of *Camana*, where they took in Store of Bullocks and Hogs, and afterwards came to an Anchor, on the 11th, before the Town of *Baya*; where they found a Fleet of eight or nine *Portugueſe* Ships, one of which was of 250 Tons, and 24 Guns. Four of the beſt of them they forced the *Portugueze*, two Nights afterwards, to relinquiſh, and towed them off, in Spight of all their Thunder of great and ſmall Shot, from the Shore and the reſt of the Ships. And though the *Portugueſe* and *Indian* Troops were drawn up to oppoſe them, they landed and got Proviſions from the Shore.

And as they were towing off their Prizes, they paſs'd by a large Hulk, which pretended to be a *Fluſhinger*: But they ordered her to follow them; which ſhe did, and brought with her a Caravel, with 40 or 50 Buts of Wine in her, and another ſmall Bark. The leaſt of all the Prizes was of 130 Tons; tho' the moſt they got by taking of them was ſome great Guns, and the 40 or 50 Buts of Wine.

The 6th of *May*, the Pinnace, with a Boat or two, being gone aſhore to victual, with between 50 and 60 Men, were attacked in their Return by a *Portugueſe* Galley, with 400 *Portugueſemen*, beſides *Indians*; of which not 30 went back alive to give an Account of the Reception they met with. They came on with Drums and Shouts; but the few which eſcaped the Bravery of this Handful of *Engliſhmen*, in compariſon of their Number, went off as quiet as Lambs. The *Engliſh* loſt no more than three Men killed in the Action, and none mortally wounded. They went aſhore again on the 16th, and plundered ſome of the *Portugueſe Ingenios*; in which they found 1000 Pots of Sugar, ſome half purged, ſome a quarter, and the reſt newly put into the Pots. Every Man took his Pot for his own Proviſion; and ſet Fire to the remainder, the People being all fled.

They ſail'd from hence on the 22d, and next Day arriv'd at an Iſland 12 Leagues to the Southward of *Baya*, where they ſtaid to take in Wood and Water. The 24th they took a Canoe, with a *Portugueſe* and an *Indian*, from whom being inform'd that a new *Portugueſe* Ship, of 120 Tons, laden with Meal, Sugar, and other Proviſions, had crept into a Creek, thinking to lie there concealed till the *Engliſh* had left the Coaſt, they manned their Pinnaces immediately, and went in Search of her, having the *Portugueſe* with them, and found her in ſo ſmall a Creek, that a Ship's Boat would hardly have ventured into it: ſhe made no Reſiſtance, and was brought off; in which they found a good Stock of Meal and Sugar. Spring was now approaching; but their firſt Deſign of going ſo far as the *South-Sea* was laid aſide, on account of the Uneaſineſs [d] of ſome of the Company, their Wearineſs of the Sea, and earneſt Deſire of returning to their native Country. Therefore the Admiral returned for *England*, and arrived the laſt of *September* at *Plymouth* Harbour, having firſt burnt or caſt off their Prizes.

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[a] On the 20th.

[b] See Page 234. of this Hiſtory.

[c] Feb. 7.

[d] Some lay the Blame of the little Succeſs of this Voyage on the Admiral, Mr. Robert Widrington, who, in all their Conſultations, ſhewed an Unwillingneſs to paſs the Srreight of Magellan, and always laid ſome Obſtacle in the Way: And, on the contrary, extol the Readineſs of the Vice-admiral, Mr. Chriſtopher Liſter, who, upon all Occaſions, was for purſuing the Deſign they were fitted out for; and, in particular, that on the 3d of June, when the Admiral was abſolutely bent upon returning, he offered, if he would but let him have ſix Buts of Wine, one Barrel of Oil, three or four Barrels of Fiſh, and ſeven or eight Seamen, in exchange for Land-men, he would purſue the Voyage, with the Bark Clifford alone; but even this was refuſed him.

We find *Walter Raleigh*, Eſq; this Year [a] concern'd alſo in a Voyage to the *Azores*. He fitted out a Sloop of 50 Tons, named the *Mary*, and a Pinnace of 35 Tons, named the *Serpent*; Capt. *Sparke*, who had the chief Command, was order'd to touch on the Coaſt of *Spain*. He ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 10th of *June*, and in a few Days took a *Spaniſh* Bark loaden with Sumacke, *&c.* and carrying the Governor of the Iſland of *St. Michael*, and ſeveral other *Portugueſe* and *Spaniſh* Paſſengers.

Againſt the Iſland of *Gratioſa*, to the Weſtward of the Iſland of *Tercera*, they eſpied a Sail; and finding her to be a *Spaniard*, diſplay'd a white Silk-enſign on the Main-top of one of their Barks, which made them paſs for *Spaniards*, till they came within Shot of her; and then they took down their white Flag, and put up St. *George*'s Croſs. As ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſaw their Colours, they endeavour'd to eſcape; but it was too late. They then threw their Ordnance and ſmall Arms, their Letters, and a Draught of the Streight of *Magellan*, over-board, and ſurrendered. In this Veſſel, among other Priſoners, they found Don *Pedro Sarmiento*, Governor of the Streights of *Magellan*, whom they brought to *England*, and preſented him to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The next Day they chaſed two Sails, one a Ship, and the other a Caravel, under a Fort of the Iſle of *Gracioſa*; whence with a ſmall Boat and nine Men, they fetched them off, in ſpite of the Fort, and 150 Men, with Fire-arms, on the Shore, without having a Man either killed or wounded.

With theſe Prizes returning for *England*, they diſcovered in Lat. 41 Deg. a large Fleet at a Diſtance. Upon which it was reſolved immediately to ſend home their Prizes, and with only 60 Men left, in two ſmall Barks, to attack a Fleet of two large Carracks, one of 12 and the other of 111 Ton, 10 Galleons, and 12 ſmaller Ships and Caravels, all laden with Treaſure, Spice, and Sugar. They kept Company with this Flota 32 Hours, fighting with them, and harraſſing them the whole time: But the two Carracks keeping between them and the Fleet, they could not ſeize any of them; and their Powder being ſpent, they were forced to leave this rich Booty, and made the beſt of their Way for *England*. They arrived at *Plymouth* within ſix Hours after the Prizes, and carried them to *Southampton*, (their Cargoes conſiſting of Sugar, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Hides, Rice, *Braſil*-wood, *&c.*) where the Officers and Mariners received their Shares in due Proportion.

The Adventurers for the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *South-Seas* by the N. W. were not idle, during theſe Expeditions to other Parts of the Globe. They, in the Year 1585 [b], fitted out a Bark named the *Sunſhine* of 50 Tons, and 23 Men, commanded by Captain *Davis*; and another named the *Moonſhine* of 35 Tons, and 19 Men, commanded by Captain *William Bruton*; who ſailed on the 7th of *June* that ſame Year from *Dartmouth*, but did not get clear of the Channel before the 28th. They took their Departure from *Miſſenhead*, the South Cape of *Ireland*, and ran near 500 Leagues Northward; where on the 19th of *July* they met with much Ice, and next Day deſcried the high Mountains of *Greenland*, cover'd with Snow. From which Proſpect, and the hideous Noiſe of the crackling Ice about their Veſſels, *Davis* called it the Land of *Deſolation*.

They could not make the Shore for the Ice; and therefore following the Track thereof, firſt winding towards the Weſt, and then towards the North, they got clear of the Obſtruction, and on the 29th diſcovered Land in Latitude 64°. 15′, bearing N. E. which was found to be a Group of green Iſlands, inhabited by a People of middling Stature, with ſmall Eyes, and no Beards; who received the *Engliſh* very courteouſly, and dealt with them for Seal-ſkins, ſeveral ſorts of Leather, and for Furs.

“Being among them at Shore, ſays Mr. *Davis*, the 4th of *July*, one of them making a long Oration, began to kindle a Fire in this manner: He took a Piece of a Board, wherein was a Hole half thorough; into that Hole he puts the End of a round Stick like unto a Bed-ſtaff, wetting the End thereof in Train, and in Faſhion of a Turner with a Piece of Leather, by his violent Motion doth very ſpeedily produce Fire; which done, with Turfs he made a Fire, into which, with many Words and ſtrange Geſtures, he put divers Things, which we ſuppoſed to be a Sacrifice; myſelf and divers of my Company ſtanding by. They were deſirous to have me go into the Smoke; I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the Smoke, which they by no means would do. I then took one of them, and thruſt him into the Smoke, and willed one of my Company to tread out the Fire, and to ſpurn it into the Sea, which was done to ſhew them that we did contemn their Sorcery. Theſe People are very ſimple in all their Converſation, but marvellous thieviſh, eſpecially for Iron, which they have in great Account. They began through our Lenity to ſhew their vile Nature; they began to cut our Cables; they cut away the *Moonſhine*'s Boat from her Stern; they cut our Cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look unto it; they ſtole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boar-ſpear, a Sword, with divers other Things; whereat the Company and Maſters being grieved, for our better Security, deſired me to diſſolve this new Friendſhip, and to leave the Company of theſe thieviſh Miſcreants; whereupon there was a Caliver ſhot among them, and immediately upon the ſame a Faulcon, which ſtrange Noiſe did ſore amaze them, ſo that with Speed they departed; notwithſtanding their Simplicity is ſuch, that within ten Hours after they came again to us to intreat Peace; which being promiſed, we again fell into a great League. They brought us Seal-ſkins, and Salmon-peal, but ſeeing Iron, they could in no wiſe forbear ſtealing; which when I perceived, it did but miniſter unto me an Occaſion of Laughter, to ſee their Simplicity, and I willed that in no caſe they ſhould be any more hardly uſed, but that our own Company ſhould be the more vigilant to keep their Things, ſuppoſing it to be very hard in ſo ſhort time to make them know their Evils. They eat all their Meat raw; they live moſt upon Fiſh; they drink Salt-water, and eat Graſs and Ice with Delight; they are never out of the Water, but live in the Nature of Fiſhes, ſave only when dead Sleep taketh them, and then under a warm Rock, laying his Boat upon the Land, he lieth down to ſleep. Their Weapons are all Darts, but ſome of them have Bows and Arrows, and Slings. They make Nets to take their Fiſh of the Fin of a Whale; they do all their Things very artificially; and it ſhould ſeem that theſe ſimple thieviſh Iſlanders have War with thoſe of the Main, for many of them are ſore wounded, which Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by Signs they gave us to underſtand. We had among them Copper-ore, Black-copper, and Red-copper; they pronounce their Language very hollow, and deep in the Throat.”

But this ſort of Traffic not being the Object of the Voyage, Captain *Davis* weighed Anchor, and proceeded on the Diſcovery, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, ſteering his Courſe N. W.

From this Departure they ſailed in a Sea clear of Ice, and on the 6th landed under a Cliff, which glitter'd like Gold, in Latitude 66°. 40′, which *Davis* named Mount *Raleigh*. Here they killed ſome white Bears for Proviſion, but found no Inhabitants. From hence they coaſted on, the Land extending itſelf by little and little to the Weſt; and on the 11th found themſelves in a Streight, almoſt of an equal Breadth, and 20 Leagues wide, free from Ice, which ſtill bears *Davis*'s Name. He ſailed 60 Leagues up this Streight, and found many Iſlands, and ſeveral Harbours, with all Appearances of a farther Paſſage; and going aſhore, they found many Signs, not only of Inhabitants, but of Artificers; but they ſaw none. Theſe Things ſtrengthened their Expectations of making ſome conſiderable Diſcovery; but the Wind proving contrary to proceed, towards the latter End of *Auguſt* they ſet Sail for

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[a] A. D. 1586. Hackluit.

[b] Camden. Harris's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 579.

England, and arrived at *Dartmouth* on the 30th of *September*, pleaſed with the Hopes of perfecting the Diſcovery another time; for theſe Reaſons. Becauſe,

1. This Place was all Iſlands, with great Sounds between them.

2. The Water remained all of the ſame Colour with the main Ocean, without altering. Whereas they never came into any Bay, before or after, but the Colour of the Water was altered very blackiſh.

3. Becauſe they ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe Iſlands three or four Whales in a Skull, which they imagined came from the Weſtern Sea; becauſe to the Eaſtward they had ſeen no Whales.

4. Becauſe, as they were rowing into a very great Sound, lying S. W. from whence theſe Whales came, there came ſuddenly a violent Counter-check of a Tide from the Southward, againſt the Flood which they came with, not knowing from whence it received its Source.

5. Becauſe in ſailing 20 Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, they had ſounding in 90 Fathoms, for a grey and eaſy Sand; and the farther they ran into the Weſtward, the deeper was the Water; ſo that among the Iſlands they had, near the Shore, no Ground in 330 Fathom.

6. Becauſe it ebb'd and flow'd ſix or ſeven Fathom, the Flood coming from divers Parts, ſo that they could not diſcern the chief Source of it.

Therefore fully perſuaded of Succeſs, Mr. *Davis* was diſpatched again on the 7th of *May*, 1586, upon the ſame Errand, in the *Mermaid* of 120 Tons, accompanied by the *Sunſhine* of 50 Tons; the *Moonſhine* of 35; and the *North-Star*, a Pinnace, of 10 Tons.

The firſt Land he made was in Lat. 60°, and in Long. from the Meridian of *London*, 47°, on the 15th of *June*; but could not come near it for Ice. Here Mr. *Davis* divided his little Fleet, and ſent the *Sunſhine*, with the Pinnace, to ſeek a Paſſage Northward, in Lat. 80°, between *Iceland* and *Greenland*; and on the 29th he came to Land in Lat. 64°, and in Long. 58°. 30′. Here they went aſhore on an Iſland, and traded very friendly with the Natives for Seals, Stags, and with Hare-ſkins, dried Fiſh, and ſome Fowl. In one of theſe Iſlands they fram'd a Pinnace; and while they were at Work, the Inhabitants viſited them frequently, ſometimes with 40 or 50, and ſometimes with 100 Canoes; and expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Sight of thoſe Men they had ſeen there laſt Year.

Davis divided his Boats, and ſent them different Ways, into ſeveral Sounds and Bays; and they frequently landed, and went up to the Top of the higheſt Mountains they could find; but could diſcover nothing to their Purpoſe. Therefore after continuing ſome Days trading with the Natives, whom they found very thieviſh, *Davis* at his Departure brought away one of them with him; but he died.

From hence he ran into 66° Deg. and 20′ Min. Lat. and entring into the ſame Streight which he had been in the Year before, he ſailed 80 Leagues in it, and found it every Way full of ſcattering Iſlands, and ſtock'd with Plenty of Fiſh.

He then coaſted Southward again to 56° Deg. and continued in a good Harbour till *September*. Sailing thence on the 4th, he found an open Sea in 54°, tending Weſtward, which he hoped might be the Paſſage ſo long ſought for. But the Wind being then directly againſt them, they could not proceed, and ſo came to Anchor in four Fathom, where was great Store of Fiſh; in the catching of which they employed themſelves till the 6th, when having a fair N. N. W. Wind, they prepared to depart, and ſent a Boat with five Men to fetch ſome Fiſh, which they had left upon the Shore: But they were unexpectedly ſet upon by the Inhabitants, who killed two of them, dangerouſly wounded two more, and the fifth was obliged to ſwim onboard with an Arrow ſhot thro' his Arm.

The Loſs of his Men determin'd the Captain to ſteer away from that unhoſpitable Coaſt. But a violent Storm, which aroſe from the N. N. E. increaſed their Sorrows, and continued four Days and Nights; in which time their Ships had like to have run aſhore amongſt thoſe Cannibals: So that it was with great Difficulty they eſcap'd Shipwreck, and were detain'd in that hazardous Situation till the 11th; when the Wind veering to the W. N. W. they departed in their Way homewards. Capt. *Davis* arriv'd on the fourth of *October* at *Dartmouth*, in the *Moon-ſhine*, laden with 500 Seal-ſkins, 140 half Skins and Pieces. What became of the *Mermaid* does not appear. But *Henry Morgan*, who was on-board the *Sun-ſhine*, and was ſent in Company with the *North-ſtar* to diſcover the Paſſage between *Greenland* and *Iceland*, informs us, that the *North-ſtar* was loſt in a Storm, on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, in the Night of the third of *September*, and that he arrived ſafe at *Ratcliff* in the *Thames* in the *Sun-ſhine*, on the ſixth of *October*; who, ſpeaking of the Inhabitants of *Iceland*, where he landed on the ninth of *June*, ſays, "Their Commodities were green Fiſh, and *Iceland* Lings, and Stockfiſh, and a Fiſh which is called Scatefiſh; of all which they had great Store. They had alſo Kine, Sheep, and Horſes, and Hay for their Cattle, and for their Horſes. We ſaw alſo of their Dogs. Their Dwelling-houſes were made on both Sides with Stones, and Wood laid croſs over them, which was covered over with Turfs of Earth, and they are flat on the Tops, and many of theſe ſtood hard by the Shore. Their Boats were made with Wood and Iron all along the Keel, like our *Engliſh* Boats: and they had Nails for to nail them withal, and Fiſh-hooks and other Things to catch Fiſh, as we have here in *England*. They had alſo brazen Kettles, and Girdles and Purſes made of Leather, and Knobs on them of Copper, and Hatchets, and other ſmall Tools as neceſſary as we have. They dry their Fiſh in the Sun; and when they are dry, they pack them up in the Top of their Houſes. If we would go thither to fiſh more than we do, we ſhould make it a very good Voyage; for we got an hundred green Fiſh in one Morning. We found here two *Engliſhmen* with a Ship, which came out of *England* about *Eaſter-day* of this preſent Year 1586, and one of them came aboard of us, and brought us two Lambs. The *Engliſhman*'s Name was Mr. *John Roydon* of *Ipſwich*, Merchant; he was bound for *London* with his Ship. And this is the Sum of that which I obſerved in *Iceland*."

By a Letter wrote by Capt. *Davis*, ſoon after his Landing, to Mr. *William Sanderſon* of *London*, one of his Owners, and a mathematical Inſtrument-maker; he tells him, "that he had now gained much Experience of the North-weſt Part of the World; and had brought the Paſſage to that Likelihood, that he was aſſured it muſt be in one of four Places, or elſe not at all: And aſſures him, upon the Forfeiture of his Life, that the Voyage may be performed, not only without farther Charge, but with certain Profit to the Adventurers."

Which prevail'd with his Owners to fit him out with three ſmall Veſſels, the *Elizabeth* of *Dartmouth*, and the *Sun-ſhine*, and *Helen*, of *London*, on a third Voyage. With theſe *Davis* ſail'd on the 19th of *May*, 1587. and as two of theſe Veſſels were deſigned for fiſhing, and the third only for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, it is probable that *Davis* had aſſured his Adventurers of a certain Profit by fiſhing.

He came to an Anchor on the 18th of *June*, on the Northern Coaſt of *America*, and on the 20th was in 67°. 40′. Lat. in an open Sea; then ſteering W. 40 Leagues, and meeting with much Ice, and a North Wind driving him from his intended Northerly Courſe, he was forced again to ſeek the open Sea.

On the 20th of *July* he entered the Streight which he had diſcovered two Years before, and ſailed up it ſixty Leagues, as far as 73° N. Lat. and obſerved it to be forty Leagues wide; where not finding any thing, but what he had ſeen the Year before; and not able to proceed farther, becauſe of the Ice, he came out again to the wide Sea, and coaſted along to the Southward, as far as 52° Lat. from whence he returned homewards, and arrived at *Dartmouth*, the 15th of *September*, without doing any thing of Note: But ſo ſatisfied with the Diſcoveries he had made, that in a Letter to Mr. *Sanderſon*, the Day after his Return, he writes, "By God's Mercy I am returned in Health, with all my Company, and have ſailed 60 Leagues farther than I deſigned at my Departure. I have been in 73 Degrees, and found the Sea all open, with 40 Leagues between Land and Land. *The Paſſage is moſt probable,*

“ *the Execution eaſy*, as at our Meeting you ſhall more fully “ know, *&c.*”

The two Barks deſigned for fiſhing, were ſtation'd between 54 and 55 Degrees, and were ordered to ſet up Marks or Beacons on every Head-land where they came; but *Davis*, though he look'd out for ſeveral Days, on his Return, could ſee no Sign of them; and as we have no Account of their Arrival afterwards, it is probable that they were loſt.

The Recruits and Proviſions, with other Neceſſaries for the Settlement made in *America* under Mr. *Lane*, after ſeveral Delays, were at laſt provided, and put on-board four good Ships, not being yet informed of that Colony's embarking for *England* on-board Admiral *Drake*'s Fleet. Mr. *Raleigh* determined to venture in Perſon with this Supply; and juſtly apprehending the Danger of Delays, and the Diſcouragement it muſt be to a ſmall Body of Men to have Reaſon to think they were neglected, and left to the Mercy of the Savages, got his own Ship, of 100 Tons, ready for ſailing firſt; and it being, Ship and Cargo, entirely at his own Charge, he waited for no-body, and ſailed in *Eaſter* Week [a] for *America*, and arrived off Cape *Hattoraſh*, a little South of the Place of the *Engliſh* Settlement, a few Days after Mr. *Lane* and Company's Departure with Sir *Francis*. He having beat the Coaſt, and ranged the Shore, without gaining the leaſt Intelligence of them, returned with all Expedition to *England*.

About 14 Days after, Sir *Richard Cavendiſh*, with three Ships, came to anchor at the Place he had left the Settlers, in his former Voyage; but could gain no Tidings of them, further than Aſſurances from ſome friendly Natives, that they were not cut off by the *Indians*. Nevertheleſs, Sir *Richard* placed 50 more Recruits in the ſame Iſland of *Roannock*, built them convenient Habitations, and left them Proviſions for two Years. On his Return, this brave Commander landed at the *Azores*, and laded his Ships with the Plunder of their Towns.

This new Colony was much better regarded: for Mr. *Raleigh*, in the Summer [b] following, ſtrengthened them with an additional Number of 150 Men and Women; and by Charter incorporated them into a Body-politic, under the Name of the Governor and twelve Aſſiſtants of the City of *Raleigh* in *Virginia*, ſituated at *Cheſeapeck*. The Governor was Mr. *John White*, who convoyed this Company in three Ships, well ſtored with Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries. But on his Arrival at *Hattoraſh* and *Roannock*, he was informed by one *Manteo*, an *Indian* Chief, in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, that the Colony left there laſt Year had been ſurpriſed by the *Indians*, who had killed ſome, and that others had fled to other Parts of the Country for Safety.

This greatly diſcouraged the New-comers; and according to their Inſtructions ſhould have determined them upon an immediate Return to *England*. But they were at laſt prevailed upon by one of the Company to reſtore the Settlement; and they accordingly repaired the Houſes, and the Fort.

In the mean time Mr. *George How*, one of the Aſſiſtants, was ſurpriſed by the Savages, at a Diſtance from his Comrades, and firſt ſhot in ſixteen Places with Arrows, and then diſpatched with their Swords.

Captain *Stafford*, and 20 Men, conducted by *Manteo*, paſſed over to the Iſland of *Croatan*, inhabited by *Manteo*'s Friends, in queſt of the 50 *Engliſh*, who had been driven out of *Roannock*, the preceding Year. But all they could learn was, that the *Indians* of *Secotan*, *Aguaſcogoc*, and *Daſſamonpeack* firſt intruded themſelves among eleven of the *Engliſh* by Friendſhip, one of whom they treacherouſly killed, and the reſt retiring to their Fort, were burnt out, and forced with what Weapons came next to hand, to cut a Paſſage through their falſe Friends. That in this Conflict, one of the *Engliſh* was ſhot in the Mouth, and died, having firſt killed his Man; that ſeveral more were wounded on both Sides; but the *Engliſh* retiring to the Sea, got their Boat; and before they had rowed a Quarter of a Mile towards *Hattoraſh*, took up four of their Companions who were gathering Crabs and Oiſters: that they landed at a little Iſland, near *Hattoraſh*, where they remained a while; but they afterwards departed from thence, they knew not whither.

Manteo continued his Fidelity, and ſealing his Faith with a Submiſſion to the ſacred Ordinance of Baptiſm, he was chriſten'd [c], and at the ſame time dignified with the Title of Lord of *Daſſamonpeak*, an *Indian* Nation. He was the firſt Convert to *Chriſtianity* on that Coaſt; and on the 18th of *Auguſt* was born *Virginia*, the Daughter of Mr. *Ananias Dane*, by Governor *White*'s Daughter, the firſt Child of *Chriſtian* Parents in that Part of the World. Every thing went on now as well as could be wiſh'd; the *Indians* became more friendly, and entered into ſolemn Leagues with the Corporation, and the Settlers were ſo content with their Situation, that they earneſtly deſir'd their Governor to go to *England* in Perſon to ſolicit the Buſineſs of Supply and Recruits; and none of them being willing to exchange the Pleaſure and Advantages of their Settlement on-ſhore, for the Fatigues of a long and hazardous Voyage, they came to a Reſolution to caſt Lots who ſhould be drawn off for that Purpoſe. The Governor at laſt departed from *Roannock*, on the 27th of the ſame Month: But being firſt ſeparated from one Ship in a hard Gale off the Capes, and the other being ſo diſabled, as to oblige him to leave her in *Ireland*, he with much Difficulty reach'd *Cornwall* on the fifth of *November*; the Ship, which had parted from him off the Capes, having arriv'd firſt with the glad Tidings of the Colony's Succeſs.

Before we proceed with the Expedition made this Year againſt *Cadiz*, it will be proper to remark the Licence granted to *Olavus Wormæus*, a *Swede*, to carry Merchandiſe into *Spain*, in purſuance of that Merchant's Petition, who aſſigns this Reaſon for his Requeſt, *Becauſe he muſt of neceſſity paſs through the maritime Dominions of the Queen* [d]; which manifeſtly allowed her the Dominion or Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, agreeable to the like Petitions at ſeveral times from the King of *Sweden*, the King of *Denmark*, the *Hanſe-towns*, and other States and Potentates; as may be more particularly ſeen in *Selden*'s *Mare Clauſum* [e].

The certain Intelligence of the King of *Spain*'s naval Armament [f], and Preparations for an Invaſion [g], would not admit of a doubt concerning their Deſtination: wherefore it was reſolv'd by the Queen and her Council, not to wait for any Formalities of a Declaration of War, or Remonſtrances, Negociations, Mediations, and other modern Ceremonies, which, by keeping a Nation in Suſpence, and at the ſame Charge as if in actual War, impoveriſhes the People, and weakens the Hands of Government, before any Stroke is given to weaken, which is the moſt effectual Means of reducing an Enemy to reaſonable Terms; but to attack this perfidious Enemy at once and by a Surprize; it being equally a Breach of Peace and Amity to be making Diſpoſitions for the Annoyance of a State, as to attack it openly. Accordingly Sir *Francis Drake* was diſpatch'd with all convenient Speed with a Squadron of the royal Navy, and ſeveral large Ships of War fitted out by and at the ſole Expence of the City of *London*; in all to the Amount of 30 Sail of ſtout Ships, beſides Pinnaces to ſerve the Fleet, which together made them 40 [h]. His Inſtructions were, to ſail for the Coaſt of *Spain*, and to annoy the Enemy, and to diſable him from diſturbing the Peace and

[a] A. D. 1586.

[b] A. D. 1587.

[c] Auguſt 13th, 1587.

[d] M. S. in Bib. Cotton.

[e] See the Introduction to this Hiſtory, page iv, &c.

[f] Sir Francis Drake, among other Things, ſays, “ That the Spaniards had Proviſion of Bread and Wine ſufficient to “ maintain 40,000 Men a whole Year.”

[g] Diſcovered by Walſingham, in the following Manner: “ He had Intelligence from Madrid, “ that Philip had told his Council, he had diſpatched an Expreſs to Rome, with a Letter written with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him “ with the true Deſign of his Preparations, and aſking his Bleſſing upon it; which, for ſome Reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to them, till the Return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodged with the Pope, Walſingham, by the Means of a Venetian Prieſt, retained at Rome, as his “ Spy, got a Copy of the original Letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's Cabinet, by a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, who took the Keys “ out of the Pope's Pocket, while he ſlept.”

[h] According to Mr. Camden, there were no more than four Ships furniſhed by the Crown, viz. the Bonaventure, Admiral; the Lyon, commanded by Mr. William Borough, Comptroller of the Navy; the Dreadnought, Captain Thomas Fenner; and the Rainbow, Captain Henry Bellingham, and two Pinnaces. Sir William Monſon and Hackluit allow but 30 Ships; but Mr. Strype is poſitive that there were 40.

and Tranquillity of *England*, in ſuch manner as he ſhould be able, and ſaw moſt advantageous for the Service of his Queen and Country.

Sir *Francis* departed from *Plymouth-ſound* with this Fleet in the Beginning of *April*; and on the 16th, in Lat. 40°, gaining Intelligence by two Ships belonging to *Middleburg* from *Cadiz*, that in this Port lay ready for ſailing a prodigious Store of Proviſions and Ammunition to be ſent to *Liſbon*, where the *Spaniſh* chief Rendezvouſe had been appointed, he ſteered immediately for the Bay of *Cadiz*, if poſſible, to cut off that Power and Proviſion. Of which we have a very particular and authentic Account in a Letter from *Thomas Fenner*, Captain of the *Dreadnought*, publiſhed on that Occaſion, in the following Words:

“ An Hour before Sun-ſetting he entered the Harbour “ of *Cadiz*, and his Fleet; there checked with us at the “ entering thwart the Town ſix Gallies, but they in ſhort “ time retired under their Fortreſſes.

“ There were in the Road 60 Ships, and divers other “ ſmall Shipping under the Fortreſſes.

“ There fled ſome 20 *French* Ships to Port *Royal*, and “ ſome *Spaniards* which could not be hindered of the Flight “ by reaſon of the Shields.

“ There were ſunk by us at our coming in with Shot “ one Argozy of 1000 Tons, furniſhed with 30 Pieces of “ Braſs, and richly laden.

“ There were two Gallies more came preſently from “ Port *Royal*, and two other from Port *St. Mary*, but all “ in vain; the Expence of Powder and Shot the greateſt “ Gain to themſelves.

“ There were to the Number of 38 Ships undertaken “ before Night, and we being Victors of the Road, the “ Gallies retiring under the Fortreſs.

“ Twenty Hulks *Hollanders* confiſcated to the King, and “ their Goods ſold to the King's Uſe; 24 of them were “ fired, the other ſix were at Port *Royal*, laden with Wines “ and Bread, and to be preſently full laden for *Liſbon*.

“ One Carrack of 1400 Tons, appertaining to the Marquis of *St. Cruſe*, fired.

“ Five great Biſkeis fired, four of them lading and taking “ in of Victual for the King's Proviſion, for *Liſbon*, the “ fiſth a Ship of 1000 Tons, bound for *Liſbon*, having in “ her great Store of Pipes, much Iron, Nails, Spikes, “ Iron-hoops, and ſuch like, fired.

“ One Shattey laden with Wines, of 250 Tons, for the “ King's Proviſion, which we brought to Sea with us, and “ diſcharged at Sea part of her Wines for the Proviſion “ of the Fleet, and then fired her.

“ Three Fly-boats of about 400 Tons, laden with Biſcuit, whereof the one being of 200 Tons, and upwards, “ we half unladed in the Harbour, and fired her, the other “ two are yet with us in Company.

“ Some ten Barks more laden with Wines, Raiſins, “ Figs, Oil, Wheat, and ſuch like, fired.

“ By Suppoſition 38 Ships and Barks fired, ſunk and “ brought away with us, amounting in Judgment to 13000 “ Tons of ſhipping.

“ There rid in ſight of us at Port *Royal* by Eſtimation above 40 Sails, beſides thoſe that fled from *Cadiz* “ Road.

“ They gave us little Eaſe during our Abode there, “ with their Shot from the Gallies, as alſo from the Fortreſſes, and from the Shore, where continually they planted “ new Ordnance at all Places convenient to offend, notwithſtanding their Ships were continually fired as the “ Flood came, thereby to be cleared of them, which terrible Fires were pleaſant unto us to behold, and mitigated the continual Burthen of travel which lay upon us “ Day and Night, in diſcharging, firing, and unloading “ ſuch Proviſions, with Obſervations for good and guardable Defence for the Enemy.

“ It pleaſed God by the General's great Care and Pains “ Day and Night, to finiſh this happy Action in her Majeſty's Service in one Day and two Nights, and came “ forth again the *Friday* in the Morning, with very little “ Loſs, Thanks be to God.

“ Of 12 Gallies, and thoſe that came from Port *Royal* “ and Port *St. Mary*, 10 of them came forth after us, as “ it were to make ſome Paſtime with their great Ordnance; “ at length the Wind ſcanting, we caſt about again, and “ ſtood in for the Shore, and came to an Anchor within “ a League of *Cadiz*, where their Gallies ſuffered us to “ ride quietly.

“ There were alſo three Fly-boats more at *Mallego*, laden “ with Biſcuit, bound for *Cadiz*, and ſo for *Liſbon*; we “ underſtand of great Proviſions and Forces provided “ within the Streights, we doubt not but as God hath “ begun this Work in great Happineſs, to the daunting “ of the Enemy, ſo God will bleſs this Army in cutting “ daily their Forces ſhorter, to the great Annoyance of “ the Enemy, and to the Honour of our Prince and “ Country.

“ We now have had the Experience of Galley-fights, “ wherein I can aſſure you, that theſe only four of her “ Majeſty's Ships, will make no account of 20 Gallies, ſo “ as they were alone, and not driven to guard others.

“ There were never Gallies had Place fitter for their “ Advantage in fight upon Shot, they had preſent Succour “ to ground under the Town, which they ſundry times “ did, we riding in a narrow Gut, the Place yielding no “ better, in that we were driven to maintain the ſame until “ we had diſcharged and fired the Ships, which could not “ conveniently be done but upon the Flood, thereby that “ they might drive clear of us.

“ We reſt now victualed with Bread and Drink for ſix “ Months in our Ships, and Bread beſides in two Fly-boats “ to maintain a good Army three Months.

“ It may ſeem ſtrange, or rather miraculous, that ſo “ great an Exploit ſhould be performed with ſo ſmall Loſs, “ conſidering the Place ſo convenient, and their Force ſo “ great, as well appeared, from whom were ſhot at the “ leaſt at us 2000 Culverin and Cannon-ſhot; but in this, “ as in all other our Actions heretofore (although dangerouſly attempted, yet moſt fortunately performed) our “ God will, and hath always made his infinite Power to “ all Papiſts apparent, and his Name by us his Servants, “ under our bleſſed Prince (whoſe Life the Lord prolong) “ to be continually glorified.

“ *Your loving Couſin*,

“ THOMAS FENNER.

“ *P. S.* And thus having ſet down our full Action hitherunto performed, as a Beginning or Entrance into “ greater Matters, although this being weighed, conſidering the Quantity of Victual provided, the Diſappointment of the ſame, the infinite Loſs in Goods (beſides “ his Shippings) I can by no means rate it at leſs than *one* “ *hundred thouſand Pounds* in Spoil. This, I ſay, conſidered, may be thought an honourable Piece of Service, “ the Honour whereof we attribute to the Giver of all “ Victories, whoſe Name be praiſed; and the Credit to “ our General, whoſe Travel and Pains being ſo great, “ cannot be rewarded with too much Praiſe: His Due I “ wiſh him, *nam operarius mercedem meruit*.”

From hence the Admiral return'd on the 21ſt to Cape *St. Vincent*, or Cape *Suker*, where he ordered his Men to land; and to prevent their being interrupted in getting freſh Water, or his Ships annoy'd, as they lay at Anchor, he, as we read in his Letter dated *May* 21. landed; “ And the better to have the Benefit of the Water, as alſo to ride in Harbour at our Pleaſure, we aſſaulted the ſame Caſtle and three other ſtrong Holds, which we took, ſome by Force, and ſome by Submiſſion.”

“ We have taken at ſeveral times of Shipping, Barks and Carvels above an hundred, laden with Hoops, Gally-oars, Pipe-ſtaves, Timber, and other Proviſions of the King of *Spain*'s, for the furniſhing of his Forces intended againſt *England*, which we burned, and have conſumed all the Fiſhing-boats and Nets thereabouts, to their great Hinderance.”

“ Thence we came before the Haven of *Liſbon*, anchoring near unto *Caſt Cales*, where the Marquis of *S. Cruſe* was with his Gallies; and ſeeing us chaſe his Ships aſhore, to take and carry away his Barks and Carvels, was content to ſuffer us there quietly to tarry and likewiſe to depart, and never charged us with one Cannon-ſhot.”

As this Expedition was chiefly carried into Execution at the Expence of the Merchants of *London*, the Admiral was not content with the Deſolation made on the Coaſt of *Spain*; but look'd upon it, that he was in honour bound to ſail in queſt of ſome Prize, which might reimburſe the Adventurers. Therefore he ſteered his Courſe from *Caſcais*, towards the Iſlands of the *Azores*; and near the Iſland of *St. Michael* took a large *Spaniſh* Carrack, called the *St. Philip*, bound homewards from the *Eaſt-Indies*, richly laden, on-board of which were taken ſuch Papers, as gave the Merchants ſuch a clear Account of the rich Value of the *Indian* Merchandiſes, and the Manner of trading into the Eaſtern World, that they afterwards ſet up a gainful Trade and Traffick, and eſtabliſhed an *Eaſt-India* Company.

The King of *Spain*, on his Part, was ſo diſtreſs'd by the Loſs of the Proviſions and Stores at *Cadiz*, and the Taking of the Galleons and the Carrack, &c. that he was obliged to defer, at leaſt for this Year, his projected Expedition againſt *England*. A Maſter-piece of Policy of that great Stateſman *Walſingham*, did not a little contribute to this Delay. This wiſe Miniſter had not ſo mean an Opinion of the Merchants of *London*, but that he employed them, and they were the happy Inſtruments of executing what he had projected: For, by their Means, he got all the *Spaniſh* Bills, which were to ſupply the King with Money to carry on his Preparations, proteſted at *Genoa*.

While the *Engliſh* arm'd Veſſels were cruizing upon the Coaſts of *Old Spain*, and diſtreſſing its Trade and Navigation in *Europe*, *Thomas Cavendiſh*, Eſq; was commiſſion'd to do the like on the Coaſts of *New Spain*, and to ſcour the *South-Seas* with three Ships; the *Deſire* of 120 Tons; the *Content* of 60 Tons; and the *Hugh Gallant* of 40 Tons, with 123 Men, well provided for a Voyage of two Years, at his own Charge.

Mr. *Cavendiſh* commanded this little Squadron in Character of Admiral, and ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 21ſt of *July*, 1586, with Letters of Marque and Reprizals; and with a proſperous Courſe arriv'd off *Sierra Leona*, on the 25th of *Auguſt*, where they water'd, and had one of their Men kill'd by a poiſon'd Arrow; for which the Admiral order'd his Men to burn one of the Negroe-towns. From hence they ſail'd for the Coaſt of *Brazil*, touching at the *Cape Verd Iſlands*, and arriv'd, on the laſt Day of *October* about 24 Leagues from Cape *Trio* in *Brazil*, where they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round Top, ſtanding aloft like a little Town. On the 1ſt of *November* they went in between the Iſland of *St. Sebaſtian* and the main Land, in 24° S. Lat. where having built a Pinnace, and repaired what was out of Order, they proceeded on the 23d, and on the 26th fell in with the Coaſt of *America*, in 47° S. Lat. and ran along Shore till they came to 48° Deg. where they found a Harbour, to which the Admiral gave the Name of Port *Deſire*; whoſe Inhabitants were perfect Savages, of a gigantic Stature (one of their Feet meaſuring 18 Inches in Length;) but finding it a convenient Place for that Purpoſe, the Admiral ſtaid here to careen his Ships, and repair what was neceſſary, before he ſailed for the Streight; for which they departed out of Port *Deſire* on the 28th of *December*, and the 30th came to a Rock lying about five Leagues from Land. The 2d of *January*, 1587, they fell in with a great white Cape; on the 3d with another, in 52°. 45′, from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the Opening of the *Magellanic* Streight; and here, the Weather being very ſtormy, and continuing ſo for three Days together, they remained all that while, and loſt an Anchor in the Storm. They enter'd the Streight on the 6th, and on the 7th took up a *Spaniard*, named *Harnando*, and 23 more, two of whom were Women, and who were all that remained of 400, left there three Years before, to guard the Streight; theſe *Spaniards* ſhewed them the Hull of a ſmall Bark, ſuppoſed to be the *John Thomas*, left there by *Drake*; and on the 8th they anchored at *Penguin* Iſland, where they killed and ſalted great Store of Penguins, but ſtaid no longer than next Day; for on the 9th they left this Iſland, and ſailed S. S. W. to King *Philip*'s City, built by the *Spaniards*, where they found four caſt Guns, which theſe *Spaniards* had buried, before they left it. This City had four Forts, and ſeveral Churches, but was deſerted; and miſerable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there for the Space of two Years, having wanted even the moſt common Supports of Nature, and frequently attacked by the *Indians*. *Cavendiſh* named this *Port Famine*; and having wooded and watered there, departed on the 14th, and put into a Bay, which he called *Muſcle-cove*, from the great Store of Muſcles they found therein. On the 21ſt they ſailed from hence, and came into a fair ſandy Bay, which the Admiral called *Elizabeth*'s Bay; about two Leagues from which they found a good River; but the Inhabitants on the Banks of it were Cannibals, who had devoured many of the *Spaniards*, and did what they could to allure the *Engliſh* higher up the River; but they anſwered them with their Fire-arms, and killed ſeveral of them. From hence they ſailed to *St. Jerom*'s Channel, which was two Leagues off, and ſo forward to a Harbour, where ſtormy Weather, and immoderate Rains obliged them to lie till the 23d of *February*.

On the 24th they entered the *South-Sea*, where, on the 1ſt of *March*, in a Storm at Night, they loſt Company of the *Hugh-Gallant*, which having ſprung a Leak in the Storm, and ready every Moment to ſink, was by the extraordinary Labour of her Men kept ſwimming till the 15th, when, between the Iſland of *St. Mary* and the Continent of *Chili*, they fell in again with the Admiral and the *Content*, which two Ships had in the mean time diſcovered the Iſland of *La Mocha*, in 38° S. Lat. where ſome of the Company going on-ſhore, had met with a warm Reception from the *Indians* of *Aranco*, a golden Region, which had never been conquered by the *Spaniards*. But on the 16th, the Admiral, with 70 or 80 of his Men, landing on the Iſland of *St. Mary*, was met by two Chiefs of the *Indians*, who taking them for *Spaniards*, under whom they live in a ſlaviſh Subjection, conducted them to a Chapel, ſurrounded by ſeveral Store-houſes, filled with Wheat and Barley, with which the *Engliſh* made pretty free, and laid in, beſides, ſtore of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, *Guinea*-wheat, and 500 dried Dog-fiſhes; and the Admiral inviting the two *Indians* on-board, they having drunk plentifully, and perceiving they were not among *Spaniards*, began to be free, and to talk largely of the Gold-mines, telling them if they would go acroſs the Country to *Aranco*, they ſhould get as much Gold as they cared for.

The Admiral did not think fit to accept of the Invitation at this time; and leaving this Place on the 18th, anchored under an Iſland called the *Conception* on the 19th, and on the 30th came into the Bay of *Quintero*, in 33°. 50′. S. Lat. A Company of 50 or 60 of them, well armed, marched next Day ſeven or eight Miles into the Country, where they ſaw vaſt Herds of wild Cattle, and ſeveral fine Rivers well ſtocked with wild Fowl, and a Party of 200 *Spaniſh* Horſe, ſent to ſurpriſe them; but they had not the Courage to attack them, till the next Day, the 1ſt of *April*, when a few of the *Engliſh* being on-ſhore filling Water, they poured down upon them from the Mountains with 200 Horſe, killed ſome few, and took a ſmall Number of Priſoners; but the *Engliſh* being relieved by 15 freſh Men, reſcued the Priſoners, and routed the *Spaniards*, of whom they killed 24, with the Loſs of 12 Men killed on their Side.

After this they let them lie quietly till the 5th, when they ſet Sail; and on the 15th they came to *Moro Moreno*, in 23°; and on the 3d of *May* into a Bay, where they found three little Towns, called *Paracca*, *Chincha* and *Piſca*, the latter of which lies in 13°. 30′. S. Lat. Here they landed, and furniſhed themſelves with ſeveral ſorts of Proviſions; and made themſelves Maſters of two rich Ships, of which one alone was valued at 20,000 *l*; they took out the moſt valuable Goods, and then ſet fire to them, and ſet the People on-ſhore. On the 26th they came into the Road of *Paita*, pillaged and burnt the Town, alſo a Bark which lay in the Road, and drove the Inhabitants to the Mountains, where they ſeized and carried off 25 Pound Weight of Rials of Plate, and a large Quantity of all ſorts of Merchandiſe, Houſhold-goods and Apparel.

They arrived at the Iſland of *Puna*, in 1°. S. Lat. a Place famous for making Cables; and in the Harbour found a Ship of 250 Tons, which they ſunk, and then went on-ſhore. The Lord of this Iſland, called a *Cacique*, an *Indian*, married to a *Spaniſh* Woman, and turned Chriſtian, had ſecured whatever he had of Value in a little adjoining Iſland; which being made known to the Admiral, he went on the 29th, found a Treaſure valued at 100,000 Crowns, and conveyed it to the Ships.

Then returning to the Town, they burnt the Church, having firſt plunder'd it of all its Valuables, and five Bells; haul'd the Admiral's Ship a-ground, and clean'd her Bottom. In the mean time the *Engliſh* had placed a Guard in a great Houſe on-ſhore, to prevent a Surprize, being inform'd of a Garriſon of *Spaniſh* Soldiers within a few Leagues of this Place; which Precaution prov'd of great Service; for on the ſecond of *June*, the Ship very fortunately being haul'd again on-flote, a Party of 100 *Spaniards* landed in the Night on the other Side of the Iſland, join'd by all the *Indians* of the Iſland, and animated by a *Negro*, who had deſerted the *Engliſh* Service, on their firſt Arrival, came down upon the Guard-houſe, at a time all the Men, except about twenty, were gone a moroding for Poultry, and other freſh Proviſions. In this Juncture, had not the few remaining in the Houſe, made a reſolute Stand, it is more than probable that the *Spaniards* would have been able to cut off all Retreat to their Ships. But theſe kept them in Play a full Hour and half; and after they were driven from the Houſe, maintain'd a running Skirmiſh, till they gain'd the Shore, and were taken up by their Boat. In this Encounter they loſt twelve Men, five of them ſlain in Battle, one ſhot by his own Piece, which diſcharg'd as he lean'd upon it to leap into the Boat, one was burnt, two drown'd, and three made Priſoners. The Enemy had 46 ſlain, and many wounded.

The Adventurers, enrag'd by this Treatment, would not put up with it; and prevailing with the Admiral to let them go aſhore, 70 of them, that ſame Day, completely arm'd, landed and purſued the *Spaniſh* Forces and *Indian* Auxiliaries, into the chief Town on the Iſland of *Puna*, conſiſting of 300 Houſes, which they laid in Aſhes, burnt four great Ships on the Stocks, and deſtroy'd their Fields, Orchards and Gardens.

But this Treatment forwarded their Departure; wherefore they, next Day, hall'd the *Content* a-ground, and having grav'd her, and refitted the Pinnace, in ſpite of the *Spaniards*, weigh'd Anchor and departed out of the Road of *Puna* on the fifth of *June*, for *Rio Dolce*, to take in freſh Water; and where, having muſter'd their Men, and finding them inſufficient to navigate all their Veſſels, it was reſolv'd to ſink the *Hugh Gallant*.

On the firſt of *July*, they got the firſt Sight of the Coaſt of *New Spain*, in Lat. 10° N. of the Line, ſtanding about four Leagues from the Shore. They coaſted along this new World till the ninth, before they met with any thing worthy of Obſervation, on which Day they took a new Ship of 120 Tons; which, after taking all her Ropes, Sails and Stores on-board their own Ships, they ſet her a-fire. Among the Priſoners was found one *Michael Sancius*, a Provenſal, born at *Marſeilles*, and reputed one of the beſt Pilots in the *South Seas*. The Admiral prevail'd with him to conduct his Squadron to the Places of moſt Conſideration; and by his Advice purſued a Bark, which was diſpatched with Notice of the Arrival of the *Engliſh*, to the different Governments on the Coaſt. They came up with and took this Bark next Day, which had run aſhore, and all her Men eſcap'd. Having ſet the Bark a-fire, they proceeded in queſt of the great Ship, the *Sta. Anna*, expected in thoſe Seas from the *Philippine* Iſlands, by the Advice alſo of the Pilot *Sancius*; ſteering for the Port of *Aquapulco*, in 15° 40' N. Lat. near which they arriv'd on the 27th, and in the Morning, by Break of Day, ſent the Pinnace with thirty Men into the Road of *Aquapulco*.

They found in this Road a Bark of 50 Tons, which had landed a Cargo of *Cocaos* and *Anile* from *Sonſonate*, and upon their Approach was deſerted by all the Men. "Here, ſays Mr. *Francis Pretty*, who was preſent, we landed, and burnt their Town, with the Church and Cuſtom-houſe, which was very fair and large; in which Houſe were 600 Bags of Anile to dye Cloth, every Bag whereof was worth 40 Crowns; and 400 Bags of Cacaos, every Bag whereof was worth ten Crowns. Theſe Cacaos go among them for Meat and Money; for 150 of them are in Value one Rial of Plate in ready Payment; they are very like unto an Almond, but are nothing ſo pleaſant in Taſte; they eat them, and make Drink of them. This the Owner of the Ship told us. I found in this Town before we burnt it, a Flaſket full of Boxes of Balm. After we had ſpoiled and burnt the Town, wherein there were ſome hundred Houſes, the Owner of the Ship came down out of the Hills with a Flag of Truce unto us, which before with the reſt of all the Townſmen was run away at our firſt coming; and at length came aboard our Pinnace, upon Captain *Haver*'s Word of ſafe Return. We carried him to the River of *Copalita*, where our Ships rode; and when he came to our General, he cauſed him to be ſet on-ſhore in Safety the ſame Night, becauſe he came upon the Captain's Word."

On the 28th they ſailed for *Aquapulco*, and ran into it that ſame Night. Next Day the General, with 30 Men, marched two Miles into the Woods, where they ſurpriſed the Cuſtomer of the Town, who had fled thither for Safety, and found ſome valuable Goods in his Poſſeſſion. Departing from hence on the 2d of *Auguſt*, well watered, they beat about till the 24th of the ſaid Month; when, by the Advice of the Pilot *Sancius*, they peeped into the Port of *Natividade*, expecting to find a Pinnace laden with Pearl, but it was ſailed; and they found by Letters taken upon a *Mulatto*, ſurpriſed in his Bed, and ſent to alarm the Coaſt of *New Galicia*, that there was little to be expected in that Quarter; ſo ſetting Fire to the Houſes, and to two Ships of 200 Tons each, building in that Port, they ſteered for the Bay of *St. Jago*, in 19° 18' N. Lat. for Water; where they arrived in two Days, and dragged with Succeſs for Pearls. But on the 2d of *September* it was reſolved to return into the Neighbourhood of *Trinidade*, to a Bay named *Malacca*, where the General landed with 30 Men, and marching to an *Indian* Town, ſituate two Miles from the Road, frightened the People out, and burnt their Houſes and Church.

From hence they coaſted along to the Road of *Chaccalla*, about 18 Leagues from *Cape Corrientes*, where they got a good Supply of Plantanes, Lemons, Oranges, Pine-apples, and abundance of other fine Fruits; and took a *Spaniſh* Carpenter, and one *Diego* a *Portugueſe*, whom they brought aboard. This was on the 9th of *September*; and on the 12th they arrived off the little Iſland of *St. Andrew*, where they found good ſtore of Wood, Fowl, and other Viands; particularly Seals, and thoſe four-footed Serpents called *Iquanos*, which have a long ſharp Tail, very ugly, but very good Meat. Departing from hence on the 17th, they arrived in the Road of *Maſſaltan*, in 23° $\frac{1}{2}$, juſt under the Tropic of *Cancer*; but not finding it ſo convenient as expected for trimming their Ships, and new-building their Pinnace, they on the 27th ran to an adjacent Iſland, about one League Northward, did their Buſineſs, and being in great Want of freſh Water, found a ſufficient Supply by digging a Well on the Shore.

On the 9th of *October* they departed from hence to *Cape St. Lucar*, which is on the Weſt-ſide of the Point of *California*, and very much reſembles the *Needles* at the Iſle of *Wight*. They cruized off this Cape for the *Anna*, according to the Advice of *Sancius*, and on the 4th of *November* gained Sight of her from the Maſt-head. The General gave immediate Orders for Chace, and to prepare for engaging of her; and after four Hours came up with her, gave her a Broad-ſide, and a Volley of ſmall Shot, and boarded her; but not without great Difficulty, as may be gathered from the Deſcription thereof by Mr. *Pretty*. "Now, ſays he, as we were ready on their Ship's ſide to enter her, being not paſt 50 or 60 Men at the uttermoſt in our Ship, we perceived that the Captain of the ſaid Ship had made Fights fore and after, and laid their Sails cloſe on their Poop, their Mid-ſhip, with their Fore-caſtle; and having not one Man to be ſeen, ſtood cloſe under their Fights, with Lances, Javelins, Rapiers, and Targets, and an innumerable ſort of great Stones, which they threw over-board upon our Heads, and into our Ship ſo faſt, and being ſo many of them, that they put

“ us off the Ship again, with the Loſs two of our Men, which were ſlain, and with the hurting of four or five. But for all this we new-trimmed our Sails, and fitted every Man his Furniture, and gave them a freſh Encounter with our great Ordnance, and alſo with our ſmall Shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their Men. Their Captain ſtill like a valiant Man, with his Company, ſtood very ſtoutly unto his cloſe Fights, not yielding as yet. Our General encouraging his Men a-freſh with the whole Noiſe of Trumpets, gave them the third Encounter with our great Ordnance, and all our ſmall Shot, to the great diſcomforting of our Enemies, raking them through in divers Places, killing and ſpoiling many of their Men. They being thus diſcomforted and ſpoiled, and their Ship being in hazard of ſinking, by reaſon of the great Shot which were made, whereof ſome were under Water, within five or ſix Hours Fight ſet out a Flag of Truce, and parled for Mercy, deſiring our General to ſave their Lives, and to take their Goods, and that they would preſently yield. Our General of his Goodneſs promiſed them Mercy, and willed them to ſtrike their Sails, and to hoiſe out their Boat, and to come aboard; which News they were full glad to hear of, and preſently ſtruck their Sails, hoiſed their Boat out, and one of their chief Merchants came aboard unto our General; and falling down upon his Knees, offered to have kiſſed our General's Feet, and craved Mercy; our General moſt graciouſly pardoned both him and the reſt, upon Promiſe of their true Dealing with him and his Company, concerning ſuch Riches as were in the Ship; and ſent for the Captain and their Pilot, who at their coming uſed the like Duty and Reverence as the former did. The General of his great Mercy and Humanity, promiſed their Lives, and good Uſage. The ſaid Captain and Pilot preſently certified the General what Goods they had within board, *to wit*, 122,000 Pezoes of Gold; and the reſt of the Riches that the Ship was laden with, was in Silks, Sattins, Damaſks, with Muſk, and divers other Merchandiſe, and great ſtore of all manner of Victuals, with the Choice of many Conſerves of all ſorts for to eat, and of ſundry ſorts of very good Wines. Theſe Things being made known to the General by the aforeſaid Captain and Pilot, they were commanded to ſtay aboard the *Deſire*, and on the 6th Day of *November* following we went into an Harbour, which is called by the *Spaniards Aguada Segura*, or *Puerto Seguro.*

“ Here the whole Company of the *Spaniards*, both of Men and Women, to the Number of 190 Perſons, were ſet on-ſhore; where they had a fair River of freſh Water, with great ſtore of freſh Fiſh, Fowl, and Wood, and alſo many Hares and Conies upon the main Land. Our General alſo gave them great ſtore of Victuals, of Garuanſos, Peaſon, and ſome Wine. Alſo they had all the Sails of their Ship to make them Tents on-ſhore, with Licence to take ſuch ſtore of Planks as ſhould be ſufficient to make them a Bark. Then we fell to hoiſing in of our Goods, ſharing of the Treaſure, and allotting to every Man his Portion. In Diviſion whereof the 8th of this Month, many of the Company fell into a Mutiny againſt our General, eſpecially thoſe which were in the *Content*, which nevertheleſs were after a ſort pacified for the time.

“ This ended, our General diſcharged the Captain, gave him a royal Reward, with Proviſion for his Defence againſt the *Indians*, and his Company, both of Swords, Targets, Pieces, Shot and Powder, to his great Contentment; but before his Departure, he took out of this great Ship two young Lads born in *Japon*, which could both write and read their own Language, the eldeſt being about 20 Years old, was named *Chriſtopher*, the other was called *Coſmus*, about 17 Years of Age, both of very good Capacity; he alſo took with him out of their Ship, three Boys born in the Iſles of *Manila*, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the youngeſt about 9 Years old; the Name of the eldeſt was *Alphonſo*, the ſecond *Anthony de Daſi*; he alſo took from them one *Nicholas Roderigo*, a *Portugal*, who had not only been in *Canton*, and other Parts of *China*, but alſo in the Iſlands of *Japon*, being a Country moſt rich in Silver-mines, and had alſo been in the *Phillipines*.

“ He alſo took from them a *Spaniard*, whoſe Name was *Thomas de Erſola*, which was a very good Pilot from *Acapulco* and the Coaſt of *Nueva Eſpanna* unto the Iſlands of *Ladrones*, where the *Spaniards* do put in to water, ſailing between *Acapulco* and the *Phillipines*. The 19th Day of *November* aforeſaid, about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, our General cauſed the King's Ship to be ſet on-fire, which having to the Quantity of 500 Tons of Goods in her, we ſaw burnt unto the Water, and then gave them a Piece of Ordnance, and ſet Sail joyfully homewards towards *England*, with a fair Wind, which by this time was come about to E. N. E. and Night growing near, we left the *Content* aſtern of us, which was not as yet come out of the Road; and here thinking ſhe would have overtaken us, we loſt her Company, and never ſaw her after.”

However, purſuing their own Voyage, they directed their Courſe to the Iſlands *Ladrones*, which are diſtant from this Haven of *Aguada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues. And this took them up 45 Days, *viz.* from *November* 19, to *January* 3. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had ſight of one of the Iſlands *Ladrones*, called *Guam*, which lies in 13° 40′ North Latitude; and, ſailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within two Leagues of the Iſland: Here they ſaw 60 or 70 Canoes full of Savages, that brought Cocoas, Plantanes, Potatoes, and freſh Fiſh, to exchange for ſome of their Commodities. They gave them ſome Pieces of old Iron, which they hung on upon ſmall Cords and Fiſhing-lines, and ſo let it vere to the Canoes; and, by the ſame Method, they got back to their own Ship what the Savages offered in exchange. After the Traffick was ended, they came crouding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thruſt in ſo cloſe, ſome of them, that the Ship broke two of their Canoes, though the Savages themſelves were none of them drowned, the Water being almoſt as natural to them, as to the Fiſhes that live there: And ſo they continued following the Ship, and would not leave the Company of it, till the Harquebuſſes were diſcharged at them, though 'tis ten to one if they killed any of them; for, they are ſo very nimble, that they drop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the Reach of all Danger, upon the leaſt Warning in the World. They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wear their Hair mighty long for the moſt part; though ſome have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that ſtand at the Head of their Canoes. Theſe Canoes were very artificially made, conſidering that no edged Tool was uſed about them; they are about ſeven or eight Yards in Length, and half a Yard in Breadth, and their Heads and Sterns were both alike: They are made with Rafts of Canes and Reeds on the Starboard-ſide, and have both Maſts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either ſquare or triangular. They have this excellent Property, that they will ſail as well againſt as before the Wind.

January 14, by Break of Day, they fell in with a Headland of the *Philippine* Iſlands, called *Caba del Spirito Santo.* The Iſland itſelf is large, high in the Middle, and depreſſed to the Eaſt and Weſt Parts, and running a great way into the Sea Weſtward: It lies in 30° North Latitude, and it is diſtant from *Guam* 110 Leagues, and about ſixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a woody Iſland, and its Inhabitants are moſtly Heathens. They ſpent eleven Days ſaling to this Place from *Guam*, having ſome foul Weather, and ſcarce bearing any Sail at all for two or three Nights. *Manilla* is inhabited by *Spaniards*, who live there to the Number of ſix or ſeven hundred Perſons. It is an unwalled Town, and of no great Strength, though it has vaſt Riches in Gold, and ſeveral good Commodities; it has a conſtant yearly Correſpondence with *Acapulco*, in *Nueva Eſpanna*, beſides twenty or thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sangueloes*, which is very profitable. Theſe *Sangueloes* are *Chineſe* Merchants, very ſharp and ſenſible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandiſe, extremely ingenious in mechanical Contrivances, and the moſt expert Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World;

they work any Form of Beaſt, or Fowl, or Fiſh, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the juſt Proportion and Colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter can do, or Nature herſelf beſtows on the living Original: And 'tis plain, that theſe Men muſt bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, ſince they made no more of Gold than they did; for, as they brought great Quantities of that precious Metal along with them, ſo they exchanged it there Weight for Weight for Silver.

The ſame 14th Day in the Evening they entered the Streights, between the Iſland *Lucon*, and the Iſland of *Cambaia*. The 15th, they fell in with the Iſland of *Capul*, paſſing a very narrow Streight between that Iſland and another, in which the Tide was conſiderably great, and a Ledge of Rocks lay on one Side them off the Point of *Capul*, but they paſſed without Danger. Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in four Fathom Water, within a Cable's Length of the Shore. About ten in the Morning they came to Anchor, and preſently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the ſeven chief *Caſiques* of the Iſland; they paſſed for *Spaniards* with theſe People, who, according to their uſual Way of trading with them, came and brought their Cocoas and Potatoe-roots to the *Engliſh* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linnen-cloth for four Cocoas, and as much for about a Quart of Potatoes, which, in that Iſland, are very ſweet and excellent Meat, either roaſted or boiled. The *Caſique* that came aboard them had his Skin ſtreaked, and painted full of very ſtrange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and deſired him to ſend ſome of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other ſix Brother *Caſiques* to the Ship too. The *Caſiques* very quickly came according to their Requeſt, and with them a large Train of the People of the Iſland, who brought vaſt Numbers of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of Cocoas and Potatoes; and now the *Engliſh* had nothing elſe to do for all that Day but to deal with theſe People, who ſold to them juſt as they did to the *Spaniards*, *viz.* eight Rials of Plate for a Hog, and one for a Hen. Here a juſt Execution was performed upon a *Spaniſh* Pilot taken in the great *St. Anne*, who had plotted to betray them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for which he was hanged.

They lay about this Iſland of *Capul* for about nine Days, being all the while well furniſhed with freſh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Iſland are all *Pagans*, and are ſaid both to worſhip and converſe with the Devil; they go almoſt naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a ſquare Piece of Linnen, woven out of Plantane-leaves, about their Waiſts, and another coming down their Backs, and ſo under the Twiſt, which is faſtened to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumciſion is in Practice here amongſt them; beſides which, the Males undergo another Operation, which is far from being common, and hardly practiſed any-where elſe, except in *Pegu*. They make a Perforation quite through the Glans of the Penis with a Nail of Tin ſplit in the lower End, and riveted, which they order ſo as to take out, and put in again, as they have Occaſion. They invented this for a Prevention of a certain unnatural Crime, which the Men of the Iſland were it ſeems horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women, who laid the Caſe before the Magiſtrates, and obtained this Remedy. On the 23d, the Admiral ſummoned all the *Caſiques* of this Iſland, and of one Hundred more, (which had paid him Tribute) to appear before him; and here he diſcovered himſelf, and his Company, to them, telling them, that they were *Engliſh*, and the greateſt Enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the ſame time he generouſly gave them back in Money the Value of all the Tribute he had received, and which was paid by them in Hogs, Cocoas, Potatoes, and the like. This unexpected Favour of the Admiral ſurpriſed the whole Aſſembly of *Caſiques*; they admired his Bounty and Generoſity, and engaged to aſſiſt him with all the Forces of their reſpective Dominions, whenever he would begin a War with the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts; and ſo, no leſs pleaſed with finding them to be *Engliſh*, than with the Kindneſs they had received from them, having rowed about the Ship a while with their Canoes to give them ſome Diverſion, they took Leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

June 24. They ſet ſail, and ran along the Coaſt of *Manilla*, ſteering North-weſt between that Iſland and the Iſland *Maſbat*; and, in the Iſlands thereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a ſtrict Watch, making great Fires, and diſcharging their Pieces all Night long, having taken the Alarm of their Coming. The Iſland *Panama* is a plain level Country in many Places, affording very fair and ſtrait Trees for the making Ship-maſts, and, beſides, ſeveral Mines of very fine Gold, which are in Cuſtody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Iſland of *Negroes*, a very large Iſland, almoſt as big as *England*, and in 9° North Latitude. It appeared to be the moſt Part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own entire Maſters. *June* 29. at ſix in the Morning, they ſet ſail, paſſing through the Streight between *Panama* and *Negro* Iſland, when, having made about ſixteen Leagues, they found a fair Opening in the Streight, tending South-weſt and by South; about this time their Boat, which they had ſent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral ſent a *Spaniſh* Priſoner aſhore, with a Meſſage to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Meſſage was to this Effect: that he ſhould be ſure to provide good Store of Gold againſt the Admiral came that Way again; for he intended to make him a Viſit at *Manilla*, which, being a long Voyage, would deſerve good Entertainment; and farther, that he had certainly come now and weigh'd ſome of his golden Bags in an *Engliſh* Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to land his Men upon the Iſland. *February* 8, they ſaw in the Morning the Iſland *Batochina*, which lies near *Gilolo*, and is in 1° North Latitude. The 14th, they fell in with eleven or twelve ſmall Iſlands, flat and low, and almoſt quite ſunk into the Sea; they lie near the *Moluccas*, and are in 3° 10 South Latitude.

Having paſſed the Streights of *Java Major* and *Minor*, they anchored, on the 1ſt of *March*, under the S. W. Parts of *Java Major*, where they ſaw ſome People fiſhing in a Bay under the Iſland; the Admiral ſent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro, that could ſpeak the *Moreſco* Tongue, which is much uſed in *Java*; but they, being frightened at the coming of the Boat, got aſhore, and run away into the Woods; yet one of them came to the Sea-ſide, when the Negro called, and directed them to find freſh Water, and carried a Meſſage from the Admiral to the King, certifying him, that he was come thither to traffic for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Iſland afforded. *March* 12, there came nine or ten of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all ſorts of Proviſions, as they could ſwim. They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geeſe, Eggs, Sugar, Cocoas, Plantanes, Oranges, Lemons, Wine, and Aqua-vitæ. Two *Portugueſe* that came to ſee them, and to inquire about their King *Antonio*, then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of theſe People. The King of that Part of the Iſland was a Man of whom his Subjects ſtood in exceeding Awe, and who exerciſed ſo abſolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dared ſo much as make a Bargain without his Leave; and, if any did preſume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had 100 Wives (as his Son had 50) who may poſſibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be ſo any longer; for, he being dead, the Body burnt, and the Royal Aſhes laid up in an Urn, within five Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives begins and ends; they all of them go to an appointed Place, where, when they are come, the favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it reſts, marks out the Place of their Death: Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the Eaſt, and, with their Daggers, ſtab themſelves to the Heart, and taking out Handfuls of their own Blood, beſmear their Bodies with it, and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themſelves to the Ghoſt of their dead Huſbands are the Queens of *Java* oblged to make, by the Cuſtom of their Country. The Men of this Iſland are very good

Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and deſperate, to the laſt Degree; they ſtick at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever ſo great or certain Danger: Should he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breaſts, or leap off from a Precipice, or into a Den of wild Beaſts, they immediately do it; becauſe the Anger of their King is as certain Death as the Point of the Sword, or the Teeth of wild Beaſts. They are of a tawny Complexion, like the reſt of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of ſomething a better Hue, and ſhew more Modeſty than the Men in the Uſe of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portugueſe*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and received a Promiſe from them of good Entertainment whenever they came again, they took their Leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Preſent of three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next Day, *viz. March* the 16th, they ſailed away for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ſpent all the reſt of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traverſing the vaſt Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Obſervations as to the Appearance of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Poſition of Lands.

One of the Company ſpied Land, on the 11th of *May*, bearing North and North by Weſt, and about Noon they ſaw ſome that bore Weſt of them, which they believed to be the Cape of *Good Hope*, they being then about 40 or 50 Leagues from it: But, by reaſon they had a ſcanty Wind, they ſtood off to the S. E. till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair, they hawl'd along Weſtward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalmed, and the Sky was thick and hazy; but the 14th it cleared up, and they ſaw Land again, which proved to be Cape *Falſo*, which is ſhort of the Cape of *Good Hope* 40 or 50 Leagues. This Cape *Falſo* is very eaſy to be known; for there lie right over it three very high Hills, but a little Diſtance from each other, the higheſt of which is the middlemoſt, and the Ground is much lower by the Sea-ſide; beſides, the Cape of *Good Hope* bears Weſt and by South from this Cape *Falſo*.

On the 16th they diſcovered the Cape of *Good Hope*, obſerving the Head-land to be conſiderably high, and, at the Weſterly Point, a little off the Main, two Hammocks appearing, and three others lying further off into the Sea, yet Low-land between them towards the Sea. This Cape of *Good Hope* is made in the *Portugueſe* Sea-charts 2000 Leagues from *Java*, but, by their Reckoning, they found it to be 1850 Leagues, which took them up juſt nine Weeks in their Run. And on the 8th of *June*, by Break of Day, they came within ſeven or eight Leagues of the Iſland of *St. Helena*, which they had juſt a Glimpſe of; but, having little or no Wind, they could not reach it that Day, but ſtood off and on all Night; the next Day having a pretty good Wind, they ſtood in with the Shore, (the Boat being ſent before to the Harbour) and came to an Anchor in twelve Fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the N. W. ſide of the Iſland, two or three Cables Length from the Shore. This Iſland lies in the main Sea, as it were in the Midſt between the main Land of *Africa*, and that of *Braſil* and the Coaſt of *Guiney*. It lies in 15° 48′ S. Lat. and between 5 and 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Here they went aſhore, and entered the Church, which had a fair Cauſey leading to it; a Frame with two Bowls, and a Croſs of Free-ſtone adjoining to it; within, it was hung with painted Cloths, having an Altar, with the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion, pictured in a Table. The Valley where the Church ſtands is extremely pleaſant, ſo full of fine Fruit-trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like ſome very fair and well-cultivated Garden; there are long Rows of Lemon, Orange, Citron, and Pomegranate, Date and Fig-trees, that preſent the Eye with Bloſſoms, green Fruit and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimmed, and diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral curious Walks, which have the Protection of their Boughs, and by them are made cool and ſhady. There is a ſweet cryſtal Spring riſing at a Diſtance, that diffuſes itſelf into many pretty Rivulets, all through the Valley, watering the ſeveral Parts of it, and refreſhing every Plant and Tree: There is hardly any empty Space in this great Garden; for what Places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to ſome Advantage. The Iſland itſelf affords great Store of Partridges and Pheaſants, which are much larger and fairer than ours; there are Turkeys too both black and white, with red Heads, about as big as ours, and their Eggs much the ſame, only quite white: There is alſo great Plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Aſs, have a Horſe's Mane, and a Beard that reaches down to the very Ground: They go ſometimes together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in Length. Here are alſo vaſt Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the Cabritos do; they are fat, and ſo very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be aſleep, or rolling themſelves upon their miry Beds.

Having taken in all Neceſſaries here, they ſet Sail for *England*, on the 20th of *June*, and hawled away N. W. by Weſt. 'Tis to be obſerved, that the Wind is commonly off the Shore at *St. Helena*. On *Friday Auguſt* 23d, they ſailed Eaſt and Eaſt by South, for the Northermoſt of the *Azores*. The 29th, at four after Midnight, they fell in ſight of the Iſlands *Flores* and *Corvo*, lying in 39° 30′ North Latitude, and ſo ſailed away N. E. *September* 3d, they met with a *Flemiſh* Veſſel, that came from *Liſbon*, and told them the joyful News of the total Defeat of the *Spaniſh Armada*. *September* 9th, having had the Winds Farewel in a moſt violent Storm, that carried away moſt Part of their Sails, they arrived at the long-deſired Haven of *Plymouth*. As there never had been any Voyage of this Conſequence attended with ſuch an uninterrupted Series of Succeſs, as appeared plainly from the Difference of time in which it was performed, *Magellan*'s Voyage having taken up three Years and a Month; Sir *Francis Drake*'s upwards of two Years and ten Months; and this leſs than two Years and two Months; we need not wonder, that a young Gentleman like Mr. *Cavendiſh*, whoſe Soul was intirely poſſeſſed with an Appetite for Glory, ſhould adventure upon ſome extraordinary Methods of diſplaying his good Fortune. Some Accounts, indeed, tell us, that he went ſo far, as to bring his Ship into the Harbour of *Plymouth* under a Suit of ſilken Sails, which, if true, I conceive may be thus accounted for. We are told by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, in his own Relation, that, juſt before his Arrival, he met with a violent Storm, which tore all his Sails to Pieces; in which Diſtreſs, he might very probably make uſe of ſome of thoſe he had taken in the South Seas, or in the *Eaſt-Indies*, but moſt probably of the former, which being made of what is called *Silk Graſs*, having a very ſtrong Gloſs, and a moſt beautiful Colour, might eaſily deceive the Eyes of the Vulgar, and paſs upon them for Sails of Silk. This, however, is certain, that though he might be vain and expenſive in ſuch Matters, yet all came fairly out of his own Pocket; and thoſe who went abroad with him, from a Proſpect of raiſing their Fortunes, had not the leaſt Reaſon to complain, ſince he came to a fair and full Diſtribution of the Value of the Prizes, which gained him univerſal Credit and Eſteem.

He wrote the very ſame Day that he arrived at *Plymouth* to the Lord *Hunſdon*, then Lord Chamberlain, Queen *Elizabeth*'s near Relation, and great Favourite; which Letter, equally remarkable both for Style and Matter, the Reader will probably be well pleaſed to ſee, eſpecially as it is very conciſe, and yet contains ſome Particulars not to be found elſewhere.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hunſdon, *&c.*

Right Honourable,

“ As your Favour heretofore hath been moſt greatly extended toward me, ſo I humbly deſire a Continuance thereof; and tho' there be no means in me to deſerve the ſame, yet the uttermoſt of my Services ſhall not be wanting, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe your Honour to diſpoſe thereof. I am humbly to deſire your Honour to make known unto her Majeſty the Deſire I have had to do her Majeſty Service in the Performance of this Voyage; and, as it hath pleaſed God to give her the Victory over Part of her Enemies, ſo I truſt, ere long, to ſee her overthrow them all: For the Places of their

“ Wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their Wars, are now perfectly diſcovered; and if it pleaſe her Majeſty, with a very ſmall Power, ſhe may take the Spoil of them all. It hath pleaſed the Almighty to ſuffer me to circumpaſs all the whole Globe of the World, entering in at the Streight of *Magellan*, and returning by the Cape *de Buena Eſperança*. In which Voyage, I have either diſcovered, or brought certain Intelligence of all the rich Places of the World, that ever were known or diſcovered by any Chriſtian. I navigated along the Coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva Eſpanna*, where I made great Spoils; I burnt and ſunk nineteen Sail of Ships, ſmall and great: All the Villages and Towns that ever I landed at I burnt and ſpoiled; and, had I not been diſcovered upon the Coaſt, I had taken great Quantity of Treaſure. The Matter of moſt Profit unto me, was a great Ship of the King's, which I took at *California*, which Ship came from the *Philippines*, being one of the richeſt for Merchandiſe that ever paſſed thoſe Seas, as the King's Regiſter, Accounts, and Merchants did ſhew; for it did amount in Value to *** in *Mexico* to be ſold; which Goods (for that my Ships were not able to contain the leaſt Part of them) I was enforced to ſet on-fire. From the Cape of *California*, being the uppermoſt Part of all *Nueva Eſpanna*, I navigated to the Iſlands of *Philippines*, hard upon the Coaſt of *China*, of which Country I have brought ſuch Intelligence, as hath not been heard of in theſe Parts: The Statelineſs and Riches of which Country I fear to make Report of, leſt I ſhould not be credited; for, if I had not known ſufficiently the incomparable Wealth of that Country, I ſhould have been as incredulous thereof, as others will be, that have not had the like Experience. I ſailed along the Iſlands of *Maluccas*, where, among ſome of the Heathen People, I was well intreated, where our Countrymen may have Trade as freely as the *Portugals*, if they will themſelves. From thence I paſſed by the Cape of *Buena Eſperança*, and found out, by the Way homeward, the Iſland of *St. Helena*, where the *Portugals* uſed to relieve themſelves; and from that Iſland God hath ſuffered me to return into *England*: All which Services, with myſelf, I humbly proſtrate at her Majeſty's Feet, deſiring the Almighty long to continue her Reign among us; for, at this Day, ſhe is the moſt famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the World. Thus, humbly deſiring Pardon for my Tediouſneſs, I leave your Lordſhip to the Tuition of the Almighty.

“ *Your Honour's moſt Humble to command,*

Plymouth. this 9th of
September, 1588.

“ THOMAS CANDISH.”

There were many Circumſtances in this Voyage, beſides the wonderful Felicity of it, that deſerve to be conſidered: As, for Inſtance, the paſſing a ſecond time into the South Seas, not only after it was known, that the *Spaniards* were exceſſively alarmed by the former Paſſage of Sir *Francis Drake*, but alſo that they had received Succours from *Spain*, and had actually fortified themſelves ſtrongly in the South Seas. The nice Search he made into, and the exact Deſcription he has given us of the Streights of *Magellan*, are very noble Proofs of his Skill and Induſtry, and of his Deſire, that Poſterity might reap the Benefit of his Labours. The Attack of the *Acapulco* Ship, conſidering the ſmall Force that Captain *Candiſh* had with him, was a noble Inſtance of true *Engliſh* Bravery, which was juſtly rewarded by the Queen with the Honour of Knighthood. His Account of the *Philippines*, and his Deſcriptions of ſeveral Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*, are very clear and curious, and at that time muſt have been very uſeful; but particularly his Map and Deſcription of *China*, which gave great Lights at that time of Day. We may add to all this, the Care he took in the Inſtruction of his Seamen, many of whom afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by navigating other Veſſels in the ſame ſtupendous Courſe, and thereby filling all the known World with the Fame and Reputation of *Engliſh* Seamen. It is not, therefore, at all ſurpriſing, that we find the beſt Judges, both in our own and other Nations, beſtowing very high Praiſes upon this worthy Gentleman, who ſhewed, in the whole Conduct of his Voyage, the Courage and Diſcretion of a great Commander, with all the Skill and Diligence of an able Seaman, of both which he has left us the ſtrongeſt Teſtimonies in his accurate Accounts of his Expeditions.

Certain Notes or Reſerences taken out of the large Map of China, *brought home by Mr.* Thomas Candiſh, 1588.

“ 1. The great Kingdom of the *Mogores* is upon the North-weſt, and falleth upon *Tanaſſarin* beyond *Malaca*, and joineth upon *Bengala*: they are Men of War, and uſe no fight but on Horſeback; they go in their Apparel like *Portugals*.

“ 2. A City, wherein is Captain, a *Chinian*, a Man very deformed, having under him many Men of War: he maketh War againſt both the *Tartarians* and the *Mogores*, lying between them, and lieth without the Circuit of the Wall.

“ 3. Certain Hills, beyond which the *Tartarians* do inhabit, who heretofore were great Friends with the *Chinians*, and now maintain continual Wars againſt them, ſo great, that ſometimes there are ſlain in a Battle 100,000 of Men adjoining upon *Muſcovy*; and they have in their Wars all kind of Armour.

“ 4. The Province of *Canſas* hath four great Cities, and 20 ſmall Cities, and 77 Towns and Caſtles: it containeth in Length 55 Leagues, it hath 362,000 Houſes of great Men that pay Tribute, and 13,900 Men of War; and hath 47,000 Horſes, which are the King's, kept for his Defence.

“ 5. The great City of *Paquin*, where the King doth lie, hath belonging to it eight great Cities, and 18 ſmall Cities, with 118 Towns and Caſtles: it hath 418,789 Houſes of great Men, which pay Tribute; it hath Horſemen for the War 258,100. This City is in the Latitude of 50 Degrees to the Northwards, being there as cold as it is uſually in *Flanders*.

“ 6. The great City of *Canton*, wherein are many Men of War, to keep that Paſſage from the *Tartars*.

“ 7. The Province of *Soychin* hath ſeven great Cities, and 16 ſmall, with 12 Towns and Caſtles, and one great City, to which many do repair to fight againſt the *Tartars*: it hath 17 Leagues in Length, and hath 164,118 great Houſes, which pay Tribute, and 96,000 Men of War.

“ 8. The Province of *Santo* hath ſix great Cities, and 14 ſmall, with 90 Towns and Caſtles: it is 82 Leagues long, and hath 77,555 great Houſes, which pay Tribute, 63,808 Horſemen, and 31,000 Footmen of War.

“ 9. The Province of *Oyman* hath ſeven great Cities, and 13 ſmall, and 90 Towns and Caſtles, being 470 Leagues long, and hath 132,958 great Houſes that pay Tribute, 82,800 Men of War. Out of this City cometh Copper, Quickſilver, and Black-lead.

“ 10. The Province of [*] *Cutchew* hath eight great Cities, and 12 ſmall, and 83 Towns, which make Armour to fight with the *Jawes*, which do inhabit beyond *Cauchinchina*: it is 100 Leagues broad, and hath 32,920 Horſemen and Footmen, with 405,670 great Houſes which pay Tribute, whereof the Men of War are paid.

“ 11. The Province of *Languyn* hath 14 great Cities, and 17 ſmall, and 95 Towns and Caſtles: it is 120 Leagues over, and hath 962,818 great Houſes which pay Tribute; it hath 208,900 Men of War, whereof there are 52,500 *Tartar* Horſemen that take Wages.

“ 12. The Province of *Uquam* hath 14 great Cities, and 19 ſmall, 150 Towns and Caſtles, and is 210 Leagues broad, and 53,161 Houſes that pay Tribute, and 71,600 Men of War.

“ 13. The Province of *Som* hath 7 great Cities, and 11 ſmall, and 105 Towns and Caſtles, and is 200 Leagues broad, and hath Houſes that pay Tribute 139,567, and Men of War 345,632.

“ 14. The Province of *Eſſiran* hath 11 great Cities, and 75 ſmall, and 80 Towns and Caſtles, and is 440 Leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that do pay Tribute 1,242,135, and 339,000 Men of War.

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[*] Or Quicheu.

" 15. This Lake lieth behind *Siam*, and before *Champa*, " and doth join with the *Lappians*, and from thence cometh " all the Water that ſerveth the Kingdom of *China*; and " the *Indians* and *Chinians* do report this Lake to be the " whole World, and ſo they paint the Sea, the Moon, and " the Stars within it.

" 16. The Province of *Canſay* hath 13 Cities, and a " chief City, and 73 Towns and Caſtles, and is 260 " Leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that pay Tribute " 1,393,629, and 12,700 Men of War.

" 17. The Province of *Cuauſa* hath 12 great Cities, " 45 ſmall, and 51 Towns and Caſtles; it is 260 Leagues " broad, and hath great Houſes that pay Tribute 1,306,390, " and Men of War both Footmen and Horſemen 100,100.

" 18. The Province of *Vanam* hath 14 great Cities, and " 36 ſmall, and 34 Towns and Caſtles, and is 88 Leagues " broad, with 589,296 great Houſes that pay Tribute, " and 15,100 Men of War.

" 19. The Province of *Fuckin* hath 8 great Cities, and " one principal City, and 54 Towns and Caſtles, and two " great Cities of Garriſon, to keep Watch upon the *Japons*, and is 200 Leagues broad, and hath 5,009,532 " great Houſes that pay Tribute, and 4,003,225 Men of " the King's Guard.

" 20. The Province of *Canton* hath 40 great Cities, " and 7 ſmall, and 77 Towns and Caſtles, and a City that " putteth forth Hundreds of Ships for the keeping of " *Cauchinchina*, and is 380 Leagues in Breadth, and hath " 483,383 great Houſes which pay Tribute, and 39,400 " Men of War.

" 21. The Port of *Cauchinchina* ſtandeth in the Latitude of 16 ¼ Degrees to the Northward.

" 22. The City *Champa* ſtandeth in 14 Degrees to the " Northwards of the Equinoctial.

" 23. The Province of *Enam* hath 7 great Cities, and " 13 ſmall, and 90 Towns and Caſtles, and is 88 Leagues " broad, and hath 589,296 great Houſes that pay Tribute, and 15,100 Soldiers.

" Horſemen — — — — 454,528
" Footmen — — — 7,459,057

" The total Sum 7,923,785."

The *Spaniſh* Invaſion being brought to a Criſis, after the moſt aſſiduous Application of three whole Years, to fit out that Fleet, vainly named by the Pope, *the great, noble and invincible Armada, and Terror of Europe*, in the Ports of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, King *Philip* gave Orders for its Sailing on the 19th of *May*, 1588. It conſiſted of 134 Sail of tall towering Ships, beſides Gallies, Galliaſſes, and Galleons, ſtored with 22,000 Pounds of great Shot, 40,200 Quintals or Hundred Weights of Powder, 1000 Quintals of Lead for Bullets, 10,200 Quintals of Match, 7000 Muſkets and Calivers, 1000 Partizans and Halberts; beſides double Cannons, Mortars, and Field-pieces for a Camp upon Diſembarking, and a great many Mules, Horſes, and Aſſes, with ſix Months Proviſion of Bread, Biſcuit, and Wine; 60,500 Quintals of Bacon, 3000 Cheeſe, 12,000 Pipes of freſh Water, beſides a full Proportion of other ſorts of Fleſh, Rice, Beans, Peaſe, Oil, and Vinegar. To which he added a great Quantity of Torches, Lanthorns, Lamps, Canvas, Hides, and Lead, to ſtop Leaks, &c. according to ſome Accounts.

But Authors * differ in their Accounts concerning this Armament. For according to others, this Fleet conſiſted of 132 large Ships, being together of 59,120 Tons Burden, excluſive of the Galleaſſes, Galleons, and ſome few Pinnaces, whoſe Burdens I do not find any where mentioned. Theſe Ships carried 21,855 Soldiers; 8,766 Mariners; 2088 Gally-ſlaves; and 3,165 Pieces of Braſs and Iron-ordnance.

Or of 130 Ships, of 57,868 Tons; 19,295 Soldiers; and 8,450 Mariners; 2088 Slaves; and 2,630 great Braſs Pieces of all ſorts; beſides 20 Caravels for the Service of the Army, and 10 Salves, with ſix Oars a-piece.

But this ſeeming Contrariety amongſt Authors will be in a great Meaſure reconciled by the following Liſt, which is collected from a great Number of Authors and Manuſcripts, noting the Differences in the Margin.

A COMPLETE LIST *of the* Spaniſh *Fleet, under the Duke of* Medina Sidonia, *Commander in Chief.*

The Squadron of *Portugueſe* Galleons, &c. under the particular Command of the Generaliſſimo, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia.*

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
	1	The St. Martin, Capt. General of all the Fleet	1000	50	177[a]	300
	2	St. John, Admiral-general	1050[b]	50	170[c]	231
	3	St. Mark	792		117	292
	4	St. Philip	800	40	117	415
	5	St. Lewis	830	40	116	376
	6	St. Matthew	750	40	50[d]	177
	7	St. James	520	30	100	300
	8	Galleon, of Florence	961	52	100	300[e]
	9	St. Chriſtopher	352	30	90	300
	10	St. Bernard	352	30	100	280[f]
	11	Zabra, Auguſta	166	13	55[g]	55
12.	12	Zabra. Julia	166	14	50	60[h]
			7739	389	1242	3086

The Fleet of *Biſcay*, commanded by Don *Juan Martinez de Recalde*, Captain-general.

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
	13	The St. Ann, [i] Admiral	768	30	114	323
	14	Grangrina, Admiral	1160	36	100	300
	15	St. James	660[k]	30	102	250
	16	Conception, of Zubelau	468	20	70	100
	17	Conception, of Juan del Cavo	418	24	70	164
	18	Magdalena de Juan Franceſco d'Ayala	330	22	70	200
	19	St. John	350	24	80[l]	130
	20	Mary	165[m]	24	100	180
	21	Manuel	520	16	54[n]	130
	22	St. Mary de Monte Majore	707	30[o]	50	220
	23	Mary, of Aguiare	70	10	23	30
	24	Iſabella	71	12	23[p]	30
	25	Michael de Suſa	96	12	24[q]	30
14.	26	St. Stephen	78	12	26	30
			5861	302	906	2117

The Fleet of *Caſtille*, commanded by Don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, General.

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
	27	The St. Chriſtopher, Galleon, General	700	40[r]	120[s]	205
	28	St. John Baptiſt, Galleon	750	30	140	250
	29	St. Peter, Galleon	530	40	140	130
	30	St. John, Galleon	530	30[t]	120	170
	31	St. James, the Great, Galleon	530	30	132	230
	32	St. Philip and St. James, Galleon	530[u]	30	116	159[w]
	33	Aſcenſion, Galleon	530	30	114	220
	34	Galleon, of Our Lady del Barrio	130	30	108	170
	35	Gall. of St. Medel and Celedon	530	30	110	170
	36	St Ann, Galleon	250	24	80[x]	100
	37	Ship, Our Lord of Vigonia	750	30	130[y]	190
	38	Trinity	780	30	122	200
	39	St. Katherine	862	30	160	200
	40	St. John Baptiſt	652	30	130	200
	41	Pinnace, of Our Lady della Roſaria		24	25[z]	30
16.	42	St. Anthony, of Padua, Pinnace		16	46	300
			8054	474	1723	2924

The *Andaluſian* Squadron, commanded by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, General.

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
	43	The General-ſhip	1550	50	118	304[a]
	44	St. Francis, Admiral	915	30	60	230
	45	St. John Baptiſt, Galleon	810[b]	40	40[c]	250
	46	St. Gargeran	569[d]	20	60	170
	47	Conception	862	25	65	200
	48	Duqueſa, St. Ann	900	30	80	250[e]
	49	Trinity	650	20[f]	80[g]	200
	50	St. Mary de Juncar	730	30[h]	80	240
	51	St. Katherine	730	30	80	230
	52	St. Bartholomew	976	30	80	225
11.	53	Holy Ghoſt, Pinnace		10	33	40
			8692	315	776	2359

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* Camden. Speed. Strype. Monſon. Purchas, Vol IV. p. 1898. Hackluit, part I. p. 591. Harris's Appendix, 1ſt Edit. MS. in Bibl. Regia, 14 B. XIII. MS. Var. in Bibl. Cotton. Spec. Julius, F. X. 17. fol. III. F. VI. 107. fol. 278 and 23. fol. 51. Otho E. IX. Julius E. II. fol. 67.

[a] 170. [b] 1070. [c] 160. [d] 200 Mariners, and 277 Soldiers. [e] 400. [f] 208. [g] 57. [h] 72. [i] St. Angel.
[k] 666. [l] 100. [m] 163. [n] 43. [o] 16. [p] 32. [q] 26. [r] 30. [s] 102. [t] 40. [u] 230. [w] 151
[x] 89. [y] 100. [z] 26. [a] 350. [b] 10. [c] 20. [d] 509. [e] 300. [f] 30. [g] 20. [h] 24.

The Squadron of *Guypuſcoa*, commanded by Don *Mighel de Oquendo*.

Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
54	The St. Ann, General	1200	50	60[a]	300
55	Ship, Our Lady of Roſe, Admir.	945	30	64	230
56	St. Saviour	958	30	50[b]	330
57	St. Stephen	936	30	70	200
58	St. Martha	548	25	70	180
59	St. Barba	525	15	50	160
60	St. Bonaventura	369	15	60	170
61	Mary	291	15[c]	40	120
62	Santa Cruce	680	20[d]	40	150
63	Urſa doncella, Hulk	500	18	40	160
64	Annuciation, Pinpace	60	12	16	30
65	St. Barnaby	60	12	16	30
66	Pinnace, Our Lady of Guadalupe	60	12	16	30
14. 67	Magdalene	60	12	16	30
		7192	296	608	2120

The Eaſtern Fleet of Ships, called *Levantiſcas*, commanded by Don *Martinez de Vertendona*.

68	The Ragazone, General	1294	35	90	350
69	Lama, Admiral	728	30	80	210
70	Rata, St. Mary, crowned	820	40	90	340
71	St. John, of Cecilia	880	30	70	250[e]
72	Trinity Valencera	100[f]	41	90	240
73	Annunciation	730	30	90	200
74	St. Nicholas, Prodaveli	834	30	84	280
75	Juliana	780[g]	36	80	330
76	St. Mary of Piſon	666	22	80	250
10. 77	Trinity Eſcala	900	25	90	302
		8632	319	844	2792

The Fleet of Ships called *Urcas*, or *Hulks*, commanded by Don *Juan Lopez de Medina*.

78	The great Griffin, General	650	40	60	250
79	St. Saviour, Admiral	650	30	60	230
80	Sea Dog	200	10	30	80
81	White Falcon	500	18	40	160[h]
82	Black Caſtle	750	25	50	250
83	Bark of Hamburg	600	25	50	250
84	Houſe of Peace	600	25	50	250
85	St. Peter, the Greater	600	25	50	250
86	Sampſon	600	25	50	250
87	St. Peter, the Leſs	600	25	50	250
88	Bark, of Dantzick	450	26[i]	50	210
89	White Falcon, Mediana	300	18	30	80
90	St. Andrew	400	15	40	160[k]
91	Little Houſe of Peace	350	15	40	160
92	Flying Raven	400	18	40	210
93	White Dove	250	12	30	60
94	Adventure	600	19	40	60
95	Santa Barba	600	19	40	60
96	Cat	400	9	30	50
97	St. Gabriel	280	9	25	80[l]
98	Eſayas	280	9	25	80[m]
99	St. James	600	19	40	60
23. 100	Peter Martin	200	30	30	80
		10860	466	950	4170

Pataches and Zabras, commanded by Don *Antonio de Mendoza*.

101	Our Lady del Pilar de Saragoſſa	300	12	50	120
102	Engliſh Charity	180	12	36[n]	80
103	St. Andrew, of Scotland	150[o]	12	30	51
104	Crucifix	150	8[p]	30	50
105	Our Lady of the Port	150	8[q]	30	50
106	Conception, of Caraffa	70	8	30	50
107	Our Lady, of Begova	70	8	30	60
108	Conception de Capitillo	60	8	30	60
109	St. Hieronymus	60	8	30	60
110	Our Lady of Grace	60	8	30	60
111	Conception of Francis Laſtero	60	8	30	60
112	Our Lady, of Guadalupe	60	8	30	60
113	St. Francis	60	8	30	60
114	Holy Ghoſt	60	8	30	60
115	Our Lady, of Freneſda	60	8	30	60
116	Zabra, of the Trinity	60	8	30	60
117	Zabra, of our Lady del Caſtro	60	8	30	60
118	St. Andrew	60	8	30	60
119	Conception	60	8	30	60
120	Conception, of Sommariba	60	8	30	60
121	Santa Clara	60	8	30	60
122	St. Katherine	60	8	30	60
123	St. John de Caraſſa	60	8	30	60
24. 124	Aſſumption	60	8	30	60
		2090	204	746	1103

The four Galleaſſes[r] of *Naples*, commanded by Don *Hugo de Monçada*.

Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
125	The St. Lawrence, General		50	130	270
126	Patrona		50	112	180
127	Girona		50	120	170
4. 128	Neopolitana		50	115	124
			200	477	744

These four Galleaſſes had Slaves 1200

The four Gallies of *Portugal*, commanded by Don *Diego de Medrana*.

129	The Capitana		50	106	110
130	Princeſs		50	106	110
131	Diana		50	106	110
4. 132	Vazana		50	106	110
			200	424	440

In theſe four Gallies were Slaves 888[s]

An Abſtract of the ſeveral Squadrons which compoſed the whole Spaniſh Fleet.

	SQUADRONS and COMMANDERS.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
12	The Squadrons of Portugueſe Galleons, under the particular Command of the Generaliſſimo	7739	389	1242	3086
14	The Fleet of Biſcay, commanded by Don Juan Martinez de Recalde, Captain-General	5861	302	906	2117
16	The Fleet of Caſtile, commanded by Don Diego de Valdez, General	8054	474	1793	2924
	The Burden of two Pinnaces of this Fleet is not mention'd.				
11	The Andaluſian Squadron, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, General	8692	315	776	2359
	The Burden of one Pinnace of this Fleet is not mention'd.				
14	The Squadron of Guypuſcoa, commanded by Don Mighel de Oquendo	7192	296	608	2120
10	The Eaſtern Fleet of Ships called Levantiſcas, commanded by Don Martin Vertendona	8632	319	844	2792
23	The Fleet of Ships, called Urcas, or Hulks, commanded by Don Juan Lopez de Medina	10860	466	950	4170
24	Pataches and Zabras, commanded by Don Antonio de Mendoza	2090	204	746	1103
4	The Galeaſſes of Naples, commanded by Don Hugo de Monçada		200	477	744
4	The Gallies of Portugal, commanded by Don Diego de Medrana		200	424	440
	The Burden of the four Galeaſſes, and four Gallies is not mentioned; but they had, beſides the Mariners and Soldiers abovementioned, 2088 Gally-ſlaves.				
132	Ships.	59120	3165	8766	21855

So that according to this Liſt, this *Invincible Armada*, conſiſted of 132 Ships, beſides 20 Caravels, being together of the Burden of 59,120 Tons, excluſive of the Tonnage of three Pinnaces, four Galleaſſes, four Gallies, and the Caravels; carrying 3,165 Cannons; 8,766 Mariners; 21,855 Soldiers; and 2088 Gally-ſlaves; together 32,709 Men.

But if we may credit a *Spaniſh* Manuſcript, there were 145 Ships, *&c.*

	Ships.	*Sabras.*
The Squadron of Galleons of *Portugal*	10	2
The *Biſcayan* Squadron, commanded by *Don Juan Martinez de Recalde*	10	4
The *Andaluſian* Squadron, commanded by *Don Pedro de Valdez*	10	1

The

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[a] 90. [b] 80. [c] 20. [d] 15. [e] 270. [f] 1100. [g] 800. [h] 170. [i] 25. [k] 250. [l] 50. [m] 50. [n] 30. [o] 130. [p] 18. [q] 18.

[r] Theſe Galleaſſes were a middle Kind between Gallies and Galleons, partaking of the Form and Advantages of both. Their Prows and Sterns, like thoſe of Gallies, were provided with large Cannon, and their Sides winged with three Banks of Oars; but between the Banks, and likewiſe between the ſingle Oars, there were Port-holes furniſhed with Cannon, after the Manner of the Galleons. This Sort of Veſſels was firſt uſed by the Venetians in the Battle of Lepanto, and contributed not a little to the Ruin of the Turkiſh Fleet.

[s] 880.

	Ships.	*Sabras.*
The *Guypuſcoan* Squadron, commanded by *Don Mighel de Oquendo* — — —	10	4
The Squadron of *Italian* Ships, commanded by *Don Martin de Vertendonna* — —	10	
Don Antonio de Mendoza's Squadron —	4	19
Don Juan de Medina's Squadron of *Urcas*, or Hulks — — — — — —	22	
The Squadron of *Don Diego de Flores de Valdez*, conſiſting of Ships from *St. Lucar* and the *Indies* — — — — —	14	4
The Squadron of Pataches, commanded by *Don Alonzo Flores* — — — —		13
Ships	90	47
Sabras and Pataches	47	
Galeaſſes, commanded by *Don Hugo de Mon-çada* — — — — — — —	4	
Galleons, commanded by *Don Diego de Medrana* — — — — — — —	4	
	145	

The Difference between the 13 Pataches, ſaid to be commanded by *Don Alonzo Flores*, of which we find no Mention made in any other Liſts; but if theſe Pataches be what, in ſome Authors are called Caravels, of which 20 are mentioned for the Service of the Fleet; the Difference between the Liſts would not be very great.

Beſides the Mariners and Soldiers above-mentioned, with their reſpective Officers, there were 124 Volunteers, of the chief Quality and Families of *Spain*, attended by 456 Servants bearing Arms; and 238 Gentlemen maintained by the King, with 163 Servants; 177 Perſons, with two Engineers, one Phyſician, one Surgeon, and 30 Servants, belonging to the Artillery; 85 Phyſicians and Surgeons, for the Hoſpital-ſhips; 180 Churchmen, *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Flagellants* and *Jeſuits*; 23 Gentlemen belonging to the Duke's Court, and 50 Servants; 17 Superintendants-General of the Army; and 100 Servants more, belonging to them, or to the Offices of Juſtice.

Not only the Strength and exceeding great warlike Preparations, already deſcribed, but the political and military Orders to preſerve good Harmony among the Soldiers and Sailors, and due Obedience from both, to their reſpective Commanders; and to avoid all Confuſion, in caſe of a Storm, or other diſaſtrous Accident, ſhew that our Enemies had taken all the Precautions that human Prudence could conceive to accompliſh their Schemes, for the Ruin of our Eſtabliſhment both in Church and State; as may be more particularly ſeen in the following Copy of the Orders by the Duke of *Medina* [a].

Don Alonſo Peres de Guſman, *the good Duke of* Medina Sidonia, *Count of* Nebla, *Marquis of* Caſheſhe *in* Africa, *Lord of the City* St. Lucar, *Captain-general of the Ocean Sea, of the Coaſt of* Andaluſia, *and of this Army of his Majeſty, and Knight of the honourable Order of the Golden Fleece.*

"I do ordain and command, that the General-maſters "of the Field, all Captains, Officers of the Camp, and "of the Sea, Pilots, Maſters, Soldiers, Mariners, and "Officers, and whatſoever other People for the Land or "Sea-ſervice cometh in this Army, all the time that it "endureth, ſhall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, "*viz.*

"*Firſt*, and before all Things, it is to be underſtood "by all the above-named, from the higheſt to the loweſt, "that the principal Foundation and Cauſe, that have "moved the King his Majeſty to make and continue this "Journey, hath been, and is, to ſerve God, and to return "unto his Church a great many of contrite Souls, that "are oppreſſed by the Hereticks, Enemies to our holy "Catholic Faith, which have them Subjects to their Sects "and Unhappineſs: And for that every one may fix his "Eyes upon this Mark, as we are bound, I do command, "and much deſire every one, to give Charge unto the "Inferiors, and thoſe under their Charge, to embark "themſelves, being ſhriven [b], and having received the "Sacrament with competent Contrition for their Sins: "By the which Contrition, and Zeal to do God ſuch great "Service, he will carry and guide us to his great Glory: "Which is, that which particularly and principally is "pretended.

"In like manner, I do charge and command you, to "have particular Care, that no Soldier, Mariner, or other, "that ſerveth in this Army, do blaſpheme, or rage againſt "God, or our Lady [c], or any of the Saints, upon Pain "that he ſhall therefore ſharply be corrected, and very "well chaſtened, as it ſhall ſeem beſt unto us: And for "other Oaths of leſs Quality, the Governors, in the ſame "Ships they go in, ſhall procure to remedy all: They "ſhall puniſh them in taking away their Allowance of "Wine, or otherwiſe, as they ſhall think good. And for "that the moſt Occaſions come by Play, you ſhall pub"lickly prohibit it, eſpecially the Games that are forbid"den: And, that none do play in the Night, by no "means.

"And to avoid Inconveniences that might enſue in this "Army and Force of his Majeſty, if that theſe here written "were not put for Remedy, by theſe Preſents, I do com"mand, that, particularly and generally, all Quarrels, "Angers, Defiances, and Injuries, that are, and have been, "before this Day, and until the Publication hereof, of all "Perſons, as well by Sea as Land, of greater or leſs Qua"lities, be ſuppreſſed and ſuſpended, ſo that none goeth "in this Army for the time that this Voyage continueth "and laſteth, although they be old Quarrels: Yet, for my "expreſs Commandment, ſhall break this Truce and For"bearance of Arms, directly, or indirectly, upon Pain of "Diſobedience, and incurring into High-treaſon, and die "therefore.

"In like manner, I do give Charge, that aboard the "Ships there be not any one thing offered to the Diſgrace "of any Man.

"Declaring herewithal, that there cannot be any Diſ"grace imputed to any Man for any Thing that ſhall be "offered, nor yet be a Reproach, whatſoever happeneth "aboard any Ship.

"And for that it is known, that great Inconveniences "and Offence groweth unto God, by conſenting that com"mon Women, and ſuch like, go in like Armies:

"I do ordain and command, that there be none em"barked nor carried in the Army: And if that any will "carry them, I do command the Captains and Maſters of "the Ships, not to conſent thereto: Whoſo doth, or diſ"ſembleth therewith, ſhall be grievouſly puniſhed.

"The Company of every Ship, one every Morning, "at the Break of every Day, according to the Cuſtom, "ſhall give the good Morrow [d] by the Main-maſt, and at "Night the *Ave Maria* [c], and ſome Days the *Salve Re*"*gina* [c]: Or, at leaſt, the *Saturdays* with a Litany.

"And foraſmuch as it importeth for the Preſervation "and good Succeſs of this Army, that there be between "the Soldiers and Mariners much confirmed Friendſhip, "and ſuch Amity, that there be not any Difference, nor "other Occaſions of murmuring, I command it to be pub"liſhed, that no Body do carry any Dagger, nor thwart "one another, or give any Occaſions, but that all do obey "the ſuperior Officers: And if any Scandal or Offence "come, he that was the Beginner, ſhall ſtraightly be "puniſhed.

"When the Galleon *St. Marten*, wherein myſelf go, "Admiral of this Fleet, doth make a Sign with a Piece "of Ordnance, it ſhall be a Sign of Departure for the "whole Fleet, that, ſounding their Trumpets, ſhall follow "without loſing Time, and without coming foul of each "other, and cutting Sail, ſhall do the like: Having great "Care of the Sands and Catchops, carrying their Boats and "Skiffs ready for any Thing that may happen.

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[a] Printed at London by Thomas Orwin, in 1588; being found aboard of one of the Spaniſh Ships.

[b] i. e. Having confeſſed his Sins to a Prieſt.

[c] The Virgin Mary.

[d] A Cuſtom ſtill obſerved in Spain, and ſome other popiſh Countries, by tolling a Bell three Strokes thrice, in all, nine Strokes.

“ Being from the Land a Sea-board, every Ship ſhall come to Leeward, ſaluting the Admiral, to know what he will command: And demand the Word, without going a-head the Admiral, either in the Day or in the Night, but to have great Care to his Sailing.

“ Every Afternoon, they ſhall repair to their Admirals, to take the Word, and to know if there be any Thing to do.

“ And for that ſo many great Ships, and ſo great may be, cannot come every Day without Boarding one another; To avoid the Danger that may follow, the General of each Squadron ſhall have particular Care, to take the Word in time, to give it unto the Ships under their Charge.

“ The Admiral ſhall be ſaluted with Trumpets, of them that have them; if not, with their Whiſtles: And the People to hallow one after another, and anſwering them, ſhall ſalute again: And, if it be towards Night, to demand the Word, and taking it, ſhall ſalute one another in time, and depart, to give Room to others that follow.

“ If it happeneth ſome Days, that the Wind will not ſuffer to take the Word of the Admiral, or Admirals, they ſhall have, for every Day in the Week, the Words following:

“ Sunday,	*Jeſus.*
“ Monday,	*The Holy Ghoſt.*
“ Tueſday,	*The Holy Trinity.*
“ Wedneſday,	*St. James.*
“ Thurſday,	*The Angels.*
“ Friday,	*All Saints.*
“ Saturday,	*Our Lady.*

“ And for that it importeth, that all the Armies do go cloſe together, I do command, that the General, and Wings, with great Care, do procure to carry the Squadrons, as nigh, and in as good Order, as is poſſible: And the Ship and Pinnaces, of the Charge of Don *Antonio de Hartado de Mendoſa*, keep next unto the Admiral, except ſix; whereof, two ſhall follow the Admiral Don *Pedro de Valdezi*, and two the Admiral of *Martin Bretendona*; the other two, the Admiral of *Joan Gomes de Medina*: The which ſhall be appointed preſently, and have great Care to repart themſelves, without the one thwarting the other: And the Squadron of the Hulks ſhall go always in the Midſt.

“ That no Ship of the Navy, nor any that goeth with them, ſhall depart, without my Licence: And I do command upon Pain of Death, and Loſs of Goods, that if by Chance, with a Storm, any be driven to depart[a] before they come to the *Cape Finiſter*, that then they follow their Courſe to the ſaid *Cape*, where they ſhall have my Order what to do; or elſe they ſhall ſail to the *Groyne*, where they ſhall have it.

“ In departing from the *Groyne*, they ſhall ſet their Courſe for *Scilly*, and procure to make the Southerſide of it, having great Care of their Sounding: And if by Chance in this Courſe any Ship, or Ships, do loſe the Fleet, they ſhall not return into *Spain*, in any manner, upon Pain of Death, and the Loſs of Goods, and taken for Traitors, but follow the Courſe, and make to the Southward of the ſaid Iſland. And if any ſuch do think the Navy to be a-ſtern of him, he ſhall detain himſelf in the ſame Height, playing up and down, and not to depart from his Courſe.

“ And if it be thought, that the Navy is a-head, then ſhall you ſeek them in *Mount's-bay*, which is betwixt the Land's End and the *Lizard*, there ſhall you have the whole Navy, or Intelligence what he ſhall do; and yet for all this, if he do not meet with the Navy, yet ſhall he find Pinnaces, with Order what ſhall be done.

“ In the Night, there ſhall be great Vigilance for the Admiral, to ſee if ſhe change her Courſe, or make about. Before ſhe goeth about, ſhe will ſhoot off a Piece; and, being about, will put forth another Light upon the Poop, apart from the Lanthorn; who that doth ſee it, ſhall anſwer with another Light.

“ When he doth take away Bonnets, or ſhorten the Sails, he ſhall ſhew Lights, one in the Poop, and other two ſhrowed higher.

“ When that for any Occaſion he ſhall ſtrike all Sails, he ſhall ſhew three Lights, one in the Top, another in the Shrouds, and the third in the Fore-caſtle; and the reſt ſhall ſhew it, with putting forth a Light, each upon his Poop.

“ If any Ship have any Occaſion to ſtrike all her Sails in the Night, he ſhall ſhoot off a great Piece, and put out a Lanthorn all Night, and thoſe that are nigheſt unto him ſhall ſhew Lights, for that other may procure it, and ſhall take in the Sails till Day: And, if Neceſſity be great, ſhall ſhoot off another Piece, and thoſe that do ſee it, ſhall anſwer with other two Lights, making the like Board.

“ When the Admiral will have any Communication, he will make a Sign, putting a Flag in the After-miſen near the Lanthorn, and ſo they ſhall repair unto him to know what he would have. If (which God for his Mercy permit not) there happen any Ship to take Fire, the next unto her ſhall make from her, ſending firſt their Boats and Skiffs, to ſuccour and help, and ſo ſhall all the reſt.

“ They ſhall have particular Care, to put forth their Fire in every Ship, before the Sun go down.

“ In taking of their Allowance of Victuals, the Soldiers ſhall let them that have the Charge thereof, to deliver it, ſo that the ſaid Soldiers ſhall not go down to take it, nor chooſe it perforce, as in times they have done; and, for this Cauſe, ſhall be preſent the Serjeant, or Corporal, of the Company or Companies, where they are, for avoiding Diſorder, and that timely they have their Portions; ſo that before Night every Body may have ſupped.

“ That no Ship, nor other Veſſel of this Navy, nor of any of thoſe, that goeth ſubject under my Juriſdiction, ſhall not be ſo bold to enter into any Harbour, anchor, nor go a-ſhore, without the Admiral doth it firſt, or with my ſpecial Leave, upon Pain of Puniſhment hereof.

“ The Colonels of the Field, Captains, Lieutenants, Enſigns and Officers, muſt have particular Care, that the Soldiers have always their Armour clean, ready, and in Order, for time of Neceſſity, cauſing them to make them clean, twice every Week, and uſing themſelves with them in ſuch ſort, that they may be expert at the time of Need.

“ And for that, in the way, Order ſhall be given, in what Form every Man ſhall put himſelf, if we do fight, I do command, that particular Care be had, adviſing the Gunners to have half Butts with Water and Vinegar, as is accuſtomed, with Bonnets, and old Sails, and wet Mantles to defend Fire, that is often thrown; as to have the like Care to have Shot made in good Quantity, and that Powder and Match be ready for Ship, and Soldiers of the Store, by Weight, Meaſure, and Length; according to the Order, that every Ship hath to deliver unto him, that hath the Charge thereof, according to Uſe and Cuſtom.

“ Alſo I order and command, that there be a Care, that all Soldiers have their Room clean, and unpeſtered of Cheſts, and other Things, without conſenting in any Caſe to have Cards; and, if there be any, to be taken away preſently: Neither permit them to the Mariners; and, if the Soldiers have any, let me be advertiſed, that I may command them to be taken away.

“ And, for that the Mariners muſt reſort unto their Work, Tackle and Navigation, it is convenient, that their Lodgings be in the upper Works of the Poop, and Fore-caſtle, otherwiſe the Soldiers will trouble them in the Voyage.

“ The Artillery muſt ſtand in very good Order, and reparted amongſt the Gunners, being all charged with their Balls, and nigh unto every Piece his Locker, wherein to put his Shot and Neceſſaries, and to have great Care to the Cartridges of every Piece, for not changing, or not taking Fire; and that the Ladles and Sponges be ready at Hand.

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[a] Between Liſbon and Cape Finiſter.

“ Every Ship ſhall carry two Boats Lading of Stones, to throw to Profit, in the time of Fight, on the Deck, Fore-caſtle, or Tops, according to his Burden; and ſhall carry two half Pipes, to fill them with Water in the Day of Battle, and repart them amongſt the Ordnance, or other Places, as ſhall be thought neceſſary, and nigh unto them, old Clothes, or Coverings, which with Wetting may deſtroy any kind of Fire.

“ That the Wild-fire be reparted to the People moſt expert, that we have for the Uſe thereof, at due Time; for that, if it be not overſeen, giving Charge thereof to thoſe that do underſtand it, and ſuch, as we know, can tell how to uſe it, otherwiſe it may happen to great Danger.

“ By the Commandment that no Ship ſhall go a-head the Admiral, at the leaſt in the Night, none ſhall tarry a-ſtern the Vice-admiral, and every one to have a Care to the Trimming of his Sails, according to the Charge he hath, and the Sailing of his Ship; for the much that it importeth that all our Navy do go cloſe as poſſible as they may, and in this the Captains, Maſters, and Pilots muſt have ſuch great Care, as of them is hoped.

“ Theſe my Inſtructions are delivered unto every Ship, and have their Copy, firmed by my Hand, and regiſtered by my Secretary, the which ſhall be read by every Purſer of every Ship publickly, to come to the Note of all Soldiers and Mariners, whereby they may not pretend Ignorance: And to the ſaid Purſers I ordain and command, that, thrice in the Week, they be bound to read theſe my Inſtructions publickly, and that they take Witneſs of the fulfilling hereof, upon Pain of him, that doth the contrary, ſhall receive Puniſhment to the Example of others.

“ All the aboveſaid, we command to be manifeſted, and be kept without any Breach for the Service of his Majeſty, none to break them, or any Part thereof, in no manner, upon Pain they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, every one according to his Eſtate and Offence; all others reſerved to our Diſcretion. Made in the Galleon *Saint Marten*, at the Road of *Belline* [a], the twenty-eighth of *May*, 1588.”

The Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Miniſtry, on this Brink of Danger, is not to be parallel'd in Hiſtory.

In this Situation her Majeſty, ſays an Author of great Credit, and an Eye-witneſs to moſt of theſe Tranſactions [b], as well to declare her propenſe Readineſs, if on their Part, any ſincere Intent of Peace had been, as her vigilant Providence, not to be deluded by ſo ſubtle and malicious an Enemy, furniſhed herſelf by Sea with a mighty Fleet, and by Land with no leſs Diligence to reſiſt ſo great Forces, as by all Nations were reported to come againſt her.

The Diligence therefore of the *Engliſhmen*, anſwerable unto the Care of the Prince, was ſuch and ſo great, that her Majeſty was provided of a mighty Fleet to defend her by Sea from the Enemy, between the 1ſt of *November*, 1587, and the 20th of *December* next enſuing, a time, in truth, very ſhort for ſuch a Proviſion, in regard of ſo many Years ſpent by the ſaid King in preparing of his Fleet, which notwithſtanding did ſhew of what Force it was, by Experience, afterwards made thereof againſt the *Engliſh* Navy, gathered together within 50 Days, and provided and moſt excellently furniſhed of all Things neceſſary for ſuch a Purpoſe.

The City of *London* lent the Queen great Sums of Money: And being deſired to furniſh five thouſand Men, and fifteen Ships, they generouſly granted ten thouſand Men, and thirty Ships. Neither was it the City of *London* alone that was forward on this Occaſion, there appeared, at this Juncture, ſuch a zealous Love and Duty, throughout the Nation, towards the Queen, as is inexpreſſible.

The People were likewiſe ſo far from appearing in a Conſternation, or apprehenſive of the ſeemingly approaching Danger, as might reaſonably have been expected, that an uncommon Joy and Alacrity appeared in the Face of every one. They were pleaſed with the Thoughts of contributing, every Man in his way, towards the Defence of their Country, their Liberties, and their Queen.

There were diſpoſed along the Southern Coaſts of *England* 20,000 Land-men, beſides two Armies of choice well-diſciplined and experienced Men. One of theſe of 22,000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, encamped at *Tilbury*, (where the Queen was pleaſed to come and review them, and made a very kind Speech to them) under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the other of 34,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, under the Leading of the Lord *Hunſdon*, was deſtined for the Guard of the Queen's Perſon.

The Queen alſo, in her great Wiſdom, ordered in each County a Body of Militia to be well armed, and put under proper Leaders, with Directions to join one another as Occaſion ſhould require. The Sea-ports, and particularly *Milford-haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, and about the *Thames*-Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. were fortified, as much as the Shortneſs of the Time would permit, and Signals were every where appointed, to ſhew the Places where the Troops were to march. There were likewiſe Orders given, if the Enemy landed, to lay all the Country waſte round about, that ſo they might find no Food, but what they brought with them, on their Shoulders.

However, amidſt theſe great Preparations for War, by both Parties, Projects for Peace were not quite laid aſide. Two Years before, when the Duke of *Parma* had conſidered with himſelf, how difficult a Matter it would be to bring the *Low-country* War to an Iſſue, as long as it was cheriſh'd with daily Supplies from the Queen, had dealt ſeriouſly by Letters, with the Help of Sir *James a Crofts*, one of the Privy-council, a Man very deſirous of Peace, *Andrew van Loe*, a *Netherlander*, and others, that there might be a Treaty of Peace, he being empowered thereto by the King of *Spain*. The Queen, fearing leſt this were done politicly underhand, to break off the Amity betwixt her and the *Confederate Provinces*, and to allure them cunningly to the *Spaniards*, defer'd the Matter for a while. But now, to divert the War, which threatned on both Sides, ſhe reſolved to treat of Peace, but with Sword in Hand; and in the Month of *February* ſent into *Flanders* *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James a Crofts* Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers*, Doctors of Law; who being received in the Duke's Name, with all Courteſy and Civility, ſent *Dale* preſently to him, to underſtand his Mind about the Place of meeting; and to ſee his Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*. He appointed the Place to be near *Oſtend*, which was now held by the *Engliſh*, againſt the King of *Spain*; and as for his Commiſſion, he promiſed it ſhould be ſhewed them when they met. He at the ſame time wiſhed they would haſten the Matter, leſt any Thing ſhould happen in the mean time which might hinder the Treaty of Peace. *Richardot*, who was afterwards one of the Duke's Delegates, to treat with them, ſpoke yet plainer, and ſaid, *that he did not know what might be attempted in the mean time againſt* England. Not long afterwards, *Rogers* was ſent to the Duke, by the Queen's expreſs Command, to underſtand for certain, whether there were any Deſign to invade *England*, as he and *Richardot* ſeemed of late to give Hints of. He affirmed that he never had the leaſt Thought of invading *England*; and as a Proof of his Sincerity [c], pretended to haſten the Negociation. He likewiſe made a Shew of being angry with *Richardot*, who denied that he had ever let fall any ſuch Expreſſions. So treacherous were the *Spaniards* in this pretended Treaty, which was deſigned only to amuſe the *Engliſh*, till they were ready with their Fleet.

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[a] Alias Belem, a Village, three Miles below Liſbon. [b] Petruccio Ubaldino, tranſlated by A. Ryther, 1590. [c] The Duke of Parma had, by the King of Spain's Command, built Ships, and many flat-bottomed Boats, each of them big enough to carry thirty Horſes, with Bridges fitted to them. He hired Mariners from the Eaſtern Parts of Germany, prepared Piles ſharpened at the nether End, armed with Iron, and hooked on the Sides; and provided 20,000 Barrels, and an infinite Number of Faggots; and in the Sea-towns of Flanders his Army lay in Readineſs, conſiſting of 103 Companies of Foot, and 4000 Horſe, making together 13,000 Men, among which were 700 Engliſh Fugitives, commanded by Stanley, and the Earl of Weſtmoreland was alſo with them. Beſides theſe, the Duke of Guiſe brought 12,000 Men down to the Coaſt of Normandy, which were to join the Spaniſh Armada, as they went by, and land in the Weſt of England; but for Want of Money, or ſome other Reaſon, their Deſign proved abortive,

Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, *Maes*, a Doctor, and *Garnier* being appointed the Duke's Delegates, to treat with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, they had their firſt Meeting, on the 12th of *April*, in Tents near *Oſtend*. The *Spaniſh* Delegates voluntarily gave the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners the Precedency and Upper-hand, both in going and ſitting. But the time was ſpent and ſquandered away, from Day to Day, in arguing about a Truce, to no Purpoſe, and upon the Place for Treaty, which at length was appointed to be at *Bronckburg* in *Flanders*.

The Names of the Ships, and Captains, ſerving under CHARLES *Lord* HOWARD *of* EFFINGHAM, *Lord High-admiral againſt the* Spaniards, A. D. 1588[a].

	No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
	1	The Ark, Raleigh[b]	800	The Lord Charles Howard, Ld High-admiral	425
	2	Elizabeth-Bonaventure	600	The Earl of Cumberland	250
	3	Rainbow	500	The Lord Henry Seymor[c]	250
	4	Golden Lion	500	The Ld Thomas Howard	250
	5	White Bear	1000	The Ld Edmund Sheffield	500
	6	Van-guard	500	Sir William Winter[d]	250
	7	Revenge	500	Sir Francis Drake, Vice-admiral	250
	8	Elizabeth-Jonas	500	Sir Robert Southwell	500
	9	Victory	800	Sir John Hawkins, Rear-admiral	400
	10	Antelope	400	Sir Henry Palmer[e]	160
	11	Triumph	1100	Sir Martin Forbiſher	500
	12	Dreadnought	400	Sir George Beſton[f]	200
	13	Mary-Roſe	600	Edward Fenton[g]	250
	14	Nonpareil	500	Thomas Fenner[h]	250
	15	Hope	600	Robert Croſs	250
	16	Gally Bonavolia		William Boroughs	250
	17	Swift-ſure	400	Edward Fennar[i]	200
	18	Swallow	360	Richard Hawkins[k]	160
	19	Foreſight	300	Chriſtopher Baker[l]	160
	20	Aid	250	William Fennar[m]	120
	21	Bull	200	Jeremy Turner[n]	100
	22	Tyger	200	John Boſtock[o]	100
	23	Tramontana	150	Luke Ward	70
	24	Scout	120	Henry Aſhley[p]	70
	25	Achates	100	Henry Rigges	60
	26	Charles	70	John Roberts	40
	27	Moon	60	Alexander Clifford	40
	28	Advice	50	John Harris	40
	29	Spy	50	Ambroſe Ward[q]	40
	30	Martin	50	Walter Gower[r]	35
	31	Sun	40	Richard Buckley	30
	32	Signet	30	John Shrive	20
	33	Brigantine		Thomas Sco:	35
34.	34	George, Hoy	120	Richard Hodges	24
			11850		6279

SHIPS ſerving by Tonnage, with the LORD ADMIRAL.

	35	White Lion	140	Charles Howard	50
	36	Diſdain	80	Jonas Bradbery	45
	37	Lark	50	Thomas Chicheſter	30
	38	Edward, of Malden	180	William Pierce	30
	39	Marygold	30	William Newton	20
	40	Black Dog	20	John Davis	10
	41	Catherine	20		10
	42	Fancy	50	John Paul	20
	43	Peppin	20		8
10.	44	Nightingal	160	John Doate	16
			750		239

SHIPS ſerving with Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

	No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
	45	Galleon Leiceſter	400	George Fennar	160
	46	Merchant Royal	400	Robert Flyke	160
	47	Edward-Bonaventure	300	James Lancaſter	120
	48	Roebuck	300	Jacob Whitton	120
	49	Golden Noble	250	Adam Seigar	110
	50	Griffin	200	William Hawkins	100
	51	Minion	200	William Winter	80
	52	Bark Talbot	200	Henry White	90
	53	Thomas Drake	200	Henry Spendelow	80
	54	Spark	200	William Spark	90
	55	Hopewell	200	John Marchaunt	100
	56	Galleon Dudley	250	James Erizey	100
	57	Virgin, God ſave her	200	John Greenfield	80
	58	Hope, of Plymouth	200	John Rivers	70
	59	Bark, Bond	150	William Poole	70
	60	Bark, Bonner	150	Charles Cæſar	70
	61	Bark, Hawkins	150	- - - - Pridexe	70
	62	Unity	80	Humphry Sidnam	70
	63	Elizabeth-Drake	60	Thomas Seely	30
	64	Bark, Buggins	80	John Langford	50
	65	Frigate, Elizabeth Fonnes	80	Roger Grant	50
	66	Bark, Sellinger	160	John Sellinger	80
	67	Bark, Mannington	160	Ambroſe Mannington	80
	68	Golden Hind	50	Thomas Flemming	30
	69	Makeſhift	60	Peerce Leman	40
	70	Diamond, of Dartmouth	60	Robert Holland	40
	71	Speedwell	60	Hugh Harding	14
	72	Bear-young	140	John Young	70
	73	Chance	60	James Foues	40
	74	Delight	50	William Cox	30
	75	Nightingale	40	John Griſling	30
32.	76	Carvel	30		24
			5120		2348

London Ships, fitted out by the CITY.

	77	Hercules	300	George Barnes	120
	78	Toby	250	Robert Barret	100
	79	May-Flower	200	Edward Banks	90
	80	Minion	200	John Dales	90
	81	Royal Defence	160	John Cheſter	80
	82	Aſcenſion	200	John Bacon	100
	83	Gift of GOD	180	Thomas Luntlove	80
	84	Primroſe	200	Robert Bringboorn	90
	85	Margaret and John	200	John Fiſher	90
	86	Golden Lion	140	Robert Wilcox	70
	87	Diana	80		40
	88	Bark Burre	160	John Saracole	70
	89	Teigur[s]	200	William Cæſar	90
	90	Berſabe[t]	160	William Furthoe	70
	91	Red Lion	200	Jarvis Wild	90
	92	Centurion	250	Samuel Foxcraft	100
	93	Paſſport	80	Chriſtopher Colthirſt	40
	94	Moonſhine	60	John Brough	30
	95	Thomas Bonaventure	140	William Adridge	70
	96	Relief	60	John King	30
	97	Suſan Ann Parnell	220	Nicholas Gorge	80
	98	Violet	220	Martin Hakes	60
	99	Solomon	170	Edmund Muſgrave	80
	100	Ann Francis	180	Chriſtopher Liſter	70
	101	George Bonaventure	200	Eleazar Hikeman	80
	102	Jane Bonaventure	100	Thomas Hallwood	50
	103	Vinyard	160	Benjamin Cook	60
	104	Samuel	140	John Vaſſell	50
	105	George Noble[u]	150	Henry Bellinger	80
	106	Anthony	110	George Harper	60
	107	Toby	140	Chriſtopher Pigott	70
	108	Salamander	120	- - - - Samford	60
	109	Roſe Lion	110	Barnaby Acton	50
	110	Antelope	120	- - - - Denniſon	60
	111	Jewel	120	- - - - Rowell	60
	112	Paunce	160	William Butler	70
	113	Providence	130	Richard Cheſter	60
38.	114	Dolphin	160	William Hares[w]	70
			6130		2710

COASTERS with the LORD ADMIRAL.

	115	Bark Web	80		50
	116	John Trelawny	150	Thomas Meeke	70
	117	Hart of Dartmouth	60	James Houghton	30
	118	Bark Potts	180	Anthony Potts	80
	119	Little John	40	Lawrence Cleyton	20
	120	Bartholomew of Apſham	130	Nicholas Wright	70
	121	Roſe of Apſham	110	Thomas Sandy	50
	122	Gift of Apſham	25		20
	123	Jacob of Lime	90		50
	124	Revenge of Lime	60	Richard Bedford	30
	125	William of Bridgewater	70	John Smith	30
	126	Creſcent of Dartmouth	140		75
	127	Galleon of Weymouth	100	Richard Miller	50
	128	Katherine of Weymouth	60		30
	129	John of Chicheſter	70	John Young	50
	130	Hearty Ann	60	John Winoll	30
	131	Minion of Briſtol	230	John Satchfield	110
	132	Unicorn of Briſtol	130	James Laughton	66
	133	Handmaid of Briſtol	85	Chriſtopher Pitt	56
20.	134	Aid of Briſtol	60	William Megar	26
			1930		993

COASTERS

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[a] We have not any where found the Number of Guns which every Ship carried, than which nothing were more to be wiſhed; ſo that we cannot make an exact Calculation of the Proportion which the Force of the Engliſh Fleet bore to that of the Spaniſh. This, however, is evident, that though our ſeveral Squadrons, reckoned together, exceeded, in Number of Ships, thoſe of the Spaniards; yet, by comparing the Tunnage of the ſeveral Ships in both Fleets, and the Number of Men employed in them, the Superiority of the Enemy's Fleet will appear to have been very conſiderable; more than double in Men, and very near double in Burden.

[b] It ſhould be, as in ſome Manuſcripts, the Ark Royal.

[c] Thomas Fenner.

[d] The Lord Henry Seymour, in ſome Liſts, and in others, Sir William Wentworth.

[e] Captain Fenton.

[f] Captain Raymond or Reiman.

[g] Sir William Winter.

[h] Sir George Beſton.

[i] In ſome Liſts, Captain William Fennar, in others, Captain Boſtock.

[k] Captain Fennar.

[l] In ſome Liſts, Sir Henry Palmer, in others, Captain Barker.

[m] In ſome Liſts, Captain George Fennar, in others, Captain John Wentworth.

[n] Captain Aſhley.

[o] Sir William Wentworth.

[p] Captain Hawkins.

[q] Captain Bradbury.

[r] Captain Goare.

[s] Or Segar.

[t] In ſome Liſts, the Brave.

[u] Or, Golden Noble.

[w] Or Harte.

COASTERS with the LORD HENRY SEYMOUR.

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
	135	Daniel	160	Robert Johnſon	70
	136	Galleon Hutchins	150	Thomas Tucker	60
	137	Bark Lamb	150	Leonard Harvel	60
	138	Fancy	60	Richard Fearn	30
	139	Griffin	75	John Dobſon	35
	140	Little Hare	50	Matthew Railſton [a]	25
	141	Handmaid	75	John Gatenbury	35
	142	Marygold	150	Francis Johnſon	70
	143	Matthew	35	Richard Mitchel	16
	144	Suſan	40	John Muſgrave	20
	145	William of Ipſwich	140	Barnaby Lowe	30
	146	Katherine of Ipſwich	125	Thomas Grimble	50
	147	Primroſe of Harwich	120	John Cardinal	40
	148	Ann Bonaventure	60	John Conny	50
	149	William of Rye	80	William Coxon	60
	150	Grace of GOD	50	William Fordred	30
	151	Ellnathan of Dover	120	John Lidgier	76
	152	Reuben of Sandwich	110	William Cripp	68
	153	Hazard of Feverſham	38	Nicholas Turner	34
	154	Grace of Yarmouth	150	William Muſgrave	70
	155	May-flower	150	Alexander Muſgrave	70
	156	William of Brickelſea [b]	100	Thomas Lambert	50
23.	157	John Young	60	Reynold Veyzey	30
			2248		1073

VOLUNTEERS with the LORD ADMIRAL.

	Nº.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
	158	Samſon	300	John Wingfield	108
	179	Francis of Foy	140	John Reſbley	60
	160	Heath Hen of Weymouth	60		30
	161	GoldenReal of Weymouth [c]	120		60
	162	Bark Sutton of Weymouth	70	Hugh Preſton	40
	163	Carowſe	50		25
	164	Samaritan of Dartmouth	250		100
	165	William of Plymouth	120		60
	166	Gallego of Plymouth	30		20
	167	Bark Hauſe	60	Greenfield Hauſe	40
	168	Unicorn of Dartmouth	76	Ralph Hawes	30
	169	Grace of Apſham	100	Walter Edney	50
	170	Thomas Bonaventure	60	John Pentyre	30
	171	Rat of Wight	80	Gilbert Lea	60
	172	Margett	60	William Hubberd	46
	173	Elizabeth of Layſtaff	40		30
	174	Raphael	40		30
18.	175	Fly-boat, Young	60	Nicholas Webb	40
			1716		859

VICTUALLERS.

	Nº.	Ships.	Captains.	Mariners.
	176	Elizabeth Bonaventure of London		60
	177	Pelican		50
	178	Hope		40
	179	Unity		40
	180	Pearl		50
	181	Elizabeth of London [d]		60
	182	John of London		70
	183	Barſaby		60
	184	Marygold		50
	185	White Hind		40
	186	Gift of GOD		40
	187	Jonas of Alborough		50
	188	Solomon of Alborough		60
	189	Richard Duffield		70
15.	190	Mary Roſe	Francis Burnell	70
				810

Beſides the above, in ſeveral Manuſcripts there is Mention of the ſeven Veſſels following:

	Nº.	Ships.	Captains.	Mariners.
	191	John of Barnſtaple		40
	192	Greyhound of Alborough		65
	193	Jonas		30
	194	Fortune of Alborough		25
	195	Hearts-Eaſe	Henry Harpham	24
	196	Elizabeth of Low Aſtoff		40
7.	197	A Gally, not named		250
				474

An Abſtract of the ſeveral Squadrons which compoſed the whole English Fleet.

Nº.	SQUADRONS.	Tons.	Mariners.
34	Her Majeſty's Ships, under the Lord High-admiral Howard	11850	6279
	In the Liſt of this Squadron the Burden of the Bonavolia and the Brigantine is not mentioned.		
10	Serving by Tonnage, with the Lord Admiral	750	239
32	Serving with Sir Francis Drake	5120	2348
38	Fitted out by the City	6130	2710
20	Coaſters with the Lord High-admiral	1930	993
23	Coaſters with the Lord Henry Seymour	2248	1073
18	Volunteers with the Lord High-admiral	1716	859
15	Victuallers		810
7	Veſſels not mentioned in the Liſt in the King's Library		474
	In the Liſts of the laſt 22 Veſſels the Tonnage is not mentioned		
197	Ships.	Tons 29744	Men 15785
	To which the Cotton MS. adds Soldiers		1875

“ The Care and Charge of this Navy was commended unto the Right Honourable *Charles*, Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord High-admiral of *England*, who, for his Place and Office, noble Courage, Experience in martial Affairs, and Nobility of Blood and Deſcent, was thought moſt fit and worthy to be employed in that Service. He had in his Company a ſufficient Number of honourable, worſhipful, and valiant Perſonages, famous both in reſpect of their Birth and the Gifts of Mind, deſirous to ſerve their Prince and Country in ſuch a Cauſe as this, being judged of the whole *English* Nation both juſt and neceſſary; likewiſe of Sea-faring Men and private Soldiers ſo competent a Number, as might be anſwerable unto the Power of ſo great a Prince in ſo weighty a Cauſe. The Lord High-admiral, therefore, with theſe Forces, keeping for a Seaſon the narrow Seas and Channel between *England* and *Flanders*; Sir *Francis Drake*, Knt. mentioned here alſo in Honour of his good Deſerts, was, by the Advice of the Lords of the Council and his Honour ſo commanding it, ſent towards the Weſt Parts with certain of the Queen's Ships and others, from certain Ports of *England* thereabouts, being in all not above the Number of 50 Sail of all ſorts, there to attend the Lord High-admiral's coming with greater Forces, if Occaſion ſhould ſo require. In the mean Seaſon the Lord Admiral with his Vice-admiral, the Lord *Henry Seymer*, kept the narrow Seas, accompanied with 20 Ships more, very well furniſhed at the Charge of the Citizens of *London*, beſides many others from divers Parts on that Side of the Realm, that lieth from the Town of *Dover* up to the Northward, which met all together in good Order, and well appointed for the Wars.

“ And here the Lord Admiral underſtanding, for a Certainty, that the Fleet of the Enemy was already launched and at the Sea, he weighed Anchor, and leaving the Lord *Seymer* with ſufficient Forces of the Queen's Ships and other Veſſels to watch what the Duke of *Parma* would do, or was able to undertake by Sea, and parting from thence the 21ſt of *May*, 1588, to the Weſtward with her Majeſty's Navy, and 20 Ships of *London*, with ſome others, he arrived at *Plymouth* the 23d of the ſame Month, where Sir *Francis Drake*, with 50 Sail which he had under his Charge, met with the Lord Admiral in very good Order. And then, the two Navies being joined together into one, the Lord Admiral made Sir *Francis Drake* his Vice-admiral.

“ Arriving then at *Plymouth*, his Lordſhip preſently gave Order for Proviſion of Victuals for the whole Navy, that it might want nothing, that ſhould tend to the neceſſary Service enſuing. The whole Navy was at this preſent about 90 Sail of all ſorts [e].

“ This Proviſion being compleat, he reſolved with himſelf to put forth to the Sea again about the 30th of *May* aforeſaid; but the Wind not ſerving his Turn, he kept himſelf abroad, ſailing up and down within the Sleeve between *Uſhant* and *Scilly*, attending ſome Sight or Report of the Enemies Fleet. Where having waited a certain time, ſometimes drawing near to the Coaſt of *France*, and ſometimes to the Coaſt of *England*, he returned, being thereto inforced by a great Tempeſt, with his whole Navy into the Port of *Plymouth*, the 6th of *June* to refreſh his Company there.

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[a] Or Rapleſton.

[b] Or Colcheſter.

[c] Or Golden Lion.

[d] Of Lee.

[e] Patruccio Ubaldino.

“In the mean Seaſon there were diſcovered between *Uſhant* and *Scilly*, certain Ships of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, not above the Number of fourteen, which were known to be ſevered from the whole Fleet by Violence of the aforeſaid Tempeſt. But before they could be encountered withal by any of the *Engliſh* Navy, the Wind came about, whereby they had Opportunity to return back again, ſaving themſelves from all Perils in their Haven, called the *Groin*, into the which alſo the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet was put to provide themſelves enough of other Things, which they wanted, and eſpecially of freſh Water. Of this thing the Lord Admiral had Intelligence and Advertiſement from ſundry Parts, as alſo that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was, by great Fortune, diſperſed and ſevered into divers Places, through Penury of many, and thoſe neceſſary Things, through Diſeaſes and Mortality of Men, although the Report hereof could not afterwards be verified, whereof the certain Truth was, that being troubled with Tempeſt, they were commanded to come aſhore at the *Groin*.

“This Circumſtance had very near proved more fatal to the *Engliſh* than the *Spaniards* themſelves; for it being reported all over *Europe*, that the whole *Spaniſh* Fleet was deſtroyed, the Miniſters in *England* thought, at leaſt, the Damages had been ſo great, and the Ships ſo diſtreſſed and weather-beaten, that they would not be able to proceed till the next Year. Secretary *Walſingham*, who thought his Intelligence true, ſignified the Queen's Pleaſure to the Lord High-admiral, to ſend back four of his largeſt Ships into Port. But this, in the Sequel, did not fall out as was reported; and the Lord High-admiral, with more Diſcretion than the Miniſters, retained the four Ships, alledging how dangerous it was to be too credulous, in a Matter of ſo great Importance. He added, that he would rather keep the Ships out at his own Charge, than expoſe the Nation to ſo great a Hazard.

“The Lord Admiral therefore, ſeeing the Coaſt of *England* and *France* clear and free from all Danger, as by diligent Search it was underſtood, reſolved, by the Advice and Opinion of his Council, to take the Advantage of the next Wind that ſhould blow from the North, that paſſing to the Coaſt of *Spain*, he might find the Enemies Fleet ſo diſperſed in the *Groin*, and in other Parts of *Galicia*, where they had been driven by the Storm.

“This was put in Execution between the 8th and 10th of the ſame Month, the Wind being then at the North, which within a while changing unto the South, after that he was come within 40 Leagues, or thereabout, of the Coaſt of *Spain*, made him to caſt a Doubt of that, which afterwards happened indeed. For laying this before him, as his principal Care, according to the Charge laid upon him by her Majeſty, to be diligent and careful for the Defence of the Coaſt of *England*, and conſidering that, with the Wind, which was now changed, and very good, to make for *England*, the Enemy might ſet out, and paſs for *England*, without Diſcovery of his Fleet, he returned back with the whole Navy, and the 12th of the ſame Month he arrived at *Plymouth*, there accordingly to provide himſelf of all that was neceſſary.

“The 19th of *June*, his Honour had Intelligence by a Bark, or Pinnace, whoſe Captain was *Thomas Fleming*, amongſt other behind him in the Sleeve for Diſcovery, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was diſcovered near unto the *Lizard*, the Wind being then South and by Weſt. And therefore albeit, that by reaſon of the great Number of *Engliſh* Ships, which were in *Plymouth*, it was, with that Wind, very hard to bring them forth from thence (as the Military Art of the Sea, and the Condition of their Affairs required) yet was there ſuch Diligence uſed by the Lord Admiral, and the reſt by his Example, as they endeavoured therein, with ſuch Advice and Earneſtneſs, that many of the Ships at the length warped out of the Haven, as if the Wind had been wholly favourable unto them; which thing could not have fallen out, but thro' the long and certain Skill, which the *Engliſh* Maſters generally have in Marine Diſcipline. To the which Reaſon, this may be added, that they were all of one Nation, of one Tongue, and touched with a grievous and equal Hatred towards their Enemies, being mightily perſuaded of their Forces. Whereupon we may in ſuch Caſes aſſure ourſelves of what Importance it is in Sea-faring Matters, for a Fleet of any Prince whatſoever, invading any foreign State or Kingdom, to encounter with a Fleet ready for Defence in ſuch a manner as the *Engliſh* Navy was; for ſo much as the Fleet invading being provided diverſly of Maſters and Officers, differing one from another in Cuſtom, Language, and Conceit, cannot in any meaſure give any aſſured Hope of certain Victory, how honourable ſoever the Commander be. Many of the Ships therefore came forth, by reaſon that the Men were moved in the aforeſaid Reſpects to labour diligently, and ſo much the rather, by how much the Captains and chief Officers, both by Counſel and Hand, ſhewed themſelves more diligent and induſtrious.

“By theſe Means, the 20th Day of *June*, the Lord Admiral, accompanied with 54 Ships, came forth with the ſame Wind that the Enemy had from the S. W. which thing certainly was not eſteemed a ſmall thing to be done, in regard as well of the Wind, as of the Narrowneſs of the Place itſelf.

“The *Spaniſh* Fleet being manifeſtly diſcovered about 140 Miles from *Edeſtone*, and clearly ſeen of every one, towards the Weſt, and ſo far off from *Fey*, as the *Engliſh* Fleet was, that is 25 ordinary *Engliſh* Miles. The next Morning, being the 21ſt of *June*, all the Ships which were now come out of the Haven, had gotten the Wind of the *Spaniards*, and approaching ſomewhat nearer, found that their Fleet was placed in Battle-array after the Manner of a Moon creſcent, being ready with her Horns [*], and her inward Circumference, to receive either all, or ſo many of the *Engliſh* Navy, as ſhould give her the Aſſault; her Horns being extended in Wideneſs about the Diſtance of eight Miles. The Reaſon of their arranging in this Order, aroſe upon the Foreſight of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* General of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, who approaching the Coaſt, ſent out a ſmall Ship to eſpy ſomewhat concerning the *Engliſh* Fleet; and hearing by certain Fiſhermen taken Priſoners, that our Fleet was in *Plymouth*, he prepared himſelf as aforeſaid, for the avoiding of all ſuch Chances as might after befal. Whereupon, about 9 o'Clock before Noon, the Lord Admiral commanded his Pinnace, called the *Diſdain*, to give the Defiance unto the Duke of *Medina*: After which, he himſelf, in the Queen's Ship called the *Ark*, went foremoſt, as was convenient, and began hotly to fight with a great Ship, which was Admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, in which Ship, he thought, by reaſon of certain likely Conjectures, the Duke of *Medina* to be, conſidering alſo the ſaid Ship was ſo well accompanied by others. The Fight with her continued ſo long, and ſo hot, that divers other Ships, yea, the moſt Part of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, came to her Succour.

“In the mean Seaſon, the Vice-admiral Sir *Francis Drake*, with Maſter *John Hawkins* and Maſter *Martin Forbiſher*, fought with a Galleon of *Portugal*, wherein they thought *Don Martin de Ricaldes* the Vice-admiral to be.

“This Fight was ſo well maintained for the time it continued, that the Enemy was inforced to leave his Place, and to give Way, gathering towards the Eaſt. In the which Point of removing, a great Galleon, wherein *Don Pedro de Valdes* went as Captain, falling foul with another Ship of their Fleet, was deprived of her Foremaſt, ſo that ſhe could not follow the Body of the Fleet that forſook her, to the great Marvel of the *Engliſhmen* themſelves, whereby *Don Pedro* became a Priſoner, as afterward ſhall be declared.

“Furthermore alſo, there was at this time a great Ship of *Biſcay*, about 800 Tons in Burthen, that was ſpoiled by Fire upon this Occaſion: The Captain of the Soldiers that went in her, having ſmall Regard (as is reported) of an orderly and civil Life, did inſolently beat a certain *Flemiſh* Gunner; what Cauſe he had, I know not, whether upon Occaſion of Words, touching his Charge, or

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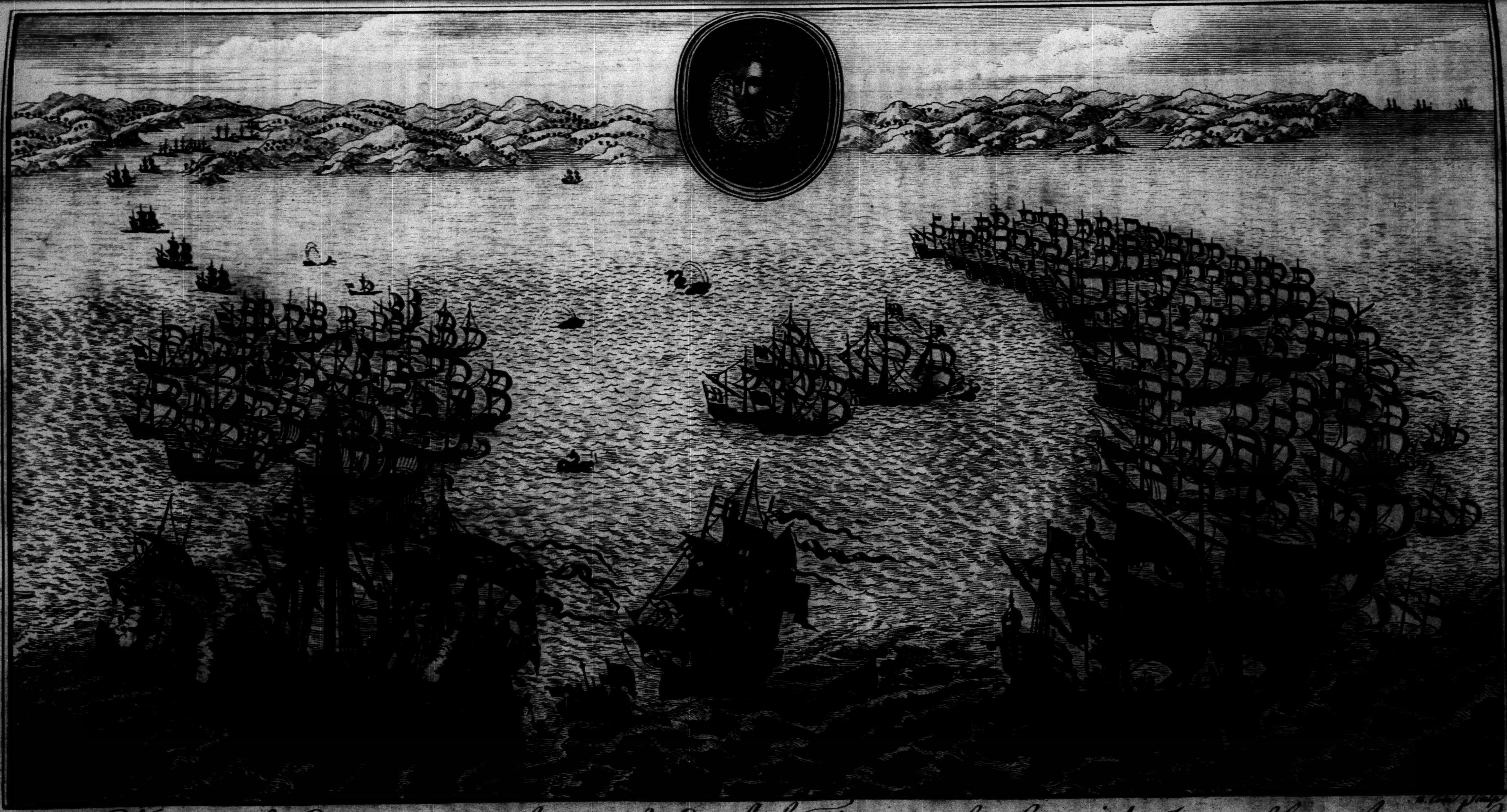
[*] See the Plate.



A View of the Engagement between the English Fleet, and the Spanish Invincible: Armada
off the Start Point, near Plymouth.

“ by means of the Gunner's Wife, whom he had abuſed, according to the Cuſtom of that Nation. Whereupon the perplexed Man ſeeing himſelf among ſuch a kind of People, as not only made him ſerve their Turns at their own Pleaſure, but diſgraced him in as vile manner as if he were a Slave, deſpairing both of Life, Wife, and his young Daughter, and perchance rather moved with the Diſhonour of them, than by his own Miſfortunes (which Mind is many times in Men, even of mean Condition) he ſet himſelf on-fire, in a Barrel of Gunpowder, procuring thereby, thro' the Loſs of his own Life, and the extreme Hazard of thoſe that belonged unto him, and the Loſs of many Mens Lives beſides, a cruel Revenge of his Injuries received by one only Man. This Example may ſerve to inſtruct ſuch as command over others, how they ought to behave themſelves, with leſs Inſolency; inaſmuch as the Mind of Man is always ready to revenge, after the Cuſtom of this our bloody Age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick Wit, and lively Spirit.

“ Thro' this Miſchance of theirs, all the upper Decks were blown up, all her Furniture marred, and much other Spoil done, beſides the Death and Maiming of her Men, ſo that being utterly unable all that Night to help herſelf, ſhe was ſuccoured by the Galleaſſes, and for the time ſaved in the Body of their Fleet.

“ But to return unto our Purpoſe. This firſt Skirmiſh continued not above two Hours, becauſe the Lord Admiral conſidering that he wanted as yet 40 Ships, which could not ſo readily come forth of the Haven, thought he ſhould do better Service if he ſtayed their coming, before he proceeded any further, beating behind upon the Enemy, leſt he ſhould bring the reſt too much in Hazard; and therefore he thought it not profitable too much to embolden and prick thoſe forward that he had with him, in a Matter that was not greatly convenient, either for the Honour of the Realm, or his own Perſon; neither did the military Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Nation, purchaſed by long Experience at the Sea, give him Leave to do it. And therefore he put forth his Flag, to call the other Captains to Counſel; who agreeing unto his Determination, received Inſtructions concerning the Order that they were to keep in following the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Then having given Liberty to every Man to return to their Charge, he gave Order likewiſe to his Vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, to appoint the Watch for that Night, and bear out the Light.

“ The ſame Night the *Spaniſh* Fleet lay about 14 Miles off from the *Start*. The next Day following, early in the Morning, it was under the Wind, not ſo far off as *Berry*.

“ In the mean time, the *Engliſh* Fleet wanting Light, becauſe the Vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, leaving his Place to follow five Hulks, which were diſcovered in the Evening very late, it came to paſs that all the other Ships ſtaid behind, not knowing that they were to follow, or whither to direct themſelves; ſo that there might have followed ſome great Inconvenience, had they had to do with an Enemy more practiſed in our Seas. But as it ſeemed, by Report, the ſaid Vice-admiral was moved to do this, by means of a certain curious Diligence, and a military Suſpicion, growing in his Mind upon certain and very probable Conjectures, grounded on Circumſtances of Matter conſidered in his Mind; and therefore he gave them the Chace, thinking that they had been Enemies.

“ But being overtaken, and their Officers examined, and being known to be Friends, or at the leaſtwiſe not Enemies, he permitted them to go their Way, returning himſelf unto the Fleet the Day following.

“ The Lord Admiral, notwithſtanding, accompanied with the *Bear* and the *Mary-Roſe*, coming a little behind his Stem, by reaſon of the Clearneſs of the Air (which at that time of the Year is ordinarily very great throughout all *England*) followed the Enemy all that Night, within a Culverin-ſhot. By Occaſion whereof, the reſt of the Fleet was caſt ſo far behind, that the Morning after, the neareſt Part thereof could hardly deſcry the Tops of the other Ships, and many of them were clean out of Sight; ſo that with all the Force of their Sails, they could hardly come all together the whole Day following, until the Evening.

“ The next Day the Vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, being in the Queen's Ship, called the *Revenge*, having alſo the *Roebuck*, and a Pinnace or two in his Company, took *Don Pedro de Valdes*, who, as was ſaid before, had loſt the Fore-maſt of his Ship: And having received the ſaid *Valdes*, as his Priſoner, and certain other Gentlemen of moſt Account that were therein, he ſent the Ship, together with the Priſoners, unto *Dartmouth*, under the Conduct of the *Roebuck*, and he himſelf made toward the Lord Admiral, under whoſe Lee he came that Night.

“ The ſame Day, being the 22d of the Month, a little before the Vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, was returned unto the Fleet, the *Spaniards* forſook the Ship, which the Day before was ſpoiled by Fire. To the which Ship the Lord Admiral ſent the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and with him Mr. *John Hawkins*, who being in the Cockboat of the *Victory*, went aboard her, and there found a lamentable Sight; for all the uppermoſt Decks of her being torn and ſpoiled by the Fire, there were in her 50 Men miſerably burnt with the Powder; the Stink in her was ſo great, and the Ship itſelf ſo filthy, that the Lord *Howard* departed preſently from her; and returning with Mr. *John Hawkins* to the Lord Admiral, they informed him of what they found and ſaw there. For which Cauſe, there was preſently Commandment given, that the little Pinnace of Captain *Fleming* ſhould conduct her unto ſome Port of *England*, where they might moſt commodiouſly help themſelves. Whereupon it was carried to *Weymouth* the next Day following. For all the Miſhap that befel this Ship, they underſtood that the *Spaniards* had taken out of her all the beſt Things that they could, caſting off the Bulk of her, together with certain groſs Stuff therein, as for that time altogether unprofitable.

“ The Night laſt before-mentioned, there befel a great Calm, and thereupon four *Spaniſh* Galleaſſes ſevered themſelves from the reſt of their Fleet. This thing made the *Engliſhmen* to doubt, that that Night they had reſolved to give the Onſet upon ſome of their leſſer Ships, imagining that they might annoy them the rather, for that they were the Rereward of the Fleet. But afterwards the Galleaſſes (whatſoever the Occaſion was) enterpriſed nothing, either for that they ſaw they could not ſafely do it, or elſe becauſe their Minds were not thoroughly ſettled upon that which before they thought to do; a thing many times falling out in ſuch Perſons as are but poor in Counſel and Reſolution, that they continue in their perplexed Conceits, without any Effect or Commodity enſuing thereof.

“ The Morning following, being *Tueſday*, the 23d of the Month, the Wind was at N. E. whereupon the *Spaniards* came back upon the *Engliſhmen*, with the Advantage of the Wind, directing their Courſe towards the Land; the which Courſe was not profitable for the *Engliſhmen*. Therefore to take the Advantage of the Enemy, they caſt about towards the Weſt, with a reaſonable Compaſs, their Ships being very good both of Sail and Steerage, that they might bring about their Purpoſe. Now the *Spaniards*, to hinder their Intent, after they perceived it, offered to come near aboard to fight with them, truſting in the huge Greatneſs and Height of their Ships. The which Offer of theirs the *Engliſhmen* refuſed not, but began preſently to bring themſelves into Battle-array, which the Enemy perceiving, he alſo did the like.

“ In this Caſe the *Ark*, the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, the *Victory*, and certain other Ships were content to follow the Ship, called the *Non-Pariglia*.

“ In the mean Seaſon the *Triumph*, with other five Ships of *London*, namely the *Merchant-Royal*, the *Centurion*, the *Margery-Joan*, the *Mary-Roſe*, and the *Golden-Lion*, were ſo far to the Rereward, and ſo far ſevered from the reſt of the Fleet, that the Galleaſſes undertook to give them an hard Aſſault. But they were well entertained by the Ships, for the Space of an Hour and an half, until at the length, ſome of the Queen's Ships coming to ſuccour the *Triumph* and the *Londoners*, dealt ſo well in the Matter, that the Galleaſſes were driven to retire. The Wind came about at this preſent to the S. E. and afterwards to the S. W. and by South; at which time a certain Number or Squadron of the Queen's, together with other Merchants Ships, gave Aſſault unto the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and that ſo furiouſly to the Weſtward of them, that the *Spaniards* were all inforced to give them Way: For which Cauſe, the Lord Admiral conſidering both the Diſcommodity and Danger, whereinto the *Triumph*, and the other five Ships were come, he called other of the Queen's Ships that were not far off, and gave them ſtrait Commandment to follow him, and to charge the Enemies which were to the Weſtward with all their Force; giving further Order to them all, not to diſcharge any one Piece of Ordnance, before they ſhould come within a Muſket-ſhot of the Enemy, inaſmuch as that was the only Way to ſuccour the Ships of their Friends, with the greater Damage of the Enemy. This was well performed by the *Ark*, the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, the Galleon *Leiceſter*, the *Golden-Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary-Roſe*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Swallow*. Which thing the Duke of *Medina* perceiving, he alſo came forth with 16 of his beſt Galleons, to hinder and impeach the *Engliſhmen* in the Defence of the *Triumph*, ſeeming in this Caſe to pretend, that the Reaſon of the Fight did ſo require; whereas the Regard of his Honour did no leſs inforce him unto it; becauſe it ſeemed inconvenient that he ſhould in every thing be inferior to the *Engliſhmen*; and therefore he made large Promiſes unto thoſe, by whoſe Means the Victory ſhould be gotten. Howbeit the *Spaniards*, in the End, were inforced to give Place, and to retire unto their Array of Battle. In this Conflict, one *William Cocks*, Captain of a little Pinnace, called the *Violet*, belonging unto Sir *William Winter*, behaved himſelf very valiantly againſt the Enemy, in the greateſt Heat of this Encounter; but within a little while after he loſt his Delight, wherewith he was not very well acquainted, and his Life, by a great Piece of Ordnance.

“ Toward the Evening, four or five *Spaniſh* Ships came out from the reſt of the Fleet, from the South-eaſtward, againſt whom certain of the *Engliſh* Ships came, and namely, the *May-Flower* of *London*, which diſcharged certain Pieces upon the Enemy, with a very honourable Declaration of the Marine Diſcipline; and being accompanied by other Ships, that were there found, they all behaved themſelves no leſs diligently (which thing was not at the firſt hoped for) ſhewing their Deſire tempered with a Wiſh of other Company. The Conflict continued from the Morning unto the Evening, the Lord Admiral being at all times ready and vigilant, in all Adventures that might fall out; and thereupon he was ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs eager in the Conflict, as Neceſſity required, giving thereby evident Example, how others ſhould behave themſelves. It might well be ſaid, that for the time it was not poſſible to ſee, before this Battle, in this Sea ſo hard a Conflict, nor ſo terrible a Spoil of Ships, by reaſon of the Pellets [*] that flew ſo thick every Way. To conclude, there was never ſeen ſo vehement a Fight, either Side endeavouring through an headſtrong and deadly Hatred the other's Spoil and Deſtruction. For albeit the Muſqueteers and Harquebuſiers were in either Fleet many in Number, yet could they not be diſcerned or heard, by reaſon of the more violent and roaring Shot of the greater Ordnance, that followed ſo thick one upon another, and played ſo well that Day, on either Side, that they were thought to be equal in Number to common Harquebuſiers in an hot Skirmiſh. The Battle was not only long, but alſo near at hand, within half a Muſket-ſhot, and that to the great Advantage of the *Engliſhmen*, who with their Ships, being (as was aforeſaid) excellent of Sail and Steerage, yet leſs a great deal than the *Spaniſh* Ships, and therefore more light and nimble, fought not at all, according to their Manner otherwiſe, to board them, but keeping themſelves aloof at a reaſonable Diſtance, continually beat upon the Hull and Tacklings of their Enemies Ships, which being a great deal higher, could not ſo conveniently beat the *Engliſh* Ships with their Ordnance. This long Conflict being finiſhed, and every one retiring unto his Part, the next Day following (which was *Wedneſday*, the 24th of the Month) was paſſed without any Thing done, becauſe by reaſon of the Fight that Day before, there was ſpent a great Quantity of Powder and Shot; whereupon the Lord Admiral ſent divers Barks and Pinnaces to the Shore, for a new Supply of ſuch Munition. For her Majeſty, prudently foreſeeing each Thing neceſſary for her Men, ordained that there ſhould be ſufficient Proviſion made, according as ſhould be needful, as well of Victuals as of Munition. It ſeemed moreover that Day, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was nothing grieved with that Day's Reſpite, but were all of them indifferently glad of that Breathing, inaſmuch as thereby they had good Opportunity to look to their Leaks, whereof no doubt they had a great Number, for they had carried away many ſhrewd Stripes from their Enemies, their Hurts being of great Likelihood ſo much the more, in that the *Spaniards* were penned up in a narrow Room.

“ This Day, the Lord Admiral, for certain convenient Reaſons, divided the whole Body of the Fleet into four Squadrons, by means of which Diviſion the Enemy might be greatly, and more continually troubled. The firſt Squadron he kept for himſelf; the ſecond he aſſigned unto Sir *Francis Drake*, his Vice-admiral; the third to Mr. *John Hawkins*; the fourth to Mr. *Martin Forbiſher*; and after Noon he gave Order, that in the Night ſix of the Merchants-ſhips in each Squadron (for that, as they were of ſundry Parts of the Realm, ſo they were equally divided into each Squadron) ſhould charge the *Spaniſh* Fleet in as many Parts, at one and the ſame Time, that at Midnight the Enemy might be kept occupied. This Order taken (as it was very likely) might have had as good Effect, as it was wiſely given; but by reaſon of a great Calm, which fell out, no Part of this Adviſement could be accompliſhed, Fortune interrupting good Counſel.

The next Day, being the 25th of the Month, and St. *James's* Day, there was a great *Spaniſh* Galleon left behind her Company to the Southward, near to the Squadron of Maſter *John Hawkins*; ſo that the Barks, belonging unto the greater Ships, were within Muſket-ſhot of her. By reaſon hereof, three of the Galliaſſes, and another Ship, that was in Manner of a Galleon, and well appointed, came from the *Spaniſh* Fleet to ſuccour this Galleon. Againſt whom went out the Lord Admiral in the *Ark*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, and drew ſo near, being towed by their Boats, that they did them much harm, whereby one of them, requiring the Help of the reſt, being ſuccoured by them returned unto the Fleet: And from another, by means of a Shot coming from the *Ark*, there was taken away her Light, and thrown into the Sea; the third loſt her Beck. Whereby theſe two Ships, the *Ark* and the *Golden Lion*, declared this Day to each Fleet, that they had moſt diligent and faithful Gunners, deſirous as well of the common Good, as of the private Honour of their Leaders, the Lord Admiral and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, which went in them; which Commendation might rightly be imparted with them, concerning this happy Event, becauſe the Calm was ſo great, that, albeit the two Fleets were well able to behold the Fortune of each of their Friends, yet, notwithſtanding, they could not help them at all; at the length, the Wind beginning ſomewhat to ariſe, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity thereof, and put themſelves forward to help thoſe of their Side, and ſuccoured them honourably. After this Time, the Galliaſſes, in whoſe Puiſſance the greateſt Hope of the *Spaniſh* Fleet was founded, were never ſeen to fight any more, ſuch was their Entertainment that Day.

“ The two Fleets, notwithſtanding, approaching nigh one unto another, began a Conflict, but they continued it but a while, except one Ship called the *Non-Pariglia*, and another called the *Mary-Roſe*, which having taken in their Top-ſails, ſtaid themſelves there, to make as it were a certain Experience of their Manhood, upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, behaving themſelves honourably for a Seaſon. In which time the *Triumph*, being to the Northward of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, was ſo far off, that doubting that certain of the *Spaniſh* Ships would aſſault her to the Windward, they ſuccoured her with divers Boats, that got the Wind eaſily; for the *Bear* and the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, even at one Inſtant, having Knowledge of the Danger wherein the other were, drew near unto them, deſiring both in regard of the Honour of their Common-wealth, and alſo for the Preſervation of their Friends and Countrymen, to be Partakers of the like Danger and Difficulty.

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[*] Id eſt, Bullets.

“ Whereupon each Ship doing her Duty, they jointly ſaved the *Triumph* from all Harm, and recovered the Wind. And thus this Day's work ended; whereof I may ſay, that the Conflict was no whit ſhorter than the Day itſelf.

“ At this preſent the *Engliſhmen* conſidering the great Waſte of Powder and Shot that had heretofore been made, the Lord Admiral determined not to aſſault the Enemy any more, until he were come nigh unto *Dover*, in which Place he knew he ſhould find the Fleet under the Charge of the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter*, who were ready to join with him, that thereby he might both fortify himſelf with a greater Number of Ships, and in this manner provide themſelves of Munition, from that Part of the Realm. Upon *Friday* therefore, being the 26th of the Month, ceaſing from Fighting, the Lord Admiral (as well for their good Deſerts and honourable Service, as alſo to encourage others to like Valour) was deſirous to advance certain Perſonages to the Degree of Knighthood, for that, behaving themſelves manfully as well with their Ships as their good Advice, they were worthy that Degree of Honour; and ſo much the more worthy, in that, being far ſeparated from all courtly Favour, which many times imparteth the chiefeſt Honours unto the leaſt deſerving Men, they declared their Valour in the Eyes of either Fleet.

“ Therefore the two Lords, *viz.* the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher* were called forth, and the Order of Knighthood given them, by the Lord Admiral, as their General.

“ This Day there came to the Service of her Majeſty, in her Fleet, divers Gentlemen, honourable both by Blood and Place, but much more in reſpect of their Courage and Virtue, for that, in theſe public Affairs and ſo neceſſary Service of the Wars, they willingly offered their Service in the Defence of their Country and Honour of her Majeſty.

“ This Day alſo, and the next, being the 27th, the *Spaniards* followed their Courſe quietly, before the *Engliſh* Fleet. In which time the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *George Cary*, Knt. and the Captains of the Forts and Caſtles thereabout, ſent their Men with Powder, Shot and Victuals, to the Lord Admiral, to aſſiſt and help the Army. The ſame *Saturday* towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* drew nigh to *Calais* under the Coaſt of *Picardy*, and there ſuddenly caſt Anchor, almoſt right againſt the Left-hand of the Haven, to the Weſtward, a little leſs than five Miles from *Calais* Cliffs. The *Engliſh* Fleet alſo caſt Anchor, within a Culverin-ſhot of the Enemy to the Weſtward.

“ In the mean Seaſon, the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* joined with the Lord Admiral, whereby the *Engliſh* Fleet increaſed to the Number of 140 Ships, of all ſorts. But the *Spaniards*, with all Speed, ſent Tidings unto the Duke of *Parma* of their Arrival, who at this preſent was at *Bruges*; who, having retained with him all his ſeafaring Men, many Days before to this Purpoſe, yet proceeded no farther in the Matter for that time, although for ſuch time as the King had limited him, he for his Part took as much Care as might be looked for at his Hands. For, having already embarked a certain Number of his Soldiers, he was careful in like Manner to diſpatch the reſt, as ſoon as they ſhould be ready, that they might take Opportunity to come forth, furniſhing them abundantly with Victuals and Munition. But in the mean time ſuch a Chance fell out, as made fruſtrate, not only his, but the Conceit alſo of the Duke of *Medina*, and wholly overthrew their Enterpriſe, in that her Majeſty was not a little careful and troubled in Mind, concerning the Succeſs of theſe Affairs, albeit ſhe herſelf had committed her whole Fortune into the Hands of Almighty God.

“ Moreover, alſo the Lord Admiral, having, by certain Notice, underſtood, that the Duke of *Parma* had prepared a great Number of Tons of Water, and 10,000 choſen Footmen, to be embarked for the joining with the Fleet, which could not be avoided, if the Duke of *Medina* were not compelled to avoid that Place; knowing alſo the evident Peril, that was to be feared, if the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſhould be ſuffered to refreſh itſelf, and to be furniſhed with ſo many Soldiers, he applied his Wits ſo, in the Deliberation of theſe Matters of Weight and Importance, having the Conſent of others more practiſed, that no Time might be loſt, for the Furtherance of this Service; and, for ſo much as the Forces of the Enemy were not yet united and joined together, therefore the 28th of this Month, at Midnight, he provided eight ſmall Ships, dreſſed with artificial Fire *, to the Intent to drive the ſame upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet. This Thing was diligently and effectually brought to paſs, under the Charge of Captain *Young* and Captain *Prewſe*, two valiant and courageous Men. By reaſon hereof, the Enemy was not only inforced to break his Sleep, but, the Fire coming ſo ſuddenly upon him, (not remembering himſelf, at the very inſtant Time, of any other Remedy, either more ſafe for himſelf, or more excuſable) to cut his Cables, to let ſlip his Anchors, and to hoiſt up Sails, as the only way to ſave his Fleet from ſo imminent and unexpected a Miſchief. Furthermore, by means of this Tumult and Confuſion (which, in truth, was very great) the chief Galliaſs fell foul with another Ship, upon the Cable of whoſe Anchor, her Stern was ſet ſo faſt, that they could not looſe her all the Night long, ſo that the next Day following ſhe was inforced with her Oars to make toward the Land, and to draw nigh to the Haven's Mouth of *Calais*, to ſave herſelf in that Place; but, not knowing that Water, and having no profitable and convenient Counſel for the Time, ſhe fell upon a Shelf. This Thing being, in good time, eſpied by the Lord Admiral, he ſent thither his greateſt Boat, under the Charge of *Amicus Preſton* his Lieutenant, and together with him, *Thomas Gerrard* and Mr. *Harvie*, two of her Majeſty's Gentlemen and Servants, and others of the Court, and of his own Servants, who ſought with her, but unequally, for that the Ship being gravelled, could, with her Force, prevail but little. In this Conflict it chanced that a Muſket-ſhot ſtruck *Hugo de Monçada*, chief Captain of the Galliaſs, a noble and valiant Man, in the Head. The which Miſhap, joined with the Difficulty of ſtirring themſelves in their Defence, bred ſuch a Deſpair in every Man, that the greater ſort leaped into the Water, to ſave themſelves by ſwimming into the Haven, although many of them periſhed in the Water. By this Diſorder of the Enemy, the *Engliſhmen* being more ſecure, took her, and ſacked her to their great Commodity, above 100 Men being entered into her, and their Company increaſing more and more.

“ Whereupon Monſieur *Gordon*, Governor of *Calais*, a a Man of good Eſtimation in reſpect of his Prerogative in that Place, ſent his Nephew to give the *Engliſhmen* to underſtand, that they ſhould content themſelves with the ordinary Spoil, and that they ſhould leave behind them the great Ordnance, as a Thing belonging unto him by virtue of his Office. The which Embaſſage, ſent the ſecond time unto Men more intentive unto their Prey than other Mens Reaſon, made the Gentleman to be evilly entertained by our Men, in ſuch ſort, that they would have forceably taken from him ſome trifling

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* This is the firſt Occaſion on which we read that Fire-ſhips were uſed in a Sea-fight.

Things about him, thinking him to be a *Spaniard.* Whereat M. *Gordon*, being offended, cauſed certain Pieces of Ordnance to be diſcharged from the Town, and then the *Engliſhmen* departed, leaving the Galliaſs at his Pleaſure, after the Loſs of ſome Soldiers, having notwithſtanding ſacked 22,000 Duckets of Gold, appertaining unto the King, and 14 Coffers of Moveables of the Duke of *Medina*, with ſome other both Money and Moveables of other particular Men, and ſome Priſoners, among whom was Don *Roderigo* of *Mendoza*, and Don *John Gonzales de Solerzano*, Under-captain of the Galliaſs.

“ During the Time of ſurpriſing of which Galliaſs, Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-admiral, being in the Ship called *The Revenge*, accompanied with *Thomas Fenner*, Captain of the *Non Pariglia*, with the reſt of that Squadron, ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, giving them a hot Charge. Within a while after, Sir *John Hawkins*, in the *Victory*, accompanied with *Edward Fenton* Captain of the *Mary Roſe*, with *George Beeſton* Captain in the *Dreadnought*, and *Richard Hawkins*, in the *Swallow*, with the reſt of that Squadron, put themſelves forward, and broke thro' the Midſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; where there began a vehement Conflict continuing all the Morning, wherein every Captain did very honourable Service. Among the reſt, Captain *Beeſton* deſerved ſpecial Praiſe. Unto this Fight came the Lord Admiral, accompanied with the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; and in that Place, where the Fight was made, and the Victory was gotten, they were publickly commended, that of their own Accord had made Shew of the Fruits anſwerable to the Hope before conceived of them. Not far from this Place there was a great *Spaniſh* Galleon ſeen, which was ſet upon on the one Side, by the Earl of *Cumberland*, and *George Ryman*, in the *Bonaventure*; and on the other Side by the Lord *Seymer*, in the Ship called the *Rainbow*, and Sir *William Winter* in the *Vanguard*; yet ſhe ſaved herſelf valiantly, gathering into the Body of the Fleet, although with ill Succeſs; for ſhe was ſo beaten, and ſo terribly rent and torn with our great Ordnance, that the Night following, in the Sight of her own Fleet, ſhe ſunk, her Men, as is thought, being ſaved. After this, Captain *Fenton* in the *Mary Roſe*, and a *Spaniſh* Galleon met together, being Eaſt and Weſt one of another, yet no nigher than that her Shot ſhould play ſafely, and fly between them without any great hurt. Captain *Fenton*, notwithſtanding, and thoſe that were with him, were worthily commended for their Service begun and accompliſhed with ſuch proſperous Boldneſs. The ſame Day the Deeds of Sir *Robert Southwell* were evidently ſeen; for, being a Man born to Virtue and Commendation, and deſirous to purchaſe Honour, to the End that he might not make fruſtrate the Judgment of his Sovereign, who beforetime had made him a Knight, divining how much, in time to come, he would further the Profit of the Commonwealth of *England*, he inforced himſelf not only to ſatisfy either in Counſel or Pains the publick Intent, but alſo the private Commodity of the Lord Admiral, his Father-in-law, in that he had dutifully promiſed him ſure and faithful Service, whereupon for the ſame he received condign Praiſe of every Man. There was alſo particularly praiſed *Robert Croſs*, Captain, who in the Ship called, *The Hope*, gave a Sign of Fruit to be looked for in him, not inferior unto that which the Ship, wherein he went, did, by the Name it carried, cauſe us to hope for.

“ It fell out alſo, the ſame Day, that the Lord *Henry Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* did ſo throrougly beat two *Spaniſh* Galleons, although they were of the chiefeſt of them, and the beſt provided, that they were inforced to withdraw themſelves to the Coaſt of *Flanders*; where, foraſmuch as they were in a very evil Taking, as well in reſpect of the Murder of their Men, as the manifold Leaks of their Ships, they were ſurpriſed, and, without Fight, rifled by the *Zeelanders*, and, with all the Men in them, carried as Priſoners unto *Fluſhing*. Among theſe, the chiefeſt was Don *Diego Pimentello*, a Man very famous among his Country People.

“ It ſeemeth hereby that we may with Reaſon gather, that in theſe Conflicts many of the *Spaniſh* Ships periſhed, albeit that moſt Men think, that few of them miſcarried. After this Battle, which was made the 29th of the Month, the Lord Admiral the 30th Day ordained, that the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* ſhould return with their Fleet unto their appointed Office in the Channel, which was to keep the Coaſt from the Danger that the Duke of *Parma* ſeemed to threaten. The which Duke had already loſt the Opportunity of being able to do any Thing for the accompliſhing of the common Intention of the *Spaniards*, or according to the Instructions received from the *Spaniſh* King, whatſoever they were; becauſe the ſudden and unlooked-for Departure of the Duke of *Medina* with the whole Fleet, from the Coaſt of *Calais*, and his ſmall Abode upon any other Coaſt, cauſed the whole Care of the aforeſaid Duke, that he took upon the main Land, to become void, ſo that he did not embark the reſt of his Men to join with the Duke of *Medina*.

“ The Lord-admiral, therefore, determined to follow the *Spaniſh* Fleet only ſo long until they might be ſhut up to the Northward, whither the *Spaniſh* Fleet directed her Courſe, but to what End it was not known. And that he with the ſame Wind might come to the *Firth*, which is upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, if ſo be that he ſaw the Enemy paſs thoſe Parts. Whereupon he thought moreover, that it was good to ſtay his Fleet from attempting aught upon the *Spaniard*, until he ſhould have good Intelligence of their Purpoſe, thereby to work a Mean utterly to diſperſe and overthrow them. But the *Spaniards* kept their Courſe about the Iſlands of *Orkney*, declaring thereby, that they minded to return that Way into *Spain*, along by the North coaſt of *Scotland*, which, as ſkilful Men conjectured, would be to their evident Danger, as it fell out afterwards. Perceiving, therefore, the Purpoſe of the Enemy, when he was ſhut up fifty-five Degrees thirteen Minutes to the Northward, and thirty Leagues off from *Newcaſtle*, the Lord-admiral reſolved with himſelf to let the *Spaniſh* Fleet keep on her Way; albeit at the firſt he was minded to give them a ſtrong Aſſault upon the Second of *Auguſt*; but, perſuaded otherwiſe by a more ſafe Advice and Counſel, he wiſely ſtaid himſelf from that Action, leaving the Event that ſhould enſue unto Fortune, who might work ſome farther Matter upon them, ſeeing the Enemy had taken that Way to ſave himſelf. Moreover, he conſidered the Scarcity of Munition, whereof at that Preſent he had but little, and that upon this Occaſion, for that the Ships that lay on the Coaſt, appointed by Order from her Majeſty to carry ſuch Proviſion, knew not where to find our Fleet in Time convenient.

“ The *Spaniſh* Fleet, therefore, as for her own Welfare it was requiſite, having gone on far before, the Lord-admiral reſolved to put into the *Firth* in *Scotland*, as well to refreſh himſelf, with new Victuals, as alſo to diſpatch certain other Matters which he thought neceſſary. But, the Wind being much Weſtward and againſt him, the Day following he changed his Courſe, and returned to *England*, with his whole Fleet, the Seventh of *Auguſt*, although, by reaſon of a Tempeſt which befel them, Part of the Ships put into *Dover*, Part into *Harwich*, and the reſt into *Yarmouth*.

“ The *Spaniſh* Fleet, paſſing, as aforeſaid, into thoſe Seas, which, for the moſt Part, are quiet and calm enough, whether it were driven to and fro in them with contrary Winds, or by ſome other fatal Accident that fell out, it continued therein toſſed up and down until the End of *September*, with fearful Succeſs and deadly Shipwreck along the whole Coaſt of *Ireland*, ſo that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was inforced to leave there behind him about the Number of ſeventeen good Ships, beſides thoſe fifteen that were thought to be loſt in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, and ſo to return into *Spain*.

“ The Perſons, loſt in *Ireland*, were eſteemed to be about 5500. So that, all being accounted together, it

" is certainly avouched, that all the Ships that were loſt " amount unto the Number of thirty-two, and the Men " accounted, one with another, ariſe to the Number of " 13500 or more. The Priſoners alſo of all Sorts, in " *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low Countries*, ariſe to the " Number of 2000 and more."

Upon this Occaſion, a univerſal Joy over-ſpread every true-born *Engliſh* Countenance; and, after public Thanks to God, the State endeavoured to perpetuate its Happineſs to Poſterity, by a Medal, repreſenting a Navy flying away, with the Inſcription, *Venit*, *Vidit*, *Fugit*; and by another, bearing Ships on Fire, and a Navy routed, with this Inſcription, *Dux Fœmina Facti*; aſcribing the firſt Invention of Fire-ſhips to the Queen herſelf. For, as my Hiſtorian expreſsly avoucheth, " By her Commandment, the Ad" miral took eight of the worſt Ships, and dreſſed them " with a Wild-fire, Pitch and Roſin, and filled them full " of Brimſtone, and ſome other Matter fit for Fire; and " theſe, being ſet on Fire were, ſecretly in the Night, by " the Help of the Wind, ſet full upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, " as they lay at Anchor. Which ſo ſurprized the Enemy, " that each Ship, ſtriving to ſecure itſelf from the Danger, " broke looſe, and threw them all into Confuſion, and ſo " ſeparated the whole Fleet, that they never more united " to any Purpoſe." And certainly, had not that gracious Queen been fired with divine Zeal, ſhe could never have ſo effectually provided a Means to deſtroy that Part of the Enemy's Fleet by Fire, of which God was determined to deſtroy the other Part by Water. Well then may we ſay, *This was the Lord's Doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes.* Pſalm cxviii.

The very Day the laſt Engagement was between the two Fleets, the Duke of *Parma*, having paid his Addreſſes to *our Lady of Hall*, came to *Dunkirk*, tho' ſomething of the lateſt; for which Reaſon the *Spaniards* received him in a very reproachſul Manner, as if, out of ſome By-regards to Queen *Elizabeth*, he had purpoſely ſlipp'd ſo fair an Opportunity of doing Wonders for the Service of his Country. The Duke, to appeaſe this Storm, puniſh'd thoſe who had the Charge of victualling his Fleet; tho' in the mean time he could not but ſecretly laugh at the haughty and inſolent Bravadoes of the *Spaniards*, who had been ſo vain to ſay, " That wherever they turned their Sails, a " moſt certain Victory waited upon their Courſe; and that " the *Engliſh* would not have Courage enough to look them " in the Face."

The poor Remains of the Fleet arrived at length in a miſerable Condition on the Coaſts of *Spain*, ſeveral of the Ships having foundered at Sea, no leſs than 10 being caſt away on the Coaſt of *Ireland*. Among theſe latter, was one of the great Galleaſſes, and two large Ships of *Venice*, called *La Ratta*, and *Belanzara*. In this, and ſeveral other Tempeſts they met with, were loſt about 40 Sail, and moſt of the Perſons which were in them periſhed. According to *Stow*'s Account, the Duke of *Medina* returned to *Spain* about the End of *September*, with only 60 Sail, out of his 132, and thoſe too very much ſhattered. Others ſay only 53 returned. Thoſe which did get home were laden with Shame and Diſhonour, and the Duke of *Medina* forbid the Court.

Thus in the Space of one Month, and with the Loſs only of one ſmall Ship, and 100 Men, was brought to Deſtruction that formidable *Armada*, which had been three whole Years fitting out, at an incredible Expence, and which had made all *Europe* tremble. The Loſs of Nobility and Gentry on-board of this Fleet was ſo great, that there was hardly a Family in *Spain* but was in Mourning, on this Occaſion; and King *Philip* was obliged by Proclamation to ſhorten the uſual time, as the *Romans* of old, upon their great Defeat at *Cannæ*, found it neceſſary to limit the public Grief to 30 Days.

According to *Anthony Coppley*, a fugitive Gentleman in thoſe times, when the News was brought, *Philip* being at Maſs, he ſwore (after Maſs was over) " That he would " waſte and conſume his Crown even to the Value of a " Candleſtick (pointing at one that ſtood upon the Altar) " but either he would utterly ruin her Majeſty and *Eng*" *land*, or elſe himſelf and all *Spain* become tributary to " her."

Some Authors ſay, King *Philip* was writing a Letter in his Cloſet, when the News came, upon which he coolly ſaid, " He ſent his Fleet to fight againſt the *Engliſh*, and " not againſt the Winds;" and without Change or Emotion continued to finiſh his Letter.

Upon the Diſappearance of this mighty Fleet, the following Writing was faſtened up to *Paſquin* at *Rome*, " Pon" tificem mille annorum Indulgentias largiturum eſſe, de " plenitudine poteſtatis ſuæ, ſi quis certò ſibi indicaverit, " quid ſit factum de claſſe *Hiſpanicâ*, quo *abierit*; in cœ" lumne ſublata, an ad tartara detruſa, vel in aere alicubi " pendeat, an in aliquo mari fluctuet."

Of the *Spaniſh Armada*, according to ſome Authors, were taken and deſtroyed in *July* and *Auguſt*, 15 great Ships, and 4791 Men, in the Fight between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Navies in the Channel. And on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, in *September*, 17 Ships, and 5394 Men; in all 32 Ships, and 10,185 Men.

Their Loſs muſt have been much greater, if we may give Credit to *Stow*'s Account. *Harris* in his Appendix, and *Hackluit* ſay, of 134 Sail that came out of *Liſbon*, only 53 returned to *Spain*. Of the four Galleaſſes of *Naples*, but one; the like of the four largeſt Galleons of *Portugal*; of the 91 Galleons and great Hulks from divers Provinces, only 33 returned. In a Word, they loſt 81 Ships in this Expedition, and upwards of 13,500 Soldiers.

In Memory of which great and miraculous Deliverance from the *Spaniſh* and *Popery* Tyranny, there was a Day ſet a-part, by Authority, to be kept holy, throughout all her Majeſty's Dominions; and it is much to be regretted, that ſo great a Mercy and Duty ſhould be now laid aſide; For, as a certain great Writer obſerves, doubtleſs all Men and Women, who would not have bowed the Knee to (*Spaniſh*) *Baal*, had then been put to the Sword; their Children had been toſſed at the Pike's End, or elſe their Brains daſhed out by ſome ill-faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of *England*'s Deliverance, amongſt whom I ſhall only mention the reverend and religious *Theodore Beza* (of pious Memory) whoſe pathetic Poem gratulatory on that Occaſion, in *Latin*, inſcribed to the Queen, I ſhall give you here tranſlated by an excellent Pen into the Language of thoſe Days.

Spain's King, with Navies huge, the Seas beſtrew'd,
T'augment, with *Engliſh* Crown, his *Spaniſh* Sway.
Aſk you, what caus'd this proud Attempt? 'Twas lewd
Ambition drove, and Av'rice led the Way.
'Tis well Ambition's windy Puff lies drown'd
By Winds; and ſwelling Hearts, by ſwelling Waves.
'Tis well the *Spaniards*, who the World's vaſt Round
Devour'd, devouring Sea moſt juſtly craves.
But thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do war,
O thou ſole Glory of the World's wide Maſs,
So reign to God, ſtill from Ambition far,
So ſtill, with bounteous Aids, the Good embrace,
That thou do *England* long, long *England* thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all bad, thou every good Man's joy!

This Storm being weather'd, her Majeſty and Council not only continued upon their guard, but concerted Meaſures to carry the War into the Boſom of the Enemy. The Earl of *Cumberland*[a], who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late Action for his Conduct and Courage, was ordered to ſail for the *South Seas*, in her Majeſty's Ship the *Golden Lion*; tho' this Expedition was fruſtrated by unavoidable Accidents, and ended with the ſole Prize of a *Dunkirker*, laden with *Spaniſh* Property, and taken in the Channel. But the Scheme which operated more effectually, was to ſet up and aſſiſt Don *Antonio*, a Pretender to the Crown of *Portugal*, ſo as to find King *Philip* ſo much Work to do at home, as to take off his Attention of making any other Invaſion upon theſe Dominions.

This was a ſcheme propoſed by Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who with ſome others, deſpiſing the *Spaniards*, offered to defray the Expence of the Expedition at their own Charge, provided her Majeſty would keep a few of her own Ships at Sea, to aſſiſt them in caſe of need.

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[a] Harris, Vol. I. p. 685. Edit. 1. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1142. Hackluit, Vol. II. Part II. p. 134.

[b] MSS. Cotton Libr. Camden. Stow. Speed. Sir William Monſon,

They were alſo joined by the States of *Holland* in this Deſign, who ſent two Ships well equip'd, to follow the Command of the *Engliſh* Admiral. The whole Fleet conſiſted of 146 Sail [a], of which ſix only were the Queen's Ships, the reſt being ſupplied by the Cinque Ports, *Ipſwich*, *Harwich*, *Newcaſtle*, *&c.* and private Adventurers. The State granted only ſixty thouſand Pounds, the private Adventurers fifty thouſand Pounds, and the reſt of the Charges were defray'd by the Towns aforeſaid.

The Queen's Ships were,

Ships.	Command. by Sea.	Command. by Land.
The *Revenge.*	Sir *Francis Drake.*	Sir *John Norris.*
Dreadnough.	Capt. *Thomas Fennar.*	Sir *Edward Norris.*
Aid.	Capt. *William Fennar.*	Sir *Henry Norris.*
Nonpareil.	Capt. *Sackvile.*	Sir *Roger Williams.*
Foreſight.	Capt. *William Winter.*	Capt. *Williams*, or *Wilſon*, Serj. Major.
Swiftſure.	Capt. *Goring.*	

They ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 17th of *April* 1589, and made the Coaſt of *Galicia* on the 23d. Next Day they landed at a little Hermitage on the Eaſt of the *Groyne* or *Corunna*, encounter'd the Enemy, whom they met within half a Mile of the Place, and drove them back to their very Gates. The next Day they aſſaulted the Lower-town, which they carried, after ſome Reſiſtance, by Storm, attacking it at once both by Land and Water, in the following Manner: Twelve hundred Men were landed in Long-boats and Pinnaces, on one Side of the Water, who played upon the Town with Artillery as they approach'd it; and on the other Side, five hundred Men were ordered to enter at Low-water, if they found it paſſable, or elſe to ſcale the Walls with Ladders; and by Land three hundred Men were to enter by Eſcalade; and all theſe were to charge at the ſame Inſtant. Theſe Boats landed with only a few Men wounded; and thoſe who aſſaulted it by Land, entered without any Reſiſtance: Thus the Lower-town being entered in three ſeveral Places at once, the Inhabitants fled to the Upper-town, by Ways which the *Engliſh* knew not. They took the Governor Don *Juan de Luna* Priſoner, with ſome other Perſons of Note, and burnt a great Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions, which had been laid up there, and was intended for a new Expedition to *England*. They killed about five hundred of the Enemy, after they entered the Town, in the Heat of the Plunder; but the *Engliſh* Soldiers finding the Cellars full of Wine, indulged themſelves ſo much in exceſſive Drinking, that many of them fell ſick and died. The *Spaniards* in the mean time ſet Fire to a monſtrous great Ship which lay in the Harbour, and which burnt for two Days together. Before they ſet Fire to her, they ſo over-loaded her Cannon, that four and thirty of them burſt. They abandoned ſeveral other Ships; and the *Engliſh* beſieged the Upper-town, and having ſprung a Couple of Mines, which did conſiderable Damage to the Wall, and made two Breaches, they began the Attack with ſome Succeſs; but the Fall of a Tower in the Midſt of the Aſſault, which killed many of the Men, and diſmayed the reſt, obliged them to retreat; and in their Retreat from both Breaches, thro' a narrow Lane, many of their Men were wounded, having only three Pieces of Ordnance to ſupport them. However they took the Cloiſter, ſtanding on the South-ſide, cloſe by the Wall of the Town; and the ſecond Day Colonel *Huntley* ravaged the Country with a Detachment of Troops, and brought into the Camp a good Store of Cows and Sheep; as did likewiſe Captain *Anthony Sampſon* on the fifth.

The General next Day hearing by a Priſoner, who was brought into the Camp, that the *Conde de Andrada*, with a Body of eight thouſand *Spaniards*, had aſſembled at *Puente de Burgos*, was approaching to the Relief of the Place, and was quickly to be joined by a far greater Number of Troops, under the *Conde de Altamira*, he advanced, on the ſixth of *May* to meet him, with nine of his Regiments, leaving the other five with Sir *Francis Drake*, to guard the Artillery and the Cloiſter. Theſe marched in three Bodies, and Captain *Middleton* having given the firſt Charge, was ſeconded by Captain *Wingfield*, who beat them from Place to Place, till they fled to a Stone-bridge over a Creek of the Sea; on the farther Side of which the Enemy's Camp was ſtrongly intrench'd. Nevertheleſs, Sir *Edward Norris* at the Head of the Pikes, with Colonel *Sidney*, the Captains *Hinder*, *Fulford* and *Barton*, and divers others, paſſed over the Bridge to the farther End of it, which was barracaded with Barrels; but they who ſhould have guarded it, ſeeing the *Engliſh* march on with ſo much Undauntedneſs, forſook the Barracade. Sir *Edward* enter'd, and charging the firſt he met with too much Eagerneſs, he fell, and was wounded with a Sword, as were alſo ſeveral other Gentlemen who accompanied them, particularly the three Captains above-mentioned; yet were they ſo well ſeconded by the General, that the Enemy's braveſt Men being deſtroyed, the whole Army was put to Flight with ſuch Precipitation, that there were cut off three thouſand Men in the Purſuit, and their chief Standard taken, with the King's Arms; and beſides what they killed in the Purſuit, and in the Hedges and Vineyards, they put two hundred to the Sword in a Cloiſter, with the Loſs only of one Captain and one Man kill'd, and ſome few wounded.

The adjacent Villages, and the Enemy's Camp, in which they found good Store of Ammunition, Plate and Apparel, being plundered and burnt, it was thought fit, without returning to the Siege, to re-embark the Troops; which was done on the eighth, after having ſet Fire to the Lower-town and the Cloiſter, without the Loſs of a Man.

The Fleet proceeded to the Coaſt of *Portugal*; and they were joined in their Paſſage by the brave Earl of *Eſſex* with ſome Ships, which he, thirſting after Glory, had fitted out at his own Expence, without the Queen's Knowledge, and accompanied by his Brother *Walter d'Evreux*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Philip Butler*, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*, who brought ſeveral Corn-ſhips they had taken off *Cape Finiſtre*.

On their Arrival the 16th before *Penicha*, a ſmall Town of *Portugal*, near the *Burlings*, Sir *John Norris*, with the Land-forces, went aſhore and took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of that Place, in right of Don *Antonio*. Upon this Encouragement, and at the earneſt Perſuaſions of that Prince, it was reſolved that the Troops ſhould march on to *Liſbon*. By the Way they took the Town and Caſtle of *Torres Vedras*, and having had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, which all ended to the Advantage and Honour of the *Engliſh*, on the 25th they arrived at that Place, and ſoon took the Suburbs of *St. Katherine*'s; but perceiving no Inclination in the People to declare for the Prince, and hearing no News of the Succours, which he had aſſured them they ſhould have from *Morocco*; and beſides, the Army being grown ſick, and wanting both Cannon and Ammunition, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to retire; ſo that after having ſtaid two Nights at *Liſbon*, without the Garriſon's daring to attack them, tho' it conſiſted of more Troops than they had before the Town, they made the beſt of their Way to *Caſcais*, a little Town at the Mouth of the River *Tagus*; Don *Antonio*, not willing that they ſhould plunder his Subjects, as he called them, and thereby depriving the *Engliſh* of the greateſt Advantage they might have made of this Expedition.

The Fleet, which had taken a good Number of Ships by the Way, and particularly 15 bound for *Liſbon*, with Men and Proviſions, was already arrived at *Caſcais*, and had reduced that Place. But the Admiral, diſcontented with Don *Antonio*, after he had blown up Part of the Caſtle, and ſeized 60 Sail of Ships, belonging to the *Hanſe-towns*, which, contrary to the Queen's Prohibition, were juſt arrived there with Coro, and all manner of naval Stores, deſigned towards the fitting out of a new Fleet againſt *England*, took the Troops on-board, and ſet Sail homewards.

They were no ſooner under Sail, than they were attacked by above 20 of the Enemy's Gallies, which notwithſtanding the Want of Wind, were ſo well received, that they were forced to retire with conſiderable Damage.

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[a] Columna Roſtrata. Stow. Monſon. Camden. Strype.

In their Return they burnt the Town of *Vigo* in *Galicia*, on the Banks of a Bay of the ſame Name, and ravaged the Country round about it; and arrived in *England* the Beginning of *July*, with 150 Pieces of Cannon, taken from the Enemy, and a large Booty, of which Part was divided among the Seamen.

This private Expedition (ſays Mr. *Echard*) proved a great Mortification to the *Spaniards*, and raiſed the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Valour; but it coſt the Lives of about 6000 Soldiers and Seamen, not from the Hands of the Enemy, but by their eating of ſtrange Fruits, and from the Diſtempers of the Climate.

The Queen at firſt had ſome Deſign to confiſcate only the Goods, and to releaſe the 60 Ships belonging to the *Hanſe-towns*; but receiving Advice of an extraordinary Aſſembly held at *Lubeck*, to conſider of Ways and Means to be revenged on the *Engliſh* Government, for the Loſs of their Privileges, ſhe made Prize of all but two, which were diſcharged to carry home the News of their Companions Misfortune.

The Adventurers in this Expedition were greatly diſguſted at the Orders of Don *Antonio*, which prevented the plundering of the rich Suburbs of *Liſbon*; and with Sir *Francis Drake*, for not expediting his Aſſiſtance to the Land-forces, by immediately entering the *Tajo*, and attacking the City of *Liſbon* by Water; and with both the Commanders for trifling away their Time, and conſuming their Ammunition, *&c.* in the petty Exploits on the Coaſt of *Galicia*; all which will be better underſtood by the following Remarks made thereon by Sir *William Monſon*, who ſides with the Lenity uſed towards the *Portugueſe*.

“ The laſt Overthrow of 1588, given to the *Invincible* Fleet (as they termed themſelves) did ſo encourage every Man to War, that happy was he who could put himſelf in Action againſt the *Spaniards*, as it appeared by the Volunteers, that went in this Voyage. Conſidering the great Loſs the King of *Spain* received in the Year paſt, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided for at home, made the Queen willing to countenance this Action, tho' ſhe undertook it not wholly of herſelf, to which is to be imputed the Overthrow of it.

“ For whoſoever he be of a Subject, that thinks to undertake ſo great an Enterpriſe without a Prince's Purſe, ſhall be deceived; and therefore theſe two Generals, in my Opinion, never over-ſhot themſelves more, than in undertaking ſo great a Charge, with ſo little Means, which is the only Cauſe to which is to be imputed the ill Succeſs of it; for where there is Victuals and Arms wanting, what Hope is there of prevailing.

“ The Project of this Voyage was to reſtore a diſtreſſed King to his Kingdom, uſurped as he pretended; and tho' the Means for the ſetting forth of this Voyage was not ſo great as was expedient, yet in the Opinion of all Men, if they had directed their Courſe, whither they intended it, without landing at the *Groyne*, they had performed the Service they went for, reſtored Don *Antonio* to the Crown, diſſevered *Portugal* from *Spain*, and united it in League with *England*, which would have anſwered the preſent Charge, and have ſettled a continual Trade for us to the *Weſt-Indies*, and the reſt of the *Portugal* Dominions, for ſo we might have conditioned.

“ But, as I have ſaid, the Landing at the *Groyne* was a lingring of the other Deſign, a conſuming of Victuals, weakening of the Armies by the immoderate Drinking of the Soldiers, which brought a lamentable Sickneſs amongſt them, a Warning to the *Spaniards* to ſtrengthen *Portugal*, and what was more than all this, a Diſcouragement to proceed farther, being repulſed in the firſt Attempt.

“ Notwithſtanding this ill Succeſs at the *Groyne*, they departed from thence towards *Portugal*, and arrived at *Penicha*, a maritime Town 12 Leagues from *Liſbon*, where with ſmall Reſiſtance they took the Caſtle, after the Captain underſtood Don *Antonio* to be in the Army.

“ From thence General *Norris* marched with his Land-forces to *Liſbon*, and Sir *Francis Drake* with his Fleet ſailed to *Caſcais*, promiſing from thence to paſs with his Ships up the River to *Liſbon*, to meet with Sir *John Norris*, which he did not; and therefore he was much blamed by the common Conſent of all Men, imputing the Overthrow of the Action to him.

“ It will not excuſe Sir *Francis Drake*, in his Promiſe made to Sir *John Norris*, tho' I would utterly have accuſed him of want of Diſcretion, if he had put the Fleet to ſo great an Adventure to ſo little Purpoſe; for his being in the Harbour of *Liſbon*, was nothing to the taking of the Caſtle, which was two Miles from thence; and had the Caſtle been taken, the Town would have been taken of Courſe.

“ And moreover, the Ships could not furniſh the Army with more Men or Victuals than they had; wherefore I underſtand not wherein his going up was neceſſary, and yet the Fleet was to endure many Hazards to this little Purpoſe.

“ For betwixt *Caſcais* and *Liſbon* there are three Caſtles, *St. Julian*, *St. Francis*, and *Bellem*; the firſt of the three I hold one of the moſt impregnable Forts, to Seaward, in *Europe*, by which the Fleet was to paſs, within Caliver-ſhot; tho' I confeſs the greateſt Danger was not the paſſing it, for with a reaſonable Gale of Wind, any Fort is to be paſſed with ſmall Hazard.

“ But at this time there was a general Want of Victuals, and being entered the Harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the Place being ſubject to contrary Winds, in which Space of time, the better Part of the Victuals would have been conſumed, and they would have remained there in ſo deſperate a State, that they would have been forced to have fired one half of the Fleet for the bringing home of the reſt; for being as they were, after the Army was embarked for *England*, many died of Famine homeward, and more would have done ſo, if the Wind had took them ſhort, or if by the Death of ſome others, they had not been relieved.

“ And beſides all theſe Caſualties and Dangers, the *Adalantado* was then in *Liſbon*, with the Gallies of *Spain*, and how eaſily he might have annoyed our Fleet by towing Fire-ſhips amongſt us, we may ſuppoſe by the Hurt we did the *Spaniards* the Year before in *Calais* Road, and greater we had done, if we had had the Help of Gallies.

“ It is a Wonder to obſerve every Man's Opinion of this Voyage, as well thoſe that were Actors in it, as others that ſtaid at home; ſome imputing the Overthrow of it to the Landing at the *Groyne*, others to the *Portugueſe* failing of their Help and Aſſiſtance, as was promiſed by Don *Antonio*; and ſome to Sir *Francis Drake*'s not coming up the River with his Fleet.

“ Tho' any of theſe three might ſeem probable Reaſons to many Men, that ſhall but hear them, and the Landing at the *Groyne*, the chiefeſt of the three alledged; yet weighing truly the Defect, and where it was, it will appear, that the Action was overthrown before their ſetting out from home, they being too weakly provided of all Things needful for ſo great an Expedition.

“ For when this Voyage was firſt in Debate, the Number of Ships was not concluded on according to the Proportion of Men, wherefore they were forced to detain divers Eaſterlings they met with in our Channel, and compelled them to ſerve in this Action, for the Tranſportation of our Soldiers; and tho' theſe Ships were an Eaſe to our Men, which would otherwiſe have been much peſtered for Want of Room, yet their Victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put on-board the Ships like baniſhed Men, to ſeek their Fortunes at Sea; for by Confeſſion, divers of the Ships had not four Days Victuals when they departed from *Plymouth*.

“ Another Impediment to this Voyage was Field-pieces, the Want whereof was the Loſs of *Liſbon*; for the Strength conſiſting in the Caſtle, and we having only an Army to countenance us, but no means for Battery, we were the Loſs of the Victory ourſelves; for it was apparent, by Intelligence we received, if we had preſented them with Battery, they were reſolved to parley, “and ſo by conſequence to yield, and this was the main and chief Reaſon of the *Portugueſe* Excuſe in not joining with us.

“There is one Reaſon to be alledged on the *Portugueſe* Behalf, and their Love and Favour to our Proceedings; for tho' they ſhewed not themſelves forward, upon the Occaſion aforeſaid, in aiding us, yet they oppoſed not themſelves as Enemies againſt us; for if they had purſued us, in our Retreat from *Liſbon* to *Caſcais*, our Men being weak, ſickly, without Powder and Shot, and other Arms, they had put us to a greater Loſs and Diſgrace than we had on it. And if ever *England* have Occaſion to ſet up a Competitor in *Portugal*, our Carriage and good Treatment of the People of that Country have gained us great Reputation amongſt them: For the General moſt adviſedly forbad the rifling of their Houſes, in the Country and Suburbs of *Liſbon*, which they poſſeſſed, and commanded royal Payment for every Thing they took, without Compulſion or rigorous Uſage. This has made thoſe, that ſtood but indifferently affected before, now ready, upon the like Occaſion, to aſſiſt us.”

Thus you may obſerve that *England* has more than once ſuffered by the private Piques and Quarrels of her Commanders in Chief; and how difficult it is to guard againſt the Abuſe of Power, where it is divided between Men of ſtrong Paſſions.

The State nevertheleſs received this Conſolation from the late Expedition to *Liſbon*, that it made a thorough Diſcovery of the Weakneſs of King *Philip*, and his preſent Inability to give *England* any further Trouble, tho' he was making the beſt Efforts he was able to recruit his Armament both by Sea and Land. And as the beſt Means to prevent any future Attempts from him was to ruin his maritime Force, or to keep it down, and to augment her own, her Majeſty ſettled about 9000 *l. per Annum*, a Part of her Revenue, towards the ordinary Supply of the Navy, and promiſed great Encouragement to ſuch young Lords and Gentlemen, who offered themſelves to ſerve her at Sea *.

Amongſt theſe we find the famous Earl of *Cumberland*, ſpoken of before, who being honoured with her Majeſty's Commiſſion, and the *Victory*, one of her Majeſty's Ships of War, commanded by Capt. *Liſter*, under his Lordſhip, he added the *Megg*, Vice-admiral, commanded by Captain *William Monſon* (afterwards Sir *William Monſon*, whoſe Manuſcript is chiefly followed in this Account) the *Margaret*, Rear-admiral, by Captain *Careleſs*, alias *Wight*; and the Caravel by Captain *Pigeon*, manned with 400 Mariners and Soldiers, and all at his Lordſhip's own Expence.

Theſe ſet ſail from *Plymouth* on the 18th of *June*, and, within three Days, met with three *French* Ships of the League, laden with Fiſh from *Newfoundland*, and belonging to *New Haven* and *St. Malo's*, two of which, (together with the *Margaret*, which could not bear the Sea) were ſent for *England*. The 13th of *July*, on the Coaſt of *Spain*, they took 13 Ships belonging to the *Hanſe Towns*, and other Places, out of which having taken to the Value of 7000 Pounds in Spices, belonging to *Portugal*, they diſmiſſed them. Then ſailing for the *Azores*, and come in View of *St. Michael's*, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, they put out *Spaniſh* Colours, the better to facilitate the Execution of the Plot which was formed againſt two Ships in the Road, and of which his Lordſhip reſolved that Night to cut the Cables, and carry off. This was accordingly done, before the *Spaniards* were any ways ſenſible of their Danger. A good Number of the Men leaped into the Sea, and with a great Outcry alarmed the Town, from whence ſeveral Shot were made at the Earl's Boat, but he had the good Fortune to eſcape them all, and carried off his Prize. Theſe Ships were laden chiefly with Wines and Oil; but another, which the Pinnace took, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, had, beſides 30 Tons of *Madera* Wines, good Store of Sugar, Sweet-meats, Woollen Cloth, Silk and Taffatas. Near *St. Michael* the Earl met, and took into his Company Captain *Davis*, with his Ship and Pinnace, a Ship of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, commanded by Captain *Markeſbury*, and the Bark *Lime*; and being informed that the *Spaniſh* Carracks (a good Booty, and worth looking after) were at *Fyal*, he made up, with his little Fleet, and arrived there on the 27th of *Auguſt*. He found indeed ſome Ships at Anchor, but the main Prize was gone ſome Days before. Three of the *Engliſh* Boats, commanded by Captain *Liſter*, and Captain *Monſon*, made a deſperate Attempt upon a Veſſel of 250 Tons, and 14 Braſs Guns, and became Maſters of her, though ſhe was ſupported by the great Guns of the Caſtle, which played upon the Boats all the while. She was laden with Sugar, and other Goods, from *Puerto Rico*. Sir *William Monſon* ſays, this Ship was of 300 Tons Burden, carrying 18 Pieces of Ordnance, and 50 Men. He adds, that ſhe was moored to the Caſtle, and that this Ship, with one more which they took, were come from the *Indies*. The ſame Boats went afterwards into the Road, under the very Noſes of the *Spaniards*, and brought out a Parcel of ſmall Ships come from *Guinea*, laden with Elephants-teeth, Cocaos, and Goats-ſkins. They ſent away ſeveral of their Prizes for *England*. Then reſolving to attack the Town of *Fyal*, the *Spaniards*, upon their Approach, left both that and the Fort, without ſtriking a Blow. The religious Houſes and Churches were ranſomed for 2000 Duckets, moſt of which was paid in Church-plate, and out of the Fort they took 58 Pieces of Iron Ordnance. But they had the ill Luck to miſs the rich *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, of 18 large Ships, which they had juſt a Sight of, as it was putting into *Angra* Haven, at *Tercera*, a ſure and ſafe Shelter, ſo well guarded with a Fort and Caſtle, that they were not to be attempted at that time.

The ſeizing of the *Spaniſh* Ships, in this Bay of *Fyal*, being one of the boldeſt Actions we meet with in Hiſtory, a more particular Account of it, in the Words of one of the principal Actors (Sir *William Monſon*) cannot but be acceptable to the Reader.

“When I ſerved (ſays he) as Vice-admiral to the Earl of *Cumberland*, to the Iſland *Azores*, we came to *Flores*, the Weſtermoſt Iſland of the ſeven: My Lord had notice of certain Ships riding in the Road of *Fyal*, to the Southward of which Iſland he had paſs'd eight Days before. Upon this News my Lord haſtened thither, both to be reſolved of the Truth thereof, as alſo to make an Attempt upon thoſe Ships, if he ſhould ſee a Poſſibility to prevail. But arriving two Days after, towards the Evening, a Calm took him, and he was not able to reach within two Leagues of the Road where the Ships lay. Hereupon there was a Council called, wherein myſelf and Captain *Liſter* very earneſtly propoſed, and by Entreaty prevailed, that we might have leave, in that Calm, to row to the Road, to take a View of the Ships, that againſt Morning we might ſee where to take Advantage by ſurprizing them.

“As we drew near the *Spaniards*, the Daſhing of our Oars was heard, which gave the Alarm to the Admiral, who only wore the Flag, and inſtantly let fly her Ordnance, without any certain Aim, more than the Daſhing of the Oars directed. Captain *Liſter* and I, ſeeing ourſelves miſſed by the Shot, were ſo encouraged, that, rather like mad than diſcreet Men, we ran aboard the Admiral, with an Intent ſuddenly to ſurprize her; but finding ſo great Inequality in our Forces (for the Ship carried 16 Pieces of Ordnance, in another Place he ſays 18, was well mann'd and provided) we were glad to put off our Boat and retire, repenting our Bargain.

“As we were rowing toward our Fleet again, which all this while beheld the Fight, and heard the Report of the Ship's Ordnance, we met another Boat, of greater Burden, ſent to ſuccour us; and after joyful Salutation, we reſolved and concluded, with both our Boats, to return again, and give a ſecond Aſſault upon the Admiral, telling them the State and Condition of the Ship, which did ſo encourage both the one and the other, that, by Conſent, it was agreed they ſhould board her in the Quarter, and we in the Hawſe, and we to cut her Cable, and let her drive off to Sea. All this was ſucceſsfully performed, and the Ship miraculouſly poſſeſs'd, notwithſtanding the continual Shot from the Caſtle, to

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[*] Harris, part I. p. 686. Edit. I. Hackluit, Vol. II. part II. p. 155. Monſon's Tracts.

“which the Ship was moored; and which Caſtle a Month after we took. I muſt not forget, that as we entered the Admiral, on the one Side, the *Spaniards* leaped over-board on the other, except the Captain, *John de Palma*, and one more.

“Now, having got an unexpected Victory, rather by Valour than by Reaſon, we towed out the Ship, with our two Boats, the Caſtle not ſparing to fire at us, till we brought her without Reach of the Shot; and then we agreed to take out all our Men, except one at the Helm to govern her, and ſtruck down her Sails; and we ourſelves returned in our Boats once more into the Road, where we poſſeſs'd ourſelves of the other ſeven Ships left behind, three of which were of a reaſonable good Value.”

Hence they ſailed to *St. Michael*'s, and thence to *St. Mary*'s, where they took a Prize or two laden with Sugar from *Braſil*. Theſe were ſent for *England*, with the *Megg*, while the Earl, with the reſt, held on their Courſe for *Spain*. In the way they took two Prizes more, one of which was a *French* Ship of the League, of 200 Tons, bound for *Newfoundland*, and the other was one of the *Weſt-India* Fleet, which had before put into the Harbour of *Angra*. She was a Ship of 400 Ton, and, beſides Sugars, Hides, Cochineal, and other Commodities, had ſome Store of Silver too, valued in all at 100,000 *l.*

They came to the Iſland of *Gracioſa*, which, after two Days Reſiſtance, compounded for the Delivery of a certain Quantity of Proviſions. And in their Courſe to the Coaſt of *Spain*, they took two Sugar-prizes, each Ship eſteemed at 7000 *l.* and one from under the Caſtle of *St. Mary*'s, of the ſame Value; but this laſt Ship coſt them very dear. Sir *William Monſon* ſays, two Parts of their Men were killed or wounded, of which Misfortune, Captain *Liſter*, who would not be perſuaded but to land in the very Face of their Fortifications, was the Occaſion. In this Action the Earl himſelf received three Shot upon his Target, and a fourth on his Side, but not deep. His Head was broke with Stones, that his Face was all covered with Blood, and both that and his Legs burnt with Granadoes.

After this Misfortune they made the beſt of their way home, having more Prizes and Priſoners than they could well manage. Captain *Liſter* was diſpatched before, with the rich *Indian* Prize; but he was wrecked at *Mounts-Bay*, upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and all the Company were drowned, except five or ſix. The Earl himſelf, with his Company, endured Miſeries far worſe than drowning, by a long Famine, Hazard of Shipwreck, Death of their Men, and tedious Want of freſh Water. Their Stock being at laſt quite ſpent, they came to Vinegar, and of that the Allowance was but three Spoonfuls a Day to a Man. There was nothing elſe remaining to quench their Thirſts but this, except the Drops of Rain and Hail that fell from Heaven, and which they greedily catched in Napkins and Sheets ſpread out for that Purpoſe. Some there were, who, not being able to bear ſuch extreme Drought, went to the great Ocean for Relief, and drank themſelves to Death with Salt-water. The Earl, in all theſe Extremities, maintained his own equal Temper and good Preſence of Mind, avoiding no Part of Diſtreſs that others, even the meaneſt Seamen endured.

At laſt, they got ſeaſonable Relief from an *Engliſh* Ship they met, which laſted them till they came to *Ireland*, and there a good Refreſhment prepared them all for a more comfortable Voyage to *England*. Inſtead of keeping a merry *Chriſtmas* in *England*, as they propoſed, they were obliged to keep a cold and melancholy one at Sea, near *Scilly*, and the Weſtern Parts of *England*, coming only Time enough to keep the latter Part of the Feſtival at *Falmouth*.

This Year[*] is alſo memorable for an Expedition upon the *Spaniards* in the Bay of *Mexico*, and another to the *South Seas*.

The former was performed by Captain *William Michelſon*, and *William Mace* of *Ratcliff* near *London*, Maſter of a Ship called the *Dog*, of the Burden of ſeventy Tons, and carrying 40 Men. This Ship departed from the Coaſt of *England* in the Month of *May*, directly for the *Weſt Indies*: It fell in with the Bay of *Mexico*, and there met with divers *Spaniſh* Ships at ſundry Times, whereof three fell into her Lap, and were forced to yield unto the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. The laſt that they met within the Bay was a *Spaniſh* Man of War, whom the *Engliſh* chaſed, and after three ſeveral Fights, upon three divers Days, preſſed him ſo far, that he entreated a Parley, by putting out a Flag of Truce. The Parley was granted, and certain of the *Spaniards* came aboard the *Engliſh*; where, after Conference about thoſe Matters that had paſſed in the Fight betwixt them, they received reaſonable Entertainment, and a quiet Farewel. The *Spaniſh*, as if they had meant to requite the *Engliſh* Courteſy, invited our Men to their Ship, who perſuading themſelves of good Meaning in the *Spaniſh*, went aboard; but honeſt and friendly Dealing was not their Purpoſe; ſuddenly they aſſaulted our Men, and one with a Dagger ſtabb'd *Roger Kingſnod* the *Engliſh* Pilot to the Heart, and ſlew him, and others were ſerved with the like Sauce, only *William Mace* the Maſter, and others, notwithſtanding all the prepared Traps of the Enemy, lept over-board into the Sea, and ſo came ſafe to their own Ship; and directing his Courſe for *England*, arrived at *Plymouth* the tenth of *September* 1589, laden with Wines, Iron, Roans, which is a kind of Linen-cloth, and other rich Commodities.

The Voyage to the *South Seas* was undertaken by *John Chidley* of *Chidley*, in the County of *Devon*, Eſq; who with Mr. *Paul Wheel*, and Captain *Andrew Merick*, fitted out three Ships, *viz.*

The *Wild-man*, of three hundred Tons, in which Mr. *Chidley* went himſelf as General, and *Benjamin Wood* Maſter, with one hundred and eighty Officers and Men.

The *White-lion*, Captain *Paul Wheel* Commander, and *John Ellis* Maſter, with one hundred and forty Men.

The *Delight* of *Briſtol*, commanded by Captain *Andrew Merick*, and *Robert Burnet* Maſter, with ninety-one Men and Boys. And

Two Pinnaces, of fourteen or fifteen Tons each.

They ſailed from *Plymouth*, deſigning to go by the Streight of *Magellan* to the *South Sea*, and particularly to the famous Province of *Aranco*, on the Coaſt of *Chili*. They kept Company together to the *Canaries*, and from thence to Cape *Blanco* on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; but about twelve Days after their Departure from that Place, the *Delight* was ſeparated from the two larger Ships, and the two Pinnaces, and kept on her Courſe, according to the Directions given her, along the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and by the River of *Plate*, without touching any where till they came to Port *Deſire*, in eight and forty Degrees Southern Latitude, by which Time they had loſt ſixteen of their Men by Sickneſs. They ſtaid in that Harbour ſeventeen Days in Hopes of joining their Companions again, but to no Purpoſe.

They ſailed thence towards the Streight of *Magellan*, which they entered about the firſt of *January* 1590, and anchored off of *Pengwyn* Iſland. Here their Boat, ſent on ſhore with fifteen Men, was loſt in a Storm, in which they likewiſe loſt two Anchors. Paſſing farther up the Streight, they near Port *Famine* ſpoke with a *Spaniard*, who ſaid he had lived there ſix Years, and was one of the four hundred who were ſent thither by the King of *Spain* in the Year 1582, to fortify and inhabit there, in order to prevent the Paſſage of all Strangers that Way to the *South Sea*. Here they made a Boat of the Boards of their Cheſts, in which they ſent ſeven armed Men on the North-ſhore, who were immediately treacherouſly ſlain by above a hundred Savages; the two Men who rowed them on ſhore only eſcaping with the Boat.

Thus after they had ſpent ſix Weeks in the Streight, ſtriving againſt the Fury of the Elements, and having at ſundry Times, partly by Caſualty, and partly by Sickneſs, loſt eight and thirty of their beſt Men, and three Anchors; and having now but one Anchor left, and, which was worſt of all, ſeveral of their Men mutinous, they ſet Sail out of the Streight homeward, about the fourteenth of *February*; and returning back by the River of *Plate*, near the Coaſt of *Braſil* they met with a *Portugueſe* Ship of eighty Tons, which rode at Anchor upon the Coaſt; and as ſoon as ſhe diſcovered them, ran herſelf on Ground, between the Iſland

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[*] A. D. 1589.

of *St. Sebaſtian* and the main Land: But the *Engliſh*, for want of a good Boat, and by reaſon of the bad Weather, could neither board her, nor go on ſhore. So that ſhaping their Courſe, in extream Miſery, for the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*, and ſo to the *Azores*, the *Canaries* being ſomewhat out of their Courſe, the firſt Land they made in our narrow Seas, was the Iſland of *Alderney*. They run in about eight Miles to the Weſt of *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, where her only Anchor ſhe had left coming home, and having no more than ſix Men left, ſhe run on the Rocks and ſplit: But the ſmall and miſerable Remains of this unhappy Company, being only four *Engliſhmen*, were ſaved.

Her Majeſty, early in the Year 1590, repeated her Efforts againſt *Spain*; and ſent ten Ships of her own, in two Squadrons, the one to be commanded by Sir *John Hawkins*, the other by Sir *Martin Forbiſher*.

Theſe Ships were the *Revenge*, the *Mary-Roſe*, the *Lion*, the *Bonaventure*, the *Rainbow*, the *Hope*, the *Crane*, the *Acquittance*, the *Foreſight*, and the *Swiftſure*. Beſides the two chief Commanders above-mentioned, were, among others in theſe Fleets, the following renowned Captains, Sir *Edward York*, Captain *Fenner*, Captain *George Beeſton*, Captain *Boſtock*, and Captain *Burnell*.

This ſo alarmed the King of *Spain*, that he ſent out twenty Sail of Ships, under the Command of Don *Alonſo de Baſſan*, Brother to the famous Marquis of St. *Cruz*, to ſecure home the *Indian* Fleet and Carracks. However, being better adviſed than to adventure twenty of his beſt Ships to ten of ours, he ſent for Don *Alonſo* back again, and diſpatched Orders to the *Indies*, commanding the Fleet there to winter, rather than to hazard their coming home that Summer. This cauſed many Bankrupts in *Sevil* and other Places; beſides, it was ſo great a weakening to their Ships to winter in the *Indies*, as it was many Years before they could recover their Loſſes.

And our Fleet being thus prevented, after having ſpent ſeven Months in vain upon the Coaſt of *Spain* and the Iſlands, without taking one Ship of the *Spaniards*, returned home.

The Diſtractions occaſioned by the *Spaniſh* War had ſo engaged the Attention and Strength of the Nation, from the time of Mr. *White*'s [a] Arrival from the Infant-colony in *Virginia*, that it was the Year 1590 before he could accompliſh the Supplies he requeſted of the Proprietors; for it was the 20th of *March* when he ſet Sail from *Plymouth* with three Ships and two Shallops.

The Ships were named [b] the *Hopewell*, the *St. John Evangeliſt*, and the *Little John*; with theſe Mr. *White* ſteered for the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and on the 25th at Night, the Sea running very high, the Shallops, by the Negligence of the Boatſwain, being towed at the Stern of the Ship, were ſtav'd to pieces; and on the 30th they made the Land between *Cape Cantin* and the Bay of *Aſaphi*, and next Day paſſed by the Iſland of *Mogador*, and anchored in the Road of *Santa Cruz* on the 1ſt of *April*.

Here they met with two *Londoners* taking in Sugar, who ſparing our Navigators two Boats, they next Day proceeded to the *Canaries*. A moſt extravagant Courſe in a Voyage to *Virginia!* and to be attributed only to Prejudice or Example; for tho' they were well acquainted with the Globes, and were well ſkilled in Navigation, ſuch was the Deference paid to the Judgment of the firſt Diſcoverers, that we find they rather choſe to ſail 1000 Leagues about, than attempt a more direct Paſſage. However, this Courſe at preſent did not want its Advantages; for amongſt the Iſlands they picked up ſeveral good *Spaniſh* Prizes; not veering about till they were come to the Height of the *Havannah*, on the Iſland of *Cuba*.

By this Delay of cruiſing upon the Enemy's Coaſt, it was the Middle of *Auguſt* before they arrived on the Coaſt of *Virginia*. But tho' they ſaw Smoke on the Shore, yet after landing on the Iſland of *Roanneck*, and diligently ſearching for the *Engliſh* left there in the Year 1587, they could find no-body, nor gain any other Tidings, than what might be conjectured from ſeveral Inſcriptions of CRO and CROATAN, that they were removed to that Iſland, about 20 Leagues South of *Roannock*.

In this Search one of the Boats overſet; by which Accident Captain *Spicer*, and ſix of the beſt Sailors were drowned. On the Spot, where Mr. *White* had left his Companions, their Houſe was pulled down; and the Place was ſtrongly incloſed with a high Palliſado, but no Croſs erected, which had been agreed in caſe of Diſtreſs. They alſo found ſeveral Iron-bars, two Pigs of Lead, four Fowling-pieces, ſome Iron-ſhot, *&c.* ſcattered careleſly, and over-grown with Weeds; but no Ordnance. Therefore it was reſolved to weigh Anchor, and to ſteer for *Croatan*; but a Storm ariſing, which made them part from their Anchors, and drove them all to Sea, the Want of Anchors, and the Scarcity of Proviſions, altered their former Reſolution; and two of them made for *Hiſpaniola* or *Trinidada*, while the Vice-admiral made the beſt of his Way for *England*.

In this Run, the Vice-admiral fell in with two *Spaniſh* Ships bound from *Mexico* to the *Havanna*, one of which, after a ſmart Engagement, he took off of Cape *St. Antonio*, with the Loſs of his Lieutenant, and four Men kill'd; the Captain's Right-arm, and ſixteen Men wounded. In this Prize, ſcarce able to ſwim for the Holes made in her Sides with the *Engliſh* great Guns, they found thirteen Pipes of Silver, and much rich Merchandiſe; which being handed into the Vice-admiral's Ship, and the Wind changing, he made the beſt of his way for the *Weſtern* Iſlands, and there joined his Companions; who, elevated with the Treaſure they had taken, thought no more of returning towards *Croatan*, but ſet ſail for *England*, where they arrived ſafe on the 24th of *October* in that ſame Year at *Plymouth*. And Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Patron of theſe Diſcoveries and Settlements, falling into Diſgrace, the poor People, left to the Mercy of the *Indians* for ſixteen Years following, were never more heard of, and are ſuppoſed to have been cut off by the Savages.

The *Spaniards* were not idle. A Fleet of twelve Gallies was ordered to cruiſe off the Mouth of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, to intercept our *Levant* Trade; being informed that ten of our Merchantmen were homeward-bound from thoſe Seas. But they did not gain their Point. For the *Engliſh* having waited in a certain Latitude for each other, and being well mann'd, and provided for a ſtout Defence in caſe of an Attack, which from their Courſe in thoſe perilous Times was to be expected, reſolved to fight their way at all Adventures.

There were no more than ten *Engliſh* Merchantmen [c]; which near the Streights Mouths, and not far from the *Barbary* Shore, diſcovered the Enemies Gallies lying in wait for them. This was about the Cloſe of the Day; ſo that the *Engliſh* had the Cover of the Night to prepare the better for their brave and reſolute Defence. By Day-break on the 24th of *April* [d], they perceived the Gallies bearing down upon them, and as they approached were convinced that it was a Squadron under the Command of Don *Andria Doria*, the King of *Spain*'s Viceroy, in the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and a moſt inveterate Enemy of the *Engliſh*. Both Sides hoiſted the Flags of their reſpective Sovereigns; and tho' the Croud of Men which covered the Decks of the *Spaniſh* Gallies, to the Amount of two or three hundred in each, was almoſt ten Times more than the *Engliſh* could muſter, it was reſolved to give them Battle, and to continue in their preſent Situation, with their ſmaller Ships in Front, to be ſupported by the larger behind, expecting their coming up.

The *Spaniards* begun the Fight; but the *Solomon*, which had ſeveral caſt Guns on-board, gave them ſo warm a Salute, that cleared one Side of a Galley of her Men, and pierced her through and through, in ſuch manner, that ſhe was ready to ſink. However they puſhed the Attack with greater Fury: And the *Engliſh* gave them a general Salvo from all their Ships; among which their four largeſt, the *Solomon*, the *Margaret* and *John*, the *Minion* and the *Aſcenſion* did the moſt Execution [a]. The Battle was purſued with great Warmth and Vigour the Space of ſix whole Hours; and by this time the *Spaniards* were ſo diſabled, that they ſoon after fled with all the Precipitation their ſhattered State would let them, to the neareſt Harbour for Shelter; leaving the *Engliſh* the open Sea, with the Honour of the Victory. And what was moſt extraordinary, this important Advantage was gained without the Loſs of one ſingle Man, or any Damage to our Ships, except that the *Solomon*, which gave the firſt and laſt Shot, and gauled the Enemy terribly during the whole Fight, had her Shrouds and Back-ſtay ſhot clean away. Being obliged to ſtay for want of Wind before *Gibraltar* till the next Morning, and being then becalmed, they expected every Hour the Gallies, having this Advantage, would have ventured out again, and have tried their Fortune once more; but the *Spaniards* were ſo ſick of it, that all the Arguments the Governor could uſe to raiſe their Courage, and ſpirit them to a ſecond Engagement, were in vain. The *Engliſh* put into *Tition* in *Barbary*, to wait for a Wind to carry them thro' the Streights, where they heard that two of the Gallies were pierced in ſuch a manner, that they were with great Difficulty kept from ſinking till got into Harbour; that all the reſt were rendered unſerviceable; and that the Enemy had ſo many Men killed, as put it out of their Power to ſend any more Gallies to Sea that Year. The *Engliſh* arrived ſafe in the Beginning of *July*, at their ſeveral Ports of Deſtination.

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[a] See Page 247. of this Hiſtory.

[b] Hackluit, Part III. p. 288.

[c] The Solomon, belonging to Alderman Barnam, of London, and Mr. Bond and Mr. Twyd, of Harwich; the Margaret and John, belonging to Mr. Wats, of London; the Minion, the Aſcenſion, the Centurion, the Violet, the Samuel, the Creſcent, the Elizabeth, and the Richard, belonging to Mr. Duffield. Hackluit, Vol. II. Part II. p. 166.

[d] A. D. 1590.

I ſhall conclude the Hiſtory of this Year with the remarkable Letter from the chief Counſellor of *Sultan Murad Can*, the *Grand Seignor* to Queen *Elizabeth*, who had prevail'd with him to grant Peace to the *Poles*; which may ſerve as a Memorial of the great Power and Credit of that Princeſs.

"Glorioſiſſima & ſplendore fulgidiſſima fœminarum, ſelectiſſima Princeps magnanimorum JESUM ſectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Sereniſſima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum ſapientiſſima; origo ſplendoris & gloriæ dulciſſima; nubes pluviarum gratiſſima, hæres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Angliæ; ad quam omnes ſupplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis veſtræ beatiſſimum, exituſque fœliciſſimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate noſtra digna vota & laudes ſempiternas offerentes: Significamus, &c."

In *Engliſh*.

"Moſt glorious, and the moſt reſplendent of Women, moſt ſelect Princeſs, moſt gracious *Elizabeth* Queen of the valiant Followers of JESUS in the ſamous Kingdom of *England*, moſt wiſe Governeſs of all the Affairs and Buſineſſes of the People and Family of the *Nazarens*, moſt ſweet Fountain of Brightneſs and Glory, moſt acceptable Cloud of Rain, Inheritreſs and Lady of the Bleſſedneſs and Glory of the renowned Kingdom of *England*, to whom in humble-wiſe all Men offer their Petitions; wiſhing of the almighty Creator moſt happy Increaſe and proſperous Succeſs unto all your Majeſty's Affairs and Actions, and offering up mutual and perpetual Vows worthy of our Familiarity, with eternal Praiſes: In moſt friendly Manner we ſignify unto your princely Highneſs, that certain Years paſt the moſt mighty *Cæſar*-like Majeſty of the *Grand Seignor* waged unſpeakable Wars with *Caſul-bas*, the Prince of the *Perſians*, in regard of which Wars he would not go in Battle againſt any other Places; and for that Cauſe certain Thieves in the Parts of *Polonia* called *Coſſacks*, and other notorious Perſons living in the ſame Parts, ceaſed not to trouble and moleſt the Subjects of our moſt mighty Emperor. But now having finiſhed and brought to ſome good Iſſue his Affairs in *Perſia*, determining to puniſh the ſaid Malefactors of *Poland*, and for that Purpoſe committing an Army unto the *Beglerbeg* of *Grecia*; and the Year laſt paſt ſending his imperial Commandment unto the Prince of the *Tartars*, he hath foraged, moleſted, and laid waſte ſome Part of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the *Coſſacks* and other notorious Offenders have received condign Puniſhment. Which the King of *Poland* perceiving, ſent two Embaſſadors to his Imperial Highneſs, ſignifying, that he would hunt out the ſaid Malefactors, and inflict moſt ſevere Puniſhments upon them; and alſo that he would better his Gift, which he hath for many Years heretofore ordinarily ſent unto the Porch of his imperial Highneſs. Howbeit his imperial Majeſty (upon whom the almighty Creator hath beſtowed ſo great Power, and who vouchſafeth to give Ear unto all humble Suppliants) rejecting the Supplication of the King of *Poland*, determined again to ſend his Army againſt the ſaid King, and by the Help of the almighty Creator, utterly to ſubvert and overthrow his Kingdom. But your Majeſty's Ambaſſador, reſident in the bleſſed and glorious Porch of his imperial Highneſs, interpoſing himſelf as a Mediator, ſignifying that from the Parts of *Poland* you were furniſhed with Corn, Gunpowder, Maſts of Ships, Guns, and other Neceſſaries, and craving Peace on the Behalf of the Kingdom and King of *Poland*, and making Interceſſion that the ſaid King might not be moleſted nor troubled by the Means of the *Grand Seignor*, and declaring that this was your Majeſty's moſt earneſt Deſire; ſo ſoon as the Report and Interceſſion of your Majeſty's Ambaſſador was ſignified unto the *Grand Seignor*, for your Sake, unto whom all Honour and favourable Regard is due, upon the Condition aforeſaid, namely, that the wicked *Coſſacks* might be ſought out and grievouſly puniſhed, or that their Offences might be remitted for the Value of ſome ſmall Gift, upon this Condition (I ſay) the Letters of his imperial Highneſs were ſent unto the King of *Poland*. Howbeit, had not this Concluſion of League and Amity been ſolicited on the Behalf of your Majeſty, his imperial Highneſs would never have vouchſafed the ſame unto the Kingdom of *Poland*; but for your Majeſty's Sake, his imperial Highneſs hath exhibited this ſo ſingular a Favour unto the ſaid King and Kingdom of *Poland*; and hereof your Majeſty, and the King of *Poland*, ought certainly to be perſuaded. We wiſh your Majeſty moſt happily and well to fare. Given at *Conſtantinople* in the End of the Month called *Sabaum*, in the Year of our ſacred Prophet *Mahomet* 998, and in the Year of JESUS 1590, the 12th of *June*."

The Earl of *Cumberland* made great Preparations for a fourth Expedition againſt the common Enemy, and fitted out four Ships and a Pinnace [b], aſſiſted by the Crown, and ſome private Adventurers. This Squadron is ſaid to have ſailed from *Plymouth* in the Beginning of the Year 1591; but with no Succeſs. For according to *Purchas*, the Earl was firſt obliged to caſt off a Sugar-ſhip, which he took, laden at *St. Thomas's*, ſhe being ſo leaky as not to be navigable; and then forced by contrary Winds to put into a *Spaniſh* Harbour with a rich Prize, for Proviſions; and at laſt he loſt two other Prizes on the Coaſt of *Portugal* in a Calm, ſurpriſed by the Gallies of *Penicha*. In which Rencounter, the Earl not being able to come up to their Aſſiſtance, Captain *Bailey* was ſlain, and Captain *Monſon*, with the reſt, carried Priſoners to *Penicha*, and from thence to *Liſbon*.

The Earl wrote to the Archduke *Albert*, who was then Viceroy, requiring a good Uſage of the Priſoners, and threatning, in caſe of Refuſal, to treat the *Spaniards* he ſhould take in like manner; upon which the common Sailors and Soldiers were returned in a few Days, new cloathed; and *Monſon*, with ſix others only detained, as Hoſtages for the Ranſom of the reſt.

While

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[a] At the Beginning of the Fight, there came two Flemmings into the Engliſh Fleet, who ſeeing the Force of the Spaniſh Gallies to be ſo great, were ſo diſheartned, that one of them immediately ſtruck and yielded, and the other was going to do the ſame, when the Trumpeter, drawing his Hanger, run up to the Pilot, who was at the Helm, and ſwore he would kill him, if he did not immediately join the Engliſh Fleet, and ſhare their Fate. Thus this Ship was ſaved out of the Hands of the mercileſs Spaniards, as the other might have been, if her Cowardice had not run her headlong into Slavery.

[b] The Garland, Admiral, (one of her Majeſty's) of 600 Tons; the Samſon, Vice-admiral, a Ship of the Earl's) of 260 Tons; the Golden Noble, Rear-admiral; the Allegarta; and a ſmall Pinnace called the Diſcovery.

While the Earl was on the Coaſt, having got Intelligence that a great Armada was getting ready at the *Groyne*, to be ſent againſt the Lord *Thomas Howard*, then Admiral of her Majeſty's Ships, waiting at the *Azores* to ſurpriſe the *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, he detached the *Moonſhine*, a Ship which came into his Fleet after his Departure from *England*, to carry his Lordſhip Advice.

Sir William Monſon*'s Account of this Voyage.*

“He departed *England* in *May*, and in his Courſe from *England* to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, he met with divers Ships of *Holland* which came from *Liſbon*, in which he found a great Quantity of Spices belonging to the *Portugueſe*, ſo greatly were we abuſed by the Nation of *Holland*, which tho' they were the firſt that engaged us in the War with *Spain*, yet did they maintain their Trade into thoſe Parts, and ſupply the *Spaniards* with Ammunition, Victuals, Shipping and Intelligence againſt us.

“Upon the Earl's Arrival upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, it was his Fortune to take three Ships at ſeveral times, one with Wines, which he unladed into his own, and two with Sugars, which he enjoyed not long, no more than he did the Spices which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

“One of the Ships of Sugar, by means of a Leak which ſprung upon her, was forced to be caſt off, and with much Difficulty ſhe recovered the Shore, and ſaved the Mens Lives.

“The other being ſent for *England*, and toſſed with contrary Winds, for want of Victuals was forced into the *Groyne*, where they put themſelves to the Mercy of the Enemy.

“The Spices were determined to be ſent for *England*, and a Ship appointed for that Purpoſe, with other Ships to guard her. Captain *Monſon* was ſent on-board her to the Iſlands of the *Burlings*, with Charge to ſee her diſpatched to *England*.

“But the other Ships not obſerving the Directions given them, and the Night falling calm, early in the Morning this forſaken Ship was ſet upon by ſix Gallies, and after a long and bloody Fight, the Captain and the chief of the Men being ſlain, both Ship and Spices were taken.”

The *Moonſhine*, commanded by one Captain *Middleton*, was a prime Sailer, and fell in ſo opportunely with the *Spaniſh* Fleet, that ſhe arrived in the *Engliſh* Fleet juſt time enough to alarm them. “This Squadron had been diſpatched under the Command of Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, to intercept the *Spaniſh Plate*-fleet (which had wintered in the *Weſt-Indies*, and muſt of neceſſity now come home) in its Return from *America*; and is ſaid to have conſiſted of ſix Men of War, ſix Victuallers, and a few Pinnaces [a]; and had waited in this Station ſix Months; but the King of *Spain* had ordered his *Plate*-fleet to put off its uſual time of ſailing; hoping thereby to tire the *Engliſh* out. But not finding that Scheme to anſwer, a ſtrong Fleet was ordered from *Spain* under Don *Alphonſo Baſſano*, who was ſent out with 53 Ships to convoy the Fleet home.

Captain *Middleton* [b] had no ſooner delivered the News but the Fleet was in ſight; many of our Ships Companies were on-ſhore in the Iſland [c], ſome providing Ballaſt for their Ships, others filling of Water, and refreſhing themſelves from the Land with ſuch Things as they could either for Money, or by Force recover. By reaſon whereof our Ships being all peſtered and rumaging every thing out of Order, very light for want of Ballaſt, and that which was moſt to our Diſadvantage, the one half Part of the Men of every Ship ſick, and utterly unſerviceable; for in the *Revenge* there were 90 diſeaſed; in the *Bonaventure* not ſo many in Health as could handle her Main-ſail: for had not 20 Men been taken out of a Bark of Sir *George Carey*'s, his being commanded to be ſunk, and thoſe appointed to her, ſhe had hardly ever recovered *England*. The reſt, for the moſt part, were in little better State. The *Spaniſh* Fleet having ſhrouded their Approach by reaſon of the Iſland, were now ſo ſoon at hand, as our Ships had ſcarce time to weigh their Anchors, but ſome of them were driven to let ſlip their Cables, and ſet ſail. Sir *Richard Greenville* was the laſt that wayed, to recover the Men that were upon the Iſland, which otherwiſe had been loſt. The Lord *Thomas*, with the reſt, very hardly recovered the Wind, which Sir *Richard Greenville* not being able to do, was perſuaded by the Maſter and others to cut his Main-ſail, and caſt about, and to truſt to the Sailing of the Ship; for the Squadron of *Seville* were on his Weather-bow. But Sir *Richard* utterly refuſed to turn from the Enemy, alledging that he would rather chooſe to die, than to diſhonour himſelf, his Country, and her Majeſty's Ship; perſuading his Company that he would paſs thro' the two Squadrons in deſpite of them, and enforce thoſe of *Seville* to give him Way; which he performed upon divers of the foremoſt, who as the Mariners term it, ſprang their Luff, and fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*. But the other Courſe had been the better, and might right well have been anſwered in ſo great an Impoſſibility of prevailing; notwithſtanding out of the Greatneſs of his Mind he could not be perſuaded. In the mean while as he attended thoſe which were neareſt him, the great *San Philip* being in the Wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his Sails in ſuch ſort, as the Ship could neither make Way, nor feel the Helm; ſo huge and high charged was the *Spaniſh* Ship, being of 1500 Tons; who after laid the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his Sails, the Ships that were under his Lee luffing up, alſo laid him aboard; of which the next was the Admiral of the *Biſcaines*, a very mighty and puiſſant Ship commanded by *Brittandona*. The ſaid *Philip* carried three Tire of Ordnance on a Side, and 11 Pieces in every Tire; ſhe ſhot forth eight right out of her Chaſe, beſides thoſe of her Stern-ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four others boarded her; two on her Larboard, and two on her Starboard. The Fight thus beginning at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, continued very terrible all that Evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower Tire of the *Revenge*, diſcharged with Croſsbar-ſhot, ſhifted herſelf with all Diligence from her Sides, utterly miſliking her firſt Entertainment. The *Spaniſh* Ships were filled with Companies of Soldiers, in ſome 200 beſides the Mariners, in ſome five, in others 800; in ours there were none at all beſide the Mariners, but the Servants of the Commanders, and ſome few voluntary Gentlemen only. After many enterchanged Vollies of great Ordnance and ſmall Shot, the *Spaniards* deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers Attempts, hoping to force her by the Multitudes of their armed Soldiers and Muſketters, but were ſtill repulſed again and again, and at all Times beaten back into their own Ships, or into the Sea. In the Beginning of the Fight, the *George Noble* of *London*, having received ſome Shot through her by the Armadas, fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*, and aſked Sir *Richard* what he would command him, being but one of the Victuallers, and of ſmall Force; Sir *Richard* bid him ſave himſelf, and leave him to his Fortune. After the Fight had thus, without Intermiſſion, continued while the Day laſted, and ſome Hours of the Night, many of our Men were ſlain and hurt, and one of the great Galleons of the Armada, and the Admiral of the Hulks both ſunk, and in many other of the *Spaniſh* Ships great Slaughter was made. Some write that Sir *Richard* was very dangerouſly hurt almoſt in the Beginning of the Fight, and lay ſpeechleſs for a Time ere he recovered: But two of the *Revenge*'s own Company, brought home in a Ship of *Lyme* from the Iſlands, examined by ſome of the Lords and others, affirmed that he was never ſo wounded, as that he forſook the Upper-deck, till an Hour before Midnight; and then being ſhot into the Body with a Muſket, as he was a dreſſing was again ſhot into the Head, and withal his Surgeon wounded to Death.

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[a] But Sir William Monſon mentions ſeven of the Queen's Ships, with their Commanders, as follows: The Defiance, the Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral; Revenge, Sir Richard Greenville, Vice-admiral; Nonpareil, Sir Edward Donnie; Bonaventure, Captain Croſs; Lion, Captain Fenner; Foreſight, Captain Vavaſor; Crane, Captain Duffield. Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

[b] On the laſt of Auguſt, 1591.

[c] Sir Walter Raleigh's Account of this Expedition.

The *Spaniſh* Ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, ſo always others came in their Places, ſhe having never leſs than two mighty Galleons by her Sides, and aboard her: So that e'er the Morning, from three of the Clock the Day before, there had 15 ſeveral Armadas aſſailed her; and all ſo ill approved their Entertainment, as they were by the Break of Day far more willing to hearken to a Compoſition, than haſtily to make any more Aſſaults or Entries. But as the Day increaſed, ſo our Men decreaſed; and as the Light grew more and more, by ſo much more grew our Diſcomforts. For none appeared in Sight but Enemies, ſaving one ſmall Ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by *Jacob Whiddon*, who hovered all Night to ſee the Succeſs; but in the Morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a Hare amongſt many ravenous Hounds, but eſcaped.

All the Powder of the *Revenge* to the laſt Barrel was now ſpent, all her Pikes broken, 40 of her beſt Men ſlain, and the moſt Part of the reſt hurt. In the Beginning of the Fight ſhe had but 100 free from Sickneſs, and 90 ſick, laid in the Hold upon the Ballaſt. A ſmall Troop to man ſuch a Ship, and a weak Garriſon to reſiſt ſo mighty an Army. By thoſe hundred all was ſuſtained, the Vollies, Boardings, and Entrings of 15 Ships of War, beſides thoſe which beat her at large. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* were always ſupplied with Soldiers brought from every Squadron; all manner of Arms and Powder at will. Unto ours there remained no Comfort at all, no Hope, no Supply either of Ships, Men, or Weapons; the Maſts all beaten over-board, all her Tackle cut aſunder, her upper Work altogether raſed, and in effect evened ſhe was with the Water, but the very Foundation or Bottom of a Ship, nothing being left over Head either for Flight or Defence. Sir *Richard* finding himſelf in this Diſtreſs, and unable any longer to make Reſiſtance, having endured in this 15 Hours Fight, the Aſſault of 15 ſeveral Armadas, all by Turns aboard him, and by Eſtimation 800 Shot of great Artillery, beſides many Aſſaults and Entries; and that himſelf and the Ship muſt needs be poſſeſſed by the Enemy, who were now all caſt in a Ring round about him (the *Revenge* not able to move one way or other, but as ſhe was moved with the Waves and Billows of the Sea) commanded the Maſter-gunner, whom he knew to be a moſt reſolute Man, to ſplit and ſink the Ship, that thereby nothing might remain of Glory or Victory to the *Spaniards*; ſeeing in ſo many Hours Fight, and with ſo great a Navy, they were not able to take her, having had 15 Hours Time, above 10,000 Men, and 53 Sail of Men of War to perform it withal; and perſuaded the Company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themſelves unto God, and to the Mercy of none elſe; but as they had, like valiant reſolute Men, repulſed ſo many Enemies, they ſhould not now ſhorten the Honour of their Nation, by prolonging their own Lives for a few Hours, or a few Days. The Maſter-gunner readily condeſcended, and divers others; but the Captain and Maſter were of another Opinion, and beſought Sir *Richard* to have care of them; alledging that the *Spaniards* would be as ready to entertain a Compoſition, as they were willing to offer the ſame; and that there being divers ſufficient and valiant Men yet living, and whoſe Wounds were not mortal, they might do their Country and Prince acceptable Service hereafter. And whereas Sir *Richard* had alledged that the *Spaniards* ſhould never glory to have taken one Ship of her Majeſty, ſeeing they had ſo long and ſo notably defended themſelves; they anſwered, that the Ship had ſix Foot Water in the Hold, three Shot under Water, which were ſo weakly ſtopped, as with the firſt Working of the Sea, ſhe muſt needs ſink, and was beſides ſo cruſh'd and bruiſed, as ſhe could never be removed out of the Place.

And as the Matter was thus in Diſpute, and Sir *Richard* refuſing to hearken to any of thoſe Reaſons, the Maſter of the *Revenge* (while the Captain won unto him the greater Party) was convey'd aboard the General *Don Alſonſo Baçan*; who (finding none over haſty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting leaſt Sir *Richard* would have blown them up and himſelf, and perceiving by the Report of the Maſter of the *Revenge* his dangerous Diſpoſition) yielded that all their Lives ſhould be ſaved, the Company ſent for *England*, and the better Sort to pay ſuch reaſonable Ranſom as their Eſtates would bear, and in the mean Seaſon to be free from Galley or Impriſonment. To this he ſo much the rather condeſcended, as well, as I have ſaid, for fear of further Loſs and Miſchief to themſelves, as alſo for the Deſire he had to recover Sir *Richard Greenville*, whom for his notable Valour he ſeemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this Anſwer was returned, and that Safety of Life was promiſed, the common Sort being now at the End of their Peril, the moſt drew back from Sir *Richard* and the Maſter-gunner, being no hard Matter to diſſuade Men from Death to Life. The Maſter-gunner finding himſelf and Sir *Richard* thus prevented and maſtered by the greater Number, would have ſlain himſelf with a Sword, had he not been by Force withheld, and locked into his Cabin. Then the General ſent many Boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our Men fearing Sir *Richard*'s Diſpoſition, ſtole away aboard the General and other Ships. Sir *Richard* thus over-matched, was ſent unto by *Alſonſo Baçan* to remove out of the *Revenge*, the Ship being marvellous unſavory, filled with Blood and Bodies of dead and wounded Men like a Slaughter-houſe: Sir *Richard* anſwered, that he might do with his Body what he liſt, for he eſteemed it not; and as he was carried out of the Ship, he ſwooned, and reviving again, deſired the Company to pray for him. The General uſed Sir *Richard* with all Humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his Recovery, highly commending his Valour and Worthineſs, and greatly bewailing the Danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare Spectacle, and a Reſolution ſeldom approved, to ſee one Ship turn toward ſo many Enemies, to endure the Charge and Boarding of ſo many huge Armadas, and to reſiſt and repell the Aſſaults and Entries of ſo many Soldiers; all which, and more, is confirmed by a *Spaniſh* Captain of the ſame Armada, and a preſent Actor in the Fight, who being ſevered from the reſt in a Storm, was by the *Lion* of *London*, a ſmall Ship, taken, and brought Priſoner to *London*.

The General-commander of the Armada was Don *Alphonſo Baçan*, Brother to the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*. The Admiral of the *Biſcain* Squadron was *Britandona*; of the Squadron of *Seville*, the Marquis of *Arumburch*; the Hulks and Flyboats were commanded by *Luis Coutinho*. There were ſlain and drowned in this Fight, well near 1000 of the Enemies, and two ſpecial Commanders, Don *Luis de Sant John*, and Don *George de Prunaria de Mallaga*, as the *Spaniſh* Captain confeſſeth, beſides divers others of ſpecial Account, whereof as yet Report is not made.

The Admiral of the Hulks and the *Aſcenſion* of *Seville* were both ſunk by the Side of the *Revenge*; one other recovered the Road of *St. Michael*, and ſunk alſo there; a fourth ran herſelf with the Shore to ſave her Men. Sir *Richard* died, as it is ſaid, the ſecond or third Day aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his Body, whether it were buried in the Sea, or on the Land, we know not: the Comfort that remaineth to his Friends is, that he hath ended his Life honourably, in reſpect of the Reputation won to his Nation and Country, and of the ſame to his Poſterity, and that being dead, he hath not out-lived his own Honour.

For the reſt of her Majeſty's Ships that entered not ſo far into the Fight as the *Revenge*, the Reaſons and Cauſes were theſe: There were of them but ſix in all, whereof two but ſmall Ships; the *Revenge* engaged paſt Recovery; The Iſland of *Flores* was on the one Side, 53 Sail of the *Spaniſh*, divided into Squadrons, on the other, all as full filled with Soldiers as they could contain; almoſt the one Half of our Men ſick, and not able to ſerve; the Ships grown foul, unrummaged, and ſcarcely able to bear any Sail for want of Ballaſt, having been ſix Months at Sea before: If all the reſt had entered, all had been loſt; for the very Hugeneſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, if no other Violence had been offered, would have cruſh'd them between them into Shivers; of which the Diſhonour and Loſs to the Queen had been far greater than the Spoil or Harm that the Enemy could any way have received. Notwithſtanding it is very true, that the Lord *Thomas* would have entered between the Squadrons, but the reſt would not condeſcend; and the Maſter of his own Ship offered to leap into the Sea, rather than to conduct that her Majeſty's Ship and the reſt to be a Prey to the Enemy, where there was no Hope nor Poſſibility either of Defence or Victory: Which alſo in my Opinion had ill ſorted or anſwered the Diſcretion and Truſt of a General, to commit himſelf and his Charge to an aſſured Deſtruction, without Hope or any Likelihood of prevailing; thereby to diminiſh the Strength of her Majeſty's Navy, and to enrich the Pride and Glory of the Enemy[a]. The *Foreſight* of the Queen's, commanded by Mr. *Thomas Vaviſor*, performed a very great Fight, and ſtayed two Hours as near the *Revenge* as the Weather would permit him, not forſaking the Fight till he was like to be encompaſſed by the Squadrons, and with great Difficulty cleared himſelf. The reſt gave divers Vollies of Shot, and entered as far as the Place permitted, and their own Neceſſities, to keep the Weather-gage of the Enemy, until they were parted by Night. A few Days after the Fight was ended, and the *Engliſh* Priſoners diſperſed into the *Spaniſh* and *India* Ships, there aroſe ſo great a Storm from the W. and N. W. that all the Fleet was diſperſed, as well the *Indian* Fleet[b], which were then come unto them, as the reſt of the Armada that attended their Arrival, of which 14 Sail, together with the *Revenge*, and in her 200 *Spaniards*, were caſt away upon the Iſle of *St. Michael*. So it pleaſed them to honour the Burial of that renowned Ship the *Revenge*, not ſuffering her to periſh alone, for the great Honour ſhe atchieved in her Life-time. On the reſt of the Iſlands there were caſt away in this Storm 15 or 16 more of the Ships of War; and of 100 and odd Sail of the *India* Fleet, expected this Year in *Spain*, what in this Tempeſt, and what before in the Bay of *Mexico*, and about the *Bermudas*, there were 70 and odd conſumed and loſt, with thoſe taken by our Ships of *London*, beſides one very rich *Indian* Ship, which ſet herſelf on-fire, being boarded by the *Pilgrim*, and five other taken by Maſter *Watt*'s Ships of *London*, between the *Havannah* and *Cape St. Antonio*. The 4th of this Month of *November* we received Letters from the *Tercera*, affirming that there are 3000 Bodies of Men remaining in that Iſland, ſaved out of the periſhed Ships; and that by the *Spaniards* own Confeſſion, there are 10,000 caſt away in this Storm, beſides thoſe that periſhed between the Iſlands and the Main. Thus (ſays Sir *Walter Raleigh*) it hath pleaſed God to fight for us, and to defend the Juſtice of our Cauſe againſt the ambitious and bloody Pretences of the *Spaniard*, who ſeeking to devour all Nations, are themſelves devoured. A manifeſt Teſtimony how unjuſt and diſpleaſing their Attempts are in the Sight of God, who hath pleaſed to witneſs by the Succeſs of their Affairs, his Miſlike of their bloody and injurious Deſigns, purpoſed and practiſed againſt all Chriſtian Princes, over whom they ſeek unlawful and ungodly Rule and Empire.

A Day or two before this Wreck happened to the *Spaniſh* Fleet, when as ſome of our Priſoners deſired to be ſet on-ſhore upon the Iſlands, hoping to be from thence tranſported into *England*, which Liberty was formerly by the General promiſed: One *Morice Fitz John*, Son of the old *John* of *Deſmond*, a notable Traitor, Couſin-german to the late Earl of *Deſmond*, was ſent to the *Engliſh* from Ship to Ship, to perſuade them to ſerve the King of *Spain*. The Arguments he uſed to induce them were theſe: The Increaſe of Pay, which he promiſed to be trebled; Advancement to the better Sort; and the Exerciſe of the true Catholic Religion, and Safety of their Souls to all. For the firſt, even the beggarly and unnatural Behaviour of thoſe *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Rebels, that ſerved the King in that preſent Action, was ſufficient to anſwer that firſt Argument of rich Pay. For ſo poor and beggarly they were, as for Want of Apparel they ſtripped their poor Countrymen Priſoners out of their ragged Garments, worn to nothing by ſix Months Service, and ſpared not to deſpoil them even of their bloody Shirts, from their wounded Bodies, and the very Shoes from their Feet. A notable Teſtimony of their rich Entertainment and great Wages! The ſecond Reaſon was Hope of Advancement, if they ſerved well, and would continue faithful to the King. But what Man can be ſo blockiſhly ignorant ever to expect Place or Honour from a foreign King, having no other Argument or Perſuaſion than his own Diſloyalty; to be unnatural to his own Country that bred him; to his Parents that begat him; and rebellious to his true Prince, to whoſe Obedience he is bound by Oath, by Nature, and by Religion: No, they are only aſſured to be employed in all deſperate Enterpriſes, to be held in Scorn and Diſdain ever among thoſe whom they ſerve. And that ever Traitor was either truſted or advanced I could never yet read, neither can I at this Time remember any Example. And no Man could have leſs becomed the Place of an Orator for ſuch a Purpoſe, than this *Morice* of *Deſmond*. For the Earl his Couſin, being one of the greateſt Subjects in that Kingdom of *Ireland*, having almoſt whole Countries in his Poſſeſſion, ſo many goodly Manors, Caſtles, and Lordſhips, the Count Palatine of *Kerry*, 500 Gentlemen of his own Name and Family to follow him, beſides others (all which he poſſeſſed in Peace for 3 or 400 Years) was in leſs than three Years after his adhering to the *Spaniards* and Rebellion, beaten from all his Holds, not ſo many as ten Gentlemen of his Name left living, himſelf taken and beheaded by a Soldier of his own Nation, and his Land given by a Parliament to her Majeſty, and poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*. His other Couſin, Sir *John* of *Deſmond*, taken by Mr. *John Zouch*, and his Body hanged over the Gates of his native City to be devoured by Ravens. The third Brother, Sir *James*, hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the ſame Place. If he had withal vaunted of his Succeſs of his own Houſe, no doubt the Argument would have moved much, and wrought great Effect; which becauſe he for that preſent forgot, I thought it good to remember in his Behalf. For Matter of Religion, it would require a particular Volume, if I ſhould ſet down how irreligiouſly they cover their greedy and ambitious Pretences, with that Veil of Piety. But ſure

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[a] He was therefore obliged to return homewards, and in his Paſſage made amends for the Loſs of the Revenge, by taking ſeveral rich Spaniſh Ships. Among others, he took one bound for the Weſt-Indies, in which, beſides a conſiderable Booty, it is ſaid, they found 22,000 Indulgences for the Spaniards of America; a Commodity of very ſmall Value to the Engliſh Sailors.

Purchas ſays, that before the Spaniſh Fleet ſurprized the Engliſh, they had, at times, taken at leaſt 20 Ships coming from St. Domingo, India, Braſil, &c, and all ſent into England: Among which were two coming from the Continent, laden with Gold and Silver.

Sir William Monſon ſays, that after this Miſfortune, the Lord Thomas would not be diſcouraged, nor diſmayed, but kept the Sea as long as his Victuals laſted, and by ſuch Ships as himſelf, and the reſt of his Fleet took, defrayed the better Part of the Charge of the whole Action.

[b] The Fleet of Nova Hiſpania, at their firſt gathering together and ſetting forth, were 52 Sails. The Admiral was of 600 Tons, and the Vice-admiral of the ſame Burthen. Four or five of the Ships were of 900 and 1000 Tons a-piece, ſome 500, and ſome 400, and the leaſt of 200 Tons. Of this Fleet 19 were caſt away, and in them 2600 Men by Eſtimation, which was done along the Coaſt of Nova Hiſpania, ſo that of the ſame Fleet there came to the Havanna but 33 Sails.

The Fleet of Terra Firma were, at their firſt Departure from Spain, 50 Sails, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did diſcharge their Lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their Healths Sake, until the Time the Treaſure was ready they ſhould take in, at the ſaid Nombre de Dios. But before this Fleet departed, ſome were gone by one or two at a time, ſo that only 23 Sails of this Fleet arrived at the Havanna. At the Havanna there met 33 Sails of Nova Hiſpania; 23 of Terra Firma; 12 of San Domingo; and 9 of the Honduras.

The whole 77 Ships joined, and ſet Sails all together at the Havanna the 17th of July, according to our Account, and kept together until they came into the Height of 35 Degrees, which was about the 10th of Auguſt, where they found the Wind at South-weſt changed ſuddenly to the North, ſo that the Sea coming out of the South-weſt, and the Wind very violent at North, they were put all into great Extremity, and then firſt loſt the General of their Fleet, with 500 Men in her; and within three or four Days after another Storm riſing, there were five or ſix other of their biggeſt Ships caſt away with all their Men, together with their Vice-admiral.

And in the Height of 38 Degrees, about the End of Auguſt, grew another great Storm, in which all the Fleet, ſaving 48 Sails, were caſt away; which 48 Sails kept together, until they came in Sight of the Iſlands of Coruo and Flores, about the fifth or fixth of September, at which time a great Storm ſeparated them; of which Number 15 or 16 were after ſeen by theſe Spaniards to ride at Anchor under the Tercera, and 12 or 14 more to bear with the Iſland of St. Michael; what became of them after that theſe Spaniards were taken, cannot yet be certified; their Opinion is, that very few of the Fleet are eſcaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is otherways of late certified, that of this whole Fleet that ſhould have come into Spain this Year, being one hundred twenty and three Sail, there are arrived as yet but five and twenty.

I am, that there is no Kingdom or Common-wealth in all *Europe*, but if they be reformed, they then invade it for Religion Sake: if it be, as they term, Catholic, they pretend Title; as if the Kings of *Caſtile* were the natural Heirs of all the World; and ſo between both, no Kingdom is unſought. Where they dare not with their own Forces to invade, they baſely entertain the Traitors and Vagabonds of all Nations; ſeeking by thoſe, and by their runagate *Jeſuits* to win Parts, and have by that Means ruined many noble Houſes and others in this Land, and have extinguiſhed both their Lives and Families. What Good, Honour, or Fortune ever Man yet by them atchieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our *Engliſh* Papiſts do but look into *Portugal*, againſt which they have no Pretence of Religion, how the Nobility are put to death, impriſoned, their rich Men made a Prey, and all ſorts of People captived; they ſhall find that the Obedience even of the *Turk* is eaſy, and a Liberty, in reſpect of the Slavery and Tyranny of *Spain*. What have they done in *Sicily*, in *Naples*, *Milan*, and in the Low-countries? Who hath there been ſpared for Religion at all? And it cometh to my Remembrance of a certain Burgher of *Antwerp*, whoſe Houſe being entred by a Company of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, when they firſt ſacked the City, he beſought them to ſpare him and his Goods, being a good Catholic, and one of their own Party and Faction. The *Spaniards* anſwered, that they knew him to be of a good Conſcience for himſelf, but his Money, Plate, Jewels, and Goods, were all heretical, and therefore good Prize. So they abuſed and tormented the fooliſh *Fleming*, who hoped that an *Agnus Dei* had been a ſufficient Target againſt all Force of that holy and charitable Nation. Neither have they at any Time as they proteſt invaded the Kingdoms of the *Indies* and *Peru*, and elſewhere, but only led thereunto, rather to reduce the People to Chriſtianity, than for either Gold or Empire. When as in one only Iſland called *Hiſpaniola*, they have waſted 3,000,000 of the native People, beſides many Millions more in other Places of the *Indies*; a poor and harmleſs People created of God, who might have been won to his Knowledge, as many of them were, and almoſt as many as ever were perſuaded thereunto. The Story whereof is at large written by a Biſhop of their own Nation called *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and many other Languages, intitled *The Spaniſh Cruelties*. Who would therefore repoſe Truſt in ſuch a Nation of ravenous Strangers, and eſpecially in thoſe *Spaniards* who more greedily thirſt after *Engliſh* Blood, than after the Lives of any other People of *Europe*, for the many Overthrows and Diſhonours they have received at our Hands, whoſe Weakneſs we have diſcovered to the World, and whoſe Forces at home, abroad, in *Europe*, in *India*, by Sea and Land, we have even with Handfuls of Men and Ships, overthrown and diſhonoured? Let not therefore any *Engliſhman*, of what Religion ſoever, have other Opinion of the *Spaniards*, but that thoſe whom he ſeeketh to win of our Nation, he eſteemeth baſe and traiterous, unworthy Perſons, or inconſtant Fools; and that he uſeth his Pretence of Religion, for no other Purpoſe but to bewitch us from the Obedience of our natural Prince; thereby hoping in time to bring us to Slavery and Subjection, and then none ſhall be unto them ſo odious and diſdained as the Traitors themſelves, who have ſold their Country to a Stranger, and forſaken their Faith and Obedience contrary to Nature and Religion, and contrary to that humane and general Honour, not only of Chriſtians, but of heathen and irreligious Nations, who have always ſuſtained what Labour ſoever, and embraced even Death itſelf, for their Country, Prince, or Commonwealth. To conclude: It hath ever to this Day pleaſed God to proſper and defend her Majeſty, to break the Purpoſes of malicious Enemies, of forſworn Traitors, and of unjuſt Practices and Invaſions. She hath ever been honoured of the worthieſt Kings, ſerved by faithful Subjects, and ſhall by the Favour of God, reſiſt, repel, and confound all whatſoever Attempts againſt her ſacred Perſon or Kingdom. In the mean time let the *Spaniard* and Traitor vaunt of their Succeſs; and we her true and obedient Vaſſals, guided by the ſhining Light of her Virtues, ſhall always love her, ſerve her, and obey her to the End of our Lives."

While this Expedition againſt the *Weſt-India* Plate-fleet was depending, the brave and fortunate *Thomas Candiſh* or *Cavendiſh*, Eſq; reſolved upon another Voyage to the Streights of *Magellan*, and the *South-Seas*. For this Purpoſe he fitted out five Sail [a], which departed from *Plymouth* on the 26th of *Auguſt* 1591, and arriv'd under the *equinoctial Line* before any Thing remarkable happened to them: Where being becalm'd 27 Days, moſt of the Men fell ſick of the Survy, occaſion'd by the violent Heat of the Sun, together with the nocturnal Damps and Vapours.

At laſt getting a fair North-weſt Wind, in 20 Day's Sail, they got Sight of the Coaſt of *Braſil*, on the 29th of *November*; and coming near the Shore, on the ſecond of *December*, they took a ſmall Veſſel, loaded with Sugar, Haberdaſhery wares and Negroes, and learnt from the Pilot, that they were then at Cape *Frio*, 12 Leagues from the River of *Janeiro*, and 30 from *Santos*, the very Place they had formed a Deſign upon.

This Pilot alſo carried them to *Ilha Grande*, 12 Leagues from *Santos*, where they landed, and found ſome Refreſhments. He then conducted them to the Iſland of *Placentia*, and from thence having landed and plundered a few Houſes, ſail'd for the Iſle of *St. Sebaſtian*, in order to purſue their Deſign upon *Santos*. But the continual Feuds and Quarrels among his Men, depriv'd the Admiral of his Pleaſure, and oblig'd him to give them a Diverſion, by haſtening his Deſign on the Town of *Santos*. The *Portugueſe* Pilot informed them, that the Place was in no Condition of Defence; they therefore concluded, that their Long-boat and Shallop alone, with about 100 Men, would be ſufficient for this Purpoſe; and ſo great Diſputes aroſe, who ſhould be of the Party, that the Admiral was forced to uſe his Authority to appeaſe and decide them.

The Party [b] which went out on this Service landed at the Time the *Portugueſe* were at Church, in the Middle of High-maſs; and having thus ſurprized them at their Devotion, they found no great Matter of Reſiſtance. They eaſily got the Swords out of the Hands of thoſe, who had any, and then kept Guard upon them, till the reſt of their Company, appointed for this Expedition, came up to them. This Exploit was performed by 23 Men [c], tho' there were above 300 *Portugueſe* in the Church, beſides Women and Children. Upon the Church being beſet, thoſe who were in the Town took the Alarm, and, as faſt as they could, diſpoſed of themſelves and their Money, into Places of more Security.

The Plunder of the Town conſiſted in Succats, Sugars, *Caſſavi*-meal, and a large Quantity of Gold and Silver. The native Inhabitants of the Country were exceeding glad at the taking of this Place, and preſs'd the Admiral to keep it, proteſting they would ſtand by him to a Man. As a Proof of their Sincerity, they diſcovered to him all they knew; they ſhewed him three great Bags of Money, which the *Portugueſe* had hid, and carried him to a Place, where he brought off 300 Head of Cattle, which ſerved the whole Fleet all the Time they ſtaid at this Port, which was near two Months. At their Departure they burnt the Out-parts of the Town, deſtroyed ſeveral of their Sugar-mills between *Santos* and *St. Vincent*, and ſet fire to all the Ships in the Harbour.

They ſailed from *Santos* on the 24th of *January* 1592, towards the Streights of *Magellan*; and, about the River of *Plate*, the Ships were miſerably ſhattered and ſeparated by a violent Storm, but met again at Port *Deſire*, the appointed Rendezvous, on the ſixth of *March*. Having refreſhed, they ſailed from thence the 20th to the Streight's Mouth; but, the Wind being, contrary, they beat three Days off of Port *Famine*, before they could double the

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[a] The Leiceſter Galleon, Admiral, commanded by Mr Cavendiſh himſelf; The Roebuck, Vice-admiral, Captain Cock, Commander; the Deſire, Rear-admiral, Captain Davis; the Dainty, Captain Randolph Cotton; and the Black Pinnace, Harris's Collection, Vol. I. p. 695. Hackluit, part III. p. 842. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1192.

[b] According to Hackluit, Captain Cock and Captain Davis, with the Deſire and the Black Pinnace, departed from St. Sebaſtian on this Expedition alone, and the Admiral did not arrive there till eight or ten Days after.

[c] Hackluit ſays 24 Gentlemen.

Cape. They got at length into Port *Famine*, where they were confined eight Days for want of Wind; during which Time they endured inexpreſſible Hardſhips, as well for Want of Proviſions, as by the exceſſive Cold, of which not a few periſhed, or loſt their Limbs. By which Miſeries the Men were diminiſhed, and cut off, as if a contagious Diſeaſe had ſeized them; with great Difficulty they got 50 Leagues within the Streight's Mouth. They fell in with the Streight's Mouth on the eighth of *April*; on the 14th paſſed the firſt Streight; on the 16th, the ſecond; on the 18th, doubled Cape *Froward*; and on the 21ſt were forced, by the Fury of the Weather, to put into a ſmall Cove with their Ships, where they remained till the 15th of *May*. Here all the Sick in the Galleon were inhumanly ſet on-ſhore, and left to periſh in the Snow. The Admiral ſeeing, that he muſt either leave the Streight, or bury his whole Fleet there; and, as that was the Caſe, the ſooner he got out again the better, he ſet ſail for the Coaſt of *Braſil* again. (The Mutiny of his Men obliged him to take this Reſolution, contrary to his own Inclination: For he himſelf had projected a Voyage to *China*; and had they not loſt ſo much Tme, before they entered the *Magellanick* Streight, they might have made their Voyage that Way; but as that had now failed, there was yet another Way open, *viz.* by the *Cape of Good Hope*.) This the Admiral would now have taken; but was forced to yield to the Clamours of his People, and ſteer towards *Braſil*.

The Remainder of this Voyage is accurately [*] deſcribed by the whole Crew of the *Deſire*, in Vindication of themſelves from ſeveral Aſperſions thrown upon them by Mr. *Candiſh*'s Friends; and is as follows:

“ The 21ſt being athwart of Port *Deſire*, 30 Leagues off the Shore, the Wind then at N. E. and by N. at five o'Clock at Night lying N. E. we ſuddenly caſt about, lying S. E. and by S. and ſometimes S. E. the whole Fleet following the Admiral, our Ship coming under his Lee, ſhot ahead him, and ſo framed Sail fit to keep Company. This Night we were ſevered, by what Occaſion we proteſt we know not, whether we loſt them, or they us. In the Morning we only ſaw the *Black* Pinnace. Then ſuppoſing that the Admiral had overſhot us, all this Day we ſtood to the Eaſtwards, hoping to find him, becauſe it was not likely that he would ſtand to the Shore again ſo ſuddenly. But miſſing him towards Night, we ſtood to the Shoreward, hoping by that Courſe to find him. The 22d of *May* at Night, we had a violent Storm, with the Wind at N. W. and we were inforced to hull, not being able to bear Sail, and this Night we periſhed our main Treſsle-trees, ſo that we could no more uſe our main Top-ſail, lying moſt dangerouſly in the Sea. The Pinnace likewiſe received a great Leak, ſo that we were inforced to ſeek the next Shore for our Relief. And becauſe Famine was like to be the beſt End, we deſired to go for *Port Deſire*, hoping with Seals and Penguins to relieve ourſelves, and ſo to make ſhift to follow the General, or there to ſtay his coming from *Braſil*. The 24th of *May* we had much Wind at North. The 25th was calm, and the Sea very lofty, ſo that our Ship had dangerous foul Weather. The 26th our Fore-ſhrouds brake, ſo that if we had not been near the Shore, it had been impoſſible for us to get out of the Sea. And now being here moored in Port *Deſire*, our Shrouds are all rotten, not having a Running-rope whereto we may truſt, and being provided only of one Shift of Sails all worn, our Top-ſails not able to abide any Streſs of Weather, neither have we any Pitch, Tar, or Nails, nor any Store for the ſupplying of theſe Wants; and we live only upon Seals and Muſcles, having but five Hogſheads of Pork within-board, and Meal three Ounces for a Man a Day, with Water for to drink. And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God to ſeparate our Fleet, and to bring us into ſuch hard Extremities, that only now by his mere Mercy we expect Relief, though otherwiſe we are hopeleſs of Comfort; yet becauſe the wonderful Works of God in his exceeding great Favour towards us his Creatures are far beyond the Scope of Man's Capacity, therefore by him we hope to have Deliverance in this our deep Diſtreſs. Alſo foraſmuch as thoſe upon whom God will beſtow the Favour of Life, with Return home to their Country, may not only themſelves remain blameleſs, but alſo manifeſt the Truth of our Actions, we have thought good in Chriſtian Charity to lay down under our Hands the Truth of all our Proceedings, even till the Time of this our Diſtreſs. Given in Port *Deſire* the 2d of *June* 1592. Beſeeching the Almighty God of his Mercy to deliver us from this Miſery, how or when it ſhall pleaſe his divine Majeſty.

“ *John Davis*, Captain,
“ *Randolph Cotton*,
“ *John Perry*,
“ *William Maber*, Gunner,
“ *Charles Parker*,
“ *Rouland Miller*,
“ *Edward Smith*,
“ *Thomas Purpet*,
“ *Matthew Stubbes*,
“ *John Jenkinſon*,
“ *Thomas Edwards*,
“ *Edward Granger*,
“ *John Lewis*,
“ *William Hayman*,
“ *George Straker*,
“ *Thomas Walbie*,
“ *William Wyeth*,
“ *Richard Alard*,
“ *Stephen Popham*,
“ *Alexander Cole*,
“ *Thomas Watkins*,
“ *George Cunington*,
“ *John Whiting*,
“ *James Ling*,
“ The Boatſwain,
“ *Francis Smith*,
“ *John Layes*,
“ The Boatſwain's Mate,
“ —— *Fiſher*,
“ *John Auſtin*,
“ *Francis Copſtone*,
“ *Richard Garet*,
“ *James Everſby*,
“ *Nicholas Parker*,
“ —— *Leonard*,
“ *John Pick*,
“ —— *Benjamin*,
“ *William Maber*,
“ *James Not*,
“ *Chriſtopher Hauſer*.

“ After we had delivered this Relation unto our Captain under our Hands, then we began to travel for our Lives, and we built up a Smith's Forge, and made a Coal-pit, and burnt Coals; and there we made Nails, Bolts and Spikes; others made Ropes of a Piece of our Cable; and the reſt gathered Muſcles, and took Smelts for the whole Company. Three Leagues from this Harbour there is an Iſle with four ſmall Iſles about it, where there are great Abundance of Seals; and at the Time of the Year the Penguins come thither in great Plenty to breed. We concluded with the Pinnace, that ſhe ſhould ſometimes go thither to fetch Seals for us; upon which Condition we would ſhare our Victuals with her, Man for Man; whereunto the whole Company agreed. So we parted our poor Store, and ſhe laboured to fetch us Seals to eat, wherewith we lived when Smelts and Muſcles failed; for in the nepe Streams we could get no Muſcles. Thus in moſt miſerable Calamity we remained until the 6th of *Auguſt*, ſtill keeping Watch upon the Hills to look for our General; and ſo great was our Vexation and Anguiſh of Soul, as I think never Fleſh and Blood endured more. Thus our Miſery daily increaſing, Time paſſing, and our Hope of the General being very cold, our Captain and Maſter were fully perſuaded, that the General might perhaps go directly for the Streights, and not come to this Harbour; whereupon they thought no Courſe more convenient than to go preſently for the Streights, and there to ſtay his coming; for in that Place he could not paſs, but of force we muſt ſee him; whereunto the Company moſt willingly conſented, as alſo the Captain and Maſter of the Pinnace; ſo that upon this Determination we made all poſſible Speed to depart.

“ The 6th of *Auguſt* we ſet Sail, and went to *Penguin* Iſle, and the next Day we ſalted 20 Hogſheads of Seals, which was as much as our Salt could poſſibly do, and ſo we departed for the Streights, the pooreſt Wretches that ever were created. The 7th of *Auguſt* towards Night we departed from *Penguin* Iſle, ſhaping our Courſe for the Streights, where we had full Confidence to meet with our General. The 9th we had a ſore Storm, ſo that we were conſtrained to hull, for our Sails were not able to indure any Force. The 14th we were driven in among certain Iſles never before diſcovered, by any known Relation, lying 50 Leagues or better from the Shore

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[*] See Hackluit, Vol. III. part III. p. 842.

“ Eaſt and Northerly from the Streights; in which Place, unleſs it had pleaſed God of his wonderful Mercy to have ceaſed the Wind, we muſt of neceſſity have periſhed. But the Wind ſhifting to the Eaſt, we directed our Courſe for the Streights; and the 18th of *Auguſt* we fell in with the Cape in a very thick Fog; and the ſame Night we anchored 10 Leagues within the Cape. The nineteenth Day we paſſed the firſt and the ſecond Streights. The 21ſt we doubled *Cape Froward.* The 22d we anchored in *Savage-cove,* ſo named, becauſe we found many Savages there; notwithſtanding the extreme Cold of this Place, yet do all theſe wild People go naked, and live in the Woods like Satyrs, painted and diſguiſed, and fly from you like wild Deer. They are very ſtrong, and threw Stones at us of three or four Pound Weight an incredible Diſtance. The 24th in the Morning we departed from this Cove, and the ſame Day we came into the North-weſt Reach, which is the laſt Reach of the Streights. The 25th we anchored in a good Cove, within 14 Leagues of the *South-Sea*; in this Place we purpoſed to ſtay for the General, for the Streight in this Place is ſcarce three Miles broad, ſo that he could not paſs but we muſt ſee him. After we had ſtayed here a Fortnight in the Deep of Winter, our Victuals conſuming, (for our Seals ſtunk moſt vilely, and our Men died pityfully through Cold and Famine, for the greateſt Part of them had not Cloaths to defend the Extremity of the Winter's Cold) being in this heavy Diſtreſs, our Captain and Maſter thought it the beſt Courſe to depart from the Streights into the *South-Sea,* and to go for the Iſle of *Santa Maria,* which is to the Northward of *Baldivia,* in 37 Degrees and a Quarter, where we might have Relief, and be in a temperate Clime, and there ſtay for the General, for of neceſſity he muſt come by that Iſle. So we departed the 13th of *September,* and came in ſight of the *South-Sea.* The 14th we were forced back again, and recovered a Cove three Leagues within the Streights from the *South-Sea.* Again we put forth, and being eight or ten Leagues free of the Land, the Wind riſing furiouſly at Weſt-north-weſt, we were inforced again into the Streights only for want of Sails; for we never durſt bear Sail in any Streſs of Weather, they were ſo weak: ſo again we recovered the Cove three Leagues within the Streights, where we endured moſt furious Weather, ſo that one of our two Cables broke, whereby we were hopeleſs of Life. Yet it pleaſed God to calm the Storm, and we unreeſed our Sheets, Tacks, Halliers, and other Ropes, and moored our Ship to the Trees cloſe by the Rocks. We laboured to recover our Anchor again, but could not by any Means, it lay ſo deep in the Water, and, as we think, clean covered with Ouze. Now had we but one Anchor which had but one whole Flouk, a Cable ſpliced in two Places, and a Piece of an old Cable. In the Midſt of theſe our Troubles it pleaſed God that the Wind came fair the firſt of *October*; whereupon with all Expedition we looſed our Moorings, and weighed our Anchor, and ſo towed off into the Channel; for we had mended our Boat in *Port Deſire,* and had five Oars of the Pinnace. When we had weighed our Anchor, we found our Cable broken, only one Strand held; then we praiſed God, for we ſaw apparently his Mercies in preſerving us. Being in the Channel, we rived our Ropes, and again rigged our Ship; no Man's Hand was idle, but all laboured even for the laſt Gaſp of Life. Here our Company was divided; ſome deſired to go again for *Port Deſire,* and there to be ſet on-ſhore, where they might travel for their Lives, and ſome ſtood with the Captain and Maſter to proceed. Whereupon the Captain ſaid to the Maſter; ‘ Maſter, you ſee the wonderful Extremity of our Eſtate, and the great Doubts among our Company of the Truth of your Reports, as touching Relief to be had in the *South-Sea:* ſome ſay in ſecret, as I am informed, that we undertake theſe deſperate Attempts through blind Affection that we bear to the General. For my own part I plainly make known unto you, that the Love which I bear to the General cauſed me firſt to enter into this Action, whereby I have not only heaped upon my Head this bitter Calamity now preſent, but alſo have in ſome ſort procured the Diſlike of my beſt Friends in *England,* as it is not unknown to ſome in this Company. But now being thus intangled by the Providence of God for my former Offences (no doubt), I deſire that it may pleaſe his divine Majeſty to ſhew us ſuch merciful Favour, that we may rather proceed, than otherwiſe: or if it be his Will, that our mortal Being ſhall now take an End, I rather deſire that it may be in proceeding then in returning. And becauſe I ſee in reaſon, that the Limits of our Time are now drawing to an End, I do in Chriſtian Charity entreat you all, firſt to forgive me in whatſoever I have been grievous unto you; ſecondly, that you will rather pray for our General, than uſe hard Speeches of him; and let us be fully perſuaded, that not for his Cauſe and Negligence, but for our own Offences againſt the divine Majeſty, we are preſently puniſhed; laſtly, let us forgive one another, and be reconciled as Children in Love and Charity, and not think upon the Vanities of this Life: ſo ſhall we in leaving this Life live with our glorious Redeemer, or abiding in this Life, find Favour with God. And now (good Maſter) foraſmuch as you have been in this Voyage once before with your Maſter the General, ſatisfy the Company of ſuch Truths as are to you beſt-known; and you the reſt of the General's Men, which likewiſe have been with him in his firſt Voyage, if you hear any thing contrary to the Truth, ſpare not to reprove it, I pray you. And ſo I beſeech the Lord to beſtow his Mercy upon us.’ Then the Maſter began in theſe Speeches: ‘ Captain, your Requeſt is very reaſonable, and I refer to your Judgment my honeſt Care, and great Pains taken in the General's Service, my Love towards him, and in what ſort I have diſcharged my Duty, from the firſt Day to this Hour. I was commanded by the General to follow your Directions, which hitherto I have performed. You all know, that when I was extremely ſick, the General was loſt in my Mate's Watch, as you have well examined: ſince which Time, in what Anguiſh and Grief of Mind I have lived, God only knoweth, and you are in ſome part a Witneſs. And now if you think good to return, I will not gainſay it; but this I aſſure you, if Life may be preſerved by any Means, it is in proceeding. For at the Iſle of *Santa Maria* I do aſſure you of Wheat, Pork, and Roots enough. Alſo I will bring you to an Iſle, where Pelicans be in great Abundance, and at *Santos* we ſhall have Meal in great Plenty; beſides all, our Poſſibility of intercepting ſome Ships upon the Coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru.* But if we return there is nothing but Death to be hoped for; therefore do as you like, I am ready, but my Deſire is to proceed.’ Theſe his Speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former Voyage, there was a general Conſent of proceeding; and ſo on the ſecond of *October* we put into the *South-Sea,* and were free of all Land. This Night the Wind began to blow very much at Weſt-north-weſt, and ſtill increaſed in Fury, ſo that we were in great doubt what Courſe to take: to put into the Streights we durſt not for lack of Ground-tackle; to bear ſail we doubted, the Tempeſt was ſo furious, and our Sails ſo bad. The Pinnace came room with us, and told us that ſhe had received many grievous Seas, and that her Ropes did every Hour fail her, ſo as they could not tell what ſhift to make; we being unable in any ſort to help them, ſtood under our Courſes in view of the Lee-ſhore, ſtill expecting our ruinous End.

“ The fourth of *October* the Storm growing beyond all Reaſon furious, the Pinnace being in the Wind of us, ſtrook ſuddenly a-hull, ſo that we thought ſhe had received ſome grievous Sea, or ſprung a Leak, or that her Sails failed her, becauſe ſhe came not with us: but we durſt not hull in that unmerciful Storm, but ſometimes tried under our main Courſe, ſometimes with a Haddock of our Sail, for our Ship was very Leeward, and moſt labourſome in the Sea. This Night we loſt the Pinnace, and never ſaw her again.

“The fifth our Foreſail was ſplit, and all torn: then our Maſter took the Mizzen, and brought it to the Foremaſt, to make our Ship work, and with our Spritſail we mended our Foreſail, the Storm continuing without all Reaſon in Fury, with Hail, Snow, Rain, and Wind, ſuch and ſo mighty, as that in Nature it could not poſſibly be more, the Seas ſuch and ſo lofty, with continual Breach, that many times we were doubtful whether our Ship did ſink or ſwim.

“The 10th of *October* being, by the Account of our Captain and Maſter, very near the Shore, the Weather dark, the Storm furious, and moſt of our Men having given over to travel, we yielded ourſelves to Death, without further Hope of Succour. Our Captain ſitting in the Gallery very penſive, I came and brought him ſome *Roſa Solis* to comfort him; for he was ſo cold, that he was ſcarce able to move a Joint. After he had drank, and was comforted in Heart, he began, for the the Eaſe of his Conſcience, to make a large Repetition of his forepaſſed Time, and with many grievous Sighs he concluded in theſe Words: ‘Oh, moſt glorious God, with whoſe Power the mightieſt Things among Men are Matters of no Moment, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that the intolerable Burthen of my Sins may through the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt be taken from me; and end our Days with ſpeed, or ſhew us ſome merciful Sign of thy Love, and our Preſervation.’ Having thus ended, he deſired me not to make known to any of the Company his intolerable Grief and Anguiſh of Mind, becauſe they ſhould not thereby be diſmayed. And ſo ſuddenly, before I went from him, the Sun ſhined clear, ſo that he and the Maſter both obſerved the true Elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what Courſe to recover the Streights. Wherewithal our Captain and Maſter were ſo revived, and gave ſuch comfortable Speeches to the Company, that every Man rejoyced, as though we had received a preſent Deliverance. The next Day being the 11th of *October*, we ſaw *Cabo Deſeado*, being the Cape on the South-ſhore (the North-ſhore is nothing but a Company of dangerous Rocks, Iſles, and Shoals.) This Cape being within two Leagues to Leeward off us, our Maſter greatly doubted, that we could not double the ſame: whereupon the Captain told him, ‘You ſee there is no Remedy, either we muſt double it, or before Noon we muſt die; therefore looſe your Sails, and let us put it to God's Mercy.’ The Maſter being a Man of good Spirit, reſolutely made quick Diſpatch, and ſet ſail. Our Sails had not been half an Hour abroad, but the Foot-rope of our Foreſail broke, ſo that nothing held but the Oilet-holes. The Seas continually brake over the Ship's Poop, and flew into the Sails with ſuch Violence, that we ſtill expected the Tearing of our Sails, or Over-ſetting of the Ship, and withal to our utter Diſcomfort, we perceived that we fell ſtill more and more to Leeward, ſo that we could not double the Cape: we were now come within half a Mile of the Cape, and ſo near the Shore, that the Counter-ſurff of the Sea would rebound againſt the Ship's Side, ſo that we were much diſmayed with the Horror of our preſent End. Being thus at the very Pinch of Death, the Wind and Seas raging beyond Meaſure, our Maſter veered ſome of the main Sheet; and whether it was by that Occaſion, or by ſome Current, or by the wonderful Power of God, as we verily think it was, the Ship quickened her Way, and ſhot paſt that Rock, where we thought ſhe would have ſhored. Then between the Cape and the Point there was a little Bay, ſo that we were ſomewhat farther from the Shore; and when we were come ſo far as the Cape, we yielded to Death; yet our good God the Father of all Mercies delivered us, and we doubled the Cape about the Length of our Ship, or very little more. Being ſhot paſt the Cape, we preſently took in our Sails, which only God had preſerved unto us; and when we were ſhot in between the High-lands, the Wind blowing Trade, without any Inch of Sail, we ſpooned before the Sea, three Men being not able to guide the Helm, and in ſix Hours we were put 25 Leagues within the Streights, where we found a Sea anſwerable to the Ocean.

“In this Time we freed our Ship from Water, and after we had reſted a little, our Men were not able to move; their Sinews were ſtiff, and their Fleſh dead, and many of them (which is moſt lamentable to be reported) were ſo eaten with Lice, as that in their Fleſh did lie Cluſters of Lice as big as Peaſe, yea and ſome as big as Beans. Being in this Miſery, we were conſtrained to put into a Cove for the refreſhing our Men. Our Maſter knowing the Shore, and every Cove very perfectly, put in with the Shore, and moored to the Trees, as before time we had done, laying our Anchor to the Seaward. Here we continued until the 20th of *October*; but not being able any longer to ſtay through Extremity of Famine, the 21ſt we put off into the Channel, the Weather being reaſonable calm; but before Night it blew moſt extremely at W.N.W. The Storm growing outrageous, our Men could ſcarcely ſtand by their Labour; and the Streights being full of turning Reaches, we were conſtrained by Diſcretion of the Captain and Maſter in their Accounts to guide the Ship in the hell-dark Night, when we could not ſee any Shore, the Channel being in ſome Places ſcarce three Miles broad. But our Captain, as we firſt paſſed through the Streights, drew ſuch an exquiſite Plate of the ſame, as I am aſſured it cannot in any ſort be bettered; which Plate he and the Maſter ſo often peruſed, and ſo carefully regarded, as that in Memory they had every Turning and Creek, and in the deep dark Night without any doubting they conveyed the Ship through that crooked Channel; ſo that I conclude, the World hath not any ſo ſkilful Pilots for that Place, as they are; for otherwiſe we could never have paſſed in ſuch ſort as we did.

“The 25th we came to an Iſland in the Streights named *Penguin* Iſle, whither we ſent our Boat to ſeek Relief, for there were great Abundance of Birds, and the Weather was very calm; ſo we came to an Anchor by the Iſland in ſeven Fathoms. While our Boat was at Shore, and we had great Store of Penguins, there aroſe a ſudden Storm, ſo that our Ship did drive over a Breach, and our Boat ſank at the Shore. Captain *Cotton* and the Lieutenant being on-ſhore, leapt into the Boat, and freed the ſame, and threw away all the Birds, and with great Difficulty recovered the Ship; myſelf alſo was in the Boat the ſame Time, where for my Life I laboured to the beſt of my Power. The Ship all this while driving upon the Lee-ſhore, when we came aboard, we helped to ſet Sail, and weighed the Anchor; for before our coming they could ſcarce hoiſe up their Yards, yet with much ado they ſet their Fore-courſe. Thus in a mighty Fret of Weather the 27th Day of *October* we were free of the Streights, and the 30th we came to *Penguin* Iſle, being three Leagues from Port *Deſire*, the Place which we purpoſed to ſeek for our Relief.

“When we were come to this Iſle, we ſent our Boat on-ſhore, which returned laden with Birds and Eggs; and our Men ſaid that the Penguins were ſo thick upon the Iſle, that Ships might be laden with them; for they could not go without treading upon the Birds, whereat we greatly rejoiced. Then the Captain appointed *Charles Parker* and *Edward Smith*, with 20 others to go on-ſhore, and to ſtay upon the Iſle, for the Killing and Drying of thoſe Penguins; and promiſed after the Ship was in Harbour, to ſend the reſt, not only for Expedition, but alſo to ſave the ſmall Store of Victuals in the Ship. But *Parker*, *Smith*, and the reſt of their Faction, ſuſpected that this was a Deviſe of the Captain to leave his Men on-ſhore, that by theſe Means there might be Victuals for the reſt to recover their Country; and when they remembred that this was the Place where they would have ſlain their Captain and Maſter, ſurely (thought they) for Revenge hereof will they leave us on-ſhore. Which when our Captain underſtood, he uſed theſe Speeches unto them: ‘I underſtand that you are doubtful of your Security through the Perverſeneſs of your own guilty Conſciences; it is an extreme Grief unto me, that you ſhould judge me Blood-thirſty, in whom you have ſeen nothing but kind Converſation. If you have found otherwiſe, ſpeak boldly, and accuſe me of the Wrongs that I have done; if not, why do you then meaſure me by your own uncharitable Conſciences? All the Company knoweth indeed, that in this Place you practiſed to the utmoſt of your Powers to murther me and the Maſter cauſeleſs, as God knoweth; which Evil in this Place we did remit you; and now I may conceive without doing you Wrong, that you again purpoſe ſome Evil in bringing theſe Matters to Repetition; but God hath ſo ſhortned your Confederacy, as that I nothing doubt you; it is for your Maſter's Sake that I have forborn you in your unchriſtian Practices; and here I proteſt before God, that for his Sake alone I will yet indure this Injury, and you ſhall in no ſort be prejudiced, or in any thing be by me commanded; but when we come into *England* (if God ſo favour us) your Maſter ſhall know your Honeſties; in the mean Space be void of theſe Suſpicions, for God I call to witneſs, Revenge is no part of my Thought. They gave him Thanks, deſiring to go into the Harbour with the Ship, which he granted. So there were 10 left upon the Iſle, and the laſt of *October* we entered the Harbour. Our Maſter at our laſt being here having taken careful Notice of every Creek in the River, in a very convenient Place, upon ſandy Ooze, ran the Ship on-ground, laying our Anchor to Seaward, and with our Running-ropes moored her to Stakes upon the Shore, which he had faſtened for that Purpoſe; where the Ship remained till our Departure.

“The 3d of *November* our Boat with Water, Wood, and as many as ſhe could carry, went for the Iſle of *Penguins*; but being deep, ſhe durſt not proceed, but returned again the ſame Night. Then *Parker*, *Smith*, *Townſend*, *Purpet*, with five others, deſired that they might go by Land, and that the Boat might fetch them when they were againſt the Iſle, it being ſcarce a Mile from the Shore. The Captain bad them do what they thought beſt, adviſing them to take Weapons with them. For (ſaid he) although we have not at any Time ſeen People in this Place, yet in the Country there may be Savages. They anſwered, that here were great Store of Deer and Oſtriches; but if there were Savages, they would devour them; notwithſtanding the Captain cauſed them to carry Weapons, Calivers, Swords and Targets; ſo the 6th of *November* they departed by Land, and the Boat by Sea; but from that Day to this Day we never heard of our Men. The 11th, while moſt of our Men were at the Iſle, only the Captain and Maſter with ſix others being left in the Ship, there came a great Multitude of Savages to the Ship, throwing Duſt in the Air, leaping and running like brute Beaſts, having Vizards on their Faces like Dogs Faces, or elſe their Faces are Dogs Faces indeed. We greatly feared leſt they would ſet our Ship on-fire, for they would ſuddenly make Fire, whereat we much marvelled; they came to Windward of our Ship, and ſet the Buſhes on-fire, ſo that we were in a very ſtinking Smoke; but as ſoon as they came within our Shot, we ſhot at them, and ſtriking one of them in the Thigh, they all preſently fled, ſo that we never heard nor ſaw more of them; hereby we judged, that theſe Cannibals had ſlain our nine Men. When we conſidered what they were that thus were ſlain, and found that they were the principal Men that would have murthered our Captain and Maſter, with the reſt of their Friends, we ſaw the juſt Judgment of God, and made Supplication to his divine Majeſty to be merciful unto us. While we were in this Harbour, our Captain and Maſter went with the Boat to diſcover how far this River did run, that if need ſhould enforce us to leave our Ship, we might know how far we might go by Water. So they found, that farther than 20 Miles they could not go with the Boat. At their Return they ſent the Boat to the Iſle of *Penguins*; whereby we underſtood that the Penguins dried to our Hearts Content, and that the Multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the Shape of a Bird, but hath no Wings, only two Stumps in the Place of Wings, by which he ſwimmeth under Water with as great Swiftneſs as any Fiſh. They live upon Smelts, whereof there is great Abundance upon this Coaſt; in eating they be neither Fiſh nor Fleſh; they lay great Eggs; and the Bird is of a reaſonable Bigneſs, very near twice ſo big as a Duck. All the Time that we were in this Place, we fared paſſing well with Eggs, Penguins, young Seals, young Gulls, beſides other Birds, ſuch as I know not; of all which we had great Abundance. In this Place we found an Herb called Scurvy-graſs, which we fried with Eggs, uſing Train-oil inſtead of Butter. This Herb did ſo purge the Blood, that it took away all kind of Swellings, of which many died, and reſtored us to perfect Health of Body, ſo that we were in as good Caſe as when we came firſt out of *England*. We ſtayed in this Harbour until the 22d of *December*, in which Time we had dried 20,000 Penguins; and the Captain, the Maſter, and myſelf had made ſome Salt, by laying Salt-water upon the Rocks in Holes, which in ſix Days would be kerned. Thus God did feed us even as it were with Manna from Heaven.

“The 22d of *December* we departed with our Ship for the Iſle, where with great Difficulty, by the ſkilful Induſtry of our Maſter we got 14000 of our Birds, and had almoſt loſt our Captain in labouring to bring the Birds aboard; and had not our Maſter been very expert in the Set of thoſe wicked Tides, which run after many Faſhions, we had alſo loſt our Ship in the ſame Place; but God of his Goodneſs hath in all our Extremities been our Protector. So the 22d at Night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the reſt, and ſhaped our Courſe for *Braſil*. Now our Captain rated our Victuals, and brought us to ſuch Allowance, as that our Victuals might laſt ſix Months; for our Hope was, that within ſix Months we might recover our Country, tho' our Sails were very bad. So the Allowance was two Ounces and a half of Meal for a Man a Day, and to have ſo twice a Week, ſo that five Ounces did ſerve for a Week. Three Days a Week we had Oil, three Spoonfuls for a Man a Day; and two Days in a Week Peaſe, a Pint between four Men a Day, and every Day five Penguins for four Men, and ſix Quarts of Water for four Men a Day. This was our Allowance; wherewith (we praiſe God) we lived, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30th of *January* we arrived at the Iſle of *Placentia* in *Braſil*, the firſt Place that outward-bound we were at; and having made the Shoal, our Ship lying off at Sea, the Captain with 24 of the Company went with the Boat on-ſhore, being a whole Night before they could recover it. The laſt of *January* at Sun-riſing they ſuddenly landed, hoping to take the *Portugueſe* in their Houſes, and by that means to recover ſome *Caſſavi*-meal, or other Victuals for our Relief: but when they came to the Houſes, they were all razed, and burnt to the Ground, ſo that we thought no Man had remained on the Iſland. Then the Captain went to the Gardens, and brought from thence Fruits and Roots for the Company, and came aboard the Ship, and brought her into a fine Creek which he had found out, where we might moor her by the Trees, and where there was Water, and Hoops to trim our Caſk. Our Caſe being very deſperate, we preſently laboured for Diſpatch away; ſome cut Hoops, which the Coopers made; others laboured upon the Sails and Ship; every Man travelling for his Life; and ſtill a Guard was kept on-ſhore to defend thoſe that laboured, every Man having his Weapon likewiſe by him. The third of *February* our Men, with 23 Shot, went again to the Gardens, being three Miles from us upon the North-ſhore, and fetched *Caſſavi*-roots out of the Ground, to relieve our Company, inſtead of Bread; for we ſpent not our Meal while we ſtaid here. The fifth of *February* being *Monday*, our Captain and Maſter haſted the Company to their Labours; ſo ſome went with the Coopers to gather Hoops, and the reſt laboured aboard. This Night many of our Men in the Ship dreamed of Murther and Slaughter: In the Morning they reported their Dreams, one ſaying to another, ‘this Night I dreamt that thou wert ſlain;’ another anſwered, ‘and I dreamed that thou wert ſlain;’ and this was general through the Ship. The Captain hearing this, who likewiſe had dreamed very ſtrangely himſelf, gave “very ſtrait Charge, that thoſe which went on-ſhore ſhould take Weapons with them, and ſaw them himſelf delivered into the Boat, and ſent ſome of purpoſe to guard the Labourers. All the Forenoon they laboured in Quietneſs; and when it was ten of the Clock, the Heat being extreme, they came to a Rock near the Wood's Side (for all this Country is nothing but thick Woods) and there they boiled *Caſſavi*-roots, and dined: after Dinner ſome ſlept, ſome waſhed themſelves in the Sea, all being ſtripped to their Shirts, and no Man keeping Watch, no Match lighted, not a Piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus ſleeping and ſporting, having gotten themſelves into a Corner out of ſight of the Ship, there came a Multitude of *Indians* and *Portugueſe* upon them, and ſlew them ſleeping; only two eſcaped, one very ſore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we underſtood of this miſerable Maſſacre: with all Speed we manned our Boat, and landed to ſuccour our Men, but we found them ſlain, and laid naked on a Rank one by another, with their Faces upward, and a Croſs ſet by them; and withal we ſaw two very great Pinnaces come from the River of *Jeneiro* very full of Men, whom we miſtruſted came from thence to take us, becauſe there came from *Jeneiro* Soldiers to *Santos*, when the General had taken the Town and was ſtrong in it. Of 76 Perſons which departed in our Ship out of *England*, we were now left but 27, having loſt 13 in this Place, with their chief Furniture, as Muſkets, Calivers, Powder and Shot. Our Caſk was all in decay, ſo that we could not take in more Water than was in our Ship, for want of Caſks, and that which we had was marvellous ill conditioned: and being there moored by Trees for want of Cables and Anchors, we ſtill expected the Cutting of our Moorings, to be beaten from our Decks with our own Furniture, and to be aſſailed by them of *Jeneiro*; what Diſtreſs we were now driven into, I am not able to expreſs. To depart with eight Tons of Water in ſuch bad Caſks was to ſtarve at Sea, and in ſtaying our Caſe was ruinous. Theſe were hard Choices; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the Hands of the Lord, than into the Hands of the Men; for his exceeding Mercies we had taſted, and of the others Cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart the ſixth of *February* we were off in the Channel, with our Ordnance and ſmall Shot in a Readineſs, for any Aſſault that ſhould come; and having a ſmall Gale of Wind, we recovered the Sea in moſt deep Diſtreſs. Then bemoaning our Eſtate one to another, and recounting over all our Extremeties, nothing grieved us more than the Loſs of our Men twice, firſt by the Slaughter of the Cannibals at *Port Deſire*, and at this Iſle of *Placentia* by the *Indians* and *Portugueſe*. And conſidering what they were that were loſt, we found that all thoſe that conſpired the murthering of our Captain and Maſter were now ſlain by Savages, the Gunner only excepted. Being thus at Sea, when we came to Cape *Frio*, the Wind was contrary, ſo that three Weeks we were grievouſly vexed with croſs Winds, and our Water conſuming, our Hope of Life was very ſmall. Some deſired to go to *Baya*, and to ſubmit themſelves to the *Portugueſe*, rather then to die for Thirſt; but the Captain with fair Perſuaſions altered their Purpoſe of yielding to the *Portugueſe*. In this Diſtreſs it pleaſed God to ſend us Rain in ſuch Plenty, as that we were well watered, and in good Comfort to return. But after we came near unto the Sun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them a moſt lothſome and ugly Worm of an Inch long. This Worm did ſo mightily increaſe, and devour our Victuals, that there was in Reaſon no hope how we ſhould avoid Famine, but be devoured of theſe wicked Creatures: there was nothing that they did not devour, only Iron excepted; our Cloaths, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Shirts, Stockings; and for the Ship they did ſo eat the Timbers, as that we greatly feared they would undo us, by gnawing through the Ship's Side. Great was the Care and Diligence of our Captain, Maſter, and Company to conſume theſe Vermin; but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increaſed, ſo that at the laſt we could not ſleep for them, but they would eat our Fleſh, and bite like Moſquitos. In this woful Caſe, after we had paſſed the Equinoctial toward the North, our Men began to fall ſick of ſuch a monſtrous Diſeaſe, as I think the like was never heard of; for in their Ankles it began to ſwell, from thence, in two Days, it would be in their Breaſts, ſo that they could not draw their Breath, and then fell into their Cods; and their Cods and Yards did ſwell moſt grievouſly, and moſt dreadfully to behold, ſo that they could neither ſtand, lie, nor go. Whereupon our Men grew mad with Grief. Our Captain with extreme Anguiſh of his Soul, was in ſuch woful Caſe, that he deſired only a ſpeedy End; and though he were ſcarce able to ſpeak for Sorrow, yet he perſuaded them to Patience, and to give God Thanks, and like dutiful Children to accept of his Chaſtiſement. For all this, divers grew raging mad, and ſome died in moſt lothſome and furious Pain. It were incredible to write our Miſery as it was; there was no Man in perfect Health, but the Captain and one Boy. The Maſter being a Man of good Spirit with extreme Labour bore out his Grief, ſo that it grew not upon him. To be ſhort, all our Men died except 16, of which there were but five able to move. The Captain was in good Health, the Maſter indifferent, Captain *Cotton* and myſelf ſwoln and ſhort-winded, yet better then the reſt that were ſick, and one Boy in Health: upon us five only the Labour of the Ship did ſtand. The Captain and Maſter, as Occaſion ſerved, would take in, and heave out the Top-ſails, the Maſter only attended on the Sprit-ſail, and all of us at the Capſten without Sheets and Tacks. In fine, our Miſery and Weakneſs was ſo great, that we could not take in, nor heave out a Sail; ſo that our Top-ſail and Sprit-ſails were torn all in Pieces by the Weather. The Maſter and Captain taking their Turns at the Helm, were mightily diſtreſſed and monſtrouſly grieved with the moſt woful Lamentation of our ſick Men. Thus as loſt Wanderers upon the Sea, the 11th of *June*, 1593, it pleaſed God that we arrived at *Bearhaven* in *Ireland*, and there ran the Ship on-ſhore, where the *Iriſhmen* helped us take in our Sails, and to moor our Ship for floating; which ſlender Pains of theirs coſt the Captain ſome ten Pounds before he could have his Ship in Safety. Thus without Victuals, Sails, Men, or any Furniture, God only guided us into *Ireland*, where the Captain left the Maſter and three or four of the Company to keep the Ship; and within five Days after he, and certain others, had Paſſage in an *Engliſh* Fiſher-boat to *Padſtow* in *Cornwall*. In this Manner our ſmall Remnant, by God's only Mercy, were preſerved, and reſtored to our Country; to whom be all Honour and Glory, World without end.”

While theſe were attempting a Paſſage thro' the Streights of *Magellan*, Captain *George Raimond*, and Captain *James Lancaſter*, embarked for the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the *Cape of Good Hope* *.

Theſe Adventurers ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 10th of *April* 1591, with three large Ships, the *Penelope*, the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*; and with a proſperous Courſe arrived at the Height of the *Canaries* on the 8th of *May*. But between this and the 6th of *June*, when they paſſed the Line, they were obliged to beat the Seas with great Difficulty, by contrary Winds. In which Time they took a *Portugueſe* Caravel, laden with Wine, Oil, Olives, and other Proviſions, for the *Brazils*, to the great Relief of our Adventurers, who were grown very ſickly and ſlack in Proviſions.

The Men continuing ſickly, they were obliged on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* to put into the Bay of *Agoa de Saldanha*, about 15 Leagues North of the Cape; where it was reſolved to ſend back to *England* the *Royal-Merchant*, with the diſabled Men, reſerving no more than 198 Men for the other two Veſſels. They ſtaid in this Bay about a Month to refreſh their Men, careen their Ships, and to lay in Stores of Water and Proviſions, which they found here in Plenty, buying a good Bullock for a three-penny Knife, and a Sheep for any odd Trifle, of the Natives, who were Blacks, and cloathed with raw Hides.

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* Camden. Hackluit, Part III. p. 571.

On the 8th of *September*, the *Penelope* and *Bonaventure* weighed Anchor to proceed on their Voyage, and doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, the ſame Day, in their Courſe to *Cape Corientes*. But on the 12th they were ſeparated by a Hurricane; and in the Evening of that ſame Day, the *Bonaventure* ſaw a great Sea break over the *Penelope*, which immediately extinguiſhed her Lights, and it is thought ſwallowed her up, for ſhe was never ſeen more.

This Storm was followed by ſuch frightful Thunder and Lightning, that four Seamen, who were in the other Ship, had their Necks ſo diſtorted by the Force of the Lightning, that they inſtantly died; and of 94 more, ſome were ſtruck blind, and others lame, beſides ſome who were ſeized with horrible Pains, and voiding of Blood, and others ſtretched out at Length, as if they had been racked. Their Main-maſt was torn from the Top to the Deck, and ſome Spikes, which were 10 Inches in the Timber, were melted.

Mr. *Henry May*, who was on-board the *Bonaventure*, and wrote the Hiſtory of this *Eaſt-India* Adventure, gives the following Account of the Sequel of this Voyage. “ In *October* following we in the *Edward* fell in with the Weſtermoſt Part of the Iſle of *St. Lawrence* about Midnight, knowing not where we were. Alſo the next Day we came to an Anchor at *Quitangone*, a Place on the main Land of *Africa*, which is two or three Leagues to the Northward of *Moçambique*, where the *Portugals* of the Iſle of *Moçambique* fetch all their freſh Water. Here we took a Pangaia, with a *Portugal* Boy in it, which is a Veſſel like a Barge, with one Mat-ſail of *Cocoa*-nut Leaves. The Barge is ſewed together with the Rinds of Trees, and pinned with wooden Pins. In this Pangaia we had certain Corn called Millio, Hens, and ſome Fardels of blue Calicut-cloth. The *Portugal* Boy we took with us, and diſmiſſed the reſt. From this Place we went for an Iſland called *Comoro*, upon the Coaſt of *Melinde*, about 11 Degrees to the South of the Equinoctial; in which Iſland we ſtaid all *November*, finding the People black, and very comely, but very treacherous and cruel; for the Day before we departed from thence they killed 30 of our Men on-ſhore, among whom was *William Mace* our Maſter, and two of his Mates. From hence we went for the Iſle of *Zanzibar*, on the Coaſt of *Melinde*, where we ſtaid and wintered until the Beginning of *February* following.

“ The 2d of *February* 1592 we weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail directly for the *Eaſt-Indies*; but having Calms and contrary Winds, we were until the Month of *June* before we could recover the Coaſt of *India* near *Calicut*; whereby many of our Men died for Want of refreſhing. In this Month of *June* we came to an Anchor at the Iſles of *Pulo Pinaom*, where we ſtaid until the 1ſt Day of *September*, our Men being very ſick, and dying apace. This Day we ſet Sail, and directed our Courſe for *Malaca*; and we had not been far at Sea, before we took a Ship of the Kingdom of *Pegu*, of about 80 Tons, with wooden Anchors, and about 50 Men in her, with a Pinnace of 18 Tons, at her Stern, both laden with Pepper. But their Pinnace ſtole from us in a Guſt in the Morning. Here we might have taken two Ships more of *Pegu*, laden likewiſe with Pepper and Rice. In this Month alſo we took a great *Portugal* Ship of 6 or 700 Tons, laden chiefly with Victuals, Cheſts of Hats, Pintados, and Calicut-cloths. Beſides this we took another *Portugal* Ship of ſome hundred Tons, laden with Victuals, Rice, Calicoes, Pintados, and other Commodities. Theſe Ships were bound for *Malacca* with Victuals.

“ In the Month of *November* 1592, we ſhaped our Courſe for the Iſland of *Nicubar*, ſome Leagues N. W. of the Iſland of *Sumatra*. After we arrived there, the People (whom we found in Religion *Mahometans*) came aboard us in their Canoes, with Hens, Cocoas, Plantanes, and other Fruits; and within two Days they brought unto us Rials of Plate, giving us them for Calicut-cloth; which Rials they found by diving in the Sea, which were loſt not long before in two *Portugal* Ships which were bound for *China*, and were caſt away there. This was the furtheſt Place that we were at to the S. E. and here, becauſe our Company by this time was much waſted and diminiſhed, we reſolved to turn back to the Iſle of *Zeilan*. We weighed Anchor in the Month of *November*, and arrived at *Zeilan* about the End of the ſame Month. In this Iſland groweth great Store of excellent Cinnamon, and the beſt Diamonds in the World. Here our Captain meant to ſtay to make up our Voyage; whereof he conceived great Hope, by certain Intelligence which we had received; but the Company, which were in all but 33 Men and Boys, being in a Mutiny, and every Day ready to go together by the Ears (the Captain being ſick and like to die) would not ſtay, but would needs go home.

“ The 8th of *December* 1592 we ſet Sail homeward, but 15 Days before we had Sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, we were forced to ſhare our Bread, by reaſon we had certain Flies in our Ship, which devoured moſt part of our Bread before we were aware; ſo that when we came to ſharing, we had but 31 Pounds of Bread a Man to carry us into *England*, with a ſmall Quantity of Rice a Day.

“ The laſt of *March* 1593 we doubled the Cape of *Bona Sperança*.

“ In *April* next enſuing, we came to Anchor at the Iſland of *St. Helena*, where we found an *Engliſh* Taylor, who had been there 14 Months before we came thither; ſo we ſending our Boat on-ſhore with 10 Men, they found this *Engliſhman* in the Chapel; who by reaſon of the Heat of the Climate was inforced to keep himſelf out of the Sun. Our Company hearing one ſing in the Chapel, ſuppoſing it had been ſome *Portugal*, thruſt open the Door, and went in unto him; but the poor Man ſeeing ſo many come in upon him on the ſudden, and thinking them to be *Portugals*, was firſt in ſuch a Fear, not having ſeen any Man in 14 Months before, (and afterwards knowing them to be *Engliſhmen*, and ſome of them of his Acquaintance, in ſuch Joy) that what between exceſſive ſudden Fear and Joy, he became diſtracted of his Wits, to our great Sorrows. Here we found of his drying 40 Goats. The Party had made him for Want of Apparel two Suits of Goat-ſkins with the hairy Side outwards, like unto the Savages of *Canada*. Here we ſtaid all this Month: This Man lived until we came to the *Weſt-Indies*, and then he died.

“ In the Month of *June* 1593, we arrived at the Iſland of *Trinidad* in the *Weſt-Indies*, hoping there to find Refreſhment; but we could not get any, by reaſon that the *Spaniards* had taken it. Here were we imbayed between the Iſland and the Main; and for Want of Victuals the Company would have forſaken the Ship; whereupon the Captain was inforced to ſwear every Man not to forſake the Ship until we ſhould ſee further Occaſion. Out of this Bay, called *Boca de Dragone*, it pleaſed God to deliver us; from whence we directed our Courſe for the Iſle of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, but fell in with the ſmall Iſle of *Mona*, where we abode 15 Days, finding in that Place ſome ſmall Refreſhment. And here arrived a Ship of *Caen* in *Normandy*, whereof was Captain one Monſieur *Charles de la Barbotiere*, who greatly refreſhed us with Bread and other Proviſion, which we greatly wanted. And ſo we took our Leaves the one of the other.

“ In *July* having foul Weather at *Mona*, we were forced to weigh Anchor, and to ſet Sail, directing our Courſe for *Cape Tiburon*; and in doubling of the Cape we had a Guſt from the Shore, which carried away all our Sails from the Yards; ſo that we had left but one new Fore-courſe to help ourſelves withal, which Canvas the aforeſaid *Frenchman* did help us withal. Alſo having doubled the foreſaid Cape in the Diſtreſs afore-named, the foreſaid Captain *de la Barbotiere*, with his Pinnace gave Chace unto us again; who being come near unto us, I went aboard him, certifying him what Diſtreſs we were in. The Gentleman replied to me again, that there was not any thing in his Ship he could ſpare, but what he would help us withal. So to conclude, we agreed with him for Canvas; moreover, he ſaid, that if we would go with him to an Harbour called *Gonnavy*[*], which is to the Northward of *Cape Tiburon*, that then he would

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[*] Or Guanaba.

“help us with freſh Victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboard our Ship, and certified our Captain of all; who made it known unto the Company, who no ſooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we ſtaid with the aforeſaid *Frenchman* 15 Days; but ſmall Refreſhment we could get, becauſe the *Spaniards* ſtood in ſome Fear of the *French* Man of War, ſuppoſing our Ship to be a *Portugal*, and that we were his Prize; nevertheleſs he certified them to the contrary. And in ſtaying ſo long with him, and having little Refreſhment, our Company began to be in a Mutiny, and made Report that the Captain and I went aboard the *Frenchman* but to make good Cheer, and had not any Care of them; but I proteſt before God, that our Care was to get Victuals whereby we might have been gone from him. But in the mean Time a great Part of our Company had conſpired to take away the *Frenchman*'s Pinnace, and with her to board the Man of War. While theſe Things were in complotting, one of their Conſorts went aboard the *Frenchman*, and certified him of all the Conſpiracy. Whereupon the Captain of the *French* Ship ſent for our Captain and me to come aboard to Dinner, and we ſtaid with him all the Afternoon, being invited unto Supper; and being at Supper, he himſelf would not a great while come to us; but at length he came. At his coming we aſked of him what News? Who anſwered us, that either we muſt depart from him, or elſe he muſt go ſeek ſome other Harbour. Whereupon I told Captain *Lancaſter*, who prayed me to tell him that rather than we would be any Hindrance unto him, we would be gone. But in the mean Time, while we were thus talking together, the *Frenchman* weighed and ſet Sail; which we perceived, and aſked him what he meant by it. He replied to the Captain and me, that he kept us for his Security, and that our Men had purpoſed as is aforeſaid. When he came thwart our Ship, it blew a pretty Gale of Wind; the Boat being aſtern of them, having in her two Moors and two Men of *Pegu*, which we had given them, brake away. Then was the *Frenchman* worſe than before, and did threaten us very ſore that we ſhould pay his Voyage. In the mean Time the *Edward* ſeeing us paſt, weighed and ſet Sail to go for *England*; and they did ſhare among them all the Captain's Victuals and mine, when they ſaw the *Frenchman* keep us as Priſoners. So the next Morning we went to ſeek out the *Frenchman*'s Pinnace; which being at *Laguna*, we ſhot off a Piece, and ſo ſhe came to us, having in her three more of our Company, *Edmund Barker* our Lieutenant, and one *John Weſt*, and *Richard Luckland* one of the mutinous Crew. The which I told the *Frenchman* of, and he could not deny, but that there was ſuch a Thing pretended. Then I was put into the *French* Pinnace to ſeek their Boat, and in the mean Time they would go to ſee if they could overtake our Ship. And the next Day we ſhould meet again at Cape *St. Nicholas*; ſo the next Morning we met together all three of us, but heard no News of his Boat; ſo we having *Spaniards* and *Negroes* aboard of us, he requeſted to have them. Our Captain deſired him to ſend his Boat aboard our Ship, and he ſhould have them with all his Heart; ſo with much ado he ſent his Boat, and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his Boat was not aboard the Ship; they anſwered no; ſo that then Monſieur *de la Barbotiere* was ſatiſfied; and then we were great Friends again, to all our Joys.

“The 12th of *Auguſt*, 1593, our Captain was ſent aboard our Ship; but before his Departure he requeſted of the Captain of the *French* Ship that he would give me Paſſage home with him, to certify the Owners what had paſſed in all the Voyage, as alſo of the Unrulineſs of the Company. And this Day we took our Leaves the one of the other, the *Edward* for *England*, and we bare in for *Gonnavy*, where after we found the *Frenchman*'s Boat.”

The Captain arrived at *Rye* the 24th of *May*, 1594, having ſpent three Years, ſix Weeks, and two Days, on the Voyage; and though it was attended with many Miſfortunes and Difficulties, yet the Experience, which he and his People gained in this Voyage, gave them the Reputation, that they firſt taught their Countrymen the Method of Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and laid the Foundation of that ſince ſo extenſive and flouriſhing Trade.

This ſame Year is alſo memorable for a Sea-fight[a] between three *Engliſh* Ships and a Bark, and ſix *Spaniſh* Men of War. Sir *George Carey*, then Marſhal of her Majeſty's Houſhold, and Captain of the *Iſle of Wight*, afterwards Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord-chamberlain, and Captain of the honourable Band of Gentlemen-penſioners, had fitted out three Ships and a Bark for the *Weſt-Indies*, which on the 13th of *June*, of this Year, being off of Cape *Corrientes*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, diſcovered about five in the Morning ſix Sail of *Spaniſh* Ships[b].

The *Engliſh*, believing them to be the *Carthagena* Fleet, bore joyfully up to them; and the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and another Ship (called the *Hopewell*) brought themſelves to the Leeward of the *Spaniard* Admiral, while the Bark (called the *Content*) bore up with the Vice admiral, and ranging along by her Broadſide, a Weather of her, gave her a Volley of their great Guns and ſmall Arms, and then coming up, with another ſmaller Ship, a-head of the former, hailed her in ſuch Manner, that ſhe ſheered of. While they were thus engaged with the little Ship, they ſaw a great Smoak coming from their Admiral, and the *Hopewell* and *Swallow* (the Vice-admiral) forſaking him with all the Sail they could make. The *Content*, upon this, bore up with the Admiral; but before they could come to him, they had both the ſmall Ships to the Windward of them, whoſe Deſign was, if they had not been too hot for them, to have laid them on-board. Thus the Fight continuing between the *Content*, and the two ſmall *Spaniſh* Ships, for the Space of three Hours, the former were forced at laſt to ſtand to the Northwards, the *Hopewell* and the *Swallow* not coming in all this while to their Aſſiſtance, as it is ſaid they might eaſily have done.

In the mean time the *Engliſh* Admiral being engaged with the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral, and another of their great Ships, ſtood off to Sea, with his Top-gallant-ſail, and all the Sails he could make. The *Hopewell* and the *Swallow* might have ſeconded him; but they failed him, as they had done the *Content*, ſtanding off, cloſe by a Wind, to the Eaſtward. The *Content*, all this while, was forced to the Northwards by two of the great *Spaniſh* Ships, and one of the ſmall ones, they having a Loom-gale, and the *Engliſh* being altogether becalmed. The latter, having now no other Remedy, ſhipped their Oars, deſigning to row into the Shore, and anchor in ſo ſhallow Water, that great Ships might not be able to come near them. The *Spaniards*, ſeeing their Intent, doubly manned one of their ſmall Ships; which being towed beſides with a Boat a-head, ſhipped their Oars likewiſe, and followed her, thinking with their ſmall Shot to have driven the *Engliſh* from their Oars, till the great Ships might come up with them; but by that Time ſhe was within Muſket-ſhot, they had a fair Gale of Wind, at North-weſt, off the Shore, at which Time they being to the Leeward, the *Content* ſtood to the Eaſt. The ſmall *Spaniſh* Ship was then under their Lee, within Falcon-ſhot, and another great Ship lay to the Weſtward, ſo that they could not poſſibly eſcape them upon that Board. And thinking to avoid them, by caſting about to the Weſtward, the other great Ship got under their Lee, and the ſmall Ship on their Weather-quarter, purpoſing to make them pay Room with the great Ship, by Force of her ſmall and great Shot. Then, they being Leeboard tack'd, and the *Spaniards* Starboard, they made her ſpring her Loof, and by a fortunate Shot pierced her betwixt Wind and Water, inſomuch that ſhe was forced to lay herſelf upon the Careen, and to ſtand with one of the other Ships for help. The *Content* being thus luckily freed by the Help of the Wind, looked out, and eſpied two Sail more in the Offing, which they believed to be the *Hopewell* and the *Swallow*, ſtanding in to their Aſſiſtance; but they were widely deceived; for they proved to be two of the Enemy's Gallies, and one of them ſoon after got under their Lee, hard by them. It being then Evening, one of the great Ships fired ſix Cannon-ſhot at them, to let the Gallies know that was the Ship they looked for. The Galley ſoon after came upon their Quarter Starboard, and ſaluted them with five Braſs Pieces from her Prow. They endeavoured to lay them on-board, but were ſo galled by the *Engliſh* with their ſmall Arms, that they were glad to put off from their Quarter: And when they made the ſame Attempt on their Stern, they plied them ſo cloſe with their Muſkets, that they gave them no time to diſcharge their Ordnance; and by throwing a Fire-ball amongſt them obliged them again to ſheer off. Soon after they ſaw the two Gallies with a Frigate bearing upon them again, upon which they reſolved to fight it out to the laſt Man; and dared them, as they came nearer, to come on-board them; but the *Spaniards*, it ſeems, did not care to truſt them, and only ſaluted them with one Shot, which fell aſtern. Thus the Fight continued with the Ships and Gallies from ſeven in the Morning till eleven at Night, in all which Time not a Man was killed in the *Content*, and but two wounded. About two the next Morning they had a Gale at E. N. E. which proved a Means for their Eſcape. As ſoon as it was Day they ſaw the Enemy to the Leeward, who chaſed them till ten o'Clock, but perceiving ſhe was out of their Reach, gave over the Purſuit.

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[a] A. D. 1591. Hackluit, Part III. p. 565.

[b] Four of them were Armadas, or Men of War, viz. the Admiral and Vice-admiral of 700 Tons each, and the other two of 600, The remaining two Ships were ſmall Veſſels of about 100 Tons each.

During this Engagement, the *Content* was ſeparated from her Companions, and did not ſee them afterwards. This Bark had no great Guns, but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, and two Port-baſes; and with this ſmall Force ſhe was engaged 15 or 16 Hours, with three *Spaniſh* Armadas of 6 and 700 Tons each, one ſmall Ship of 100 Tons, not being above Muſket-ſhot from any of them; and before the Sun ſet, there came up two of the King's Gallies to the Fight. The Armadas fired continually at her, with their great Guns, not leſs than 500 Times; and her Sides, Hull, and Maſts were ſowed with Muſket-balls. Her Sheets, Tops and Shrouds were almoſt cut aſunder with their great and ſmall Shot. Thro' her Main-ſail ſhe had 19 great Shot; thro' her Main-top-ſail four; thro' her Fore-ſail ſeven; thro' her Fore-top-ſail five; and thro' her Main-maſt one.

This obſtinate Fight was maintained by the Commander, Captain *Nicholas Liſle*, his Lieutenant, Maſter, Maſter's-mate, Gunner, Boatſwain and ſeven Sailors, ten Perſons more being in the Hold.

The ſame Author relates another extraordinary Example of *Engliſh* Bravery in the Year 1591. It is the gallant Action of *Robert Bradſhaw* of *Limehouſe* [a], Commander of a *Turkey* Ship, called the *Centurion*; whoſe Ship, in her Return from *Marſeilles*, being attacked near the Streight's Mouth by five *Spaniſh* Gallies, with near 1000 Men on-board, which immediately grappled the *Centurion*, two on each Side, and one aſtern, and endeavoured to board her. *Bradſhaw*, with only 48 Men and Boys, received them ſo warmly, and defended their Ship ſo deſperately, for above five Hours, during which Time the *Centurion* was ſeveral Times ſet on-fire, that the *Spaniards* were glad at laſt to ungrapple, and get off, tho' in a very ſhattered Condition, and with the Loſs of a great Number of Men, either killed by the *Engliſh*, or drowned. The *Centurion* loſt only four Men killed, and ten wounded. The next Day they were viſited by ſix freſh Gallies; but notwithſtanding they found the *Centurion* pretty much battered, they wanted Courage to attack her.

On the 12th of *February* [b], Captain *Chriſtian Newport* ſailed from *Dover* with three Ships and a Pinnace, to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies* [c]. On the 4th of *April* [d] they fell in with *Dominica*, and for a few Days bartered with the Natives for Tobacco, Hens, Potatoes, *&c.* and between there and *Porto Rico* they took a *Portugueſe* Ship of 300 Tons belonging to *Liſbon*, and from *Guinea*, loaden with 300 Negroes.

Captain *Newport*, perſuaded by the Merchant of the Prize to ſet him aſhore near *St. Juan's de Porto Rico*, in order to ranſom or ſell the Negroes, finding himſelf deceived, and that he had nothing to expect from that unhoſpitable Coaſt, but all the Trouble they could give him, came to a Reſolution to land the Negroes about 10 Leagues from *St. Juan's*, and ſink their Ship.

He then proceeded with his Privateers to the South Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, having by the Way touched at the Iſlands of *Mona* and *Saona* for freſh Proviſions, with which thoſe ſmall Iſlands abounded. On the South Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola* they took a *Portugueſe* Veſſel bound for *St. Juan's de Porto Rico*, on-board of which they found 22 Jars of Copper-money. Next Day they took two other ſmall Frigates, of no Value; and on the 15th of *April* they landed under the Cover of the Night, and marching about a League from the Shore, entered the little Town of *Ocoa*, deſerted by the Inhabitants, who had fled to the Mountains upon the firſt Appearance of the Ships upon the Coaſt. Here they found a large Quantity of Sugar, great ſtore of Poultry, and were ſupplied next Day with a good Number of Cattle, which the Inhabitants agreed to bring them by way of Ranſom for their Houſes. In the mean Time the Captain of the *Margaret* ſearching the Coaſt took two *Spaniſh* Frigates on the other Side the Bay, deſigned to load with Sugar.

"Thus provided with the Neceſſaries of Life, we (ſays "my Author [e]) ſtood along for *Cape Tiburon*, where we "watered; and making no ſtay there, about the 23d of "*April* we left our Ships in a fair Road-ſted under an "Iſland not inhabited, and with our Frigates which we "had taken before, wherein we ſhipped all our Strength "which poſſibly we could afford, leaving only ſo few "aboard our Ships as could hardly, if need had been, have "wrought them; we paſſed along by the ſaid Iſland to "the N. W. Part of *Hiſpaniola*, to a Town called *Yaguana*, "where the 27th in the Morning, two Hours before Day, "we landed; but we were diſcovered by means of a Frigate that lay laden with Victuals, bound for *Carthagena*; "the Men of which Frigate recovering the Land before "us, gave an Alarm to the Town, who were preſently "up in Arms to the Number of 150 Horſes. We marched "notwithſtanding along to the Town, having a *Spaniard* "for our Guide, and by the Time the Day brake, we were "before the Town; where, upon a fair Green, making a "Stand, we were encountered by the Horſemen, having "no Strength of Foot, but certain few looſe Shot which "lay in a low Valley at the Entry of the Town. The "Horſemen charged us very fiercely, but ſeeing they "could not prevail, drove before them 200 Beaſts, or "more, thinking to have broken our Array; but it pleaſed "God to cauſe their Cattle to return back upon themſelves. "In this Skirmiſh we ſlew their Governor, a Man very "hardy, and of great Valour; and might have carried "the Town, had not the *Spaniards* Brags which they gave "out (as by the Life of their Wives and Children, *&c.* "that not one of us ſhould go aboard again) diſheartened "our Captains ſo that we retired to our Boats, and paſſed "to our Ships again. However, the ſame Night our "Captain determined to go up with our Ships; but it fell "ſo calm, that all the next Day until Night we could not "get up; and they having diſcovered us, barricadoed up "their Way, and conveyed all that they had into the "Mountains, leaving their Houſes only bare and naked; "notwithſtanding we landed, and with great Difficulty we "paſſed their Barricadoes with the Loſs of two Men at "both Conflicts, entered their Town, and fired it, leaving "not an Houſe unburnt; being a Town of three Streets, "having about 150 Houſes.

"The ſame Night we paſſed with our Boats to a ſmall "Village called *Aguava*, where we found excellent Fruits "of the Country, which we alſo ſet on-fire.

"Being thus fruſtrated of our pretended Voyage, we "ſtood for the Bay of *Honduras*; and about the 9th of "*May* we diſcovered in the Afternoon a Sail thwart of the "Bay of *Truxillo*, with whom we ſtood, and having a "*Spaniſh* Flag out, they miſtruſted us not, until we had

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[a] Hackluit, Vol. II. part II. p. 168.

[b] A. D. 1591.

[c] The Golden-Dragon, Admiral, commanded by Mr. Newport himſelf; the Prudence, Vice-admiral, Captain Hugh Merrick, Commander; the Margaret, Captain Robert Frederick; and the Virgin Pinnace, Captain Henry Kidgil.

[d] A. A. 1592.

[e] Mr. John Twitt, who was a Corporal in the Dragon.

“ almoſt come up with them; and then we went off with our Boat, and took them within Shot of the Caſtle; and with our Boats we went and took three or four Frigates which rode afore the Town, the Caſtle playing upon us with their Ordnance all the Time.

“ Our Captain being informed by the *Spaniards*, that there were three Ships more at *Puerto de' Cavallos*, ſtood along that Night for that Place; but it fell out to be ſo calm, that it was the 15th Day of *May* before we arrived there; and the Ships having peradventure diſcovered us, ſtole along the Shore towards *Truxillo*; ſo that having loſt our Expectation, we landed, and the Inhabitants forſaking the Town, fled into the Mountains. We remained in the Town all Night, and the next Day till towards Night; where we found five or ſix Tons of Quickſilver, 16 Tons of old Sack, Sheep, young Kids, great ſtore of Poultry, ſome ſtore of Money, and good Linen, Silks, Cotton-cloth, and ſuch like; we alſo took three Bells out of their Church, and deſtroyed their Images. The Town contained 200 Houſes, and was wealthy; but we ſpared it, becauſe we were ſatiſfied with the Plunder. And having taken our Pleaſure of the Town, as aforeſaid, we returned aboard our Ships, ſtanding back again for *Truxillo*, we diſcovered one of the Ships, which was laden at *Puerto de Cavallos*; but they eſpying us, conveyed away as much as poſſibly they could aſhore, and ſet their Ship on-fire; we made to her with our Boats, and quenched the Fire, and loaded up with Hides the Ship, which we took at our firſt coming; for ſhe had but 1000 Hides in her, and certain Jars of Balſamum; which being finiſh'd, we ſunk the Ship with the reſt of the Goods, and ſo ſtood again for *Truxillo*. But it fell out to be ſo calm, that we were 22 Days ſailing back about 40 Leagues; ſo that when we came before *Truxillo*, which was about the ſixth of *June*, we found another of the Ships there, but cloſe under the Caſtle, her Rudder unhanged, her Sails taken from the Yards, *&c.* we entered her; but they had placed ſuch a Company of Muſketeers under a Rampart made with Hides and ſuch like, that it was too hot for us to abide; and ſo betook us to our Ships again, and ſtood out of the Bay into the Sea, the whole Shore being lin'd with Batteries. That Night there fell ſuch a Storm of Rain, Thunder, Lightening and tempeſtuous Weather, that our Ships were diſperſed.

“ We had loſt our Prize, and certain Frigates with the Men. Two of our Ships went to ſeek our Prize and our Men; and other two of us came homeward. And ſo we parted, not hearing either of other until we came into *England*.

“ Our Place of meeting ſhould have been at the *Tortugas*, near unto the Point of *Florida*, but the *Golden-Dragon* and the *Prudence* were put to Leeward of this Place; nevertheleſs we fell in with certain Iſlands within the Point of *Florida*, where the Captain of the *Dragon*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Newport*, ſent his Pinnace on-ſhore with certain Shot to ſeek for freſh Water, without Succeſs. The Savages were very courteous unto us, who came Breaſt high into the Sea, and brought us a Line to haul in our Boat on-ſhore, and ſhewed us that up into the Land Northward was freſh Water, and much Gold. Theſe Savages were far more civil than thoſe of *Dominica*; for beſides their Courteſy, they covered their Privities with a platted Mat of green Straw, about three Handfuls deep, which came round about their Waiſt, with the Buſh hanging down behind.

“ The next Day in the Morning very early, there came a Frigate of the Iſland of *Cuba* of 30 Tons, put in by Weather, which was bound for *Havannah*, wherein were 50 Hogs; to which we gave Chace all that Day, paſſing the Gulph of *Bahama*, and about 5 o'Clock in the Afternoon, after a Shot or two made at her, ſhe yielded unto us; we hoiſted out our Boat, and went aboard, where we found five *Spaniards*, 55 Hogs, and about 200 Weight of excellent Tobacco, rolled up; we lightened them of their Hogs and Tobacco, and ſent the Men away with their Frigate.

“ In this Voyage we took and ſacked four Towns, 17 Frigates, and two Ships, whereof eight were taken in the Bay of the *Honduras*; of all which (except two) we brought none into *England*; the reſt we ſunk, burnt, and one of them we ſent away with their Men; and to make up the full Number of 20, the *Spaniards* themſelves ſet one on-fire in the Bay of the *Honduras*, leſt we ſhould be Maſters of it.

“ We ſhaped our Courſe from *Florida* homeward by the Iſle of *Flores*, one of the *Azores*, where we watered, finding Sir *John Burgh* there, who took us to be *Spaniards*, and made up unto us; with whom we joined in the taking the mighty *Portugal* Carrack called *Madre de Dios*, and our Captain Mr. *Chriſtopher Newport*, with divers of us, was placed in her as Captain by the General Sir *John Burgh*, to conduct her into *England*, where we arrived in *Dartmouth* the 7th of *September* 1592.”

The Earl of *Cumberland* in the Year 1592 prepared for a fifth Expedition [a] againſt the common Enemy. His firſt Intention was to command in Perſon; but having loſt three Months by contrary Winds in the Channel, before he could gain the Weſt of *Plymouth*, by which the Earl loſt the Opportunity of attacking the *Spaniſh* outward-bound *Carracks*; he transferr'd the Command in Chief to one Capt. *Norton*, with Inſtructions to ſail to the *Azores*.

This little Squadron conſiſted of one Ship of 600 Tons, called the *Tyger*; two Ships called the *Samſon* and *Golden Noble*; and two other ſmaller Ships. They ſtood firſt for the Rock of *Liſbon*, where, off *Caſcais*, they took a good *Portugueſe* Prize, and diſpatched her under the Convoy of the *Golden Noble* for *England*. The others ſteer'd for the *Azores*, where having water'd and refreſh'd themſelves, they cruiz'd off *Santa Cruz*, and gave chaſe to a rich *Portugal* Carrack, and forc'd her aſhore in the Road of *Lagonna*, without being able to come up with her, by reaſon of a Storm that Night. So that by the next Day the *Portugueſe* had landed as much of the Goods as was poſſible; and, to prevent her falling into the Enemy's Hands, ſet fire to her themſelves; but they were ſo cunning, notwithſtanding their Haſte, that they loaded all her great Ordnance; which when the Fire came at them, went off, without the Help of a Gunner. The *Engliſh* concluded, with good Reaſon, that the Prey which was not to be taken on the Water, might be found on Shore, if they landed quickly. This they did, though with great Difficulty, and made themſelves Maſters, both of a good Part of the Booty, and the Town likewiſe, which was, by that Time, entirely forſaken of the Inhabitants. And by waiting a Month or two another rich Carrack, called the *Madre de Dios*, (on the third of *Auguſt*) fell into their Hands. This Veſſel being large, well furniſhed with Men, and richly laden, coſt them ſome Pains and Trouble, before they could entirely maſter her. Both *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* fought like Dragons, the one to defend, the other to obtain ſo great Riches, for the Space of an Hour and a Half, before ſhe ſurrender'd. The *Engliſh* had like to have been blown up too, after the Diſpute was over; being upon the Hunt after Plunder, every Man with his lighted Candle in his Hand; for a Cabbin (in which a vaſt Quantity of Powder was laid up) was ſet on fire; and if it had not been preſently extinguiſhed, by the great Induſtry and Courage of Captain *Norton*, it had reached the dreadful Heap of Gunpowder, and carried away both the Plunder, and the Plunderers together, into the Air. But after all was ſecured, and in their own Hands, there was no ſmall Contention about dividing the Spoil. For, there being ſeveral other Ships [b] in Company with them, in this Action, all pretended to a Share. And as theſe Ships were moſt of them her Majeſty's, their Pretenſions were the ſtronger, and the Claim the more undeniable.

The Earl of *Cumberland*'s Part (in Proportion to his Charges) muſt needs have been very conſiderable, perhaps

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[a] Harris, Vol. I. page 687. 1ſt Edit. Purchas, Vol. IV. page 1147.

[b] See the Voyage of Captain Newport above, towards the Cloſe.

a Million or two [a]. But then, becauſe he did not act in Perſon, and his Commiſſion had not provided for the Caſe of his Return, the Matter was determined ſo, that he ſhould ſtand to the Queen's Mercy and Bounty. So his Lordſhip came off with about 36,000 *l.* and this not as a juſt Share, but as a free Gift and Favour.

Other private Adventurers were very induſtrious to try their Fortune by Sea, eſpecially in the *Weſt-Indies*, which greatly interrupted the *Spaniſh* Trade, and brought great Advantage to the *Engliſh*. Amongſt theſe was Captain *King* [b] of *Ratcliff*, near *London*, who beſides ſeveral Captures on the wide Seas, ſent a Shallop into *Puerto Rico*, only armed with 14 Men, who cut out and brought away a Veſſel of 60 Tons, loaden with *Canary* Wine, tho' ſhe lay within Muſket-ſhot of the Caſtle, and of two new Bulwarks; and tho' both his Veſſels meaſured no more than 240 Tons together, and carried only 126 Men, he defended himſelf againſt two *Spaniſh* Gallies, with 27 Benches on a Side, for upwards of an Hour off the *Havannah*, till the Wind favoured an hourable Retreat.

Nor was the Government deficient in its Attempts to diſtreſs the *Spaniards*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was commiſſioned by her Majeſty to fit out a ſtrong Squadron for the *Weſt-Indies* [c]; who equipped a Fleet of 15 Ships; two only, the *Garland* and *Foreſight*, belonging to the Crown; the reſt furniſhed by Sir *Walter*, and his Aſſociates, in this Expedition. There was alſo a Body of Land-forces embark'd with them, under the Command of Sir *John Burroughs*.

Their firſt Intention was to land at *Cartagena*, and ſo proceed to *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* collect all their Treaſure, before it is loaded for *Europe*; or to intercept the *Spaniſh Flota* with the Treaſure on-board [d]. But this perſpiring before Sir *Walter* could ſail out of Port, being Wind-bound upwards of three Months, the King of *Spain* gave Orders that no Ships ſhould that Year ſail from *America*.

Hackluit beſtows great Commendations on this Armament. "The Gentlemen, ſays he, his Conſorts and Officers, to give them their Right, they were ſo well qualitied in Courage, Experience, and Diſcretion, as the greateſt Prince might repute himſelf happy to be ſerved with their like. The Honour of Lieutenant-general was impoſed upon Sir *John Burrough*, a Gentleman for his manifold good and heroical Parts, thought every Way worthy of that Commandment; with whom, after Sir *W. Raleigh* returned, was joined in Commiſſion Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, who for his ſpecial Skill and Knowledge in marine Cauſes had formerly carried Employments of like or greater Place. The reſt of the Captains, Soldiers, and Sailors were Men of notable Reſolution, and for the moſt part ſuch as heretofore had given to the World ſufficient Proof of their Valour in divers Services of the like Nature."

Sir *Walter Raleigh* put to Sea the 1ſt of *May*, and the very next Day Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, in a Pinnace of the Lord Admiral's, called the *Diſdain*, met him, and brought Letters of Revocation from the Queen, with Command to relinquiſh (for his own Part) the intended Attempt, and to leave the Charge and Conduct of all Things in the Hands of Sir *John Burrough* and Sir *Martin Forbiſher*: but his Honour being ſo far engaged in the Undertaking of this Voyage, that he could not, with Reputation and Satiſfaction to his Friends, leave his Fleet, which was now under Sail, he put a dubious Conſtruction on the Queen's Letter, as if it left him at his Liberty to proceed or to return, and therefore continued his Courſe, till he met within a Day or two with certain Sails lately come from *Spain*; among which was a Ship belonging to Monſieur *Gourdon*, Governor of *Calais*, and found aboard her one Mr. *Nevel Davis* an *Engliſhman*, who having indured a long and miſerable Captivity for the Space of 12 Years, partly in the Inquiſition in *Spain*, was now by good Fortune eſcaped, and upon Return to his Country. This Man, among other Things, reported for certain, that there was little hope of any good this Year to be done in the *Weſt-Indies*; for that the King of *Spain* had ſent expreſs Order to all the Ports both of the Iſlands, and of *Terra Firma*, that no Ship ſhould ſtir that Year, nor any Treaſure be laid aboard for *Spain*. But neither this unpleaſant Relation, nor aught elſe could ſtay his Proceedings, until a violent Tempeſt, ariſing upon *Thurſday* the 11th of *May*, when he was off of *Cape Finiſtre*, ſcattered the greater Part of the Fleet, and ſunk his Boats and Pinnaces, Sir *Walter* himſelf being in the *Garland*, was in danger to be ſwallowed up of the Sea. Whereupon Sir *W. Raleigh* finding that the Seaſon of the Year was too far gone to proceed with the Enterpriſe which he had upon *Panama*, having been held on the *Engliſh* Coaſt from *February* till *May*, and thereby ſpent three Months Victuals; and conſidering withal, that to lie upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, or at the Iſlands to wait the Return of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indian* Fleets, was a Work of Patience, he gave Directions to Sir *John Burgh* and Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, to divide the Fleet in two Parts. Sir *Martin* with the *Garland*, Captain *George Gifford*, Captain *Henry Thin*, Captain *Greenville*, and others to lie off the South Cape, thereby to amaze the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and to hold them on their own Coaſt; while Sir *John Burgh*, Captain *Robert Croſſe*, Captain *Thompſon*, and others, ſhould attend at the Iſlands for the Carracks or any other *Spaniſh* Ships coming from *Mexico*, or other Parts of the *Weſt Indies*. Which Direction took Effect accordingly; for the King of *Spain*'s Admiral receiving Intelligence that the *Engliſh* Fleet was come on the Coaſt, attended to defend the South Parts of *Spain*, and to keep himſelf as near Sir *Martin Forbiſher* as he could; and thereby neglected the ſafe Conduct of the Carracks.

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[a] The Carrack being in Burthen by the Eſtimation of the wiſe and experienced no leſs than 1600 Tons, had full 900 of thoſe ſtowed with the groſs Bulk of Merchandiſe, the reſt of the Tonnage being allowed, partly to the Ordnance, which were 32 Pieces of Braſs of all ſorts, partly to the Paſſengers and the Victuals, which could not be any ſmall Quantity, conſidering the Number of the Perſons betwixt 6 and 700, and the Length of the Navigation. To give you a Taſte (as it were) of the Commodities, it ſhall ſuffice to deliver you a general Particularity of them, according to the Catalogue taken at Leadenhall the 15th of September 1592. Where upon good View it was found, that the principal Wares after the Jewels, (which were no doubt of great Value, tho' they never came to Light) conſiſted of Spices, Drugs, Silks, Calicoes, Quilts, Carpets and Colours, &c. The Spices were Pepper, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Green-ginger; the Drugs were Benjamin, Frankincenſe, Galingale, Mirabolans, Aloes Zocotrina, Camphire; the Silks, Damaſks, Taffatas, Sarcenets, Altobaſſos, that is, counterfeit Cloth of Gold, unwrought China-ſilk, ſleaved Silk, white twiſted Silk, curled Cypreſs; the Calicoes were Book-calicoes, Calico-lawns, broad white Calicoes, fine ſtarched Calicoes, coarſe white Calicoes, brown broad Calicoes, brown coarſe Calicoes; there were alſo Canopies, and coarſe Diaper-towels, Quilts of coarſe Sarcenet and of Calicoe, Carpets like thoſe of Turkey; whereunto are to be added the Pearl, Muſk, Civet and Ambergreaſe; the reſt of the Wares were many in Number, but leſs in Value; as Elephants-teeth, Porcellain-veſſels of China, Cocoa-nuts, Hides, Eben-wood as black as Jet, Bedſteads of the ſame, Cloth of the Rinds of Trees very ſtrange for the Matter, and artificial in Workmanſhip. All which Piles of Commodities being by Men of approved Judgment rated but in reaſonable Sort, amounted to no leſs than 150,000 l. Sterling; which being divided among the Adventurers (whereof her Majeſty was the chief) was ſufficient to yield Contentment to all Parties. The Cargazon being taken out, and the Goods freighted in 10 of our Ships ſent for London, to the end that the Bigneſs, Heighth, Length, Breadth, and other Dimenſions of ſo huge a Veſſel might by the exact Rules of Geometrical Obſervations be truly taken, both for preſent Knowledge, and Derivation alſo of the ſame unto Poſterity, one Mr. Robert Adams, a Man in his Faculty of excellent Skill, omitted nothing in the Deſcription, which either his Art could demonſtrate, or any Man's Judgment think worthy the Memory. After an exquiſite Survey of the whole Frame, he found the Length from the Beak-head to the Stern (whereupon was erected a Lanthorn) to contain 165 Foot; the Breadth in the ſecond cloſe Deck, whereof ſhe had three, this being the Place where there was moſt Extenſion of Breadth, was 46 Foot and 10 Inches; ſhe drew in Water 31 Foot at her Departure from Cochin in India, but not above 26 at her Arrival in Dartmouth, being lightened in her Voyage by divers Means five Foot; ſhe carried in Height ſeven ſeveral Stories, one Main-orlop, three Cloſe-decks, one Fore-caſtle, and a Spar-deck of two Floors a-piece; the Length of the Keel was 100 Foot; of the Main-maſt 121 Foot; and the Circuit about at the Partners 10 Foot 7 Inches; the Main-yard was 106 Foot long; by which perfect Commenſuration of the Parts appeareth the Hugeneſs of the whole, far beyond the Mould of the biggeſt Shipping uſed among us either for War or Burden. Hackluit, part II. page 198, 199.

[b] Hackluit, part III. p. 570.

[c] Hackluit, Vol. II. part II. p. 194. Camden. Sir William Monſon gives us the following Account of the Ships; the Garland, Sir Walter Raleigh, Admiral; Sir John Burroughs Commander by Land; the Foreſight, Captain Croſs; with divers other Merchant-ſhips; Sir Walter went not, but Sir Martin Forbiſher. To which he adds, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had taſted abundantly of the Queen's Love, finding it now began to decline, reſolved to undertake an Expedition to Sea, and engaged ſeveral of his Friends, of great Quality, to be concerned with him.

[d] Sir William Monſon, in his Relation of the Beginning of this Voyage, ſays, Sir Walter's Deſign was to have ſurpriſed ſome Place in the Weſt-Indies; but that being at Sea, and ſpending two or three Days in foul Weather, her Majeſty was pleaſed to command his Return, and to commit the Charge of the Ships to Sir Martin Forbiſher, who was ſent down for that Purpoſe; but with an expreſs Command not to follow the Deſign of the Weſt-Indies.

Before the Fleet ſeparated themſelves, they met with a great *Biſcaian* on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, called *Santa Clara*, a Ship of 600 Tons. The Noiſe of the Artillery on both Sides being heard, immediately they drew to their Fleet; where after a reaſonable hot Fight, the Ship was entered and maſtered, which they found freighted with all ſorts of ſmall Iron-work, as Horſe-ſhoes, Nails, Plough-ſhares, Iron-bars, Spikes, Bolts, Locks, Gimblets, and ſuch like, valued by us at 6 or 7000 *l.* but worth to them treble the Value. This *Biſcaian* was ſailing towards *St. Lucar*, there to take in ſome further Proviſion for the *Weſt-Indies*. This Ship being firſt rumaged, and after ſent for *England*, our Fleet coaſted along towards the South Cape of *St. Vincent*, and by the way, about the Rock near *Liſbon*, Sir *John Burroughs* in the *Roebuck* ſpying a Sail afar off, gave her Chace; which being a Fly-boat, and of good Sail, drew him far Southwards before he could fetch her, but at laſt ſhe came under his Lee, and ſtruck Sail. Sir *John Burroughs*, not long after the taking of this laſt Prize, as he ſailed back again towards the reſt of his Company, diſcovered the *Spaniſh* Fleet to Seaward of him; which having likewiſe eſpied him betwixt them and the Shore, made full Account to bring him ſafe into *Spaniſh* Harbour; and therefore ſpread themſelves in ſuch ſort before him, that indeed his Danger was very great; for both the Liberty of the Sea was brought into a narrow Streight, and the Shore being Enemy, could give him no Comfort of Relief; ſo that truſting to God's Help only, and his good Sail, he thruſt out from among them in ſpite of all their Force, and to the notable Illuſion of all their Cunning, which they ſhewed to the uttermoſt, in laying the Way for his Apprehenſion. But now Sir *John Burroughs* having eſcaped their Clutches, finding the Coaſt guarded by this Fleet, and knowing it was but Folly to expect a Meeting there with Sir *Martin Forbiſher* (who underſtanding of this Armada as well as himſelf, would be ſure not to come that Way) began to ſhape his Courſe to the *Açores*, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Direction. Purſuing his Voyage, he met and took ſeveral Caravels in his Paſſage. At *Flores*, he met with three Ships belonging to the Earl of *Cumberland*, in Chace of one of the Carracks, which they were in ſearch of. The *Portugueſe* ſeeing they ſhould not be able to reſcue her out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*, run her aſhore, and ſet Fire to her, after having diſcharged as much of her Loading as they could, to prevent its falling into their Hands, as the Reader has already ſeen.

The Purſer of her was taken, and by Threats compelled to tell of another of their Company behind, which had Orders to fall in with that Iſland; and the Account he gave was ſo juſt, that ſhe did indeed fall into our Hands, as we ſhall ſee below.

The *Engliſh*, in the mean time, landing 100 Men, had the good Fortune to ſave Part of her Cargo.

Burroughs having now united his Squadron, with that belonging to the Earl of *Cumberland*, they departed ſix or ſeven Leagues to the Weſt of *Flores*, and then ſpread themſelves abroad from the North to the South, each Ship at leaſt two Leagues Diſtance from the other: By which Situation they were able to diſcover the Space of two whole Degrees at Sea. In this Manner they lay, from the 29th of *June*, to the third of *Auguſt*, in wait for the Remainder of the Carracks, which were expected. It was this Day, that ſome of them came in Sight of the *Engliſh*, upon which a ſharp Engagement ſoon enſued.

They made ſo ſtout a Reſiſtance at firſt, that the *Engliſh* were diſcouraged and ſheered off, *Burroughs*'s own Ship having received a Shot under Water, and being ready to ſink, till Sir *Robert Croſs* laid the Queen's Ship, called the *Providence*, athwart her Stern, and ſtood the Brunt ſingly for three Hours together: After which the other Ships, and in particular two of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s, plied her ſo warmly, eſpecially at the Stern, that no Man had the Courage to ſtand at the Helm any longer. The firſt that boarded her was *Croſs* himſelf, and he was ſoon followed by ſeveral others; upon which ſhe was ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

She was called the *Madre de Dios*, or *Mother of* God [a], a ſeven-decked Ship, of 165 Foot from Stem to Stern, manned with 600 Men. Her Loading was valued at 150,000 *l.* on its Arrival in *England*, beſides what the Officers and Seamen had plundered her of when taken; from which they were not to be reſtrained, either by Orders from the Government, or by Oath; but would boldly ſay, *They had rather truſt their Souls to a merciful* God *by Perjury, than their Fortunes to the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

On the 26th of *June*, this ſame Year [b], there happen'd a very ſharp Engagement on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, Lat. 36°, or thereabouts, between the *Amity* of *London*, a ſtout Privateer, commanded by one Capt. *Thomas White*, and two *Spaniſh* Ships loaded with *Quick-ſilver*, &c. which laſted five Hours at the Diſtance of a Muſket-ſhot: In which time the *Amity* received 32 Canon-balls, and upwards of 500 Muſket and Harquebus-ſhot in her Hull, Maſts and Sails. Therefore Captain *White* deſpairing of Succeſs by this Manner of firing, reſolv'd to run alongſide and board them, which he performed on one after an Hour's cloſe and ſharp Fight; and at laſt, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, and the Loſs of a great Number of Men, he oblig'd the other alſo to ſurrender.

The Captain order'd their Captains and Maſters on-board his Ship, and then mann'd the Prizes with *Engliſh*, having loſt only two Men, and had three wounded, out of 42 Men and a Boy. The *Spaniards* loſt in the Engagement a great Number, as might be conjectur'd from the Quantity of Blood, which, during the Fight, ran out of the Scupper-holes; though there appear'd no more than eight ſlain on the Deck, at the Time of their Surrender.

Theſe Prizes were loaded with 1400 Cheſts of Quickſilver, 100 Tons of Wine, and a great Quantity of Bulls and Indulgences, gilt Miſſals, or Service-books, and other the like ſpiritual Trinkets.

Of what Value theſe Prizes were to the Captors, I do not find, but by the taking of this Quickſilver (ſays *Hackluit*) the King of *Spain* loſt, for every Hundred Weight of it, the like Weight of Silver, which was to have been delivered to him by the Maſters of the Mines in *America*, amounting to 600,000 *l.*

By taking of his Indulgences, being 2,072,000, for Living and Dead, deſigned for the Provinces of *Nueva Hiſpanna*, *Jucatan*, *Guatimala*, the *Honduras*, and the *Philippines*, taxed at two Rials each; and for 18000 more, taxed at four Rials each, together 107,700 *l*; in all 707,700 *l.*

Ten Bundles of gilt Miſſals and Breviaries, for the King's Account, not taxed.

Beſides 100 Tons of Wine, deſigned for the Uſe of the Fleet.

In the Month of *May*, of this Year, Queen *Elizabeth* granted a Patent, or ſpecial Licence to *Thomas Gregory* of *Taunton*, in the County of *Somerſet*, and to *Thomas Pope*, and other Merchants, to traffick to *Guinea*, from the Northermoſt Part of the River of *Nonnia*, to the Southermoſt Parts of the Rivers of *Madrabumba*, and *Sierra Leona*, and to other Parts as well to the S. E. as to the N. W. for a certain Number of Leagues, therein ſpecified, amounting to 100 or thereabouts. This Patent was granted for the Term of 10 Years [c].

This Year likewiſe her Majeſty granted her ſecond [d] Letters Patent to the *Turky* Company, bearing Date the 7th of *January*, for 12 Years.

Next Year [e] her Majeſty granted a particular Commiſſion to Mr. *Richard Hawkins*, the Son of Sir *John Hawkins* before-mention'd, to cruiſe on the *Spaniſh* Trade in *South America*. For which Purpoſe Mr. *Hawkins* fitted out two ſtout Ships and a Pinnace, at his own Expence, with 200 Men on-board.

His intended Courſe was to follow the Tracts of *Drake* and *Candiſh*, by the *Magellanic* Streights, thro' the South

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[a] See the Note [a] at the Bottom of the preceding Page.

[b] A. D. 1592. Hackluit, Vol. II. Part II. p. 193.

[c] Hackluit, Vol. II. Part II. p. 193.

[d] Ibid, Vol. II. p. 295.

[e] A. D. 1593. Harris's Voy. 1ſt Edit. p. 738. Vol. I. Camden.

Seas, to viſit *China*, the Iſlands of *Japan*, *Moluccas*, and *Philippines*, and to ſtretch as far to the Northern Pole as he poſſibly could.

The firſt ſetting out of this Voyage was much delayed and diſcouraged by contrary Winds, and ſome Diſaſters in the Channel, occaſioned by bad Weather, and the Baſeneſs and Villainy of his Mariners. Beſides which, nothing occurs worthy of Notice till this Adventurer arrived on the Coaſt of the Iſland of *St. Ann*, where his Pinnace was accidentally burnt.

From *St. Ann*'s they ſailed for the River of *Plate*; at the Mouth of which they took a *Portugueſe* Ship loaded with *Caſſavi*-meal and Sugar, bound for *Angola*. Hence they proceeded for the Streights of *Magellan*; but one of the Ships, commanded by Captain *Tharlton*, who had been the chief Inſtrument of blaſting Admiral *Candiſh*'s laſt Expedition, deſerted him before they arrived at the Mouth of thoſe Streights. By which means Captain *Hawkins*'s Expedition was now alſo overthrown, and his Crew expoſed to the greateſt Diſtreſs. For being left alone, at a great Diſtance from Shore, in the Latitude of about 50 Degrees, he happened upon a fruitful, but an unknown Coaſt, abounding with Wood, and having good Harbours; no Sea-chart making Mention of any Land, which lay in that Manner, and about that Height. It was a goodly champain Country, and, by the Multitude of Fires upon the Coaſt, ſuppoſed to be well peopled; tho' for Want of their Pinnace they could not come near enough to ſpeak to any of the Inhabitants, nor diſcover the Shore. It had Abundance of freſh Rivers, whoſe Out-ſhoots diſcoloured the Sea in many Places.

Mr. *Hawkins* cruiſed up and down, from Weſt to North, for the Space of 60 Leagues, till being driven back by contrary Winds, he made the Streights of *Magellan* in *January* 1594, and ſailed up it to the Height of 56 Degrees. But after ſpending ſix Weeks among the Iſlands of theſe Streights, driven about with uncertain and dangerous Currents, he got ſafe into the open Sea; and ſailing along the Coaſt of *Chili*, at *Val Parizo* (or *Villa Paraiſo*) he plundered the *Spaniſh* Store-houſes on the Shore, and took five laden Merchant-ſhips; one of which he carried off, in which was ſome Gold brought from *Baldivia*, *Conception*, &c. and ranſomed the reſt for 2000 Duckets. Thence proceeding to *Arica*, he was there met and attacked, by the Viceroy's Command, by *Bertrand di Caſtro*, with eight Ships, which were fitted out to take a ſevere Revenge of *Hawkins* for his Piracies, and manned with 2000 Men. The *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* being within Sight of one another, great Preparations for the Fight were made on both Sides; but the Wind interpoſed, and fought ſo well on the Behalf of the *Engliſh*, that the unwieldly Ships of the *Spaniards* came off with broken Maſts, and ſhattered Tackling. The Admiral ſnapp'd her Main-maſt aſunder, and ſo began to lag aſtern, and with him two other Ships; the Vice-admiral ſplit her Main-ſail, and the Rear-admiral crack'd her Main-yard, and one only Ship of the Armada, which was got to the Windward, was at leiſure to fight; but ſhe had no Stomach to it, and durſt not begin the Attack. Thus they lay for a whole Day, viewing one another; but as Night came on, *Hawkins* began to conſult with his Officers what Courſe was beſt to take. They were in a manner ſurrounded; for the *Spaniſh* Admiral, with two more, were aſtern of them, the Rear-admiral right ahead, the Vice-admiral to the Leeward, and one upon the Loof, and moſt of them within Shot. In ſhort, after many Debates it was concluded, that they ſhould bear up before the Wind, and endeavour to make their Eſcape between the Admiral and Vice-admiral, which they accordingly put in Execution before the Moon was up, and very happily performed; and ſteering his Courſe for the Bay of *Atacama*, he met about 50 Leagues to the Northward of *Lima*, and in Sight of the Town of *Mongon*, with a *Spaniſh* Ship of about 100 Tons, laden with Wheat, Sugar, *Cardovan*-ſkins, and *Miele de Canas*; took her, and having pillaged her of what they liked, ſet her a-fire, having put her People firſt on-ſhore.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral having reinforced his Squadron, and got freſh Supplies of all Neceſſaries, purſued *Hawkins* to *Atacama*, where he attacked him a ſecond Time; and after a brave and obſtinate Fight for three Days and three Nights, drove *Hawkins* to the Neceſſity of accepting the Offers of Life and Liberty, for himſelf and his Men which were left, with their Paſſage to *England* as ſoon as might be; tho' not till all his Sails were torn, his Maſts ſhattered, his Pumps ſhot to pieces, his Ship all over mangled, the greater Part of his Men killed, and ſeven or eight Foot Water in the Hold; and the Admiral himſelf wounded and weak. Notwithſtanding all which, he would hardly have conſented to it, had it not been for the Importunity of his People, tho' his Ship was in a meaſure ſinking under him.

After the Admiral was taken, Don *Bertrand* ſhewed him a Letter from the King of *Spain*, to the Viceroy of *Peru*, giving a particular Account of his Voyage, the Ships, their Number, their Burden, their Ammunition, and whither they were deſigned; adding, "You may ſee by this, whe-"ther the King my Maſter has not ſome good Friends in "*England*." To this *Hawkins* replied, "That it was no "Wonder his Maſter had ſo many Friends every where, "ſince he had ſo much Gold and Silver; and it was no "uncommon Thing to ſee them make People tell Tales "out of School, and out of Country too."

Don *Bertrand* treated *Hawkins* and all his People with great Humanity, as long as they were in his Hands; but being afterwards carried into *Spain*, he was, notwithſtanding the Agreement, detained Priſoner there ſeveral Years.

The Earl of *Cumberland* this Year [a] undertook a ſixth Expedition; in which he commanded in Perſon. His Squadron conſiſted of ſix Ships; the *Golden-Lion*, named the Admiral; the *Bonaventure*, Vice-admiral; the *Anthony*, of 120 Tons; the *Pilgrim*, of 100 Tons; and two leſſer Veſſels, called the *Chaldon* and *Diſcovery* [b].

At firſt ſetting out, his Lordſhip took two rich *French* Ships belonging to the Leaguers, which alone ſatisfied the whole Expence of the fitting out of this Squadron, thrice told. And according to Sir *William Monſon*, the Earl being ſeparated on the Coaſt of *Portugal* from his Fleet, he fell in with 12 Hulks near *Peniche*, which refuſing to ſalute the *Engliſh* Flag, he attacked; and they diſdaining to ſtrike to a ſingle Ship, fought him for two Hours. But his Lordſhip plied them ſo well with his Ammunition, that they all ſubmitted to his Mercy, acknowledged their Offence, and willingly delivered up a great Quantity of Gunpowder and Ammunition, which they were carrying to *Portugal*, on account of the King of *Spain*.

He then ſteered for the *Azores*; but being ſeized with a violent Sickneſs, he was obliged to give up the Command, and return home.

The *Anthony*, commanded by Captain *James Lancton*; the *Pilgrim*, by Captain *Francis Slingſby*; and the *Diſcovery*, proſecuted their Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*; where at the Iſle of *St. Lucia* they refreſhed a few Days, and reſolved upon ſeizing the Pearl-fiſheries of *Margarita*.

The *Engliſh* kept out of Sight all the Day, for fear of Diſcovery; and at Night landed and marched to two of the Fiſheries, which were both empty; but ſeizing by good Fortune a *Spaniard*, they made him their Guide to the other Fiſhery, where the Trade was carrying on at that Inſtant. The two Captains marched by Land with 28 Men, and the Boats followed them upon the Water. They divided their little Army into three Bodies, that they might make three ſeveral Attacks at once; but the *Spaniards* immediately decamped, and ſheltered themſelves in the Woods. The *Engliſh* took to the Value of about 2000 *l.* in Pearls, beſides other Pillage, and marched off again without Diſturbance, to ſome Place of Repoſe for that Night; but in the Morning they went on-board the Fiſhing-boats to eat Oyſters, the Pearl of which paid the Opening. After this Expedition, they made away to their own Ships again, and then ſailed up to the Town itſelf, and obliged the *Spaniards* to compound for 2000 Duckets in Pearl, to ſave their Houſes and Barks.

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[a] A. D. 1593.

[b] Sir William Monſon mentions the Golden-Lion and the Bonaventure, with ſeven other Ships, and names Sir Edward York and himſelf, as commanding under the Earl.

Theſe Loſſes were irrecoverable; but they alarmed the Coaſt, and the News ran ſo faſt, that their Deſigns on ſeveral other Places were fruſtrated. At *Cumana* they found them on their Guard: and coaſting along *Terra Firma*, at *Rio della Hacha*, the *Spaniards* were not only in Expectation of them, but had ſent away all their beſt Goods to the Mountains; therefore they ſailed to *Hiſpaniola*, Cape *Tuberone*, *St. Nicholas*'s Bay, Fort *St. Plat*, &c. from thence to *Mona*, and ſo to the Iſland of *Savona*. From hence they ſailed to the River *Socko*, about five Leagues Eaſtward of *St. Domingo*, and having ſailed about four Leagues up the River, they ſurpriſed one Night ſome of the *Spaniards* great Farm-houſes, for the Ranſom of which they had good Store of Bullocks, *Caſſavi*-meal and Fruits. As theſe Farm-houſes were rich, they made them pay a conſiderable Contribution, as they did alſo a great Sugar-place, upon the River *Marracava*. They alſo ſailed to *St. Domingo*, *Jamaica* and *Cuba*; but performed little or nothing conſiderable. At the latter Place the *Pilgrim* left them, and ſailed for *England*; the *Anthony*, with the Frigate, ſteered their Courſe for the Bay of *Honduras*.

They had the Fortune to meet with ſeven *Spaniſh* Ships in the Road of *Puerto de Cavallos*, the leaſt of which was of 180 Tons. After 24 Hours Fight, the *Spaniards* quitted their Ships, which were now too hot to hold them, and got aſhore in their Boats, taking the Rudders of their Ships with them, that they might not be carried off. The *Spaniards* refuſing likewiſe to ranſom them, all the *Engliſh* could do was to ſet Fire to them, which they did to all but the Admiral, a Ship of 250 Tons, and her they brought home laden with the beſt Goods picked out of all the reſt. They threw all the Ordnance over-board, two or three Braſs-cannons only excepted; and thence ſteering their Courſe for *England*, arrived at *Plymouth* the 15th of *May* 1594, where the *Pilgrim* had anchored the Day before.

We read of a Voyage performed this Year to the Iſland of *Ramea*, in the Streights of *St. Peter*, on the Backſide of *Newfoundland*, and to *Cape Breton*, by Captain *Richard Strong*, and Captain *George Drake*, both of *Apſham*, with two Veſſels. Captain *Strong*'s Ship was called the *Marygold*, of 70 Tons, carrying 10 Mariners, and 10 Coopers and Butchers to flee Morſes, *&c.*

They ſailed from *Falmouth* on the 1ſt of *June*, but loſt Company before they arrived at the Height of *Newfoundland*, and never met again during the whole Voyage. Captain *Drake* fell in with *Newfoundland*, and at the Iſland of *Ramea* ſeized three Shallops, with 23 *Frenchmen* belonging to a Ship of *St. Malo*'s, which was come there to fiſh for Morſes.

The *Marygold*, fell in with *Cape Francis* in *Newfoundland* on the 11th of *July*, and from thence went to the Bay of *Rogneuſe*. She afterwards doubled *Cape Razo*, and ſailing towards the Bay of *St. Peter*, being unacquainted with the Place, beat long up and down, and fell in with *Cape Breton*; where they landed, and ſaw ſome of the Natives, but had no Commerce with them. They afterwards ſailed 50 or 60 Leagues to the S. W. of *Cape Breton*, and in their Courſe to the Weſt of *Cape Breton* ſaw great Number of Seals and Porpoiſes, and Whales of all Sizes.

From the Time of their Arrival at *St. Francis*, they beat up and down the Coaſt of *Arambec*, for 11 Weeks together; and then, by the Perſuaſion of the Maſter, and ſome others, ſhaped their Courſe homewards by the *Azores*, and came firſt to *Corvo* and *Flores*, then ſailed by *Tercera*, and from thence to *St. Michael*'s, where they attempted to board a *Portugueſe* Ship; but ſhe was too much for them. Their Proviſions being now almoſt ſpent, they made the beſt of their Way to *England*, and arrived at their deſired Port about the Middle of *December*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1594, the Earl of *Cumberland* fitted out three Ships, a Caravel and a Pinnace[a], to cruiſe again upon the *Spaniards*. The Admiral Ship was called the *Royal-exchange*, Burthen 250 Tons, Captain *George Cave* Commander; the Vice-admiral the *May-flower*, Burthen 250 Tons, Captain *William Anthony* Commander; the Rear-admiral the *Samſon*, Captain *Nicholas Downton* Commander.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *April* for the Weſtern Iſlands, and in their way pick'd up a ſmall Bark loaded with *Galicia* Wine, and other Goods. On the 2d of *June* this Fleet got ſight of St. *Michael*'s Iſland, and about ten Days after diſcovered[b] a large and very rich *Spaniſh* Carrack, loaden with Pearls, Jewels, Silks, Drugs, *&c.* called *Las cinque Xagas de* CHRISTO, or *the five Wounds of* CHRIST. The *May-flower* firſt got up to her, and received an unwelcome Salutation. In the Night the *Samſon* came in, and continued the Fight, and at laſt the Admiral. They agreed that the Admiral ſhould lay the Carrack on-board on the Prow, the Vice-admiral in the Waſte, and the Rear-admiral in the Quarter. But it happened, that the Admiral laying her on-board at the Loof, recoiled a-ſtern; the Vice-admiral being ſo near, that ſhe was forced to run with her Bowſprit between the two Quarters, which forced the Rear-admiral to lay her on-board on the Bow.

The Vice-admiral fired the Carrack in her Stern, and the Rear-admiral her Fore-caſtle, by a Shot, which gave Fire to the Mat on the Beak-head, and ſo run on from the Bowſprit to the Top ſail Yard; during which the *Spaniards* were ſo warmly plied with ſmall Shot, that they could not extinguiſh the Flames, which increaſed to ſuch a Height, as to reach and conſume the Vice-admiral's Fore-ſail and Fore-top-ſail, and very much endamaged the Rear-admiral; and the Admiral had as much to do to quench the Fire thrown into her by the Enemy; which obliged the Admiral and Vice-admiral to fall off, leaving the Rear-admiral foul of the Carrack's Sprit-ſail-yard, in great Danger of being conſumed with her, if they had not towed her off with their Boats.

The *Spaniards*, in this Diſtreſs, perſuaded their Commander, Don *Franciſco de Mola*, to hoiſt a Flag of Truce; but the Carpenter, who was more deſperate, flattering him with the Hopes of extinguiſhing the Flames, cried, *Coraggio, I will never yield*, and continued the Fight; and being reduced to the laſt Extremity, the deſperate Defendents threw themſelves and their Treaſures over-board. Some of the chief ſtripped themſelves of their rich Chains and Jewels, and as naked as ever they were born, ventured to ſwim towards the *Engliſh* Ships for Quarter. Only two of them, of the firſt Quality, *Don Nunbo Velio Pereiras*, late Governor of *Mozambique* and *Soſala*, and *Don Bras Carero*, Captain of a Carrack, caſt away near *Mozambique*, were taken on-board, who being brought to *England* were afterwards ranſomed. And had the reſt ſwam on-board with ſome of their Pearls and Jewels about them, it is probable the Seamen would then have been careful of ſuch precious Lives, and would not have let them gone to the Bottom, if there had been any way poſſible to keep them above Water.

The Carrack burnt all that Day, and the next Night; but the next Morning, the Fire reaching 60 Barrels of Powder, which were under the lowermoſt Deck, ſplit her all in Pieces; and the whole Number loſt and deſtroyed, amounted to 1100 Men, the two afore-mentioned only excepted. Of the *Engliſh*, ſome few Soldiers, with the Vice-admiral, were killed; and the Admiral deſperately wounded, who likewiſe died of his Wounds ſoon after his Return.

They ſailed immediately for *Flores*, where they refreſhed, and on the 29th of *June* diſcovered the other Carrack, of 1500 Tons, which they ſuppoſed to be the *St. Philip*, a *Spaniſh* Man of War. They ſent their Boat on-board, to ſummon her to yield to the Queen of *England*'s Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*; threatning them, that in caſe of a Refuſal, they ſhould incur the ſame Fate as the *Cinque Xagas*, of which they informed them by their two Priſoners. The Anſwer of the Commander of the Carrack, Don *Lewis de Continibo*, was: "If your General has been at the burning of the *Cinque Xagas*, ſo have I been at the burning and taking of the *Revenge*, belonging to the Queen of *England*. Therefore let him do what he dare for his Queen, and I will do what I

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[a] Harris's Collection, 1ſt Edit. Vol. I. p. 688. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1147.

[b] This Battle was fought open off of the Sound, between Fial and Pico, ſix Leagues to the Southward.

" am able for my King;" and ordered the Boat immediately to depart.

The Fight began with Fury, but was ſoon ſtopt by a Calm. It was afterwards renewed, and the Carrack boarded for two Hours together; but after ſhe was terribly ſhattered, the *Engliſh* Commanders being moſt of them killed, the Men became ſo remiſs, that they left the Battle, and made the beſt of their way for *England*; where they arrived in *September*, with little or no Advantage to themſelves, tho' they had greatly damaged the Enemy.

The *Engliſh* Merchants, who had ſuffered by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, fitted out with Letters of Marque three Ships[a], to do themſelves Juſtice on the Coaſt of *Brazil*. The chief Command was given to Captain *John Lancaſter*, who ſailed with thoſe Ships, and 275 Men and Boys, from *Dartmouth*, on the laſt Day of *November*[b].

They were ſcarce run 50 Leagues from the Land's End, before this little Squadron was ſeparated by a violent Tempeſt; but in this Separation met with ſuch Succeſs, that when they joined again at Cape *Blanco*, their appointed Rendezvous, they had taken 39 *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Veſſels of all Sorts; but kept only four of the laſt Ships, and rifled the others.

From Cape *Blanco* they ſtretched away for the Iſland of *Mayo*, where they framed and finiſhed their Gally-frigat, with 14 Banks on a Side, a Maſt, and a Sail, and gave the Command thereof to one *Wats*, a ſkilful Mariner, deſigning her to land their Men on the Coaſt of *Brazil*. During their Stay in this Iſland, they were joined by one *Venner* an *Engliſhman*, with the *Peregrine*, and a *Biſcayan*, which he had taken at Cape *Blanco*; and by the *Welcome* of *Plymouth*, and her Pinnace, which had been cruiſing in thoſe Seas; agreeing with them, to give them a Fourth of all Captures.

It was then reſolved to attack *Fernambuc*, a Town on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, where, as they were informed, a conſiderable Treaſure was laid up, which had been ſaved from an *Eaſt-Indian* Carrack, caſt away on that Shore; where they arrived the 29th of *March* 1595, about Midnight, before the Harbour, and plied up and down till Daylight.

The Admiral put 80 of his Men into the new Gally-frigate, and went in his Boat, from Ship to Ship, ordering them to get ready ſuch Men as they could ſpare, with Muſkets, Pikes, Bills, Bows and Arrows, and what other Weapons they had, to follow him; reſolving to enter the Harbour at Break of Day, and to leave his Ships without, till he had taken the Fort and Town. And as there rode three large *Dutch* Ships at the Entrance into the Harbour, which he ſuſpected might endeavour to ſtop their Paſſage, he ordered five ſmall Ships, which he had brought with him from Cape *Blanco*, with juſt as many Men as would ſail them, to enter the Harbour at the ſame time with his Boats: and, if they found the *Dutch* made any Reſiſtance, immediately to board and grapple them; and, having ſet fire to their own Ships, to make their Eſcape in their Boats. Theſe were very prudent Orders; but the *Dutch*, reſolving not to be concerned in the Quarrel, laid out their Hawſers, and warped out of their Way as they advanced. In the Morning they found their Ships had fallen above half a Mile to the Northward, below the Harbour; and Ebb coming on, it was two in the Afternoon before they could get up again, which gave ſuch an Alarm to the Town, that the Inhabitants, to the Number of about 600 Men, flew to the Fort or Plat-form, to oppoſe their Landing.

Nevertheleſs, the Admiral, who reſolved either to conquer, or with his whole Company to die in the Attempt, gave Orders, when they were upon the Point of Landing, to thoſe who were at the Helms of the Gally and the Boats, and to all the Rowers, to run them with ſuch Violence onſhore, that they might be all caſt away without Recovery, and not one Man to ſtay in them, that there might be no Means of Retreat left, nor nothing for them to truſt to but GOD, and their Weapons. The Flood being come, they ſet all the Sail they could, and, according to the Admiral's Order, run the Gally on-ſhore, within Stone's Caſt of the Fort, with ſuch Violence, that ſhe broke her Back, and immediately ſunk; and all the Boats which followed her did the like.

The Admiral, at the ſame time, leaping into the Water, to ſet his Men a good Example, they all followed him with all the Undauntedneſs imaginable. The Enemy, upon their Landing, ſaluted them with ſeven Pieces of Cannon from the Fort; but, in the Hurry and Fright, had pointed them ſo downwards, that the Balls were loſt in the Sand, and did no more Damage, than the taking off one Man's Arm. The Admiral then cried out, *Upon them, my Boys, upon them, now's your Time, and all's our own.* With that he ruſhed on himſelf, and the reſt following him, they run upon the Fort with ſuch Reſolution, that the Enemy, diſmayed at their Courage, had not Preſence of Mind to reload their Cannon, but fled, and deſerted the Fort to the Mercy of the Victors.

Then the Admiral gave the appointed Signal to the Ships to weigh and come in, which they did immediately; and, having in the mean time, placed the Cannon of the Fort againſt the High-town, and put ſome Men into it to manage them, ſet the reſt of his Men in Order, and marched towards the Lower town, where they knew all the Store-houſes for Goods and Merchandiſes were. The Inhabitants forſook the Place, as the *Engliſh* appoached; ſo that they entered without any Reſiſtance, and found a vaſt Store of *Brazil*-wood, Sugar, Calicoes, Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, and divers other rich Merchandiſes.

The Admiral placed *Venner* and his Men at the South-end, himſelf and his Company took Poſſeſſion of the Middle of the Town, and the Captains *Barker* and *Addy* had the Care of the other End. An Order was immediately diſtributed, that no Man ſhould preſume, under very ſevere Penalties, beſides the Loſs of all Share of the Booty, to break open or enter any Warehouſe, without particular Direction from the Admiral; which was punctually obſerved.

Next Day they fortified all that Part of the Town which was to the Land-ſide; and built a Fort at the only Paſſage to it that way, which was not above 40 Paces broad at High-water. The next Thing they did, was to enter into an Agreement with the three *Dutch* Ships, to freight them home to *England*; which being now in Service of the *Engliſh*, aſſiſted in whatever was neceſſary for their Intereſt.

Two Days after, a great Number of *Portugueſe* and *Indians* came down upon them at Midnight, with a great Noiſe and Cry; but they were ſoon beat back again, with a conſiderable Loſs. Two or three Days afterwards, three *French* Men of War, and two Pinnaces, came into the Harbour; and one of the Commanders being the ſame, who had taken in the Admiral at the Iſland of *Mona*, they were received with great Marks of Eſteem, and allowed to load with *Brazil*-wood; and to his Benefactor the Admiral made a Preſent of a Caravel of 50 Tons: After which they joined with the *Engliſh* for their mutual Defence, againſt all Attacks of the *Portugueſe* and *Indians*, which were frequent during the Time of their unloading their Veſſels, and reloading them with their rich Booty.

The third Day after their Landing, a Deputation came to the Admiral from the Upper-town, which was about four Miles diſtant, upon a Hill; but he, having already got what he went for, would not ſo much as give them Audience. The 20th Day after their being there, the Enemy ſent down five Fire-Ships, with Wind and Tide, among their Ships; but the Boats, which they kept continually out upon the Watch, ſuſpecting ſome ſuch Attempt, and being provided againſt it, threw Grappling-irons, faſtened to Iron-chains, into them, and towed ſome on Ground, and others to an Anchor, till their Fire was ſpent. Six Nights after, they made another more dangerous Attempt of the like Nature; for then, inſtead of Fire-ſhips, they ſent down large Rafts, with prodigious

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[a] The Conſent, of the Burden of 240 Tons, or thereabouts, Admiral, commanded by Lancaſter himſelf; the Solomon, of 170 Tons, Vice-admiral, Captain Edmund Barker, of London, Commander; and the Virgin, of 60 Tons, commanded by Mr. John Audley, of Poplar, near London.

[b] A. D. 1594. Camden. Hackluit, part III. p. 708.

Fires upon them; and to prevent the Boats coming to them to grapple, they had artificially placed long Poles all round them, with Fire-ſpouts, to annoy the Boats, if they ſhould offer to approach them. But the *Engliſh* found means to grapple them alſo; and drew them on ſhore, where they continued burning the next Morning.

All their Buſineſs being finiſhed, and the vaſt Booty they had made put on-board their Ships in about 30 Days; when, deſigning to depart the next Night, they were obliged to encounter the laſt and 11th Attempt of the Enemy againſt them, the very Night before their intended Departure. But in this, as in all the former, the *Engliſh* were ſucceſsful, and obliged them to retire; tho' an advanced Body, with more Courage than Prudence, purſuing them too far, contrary to the Admiral's expreſs Commands, fell into their main Body, which was laid in Ambuſh; and before they could be relieved, Captain *Barker* of the *Solomon*, Captain *Cotton*, the Admiral's Lieutenant, Captain *Jean Noyer* of *Dieppe*, another *French* Captain of *Rochelle*, with Mr. *John Barker*, and others, to the Number of 35, were ſlain.

Being 15 Sail in all, *viz.* three Sail of *Dutch*, one of 450, another of 350, and the third of 300 Tons; four Sail of *French* Ships, and one which the Admiral gave the *French* Captain; three Sail of Captain *Venner*'s Fleet of *Plymouth*, and four of the Admiral's Fleet, all richly laden, they departed under the Veil of the next Night, without farther Oppoſition. The whole Fleet being out in Safety, the next Morning the Admiral gave Orders for ſailing to *Peranjeu*, a Harbour about 40 Leagues North of *Fernambuc*; but near the Entrance thereof, a Storm ſcattered them in the Night. Only four Ships kept with the Admiral, which after refreſhing themſelves in that Harbour, made the beſt of their way for *England*, where they arrived in the *Downs* in *July*; and had the Satisfaction to hear, that all the reſt of their Company were ſafe at *Dieppe* and *Plymouth*.

One *Robert Dudley*, a Gentleman of ſome Fortune in the Weſt, prompted by the Succeſs of other Adventurers, fitted [a] out two Ships, and two Pinnaces, to try his Fortune in the *Weſt-Indies*. He ſailed [b] from *Southampton*, in Perſon, on the 6th of *November* 1594; but was ſoon left alone, being ſeparated by a Storm from his Companions, who returned to *England* with two Prizes. Mr. *Dudley* cruiſed for ſome Time between Cape *Finiſterre* and Cape *St. Vincent*, hoping to meet with his Company, or with ſome *Spaniſh* Ships, without the leaſt Succeſs.

He then ſteered, on the 14th of *December*, for the *Canaries*, in expectation of taking a Ship, which might eaſe him of ſome of his Hands, being over-manned with 140 Men on-board a Veſſel of no more than 200 Tons, who began, for want of room, to grow ſickly.

It was not long before he took two Caravels, both of which he detained, manned and kept in Conſort under the Command of one *Benjamin Wood*, and —— *Wentworth*. Theſe three directed their Courſe for Cape *Blanco* in *Africa*, and from thence to *Trinidade*.

They came to Anchor in *Pelican* Bay on the 1ſt of *February* 1595; and on the 17th the Admiral, Mr. *Dudley*, at Anchor at *Paracboa*, diſpatched the two Caravel Prizes to try their Fortunes in the *Indies*; with Orders to return in due Time for *England*; and ordered a Pinnace with 14 Men to penetrate up to *Orocoa*, a Place reputed rich in Gold-mines, about 150 Miles within the River *Oronoque*, which anſwered no Purpoſe. For, tho' the *Indian* Chief of that Place confeſſed that he had a Gold-mine, and gave them three or four Pieces of that Metal, in the Form of a Half-moon, weighing ſomewhat more than a Noble each, as alſo two Bracelets of Silver, and agreed to traffic with the *Engliſh* for Hatchets, Knives and Jew-harps; not a Man could be prevailed upon to accept of the Offer, when they returned with theſe Tokens and Report to the Ship.

The Captain's Hopes of this Gold-trade thus fruſtrated, he cruiſed a while in Company with a Pinnace of *Plymouth*, commanded by one *Popham*, who joined him at *Paracoa*, and took a ſmall Ship on the North of *Granata*. But finding his Proviſions greatly decreaſed, after ranging the Seas about the Iſlands of *Flores* and *Cuervo*, Mr. *Dudley* returned alone for *England*. In his Courſe homeward he fell in with a large *Spaniſh* Ship of 600 Tons; but after ſpending all his Powder, in an Engagement that laſted two Days, and wanting Force ſufficient to board her, he was obliged to leave her in a ſinking Condition; and arrived on the 5th of *May* at *St. Ives* in *Cornwal*; having in this Expedition taken, ſunk, and burnt nine *Spaniſh* Ships.

We have an Inſtance of our *Newfoundland* Fiſhery in this Year, and of our Trade to *Placentia* and the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, by Mr. *Rice Jones*; who ſailed from *Briſtol* on the 4th of *April* [c], and returned with Cod on the 24th of *September* following.

The Leaguers in *France*, being ſupported by the King of *Spain*, who had marched 3000 choice Men to inveſt the Town of *Breſt* by Land; the King of *France* dreading the Conſequences of ſuch a ſtrong and ſafe Sea-port falling into the Power of *Spain*, applied to Queen *Elizabeth* for a maritime Aid [d]; which her Majeſty, no leſs jealous of having the King of *Spain* ſo near her own Coaſt, readily granted; and ordered Sir *Martin Forbiſher* to hoiſt his Flag aboard the *Vanguard*, and to ſail with all Expedition with 10 [e] Ships (four [f] whereof were of the Royal Navy) to make good the Harbour of *Breſt*, ſo as to cut off all Communication between the Town and *Spaniards* by Sea; and Sir *John Norrice* was diſpatched with Orders to ſeize on the Fort of *Crodon* near *Breſt*, already in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*.

Sir *John* arrived before *Crodon* with only his own Regiment, and his own Company of Horſe, and ſet down with this ſmall Force before that Fort on the 1ſt of *November*, to favour the Landing of the Artillery, which were 14 Pieces only; and to make Approaches, which were greatly retarded for Want of Gabions, Pioneers, and other Proviſions neceſſary for making Plat-forms, expected to be ſupplied readily by the Governor of *Breſt*.

But the Weather turn'd out ſo badly, as to prevent the General's receiving thoſe neceſſary Supplies. However, *Quimper* having ſurrender'd to the *French*, the Marſhal *d'Aumond* and Sir *Henry Norrice* reinforced the General with our *Engliſh* Regiments, which had been employ'd in the Reduction of *Quimper*, and alſo with a Body of *French* Troops; who the very Night after the Opening of their Trenches were attack'd by the Enemy, in a Salley from the Fort, and loſt between 30 and 40 Men killed, and as many wounded.

This Siege is ſo particularly deſcribed by the Author of the memorable Service of Sir *John Norrice*, printed in the Year 1600, and who was an Eye-witneſs of this remarkable Example of *Engliſh* Bravery, that I ſhall give it in his own Words.

"On the 12th Day the Enemy made a Salley upon the *French* Trenches, who having not the Leiſure to arm themſelves, loſt between 30 and 40 Men, and as many hurt; and from thence they advanced themſelves towards our Trenches, where we loſt in their Defence 10 or 12 Men; but we did put them again in Poſſeſſion of their Trenches.

"Having now all Things ready for the Battery, I will as well as I can deſcribe unto you the Fort.

"You ſhall underſtand that more than two Parts of the Fort was defended by the Water, the reſt was made ſo exceeding ſtrong, as either by Art or Charge could be done.

"On the South Front thereof, on each Corner, were two exceeding ſtrong Baſtions; that on the Weſt-ſide was 17 Paces in the Front, that on the Eaſt-ſide 10 Paces; the Curtain between both was 37 Foot thick at the Top; and within theſe they had made a very large Intrenchment, and the Baſtions were exceeding well flanked from the Rock by the Water-ſide, planting both on the Flankers and Baſtion ſome great Ordnance. We lay entrenched within three or four Paces of their Counterſcarp;

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[a] Hackluit, part III. p. 574.
[b] With the Bear, of 200 Tons, commanded by himſelf, Admiral; the Bear's-Whelp, Captain Munck, Vice-admiral; with the Friſking and the Earwig, two Pinnaces.
[c] A. D. 1594. Hackluit, part III. p. 194.
[d] Camden.
[e] Idem.
[f] Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

“ terſcarp; the *Frenchmen* on the Eaſt-ſide, and we on the Weſt-ſide, the Battery lay in the midſt between the Trenches. Theſe Things thus providently ordered by the Marſhal and our General, on the 23d our Artillery began to play, and continued 700 Cannonados; but did ſo little Harm by reaſon of the Strength of the Place, as ſcarce any Shew of a Breach appeared; only we did beat away their Parapet, and ſome of their Flankers; whereupon ſome hundred Men commanded by Captain *Lyſter*, were ſent to view and ſee if they could hold the Counterſcarp. Then many of our brave Men and Gallants thirſting after Honour, deſirous to do ſomewhat further, having poſſeſſed themſelves of the Enemies Counterſcarp, which only they were commanded to attempt, undertook the Breach, which they performed ſo well, as that notwithſtanding the Unacceſſibleneſs of the Place, and the great Reſiſtance the Enemy made; yet the moſt part of them attained to the very Top thereof, which they held for a while, but were afterwards repulſed. This Enterpriſe was with wonderful great Reſolution and Valour ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Baſkerville*, who likewiſe got ſo far as the Point of the Breach.

“ There were loſt in this Attempt many brave Men, namely,

Slain in the Aſſault.

“ Captain *Barker*; Captain *Prudder*; Captain *Jackſon*, Serjeant-major of *Oſtend*, who had no Charge there; —— *Haynes*, Enſign to Sir *Henry Norris*; Corporal *Eſſex*; Mr. *Throgmorton*, and 16 or 18 Soldiers.

Hurt in the Aſſault.

“ Captain *Audley*; Captain *Bartley*; Captain *Couch*; Captain *Goodwin*'s Lieutenant; Captain *William*'s Lieutenant; Captain *Buck*'s Lieutenant, and other private Men.

Burnt with Powder.

“ Sir *Thomas Knowles*; Captain *Aſhendon*; Captain *Biſhop*; Lieutenant *Larkeley*; Captain *Lopeley*; Mr. *Wainman*, and divers others.

“ You are to underſtand, that this Attempt was only made by the *Engliſhmen* on the Baſtion of the Weſt-ſide; for the *Frenchmen* never attempted any thing againſt their Baſtion, alledging that it was not aſſaultable.

“ The Marſhal and our General ſeeing the little Effect that our Artillery wrought, deviſed to make a Mine on one of the Bulwarks, namely on the Eaſt-baſtion, towards the *French* Trenches; in perfecting thereof 17 or 18 Days were ſpent.

“ But on the 30th, being an exceeding wet Morning, whereby our Powder and Match were not fit for Service, the Enemy again found thereby Opportunity to fall upon the *French* Trenches, and killed between 20 and 30 of them at the leaſt, among whom was Monſieur *Lyſcot*, a very brave Gentleman, one of the Marſhals of the Camp, who was abandoned by the *French*, and their Trenches wholly poſſeſſed by the Enemy; but our *Engliſhmen* did preſently repoſſeſs them of their Trenches, and killed ſome of the *Spaniards*.

“ By the ſeventh of *November* our Mine was reaſonably well perfected, and a Determination held again to begin the Battery, with a Reſolution that ſo ſoon as the Mine ſhould be blown up, which was made towards the Bulwark by the *French* Trenches, that the *Frenchmen* ſhould aſſail that Part, and the *Engliſhmen* their Baſtion, and that others with Scaling-ladders ſhould make Attempts in every Corner, ſo that the Defendants ſhould be on every Part aſſailed. But the Marſhal being that Day ſick, ſent in the Morning for our General, and ſhewed him his Letters from the Governor of *Rennes*, and from divers others, by which he was advertiſed that *Don Joan de la Auquilar*, General of the *Spaniards*, was marching towards *Croyzon* with all his *Spaniſh* Forces to reſcue the Fort, and was already advanced to *La-cornan*, a Village within five Leagues of us, and therefore adviſed our General to diſlodge to *Croyzon*, thinking it not fit to hazard any Men, having ſo ſtrong an Enemy at hand ready to join Battle with him. But Sir *John Norrice* having his Courage nothing daunted with the Approach of the Enemies, his Heart ſerving him both to win the Fort by Aſſault, and to encounter his Enemy in the Field; ſhewing what a Diſhonour and Diſreputation it were to abandon the Siege, and alſo what little Cauſe the Enemy ſhould have to advance himſelf farther if the Fort was gotten, his coming being only to reſcue it; he ſo much importuned the Marſhal, that he gave him wholly the ordering of that Day's Service. Immediately our General gave Orders to the Cannoneers for the Battery, and cauſed the Artillery to play. Every Man was aſſigned his Charge, ſome to the Aſſault, others with Scalados to attempt to enter, and by 12 o'Clock he cauſed Fire to be ſet to the Mine; which albeit it did not ſo much as was looked for, yet it made the Acceſs ſo eaſy unto the *French*, as that a Man might have ridden upon Horſe-back; and our Men, namely Captain *Latham*, Captain *Smith*, and Captain *John Norrice*, with divers other gallant Gentlemen, gave up on the other Bulwark, and continued the Aſſault without loſing one Pace of the Height until half an Hour paſt four, and in the end firſt entered the ſame, and ſeized upon three Enſigns that were there, and put every Man they found in the Fort (ſaving one *Alferez*[a]) to the Sword. Some of the *Spaniards* leaped from the Rock to the Water, but our Mariners with their ſmall Boats met with them and ſlew them; three or four others being taken, eſcaped with their Lives, no Man was found, *au ſang froyd*.

“ Sir *Thomas Baſkerville* ſerved this Day with great Valour and Induſtry, to the Admiration of all Men. Our Seamen and Mariners this Day acquitted themſelves wonderful bravely, and were exceeding forward in all Attempts, as may well appear by that valiant Knight Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, who in the Aſſault receiving a Hurt, is thereof now dead[b].

“ The chiefeſt of the *Frenchmen*, namely ſuch Gentlemen as ſerving on Horſe-back, putting themſelves that Day on-foot, did exceeding gallantly, namely, Monſieur *Roumege*, *un Maiſtre du Camp*, a Man of great Courage, and who moſt intirely loved our General, was ſlain upon the Rampart, and his Enſign by him; who if they had been well ſeconded, undoubtedly they had carried it firſt, and had got the Reputation of the firſt Entry.

“ The Victory being thus gotten by the great Virtue and admirable Induſtry of our General, the Fort being appointed to be raſed, we diſlodged the next Day to *Croyzon*, to join with the reſt of our Troops, to attend there what the Enemy durſt do, who within two Days after, found Reaſon to retire themſelves five Leagues further from us.

“ Thus have I finiſhed I aſſure you truly, although not largely, all that was moſt remarkable in this Day's Service.

“ It may be I give not namely to every Man the Honour he deſerved, but therein I excuſe myſelf with my Shortneſs in Writing, and alſo myſelf being herein an Actor, my Eye was not at leiſure to note every Man's Deſert. There was found in the Fort 29 Barrels of Powder, ſome Match, and very few ſmall Shot; and of Meat, Biſcuit, Wine and Beef reaſonable good Store. I muſt a little commend the Defendants, for an Enemy deſerveth his juſt Praiſe, eſpecially the chief Commander. He never in all theſe Attempts ſhewed himſelf daunted; he made ſundry Sallies, but moſt upon the *French*, to his great Advantage and Reputation; he loſt before this laſt Day's Service 60 Men, ſome at his firſt Sallies, ſome with our Cannon, and ſome at our firſt Attempt upon the Breach; alſo this very laſt Day, our Cannon, playing inceſſantly upon the main Curtain between the two Baſtions, ſlew 50 of his Men. This laſt Aſſault continued almoſt five Hours without Intermiſſion, they never deſiſted until he was ſlain, which was a ſmall Time before the Entry, and then the greater Part being ſlain, the reſt over-tired and hurt, were forced by our Gallants to retire; and ſo there were ſlain of *Spaniards* in this Fort almoſt 400. I note another Sign of his great Reſolution, for if he found any willing only to ſpeak of

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[a] A Lieutenant.

[b] He was wounded at the Attack by a ſmall Shot in his Hip; but lived to bring the Fleet home ſafe to Plymouth.

“ yielding, he would cauſe him to be bound to a Stake or
“ Poſt, and expoſed him to the Breach, leaving his Arms
“ at Liberty to fight for his Defence. I hope no Man
“ will diſlike if I commend the Valour of the Enemy which
“ was conquered, for the greater is the Honour of them
“ that were the Conquerors. This their vain Reſolution
“ might well have ſerved their Turns, if they had not dealt
“ with our General, who was as reſolute as they, and therein
“ overmatch'd them. For the next Day, Don *Joan de*
“ *l'Aquilar* ſending a Trumpet for the redeeming of Priſoners,
“ our General ſent him anſwer that their Ranſoms
“ were paid, and that he was now as ready and at leiſure
“ to fight with him.”

The Nation was again threaten'd with an Invaſion from *Spain*; and the *Spaniards* vainly boaſted of being able to carry it into Execution with a Fleet ſuperior to the *Invincible Armada* of 1588, which greatly ſpirited up the Malcontents in *Ireland*, and alarm'd the *Engliſh*: wherefore it was thought neceſſary to fit out two Squadrons of conſiderable Strength each; one to guard our Coaſt, and to quiet the Fears of the People; the other to make a Diverſion, and to ſeparate the Sea-forces of *Spain*, by carrying Fire and Sword into the *Weſt-Indies* [a].

The Fleet appointed for the Channel-ſervice prevented any Attempts upon the principal Ports. But inſtead of the formidable Fleet expected, only four *Spaniſh* Gallies ventur'd to Sea, under Don *Diego Brocher*, who landed a Handful of Men at *Mountſbay* in *Cornwall*. They burnt *Mouſe-hole*, *Newlin*, *Penzance*, and a neighbouring Church, but did not ſo much as kill or wound any human Creature. This was the only time the *Spaniards* ever landed in *England*, as Enemies.

The Fleet deſtined for the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, as it was a Plan [b] propos'd by Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, ſo it was put under their principal Command, and order'd to take a Body of Land-forces on-board, to ſeize upon *Nombre de Dios* [c], from thence to march to *Panama*, in order to ſeize the Treaſure, which is brought thither from *Peru*, and, according as they found it expedient, to keep Poſſeſſion of and inhabit that Town; but five Days before their Departure from *Plymouth*, they received Letters from her Majeſty, informing them of Advices ſhe had received from *Spain*, that the *India* Fleet was arrived, and that one of them, having loſt her Maſt, was put into the Iſland of *Puerto Ricco*; ſhe therefore ordered them, ſince ſo good an Opportunity offered, and they knew the Weakneſs of *Puerto Ricco*, to poſſeſs themſelves firſt of that Treaſure.

Our Fleet conſiſted of 26 Ships; amongſt whom were [d] the *Defiance*, commanded by Sir *Francis Drake*; *Garland*, Sir *John Hawkins*; *Hope*, Capt. *Gilbert Yorke*; *Bonaventure*, Capt. *Throughton*; *Foreſight*, Capt. *Winter*; *Adventure*, Capt. *Thomas Drake*.

The Land-forces were under the Command [e] of Sir *Thomas Baſkerfield*, Colonel-general; Sir *Nicholas Clifford*, Lieutenant-general; Capt. *Arnold Baſkerfield*, Serjeant-major; Capt. *Nicholas Baſkerfield*; Capt. *Barkley*; Capt. *Grinſtone*; Capt. *Riſh*; Capt. *Boſwell*; Capt. *Platt*; Capt. *Chicheſter*; Capt. *Stanton*; Capt. *Fenton*.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 28th of *Auguſt*, but did not get clear of the Land till the laſt of that Month. The firſt Land they made was the *Grand Canary*, the chief of the Iſlands of that Name, where they arrived the 27th of *September*; and, contrary to the Opinion of Sir *John Hawkins*, made a fruitleſs Attempt to reduce that Iſland, with a Deſign to keep Poſſeſſion of it, for the ſake of Victualling.

This Deſign failing, they proceeded for the Iſland of *Dominica*, where they arrived on the 29th of *October*, and traffick'd with the Natives for Tobacco. It is diſtant from *Martinico* about 10 or 12 *Engliſh* Miles, bearing W. and by N. The People of this Iſland traffick'd with them for Hatchets, Knives, and ſuch-like Commodities, in exchange for their Tobacco, which is the chiefeſt Commodity of this Iſland.

On the 30th of *October*, they came to another Iſland called *Guardalupe*, which is diſtant from that of *Dominica* 10 Leagues; not inhabited, but was then a Wilderneſs for wild Beaſts. Here they continued from the 30th of *October* to the 4th of *November*. From thence they ſailed towards the River *della Hatch*, and ſtruck their Courſe N. W. and by N. The 7th of *November* they deſcried three Iſlands of the *Trigonies*, which lie between *Guardalupe* and St. *John de Portrizo*. The eighth of *November* the General ſet on-ſhore all the Land-men, to the End that every Captain might know his own Men. The 10th of *November* they departed from that Harbour to another, three or four *Engliſh* Miles diſtant, where they continued until *Tueſday* the 11th of *November*, and then ſet ſail for St. *John de Portrizo* W. and by N.

The 12th of *November* they anchored within three or four *Engliſh* Miles of the Town of *Puerto Ricco*, againſt a great Fort, where was placed a great Piece of Ordnance, which plied them with Shot.

The very next Day after their Arrival at *Dominica*, five *Spaniſh* Ships which were ſent out to obſerve the *Engliſh*, and convoy the Plate from *Puerto Ricco*, ſeized the *Francis*, an *Engliſh* Pinnace, which had ſtraggled from the Fleet; and having, by Tortures, forced the Maſter and Mariners to confeſs that the *Engliſh* had a Deſign upon *Puerto Ricco*, they made thither with all the Sail they could, to give Intelligence that the *Engliſh* were coming. The Gold and Silver they immediately buried, and diſpatched ſmall Veſſels to all the Iſlands and Sea-coaſts to give the *Spaniards* timely Notice, ſo that on the 12th of *November*, at their coming before *Puerto Ricco*, the Place, as I have ſaid above, againſt which their Deſign was, they found it too well ſecured to hope any Succeſs.

Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* were ſo mortally wounded, whilſt they were ſitting at Supper, that they died in a Day or two afterwards. They were at Supper with the General, whoſe Stool was taken from under him, by the ſame Shot, as he was drinking a Cup of Beer; and Captain *Stratford*, with one or two more, were at the ſame Time wounded, tho' not mortally. The ſame Day Sir *John Hawkins* died, as was thought of Grief, occaſioned by ſome Conteſt which had aroſe between him and the other Commanders. The *Spaniards* had ſunk a great Ship at the Mouth of the Haven to hinder their Entrance, and had placed large Maſts on both Sides from thence to the very Forts which guarded the Avenues.

Within the Haven were the five *Spaniſh* Ships, prepared to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, all ballaſted with Sand, and well ſtocked with Muſketeers, great Guns, and Ammunition. *Baſkerville* nevertheleſs manned out his Boats and Pinnaces on the 13th in the Evening, to the Number of 25, and went into the Road within the Caſtles, where notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* fired 185 Cannon-ſhot upon them, and plied them continually with their ſmall Arms, they ſet fire to the five Ships, which were all of 200 Tons, or more, and one of 400; burnt the Rear-admiral down to the Water, and did great Damage to the Admiral and Vice-admiral. The Ships had each 20 Braſs-guns, and 100 Barrels of Powder on-board. Their Loading, which conſiſted chiefly of Silk, Oil and Wine, had been before ſecured, as was likewiſe the Treaſure which had been brought thither in the *Vigonia*, being as one of the Priſoners confeſſed, 3,000,000 of Ducats, or 35 Tons of Silver.

The Fight was very obſtinate on both Sides; but after an Aſſault or two, wherein they were repulſed with ſome Loſs on the Side of the *Engliſh*, but a far greater to the *Spaniards*, of whom a great Number were burnt, drowned and killed, and ſome Priſoners taken, they found any farther Attempt would be in vain, and therefore re-embarked and ſailed over to *Terra Firma*, where here they burnt, the 1ſt of *December*, *La Hacha*, tho' the Inhabitants offered to ranſom it with 34,000 Ducats. They afterwards ſet fire to *La Rancheria*, where they took many Negroes and other Priſoners, with ſtore of Pearls and other Pillage, as likewiſe

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[a] Camden. Hackluit, part III. p. 503. Purchas, part IV. p. 582.

[b] Theſe two Generals (Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins) preſuming much upon their own Experience and Knowledge, uſed many Arguments to perſuade the Queen to undertake this Voyage to the Weſt-Indies, aſſuring her what great Services they ſhould perform, and promiſing to engage very deeply in the Adventure themſelves, both with their Subſtance and their Perſons. And ſuch was the Opinion every one had conceived of theſe two valiant Commanders, that great were the Expectations of the Succeſs of this Voyage. Monſon.

[c] Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

[d] Ibem, ibid.

[e] Drake Reviv'd, p. 45, 46.

wiſe a Brigantine, with ſome Silver and Pearl. They afterwards burnt ſeveral other ſmall Villages thereabouts; and then on the 19th took *St. Martha*'s, which they likewiſe burnt, not finding in it the leaſt Piece of Gold or Silver. The next Place they took was *Nombre de Dios*, and they deſtroyed that Place likewiſe, with all the Shipping there, after a ſhort Reſiſtance from the *Spaniards*, on the 28th. They did not find a Penny of Money in the Town; but in a Watch-houſe on the Top of a Hill, near the Town, they found 20 Sows of Silver, two Bars of Gold, ſome Pearl, Money coined, and other Plunder.

From thence a Body of 750 Landmen, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Baſkerville*, marched over Land, towards *Panama*; but in their Paſſage, as they were going thro' ſome narrow Defiles, after one or two Days very troubleſome March, they were ſorely gauled with Showers of ſmall Shot from a Wood. Finding beſides that the Paſs was defended by a new erected Fort, and having Information that there were two Forts more within to obſtruct their Paſſage, they made the beſt of their Way back to the Fleet, where they returned wretchedly harraſſed, and half ſtarved, on the 2d of *January*, having marched half Way to the *South-Sea*.

Sir *Francis Drake* then reſolved to make towards the Iſland of *Eſcudo*, and from thence to *Porto Bello*; but before he could put it in Practice, he was ſeized with a bloody Flux, of which he died, on the 28th of *January*; tho' it has been ſuſpected, that he was diſſatisfied at the ill Succeſs of his Undertaking, grew melancholy, and laid violent Hands upon himſelf.

The Fleet being now bereaved of both its Admirals, the Command devolved upon Sir *Thomas Baſkerville*; who, and the other Officers, thought it moſt expedient to make the beſt of their Way for *England*. Near the Iſle of *Pines*, off of *Cuba*, they were encountered by the *Spaniſh* Fleet, of 20 Sail, part of 60 ſent from *Carthagena* in queſt of the *Engliſh*. *Baſkerville* and *Throughton*, one in the Vice-admiral, and the other in the Admiral, gave them ſo warm a Reception, that after an obſtinate Fight of above two Hours, in which ſeveral of their beſt Ships were very much damaged, and one of their largeſt ſet fire to and burnt, they ſheered of. Our Fleet, after having been eight Months out, returned to *England* in the Beginning of *May* 1596, with very little Booty; having only fired ſome ſmall Towns, and a good Number of Ships.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* having again incurred the Diſpleaſure of his Royal Miſtreſs, by a private Amour with one of her Ladies of Honour, who could not help diſcovering the natural Effects of their Love, was not only baniſhed the Court, but was impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure.

Under this Diſgrace, his natural Inclination for attempting new Diſcoveries of Things and Places; and the Hopes of retrieving the Royal Favour, by reducing the Country of *Guiana*, in South *America*, reported to be extremely rich in Gold-mines, to the Obedience of the *Engliſh* Crown, put him upon a Voyage to *Guiana*.

His Deſign was no ſooner repreſented to the Queen, than ſhe gave him his Liberty and Countenance; as it ſeemed a likelier Means of annoying the *Spaniards*, and the moſt profitable Road to vaſt Treaſures. And he ſailed in Perſon only with one Ship and a ſmall Bark on this mighty Expedition, from *Plymouth*, on the 6th of *February* 1595.

The Proceedings and Event of this Voyage have been variouſly repreſented; but the moſt genuine Account thereof is tranſmitted to Poſterity by Sir *Walter* himſelf, who in a Letter to Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, and Sir *Robert Cecil*, Knt. one of her Majeſty's Privy-council, informs us, That they made the *Burlings* on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, and from thence ſtretched away for the *Canaries*; where, after cruiſing off *Teneriff* for ſeveral Days, waiting for my Lord *Howard*'s Ship, called the *Lion's-Whelp*, and a ſmall Galego, which had parted Company on the Coaſt of *Spain*, without meeting with either, Sir *Walter* with his own Ship, and a ſmall Bark of Captain *Croſs*'s, made the beſt of his Way for *Trinidade*, and caſt Anchor at *Punta de Gallo*, or *Curiapan*, 8 Deg. Lat. on the 22d of *March*; but could not entice any of the Inhabitants to ſpeak to him.

“ I myſelf, ſays Sir *Walter*, coaſted it in my Barge cloſe aboard the Shore, and landed in every Cove, the better to know the Iſland, while the Ships kept the Channel. From *Curiapan* I came to a Port and Seat of *Indians*, called *Parico*, where we found a Freſh-water River, but ſaw no People. From thence I rowed to another Port, called by the Natives *Piche*, and by the *Spaniards Tierra de Brea*: In the Way between both were divers little Brooks of Freſh-water, and one Salt-river that had ſtore of Oyſters upon the Branches of the Trees, and were very ſalt and well taſted. All their Oyſters grow upon thoſe Boughs and Sprays, and not on the Ground; the like is commonly ſeen in other Places of the *Weſt-Indies*, and elſewhere.

“ At this Point called *Tierra de Brea*, or *Piche*, there is that abundance of Stone-pitch, that all the Ships of the World may be therewith loaden from thence; and we made Trial of it in trimming our Ships to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the Sun as the Pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for Ships trading the South Parts very profitable. From thence we went to the Foot of the Mountain called *Annaperima*, and ſo paſſing the River *Carone*, on which the *Spaniſh* City was ſeated, we met with our Ships at *Puerto de los Eſpannoles*, or *Conquerabia*.

“ We found at the Landing-place a Company of *Spaniards* who kept a Guard at the Deſcent, and they offering a Sign of Peace, I ſent Captain *Whiddon* to ſpeak with them. The ſame Evening there ſtole alſo aboard us in a ſmall Canoe two *Indians*, the one of them being a Cacique or Lord of the People called *Cantyman*, who had the Year before been with Captain *Whiddon*, and was of his Acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* we underſtood what Strength the *Spaniards* had, how far it was to their City, and of Don *Antonio de Berreo* the Governor, who was ſaid to be ſlain in his ſecond Attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

“ While we remained at *Puerto de los Eſpannoles*, ſome *Spaniards* came aboard us to buy Linen of the Company, and ſuch other Things as they wanted, and alſo to view our Ships and Company, all which I entertained kindly, and feaſted after our Manner; by means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the Eſtate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew; for thoſe poor Soldiers having been many Years without Wine, a few Draughts made them merry, in which Mood they vaunted of *Guiana*, and of the Riches thereof, and all what they knew of the Ways and Paſſages, myſelf ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſs than the Entrance or Diſcovery thereof, but bred in them an Opinion that I was bound only for the Relief of thoſe *Engliſh* which I had planted in *Virginia*, which they had heard.

“ I found Occaſions of ſtaying in this Place for two Cauſes; the one was to be revenged of *Berreo*, who the Year before, 1594, had betrayed eight of Capt. *Whiddon*'s Men, and took them while he departed from them to ſeek the *Edward-Bonaventure*, which arrived at *Trinidade* the Day before from the *Eaſt-Indies*; in whoſe Abſence *Berreo* ſent a Canoe aboard the Pinnace only with *Indians* and Dogs, inviting the Company to go with them into the Woods to kill a Deer, who like wiſe Men, in the Abſence of their Captain, followed the *Indians*; but were no ſooner one Harquebuſs-ſhot from the Shore, but *Berreo*'s Soldiers lying in Ambuſh had them all, notwithſtanding that he had given his Word to Capt. *Whiddon* that they ſhould take Water and Wood ſafely; the other Cauſe of my Stay was, for that by diſcourſe with the *Spaniards* I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the Rivers and Paſſages, and of the Enterpriſe of *Berreo*, by what Means or Fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

“ While we thus ſpent the time, I was aſſured by another *Caſique* of the North-ſide of the Iſland, that *Berreo* had ſent to *Margarita* and *Cumana* for Soldiers, meaning to have given me a Caſſado at parting, if it had been poſſible. For although he had given Order through all the Iſland that no *Indian* ſhould come aboard to trade with me upon Pain of hanging and quartering, (having executed two of them for the ſame, which I afterwards found) yet every Night there came ſome with moſt lamentable Complaints of his Cruelty; how he had divided the Iſland, and given to every Soldier a Part; that he made the antient *Caſiques*, which were Lords of the Country, to be their Slaves; that he kept them in Chains, and dropped their naked Bodies with burning Bacon, and ſuch other Torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the City, after I entered the ſame, there were five of the Lords, or little Kings, (which they call *Caſiques* in the *Weſt-Indies*) in one Chain almoſt dead of Famine, and waſted with Torments: theſe are called in their own Language *Acarewana*, and now of late ſince *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* are come among them, they call themſelves *Captains*, becauſe they perceive that the Chiefeſt of every Ship is called by that Name. Thoſe five *Captains* in the Chain were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Aterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former Wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter *Guiana* by ſmall Boats, to depart 400 or 500 Miles from my Ships, and to leave a Garriſon in my Back, intereſted in the ſame Enterprize, who alſo daily expected Supplies out of *Spain*, I ſhould have ſavoured very much of the Aſs; and therefore taking a Time of moſt Advantage, I ſet upon the *Corps du Guard* in the Evening, and having put them to the Sword, ſent Capt. *Calfield* onwards with 60 Soldiers, and myſelf followed with 40 more, and ſo took their new City, which they called *St. Joſeph*, by Break of Day; they ſtood not the Fight after a few Shot, and all being diſmiſſed but only *Berreo* and his Companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the Inſtance of the *Indians* I ſet their new City of *St. Joſeph* on fire.

“The ſame Day arrived Capt. *George Gifford* with your Lordſhip's Ship, and Capt. *Keymis*, whom I loſt on the Coaſt of *Spain*, with the *Galego*, and in them divers Gentlemen and others, which to our little Army was a great Comfort and Supply.

“We then haſted away towards our purpoſed Diſcovery, and firſt I called all the Captains of the Iſland together that were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for there were ſome which *Berreo* had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and waſte thoſe that were Natives of the Place; and by my *Indian* Interpreter, which I carried out of *England*, I made them underſtand that I was the Servant of a Queen, who was the great *Caſique* of the North, and a Virgin, and had more *Caſiques* under her then there were Trees in that Iſland: that ſhe was an Enemy to the *Caſtelaini* in reſpect of their Tyranny and Oppreſſion; and that ſhe delivered all ſuch Nations about her, as were by them oppreſſed; and having freed all the Coaſt of the northern World from their Servitude, had ſent me to free them alſo, and withal to defend the Country of *Guiana* from their Invaſion and Conqueſt. I ſhewed them her Majeſty's Picture, which they ſo admired and honoured, as it had been eaſy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

“The like, and a more large Diſcourſe I made to the reſt of the Nations, both in my paſſing to *Guiana*, and to thoſe of the Borders, ſo as in that Part of the World her Majeſty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Caſſipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great Princeſs or greateſt Commander. This done we left *Puerto de los Eſpanoles*, and returned to *Curiapan*; and having *Berreo* my Priſoner, I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knew.

“This *Berreo* is a Gentleman well deſcended, and had long ſerved the *Spaniſh* King in *Milan*, *Naples*, the Low-countries, and elſewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a Gentleman of great Aſſuredneſs, and of a great Heart; I uſed him according to his Eſtate and Worth in all Things I could, according to the ſmall Means I had.

“I ſent Capt. *Whiddon* the Year before to get what Knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the End of my Journey at this Time was to diſcover and enter the ſame; but my Intelligence was far from Truth, for the Country is ſituate above 600 *Engliſh* Miles further from the Sea, than I was made believe it had been, which afterward underſtanding to be true by *Berreo*, I kept it from the Knowledge of my Company, who elſe would never have been brought to attempt the ſame: of which 600 Miles I paſſed 400, leaving my Ships ſo far from me at anchor in the Sea, which was more of Deſire to perform that Diſcovery, than of Reaſon, eſpecially having ſuch poor and weak Veſſels to tranſport ourſelves in; for in the Bottom of an old *Galego* which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a Gally, and in one Barge, two Wherries, and a Ship-boat of the *Lion's Whelp*, we carried 100 Perſons, and their Victuals, for a Month in the ſame, being all driven to lie in the Rain and Weather, in the open Air, in the burning Sun, and upon the hard Boards, and to dreſs our Meat, and to carry all Manner of Furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtered and unſavory, that what with Victuals, being moſt Fiſh, with the wet Cloaths of ſo many Men thruſt together, and the Heat of the Sun, I will undertake there was never any Priſon in *England*, that could be found more unſavory and lothſome, eſpecially to myſelf, who had for many Years before been dieted and cared for in a Sort far more differing.

“If Capt. *Preſton* had not been perſuaded that he ſhould have come too late to *Trinidad* to have found us there, (for the Month was expired which I promiſed to tarry for him there ere he could recover the Coaſt of *Spain*) but that it had pleaſed God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the Country but ſome ten Days ſooner ere the Rivers were overflown, we had adventured either to have gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at leaſt taken ſo many of the other Cities and Towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal Return; but it pleaſed not God ſo much to favour me at this Time.”

Thus after the moſt diligent Search Sir *Walter* was obliged to drop his preſent Attempt in ſearch of *Guiana*, being content with the agreeable Deſcription he could pick up thereof from *Berreo*, and other Priſoners, and the *Indian* Captains, who all agreed in their Accounts of its Riches, Extent, Populouſneſs and Salubrity: But not being ſufficiently provided with Men, Veſſels, and other Neceſſaries, to carry this grand Deſign for the preſent into Execution; and himſelf, as well his Men, being quite worn down with the Fatigues of the Seaſon and Climate, and alſo obſtructed by the Impracticability of the Navigation during the Falls of the Main, which ſwell'd the Rivers to a dangerous Height and Rapidity, it was reſolv'd to return for *England*; and in his Way homewards burnt *Cumana*, and ſome maritime Villages at *St. Mary*'s and *Rio de la Hacha*, becauſe they would not pay the Contribution he demanded.

The Advantages of this Voyage may be better conceived than deſcribed, if we add to the Account what Sir *Walter* writes concerning the Ore he found there.

“Becauſe (ſays he) there have been divers Opinions conceived of the Gold-ore brought from *Guiana*; and becauſe an Alderman of *London*, and an Officer of her Majeſty's Mint, has reported that it is of no Value, I have thought good, by the Addition of theſe Lines, to give Anſwer as well to that malicious Slander, as to other Objections. It is true, that while we were at the Iſland of *Trinidada*, I was informed by an *Indian*, that not far from the Port where we anchored, there were found certain mineral Stones, which they eſteemed to be Gold; and were confirmed in their Opinion, becauſe they had ſeen both *Engliſhmen* and *Frenchmen* gather and load vaſt Quantities of it. Upon this Probability I ſent 40 Men, and gave Orders that each of them ſhould bring a Stone of that Mine, to make an Eſſay of the Goodneſs of it; which being done, I aſſured them, at their Return, that it was Marcaſite, and of no Value. Notwithſtanding which, ſeveral truſting more to their own Opinion than my Knowledge, kept of that Marcaſite, and have made Eſſay of it ſince my Return, at ſeveral Places. In *Guiana* I never ſaw Marcaſite; but all the Rocks and Mountains, all the Stones in the Plains, Woods, and by the Rivers Side, are in effect throughout ſhining, and ſeem vaſtly rich, which “being tried to be no Marcaſite, are the true Signs of rich Minerals, but are no other than *el Madre del Oro*, (or, the Mother of Gold) as the *Spaniards* call it; or, as others call it, the Scum of Gold. My Company brought alſo of divers Sorts of theſe into *England*, every one taking the moſt beautiful to be the beſt, which is not always a Rule. For my part, I did not contradict any Man's Deſire or Opinion, and ſhould have allowed them very little Liberty, if I had denied them the Pleaſure of ſatisfying their own Fancies in this: But, for myſelf, I was convinced, that Gold muſt be found either in Grains, ſeparate from the Stone, as it is in moſt of the Rivers of *Guiana*, or elſe in a kind of hard Stone, which we call the *White Spar*, of which I ſaw ſeveral Hills, in different Places; but had neither Time, nor Men, nor Inſtruments, fit for working it. Near unto one of the Rivers, I found a very large Ledge or Bank of this white Spar or Flint, which I endeavoured to break, by all the Means I could; becauſe there appeared, on the Outſide, ſome ſmall Grains of Gold; and in a Clift, after much Difficulty, with our Daggers, and the Head of an Ax, we got out a ſmall Quantity of it. Of this kind of white Stone, in which Gold engenders, we ſaw many Hills and Rocks, in every Part of *Guiana*, through which we travelled; and of this there has been many Trials made. In *London* it was firſt eſſay'd by Mr. *Weſtwood*, a Refiner in *Wood-ſtreet*, and it held after the Rate of 12,000 or 13,000 *l.* a Ton. Another Sort was afterwards tried by Mr. *Bulmark* and Mr. *Dimmock*, Eſſay-maſters, and it held after the Rate of 23,000 *l.* a Ton. There was ſome of it again tried by Mr. *Palmer*, Comptroller of the Mint, and Mr. *Dimmock* in *Goldſmiths-hall*, and it held 26,900 *l.* a Ton. There was alſo at the ſame time, and by the ſame Perſons, a Trial made of the Duſt of the ſame Mine, which held eight Pounds, ſix Ounces Weight of Gold in the Hundred. There was likewiſe, at the ſame time, a Trial of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third Part of Gold; beſides ſeveral Trials made in the Country, and by others in *London*. But becauſe there came bad with the good, and belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, he was pleaſed to lay a Scandal upon all the reſt, and to diſparage the Enterprize to the utmoſt of his Power. It has alſo been concluded by many, that if there had been any ſuch Ore in *Guiana*, and I had diſcovered it, I ſhould have brought home a greater Quantity: But firſt, I was not bound to ſatisfy any Body of the Quantity, excepting thoſe who were Adventurers, if any Store had been returned; but it is very true, that had all their Mountains been of maſſy Gold, it was impoſſible for us to have made any longer Stay to have wrought it: And whoſoever has ſeen with what Strength of Stone the beſt Gold-ore is encompaſſed, will not think it eaſy to be had out in Heaps, eſpecially by us, who had neither Men, Inſtruments, nor Time to perform it.”

The *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies* were alſo viſited this Year * by Capt. *Amias Preſton* and Capt. *George Sommers*, who in the two Ships, *Aſcenſion* and *Gift*, with a ſmall Pinnace, ſail'd from *Plymouth* on the 12th of *March*, and were follow'd on the 19th by Capt. *Jones* in the *Darling*, and Capt. *Prowſe* in the *Angel*.

Capt. *Preſton* by chacing a Ship loſt Company of his Fellow-adventurers; and in that lone State courageouſly attack'd and plunder'd the ſmall Iſland of *Puerto Santo* near *Madeira*, routed 500 *Spaniſh* Soldiers, reduced the chief Town and ſeveral other Places to Aſhes, with 60 Men only.

Before they entered the Town, the *Portugueſe* had conveyed away their Wives, Children, and beſt Effects to the Top of a very high Hill, which ſtands near the Town, and could not be attempted without great Hazard. They ſent ſeveral Times to offer a Ranſom for the Town, which was handſome and large; but *Preſton* had reſolved, in return for their Treachery and Cruelty to one Capt. *Harvey* and his People, to ſhew them no Favour. He likewiſe ſent out Parties to waſte the reſt of their Villages of the Iſland, preferring the Honour and juſt Revenge of his Countrymen, before his own private Gain and Commodity.

He reimbarked his Men, and ſet ſail; and on the 12th of *April* he joined his Company. On the 19th of *May*, towards Evening, they got Sight of a little Iſland between the Pearl-fiſhery at *Margarita*, and the Main, called *Coche*. They landed the next Morning, and pillaged the whole Iſland, taking ſome *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and a ſmall Quantity of Pearls. The 21ſt they ſet ſail for *Cumana*, which the Inhabitants ranſomed; and, in the Bay, they took three Caravels with their Long-boat, but found nothing of conſiderable Value in them. The 27th they landed at a Fort, near the Sea-coaſt, in the *Coracos*, which they took without Reſiſtance, and made the Governor Priſoner. This Governor they examined concerning the State of the City of *St. Jago de Leon*; who told them, that they had News of the Coming of the *Engliſh* a Month before, and had made all the Preparations they could to receive them. That there were two Ways thither, one the common Road, in which there was a Paſſage not above 25 or 30 Foot broad, with ſteep Precipices on each Side of it, covered with Woods ſo thick there was no paſſing them, and this Paſſage ſtrongly barricaded and fortified by the *Spaniards*; the other, a Road uſed by the *Indians*, which was of itſelf very bad, and now rendered almoſt unpaſſable by the Cutting down of Trees, and other Impediments. The latter of theſe two they thought the moſt eligible; and having a *Spaniard* with them, whom they had taken out of one of the Caravels, who offered to ſhew them the Way, if they would afterwards give him his Liberty, they took him for their Guide, and with him ſeveral Carpenters to cut their Paſſage through the Woods, and the Hinderances laid in their Way. After the moſt tireſome Paſſage that ever Men went, in which ſeveral of their Company were ſo fatigued, that they often lay down, and begg'd of their Officers rather to kill them, than to compel them to go farther, they arrived at the Town of *St. Jago de Leon*, which they took on the 29th and 30th of *May*, after very little Reſiſtance; but the Inhabitants, having had timely Notice of their Coming, had removed their beſt Effects to the Mountains. They ſtay'd there till the third of *June*, and had ſome Conferences with the *Spaniards* concerning a Ranſom, but could come to no Agreement. The *Engliſh* demanded 30,000 Duckets, but could never bring the *Spaniards* to offer more than 4000, and that only to gain Time, till they could get ſome Troops together. They therefore burnt the Town, and ſeveral Villages in the Neighbourhood, and then returning to their Ships, ſet fire to the Fort, and embarked, without loſing one Man in this tireſome and dangerous Journey and Attack.

Then ſailing for *Coros*, they burnt three *Spaniſh* Ships on the Coaſt, which they could not bring off, becauſe the *Spaniards* had carried the Sails on-ſhore; and on the ninth entered the Bay of *Coros*; on the 11th took the Town, after ſome Reſiſtance, which they reduc'd to Aſhes. The *Spaniards* having ſecured their beſt Effects, and meeting with nothing elſe worthy of Remark, they returned homewards, and arrived at *Milford haven* the 10th of *September*.

The Earl of *Cumberland* ſtill breathing Revenge againſt the *Spaniards*, had built a fine Ship at *Deptford*, Burthen 900 Tons; which being the largeſt ever built by any *Engliſh* Subject, her Majeſty was pleaſed to favour his Lordſhip with her Preſence at the Launching thereof, and to give it the Name of the *Scourge of Malice*.

His Lordſhip intended to have performed this Voyage himſelf, in his new Ship; and had fitted out the *Alcedo*, under the Command of Captain *Monſon*, for his Vice-admiral; the *Anthony*, commanded by Captain *Daniel Jarret*; and the old Frigate; but when he was got as far as *Plymouth*, he was obliged to return by her Majeſty's Order.

Of which Incident Captain *Monſon* gives the following Account. “I engaged myſelf, by Promiſe, to attend my

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* A. D. 1595. Hackluit, Part III. p. 578.

“ Lord of *Cumberland*, as his Vice-admiral, to Sea. His “ Lordſhip went in the *Malice-Scourge*, a brave Ship, built “ by himſelf; his Vice-admiral was the *Alcedo*, a goodly “ Ship, hired of the Merchants.

“ Now I began to have a Proof of what I had before “ juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect, *viz.* the inconſtant Friendſhip of “ the Earl of *Cumberland*; for tho' I was drawn by his “ ſweet Words and Promiſes to this Voyage, and that “ we had proceeded upon it as far as *Plymouth*, and from “ thence eight or nine Leagues to Sea, towards the Coaſt “ of *Spain*, without imparting or making Shew of any “ Thing to me, he ſuddenly quitted the Voyage, and ap- “ pointed another Captain for his own Ship, which ſo “ much diſpleaſed me for the preſent, that I abandoned “ the Company of his Ship at Sea, and betook myſelf to “ my own Adventure. This afterwards bred a Quarrel “ betwixt my Lord and me, and it was a long Time be- “ fore we were reconciled.

“ My Voyage produced no Danger of Famine or Sword, “ as other Voyages had done. The worſt Enemy I found “ were Storms, which were ſuch as forced me to cut my “ Main-maſt by the Board, and compelled me to bear for “ *England*. After I had weathered the Coaſt of *Spain*, “ the Storm held on ſo outrageous, and was of ſuch long “ Continuance, that I was driven to *Spain*, before the Sea, “ betwixt the *Groyne* in *Galicia*, and *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, “ which was at that Time in the Hands of the *Spaniards*. “ The Sea was ſo high, and the Waves ſo powerful, that “ they raked me Fore and Aft, for Want of a Main-maſt “ to keep the Ship ſteady; ſo that for many Days toge- “ ther I expected nothing but to founder at Sea; but it “ pleaſed God at laſt to ſend me to *Plymouth*.”

The *Scourge*, the *Anthony*, and the Frigate, proceeded to the *Azores*, where they firſt took the *St. Thomas*, a Caravel of 100 Tons, laden with Sugar. After which, being near the Iſland of *Flores*, in a Fog, they diſcovered a great Ship lying by the Lee, which they imagined at firſt to be a Carrack; but they found it afterwards to be the *St. Thomas*, Vice-admiral of the King of *Spain*'s Fleet, waiting to convoy the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indian* Fleets. They immediately engaged her, and plied her ſo warmly, that ſhe was glad to bear up to recover the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which when the Fog was diſperſed, they found lying at no great Diſtance from them. This being an unequal Match for them, they thought it was Time to make off, which they did without Hinderance, the *Spaniards* not having the Courage to purſue them, and ſailed for the Coaſt of *Spain*, where they took three *Dutch* Ships, of the Eaſt-country, laden with Wheat, Copper, and other Ammunitions and Proviſions, for the King of *Spain*'s Uſe, for which Reaſon they were lawful Prizes, and returned with them to *England*.

The Damage done by the Deſcent of the four *Spaniſh* Gallies (p. 294.) mentioned on the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and the continual Alarm of a new-intended Invaſion from *Spain*, engaged the Queen to fit out a powerful Fleet, and a numerous Army, under her moſt experienced Officers, to give King *Philip* a Diverſion, by invading his Dominions in *Europe*, as well as in *America*, in order to deſtroy the Fleet he had aſſembled at *Cadiz*, and if poſſible to ſack that rich City.

The Force [a] employed on this important Expedition was in all 150 Sail; of which 17 were her Majeſty's own Royal Ships, three were the Lord Admiral's, 24 were furniſhed by the *Dutch*, and the reſt were hired of the Merchants for Ships of War and Victuallers [b].

This Fleet had 7360 Landmen on-board, of which 1000 were Volunteers, and 6772 Seamen, beſides the *Dutch*; under the joint Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord High-admiral *Howard*; aſſiſted by a Council of War, conſiſting of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Conyers Clifford*; the Lord High-admiral however being to have the principal Authority at Sea, and the Earl of *Eſſex* at Land [c]. Others again write that this Fleet was divided into four Squadrons [d]; whereof the firſt was commanded by the Lord High-admiral *Howard*; the ſecond by the Earl of *Eſſex*; the third by the Lord *Thomas Howard*; and the fourth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The Officers of the Army (of which the Lord Admiral, and the Earl of *Eſſex* were joint Generals) were Sir *Francis Vere* Lord Marſhal, Sir *John Wingfield* Camp-maſter-general, Sir *Conyers Clifford* Serjeant-major, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance. The Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Captain of the Volunteers; and *Andrew Aſhley* was Secretary at War, whoſe Buſineſs it was to keep a Regiſter of their Councils, and the Arguments uſed, and to record the ſeveral Actions and Attempts that ſhould be formed.

For the better conducting of this great Armament, the Admiral and General were ordered to follow theſe Inſtructions [e].

“ *Firſt*, You both are to remember, that our firſt In- “ tention for making ready of our Navy, to be ſet to “ the Seas, was upon common Report made, that the “ King of *Spain* had made, and was making ready a “ greater Navy to come to the Seas than was made in “ 88, and that the ſame Navy ſhould come to our Seas, “ to invade our Realm of *England*, and with Part thereof “ to give Aid to our Rebels in *Ireland*.

“ But afterwards hearing that the Preparation made by “ the ſaid King was not ſo great as was before reported, “ and yet of that Number that were ſo prepared a good “ Number was ſent to purſue Sir *Francis Drake*, and ſome “ others were ſent to the *Indies*, whereby we had no pro- “ bable Cauſe to doubt the coming of any great Navy to “ attempt any Invaſion of our Realm, and yet had Cauſe “ to doubt ſome Number of Ships to be ſent with Men “ and Money into *Ireland*, about the Month of *May*, which “ was the Time that the Rebels *Tyr-Oen* and *Odonnel* did, “ by their Letters to *Spain* limit, to be aided and not “ before; and farther conſidering, that the Stay thereof “ was moſt certainly to be made by burning of the King's “ Ships of War in his Havens, before they ſhould come “ forth to the Seas, and therewith alſo deſtroying his Ma- “ gazines of Victuals, and his Munitions for the Arming “ of his Navy, ſo as neither the Rebels in *Ireland* ſhould “ be aided and ſtrengthened, nor yet the Navy of *Spain* “ be able, by reaſon of the Burning of ſome good Num- “ ber of the King's Ships, and by the Deſtruction of the “ great Proviſions, without which he ſhould not be able, “ of long Time to repair unto, and to have any great “ Navy in Readineſs to offend us, we did, upon the Mo- “ tion of you two, in offering your Service to this Pur- “ poſe, and finding the Opinion of the reſt of our Coun- “ cil to allow of our Preparations of our Navy, with the “ Aſſiſtance of ſundry Ships of our Subjects, and that “ the general Charge ſhould be given to you two jointly “ for the Service herewith, both by Sea and Land, we “ have therewith given you our Commiſſion, for theſe Ser- “ vices, both by Sea and by Land, not without our Grief “ for adventuring of your Perſons, and for Want alſo of “ your Attendance on us, as principal Counſellors; and “ therefore we do now think it convenient, not only in “ this Sort to remember you of the Beginning and Pro- “ ceedings herein, by us, but alſo to inform you, by way “ of Inſtructions of our Pleaſure, in what Sort, and to “ what Ends, you ſhall direct your Actions.

“ *Firſt*, You ſhall, by all good Means ſeek to under- “ ſtand the Truth of the King's Navy; of what Number “ and Strength his Ships are; in what Ports they are; “ what Proviſions are in Readineſs to furniſh his Navy; “ and therewith alſo to ſeek to underſtand, whether there “ be any Intention now this Summer, to ſet his Navy to “ the Seas, for invading any Part of our Realm, or that “ any Number of them are intended to be ſent into *Ire-*

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[a] Camden. Stow.

[b] Speed. Sir William Monſon, ex MS. in Bibl. Cotton. The Repulſe, the Earl of Eſſex, and Captain under him Sir William Monſon; Ark-Royal, the Lord High-admiral, and Captain under him Sir Amias Preſton; Mary-Honora (Mere Honour, in the printed Tracts) the Lord Thomas Howard; Warſpight, Sir Walter Raleigh; Lion, Sir Robert Southwell; Rainbow, Sir Francis Vere; Nonpareil, Sir Robert Dudley; Vanguard, Sir John Wingfield; Mary-Roſe, Sir George Carew; Dreadnought, Sir Alexander Clifford; Swiftſure, Sir Robert Croſs; Acquittance, Sir Robert Manſfield (Sir George Gifford); Crane (the Tramontana), Captain King; Tramontana (the Cranc), ———

[c] Camden.

[d] Stow. Camden.

[e] Cotton Library, Otho. E. IX.

land, or to come by the narrow Seas to *Calais*, there with other Shipping of *Flanders*, and with the Forces under the Command of the Cardinal of *Auſtria*, to attempt ſome hoſtile Action againſt our Coaſts of *England*, oppoſite to *Calais* and *Flanders*.

“In the ſearching to come to the Knowledge hereof, we adviſe you, not to give ſudden Credit to ſingle Reports, but circumſpectly to compare your Intelligences together, and to admit ſuch as you ſhall find, either very certain, or moſt agreeable to Truth.

“And hereupon you ſhall direct your firſt Actions to deſtroy ſuch Ships, as you ſhall underſtand to be provided, to repair to *Ireland*, or to come by the narrow Seas to *Calais*.

“And if you cannot underſtand of any ſuch particular Purpoſes, of any Navy prepared to be ſent to *Ireland* or *Calais*, you ſhall direct your Courſe to ſuch Ports, where you ſhall moſt probably underſtand what the greater Number of the King's Ships of War are, and where his Proviſions are in Store, and there you ſhall uſe all good Means poſſible to ſpoil and burn all the ſaid Ships, that are for foreign Service, or as many of them as conveniently you may; and alſo, you ſhall deſtroy or get into your Poſſeſſion, to our Uſe, as many of the Victuals, Powder, Ordnance, Cordage, and all other Apparellings for War, as you can. And yet, in theſe your Actions, you ſhall avoid the manifeſt Danger to our own Ships, or to the hazarding of our People, in any deſperate Actions, to loſe their Lives, that ſhould be ſpared rather for our Service, in Times of Defence of their native Country, than by attempting, in deſperate and doubtful Actions of Offence, in a ſtrange Country, to ſpend their Lives, without any public Benefit, anſwerable to ſuch Loſs; of which our Admonition, we hope you will have the more Regard, you well knowing how loth we are to have our Subjects waſted, or hazarded in any foreign Actions.

“And if you ſhall have the good Fortune ſo to deſtroy the ſaid Ships, and the Staples and Magazines of the naval Proviſions, in any Port, which we charge you ſhall be firſt attempted, before any other Service, except ſuch as we charge you ſhall be for your own Defence, and that the ſaid Deſtruction of Ships ſhall be, where any Town is belonging to any ſuch Port that hath great Riches, and that you ſhall probably underſtand that the ſaid Town is not able to defend itſelf againſt you, and that the Riches thereof is not wholly carried away into the Inlands, where you cannot recover the ſame; in ſuch Caſe, you may attempt the taking of ſuch a Town, and poſſeſs yourſelves of the Riches thereof, ſo as ſuch Attempt may firſt, by good Deliberation of Counſel, be found ſperable to be atchieved, without hazarding either of your own Lives, or the Lives of our Subjects, ſerving under you; for otherwiſe we charge you both, jointly and ſeverally, not to attempt any ſuch doubtful Action, in Hopes of gain, to the manifeſt Danger of the Lives of our Subjects. And, in the Execution hereof - - - you ſhall take Order, that no Slaughter be made of any People, except they ſhall, with Force withſtand you, and put our Subjects Lives in manifeſt Danger; but abſolutely we forbid the Slaughter of any Women, Children, and aged Men, not able to bear Arms.

“And for the Riches that may be there found, you ſhall give alſo ſtrict Order, to have as much ſaved as poſſibly may be, towards ſome Recompence of the great Charges ſuſtained, both by us and by yourſelves, and ſundry of your Company, whom we think worthy to be remembred in convenient Meaſure, according to their Charges. For which Purpoſe, we will, that you authoriſe under your Hand in Writing - to take the Care and Charge to enquire, by all good Means that you may give them, what Goods of any Value ſhall be by any that ſhall ſerve in this Voyage taken, either upon the Seas, or in any Port, or in any Magazine, or in any Port-town, that you ſhall enter into; and of the ſame to make due Regiſters in Writing, containing the Nature of the Goods taken, the Names of the Takers, the Time, Perſon, and Place, where the ſame was taken, and upon Knowledge thereof, the ſaid - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ſhall take into their Cuſtody the ſame Goods, or commit ſuch of the ſame as ſhall be of any Bulk to be ſecurely kept, in ſuch Ships, as by your Diſcretion ſhall be therefore appointed, ſo as hereby alſo the Takers may be therewith rewarded, as Reaſon ſhall require.

“Now, for the better and more orderly Execution of this your Commiſſion, and of theſe former Articles, compriſed in theſe our Inſtructions, we do ordain, that there ſhall be two Perſons, ſerving for the Seas, and two that are appointed to ſerve with the Forces for Land-ſervice, to be as Counſellors to you in our Name, that is, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Conyers Clifford*; and to theſe four we do add Sir *George Carew*, Lieutenant of our Ordnance, to make the Number of five; whom alſo we charge, by theſe Preſents, that they will, as they will anſwer before God, give their Counſels to you both, without any private Reſpect to either of you, for Love or Fear, in all Actions, to be put in Queſtion, or taken in hand, and the ſame deliberately to debate, as the Weight of the Matter ſhall require, before that any Reſolution be made, and before the putting of the Matter in Action.

“And if you, the two Generals, ſhall differ in your ſeveral Opinions, and that the more Part of the aforeſaid five Counſellors ſhall aſſent to the Opinion of any one of you, then we ſhall allow to have that Opinion followed by the others, as by Advice found moſt probable.

“And if ſuch of you two, or five, as ſhall diſſent from the ſame, notwithſtanding the Opinion of the more Part, ſhall not by Perſuaſion be moved to conſent thereto, and yet ſhall have any two of the ſaid Counſellors concur with him, if th— ſhall be executed with any Number of our Subjects, with Force of Arms, whereby their Lives may be in Danger, then, conſidering the Doubtfulneſs in the Deliberation, we think it good rather to forbear, in Favour of our Subjects Lives, from the Action, except by forbearing thereof any manifeſt Danger may enſue.

“Of all which our Advices, we charge you, our two Generals, to have dutiful Regard, and without moſt manifeſt Cauſe, not to diſſent betwixt yourſelves, nor in your Diſſentions to labour with any of the foreſaid Counſellors, by way of Factions, to aſſiſt you in your partial Opinions.

“And to the Intent we may be ſatisfied of your Proceedings in the Voyage, from time to time, and of your Manner of Deliberations and Reſolutions, and of your Actions thereupon taken in hand, and the Succeſs thereof, we have appointed our Servant, *Anthony Aſhley*, one of the Clerks of our Privy-council, to attend upon you, to keep a Regiſter of your Voyage, and of all your Conſultations and Actions, and of your Concurrences in Opinions, or your Differences, with the Cauſes thereof, whom we require you to allow in ſo doing, and to comfort him with your Countenance in that Service.

“And yet nevertheleſs, though we have appointed the foreſaid five to be Counſellors to you, and that the Cauſes may be of ſuch Difficulty, as both yourſelves, and the ſaid Counſellors may think it good, for farther Advice, to have the Opinion of ſome more Perſons now having Charge with you, we think it reaſonable, that either of you two the Generals ſhall make choice and call to your Conſultation two, three, four, or more of others, as you ſhall think good, either of you in that Choice calling an equal Number, for more Indifferency, and ſo to make ſome final Reſolution.

“If, after this Service done, in deſtroying of the King's Ships, and of his Staples of Proviſions, you ſhall hear of the Likelihood of the Coming from the *Indies* of any of the King's Carracks, laden with Riches, you ſhall ſend away as many of the Ships and Men as you ſhall not have need of, to be uſed at the Taking of ſuch Carracks, which we muſt leave to your Conſideration, not doubting but you will think it convenient

“nient not to continue the Charge thereof longer than ſhall be needful.”

A Copy *of her Majeſty's Letter to the two Lords Generals, with her own Hand.*

“Though all the careful Heed that can be poured on one, and Thoughts full bent to ſave from Ill, that may befall in the Scorning all good Hopes, and Treading on all Charge, be not enough to graceleſs Thankfulneſs to yield but *gratias* for ſuch uncouched, yea unheard-of Goodneſs: I cannot but wonder how our Soil ever brought forth ſuch Fruit, and could not (till now) have believed to find ſuch *Guerdon* for ſuch Meat, but *paſſi graviora*, which no ſober Silence may be thought, though not imputed; yet for all this, to verify that our Revenge is ſo likened to earthly Gods, who ſhew more Benignity than they find Cauſe, I make this humble Bill of Requeſt to him that all makes and does, that with his benign Hand he will ſhadow you ſo, as all Harm may light beſide you, and all that may be beſt hap to your Share, that your Return may make you better, and me gladder. Let your Companion, my moſt faithful *Charles*, be ſure, that his Name is not left out in this Petition. God bleſs you both, as I would be, if I were there; which whether I wiſh or not, he alone doth know.”

A Copy *of her Majeſty's Letter to the Lords Generals,* May 21. 1596.

“We find your Letter very ſtrange to us, conſidering the Mind wherewith you may perceive ours was written, for we find you wreſt Things to your own Evaſions, and keep up Arguments made of common Places of Doubts and Fears, (by indifferent Judgments not partial to their own Paſſions) as eaſily anſwered as made. You mention firſt a Danger to commit Authority to any other, becauſe you are referred to your Commiſſion and Inſtructions, formerly ſent you, which hath no Power of Deputation: As who ſhould ſay, that if you did follow the Directions of our Hand, our great Seal in this Matter ſhould be brought to diſpute the Validity of your Warrant. We could not then ſend you a Broad-ſeal in Poſt. But while you had conſidered and digeſted our Army in ſuch Form as you had liked, it ſhould have been guided: then, if you had advertized us *ſimpliciter* only, that you muſt have better Warrant for it, you ſhould not have wanted it, and we ſhould then have thought that which you uſe now as ſo ſubſtantial a Reaſon, not to be only a Formality, as now we hold it, and as all your Arguments diſcover it. For that other material Reaſon which you inſiſt, that you muſt uſe Swords to compel them, our Letter anſwered it, we hope; that for the Gentlemen that would go willingly, and that do go out (of voluntary Spirits) to accompany you, you might uſe your Diſcretions. And for the reſt that would tarry, you might, of our Monies, pay them. And for the Payment of returning, we truſt they would as ſoon have taken our Aſſurance as yours. So as they that are deſirous to go in the Action of the meaneſt, for their own Particular, need not be deprived of their Hopes, if they will follow it; and the reſt have *nullum Arbitrium*, which was ſurely a great Oppreſſion of Subjects, and the Truſt repoſed in you, with the Aſſurance of princely Conſideration, were great Maxims to the Reputation, or Deſpair to the Minds of you the Commanders. But we ſee it now in vain to reaſon againſt prejudicate Thoughts, and to command we will not: For if we had meant to have done any Thing ſo abruptly, without Caution, or without almoſt to ſeek your own Opinions, and to deſcend always to Conditions to ſatisfy you, we could long ere this have directly untied this Knot made, by you, ſo intricate: And this we farther will ſay to you, that though we meant to drive it to the laſt Conſiderations, and uppermoſt Debates, as much as could be, yet we compared Times ſo ſufficiently, as a Prince that knows what belongs to ſuch a Matter, that nothing ſhould be done to retard you (being ready) one Hour. For, as we know *Raleigh* not to be arrived, ſo we know, after it ſome Time to embark ſuch an Army muſt be required. And, therefore, ſeeing no Harm is done by us, and that all our Injury to you hath been to over tender you, we will now leave you to God's Providence, and wiſh you all Happineſs, concluding with *David, Liberavi animam meam.* We do alſo, now that you have our Liberty to depart (ſeeing that we cannot otherwiſe perſuade you) require you to make known to our Army, how dearly we wiſh them the Favour of Almighty God, as ſent by that Prince whoſe Truſt is in his Providence, and whoſe precious Care for their Preſervation is beyond our Tongue to utter.

“But for your Mutinies, or ſuch Diſobediences feared, we, that make Armies, know that we can diſſolve them at our Pleaſure; and tho' not without Charge and ſome Difficulty, yet far from ſuch Extremities. We do require you to commend us to our new Vice-admiral, whom we wiſh as good and happy Fortune as we rely and truſt in his Honeſty and Sufficiency, for all Things that are, or ſhall be, committed to his Charge by ourſelves, or you under us. We require you alſo to commend us kindly to our Couſin of *Suſſex*, whoſe Deſire to make himſelf able to do us Service doth deſerve no ſmall Favour, and therefore we muſt require all you to take care of his well doing, 21ſt of *May* 1596.”

To theſe Inſtructions and Letters from her Majeſty to the Lords Generals, it may not be improper to add the Inſtructions and Articles enjoined by their Lordſhips to the Officers under their Command.

Inſtructions and Articles ſet down by us Robert *Earl of* Eſſex, *and* Charles *Lord* Howard *Lord High-admiral of* England, *Generals of her Majeſty's Forces, employed in this Action, both by Sea and Land, to be obſerved by every Captain and chief Officer of the Navy, as they will anſwer it at their Perils; and that every Ship's Company may not be ignorant hereof, we do hereby ſtreightly charge and command all Captains to give Order, that at Service Time they may be openly read, twice every Week.*

“I. *Imprimis*, that you take ſpecial Care to ſerve God, by uſing of Common-prayers twice every Day, except urgent Cauſe enforce the contrary; and that no Man, Soldier or other Mariner, do diſpute of Matters of Religion, unleſs it be to be reſolved of ſome Doubts, and, in ſuch Caſe, that he confer with the Miniſters of the Army: For it is not fit that unlearned Men ſhould openly argue of ſo high and myſtical Matters. And if any Perſon ſhall forget himſelf and his Duty herein, he ſhall, upon Knowledge thereof, receive open Puniſhment to his Shame, and after be baniſhed the Army. And if any ſhall hear it, and not reveal it to us Generals, or to his Captain, or to ſome other eſpecial Officers, whereby the Knowledge thereof may come to us the Generals, he ſhall likewiſe receive Puniſhment, and be baniſhed the Army.

“II. *Item*, You ſhall forbid Swearing, Brawling, Dicing, and ſuch like Diſorders, as may breed Contention and Diſorders in your Ships, wherein you ſhall alſo avoid God's Diſpleaſure, and win his Favour.

“III. Picking and Stealing you ſhall ſeverely puniſh, and if the Fault be great, you ſhall acquaint us Generals, therewith, that martial Law may be inflicted upon the Offenders.

“IV. You ſhall take great Care to preſerve your Victuals, and to obſerve ſuch Orders therein, as you ſhall receive by particular Directions from your Generals. And that every Captain of each Ship receive an Account once a Week how his Victuals are ſpent, and what remains, that their Proviſion may be lengthened by adding more Men to a Meſs in Time.

“V. All Perſons whatſoever, within your Ship, ſhall come to the ordinary Services of the Ship, without Contradiction.

“VI. You ſhall give ſpecial Charge for avoiding the Danger of Fire, and that no Candle be carried in your Ship without a Lanthorn; which, if any Perſon ſhall diſobey, you ſhall ſeverely puniſh. And if any Chance of Fire or other Dangers (which God forbid) ſhould

“ happen to any Ship, near unto you, then you ſhall, by your Boats and all other your beſt Means ſeek to help and relieve her.

“ VII. Your Powder you ſhall carefully preſerve, from Spoil and Waſte, without which we cannot undertake any great Service.

“ VIII. You ſhall give Order, that your Ship may be kept clean daily, and ſometimes waſhed, which (with GOD's Favour) ſhall preſerve from Sickneſs, and avoid many other Inconveniences.

“ IX. You ſhall give Order and eſpecial Charge, that your Top-maſts be favoured, and the Heads of your Maſts, and that you have Care not to bear too high Sail, when your Ships go by the Wind, and eſpecially in a Head-ſea; for the Spoil of our Maſts may greatly hinder us, and endanger the Enterpriſes, which otherwiſe (with GOD's Help) we ſhould perform with Safety.

“ X. All ſuch as are in Ships under the Government - - - - - ge of a Squadron, ſhall, as near as in them lieth keep with it, and not for Chaſe of other Ships, or any other Cauſe, go from that Squadron, but by the Command of the Admiral of that Squadron; unleſs any of the two chief Generals ſhall ſend for them, or by Meſſage appointed them to any Service, or that by Weather they be ſeparated; and then, as they may, they ſhall endeavour to repair to the Place appointed by ſuch Inſtructions as ſhall be ſet down. And if there be any Sail perceived by any of the Ships of any Squadron, it ſhall be lawful for the next Ship, having the Wind, to give Chaſe, the Ship deſcried being to the Windward, and the like of any that ſhall be neareſt to bear up, if the Sail be deſcried to the Leeward. But becauſe, upon every Chaſe, all will be apt to follow the ſame, and ſo be led away upon every Occaſion from the Fleet, it ſhall not be lawful for any ſecond Ship to follow any Chaſe (one having undertaken the ſame) unleſs the Admiral of the Squadron hang out two Flags, one over another. If it be neceſſary that three do follow, then ſhall the General or Admiral of the Squadron hang out three Flags, one over another, which ſhall be for Warrant to the next and fitteſt to follow as aforeſaid. But if the Admiral bear up and come upon a Wind himſelf, then may all the Squadron give Chaſe and follow. Which if it ſhould ſeem convenient to any of the Lords Generals of the Army, if it pleaſe any of them to hang out the Flag of Council, the ſame may be a Warning that the Chaſe is miſliked, and that then all give over and keep their Courſe.

“ XI. Every Ship ſhall, towards the Evening, ſeek to come as near as conveniently ſhe may to ſpeak with the Admiral of the Squadron, to know his Pleaſure, and what Courſe he will keep, and that the Admiral of the Squadron do bear up, or ſtand upon a Wind to ſpeak with us, their Generals, if he conveniently may. The reſt of the Squadrons may, notwithſtanding, keep their Courſe and Diſtance. And if the Admiral of the Squadron cannot recover the Head of his Fleet before Night, the reſt ſhall then follow the Light of the Vice-admiral of the ſaid Squadron.

“ XII. That every Squadron keep a good Breadth, one from another, and that the Squadrons do, in themſelves, keep a reaſonable Breadth, one from another, that they fall not foul one of another, whereby Danger may grow; and that the great Ships have eſpecial Regard not to calm the ſmaller Ships; and if any of theſe ſmaller Ships ſhall negligently bring themſelves in Danger of the greater Ships, the Captain and Maſters eſpecially ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. And farther, that either the Admiral or Rear-admiral of the Squadron be always in the Rearward of his Fleet.

“ XIII. When there is a Flag of Council of the Red-croſs out, in either of one of the two Generals Ships, half Maſt-high, againſt the Main-mizzen, then the Captains and Maſters of every Ship ſhall repair on-board that Ship, where the Flag is ſo hung out. And when the Flag of Arms ſhall be diſplayed, then ſhall the ſelected Council only come aboard.

“ XIV. If your Ship happen to ſpring a Maſt, to fall into a Leak, or ſuch Miſchance (which GOD forbid) you ſhall ſhoot off a Piece, and ſpring a-looſe. If it be in the Night you ſhall ſhoot off two Pieces, and bear two great Lights, one a Man's Height and a half above another.

“ XV. Every Captain and Maſter of the Fleet ſhall have a ſpecial Regard that no Contention be found betwixt the Mariners and the Soldiers; and in Time of Sickneſs (if any do happen amongſt you) you ſhall, of ſuch good Things as are to be had and are needful for them, diſtribute unto them in ſuch convenient Sort as you may.

“ XVI. If you happen to loſe Company, your Token ſhall be - - - Main-top-ſail twice; if it be foul Weather, th - - - - ſtrike your Main-mizzen twice, or as often as you liſt - - - nder - - - - - re your White-pendant, on your Mizzen-yard. And if you ſhall be of the Company of us, your Generals, you ſhall find us at ſuch Place, as we will give you Inſtructions for at Sea.

“ XVII. If in Chaſing of any Ship, you happen to fetch her up, if ſhe be a Ship in Amity with her Majeſty, you ſhall treat her well, and bring her to us. But if you find her to be an Enemy, you ſhall make no Spoil of the Goods in her; but ſhall take the Captain and Maſter of her aboard you, and put into her ſome ſufficient Perſons to bring her forthwith unto us, your Generals, or to ſuch as we ſhall aſſign, that Order may be taken what ſhall be done with her.

“ XVIII. When you ſhall be appointed to give Chaſe, and that you ſhall ſurpriſe any Enemy's Ship that ſhall have Treaſure or Merchandiſe of Value in her, you ſhall take great Care that thoſe Commodities in her be preſerved; in reſpect whereof, and for your loyal and faithful Services to be done, in this Voyage, her Majeſty's Favour, Bounty and Pleaſure is, that a third Part of that which ſhall be taken from the Enemy, ſo it be not the King's Treaſure, Jewels, or a Carrack, ſhall be employed to the Commodity and Benefit of the whole Company, over and above his ordinary Wages, according to his Deſert.

“ XIX. No Captain or Maſter ſhall ſuffer any Spoil to be made aboard any Ship or Bark that ſhall be taken by them, or any of their Companies, upon Pain to be diſplaced of their Offices, or ſome great Puniſhment, according to the Offence given; becauſe the reſt of the Company have Intereſt in every Thing that ſhall be taken. Therefore the Value of every ſuch Thing, be it of great or ſmall Importance, muſt eſpecially be regarded and conſidered of. And whatſoever Soldier or Mariner, that obeyeth not accordingly, ſhall be diſpoiled of that which he hath gotten, and his Perſon extremely puniſhed.

“ XX. Whoſoever ſhall enter aboard any Ship, he ſhall give Account of thoſe Things which ſhall be wanting and taken out of her; for that no other Company ſhall board her, unleſs there ſhall be Need of their Help.

“ XXI. If we happen to meet with any great Fleet, ſuppoſed to be the Army of the King of *Spain*, you ſhall endeavour yourſelf to come as near us, Generals, or to the Admiral of your Squadron, or in our Abſence, to the Vice-admiral or Rear-admiral of the Fleet, to know what you ſhall be directed unto, as you will anſwer it upon the Peril of your Lives.

“ XXII. The Watch ſhall be ſet every Night, by eight of the Clock, either by Trumpet or Drum, and ſinging the Lord's Prayer, ſome of the Pſalms of *David*, or clearing the Glaſs. And after the Watch is ſet, no Trumpet or Drum ſhall be heard, or any Piece whatſoever ſhall be ſhot off, without ſuch great Cauſe be offered, as is before ſignified, or ſuch like.

“ XXIII. You are to take eſpecial Care of your Watch by Night, and that the Soldiers do watch, as well in Harbour as at the Seas, one third Part of them every Night, and that there be a Captain of the Watch appointed, who ſhall take Care that no Fire or Light be ſuffered, but only ſuch Candles in Lanthorns as are allowed to the Quarter-maſters, or otherwiſe upon Neceſſity; and that in Harbour, a certain Number be appointed to keep diligent Watch in the Fore-caſtle or

“ Beak-head of your Ships, for fear of cutting of Cables, which is a Practice much uſed in hot Countries.

“ XXIV. If at any Time the Generals have Occaſion to order a Chaſe, and that Order be given to any other Ships - - - - - - - - - - - their Flags, until their Return unto the Fleet, all the - - - - - ſhall follow the Flag, in what Ship ſoever it be placed; and that whatſoever Ship ſhall be next, the ſame ſhall take up our, your Generals Boats, when we give Chaſe, or the Boats of any of the Admirals of Squadrons or others whatſoever.

“ XXV. No Man, upon Pain of Death, ſhall preſume to land in any Country, until his Return into *England*, without Order from us, your Generals, or ſuch as we ſhall appoint to command.

“ XXVI. No Perſon ſhall depart out of the Ship wherein he is placed, into another, without ſpecial Leave of his Captain; and no Captain or Maſter ſhall receive any ſuch Perſon, without the Knowledge of us, your Generals, or ſuch as we ſhall appoint.

“ XXVII. In Fogs (if any happen) when your Ships are becalmed, you ſhall cauſe ſome Noiſe to be made, by Drum, by Trumpet, by ſhooting off a Muſket or Calliver, now and then, or by ſome other like Means, that hearing you to be near every one may take Heed, leſt he falls foul of another.

“ XXVIII. No Perſon whatſoever ſhall dare to ſtrike any Captain, Lieutenant, Maſter, or other Officer, upon Pain of Death. And, farthermore, whatſoever he be that ſhall ſtrike any inferior Perſon, he ſhall receive Puniſhment, according to the Offence given, be it by Death or otherwiſe.

“ XXIX. There ſhall be no Report or Talk raiſed in the Fleet, wherein any Officer or Gentleman in the ſame may be touched in Reputation; or Matter of Importance ſpoken, without his Author, who ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, as an evil Member amongſt us.

The Sum of her Majeſty's Inſtructions and Orders may be reduced to theſe following.

“ To make a ſtrict Enquiry into the Quantity of Proviſions, that were laid up in the *Spaniſh* Ships of Warehouſes, to be made Uſe of againſt *England* and *Ireland*, or ſent to *Calais*, and to do what they could to intercept or deſtroy them, as alſo the Enemy's Ships, ſo far as might be done, without running too great a Riſque on their own Side. For (as ſhe often uſed to ſay) ſhe had much rather her Men ſhould be reſerved for the Defence of their own Country, than puſhed upon the common Hazards of War, where little was to be got either of Honour or Advantage. That what Towns ſoever they took, they ſhould ſpare the Women, and thoſe that were very young, or elſe decrepit, and put none to the Sword but ſuch as made Oppoſition. That the Spoil and Plunder ſhould be kept ſafe, to make good the Expences of the War, and to reward thoſe that acted bravely. That the Gentlemen of the Council ſhould faithfully deliver their Advices and Opinions, without dividing into Sides and Parties; and that the Plurality of Votes ſhould always determine it. That when they had deſtroyed what Ship or Proviſions they could, belonging to the Enemy, they ſhould ſend out ſome Men of War to intercept the *Indian* Carracks, if they received any Intelligence of their coming.”

Before they departed from *Plymouth*, a Manifeſto was printed and publiſhed, in *French*, *Italian*, *Dutch* and *Spaniſh*, ſhewing the juſt and urgent Reaſons, why the Queen, at this Time, ſet forth ſo great a Navy; and threatning all Nations, which ſhould any way aſſiſt the *Spaniards* againſt them.

The Contents of this Manifeſto were as follows:

To all Chriſtian People, to whom this Declaration ſhall come, to be read or heard, Greeting.

“ We *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Ewe*, Viſcount *Hereford*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Bourchier*, and *Louvain*, &c. and *Charles* Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord High admiral of *England*, &c. having the Charge of a royal Navy of Ships, prepared and ſent to the Seas, by the moſt excellent Princeſs, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. do give all Men Knowledge, that the ſaid Navy, under our Charge, is by her Majeſty prepared, and ſent to ſerve on the Seas, for Defence of her Majeſty's Realms, Dominions and Subjects, againſt ſuch mighty Forces as we are advertiſed, from all Parts of Chriſtendom, to be already prepared by the King of *Spain*, and by farther Proviſions of Men and Ships, daily ſent for, are to be mightily increaſed, to invade her Majeſty's Realms, as heretofore in the Year 1588, was attempted (even when there was a Treaty continued by both their Majeſties for Peace) with a greater Army than ever before, in his Time, was ſet to Seas; though, by GOD's Goodneſs, and the Valour and Wiſdom of her noble and faithful Subjects, the ſame was notably made fruſtrate. And becauſe her Majeſty hath good Intelligence of perfect Amity with all Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom, ſaving with the King of *Spain*, who hath theſe many Years moſt unjuſtly profeſſed openly great Enmity, by divers Actions, both againſt her royal Perſon, and her People and Countries, without any juſt Cauſe firſt given, on her Majeſty's Part. Therefore we the ſaid Earl, and Lord admiral, do aſcertain all Perſons, that we are moſt ſtrictly commanded, by her excellent Majeſty, to forbear from offending in this our Voyage, of any Manner of Perſons, of what Nation ſoever, except the ſaid King's natural Subjects, or ſuch other born Strangers, as ſhall give to the ſaid King manifeſt Aid, with Men, Ships, Artillery, Victuals, and other warlike Proviſions, for Invaſion of her Majeſty. Which her Majeſty's Command we mean dutifully to obſerve, and do therefore give ſtrict Charge to all Perſons, that ſhall ſerve in this Navy, underneath us, upon Pain of extreme Puniſhment, to obſerve the ſame; yet to avoid all Occaſions, that may breed Queſtion, who they are, being not the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, that ſhall be charged by us, to be manifeſt Aiders for the furniſhing and ſtrengthening of the ſaid King's Forces, provided either by Land or Sea, to attempt any Invaſion of her Majeſty's Countries; we do, for the Liquidation of this Doubt, earneſtly, in GOD's Name, require and charge all Perſons, that are not the ſaid King's natural Subjects, and yet that have given him Aid with their Ships, Victuals and Munition, as is aboveſaid, to withdraw all their ſaid Ships, prepared for the War, and all their Proviſions of Hoſtility out of any Havens of *Spain* or *Portugal*, or from the Company and Service of the King's Ships, againſt our Navy; and therewith to return, either to their own Countries, or if they ſhall like to come to our Navy, to whom, in the reverend Name of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majeſty, we do promiſe all Security, both for their Perſons and Goods, to be uſed and defended as Friends, and to ſuffer all their Ships and Proviſions, that were taken by the King of *Spain*, or intended for his Service, or that ſhall be, by the Owners, withdrawn from his Aid, to remain in their free Diſpoſition, ſo as the ſame be uſed in all ſorts as Friends, and not as Enemies to the Queen's Majeſty, and to us her Generals; and if any ſhall, upon Knowledge of this her Majeſty's moſt honourable Order, and of our Promiſe (to obſerve the ſame as favourably as we may) willingly and manifeſtly refuſe to accept this our Offer, and ſhall not endeavour themſelves to perform this reaſonable Requeſt, tending to their Good and Liberty; we ſhall then be juſtly moved, as by the Law of Arms we may, to take and uſe all ſuch ſo refuſing this our Offer, as manifeſt Aiders of the King of *Spain*, with Forces to invade her Majeſty's Dominions, and ſo manifeſt Enemies: And in ſuch Caſe of that Refuſal, if any Harm ſhall happen, by any Attempt againſt their Perſons, Ships and Goods, by any our Navy, for the Aiding of the ſaid King, there ſhall be no juſt Cauſe for them hereafter to complain, or to procure their natural Princes and Lords to ſollicit Reſtitutions or Amends for the ſame. And for the more Notification hereof, we have thought good to have the Original hereof, to be ſigned with our Hands, and with our Seals, to be ſeen by any that will require to read or

“ ſee the ſame: And likewiſe we have put the ſame in
“ Print, in *French*, *Italian*, *Dutch* and *Spaniſh*, and have
“ alſo cauſed the ſame to be diſtributed, into as many
“ Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as conveniently might be,
“ for the better Knowledge to be had, in the ſaid Ports,
“ as alſo in all other Ports, under his Subjection.”

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

The Fleet ſet ſail the firſt of *June* from *Plymouth*, and their Departure was the more the ſpeedy, by reaſon of the great Pains, Care and Induſtry of the 16 chief Commanders of the Fleet, who, in their own Perſons, laboured the Night before to get out ſome, (Sir *William Monſon* ſays 100) of their Ships, under their Command, riding at Catwater, which otherwiſe had not eaſily been effected. The third they ſet ſail from *Canſom-bay*; the Wind which, when they weighed, was at Weſt and by South, inſtantly caſt up to the North-eaſt, and ſo continued till it brought them up as high as Cape *Finiſterre*, the North-cape of *Spain*.

Being now going upon the Enemy's Coaſt, it behooved the Generals to be vigilant in keeping them from having any Intelligence of them. They therefore appointed the *Litnes*, the *True-love*, and the *Lion's Whelp* (the three choiceſt Sailors of the whole Fleet) to run a-head. And kept at a Diſtance from the Coaſts of *France* and *Spain*, for fear of alarming the *Spaniards*.

On the 10th of *June* the three Ships above-mentioned, two of which were commanded by Sir *Richard Leviſon*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, took three Fly-boats of *Hamburg*, which came from *Cadiz* 14 Days before. By them they underſtood the State of the Town, and that they had no Suſpicion of the *Engliſh*.

On the 12th of *June* the *Swan*, a Ship of *London*, commanded by Sir *Richard Weſton*, being ordered, as the other three, to keep a good way off the Fleet to prevent Diſcovery, ſhe met with a *Flemiſh* Fly-boat, which made Reſiſtance, and after a warm Engagement, which laſted ſome Time, eſcaped her. This Fly-boat came from the *Streights*, bound home, who diſcovering our Fleet, thinking to gain Reputation and Reward from the *Spaniards*, ſhaped her Courſe for *Liſbon*; but ſhe was luckily prevented by the *John* and *Francis*, another Ship of *London*, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Dorrell*, who took her the next Day, within a League of the Shore.

On the 18th they met with an *Iriſh* Veſſel, returning from the Port of *Cadiz*. He informed them the *Spaniards* were not alarm'd, and that the Port was full of Men of War, Gallies, Galleons, and Merchant-men, richly loaded for the *Indies*; and that they had no Forces on the Iſland, excepting a ſmall Garriſon.

Arriving at *Cadiz*, the Fleet came to an Anchor before *St. Sebaſtian's*; whereupon, as ſoon as the Tide came in, the *Spaniſh* Ships of War ran up to the *Puntal*, and the Merchants-ſhips over to *Port-Real*. A Council of War being held on-board the *Engliſh* Fleet, it was reſolved to attack the Enemy with the lighteſt and nimbleſt Ships, and that the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Robert Croſs*, with ſome others, ſhould execute this Service, who courageouſly paſſing by the Fire of the Town, bore up towards the *Spaniſh* Ships, ſeveral of which endeavoured to preſerve themſelves by Flight, and making the beſt of their Way to the Bottom of the Bay, where the Iſland of *Cadiz* is joined to the Continent by the Bridge of *Suaco*, were conveyed by a Machine through a narrow Channel into the Sea on the South Side of the Iſland, except only two or three of them that were prevented from eſcaping by Sir *John Wingfield* in the *Vanguard*. However many of the Galleons and Gallies kept their Station at the *Puntal*, and received the Broadſides of the *Engliſh*, which they returned for ſome time with equal Fury; but were at length ſo ſhattered and diſabled, and had ſo many Men killed, that the *Spaniards* thinking them no longer tenable ſet them on-fire, with ſuch Precipitation, that great Multitudes of Men were forced to throw themſelves into the Sea, where they muſt have miſerably periſhed, had they not been generouſly relieved and taken up by the *Engliſh*. At the ſame time the *Spaniſh* Admiral called the *St. Philip*, a Ship of 1500 Tons, was blown up by a *Mooriſh* Slave's ſetting fire to the Gunpowder, which deſtroyed two or three other Ships that lay near. The *Dutch* bravely attacked and carried the Fort of *Puntal*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* preſently landed with a Body of Troops to attempt the City on the Land-ſide, while the Ships ſhould do the like from the Sea, by whoſe joint Efforts the Town was taken in a few Hours, and the Caſtle ſurrender'd next Day upon Terms.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the mean while, was ordered to go over with ſome of the lighteſt Frigates to *Port-Real*, to deſtroy the Fleet of Merchant-ſhips which had retreated thither, to whom was offered a Ranſom for them of 2,000,000 of Ducats; but while the Lord Admiral was conſulted about it, who refuſed to ſave them on any Terms, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, who commanded in thoſe Parts, ſaved the *Engliſh* the Labour, and ſet them on-fire himſelf; by which the King of *Spain* loſt in Shipping, Money and Proviſions, to the Value of above 20,000,000 of Ducats. The *Engliſh* being now in full Poſſeſſion of the Town and Caſtle of *Cadiz*, the Earl of *Eſſex* was for maintaining the ſame, which he offered to do with only 400 Men and three Months Proviſions; and with him concurred Sir *Francis Vere*, and the *Dutch* Admiral *Duvenvoord*; but the Lord High-admiral, with all the other Commanders, being utterly averſe thereto, after they had plundered the Iſland, demoliſhed the Forts, and burnt down ſeveral Houſes in the City, the Fleet ſet Sail from thence, and repaired to *Faro* in the *Algarve*, which Place they found deſerted by the Inhabitants. After which the Earl of *Eſſex* propoſed they ſhould repair to the *Azores*, and there to lay in wait for the *Eaſt-India* Carracks. But not one of the other Officers would give his Conſent to it, except the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the *Dutch* Admiral; ſo much had the Fear of loſing what they had gained got the Aſcendant over every one. Upon this, the Earl made a Propoſal, that the Land-forces, and thoſe Veſſels which were but ſlenderly provided, or had a great Number of ſick Perſons in them, or the like, might be ſent home to *England*, and that himſelf, with two of her Majeſty's Ships, and ten other Veſſels, might ſail for the *Azores*; but even to that no Ear would be given. When he found that no good was to be done here, he made a Propoſal for every Man to deliver his Opinion in Writing, that ſo no particular Perſon might bear the Blame; and at length he prevailed with them to repair to the *Groyne*, where there was not ſo much as a ſingle Ship, no more than in the neighbouring Port of *Ferrol*. He was very deſirous to have made an Attack nevertheleſs on the *Groyne*, or to have attacked the *Spaniſh* Ships in the Port of *St. Andrew*, or *St. Sebaſtian's*, in which the *Dutch* Officers agreed with him; but they were again over-ruled in every one of theſe Articles by the Lord High-admiral, and the other Officers. Upon this the Fleet made the beſt of its Way home, and arrived in Safety, bringing with them, as Marks of their Triumph, two Galleons, and 100 Braſs-guns, with a very rich and valuable Booty; of which however neither the Public, nor the Adventurers, had any great Share.

Whatever or whoſeſoever the Booty was, the *Spaniards* were the Sufferers; for they had deſtroyed 11 of the King's Ships of War, beſides their *Indian* Merchant-men, and other Ships, which were richly laden, and a vaſt Quantity of Proviſions and Stores, both for Sea and Land-ſervice; amounting, by Computation, to the large Sum I have already mentioned.

With what Senſe of Gratitude the Queen received an Account of theſe Services, I cannot better expreſs than in her Majeſty's own Words.

A COPY *of her Majeſty's Letter to the two Lords Generals,*

“ If my Pen had as many Tongues as the Flock of
“ Owners had Feathers, they ſhall ſcarce expreſs the Lauds
“ that my Soul yieldeth to the Higheſt for this great Vic-
“ tory, which his graceful Hand hath given us; and that
“ you, as his Inſtruments, have ſo admirably, in ſo few
“ Hours, with ſuch Valour, Order and Reſolution, per-
“ formed ſo great an Action; of which ſort I ſuppoſe has
“ not been found or ſeen a Fellow. My Head can ſcarce

invent Words ſufficing my thankful Acceptance, nor Thanks enough for ſuch Demerit. This only yet remains - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - that my ſingle Care of your Lives and Surety hath made me drink ſo deep of *Lethe*'s Flood, that I neither cared nor recked of what might elſe befal, which tho' not the beſt beſtowed, when it was ſo neglected, yet it approves my - - - - - - - - - - - - - - muſt abide; ſince for ſuch two I did it. You have made me famous, dreadful and renowned, not more for your Victory, than for your Courage; nor more for either, than for ſuch plentiful Liquor of Mercy, which may well match the better of the two. In which you have ſo well performed my Truſt, as thereby I ſee I was not forgotten amongſt you. You have ſo pleaſed my Mind therewith, as if I had a great Treaſure I would leave it for it. Never was there heard in ſo few Days ſo great a Gain obtained, which tho' I do attribute moſt to the Fore-runners, yet I charge you let the Army know, both of Sea and Land, that I care not ſo much for being Queen, as that I am the Sovereign of ſuch Subjects, that blaſt my Fame with their Worth, and paſſeth not, nor wiſheth not more Days to breathe, than while ſuch People may flouriſh, and deſires to end afore any Diſaſter or Diſhonour fall on ſuch a Nation. This tell them from her, whoſe Thoughts and Words never diſagreed, and yield them ſuch due Praiſe, as Papers cannot utter, but my Heart, while it laſteth, ſhall keep from Oblivion. Among all divine Bleſſings, I count it not the leaſt, that your Healths nor your Harms may ſlack your ſafe Return, for which whoſo hath prayed moſt, hath never gained a Straw-breadth of me. Some other Things material you ſhall receive from others, which look you well to; for, among much to do, much may be undone; but yet look to the Stake. And ſo I end, with my never leaving my Oraiſons for your beſt.”

A Copy *of the Council's Letter to the L. L. Admirals, the 10th of* Auguſt 1596.

“After our very hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhips, her Majeſty being given to underſtand, as well from your Lordſhips, of your Return, as otherwiſe, that your Lordſhips, and the Ships that were with you, in this Voyage, are already arrived at *Plymouth*, or will be there before this our Letter can come to your Hands, upon the diſſolving of this Army, conſiſting of Land-ſoldiers and of Mariners, her Majeſty hath entred into Conſideration how they are now to be diſpoſed, without continuance in Charge. Wherein firſt we are commanded by her Majeſty to let your Lordſhips know, how greatly it is to her Majeſty's miſliking, that ſhe ſhould be now ſolicited to be put to any farther Expences for defraying of the Wages of theſe Soldiers and Mariners, remembring the aſſured Promiſes, which her Highneſs ſays, ſhe received, with ſo earneſt Proteſtations from both your Lordſhips, not only to ſee her eaſed of that Burthen, but of aſſured Hope of great Profit and Gain, to defray theſe and all other incident Charges, and to anſwer the precedent Expences, whereat her Majeſty hath been. So as her Majeſty ſays ſhe was, by your Perſuaſions drawn very hardly to diſburſe aforehand the Sum of above 50,000 *l.* Whereto her Majeſty adds, as a great Burthen to her Realm, the Charges the Port-towns, and eſpecially the City of *London*, were put unto in Proviſions, Manning and Victualling of the Ships ſet forth by them, whereof they were in expectation to be Gainers for their Adventures, and not Loſers. And therefore her Majeſty ſays, if ſhe ſhall now be driven to farther Expences, ſhe ſhall be greatly deceived in her Expectation, and the Aſſurances which you made her, without which ſhe would never have yielded to the Voyage. Now for the Order to be taken with the Land-ſoldiers, being accounted about the Number of 5000, of theſe 2200 which were drawn out of the Low-countries, are by her Majeſty reſolved to be ſent again, in the Shipping of that Country, to be conveyed back thither, to remain in thoſe Garriſons and Places where they were taken, as was promiſed by Sir *Francis Vere*, in her Majeſty's Name. Nevertheleſs, we are to put your Lordſhips in Remembrance of the former Direction, which we lately ſent to your Lordſhips by her Majeſty's ſpecial Command, which was to take Order that they ſhould be firſt duly ſearched, both their Perſons and the Ships, and ſo returned thither directly, without touching on-land here, where they which were before in her Majeſty's Pay ſhall receive the Wages due unto them, as before they did. For the other, being about 3000, her Majeſty willeth us to put your Lordſhip, the Earl of *Eſſex* in Mind, that there was 4000 *l.* impreſted to you, and the Lord Admiral, whereof her Majeſty is informed, that you, the Earl, had 2000 *l.* And therefore the ſaid Sum received by you, the Earl, ought to be employed towards the Pay of the Wages of thoſe Land-ſoldiers. And becauſe her Majeſty, by Letters, lately ſent out of *Ireland*, is earneſtly called upon by the Lord Deputy and Council there, to ſend ſpeedily ſome Supply of Soldiers thither, the Rebels continuing in their diſloyal Courſe, tho' the Earl of *Tyr-Oen* hath received his Pardon, therefore, as lately we wrote unto - - - - - - - - - - - - - becauſe her Majeſty is unwilling to burthen her Countries, with often Levies (having been of late greatly charged) and theſe Men are already in a Readineſs armed, and well prepared, her Majeſty doth require your Lordſhips to make Choice out of the ſaid 3000 Land-ſoldiers, that were levied here within the Realm, to the Number of 1500, or 1000 at the leaſt, that may be ſpeedily ſent into *Ireland*, with their Captains. For which Purpoſe there is Order ſent to Mr. *Darrell*, for a Proportion of Victuals to be provided, both to ſerve them in their Tranſportation, and after their Arrival there, for two Months farther. And upon Notice from your Lordſhips, of your Conſent hereto, there ſhall be preſent Direction given for the Charges of their Embarking, and to what Parts in that Realm they ſhall be directed. And to this End, we pray you, the Lord Admiral, to take Order for Shipping for their Tranſportation. Now concerning the other Part of your Lordſhip's Forces (conſiſting of Mariners and Seafaring Men) we are likewiſe to put you, the Lord Admiral, in mind, of the 2000 *l.* above-mentioned, remaining in your Hands. And therefore, tho' her Majeſty doth not doubt, of ſo great Prizage, as was made at *Cadiz*, but there will be ready Money found to a far greater Sum; yet with that 2000 *l.* your Lordſhip is to pay ſo far as it will extend. Firſt, thoſe that were impreſſed in theſe Weſt Parts, who before they be diſmiſſed (as all the reſt) are alſo to be ſearched, and finding any of them to have benefitted themſelves with the Spoil they had gotten, above the Value of their Wages, ſo much may be lawfully deducted of their Entertainment. Nevertheleſs, if your Lordſhip ſhall want Money to pay the Reſidue that are to be diſcharged there, your Lordſhips may take up there, of her Majeſty's Cuſtomers, or otherwiſe, to the Sum of 2 or 3000 *l.* if Cauſe ſhall ſo require, which ſhall be repaired again in ſuch ſort as you ſhall appoint; her Majeſty having given Order for the Sum of 5000 *l.* towards the Sea-charges. Whereof our Meaning is, that the Sum which you ſhall borrow there to the Diſcharge of the Mariners of thoſe Parts, ſhall be accounted as Part, and the reſt ſhall be ready at *Chatham*, as you, the Lord Admiral, do require, for the Mariners taken up in thoſe Parts. For all other Matters we muſt refer your Lordſhips to our late Letters, ſent by her Majeſty's ſpecial Direction, whereof we doubt not but you will have ſpecial Care how the ſame may be performed, according to her Majeſty's Expectation. And ſo we wiſh your good Lordſhips right heartily well to fare. From the Court at *Greenwich*, the 10th of *Auguſt* 1596.”

The Earl of *Eſſex* being apprehenſive that at his Return ſeveral Objections might be made to the Conduct of this Expedition, drew up a Writing, in which he himſelf ſtated them, together with his Anſwers to them. As they may give ſome Light to the Circumſtances of this Tranſaction, as above related, they may not be unacceptable to the Reader. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin them from a Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, which I have thought fit to tranſcribe in the very Words and Stile I found it in, altering only the obſolete Orthography, and adding in two or three Places a Particle, to render the Senſe more perſpicuous.

Objection I. "That the firſt and greateſt Occaſion let ſlip in our Voyage was, that we did not poſſeſs ourſelves of the Fleet that was bound for the *Indies*; the Loading whereof would not only have paid all Charges of the Journey, but have enabled us a great while to make War with *Spain*, with the Means of *Spain*."

Anſwer. "If I had been followed the firſt Morning of our coming before that Harbour, when I bore with it; or if we had entered the ſame, *Sunday* in the Afternoon, when we were under Sail, and within Cannon-ſhot of the Enemy's Fleet; or after the Men of War were taken and burnt the next Day, if any of our Shipping had gone up, as I urged by my own Speech, by Meſſage ſent to Sir *Anthony Aſhley* (who, being Secretary of War, was to record every Man's Services or Omiſſions) if any of theſe had been done, then, I ſay, had that Fleet been eaſily poſſeſſed; for the firſt Morning they had neither their Men on-board (as it was ſince confeſſed by our Priſoners) nor were they provided of any Council, what to do for their Preſervation. In the Afternoon of the ſame Day we had found the Men of War and the Merchant-ſhips all together, in one Body, and engaged them both at once; ſo as at the ſame Time as we had defeated the one, we had poſſeſſed the other; and the next Day, preſently upon the Fight and Victory againſt the King's Ships, we had found them all ſo amazed and confounded, as they would have thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves, and we had taken the Ships and the Riches in them, and the Fleet of Gallies, without ſtriking a Blow; as our Priſoners and Captives, redeemed out of the ſaid Gallies, have aſſured us. But the firſt Morning when I bore with the Harbour, almoſt all the Fleet came to an Anchor by the Point of *St. Sebaſtian's*, a League wide of me, and gave the Enemy leiſure to ſend Men and all Neceſſaries aboard. When I was going in, in the Afternoon, I could neither get my Company to weigh their Anchors, nor moſt of thoſe that were weighed to go in with me; and the next Day I had much ado to make our Ships fight at all. And when GOD had given us Victory, neither my Perſuaſions nor Proteſtations could make them that were Sea-commanders go up, or ſend to poſſeſs the Fleet of the *Indies*, whilſt we aſſailed the Town, ſo as that the Enemy had almoſt 48 Hours to burn his own Ships."

Objection II. "That we did abandon *Cadiz* when we were poſſeſſed of it, whereas the holding of it would not only have been a Nail in the Foot of this great Monarchy, but in his Side, and have ſerved for a Diverſion of all the Wars in thoſe Parts."

Anſwer. "Some of our Sea-commanders, and eſpecially my Colleague, did not only oppoſe themſelves to that Deſign (whoſe Oppoſitions my Inſtructions made an abſolute Bar) but when we came to ſee how the Force was, that ſhould be left there, and - - - - - - - - - and every Ship at that Inſtant began to fear their Wants, and to talk of going home; ſo that I neither could have had one Ship to ſtay at *Cadiz*, nor Victuals for the Garriſon for two Months; and therefore was forced to leave *Cadiz*, and did not chooſe to abandon it."

Objection III. "That we did not lie for the Carracks and *Indian* Ships, ſince we were on the Coaſt, at the very Time that is thought fitteſt for the intercepting, and the uſual Time of their Return."

Anſwer. "I muſt firſt cite the Teſtimony of all our Commanders, by Land and Sea, that when we had, at our Return from *Cadiz*, doubled the Cape *St. Vincent*, commonly called the South Cape, I urged our going to the Iſlands of the *Azores*; founding myſelf upon theſe two Reaſons: Firſt, that it was more certain to attend them at the Land, where we were aſſured they muſt touch, than to ſeek them in the wide Sea; and next, That the Advices ſent out of *Spain* and *Portugal*, ſince our being on the Coaſt, might meet them amongſt the Iſlands, and make them alter their uſual Courſe from thence, but could hardly find them beyond, and divert them from coming thither. Beſides, the *Spaniards*, after they ſaw us engaged at *Cadiz*, would never ſuſpect or dream of our going to the Iſlands. And when this Counſel was rejected, and we came in ſight of *Liſbon*, I then preſſed again the lying for them, with a ſelected Fleet; and offered, on that Condition, to ſend home the Land-forces, and all ſuch Ships, as Want of Victuals, Leaks, Sickneſs, or any thing elſe whatſoever, had made unfit to ſtay out at Sea. But firſt the Lord Admiral, and then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, did directly, by Atteſtation under their Hands, contradict the firſt Propoſal that I made, that ſome Ships ſhould attend the Service; and when we came to that of thoſe Ships which were fit, and their Captains content to ſtay out (except the Low-country Squadron) there could be found but two, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and myſelf; ſo as by the whole Council at War it was reſolved, that as well my Offer and Opinion, as every Man's elſe amongſt us, ſhould be kept under his Hand, for our particular Diſcharge, and to be barred of ſtaying, except the Lord Admiral would aſſent to leave ſome eight or ten of the Merchant-ſhips, beſides two of the Queen's, which he refuſed, and ſo our Deſign was broke off."

Objection IV. "That ſince all our Service conſiſted in taking and deſtroying the *Spaniſh* Shipping and Sea-proviſions, why did we not look into all his chief Ports, and do him in that kind as much Hurt as we might have done."

Anſwer. "My End in going to *Cadiz* was not only becauſe it was a principal Port, and the likelieſt to be held by us, becauſe of the Seat and natural Strength of it; but alſo with it we might (if ſome greater Service did not divert us) go to all the good Ports betwixt that and the nethermoſt Parts of *Biſcay*, which was a better Way than to have began and given the Enemy Alarm in the midſt of his Country, or the neareſt Part to us; for ſo our Attempts would have been more difficult, and our Retreats at laſt from thoſe fartheſt Parts leſs ſafe, conſidering the Wants, Infections, and other Inconveniences, that for the moſt part do accompany the Retreats of our Fleets and Armies in long Journies. But after we had ended at *Cadiz*, it was by all our Seamen thought a capital Offence to name the paſſing over the Bar of *St. Lucar*. Betwixt *St. Lucar* and *Liſbon* there was no good Port. From *Liſbon* I was barred by Name in my Inſtructions; and if it had been free for us to have gone, yet our Seamen were made of the ſame Stuff that Sir *Francis Drake* and his Company were, when they loſt the Occaſion of taking *Liſbon*, for fear of paſſing by the Caſtle of *St. Julians*. From *Liſbon* to the *Groyne*, there is no Port to hold the King's, or any other great Shipping. To the *Groyne*, with Cart-ropes I drew them; for I both vowed and proteſted againſt their Refuſal, and parted Company with them, when they offered to hold on their Courſe; but when we came to the Mouth of the Harbour, and ſent in ſome of the ſmall Veſſels, we ſaw there was nothing there, nor yet at *Ferrol*; for into that Port alſo we made our Diſcoveries to look. After which Diſcovery we held our laſt Council, and then I urged of going to *St. Andrew*'s - - - - - - Paſſage, *St. Sebaſtian*'s, and all the good Ports all along the Coaſt; but my Aſſociate did abſolutely refuſe to go farther along the Coaſt, complaining of Wants, and objected our being embayed, and I know not what: In which Opinion Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſtrengthned him; and they were both deſirous to take upon them the Honour of breaking the Deſign; and of landing at the *Groyne*, or attempting the Town, they would not hear by any means; and preſently every Man tried to ſet Sail homewards, ſince which time they have made ſuch Haſte, as I, tarrying to bring along with me the *St. Andrew*, taken at *Cadiz*, and the Fly-boat that carried our Artillery. I have loſt them all, ſaving Monſieur *Duvenvoord*, Sir —— *Wormot*, and his Squadron, and ſome few ſmall Ships."

Sir William Monſon's *Account, and Reflections on this Expedition.*

“Since (ſays Sir *William*) I have undertaken to except againſt the Overſights committed in any of our *Engliſh* Voyages; ſuch as were committed here ſhall, without Fear or Flattery, appear to the judicious Reader.

“Tho' the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Forwardneſs and Carriage merited much, yet if it had been with more Deliberation and leſs Haſte, it would have ſucceeded better; and if he were now living, he would confeſs Sir *William Monſon* adviſed him rather to ſeek to be Maſter of the Ships than of the Town; for it was they that would afford both Wealth and Honour; for the Riches in the Ships could not be concealed nor conveyed away, as in the Town they might. The Ships themſelves, being brought for *England*, would be always before Mens Eyes there, and put them in Remembrance of the Greatneſs of the Exploit; as for the Town, it might perhaps be ſoon won, but probably not long enjoyed, and ſo it could be quickly forgot. And to ſpeak indifferently, the Earl's ſudden Landing, without the Lord Admiral's Privity, and his giving Advice by a Meſſage to attempt the Ships, which ſhould have been reſolved by a mature Deliberation, no doubt but the Lord Admiral found his Honour a little eclipſed, and perhaps did haſten his Landing, for his Reputation Sake, when he thought it more Reaſon to have poſſeſſed the Fleet.

“Before the Lord Admiral could draw near the Town, the Earl of *Eſſex* had entered it, and altho' their Houſes were built in ſuch manner, that every Houſe ſerved for a Platform, yet they were forced to quit them, and to retire into the Caſtle.

“My Lord, at laſt, in deſpite of the Enemy, gained the Market-place, where he found the greateſt Reſiſtance from the Houſes thereabouts; and here it was that worthy Gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was ſlain.”

Sir *William Monſon* in another Place gives the following Account of this brave Officer's Death. “My Lord of *Eſſex* (ſays he) having made his Way thro' the Town, came at laſt to the Market-place, where he found the greateſt and ſharpeſt Reſiſtance from the Houſes thereabouts, that ſorely flanked him, which way ſoever he paſſed or looked, and one Houſe, more than the reſt, ſeemed moſt dangerous; whereupon I deſired my Lord to ſpare me 50 old Soldiers of the Low-countries, to give an Aſſault upon that Houſe; which his Lordſhip granted, and I performed and took it. In that Conflict I was ſhot with a Muſket-ball thro' my Scarf and Breeches, and the Handle and Pommel of my Sword ſhot from my Side, without any farther Hurt. As I ſtooped for my Handle and Pommel of my Sword, Sir *John Wingfield* was next to me on-horſeback, who had received a Hurt in his Thigh a little before; and as he was aſking me how I did (fearing I was ſorely wounded by my ſtooping) he was ſhot with a Bullet in the Head, and ſuddenly fell down dead, and theſe were the laſt Words he ever ſpoke.

“The Lord General *Eſſex* cauſed the Drum to ſound thro' the whole Town, that all thoſe who would yield ſhould repair to the Town-houſe, where they ſhould have Promiſe of Mercy, and thoſe that would not, to expect no Favour. The Caſtle deſired Reſpite to conſider until the Morning following, and then by one general Conſent they ſurrendered themſelves to the two Lords Generals Mercy. The chief Priſoners, Men and Women, were brought into the Caſtle, where they remained a little Space, and were ſent away with honourable Uſage. The noble treating of the Priſoners hath gained an everlaſting Honour to our Nation, and to the Generals in particular.

“It cannot be ſuppoſed the Lord Generals had leiſure to be idle the Day following, having ſo great Buſineſs to conſider of, as the ſecuring the Town, and enjoying the Merchant-ſhips; therefore, for the ſpeedier Diſpatch of their Buſineſs, they treated with the beſt Men in the City what Ranſom ſhould be given for their Town and Liberties. One (he ſhould have ſaid five or ſix) Hundred and twenty Thouſand Ducats was concluded upon; and for Security thereof, many of themſelves became Hoſtages. There was likewiſe an Overture for the Ranſom of their Ships and Goods, which the Duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we ſhould reap any Advantage by them, he cauſed them to be fired.

“We found by Experience, that the deſtroying of this Fleet (which did amount to the Value of 6 or 7,000,000) was the general impoveriſhing of the whole Country; for when the Pledges were ſent to *Seville* to take up Money for their Redemption, they were anſwered, that all the Town was not able to raiſe ſuch a Sum; ſo great was their Loſs by the Deſtruction of their Fleet. And to ſpeak indifferently, *Spain* never received ſo great an Overthrow, ſo great a Spoil, and ſo great an Indignity at our Hands as this: For our Attempt was at his own home, in his Port, that he thought ſo ſafe as his Chamber; where we took and deſtroyed his Ships of War, burnt and conſumed the Wealth of his Merchants, ſacked his City, ranſomed his Subjects, and entered his Country, without Oppoſition.

“To write all the Circumſtances of this Voyage were too tedious, and would weary the Reader: but he that would deſire to know the Behaviour of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, may confer with divers *Engliſhmen* that were redeemed out of the Gallies in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

“After we had enjoyed the Town of *Cadiz* a Fortnight, and that all Men were grown rich by the Spoil of it, the Generals embarked their Army, with an Intent to perform great Services before their Return; but ſuch was the Covetouſneſs of the better Sort, who were enriched there, and the Fear of Hunger in others, who complained for Want of Victuals, as they could not willingly be drawn to any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted was *Faro*, a Town of *Algarva* in *Portugal*, a Place of no Reſiſtance or Wealth, only famous for the Library of *Oſorius*, who was Biſhop of that Place, which Library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the Books beſtowed upon the new erected Library of *Oxford*.

“Some Priſoners were taken, but of ſmall Account; they diſcovered that the greateſt Strength of the Country was in *Lagos*, the chief Town of *Algarva*, twelve Miles diſtant from thence; they commended that Place for Strength, and the rather, becauſe moſt Part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good, expecting our coming. This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Eſſex*, who preferred Honour before Wealth; and having had his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Faro*, and the Country thereabouts, he went on-board again with his Army, and took Counſel of the Lord Admiral, how to proceed after: My Lord Admiral diverted his Purpoſe for *Lagos*, alledging the Place was ſtrong, of no Wealth, always held in the Nature of a Fiſhing-town, belonging to the *Portugueſe*, who in their Hearts were our Friends; that the winning of it, after ſo eminent a Place as *Cadiz*, could add no Honour; and if it ſhould be carried, yet it would be the Loſs of his beſt Troops and Gentlemen, who would rather deſire to die, than to receive the Indignity of a Repulſe. My Lord of *Eſſex*, much againſt his Will, was forced to yield to theſe Reaſons, and deſiſt from that Enterprize.

“About this Time there was a general Complaint for want of Victuals, which proceeded rather out of a Deſire that ſome had to be at home, than out of any Neceſſity; for Sir *William Monſon* and Mr. *Dorrell* were appointed to examine the State of every Ship, and found ſeven Weeks Proviſions, (Drink excepted) which might have been ſupplied from the Shore in Water; and this put the Generals in great hopes to perform ſomething more than they had done. The only Service that was now to be thought on, was lying in wait for the Carracks, which in all Probability could not eſcape us, though there were many Doubts to the contrary, but eaſily anſwered by Men of Experience; but in truth, ſome Mens Deſires homewards were ſo great, that no Reaſon could prevail with or perſuade them.

“Coming into the Height of the Rock, the Generals took Counſel once again, and then the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Thomas* only offered, and that with great Earneſtneſs, to ſtay out the Time their Victuals laſted, and deſired to have but 12 Ships furniſhed out of the reſt, to ſtay with them: But this would not be granted, though the Squadron of the *Hollanders* offered voluntarily to ſtay. Sir *Walter Raleigh* alledged the Scarcity of Victuals, and the Infection of his Men. My Lord General *Eſſex* offered, in the Greatneſs of his Mind, and the Deſire he had to ſtay, to ſupply his Want of Men and Victuals, and to exchange Ships; but all Propoſals were in vain; for the Riches of *Cadiz* kept them that had got much, from attempting more, as if it had been pure Want, and not Honour, would have enforced them to greater Enterprizes.

“This being the laſt of all the Hopes of the Voyage, and being generally oppoſed, it was concluded to ſteer away for the North Cape, afterwards to view and ſearch the Harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the King of *Spain*'s Ships chanced to be there, to give an Attempt upon them.

“The Lord Admiral ſent a Caravel of our Fleet into thoſe two Harbours, and apparelled the Men in *Spaniſh* Cloaths, to avoid Suſpicion; this Caravel returned the next Day, with a true Relation, that there were no Ships in the Harbours. And now paſſing all the Places where there was any Hope of doing good, our Return for *England* was reſolved on; and, the eighth of *Auguſt*, the Lord Admiral arrived at *Plymouth*, with the greateſt Part of the Army; and the Lord General *Eſſex* two Days after, who ſtayed to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which he undertook the Charge of, and was reputed of his Squadron. The 10th of *Auguſt* he came to *Plymouth*, where he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the like hath not been ſeen, for ſo many to go out of *England*, and ſucceed in ſo great an Enterprize, and to return home again ſo well.

“He himſelf rode up to Court, to adviſe with her Majeſty of the Winning of *Calais*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Eaſter* before. Here was a good Opportunity to have regained the ancient Patrimony of *England*; but the King of *France* withſtood it, thinking, with more Eaſe, to regain it from the *Spaniard*, that was his Enemy, then recover it from us, who were his Friends.

“My Lord Admiral, with the Fleet, went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the Charge of the Navy to Sir *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *William Monſon*. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endured more foul Weather and contrary Winds, than in the whole Voyage beſides.”

What the Queen and Council thought of this Expedition, after the Earl's Return to Court, the Reader may judge by the following Letters, copied from a Manuſcript in the *Cotton Library*.

A MINUTE *of the Council's Letter to the Lord Admiral,*
Auguſt 11. 1596.

“After our hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, we have, before this Time, by her Majeſty's Direction, written unto your Lordſhip, and to the Earl of *Eſſex* now returned, how ill her Majeſty - - - - - to hear of ſo much taken, and ſo ill a - - - - - coming, like to be made her; wherein, as by her Majeſty's own Letter you may perceive what Courſe the Earl hath taken in his Anſwer. So becauſe her Majeſty's own writing hath ſufficiently touched it, to which both the Earl and we all, in general and particular, made the beſt Anſwers we could, we do forbear any farther to meddle with the ſame, and will briefly ſet down what it is which her Majeſty deſireth to be done, if it be well and providently conſidered, and ſo uſed.

“Firſt, Her Majeſty would have your Lordſhip by all means poſſible to ſee good Search made of all Ships and all Paſſengers whatſoever, that are come, or to return, according to her Majeſty's Commiſſion, to the Intent that both ſuch Things of Price and Value, as are brought home, may ſerve to bear the Burthen of the Charge; and alſo, that all ſuch Victuals as in the whole Army may be recovered, may be preſerved to ſet forth ſuch a Proportion of Ships as ſhall be fit to lie for the Carracks or *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, as you ſhall think good in your Diſcretion, according to her Majeſty's own Letter.

“And whereas your Lordſhip calleth for Money to pay the Mariners, without ſhewing what Quantity you mean, you muſt give us Leave to remember you, as one of her Majeſty's Generals, like as her Majeſty hath objected it here to the Earl of *Eſſex*, that when that great Reckoning was ſuſpected to prove burdenſome, you both made ſo light of any ſuch Suſpicion, as you in a manner warranted the defraying of all ſuch Reckonings, without any manner of Advantage. And therefore as her Majeſty hath objected this unto the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo are we commanded to do to you, that if good Search be made of the Ships, it will be found, that both the Captains, Maſters and Officers of all Ships, have Pillage enough to bear each Ship's Charge, which if it be, there is no Reaſon the Queen ſhould give them Wages, and ſuffer them to carry ſuch Pillage too, beyond all Reaſon and Order. And therefore it is her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that upon good Search and View thereof, it be conſidered which way will be moſt profitable for the Queen, either to pay them, or to take that which is ſo indirectly embezzled by them. Wherein her Majeſty meaneth not any ſuch Traſh and petty Matters (as Garments and other Things fit for Soldiers and Mariners in like Caſes) but groſs Commodities, Wares and other Merchandiſe, of which Money may be made, towards the common Charge.

“For the diſmiſſing now of Mariners, and bringing about of Ships, your Lordſhip's Judgment can beſt tell what is to be done. Only this we muſt remember to you, that where the Fleet is compounded of Mariners of divers Countries, if you diſmiſs any, or ſhall ſend any to go forth for the Carracks, it ſhall be fit that you ſuffer them which be of thoſe Countries Weſtward. For ſeeing yourſelf well knows, that the Ships that are to be brought about will not require ſuch Complement as they have for Service, it will be a needleſs Charge for them to be kept in Pay, or thoſe Mariners uſed to bring up thoſe Ships, when they might have Allowance for Conduct-money to return back again. For the Men which her Majeſty thought to uſe in *Ireland*, ſhe now ſees it not convenient to uſe thoſe at this Time, but would have them all ſent to their Countries, according to ſuch Direction as ſhe hath cauſed the Earl, in her Name, to ſend unto you. For thoſe which have ſerved and came out of the Low-countries, ſhe will alſo have them returned and paid there, and thinks that the Admiral of *Holland* will help with his Ships to carry ſome of them, ſeeing they ſhall be ſo acceptable to the States, who have ſo earneſtly entreated for them. For Money for any of thoſe Charges belonging to the Land-ſoldiers, the Earl ſays, he hath left Order with the Marſhal, whom your Lordſhip may call unto you, with all others, according to your Commiſſion, and direct them accordingly. And ſo we think it meet, that your Lordſhip ſhould call and command any Perſon, whom you ſhall think meet to aſſiſt you with any Service now, to come to the ſetting out of the Ships, to go forward to intercept the Carracks. Her Majeſty would have all Victuals uſed, that is there, in all Ships more than to bring them about; and therein thinks *Darrel* ſhall fail of his Duty, if having victualled ſuch an - - - - - - of the - - - - - - ing come home before the Time, on - - - - - - - had at *Cadiz* and *Ferrol*, ſuch a Refreſhing, he ſhall not be able to draw out a Proportion for thoſe 12 Ships to be ſent out; and rather than fail, to that ſhall be allowed a Surpluſage of Victuals, to make them tarry out two Months of new Charge. So deſirous we find her Majeſty to be to have ſome Adventure for the Fleet to return, which ſurely if your Lordſhip can order, her Majeſty will take it a good Part of Service. And for the Ships, Numbers and Commanders, not doubting but you will uſe good Choice of valiant Men, ſhe doth refer it to your Lordſhip, who may uſe the Advice of thoſe whom you think beſt acquainted with the Sea-ſervice. You ſhall alſo deal with the Marſhal to perſuade the Low-country-ſhips, if any there be, that are ready victualled for a long Time, that they will, with Part of their Fleet, tarry out ſome of the Time with her Majeſty's Fleet, or at leaſt help ſome of your Fleet with ſome of their Victuals, for that Purpoſe, wherein her Majeſty will undertake the States ſhall not diſallow of them in their Action. The Queen hath written to the Admiral, here incloſed, a very affectionate Letter, whereof this is the Copy, which we alſo ſend you."

A COPY *of the Council's Letter to the Lord Admiral,* Auguſt 13, 1596.

" After our hearty Commendations, we have written by her Majeſty's Commendations of - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - judges more than - - - - - - conſidering that by Sir *Walter Raleigh* we underſtand, that you were afore *Portland*, and now by your own Letters that you are at *Downs*, which, for the preſent, this is her Majeſty's Pleaſure that you do diſpatch away Sir *Francis Vere* forthwith into the Low-countries, with her Troops, or as many, not exceeding that Number, as there may be had. For any other Thing belonging to the Land, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſays he has taken ſufficient Order with Sir *Francis Vere*. But for the Pay of the Mariners, which your Lordſhip writes for; and for the not tarrying out for the Carracks, which the Earl offered to do, and would have left his Ship for any body elſe to perform, her Majeſty remains now fully unſatisfied, neither will almoſt hear any contrary Arguments, and eſpecially becauſe ſhe thinks that amongſt ſo many Ships return'd victualled for ſo long Time, at the leaſt ſix of her Majeſty's Ships, and ſome half/ ſcore others, might have been victualled well enough out of the Remains, with ſome Addition, the rather, becauſe the Carracks are countermanded (as the Earl ſays) to the Iſlands, which might retard their coming home ſo ſpeedily. And for the *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, it never comes home till the midſt of *September* or *October*; as it ſeems by the Earl's Speeches you have had Intelligence. For all which her Majeſty ſays, that altho' it will be ſaid, that ſo few would hardly ſerve the Turn, yet her Majeſty commandeth us to write, that it were ſtrange if they ſhould not ſerve to gather up ſome of them, conſidering how they return, ſcattered and weak, homeward always.

" Beſides the Payment of the Mariners, her Majeſty is informed that there be many Maſters of the Ships, and Captains in Ships, ſo well furniſhed, as if they be well ſifted and ſearched, they have enough to pay the whole Ships Companies. Of all which Searches and Certificates with Victuals they brought in, that her Majeſty may judge why her Deſire for the ſending out of ſome Ships might not be fulfilled, her Majeſty ſays ſhe ſees no manner of particular good Reaſon nor Certificate from you of all theſe Things. We are commanded to certify you, tho' we know your Lordſhip will be able when you come perſonally, which the ſooner it be, the better it ſhall be, to give good Account, tho' now by your coming by Sea, and her Majeſty writing divers Letters by Land, Things cannot be ſo particularly anſwered by you. And hereunto, this muſt we add alſo, by Command, that her Majeſty ſays, ſhe never thought but at Sea, and ſince your coming into Harbour, conſidering what you promiſed her, and that you had equal Authority, a better Reckoning ſhould be made to receive Things, both for the Charge paſt and to come. For Powder alſo, and for all Things out of her Store, her Majeſty requireth you that no Negligence may be uſed; but that Puniſhment may be inflicted upon any that embezzle it.

" Laſtly, her Majeſty hears that Braſs Ordnance is given away alſo to the *Flemings* and others; which if it be, her Majeſty thinks alſo very much, conſidering that for ought ſhe hears, that is the beſt Reckoning ſhe muſt look for, towards her ſo inſupportable Charge.

" *Hulſt* is gone and carried by the Cardinal, after many Aſſaults. It were time Sir *Francis Vere*'s Troops were there. As yet her Majeſty hears not that the Commiſſioners have ſaved a Farthing for her."

A COPY - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - George *and* - - - - - - - - - -

" After our hearty Commendations, her Majeſty hath of late received by divers, that are come from the Fleet, Aſſurance of the Army's going to *Bayon* in *Galicia*; whereby her Majeſty hath Cauſe to ſuſpect, according to the former Reports from the General, that they do find themſelves in Caſe to lie for the Carracks, or *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, which Purpoſe was one of the principaleſt Things to be performed, in the End of this Voyage. And therefore we find her Majeſty moſt willing to ſtrain herſelf, by any Means likely, to ſupply their Wants with Victuals. Which if they had, there is no doubt but they would have reſolved to abide it out; for ſo we know themſelves determined. And therefore, not knowing how ſoon they may return, and holding it uncertain, whether or how to ſend unto them Proviſions, if we had them, her Majeſty hath commanded us, to direct our Letters unto you, to enter preſently into Conſideration, how ſome Proportion might be provided, for ſome convenient Number of Ships for two Months, to the Intent, that if her Majeſty's whole Army and Navy return, there may be ſelected ſome eight or ten of her Majeſty's Ships, together with twelve other, ſuch as may be made ready to put again to Sea, if they come in, to abide the Time of the Return of thoſe Fleets. And if it ſhould prove ſo, that the greateſt Part of the Army ſhould return, as was firſt appointed, and leave ſome Ships behind them, then the Victuals, ſo provided, may be ſent unto them that r - - - - be needful for their better Maintenance at Sea. Foraſmuch as, therefore, ye are Men acquainted with victualling of Ships; and you, Mr. *Darrell*, can beſt make Judgment, in what State you left the Fleet, and what kind of Victuals is moſt ſcanty, we are commanded to require you, in her Majeſty's Name, immediately to certify us what you know of all theſe Things, and to conſider farther, what may likely to be effected in this Matter, by Proviſion to be made in that Place. Beſides, it would be conſidered, whether any Ships, belonging to Merchants, theſe already furniſhed for Sea voyages with Victuals, might not be ſtayed to ſerve this preſent Turn, and ſatisfied hereafter. And farther, becauſe her Majeſty is like to have Occaſion forthwith to ſend ſome of thoſe Forces into *Ireland*, which are in the Army, to the Number of 1000, or upwards: And that from *Cheſter*, and the Countries thereabouts, all thoſe Numbers, which have already been employed in that Service have been victualled in ſuch ſort, that it is not from thoſe Parts to be expected. Theſe ſhall be to require you alſo, if you find the great Matter not poſſible, being that which her Majeſty greatly affects, and for which her Majeſty will well allow of your Induſtry, that you will conſider, how ſome ſuch Proviſion may be made for thoſe Numbers; for all which, as we ſhall underſtand from you, that there is any Cauſe, you ſhall be aſſiſted with like Commiſſions, as are uſed in ſuch Caſes: And upon your Writing unto us, you ſhall have Order for Money for all. You may by ſpeaking with ſuch - - - - from the Fleet, inform yourſelves of what Victuals they moſt need; for we ſee the Queen reſolved to do any thing that may furniſh them for that Action of intercepting the Carracks, for which as yet there is Time enough left them. If they ſhould come in, you ſhall do well to call unto you the Mayor of the Town, and to uſe the Advice and Information of ſuch Gentlemen, as are of greateſt Credit and Experience, of the State of the Country. And above all Things, ſee that you do uſe ſome nimble Pinnace, and direct him how to find the Fleet, that they may know her Majeſty's Purpoſe, whilſt the Victuals are making ready; and ſend in that Pinnace ſome diſcreet Perſon, that may ſooneſt find them. And ſo we commit you to GOD."

From the Court, the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1596.

The Year 1596 preſents us with two more Expeditions under the Earl of *Cumberland*[a]. The firſt, undertaken in the large new Ship called the *Scourge of Malice*, (built at his own Coſt, and accompanied with the *Dreadnought*, one of her Majeſty's Ships, and ſome other ſmaller Veſſels) in which the Earl commanded in Perſon, was rendered abortive by a violent Storm, which carried away the *Scourge*'s Main-maſt, and quite diſabled her, ſoon after they had parted from the *Britiſh* Coaſt; ſo that he was obliged to quit his own Ship, and return immediately in the *Dreadnought*. But he preſently prepared for a ſecond Expedition; and fitted out the *Aſcenſion* of 300 Tons, 34 Guns, and 120 Men, under the Command of Captain *Francis Slingſby*, with particular Orders to cruiſe off of *Liſbon*, for the Ships ſailing from that Port.

The *Aſcenſion* was ſcarce clear of the *Thames* Mouth, before ſhe was driven by a Fret of Wind upon the very Edge of the *Goodwin*'s; whence, after loſing three Anchors, ſhe drove away for *Plymouth*; and being refitted, ſailed for the Rock of *Liſbon*.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral being informed of this troubleſome Viſiter, who had made a fruitleſs Attempt upon a Caravel, ſailed againſt him with ſix Ships. The Admiral himſelf laid the *Aſcenſion* on-board on the Bow, while another was ordered to lay him aboard on the Quarter. The *Spaniards* leaped into the Fore and Main-chains, thinking to have entered the Ship; but were bravely repulſed by the *Engliſh*, who ſeeing afterwards a Crowd of them got together, under the Admiral's Half-deck, ſent a Parcel of Caſe-ſhot among them, which killed and wounded a great Number. This, with the warm Reception they had before met with, in attempting to board the *Aſcenſion*, made them ſo ſick of the Attack, that they were content to fall off. Of the *Engliſh* 22 were killed and wounded.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral bore up to them again, and made a Shew as if he had a mind to renew the Fight; but finding the *Engliſh* were in a Readineſs to receive him, he tacked about, and made the beſt of his Way into the *Tajo*. And the *Aſcenſion* having continued on the Coaſt till ſhe had but 14 Days Proviſion left, returned without any Prize.

Upon the 29th of *June* 1596, Captain *Laurence Keymis*[b] returned from a ſecond Voyage on the Diſcovery of *Guiana*; of which that Adventurer has left us a very circumſtantial Account, in a Letter to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Lord-warden of the *Stannaries*; from whence I have ſelected theſe Particulars. “On *Monday*, ſays he, the 26th of *January*, in the Year of our Lord 1595, we departed from *Portland* Road, in the *Darling* of *London*, having in Company the *Diſcoverer*, a ſmall Pinnace, whom we loſt at Sea in foul Weather the *Thurſday* Night next following. *Friday* the 13th of *February* we fell in with the *Canary* Iſlands, where we expected our Pinnace, according to our Appointment, ſeven or eight Days. Here we took two Boats, the one a Paſſenger we bulged, the other we towed at our Ship's-ſtern, ſteering S. S. W. for the Iſlands of *Cape de Verd*. From hence we ſet Sail the 28th of *February*, keeping a W. S. W. Courſe. In this Paſſage we found very ſmooth Seas, fair Weather, and ſteady Winds, blowing ordinarily between the E. and N. E. Points. Near 300 Leagues from theſe Iſlands we came into a grown Sea, the ſwoln Waters making a ſtrange Noiſe and hurtling together, as if it might be two ſtrong Currents encountring each other. The 12th of *March* we ſounded, and had ſandy Ground in 47 Fathom; at Midnight in 12 Fathom we came to an Anchor, the Ground ſandy Ooze. *Sunday* the 14th towards Night, about ſix Leagues from the Shore, we deſcried a low Land in the Bottom of a Bay: From the 9th of *March* until this time we kept for the moſt part a S. S. W. Courſe. The firſt Place wherein we anchored was in the Mouth of *Arrowari*, a fair and great River, in 1 Degree and 40 Minutes; the Bar without hath at the leaſt three Fathom, at the ſhoaleſt Place, when it is low Ebb; the Depth within is eight and ten Fathom; the Water always brackiſh; we found not any Inhabitants in this Place near the Sea-coaſt; as we paſſed we always kept the Shore within view, and ſtopped the Floods, ſtill anchoring at Night in three or four Fathom. When we came to the N. Head-land of this Bay (which we named *Cape Cecil*) we ſaw two high Mountains like two Iſlands, but they join with the Main. In this Tract, lying N. N. W. near 60 Leagues, there fall into the Sea theſe ſeveral great Rivers, *Arrowari*, *Iwaripoco*, *Maipari*, *Conawini*, *Caipurogh*. We anchored in two Fathom, not far from theſe Hills, and filled all our Caſks with Freſh-water by the Ship's-ſide; for in the Sea, 30 Miles from the Mouth of any River, it is freſh and good. This ſecond Bay extendeth itſelf above 30 Leagues to the Weſtward, and containeth within it theſe Rivers, *Arcooa*, *Wiapoco*, *Wanari*, *Caparwacka*, *Cawo*, *Caian*, *Wia*, *Macuria*, *Cawroor*, *Curaſſawini*. Here leaving the Ship at Anchor, I took into the Boat *John Provoſt*, my *Indian* Interpreter, *John Lynſey*, and eight or nine others, intending to ſearch ſome of theſe Rivers, and to ſeek ſpeech with the *Indians*. In *Wiapoco*, at the Foot of the Eaſtermoſt Mountain, where the River falleth into the Sea, we found 20 or 30 Houſes, but not inhabited; we ſtaid there but one Night. *Wanari* we over-paſſed, becauſe the Entrance is rocky, and not deep. In *Caparwacka* we ſailed 40 Miles, but could ſee no *Indian*. From *Caparwacka* we paſſed to *Cawo*, and there met with a Canoe, wherein were two *Indians*. It was a long time before we could procure them to come near us, for they doubted leſt we were *Spaniſh*. When my Interpreter had perſuaded them to the contrary, and that we came from *England*, they without farther Speech or Delay brought us to *Warreo* their Captain, who entertained us moſt friendly; and then at large declared unto us, that he was lately chaſed by the *Spaniards* from *Moruga*, one of the neighbouring Rivers to *Raleana*, or *Oronooque*; and that having burnt his own Houſes, and deſtroyed his Fruits and Gardens, he had left his Country and Towns to be poſſeſſed by the *Arwaccas*, who are a vagabond Nation of *Indians*, which, finding no certain Place of Abode of their own, do for the moſt part ſerve and follow the *Spaniards*. He ſhewed me that he was of the Nation of the *Jaos*, who are a mighty People, and of late time were Lords of all the Sea-coaſt ſo far as *Trinidado*, which they likewiſe poſſeſſed. Howbeit, that with a general Conſent, when the *Spaniards* firſt began to borrow ſome of their Wives, they all agreed to change their Habitation, and do now live united for the moſt part towards the River of *Amazons*. But the eſpecial Cauſe of his preſent Remove was, becauſe two or three Years paſt, 20 *Spaniards* came to his Town, and ſought to take his beſt Wife from him; but before they carried her away, he at Time and Place of Advantage, killed half of them; the reſt fled, moſt of them ſore hurt.

“To the Weſtward this Bay hath many good Roads under ſmall Iſlands, whereof the greateſt, named *Gowateri*, is inhabited by the *Shebaios*. And beſides the Plenty of Fowl, Fiſh, Fruits, wild Pork and Deer, which are there to be had; where *Caiane* falls into the Sea (for it ſtandeth in the Mouths of *Wia* and *Caiane*) it yields ſafe and good Harbour in four or five Fathom for Ships of great Burthen; on all that Coaſt we found not any like it, we therefore honoured this Place by the Name of Port *Howard*.

“The 6th of *April* we came to an Anchor within the Mouth of the River *Raleana*, having ſpent 23 Days in Diſcovery upon this Coaſt. The Channel of this River hath ſix or ſeven Fathom depth, nine or ten Miles off at Sea, the Bar lieth farther out, and at Low-water hath not full two Fathom. It riſes not above five Foot, except at a Spring-tide. We anchored in ten Fathom the firſt Night; the next Morning twelve Canoes came unto us, furniſhed and provided of Victuals after their Manner for the Wars. Their Captains Names were *Anawra* and *Aparwa*. Theſe Caſiques demanded whether we had brought no more Forces with us, but only one Ship? I anſwered them as before I did the others, that we now came only to trade, not knowing until this preſent that any *Spaniards* were in the *Guiana*; that upon our Return our whole Fleet will haſten to ſet forwards, and that in the mean Time we would now viſit our Friends, and help them ſo far as we could in any Thing that we ſhould find needful preſently to be done. After long Diſcourſe (for their chief Man ſtaid with me all Night) when he had cauſed me to ſpit in my Right-hand, with many other Ceremonies which they uſe in confirming Friendſhip, he went to the Shore, and one of his Canoes he ſent to bring forwards the other 20; one other he cauſed to go up the River before us to bring Intelligence. Then calling together the chief of his Company, they made ſmall Fires, and ſitting in their Hamaccas, each one ſorted himſelf with a Companion, recounting amongſt themſelves the worthieſt Deeds, and Deaths of their Anceſtors, execrating their Enemies moſt deſpitefully, and magnifying their Friends with all Titles of Praiſe and Honour that may be deviſed. Thus they ſit talking and taking Tobacco ſome two Hours, and until their Pipes be all ſpent (for by them they meaſure the time of this their ſolemn Conference) no Man muſt interrupt or diſturb them in any ſort; for this is their Religion and Prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a preciſe Faſt one whole Day in Honour of the great Princeſs of the North (Queen *Elizabeth*) their Patroneſs and Defender. Their Canoes being made ready, they accompanied us, and in the way ſhewed us where the Shoals of the River do lie.

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[a] Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1148.

[b] A Relation of the ſecond Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the Year 1596, by Laurence Keymis, Gent. In Quarto.

“ In eight Days ſailing ſtill before a Wind, we arrived at *Topiawaries* Port, in all which time no *Indian* that we knew came aboard us. For the time of our Return promiſed at your Lordſhip's Departure from thence, being expired, they in Deſpair had ſevered themſelves amongſt the other Nations. Here the *Spaniards* have ſeated their Ranceria of 20 or 30 Houſes. The high rocky Iſland, that lieth in the midſt of the River, againſt the Mouth of *Caroli*, is their Fort or Refuge, when they miſdoubt Safety in their Town, or have Notice of any Practice againſt them: But now leaving both Town and Iſland, they joined themſelves all together, and retiring to the Mouth of the River *Caroli*, placed there a ſecret Ambuſh to defend the Paſſage to thoſe Mines, from whence your Ore and white Stones were taken the laſt Year. We all, not without Grief to ſee ourſelves thus defeated, and our hungry Hopes made void, were Witneſſes of this their Remove. As we rode at an Anchor within Muſket-ſhot of their Town, an *Indian* came unto us with lean Cheeks, thin Hair, and a ſquint Eye, to inform us that they were very ſtrong; that *Berreo*'s Son was with him; that they had but two ſmall Pinnaces at *Trinidado*, which they daily looked for to come up the River; and laſtly, to view our Ship well, and our Proviſions, but eſpecially to learn whether *Gualtero*, *Topiawarie*'s Son were with us.

“ When we had ſtaid here two Days, conſidering that where no Hope was left of doing good, to abide there in Harm's way doing nothing, would be bootleſs, I reſolved to ſeek *Putijma* in the Mountains; and turning down the River with the Force of the Stream 20 Miles in ſix Hours; the next Morning with ten Shot I went aſhore, intending if the *Indians* ſhould think themſelves too weak with our Help to diſplant the *Spaniards*, to ſet ſome of them on work, for Hatchets and Knives, to return us Gold-grains and white Stones from ſuch Places as they ſhould be directed unto. When we came to the Place of their uſual Abode, we ſaw that they lately had been there, but could ſpeak with none of them; it may be that Fear (which is eaſy of Belief) perſuaded them that we were *Spaniards*. *Gilbert*, my Pilot, here offered to bring us either to the Mine of white Stones near *Winicapora*, or elſe to a Gold-mine, which *Putijma* had ſhewed him, being but one Day's Journey over Land, from the Place where we now ſtaid at an Anchor. I ſaw far off the Mountains adjoining to this Gold-mine, and having meaſured their Paths near the ſame Place this laſt Year, could not judge it to be 15 Miles from us. I do well remember how coming that way with *Putijma* the Year before, he pointed to this ſame Mountain, making Signs to have me go with him thither; I underſtood his Signs, and marked the Place, but miſtook his Meaning, imagining that he would have ſhewed me the Overfall of the River *Curwara* from the Mountains. My *Indian* ſhewed me in what ſort without digging they gather the Gold in the Sand of a ſmall River, named *Macawini*, that ſpringeth and falleth from the Rocks, where this Mine is; and farther told me, that he was with *Putijma*, at what time *Morekito* was to be executed by the *Spaniards*; and that then the chief of *Morekito*'s Friends were in Conſultation to ſhew this Mine unto them, if ſo they might redeem their Captain's Life; but upon better Advice, ſuppoſing them in this Caſe to be implacable, and that this might prove a means to loſe not only their King, but their Country alſo, they have to this Day concealed it from them, being of all others the richeſt and moſt plentiful. The aged ſort, to keep this from common Knowledge, have deviſed a Fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this Place, and devoureth all that come near it. But our *Indian*, if when we return we do bring ſtore of ſtrong Wine (which they love beyond Meaſure) with it will undertake ſo to charm this Dragon, that he ſhall do us no Harm.

“ Whilſt we were ſearching at the Shore for the *Indians*, my Barge took a Canoe with three Men in her; the one a Servant to *Berreo*, the other two Merchants of *Caſſava*.

“ In ſailing up the River, we paſſed by *Toparimacko*'s Port, which in one Place is very ſhoal, the Channel lying cloſe aboard the Shore. We returned therefore another way, by the main River on the South-ſide; this Branch we found large, deep, and without Danger. When we were come near *Carapana*'s Port, he ſent five or ſix ſeveral Canoes, promiſing this Day and the next that he would come and ſpeak with us; thus we lingred ſix or ſeven Days, but he came not; in the end he ſent one of his aged Followers to certify us, that he was ſick, old, and weak; that the Ways near his Dwelling are not eaſy; and that therefore he deſired us to hold him excuſed for not coming.

“ The Place where we were at Anchor was but one Day's Journey from *Carapana*; I therefore made Motion to this Captain to ſtay with two or three of his Company aboard the Ship, and to cauſe his Men to bring me with my Interpreter to *Carapana*'s Dwelling. He anſwered that it were not good ſo to do, leſt perhaps ſome Spy might inform the *Spaniards* thereof, whereby Danger would grow to *Carapana*.

“ Wherefore having aſſured ſo many of the *Indians*, as at any time came unto us, of our ſpeedy Return, promiſing them Plenty of Knives, Beads, and Hatchets, if they would reſerve their *Caſſava*, and provide ſtore of their Pieces of Gold for us. I deſired this Captain to be a means that our Friends of *Trinidado* might underſtand of our being in the River, and that we meant to relieve them ſo ſoon as conveniently might be.

“ In turning down the River we ſpent eight Days. In many Places where the Channel lieth we found 20 Fathom depth, where it is ſhoaleſt we had two Fathom and a half, and that but in one or two Places. Of the Worthineſs of this River, becauſe I cannot ſay enough, I will ſpeak nothing. We have preſumed to call it by the Name of *Raleana*, becauſe yourſelf was the firſt of our Nation that ever entered the ſame, and I think it nothing inferior to *Amaſones*, which is beſt known by the Name of *Oreliana*, the firſt Diſcoverer thereof. By turning only, without help of Oars, to paſs ſo long a way, in ſo ſhort a time, againſt the Wind, may ſufficiently prove that the Channel is very large, good, and likely to ſecond our Hopes in all that we can deſire. Without the Mouth of this River, our Pinnace, the *Diſcoverer*, whom we loſt near the Coaſt of *England*, came unto us. She fell in with this Land ſomewhat to the Southward of Cape *Cecil*, and had ſpent three Weeks and odd Days in ranging along the Coaſt, when ſhe met with us. *William Downe* the Maſter, informed me that they entered and ſearched theſe four Rivers. In *Wiapoco* they ſailed ſo far, until the Rocks ſtopped their Paſſage; in *Caiane* they went up one Day's Journey; in *Cunanama* they found many Inhabitants; *Curitini* was “the laſt River they had been in. Whence, having no other means to find *Raleana*, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot againſt his Will; whom afterwards I would have returned with Reward to his Contentment, but he would not.

“Our *Engliſh* that to ſteal the firſt Bleſſing of an untraded Place, will perhaps ſecretly haſten thither, may be beholden to me for this Caveat, if they take Notice thereof. They may be aſſured that this People, as they no way ſought our Harm, but uſed our Men with all Kindneſs, ſo are they impatient of ſuch a Wrong, as to have any of their People perforce taken from them, and will doubtleſs ſeek Revenge. The Example of the like Practice upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in the Year 1566; and again at *Dominica*, where Alderman *Watts*'s Ship hardly eſcaped being taken, may ſerve for our Warning in like Caſe to look for no good, before they be ſatisfied for this Injury.

“When we had taken aboard us ſuch Victuals as were in the Pinnace, we ſet her on-fire (for her Rudder could ſerve her to no longer Uſe) and ſtopping the Floods, plied to Windward with the Ebb near the Shore, until we were 16 Leagues to the Eaſtward of the River's Mouth; and then ſtanding off to Sea, we fell in 24 Hours ſailing with *Punto Gallera*, the North-eaſtermoſt part of *Trinidade*; but having *Tobacco* Iſland in Sight, we firſt went thither. This Iſland is plentiful of all Things, and a very good Soil.

“Thence we returned to *Punto Gallera*, and anchored in ten Fathom under the North-ſide of the Iſland, five or ſix Miles from the ſaid Point. The Flood-tide ſtriketh along the Coaſt to the Eaſtward very ſtrongly. We diſcharged a Piece of Ordnance, and afterwards went to the Shore in our Boat; but no *Indian* came unto us. I would have ſent *John* of *Trinidado* to procure ſome of them to ſpeak with us; but he was altogether unwilling, alledging that their Dwellings were far within the Mountains, and that he knew no part of that Side of the Iſland. From this Place we ſet Sail for *St. Luce*, but fell in with the *Granadas*, which we found not inhabited. *St. Vincent* we hardly recovered by turning under the Lee of the Iſland. The Tobacco of this Place is good; but the *Indians* being Cannibals, promiſing us ſtore, and delaying us from Day to Day, ſought only Opportunity to betray and eat us, as lately they had devoured the whole Company of a *French* Ship. This their Treachery being by one of their Slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbear to come unto us. To ſit down on their low Stools, when they by offering ſuch Eaſe, will ſeem to ſhew Curteſy, abodeth Death to Strangers, that ſhall truſt them. At *Matalino* we found not any Inhabitants. Laſtly, we came to *Dominica*, where we could get no good Tobacco. But having Intelligence of a *Spaniſh* Ship that was taking in of freſh Water, at the N. W. Side of the Iſland, we weighed Anchor to ſeek him; he deſcrying us, ſtole away by Night. Hence we ſteered N. and by E. taking the directeſt Courſe to ſhorten our Way homewards.

“Thus have I emptied your Purſe, ſpending my Time and Travel in following your Lordſhip's Directions for the full Diſcovery of this Coaſt, and the Rivers thereof.

“This your ſecond Diſcovery hath not only found a free and open Entrance into *Raleana*, which the Natives call *Oronooque*, but moreover yieldeth Choice of 40 ſeveral great Rivers (the leſſer I do not reckon) being for the moſt part with ſmall Veſſels navigable, for our Merchants and others, that do now find little Profit in ſetting forth for Repriſals, to exerciſe Trade in.

“Myſelf, and the Remains of my few Years, I have bequeathed wholly to *Raleana*, and all my Thoughts live only in that Action. The proſecuting whereof is in itſelf juſt, profitable, and neceſſary; *juſt*, becauſe it is intended for the Defence of harmleſs People, who fearing Thraldom and Oppreſſion, deſire to protect themſelves and their Country under her Majeſty's Tuition; *profitable*, as may be gathered not only by many *Spaniſh* Letters intercepted, but alſo by the Proofs mentioned in the Diſcourſe of the firſt Diſcovery, and ſince that by the *Indians* own voluntary Relations; and laſtly, by the Proviſion that the *Spaniards* do make to keep us out thereof; *neceſſary* it is, as being the only Help to put a Bit in the Mouth of the unbridled *Spaniard*; the only Way to enter into his Treaſury of *Nuevo Reyno* and *Peru*; the only Means to animate the wronged *Indians*, with our Aſſiſtance, to ſeek Revenge for the extreme Murthers and Cruelties which they have endured, and to ruin his naked Cities in all thoſe Parts of the Inland, whoſe Foundations have been laid in the Blood of their Parents and Anceſtors.”

Sir *Anthony Sherley*, Knt. this ſame Year [a] undertook an Expedition againſt the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, with a conſiderable Force [b]; which ſailed from *Southampton* on the 23d of *April*, *St. George*'s Day, intending to plunder the *Madeiras* by the way. But as this Fleet paſſed by *Plymouth*, Sir *Anthony* was obliged to part with three of his Ships, and 500 Soldiers, to reinforce the Royal Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord *Howard*, then ready to ſail on their Expedition againſt *Cadiz*, which diſabled him from the intended Deſcent on *Madeira*.

Sir *Anthony* proceeded on his Voyage with ſix Ships only [c], and a Pinnace; taking his Departure from *Plymouth* on the 21ſt of *May*. He firſt made the Coaſt of *Spain*, expecting to meet with ſome of the *Spaniſh* Men of War; but finding nothing to attack on that Shore, he ſteered directly for the *Canary* Iſlands, and in the way took a Fly-boat of 200 Tons, bound for *Brazil*, having nothing on-board but ſome Proviſions, and a Pilot, who was a *Flemming*, and undertook to pilot the Fleet to *St. Thomas*'s.

Having watered at the *Canaries*, by the Advice of this *Flemming*, they directed their Courſe to the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*, where he aſſured them they would meet with the Fleet of *St. Thomas*'s, the Year being ſo far ſpent, that he knew they were all departed. The firſt of *July* they fell in with the Iſland *Maio*, but no Sign of the Fleet; continuing their Courſe, they arrived at the Iſland of *St. Jago* on the 30th of *Auguſt*, and landed at *Praia*, where they found a ſmall Bark in the Road laden with Wine and Meal. At their Landing the Inhabitants made ſome Shew of Reſiſtance; but ſuffered them however to enter the Town and Fort, in which were ſix or eight Pieces of caſt Ordnance, without Oppoſition.

Finding little or no Booty in *Praia*, they reſolved to attempt the Town of *St. Jago*, which was at ſix Leagues diſtance, on the oppoſite Side of the Iſland, a Place of Strength, and defended by three Forts, which ſcoured every Street in the Town. On this bold Enterpriſe Sir *Anthony* marched himſelf, in the Evening, with 280 Soldiers; they loſt their way in the Night, and the next Morning, when they diſcovered the Town, they found there was but one Paſſage to it, down a ſteep Hill, and ſo narrow, that they could go no otherwiſe down than one by one, into a ſort of Trench, with Cliffs on each Side, covered with Men, as was likewiſe the whole Country between them and the Town.

They plainly perceived the Deſign of the Enemy was to decoy them, by a ſhew of Fear, into this Trench, and then to ſurround them; and beſides, when once down, it was impoſſible for them to retreat. Theſe and many other Dangers in view, did not however diſcourage them; they reſolved to purſue their Deſign, and to that end ventured down into the Trench, where the Enemy ſet upon them with a great Cry, while thoſe on the Cliffs plied them with Shot and Stones, the Trench between them not being above half Muſket-ſhot over. They had the good Fortune at firſt to diſperſe thoſe who attacked them in the Rear; and having then about half a Mile to the Town, ſoon made their way thither. They found the Streets filled with Soldiers, who ſeemed reſolute to oppoſe their Entry; but their Captain with ſeveral of them being ſlain, they were ſtruck with a Pannic and fled, leaving Sir *Anthony* in Poſſeſſion of the Place; and the 3d of *Auguſt* they likewiſe poſſeſſed themſelves of the two lower Forts.

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[a] A. D. 1596. Hackluit, part III. p. 598.

[b] The Ships fitted out for this Service were, the Bevice, Admiral, of 300 Tons; the Galleon, Vice-admiral, of 240 Tons; the George, Rear-admiral, of 160 Tons; the Archangel, of 250 Tons; the Swan, of 200 Tons; the George-Noble, of 140 Tons; the Wolf, of 70 Tons; the Mermaid, of 120 Tons; the Little-John, of 40 Tons; a Galley, and a Pinnace, victualled for 10 Months, and having 900 Sailors and Soldiers on-board.

[c] The Bevice, the Galleon, the George, the George-Noble, the Wolf, and the Galley.

Being Maſters of the Town and two Forts, they barricaded the Streets, and put it into the beſt Poſture of Defence they could; but the *Portugueſe* from the upper Fort harraſs'd them in ſuch manner, with their continual Aſſaults, in the firſt of which they killed and wounded 80 of their Men, tho' with the Loſs of thrice the Number, that they found little or no Proſpect of holding it. Their Ships being, in the mean time, come about into the Harbour of *St. Jago*, Sir *Anthony* perceiving the Enemy's Force was increaſed to 3000, and his Handful of Men reduced almoſt to the laſt Extremity, thought now of nothing more than a ſafe and honourable Retreat. To this end he ordered all the Ships, and the two Forts in his Poſſeſſion, to begin to fire at once, at ten in the Evening, with great Fury, againſt the upper Fort, whilſt he made an Alarm in the Town, to perſuade the Enemy he was going to attack that Fort with all his Might; upon which they drew all their Troops together for the Defence of it. At the ſame time all the Boats of the Fleet being come on ſhore, Sir *Anthony* ordered the Remainder of his Troops to embark; and by this Stratagem ſecured a ſafe Retreat out of the Place, without the Loſs of a Man, after having kept it two Days and two Nights. It does not appear what Booty they made there; but in the Road they took a Ship laden with Wine and Cloth.

From thence they ſailed to the Iſland of *Fuego*, where they watered, and ſtaid there till the 20th of *September*. The 17th of *October* they arrived at the Iſland of *Dominica*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, with almoſt all their Men in a ſick and weakly Condition; and ſtaid there till the 25th of *November*, for the Recovery of their Health.

From *Dominica* they ſailed to *Margarita*, thinking to meet with the Pearl-dredgers; but they miſſed them. In their way from thence to Cape *de la Vela*, their Fly-boat was caſt away at *Buenos Airos*, and ſome of the Men loſt. Coaſting along the Shore, from Cape *de la Vela*, towards *St. Martha*, they took a ſmall Frigate laden with *Guiney*-corn, beſides the Value of 500 *l.* in Money, ſome Linen-cloth and *China*-ſilk, all which Sir *Anthony* beſtowed upon his Men, as a Recompence for the Hardſhips they had undergone.

They arrived at *St. Martha* on the 12th of *December*, and landed two Leagues Weſt from the Town, in a ſandy Bay. On their March thither, the Enemy encountered them ſeveral Times, but always retreated; and at one Paſs left them two Pieces of Braſs-cannon; after which they took the Town without any farther Reſiſtance. They kept it till New-year's-day, and then left it unhurt, without any Booty, more than the Cannon of the Place, and ſome Proviſions.

They directed their Courſe from *St. Martha* for *Jamaica*; and miſſing the Road, were obliged to ſail round the Iſle, a thing not before practiſed. Here the *Wolf*, with the ſmall Bark which they took at *St. Jago*, privately left the Fleet, and returned to *England*. Arriving in the Road of *Jamaica* the 29th of *January*, they landed, and marched ſix Miles into the Country, to the chief Town, the Inhabitants making a Shew of oppoſing them, on Horſe-back, but not coming to Action. But becoming Maſters of the Town, and the whole Iſland, the People ſubmitted, and brought them a great Proviſion of dried Beef and *Caſſavi*-meal.

When they were almoſt ready to depart, Captain *Parker* of *Plymouth* came into the Road, in his Ship's Boat, on the 2d of *March*, with whom Sir *Anthony* aſſociated himſelf to go to the Bay of *Honduras*, in queſt of Booty. Of which below.

But being ſeparated again, Sir *Anthony* formed a Deſign of ſailing, with the *Bevice* and the *Galleon*, for *Newfoundland*, and having furniſhed himſelf there with freſh Men and Proviſions, to depart for the Streights of *Magellan*, and ſo to the *Eaſt-Indies*: But this was ſo diſagreeable to the Mariners, that on the 13th of *May*, being athwart *Havannah*, the whole Fleet forſook the Admiral, and left him in a miſerable Condition alone; none having his Leave to depart but the *George*, whom he had diſpatched to *England* with Letters. The Caſe of the Admiral was very deſperate; not a Man on-board had ever been in thoſe Parts; he was in great Want of Proviſions; in a dangerous Place, and a furious Current; however he reached *Newfoundland* on the 15th of *June*, when he had not an Hour's Proviſion left. He ſtaid there till the 24th, in expectation of the *Galleon*, in order to purſue their Deſign for the *Eaſt-Indies*; but ſhe not coming, and that Project being thereby overthrown, Sir *Anthony* returned to *England*.

Captain *William Parker* above-mentioned, and *Richard Hen*; the former in a Ship of 120 Tons, the latter in a Bark of 25 Tons, each at his own Expence, carrying together 100 choſen Men [a], ſail'd from *Plymouth* in *November* 1596, to cruiſe upon the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*.

The firſt Attempt was on the Iſland of *Margarita*, on the Coaſt of the Continent, where they took a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, and ſome others, Priſoners, and exchanged them for Mr. *James Willis*, and five other *Engliſhmen*, Priſoners at *Cumana*. Sailing thence to *Jamaica*, where they met with Sir *Anthony Sherley*, who had taken the chief Town of the Iſland, they join'd Company on the ſecond of *March* 1597. On the ſixth they ſet together, deſigning for the Bay of *Honduras*, to ſurprize the ſtrong Town of *Truxillo*. They ran with their Ships under the Fort on the 31ſt; but finding they were diſcovered, and their Deſign thereby become impracticable, they on the ſecond of *April* proceeded up the Gulph; and, on the ſeventh, took *Puerto de Cavallos*, without much Booty.

They afterwards formed a Deſign of going over Land to the *South-Sea*, and had a Pinnace formed in ſix Pieces, to be ſet together with Screws; but this Project proving likewiſe abortive, they returned to *Truxillo*, where they ſeparated; and Capt. *Parker* ſailing for Cape *de Catoche*, to the Eaſt of *Jucatan*, ranged the North Part of that Promontory to Cape *Deſconoſcido*. Here he put 56 of his Men into a Periago, or long *Indian* Canoe; and leaving his Ship on *Eaſter Eve*, 1597, at ſix Leagues Diſtance, went up, at three in the Morning, to the Town of *Campeche*, which he ſurprized and took, with the Captain and the Alcade; though there were 500 *Spaniards* in it, and 8000 *Indians* in two Towns cloſe adjoining. The *Spaniards*, who fled at the firſt Aſſault, being ſomewhat recovered from their Fright, poured down in Numbers, and with great Fury, upon the ſmall Company of the *Engliſh*, about ten o'Clock, and, at the firſt Onſet, killed ſix, and wounded the Captain with a Muſket-ball in the Breaſt. Notwithſtanding this, the *Engliſh* carried off their Dead, and with Colours flying made good their Retreat by a Stratagem.

Having taken ſome of the Townſmen Priſoners, they tied them Arm and Arm together, and placed them as a Barrier between them and the *Spaniards*, to receive their Shot, if they had thought fit to continue firing. In this Manner, they retired in Safety to the Haven, where they found a Frigate, having the King's Tribute on-board, to be tranſported to *St. Juan de Ullua*, to the Value of 5000 *l.* in Silver, and other good Commodities. This they took and carried, with their Periago, to their Ship. Oppoſite to their Ship, on the other Side, they burnt an *Indian* Town called *Sebo*, and took as much *Campeche*-Wood as they could carry off, together with ſome Wax and Honey. In turning up again to Cape *de Cotoche*, the *Spaniards* having fitted out two Frigates at *Campeche*, took the Bark, and hanged Captain *Hen* and 13 Men who were in her: But *Parker* returned in Safety with his Ship to *Plymouth*, where he arrived the Beginning of the *July* following.

The unfortunate Voyage of Capt. *Benjamin Wood*, who was fitted out for an Expedition to the *Eaſt-Indies* [b], at the Expence of Sir *Robert Dudley*, in three Ships, named the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*, was overturn'd by ſome Miſfortune in ſuch a Manner, that there never arriv'd any certain Account of their Fate; they being, as ſuppos'd, all loſt by Shipwreck in their Way to *China*, to whoſe Emperor the Captain was entruſted with Letters from her Majeſty the Queen of *England*: wherefore we will proceed to that national Expedition, which early in the following Year, was found neceſſary to be concerted and executed, to counter-act the hoſtile Policy of *Spain*, whoſe King was renewing his Preparations for a Deſcent upon *Ireland*. Her Majeſty and Council judged it to be the beſt Meaſure to carry the Invaſion into his Country firſt, that by finding him Employment at home, he might be diſabled from diſturbing the Peace of her Realms.

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[a] Hackluit, part III. p. 602.

[b] A. D. 1596.

Sir *Arthur Gorges*, in his large Account of this Expedition, ſays; "The whole Fleet (which was divided into "three Squadrons, the Admiral's, the Vice-admiral's, "and the Rear-admiral's) conſiſted of 120 Sail, or there- "abouts, whereof 60 were good Men of War, and gal- "lant Ships, the reſt Victuallers, and Ships for Transpor- "tation. Of her Majeſty's own Ships the Number was 18 "or 19, as follows: The *Mary Honora*, or *Mer Honeur*, "the Earl of *Eſſex*, and under him Sir *Robert Mansfield*; "*Due Repulſe*, the Lord *Thomas Howard* Vice-admiral, "and under him Capt. *Middleton*; *Warſpight*, Sir *Walter* "*Raleigh*, Rear-admiral, and under him Sir *Arthur Gorges*; "*Garland*, Earl of *Southampton*; *Defiance*, Lord *Montjoy* "on-board, but the Ship commanded by Sir *Amias Preſ-* "*ton*; *St. Matthew*, Sir *George Carew*, Maſter of the "Ordnance; *Mary-Roſe*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Marſhal, and "under him Capt. *John Winter*; *Dreadnought*, Captain "*William Brooke*; *Nonpareil*, Sir *Richard Leviſon*; *Bon-* "*aventure*, Sir *William Harvey*; *Antelope*, Sir *Thomas Va-* "*vaſor*; *Rainbow*, Sir *William Monſon*; *Swiftſure*, Sir "*Gilly Merrick*; *Golden Lion*, was ſent after as a Supply; "*Hope*, ———; *Foreſight*, Sir *Carew Reignal*; *St. An-* "*drew*, Captain *Throgmorton*; *Tramontana*, Captain *Fen-* "*nar*, junior; *Moon*, Sir *Edward Michelboorn*. Beſides "which, ſome of her Majeſty's ſmall Pinnaces attended "the Fleet."

The States, who concurred in this Expedition, added 10 Men of War under *Myn Heer Van Duvenvord*. The whole Fleet was divided into three Squadrons; the firſt under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was General and Commander in Chief in this Expedition; the ſecond was commanded by the Lord *Thomas Howard*; and the third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; *Charles Blount*, Lord *Montjoy*, commanded the Land-forces, under the Earl of *Eſſex*, Sir *Francis Vere* was Marſhal de Camp, Sir *George Carew* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* firſt Colonel. With theſe went likewiſe the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwell* and *Rich*, with ſeveral Knights and Perſons of Quality, as Volunteers.

The Deſign of this Armament was to ſurprize and ruin the Preparations made by the *Spaniards* to invade *Ireland*, in the Harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; then to take and keep Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Terzera*, and to wait for the homeward-bound *Indian* Fleet there, or at ſome other Iſlands of the *Azores*. And it ſet ſail on the ninth of *July* from *Plymouth*; but by bad Weather, being much damaged, was obliged to return to *Plymouth*; and was not able to get out again till the 17th of *Auguſt*.

Sir *William Monſon* ſays, that before this ſecond Departure, it was thought neceſſary, for the Lengthning out of their Proviſions, to diſcharge the 5000 new-raiſed Land-forces, and only to keep the 1000 Veterans on-board the Fleet.

The Account of this Expedition, ſigned by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Anthony Sherley*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, having declared, that he had her Majeſty's Order for diſcharging theſe Forces, adds:

"By this Means, though we were diſabled to land at "*Ferrol*, to beat the Land-army there, *&c.* yet I, the "General, offered her Majeſty to ſend in certain Fire- "ſhips, and to ſecond them with the *St. Matthew* and the "*St. Andrew*, and ſome great Fly-boats, and Merchant- "ſhips, by which I would deſtroy the moſt of the Ene- "my's Shipping, and leave all the Queen's own *Engliſh-* "built Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, to ſecure our "Retreat. By this means, I ſhould hazard to loſe no- "thing but two great Carracks, which before I had won, "and for the adventuring of thoſe defeat the Enemy's "whole Navy. Which Advice being allowed, though "with Reſtraint of my own going in with thoſe two Ships, "and an abſolute Command not to hazard any other, we "went out the ſecond Time to put this Project in Exe- "cution."

Another violent Tempeſt diſpers'd them a ſecond time, before they got Sight of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt: in which the Admiral ſprung a dangerous Leak, the large Ship called the *St. Matthew* having ſpent her Main-maſt and Yards, was ſplit upon a Rock, and the *St. Andrew* was parted from the reſt of the Fleet. The Remainder of the Fleet being, in a little time, got together again, purſued their intended Courſe; but unadviſedly hovering too near the Shores of *Aſturias*, and *Galicia*, inſtead of running in directly to *Ferrol* and the *Groyne*, the Enemy were fore-warn'd of their Approach, and had all the Time they could wiſh to prepare for a vigorous Defence. The *Engliſh* were in Hopes to have inticed them out of the Harbour to fight with them; but after having ſpent ſome Time on the Coaſt, and finding no ſuch Diſpoſition in them, the execution of the firſt Deſign was thought impracticable; and they came to a Reſolution, in a Council of War, to proceed to the *Azores*.

At the ſame time, they made the Diſpoſition of each Squadron, to the Station it ſhould take at thoſe Iſlands, whereby the Earl of *Eſſex*, Admiral and Commander in Chief, was allotted to the Iſland of *Fayal*, that of *Gratioſa* was aſſigned to the Lords *Howard* and *Vere*, and the Iſland of *Rio* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The latter having broke his Main-yard off of Cape *Finiſterre*, was not come up to the Fleet when this Reſolution was taken; however, judging rightly what would be determined, as ſoon as he had repaired his Damage, he purſued his Courſe to the *Azores*, where, at the Iſland *Flores*, he met the Fleet again. But Sir *Walter Raleigh* being in want of Water, and ſending ſome of his Men on Shore, without previous Leave had from the Earl of *Eſſex*, to ſupply his Want, was commanded by the General, before they had hardly begun to fill their Caſks, to follow him immediately to *Fayal*. This he did accordingly, but not finding him there, and, upon taking a View of the Harbour, perceiving the Inhabitants were carrying off their Effects, and the Garriſon fortifying themſelves with Retrenchments, he conſulted with the reſt of the Commanders in his Company, and they unanimouſly agreed to attack that Place, if the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould not arrive in four Days[a].

And the Earl not coming in that Time, they landed about four Miles from the Haven, and putting the *Spaniards*, who came down upon them, to the Flight, after having watered their Ships, they marched forwards, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, but did not find the Booty they expected. This Action bred ill Blood between the Earl, who arriv'd next Day, and *Raleigh*; and though they laid aſide their Reſentments for the preſent, Matters were carried ſo far, upon the Inſinuation of ſome of *Raleigh*'s Enemies, (who would have had him, if not executed, at leaſt diſmiſſed the Service, for Diſobedience of Orders) that he was called before the Council of War, and ſeverely reproved by *Eſſex*. His Anſwer was, "That "the Captains, Pilots, and others under Command, were "bound by thoſe Orders, but not the three Generals, of "which himſelf was one: That he had expected his "Coming a great while, and would have done ſo longer, "had not the Inhabitants of the Place denied him Water, "which he wanted to that Extremity, that he was obliged "to win it by the Sword." This Anſwer, with a ſmall Acknowledgment of his Fault, to which he was perſuaded by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, appeaſed the Earl's Reſentment for the preſent[b].

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[a] This Delay of four Days was occaſioned by Sir Gilly Merrick, a Creature of Eſſex's, who ſtrongly urged, that nothing ſhould be attempted in his Abſence. And, upon Eſſex's joining them, inſinuated, that Raleigh had made this Attempt on Purpoſe to rob him of the Glory of the Action.

[b] Sir William Monſon ſays, this Act (of Sir Walter Raleigh's) was held ſuch an Indignity to the Earl of Eſſex, and was urged with that

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the *Spaniſh* Garriſon quitted the Fort, near the Town, in which were found two *Engliſhmen*, with their Throats cut [a]. Some Men were ſent away to ſearch the Iſland, which they pillaged here and there, and ſo returned, without performing any great Feats; and after they had carried off the Ordnance found in the Forts and Town, they burnt it to the Ground.

They ſailed in Conjunction with the reſt of the Fleet to *Gracioſa*, another of the *Azores*, where the Inhabitants, following the Example of thoſe of *Flores*, ſubmitted themſelves to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*, and ſo obtained Quarter.

The Lord-general intended to have landed here, to wait for the Arrival of the *American* Fleet: But being unluckily diſſuaded from it by *Grove*, one of his Pilots, who pretended it was not a commodious Haven for Shipping, he ſet Sail, with the beſt Part of the Fleet to *St. Michael*'s, leaving Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Nicholas Parker* to cruiſe between *Gratioſa* and *St. George*'s Iſland, and the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *William Monſon* to do the like to the Weſtward of *Gratioſa*. But the Earl had no ſooner left that Iſland (*Camden* ſays ſcarce above two Hours) but the Flota of *America* arrived there, conſiſting of 40 Sail (ſeven whereof had Plate on-board) which, as ſoon as they had Notice that the *Engliſh* were in thoſe Seas, immediately bore away to *Tercera*; where they arrived all in Safety, and put for Shelter into the Port of *Angra*, the chief of the Iſland, which was ſtrongly defended by ſeveral Forts, having good Garriſons, and mounted with Cannon. And tho' the Earl of *Southampton* and Captain *Vere* attempted to crowd into the Haven with great Boats at Midnight, and to cut the Cables of the neareſt Ships, that they might be forced to Sea by the Guſts which blew from the Shore; the *Spaniards* kept ſuch a very ſtrict Watch, that their Project took no Effect. Wherefore *Southampton*, *Vere* and *Monſon*, diſpatched a Frigate to *St. Michael*'s, to give the Lord General Advice of what had paſſed, and to inform him, that they would undertake to hinder the Enemy from getting out to Sea, provided he would come to their Aid.

Eſſex having in a Day or two got his Fleet together, came and conſulted with the other Commanders what Meaſures were to be taken. The Earl, in his own Account of this Expedition, tranſmitted to the Queen, ſays, that in his way he met with a great Ship belonging to the Governor of *Havannah*, and a Frigate of the King of *Spain*'s manned with his own Soldiers, together with another Frigate belonging to a private Perſon, all which he took and manned, for the ſafe bringing home of the Ships and Goods. Sir *Alexander Gorges* ſays the largeſt of theſe Ships was of 400 Tons, and eſteemed to be a very rich Ship, as well for the Loading, as for the Paſſengers who were in her. Some of the chief Officers were now for attacking the Town and Fleet, and thought it a very feaſible Attempt; and *Eſſex* joined in the ſame Opinion. The Seamen thought otherwiſe; however, they very readily offered their Service, both by Sea and Land.

But *Eſſex* himſelf, and *Montjoy*, with ſome others, having afterwards taken a View of the Place, and the Enemy, and finding the latter in a very advantageous Situation, with their Ships drawn up cloſe under the Forts; and beſides, that the Haven was ſecured by good Fortifications, with a ſtrong Garriſon, and ſeveral Guns mounted, and that the Wind was ſo contrary that their Granadoes and Bombs could do them no Service; they who were the moſt forward in the Propoſals, were moſt backward in the Execution; and came to a Reſolution not to make any Attempt on them, and returning with the Fleet to *St. Michael*'s, came to an Anchor before *Punta Delgada*, where they intended to have made a Deſcent, and to have attacked this City, the chief of the Iſland. The Soldiers being pleaſed with the Place, had a great Inclination to plunder it; and the General himſelf, ſetting aſide his Character, went in a Boat to diſcover a convenient Landing-place; but found all Things there ſo well prepared for his Reception, that this Deſign was judged impracticable alſo. However, leaving *Raleigh* with ſome Ships to amuſe the Enemy at that Place, with the Apprehenſions of his Landing, he went himſelf with the reſt to *Villa Franca*, a pretty neat Town about ſix Miles diſtant, well ſtocked with Merchandiſe, particularly Wine and Wood. This Place he ſurpriſed, and took without any great Oppoſition; and making a Stay there of about ſix Days, the Soldiers found a tolerable Booty.

Raleigh, who waited the Return of *Eſſex* to *St. Michael*'s, with ſome Impatience, diſcovered at Sea an *Eaſt-India* Carrack, and a ſmall *Braſil* Ship. The Commander of the Carrack perceiving, by the firing of Guns on-board one of the *Dutch* Ships, which ſet ſail and fired, contrary to the Orders and Inſtructions given, that an Enemy was near, and preſently after diſcovering the Ships which lay in wait for her, run her on-ſhore, juſt under the Town, where her Cargo being taken out, with all poſſible Haſte, ſhe was ſet on-fire, and burnt for two Days together [b].

As Fortune ſeemed to declare herſelf againſt the *Engliſh*, they reſolved to make the beſt of their Way home; and ſetting Sail from *St. Michael*'s on the 9th of *October*, they met, three Days after, with a violent Storm, which diſperſed the Fleet for ſeveral Days; but all arrived ſafe about the End of the ſame Month.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet, which lay at *Ferrol*, having put from thence with great Deſigns and Preparations againſt the Coaſt of *England*, ſuffered very much in the ſame Storm. Several of their Ships were loſt, and one was forced into *Dartmouth*, by Streſs of Weather, with her Men almoſt famiſhed. According to the Report of theſe Men, the Deſign of the Enemy was to have ſeized ſome Port in *Cornwall*, as being moſt convenient, by reaſon of its Situation at the Mouth of the *Britiſh* Channel; and this Port, when taken, they propoſed to have kept, in order to find the *Engliſh* a Diverſion at home, and facilitate their Conveyance of Succours from *Spain* to *Ireland*, by having a Harbour to retreat to, in caſe of bad Weather.

Sir *William Monſon*'s Account of theſe Tranſactions, and eſpecially of the Eſcape of the *India* Fleet, and of the Circumſtances which attended, and were the Conſequences of it, in which he was a principal Actor, containing ſeveral Particulars not mentioned by other Authors, I ſhall give it the Reader at large from his own Tracts, in Manuſcript, in the *Cottonian* Library.

“ The Lord General (ſays he) having ſent ſome Men
“ of good Account into the Iſland of *Gracioſa*, to ſee there
“ ſhould be no evil Meaſures offered to the *Portugueſe*,
“ having paſſed his Word to the contrary, thoſe Men advertiſed
“ him of four Sail of Ships deſcried from the
“ Shore, and one of them ſhewing greater than the reſt,
“ ſeemed to be a Carrack. My Lord conceived great Joy
“ upon this News, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons,
“ to be commanded by himſelf, the Lord *Thomas*
“ *Howard*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The next Ship to my
“ Lord of the Queen's was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William*
“ *Monſon* went, who received Direction from my
“ Lord to ſteer away South that Night, and if he ſhould
“ meet with any Fleet to follow them, carrying Lights,
“ ſhooting off his Ordnance, or any other Sign that he
“ could make; and if he met with no Ships, to direct his
“ Courſe, the next Day, to the Iſland of *St. Michael*'s;
“ but promiſing that Night to ſend 12 Ships after him.
“ Sir *William* beſought my Lord, by the Pinnace that
“ brought him this Direction, that above all Things he
“ ſhould have a care to diſpatch a Squadron to the Road

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that Vehemency by thoſe who were Enemies to Sir Walter, that if his Lordſhip, who was by Nature timorous and flexible, had not feared how it might have been taken in England, it was his Opinion Sir Walter would have ſmarted for it. Sir Arthur Gorges, who commanded as Captain under Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Rear-admiral, ſays, however, the Earl had a real Eſteem and Love for Sir Walter; and though he made a Shew of being diſpleaſed with his Conduct, aſſured him, in private, of his Satisfaction, and that he gave no Credit to the many Stories which were raiſed of him to leſſen him in his Favour. This indeed was before this laſt Action; but even after this, when Sir Walter went on-board the General, at his Arrival, the Earl's going aſhore with him to his Lodging, and ſeeming ſatisfy'd with him, before any Acknowledgment, and his dining with him on-board his Ship, in the moſt friendly Manner, ſoon after, ſeem to confirm what Sir Arthur avers.

[a] Sir Arthur Gorges ſays, one Mr. Hart, an Engliſh Gentleman, and a Fleming.

[b] This Carrack (ſays Sir Arthur Gorges) was a Ship of 1800 Tons Burden, of infinite Wealth, which watering at St. Hellen's, as ſhe came from the Eaſt-Indies, put over to Braſil, and ſo coaſted along the Weſt-Indies, and was freighted with the Riches both of the Weſt and the Eaſt. The Braſil-man was taken, and the Ship being found leaky, the Goods were taken out, and put into the Engliſh Ships.

of *Angra* in the *Terceras*, for it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would reſort.

“ Whilſt my Lord was thus contriving his Buſineſs, and ordering his Squadron, a ſmall Bark of his Fleet happened to come unto him, who aſſured him, that thoſe Ships diſcovered from the Land were of his own Fleet, for that they came immediately from them; this made my Lord countermand his former Direction, only Sir *William Monſon*, who was the next Ship unto him, and received the firſt Command, could not be recalled back. Within three Hours after his Departure from my Lord, and which might be about twelve of the Clock, he fell in Company of a Fleet of 25 Sail, which at the firſt he could not aſſure himſelf to be *Spaniards*; becauſe the Day before that Number of Ships was miſſing from our Fleet; here he was in a Dilemma, and a great Perplexity with himſelf; for in making Signs, as he was directed, if the Ships proved *Engliſh*, it were ridiculous, and he might be expoſed to Scorn, and to reſpite it until Morning were as dangerous, if they were the *India* Fleet; for then my Lord might be out of view, or of the hearing his Ordnance; therefore he reſolved rather to put his Perſon, than his Ship, in Peril. He commanded his Maſter to keep the Weather-gage of the Fleet, whatſoever ſhould become of him; and it blowing little Wind, he betook himſelf to his Boat, and rowed up with the Fleet, demanding whence they were. They anſwered of *Seville* in *Spain*; and aſked whence he was. He told them of *England*; and that the Ship in ſight was a Galleon of the Queen of *England*'s, ſingle and alone, alledging the Honour they would get by winning her, and urging them with daring Speeches to chaſe her. His Drift was to draw and intice them into the Wake of our Fleet, where they would be ſo intangled as they could not eſcape. They returned him ſome Shot and ill Language; but would not alter their Courſe to the *Terceras*, whither they were bound, and where they arrived to our Misfortune. Sir *William Monſon* returned aboard his Ship, making Signs with Lights, and Report with his Ordnance, but all in vain; for my Lord altering his Courſe, as you have heard, ſtood that Night to *St. Michael*'s, and paſſed by the N. Side of *Tercera*, a farther Way than if he had gone by the Way of *Angra*, where he would have met with the *India* Fleet.

“ When Day appeared, and Sir *William Monſon* was in hopes to find the 12 Ships promiſed to be ſent him, he might only diſcern the *Spaniſh* Fleet two Miles, or a little more ahead him, and aſtern him a Galleon, and a Pinnace betwixt them. The Galleon putting forth her Flag, he knew her to be the Earl of *Southampton*, in the *Garland*. The Pinnace was a Frigate of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, who took the *Garland* and *Rainbow* to be Galleons of theirs; but ſeeing the Flag of the *Garland*, ſhe found her Error, and ſprung aloof, thinking to eſcape; but the Earl purſued her with the Loſs of ſome Time, when he ſhould have followed the Fleet; and therefore was deſired to deſiſt from that Chaſe by Sir *William Monſon*, who ſent his Boat to him. By a Shot from my Lord, this Frigate was ſunk; and whilſt his Men were rifling her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their two Ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were two Galleons of theirs, and ſo much did my Lord ſignify to Sir *William Monſon*, wiſhing him to ſtay their coming up, for that there would be greater Hopes of thoſe two Ships, which no doubt but we were able to over-maſter, than of the Fleet, for which we were too weak.

“ After Sir *William* had made the two Ships to be the Queen's, which he ever ſuſpected, he began to purſue the *Spaniſh* Fleet afreſh; but by reaſon they were ſo far ahead of him, and had ſo little way to ſail, they recovered the Road of *Tercera*, whither he and the reſt of the Ships purſued them; and himſelf led the way into the Harbour, where he found ſharp Reſiſtance from the Caſtle; but yet we ſo battered the Ships, that we might ſee the Maſts of ſome ſhot by the Board, and of ſome, the Men quit the Ships; ſo that there wanted nothing but a Gale of Wind to enable him to cut the Cable of the Hawſers, and to bring them off; he therefore ſent to the other three great Ships of ours, to deſire them to attempt the cutting their Cables; but Sir *Francis Vere* rather wiſhed his coming off, that they might take a Reſolution what to do; this muſt be rather imputed to want of Experience, than Backwardneſs in him; for Sir *William* ſent him Word, that if he quitted the Harbour, the Ships would tow near the Caſtle, and as the Night drew on, the Wind would freſhen and come more off the Land; which indeed proved ſo, and we above a League from the Road, in the Morning.

“ We may ſay, and that truly, there was never that Poſſibility to have undone the State of *Spain* as now; for every Rial of Plate we had taken in this Fleet had been two to them, by our converting it by War upon them.

“ No Man can receive Blame hereby but the Want of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature to be over-ruled; for the firſt Hour he anchored at *Flores*, and called a Council, Sir *William Monſon* adviſed him, and upon the Reaſons following, *viz.* after his Watering, to run Weſt, ſpreading his Fleet North and South, as far as the Eaſtern Wind that then blew would carry them; alledging, that if the *India* Fleet came home that Year, by Computation of the laſt light Moon, from which Time their diſemboguing in the *Indies* muſt be reckoned, they could not be above 200 Leagues ſhort of that Iſland; and whenſoever the Wind ſhould chop up Weſterly, in a few Days (he bearing a ſlack Sail) they would overtake him, if they were to come home.

“ This Advice my Lord ſeemed to take; but he was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who coming principally for Land-ſervice, found themſelves tired with the Tediouſneſs of the Sea. It is certain, if my Lord had followed his Advice, within leſs than 40 Hours he had made the Queen Owner of that Fleet; for by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigate, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was but 50 Leagues in Traverſe with that Eaſtern Wind, when my Lord was at *Flores*; which made my Lord wiſh, the firſt Time Sir *William Monſon* repaired unto him, after the Eſcape of the Fleet, that he had loſt his Hand, ſo he had been ruled by him.

“ Being met aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, as you have heard, he deſired to conſult, what to do; we reſolved to acquaint my Lord with what had happened, deſiring his Preſence with us to be an Eye-witneſs if there were any Poſſibility to attempt the Shipping, or to ſurpriſe the Iſland, and ſo poſſeſs the Treaſure.

“ My Lord received this Advertiſement juſt as he was ready with his Troops to have landed in *St. Michael*'s; but this Meſſage diverted his Landing, and made him preſently caſt about for the Iſland of *Tercera*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his Courſe from *St. Michael*'s, it was his Hap to take three Ships that departed the *Havannah*, the Day after the Fleet; which three Ships did more than countervail the Expence of the whole Voyage.

“ At my Lord's Meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a Conſultation how the Enemy's Ships might be fetched off or deſtroyed, as they lay; but all Men, with one Conſent, declared the Impoſſibility of it. The attempting the Iſland was then propounded, but withſtood for theſe Reaſons; the Difficulty in Landing; the Strength of the Iſland, which was increaſed by 14 or 1500 Soldiers in the Ships, and the Want of Victuals in us to abide the Siege. Seeing then that we were fruſtrated of any Hopes at *Tercera*, we reſolved upon Landing at *St. Michael*'s, and arrived in *Punta Delgada*, the chief City. The Day following my Lord imbarked his ſmall Army in Boats, with offer to land; and having thereby drawn their greateſt Forces thither to reſiſt him, ſuddenly he rowed to *Villa Franca*, three or four Leagues diſtant from them; which he took, it not being defended by the Enemy. The Ships had Orders to abide in the Road of *Delgada*, for that my Lord made account to march thither by Land; but being aſhore at *Villa Franca*, and the March impoſſible, as he was told, by reaſon of the high and craggy Mountains, he altered his Purpoſe.

“ Victuals now grew ſhort in many Places; and my Lord General began diſcreetly to foreſee the Danger in abiding towards Winter upon theſe Coaſts, that could not afford him a Harbour, only open Roads, that were ſubject to the Southerly Winds; and upon every ſuch Wind he muſt have put to Sea for his Safety. He conſidered, that if this ſhould happen, when his Troops were on-ſhore, and he not able to ſeize the Land in a Fortnight, or more, which is a Thing ordinary, what a deſperate Caſe he ſhould put himſelf into for Want of Victuals; and weighing withal, that he had ſeen the End of all his Hopes, by the Eſcape of the Fleet, he embarked himſelf and Army, tho' with ſome Difficulty, the Seas were now grown ſo high.

“ By this time one half of the Fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada* put room for *Villa Franca*; and thoſe which remained behind, being imagined by a Ship of *Brazil* to be the *Spaniſh* Fleet, ſhe came in amongſt them, and was thus betrayed; after her there followed a Carrack, who had been ſerved in the like Manner, but for the haſty and indiſcreet weighing of a *Hollander*, that made her run aſhore under the Caſtle. When the Wind leſſened, Sir *William Monſon* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an Attempt upon her, notwithſtanding the Caſtle; which ſhe perceiving, as he drew near unto her, ſhe ſet herſelf on-fire, and burnt down to the very Keel; ſhe was a Ship of 1400 Tons in Burden, that the Year before was not able to double the Cape of *Bona Eſperanſa*, in her Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, but put into *Brazil*, where ſhe was laden with Sugars, and thus deſtroyed.

“ The *Spaniards* preſuming more upon their Advantages than Valour, thought themſelves in too weak a Condition to follow us to the Iſlands, and put their Fortunes upon a Day's Service; they rather deviſed ſubtilly to intercept us, as we ſhould come home, when we had leaſt Thought or Suſpicion of them, and the Fleet, that was all this while in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forth whilſt they knew ours to be upon the Coaſt, againſt the time we ſhould return. Their General, the *Adalantada*, came for *England*, with a Reſolution to land at *Falmouth*, to fortify it, and afterwards with their Ships to keep the Sea, and expect our coming home ſcattered. If they had thus cut off our Sea-forces, and poſſeſſed the Harbour of *Falmouth*, they propoſed with a ſecond Supply of 37 *Levantiſcos*, which the Marquis *Arumbullo* commanded, they hoped to have a good Footing in *England*.

“ Theſe Deſigns of theirs were not foreſeen by us; for we came home ſcattered, as they made Reckoning, not 20 in Number together.

“ We may ſay, and that truly, that GOD fought for us; for the *Adalantada*, being within a few Leagues of the Iſland of *Scilly*, had commanded all his Captains to board him, to receive his Directions; and whilſt they were buſy in Conſultation, a moſt violent Storm took them at Eaſt, inſomuch that the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but in no caſe were able to ſave their Boats; the Storm continued ſo forceable, that happy was he that could recover home, ſeeing their Deſign was thus overthrown by the Loſs of their Boats, their Means of landing being taken away. Some that were more willing to ſtay, and receive the farther Directions of the General, than the reſt, kept the Seas ſo long upon our Coaſt, that in the End they were taken; others put themſelves into our Harbours for Refuge and Succour; and it is certainly known, that in this Voyage the *Spaniards* loſt 18 Ships, the *St. Luke* and the *St. Bartholomew* being two, and in the Rank of his beſt Galleons.

“ We muſt aſcribe this Victory only to GOD; for certainly the Enemy's Deſigns were perilous, and not diverted by our Force; but by his Will, who from time to time would not ſuffer the *Spaniards* in any of their Attempts to ſet Footing in *England*, as we have done in all the Quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Iſlands, and both the *Indies*.

“ In this Voyage to the Iſlands, I have ſet down my Lord's Deſign upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, lying at *Ferrol*; wherein his Lordſhip required a Captain, he moſt relied on, to give his Opinion in Writing. Firſt, whether he ſhould attempt the Ships in Harbour, or no? Secondly, whether before or after his being at *Tercera*? And laſtly, the Manner how to aſſault them? The Captain's Anſwer was as follows; which the Reader may peruſe and judge of.”

To the Right Honourable the Earl of ESSEX.

“ In Anſwer to your Lordſhip's Demand, *Whether to give an Attempt upon the Ships in* Ferrol, *before the Landing your Men, and the Caſtles gained?* This I ſay, That before I can give my Reſolution, I muſt deſcribe the State of the Harbour, and the Situation of the Forts, with the Strength of the Ships; for out of theſe muſt proceed my Reaſons.

“ I conceive at the Entrance of the Harbour there are two Caſtles, the one on the South-ſide, the other on the North, both commanding any Ship that ſhall enter. They are ſeated low by the Water, the Cliffs on both Sides very high, and the Harbour to be chained.

“ My Opinion is, if your Lordſhip do land your Men in the Bay, before you take the Forts, as there is no other Place of landing, you muſt conſider it is as an open Road, the Coaſt ſubject to Northerly Winds, which beat ſo hard on the Shore, that you cannot land your Soldiers and their Furniture, with Conveniency and Safety, eſpecially being ſure to find Reſiſtance at your Landing.

“ But your Lordſhip may anſwer, That he who attempts great Things muſt run all Hazards; and as it is Wiſdom to forecaſt all Doubts and Dangers, ſo were it too great a Security not to hazard Loſs upon Hope of Victory; and whereas the Danger of landing, by reaſon of the Seas breaking on the Shore, is alledged, you may think we are not always ſure of a Northerly Wind, nor of ſo great a Sea; and therefore you muſt put your Attempt in Adventure.

“ But for your Lordſhip's Satisfaction in this Point, you muſt know, that you cannot ſeize that Coaſt, but with ſuch a Wind as makes ſuch a Sea, as renders it difficult for you to land. Or ſuppoſe, that being upon the Coaſt, as you were the laſt Year, when you came from *Cadiz*, and that the Wind ſhould now do, as then it did, chop up from the S.W. to the N.W. your Lordſhip would be embayed, and forced to ſeek the Harbour of the *Groyne* or *Ferrol*, and make good thoſe Places, which then you might have done. But now you muſt conſider your Army is not ſo great as it was then, and their Fortifications and Shipping much ſtronger than they were. My Opinion is, therefore, that there is little Poſſibility of attempting the Shipping, without gaining the Forts, neither do I ſee any Poſſibility to poſſeſs them, with your ſmall Army.

“ But your Lordſhip may alledge, that tho' the Forts are impregnable, yet they may be paſſed with a large Wind, for every Shot that comes from them hits not, or if it does, it kills not, but tho' it ſhould, it ſinks not.

“ I allow it is no great Difficulty to paſs any Fort with a Ship under Sail, being a moveable Thing, where no certain Aim can be had; yet I think no Place more dangerous than *Ferrol*, becauſe of the Highneſs of the Hills, and the Narrowneſs of the Entrance, that makes a continual Calm, or the little Wind ſo uncertain, that every Puff brings ſundry Shifts of Wind. Many of the King of *Spain*'s Ships have been there loſt; and therefore the Advantage of a Ship in paſſing a Caſtle, is the Force and Largeneſs of a Wind; as to the contrary, theſe Forts will be able to annoy a Ship upon the former Reaſons.

“ But allow that your Lordſhip's Fleet ſhould enter ſafely; for the greateſt Difficulty is not to paſs in, but to perform the Service when they are in; your Fleet being entered, they will be in the State of a Priſoner, that cannot get out of a Houſe, without Leave of his Keeper; for the Wind that is good and large for them to enter, is as much againſt their coming out; and therefore it behoves every Commander, as well to think of bringing himſelf off with Diſcretion, as of falling on with Reſolution.

“Hitherto I have ſhewn the Uncertainty of your Lordſhip's Landing, the Doubtfulneſs of your Attempt, and the Danger in not having the Caſtles; but I will now ſuppoſe the Forts to be ours, and the whole Shipping paſſed them, without any Loſs; yet will the Enemy have as great an Advantage as they can wiſh; for the Number of Men and Shipping, and the Greatneſs of their Veſſels, are known to exceed ours; and when there is an Equality in Shipping on both Sides, the Victory is not to be obtained on either Side, whilſt there is Ammunition and Men on the other Side, unleſs it be by a general Boarding, or Stratagem of firing; in which the *Spaniards* ſhall have Advantage of us, they being in their own Harbour, where they may be ſupplied, and we can have no Relief but what we bring with us.

“If your Lordſhip ſhall hold it convenient, as in Diſcretion I think you will, not to ſend in her Majeſty's Ships upon this Service, then you muſt conſider the reſt of your Fleet to be far inferior to the Enemy's Strength; and ſo you will ſend them apparently to their own Deſtruction, Slaughter, and Ruin.

“As I am againſt the Attempt of *Ferrol*, before you return from the Iſlands, ſo I am alſo againſt your Lordſhip's preſenting yourſelf upon that Coaſt; for in thinking to intice forth the Fleet, beſides that you ſhall diſcover your own Strength, you ſhall give them Occaſion to arm their Country; and beſides, it will be in their Choice, whether to fight with you, or no; for they will be able to diſcover and judge of your Forces; and ſuch is their Diſcipline, that tho' they had your Lordſhip upon Advantage, yet they dare not attempt you without a ſpecial Order from the King; which your Lordſhip found by Experience, in the Count of *Fuentes*'s Anſwer to your Lordſhip's Challenge, at the Walls of *Liſbon*. And to conclude, ſince your Lordſhip intends to go from *Ferrol* to *Tercera*, it were much better, in my Opinion, firſt to attempt that Iſland, while your Army is ſtrong and in Health. It is a Place of much more Importance, and more Likelihood of prevailing, than in your Enterpriſe upon the Shipping; that Iſland being poſſeſſed, will draw Contributions from the reſt to maintain it. Your Lordſhip will cut off the Supplies the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* receive from both the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*; your Lordſhip will provide a Place of Refuge for our Fleet hereafter, from whence they may with Eaſe keep the Seas, and endanger all the Trades aforeſaid; your Lordſhip will unite that Iſland to the Crown of *England*, and if there be an Agreement of Peace betwixt the two Nations, you will gain advantageous Conditions to the State of *England*; upon a Treaty, your Lordſhip will be in a Poſſibility of drawing the Armada of *Ferrol* to purſue you thither, that Iſland importing them ſo much to defend, and then your Lordſhip will have your Deſire to fight them upon equal Terms at Sea. If you attempt *Ferrol* firſt, and ſhould happen to be repulſed, your Lordſhip will confeſs it will be ſo great a Diſhonour and Loſs, that you will not be able to reſolve upon any other Service, and then will your Expedition for *Tercera* be utterly void; whereas, if you would pleaſe to make your Attempt upon *Tercera* firſt, it will not take away your Hope of *Ferrol* afterwards; for in your Return from thence, you will find the Shipping either in the ſame State you left them, in the Harbour, or if you meet them at Sea, you will encounter them to Advantage. Thus have I anſwered your Lordſhip's Demand, as you required.

“*W. M.*”

Many Cenſures, and thoſe very different ones, paſſed upon this Expedition, according as People were inclined in Regard to *Eſſex*, or from an Averſion to *Raleigh*. The Quarrel between theſe Gentlemen began now to appear more public and fierce; each laying the Blame of the late Miſmanagement on the other. They agreed, however, in the Account of this Expedition mentioned above, which was ſigned by them both, and which they conclude in the following Manner:

“And now we have given an Account of all our whole Carriage till we bare for *England*. If our coming home ſcattering be objected, we muſt plead the Violence of Storms, againſt which no Fore-directions, nor preſent Induſtry can prevail. We muſt conclude with this, That as we would have acknowledged, that we had done but our Duties, if we had defeated the *Adelantada*, taken the *Spaniſh* Treaſure, and conquered the Iſlands of the *Azores*; ſo, we having failed of nothing that GOD gave us Means to do, we hoped her Majeſty will think our painful Days, careful Nights, evil Diet, and many Hazards, deſerve not now to be meaſured by the Event. The like honourable and juſt Conſtruction we promiſe ourſelves at the Hands of all my Lords. As for others, who have ſat warm at home, and deſcant upon us, we know they wanted Strength to perform more, and believe they wanted Courage to adventure ſo much.”

The laſt Tranſaction by Sea mentioned in this Year, is an Expedition [a] on the Account of Mr. *Charles Leigh* and Mr. *Abraham van Herwick*, of *London*, Merchants; who fitted out the *Hopewell* of 120 Tons, under the Command of *William Crafton*; and the *Chancewell* of 70 Tons, commanded by *Stephen Bennet*.

Theſe Ships departed from *Graveſend* on the 8th of *April*, with Mr. *Leigh* the Owner aboard, and Mr. *Stephen van Herwick*, Brother to the other Owner; and arrived upon the Banks of *Newfoundland*, in their way to Cape *Breton*, on the 18th of *May*. They entered the Bay of *Aſſumption*, where the *Hopewell* had a Skirmiſh with a *French* Interloper; and having put to Sea again, they ſailed for *Caplen* Bay, and repaired a Pinnace of between ſeven and eight Tons; with which they put to Sea again, and came to an Anchor at the N. E. End of the Iſland *Menego*, where they caught great Store of Cod. They did the like at *Brian*'s Iſland. But proceeding to the Iſland of *Ramea*, the *Hopewell* having loſt Company of the *Chancewell*, was obliged to retreat with the Loſs of the Pinnace, and an Anchor and Cable, by the ſuperior Force of four *French* Fiſhermen belonging to *St. Malo* and *Sibiburo*, after ſeveral Engagements.

The *Hopewell* cruiſed on the Main of Cape *Breton* in queſt of her Companion; and at laſt found eight of her Men in a Shallop, and ſtripped to their very Shirts by the *French*; the *Chancewell* having on the 23d been caſt away on that Coaſt. After this the *Hopewell* ſteered towards the Wreck, in order to ſave out of her as much as poſſible; and in the way meeting a great *Biſcaian* of 300 Tons returning from pillaging of the ſaid Wreck, obliged him to reſtore the greateſt Part of the Stores, *&c.* and off of *St. Laurence*'s they took a *Spaniſh* Ship; but were obliged to give her up in Ranſom for ſome of their Men, who permitted themſelves to be ſurpriſed in their Boat by ſome Barks belonging to *St. John de Luz*. However, this Loſs was made up by the Capture of a Ship of 200 Tons, carrying 40 Men, belonging to *Belliſle*, and at Anchor in the Port of Cape *St. Mary*'s. The *Engliſh* boarded her, and cut her away after a ſmart Engagement; in which Mr. *Leigh*, having got what Fiſh and Oil he could, and diſpatched the *Hopewell* to the *Azores*, returned for *England*, and arrived in the River of *Thames* in the Beginning of *September*.

The Year 1598 was introduced with another Expedition at the Expence of the Earl of *Cumberland*, and ſeveral other of her Majeſty's Subjects [b]; who fitted out 20 Sail of ſtout Ships, whoſe Names with their Commanders were as follows: The *Scourge of Malice*, Admiral, the Earl himſelf, and under him Captain *John Watts* outwards, and Captain *James Langton* homewards; *Merchant-Royal*, Vice-admiral, Sir *John Berkley*; *Aſcenſion*, Rear-admiral, Captain *Robert Flicke*; *Samſon*, Captain *Henry Clifford*, and after his Death, Captain *Chriſtopher Colthurſt*; *Alcedo*, Captain *John Ley*, and homewards Captain *Thomas Cotch*; *Conſent*, Captain *Francis Slingſby*; *Proſperous*, Captain *James Langton*,

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[a] Hackluit, part III. p. 195.

[b] Harris's Collection, Vol. I. p. 688. First Edition.

Langton, and homewards Captain *John Watts*; *Centurion*, Captain *Henry Palmer*, and homewards his Son *William Palmer*; Galleon *Conſtance*, Captain *Hercules Folyambe*; *Affection*, Captain *Flemming*; *Guiana*, Captain *Chriſtopher Coltburſt*, and homewards Captain *Gerard Middleton*; *Scout*, Captain *Henry Joliffe*; *Anthony*, Captain *Robert Careleſs*, and after his Death Captain *Andrew Andrews*; *Pegaſus*, Captain *Edward Goodwin*; *Royal Defence*, Captain *Henry Bromley*; *Margaret and John*, Captain *John Dixon*; *Barkley Bay*, Captain *John Ley*; old Frigate, Captain *William Harper*; and two Barges for landing Men.

On-board this Fleet were alſo ſhipped many Gentlemen Voluntiers; amongſt whom were not a few well experienced in military Affairs, who propoſed to make a Deſcent on the *Spaniſh* Dominions; Sir *John Barkley* being appointed Lieutenant-general under the Earl. It ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *March*; and they made the beſt of their way for the Coaſt of *Old Spain*, hoping to meet with five rich Carracks bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, and 20 *Brazil* Merchantmen, which they were informed waited their ſailing Orders from the *Spaniſh* Court. But their Appearance on the Coaſt too ſoon, fruſtrated the general Expectations of theſe Prizes; their ſailing Orders being countermanded. So that after the *Engliſh* Fleet had ſearched all the Coaſt as far as Cape *St. Vincent*, without taking any thing but a *Hamburgher* laden with Corn, Copper, Powder, and other prohibited Goods, a *French* Ship laden with Salt, and two *Flemiſh* Veſſels laden with Corn, they fetcht their Courſe for the *Canaries*, and landed on the Iſland *Lancerota*, which they took and ravaged, without much Reſiſtance, or Advantage.

This Iſland, and that of *Forleventura* adjoining thereto, were under the abſolute Command of a *Spaniſh* Marquis, who had a very ſtrong Stone-caſtle, no otherwiſe acceſſible than by Ladders, flanked and fortified in the moſt advantageous Manner, and defended by a great Number of Braſs-guns, and 200 Guards and Servants; and yet, tho' 20 Men might with Eaſe have defended it againſt 500, they courageouſly fled, and left it a Prey to the *Engliſh*, ſo terrible was the very Name of them to the *Spaniards* at that time.

They ſailed from hence on the 21ſt of *April* for *Dominica*; and landed there on the 23d of *May*, and ſtaid till the 1ſt of *June* to water and refit.

At the *Virgin* Iſlands the Earl landed, and muſtered all his Men; and then declared, in a full Aſſembly, that his Deſign was upon *Puerto Ricco*; where arriving at length on the 6th of *June*, they landed 1000 Men, attacked the Town of that Name, and after having taken the Fort and Caſtles, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it, with the Loſs of not above 30 Men; tho' there was in the Place a Garriſon of 400, who made a ſtout Reſiſtance the firſt Attack, and obliged the *Engliſh* to retire.

Their Paſſage to the Town, after they were landed, was over horrid Cliffs and Rocks, with only one Negroe, half frightened to Death, for their Guide. Between theſe Cliffs and the Iſland, on which the Town ſtood, was a ſmall Arm of the Sea, and they had no Boats to carry them over, which put them to a Stand what to do. At length they diſcovered a Communication between the two Iſlands by a narrow Cauſeway, leading to a Bridge which was drawn up. On the other Side of the Bridge was a ſtrong Barricado, and beyond that a Fort, from whence the *Spaniards* ſcoured the Cauſeway with ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance, and their ſmall Arms. They had beſides made this Cauſeway ſo rugged and difficult of Paſſage, that the *Engliſh* choſe rather to wade in the Water by the Side of it.

However, neither theſe Diſcouragements, nor the Heat of the Day, nor the Darkneſs of the enſuing Night, nor the Misfortune which befel the Earl, who was carried off very ill by a Fall from the Cauſeway into the Sea (where the Weight and Incumbrance of his Armour had very near drowned him) diſpirited the Soldiers, who preſſed on with an undaunted Courage to the very Gate of the Barricado, and began to hew down with Bills and Hatchets. But they met with ſo ſtout a Reſiſtance from the *Spaniards*, and the Day, together with the Tide, which obliged them to fight up to their Waiſts in Water, coming in upon them, that they were obliged to retire. The next Attack was attended with better Succeſs; and indeed the Deſign was better laid and carried on; for while a Party of Muſketeers was employed to beat the Enemy from their Ordnance on one Side, another of Shot and Pikes was ſet aſhore on the other Side, between the Fort and the Town; and the former played their Parts ſo well, that the latter had a fair Opportunity of landing without Oppoſition. The *Spaniards*, after a briſk Reſiſtance, retired from their Fort, leaving it in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*; and they ſoon deſerted the Town likewiſe; a Town larger than *Portſmouth*, within the Fortifications, well built, and beautified with a fine Monaſtery and Cathedral.

The Earl of *Cumberland* being now poſſeſſed of the Town and Port, which was accounted by the *Spaniards* the Key of *America*, was fully determined, on account of its convenient Situation, to have made it a Place of War, and from thence to have cruiſed upon the Enemy. This Deſign not only pleaſed his Lordſhip, but was ſo highly agreeable to all the *Engliſh* under his Command, that they whoſe Names were enrolled in the Liſt appointed to ſtay, thought themſelves much favoured. Therefore the Earl rejected all Offers of Ranſom, and obliged all the Inhabitants to depart, notwithſtanding they made him conſiderable Offers of rich Goods, beſides Gold and Silver-plate, if they might be allowed to continue in their Houſes. But theſe Meaſures were ſoon fruſtrated by a violent Flux which carried off ſo many of his Men, that the Number left could not be ſufficient both for manning the Fleet home, and keeping the Place. They went aſhore at firſt above 1000 in Number; but now they were ſo reduced, by this and other Diſtempers, that they could hardly reckon above 300 [*], which ſo diſcouraged thoſe left behind, who expected no better Fate than their Companions, that the Earl reſolved not to ſtay, and ſhewed a Willingneſs to treat with the *Spaniards* for the Ranſom of their Iſland and City; but they were ſo far from being ſo free in their Offers, as they had been at firſt, that being ſenſible of the miſerable State of Health of the *Engliſh*, they appeared to deal very coldly and indifferently in the Matter, and to have ſome other treacherous Deſigns on-foot. In the mean time he took a Caravel from *Margarita* which came into the Harbour, with Paſſengers bound for *Spain*, and the Value of about 1000 Ducats in Pearl. By her the Earl being informed that the Pearl-cheſt at *Margarita* was at that time vaſtly rich, and but ſlenderly guarded, his Lordſhip ordered three Ships thither to attempt the taking this Treaſure; but *Margarita* lying S. E. or S. E. and by S. from *Puerto Ricco*, and the Winds at that time of the Year blowing conſtantly E. S. E. or S. E. and by E. they were forced back fruſtrate of their Hopes. And finding that the *Spaniards* continued trifling with him, and being confirmed in his Opinion that they had ſome Treachery in View, that Earl ſet ſail himſelf from *Puerto Ricco*, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, leaving Sir *John Berkley* there, as well with the better half of the Fleet, as with full Power and Commiſſion to do all Things in his Abſence.

His Lordſhip took with him the *Scourge* and the *Sampſon*, and of the ſmaller Veſſels, the *Royal Defence*, the Frigate, the *Scout*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Guiana*, and two little Ships, a *Frenchman*, and a *Spaniſh* Frigate, which he found in the Harbour. So that he left with Sir *John* the Strength of the Navy, the *Aſcenſion*, the Galleon, the *Alcedo*, the *Conſent*, the *Pegaſus*, the *Centurion*, two ſtrong Fly-boats, and the *Anthony*.

The Reaſon of the Earl's Departure, and leaving Sir *John Berkley* to finiſh his Concerns at *Puerto Ricco* was the earneſt Deſire he had of being early at the Iſlands, where he hoped to intercept the *Mexico* Fleet, or ſome of the Carracks. How long Sir *John* ſtaid after the Earl was gone is uncertain; as is alſo what Concluſion was made of the Affair between the *Spaniards* and them; but this is certain, that after a violent Storm (in which both Fleets were very near loſt) Sir *John's* Ships came up with the Earl's at the Iſland of *Flores*; from whence they departed on the ſixteenth of *September*, and proceeded to *England*, without meeting with any remarkable Adventure, and arrived there in the Month of *October*, with the Booty, brought off from *Puerto Ricco* Expedition, which was only ſome Quantities of Hides, Ginger, and Sugar, 80 Pieces of Ordnance, with ſome Ammunition, the Bells of the Churches, and about the Value of 1000 Ducatoons of Pearl; and, as it is ſuppoſed, a large Quantity of Gold. This Expedition was of conſiderable Service to the Nation, and great Damage to the *Spaniards*, in hindering the Carracks from making their Voyage to the *Indies* for this Year, and the Return of the *Spaniſh* Plate-fleet from *America*.

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[*] Camden.

The Loſs of Ships and Men in this Voyage was, according to *Purchas*, a Barge ſunk in the Haven, by his Lordſhip's Order, to the Prejudice of the Enemy; another Barge caſt away in a Storm at the *Bermudas*; the *Pegaſus* loſt on the *Goodwin* Sands; and the old Frigate at *Uſhant*. In return for which may be reckoned the few Ships taken in this Voyage; of Men 600, which died of the bloody Flux and Calenture at *Puerto Ricco*; 60 ſlain in Fight, and about 40 drowned in the Wrecks of the old Frigate and the *Pegaſus*.

Sir *William Monſon*, in his Reflexions upon this Expedition, ſays, "The Error committed in the Proſecution of this Voyage muſt be imputed to my Lord himſelf, in not forecaſting how to prevent the Hazards and Fears that might be Impediments to his Deſigns; therefore he worthily deſerved Blame, to preſent himſelf and Fleet in the Eye of *Liſbon*, to be there diſcovered, knowing that the ſecret Carriage thereof gave Life and Hopes to the Action. By a familiar Example of a Man that being ſafely ſeated in a Houſe, and in Danger of an Arreſt, knows that Catchpoles lie to attack him, and yet notwithſtanding will venture abroad, and not ſeek to avoid them: So fared it with the Carracks at that Time, who rather choſe to keep themſelves in Harbour, than venture upon an unavoidable Danger.

"If my Lord had done well and providently, his Fleet ſhould have been furniſhed without Rumour, Noiſe, or Notice, in ſeveral Harbours in *England*; the Men that went in them not to know or imagine the Deſign of their Voyage, or that they ſhould meet to compoſe a main Fleet, till they were come to the Height the Carracks were to ſail in; and after that each Captain to have opened their Directions, with a ſpecial Caution not to appear within Sight of the Shore, for Fear of Diſcovery. This Way, and no other, there was to lull the *Portugueſe* into Security, or to avoid Miſtruſt, till they had fallen into their Hands.

"My Lord's other Hope, if this ſhould fail, was to give an Attempt with his Land-forces, either upon ſome Iſland or Town, that would yield him Wealth and Riches, being the chief End of his Undertaking; and after many Propoſitions made at Council, his Reſolution was to make an Attempt upon the Iſland of *Puerto Ricco*, in which Iſland there is a Town of convenient Bigneſs and Strength, which my Lord not long after took and poſſeſſed, with little Loſs of Men, on either Side, becauſe they came to Compoſition.

"Herein lies my Part to except againſt this Deſign of my Lord's, as I promiſed in my former Relations; for whereas all Mens Actions have a reaſonable Shew of Likelihood of Good to redound to them, in their intended Enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive, how a Land-attempt upon Towns could yield my Lord any Profit, or the Merchants that adventured with him; for my Lord, by Experience, well knew, having been himſelf at the taking of ſome Towns, that they afforded little Wealth to the Takers; becauſe Riches of Value will be either buried, or ſecretly conveyed away, and for Merchandiſes of great Bulk, which that poor Iſland yielded, it was only ſome few Hides, black Sugar, and Ginger, which would not amount to any great Matter, to countervail the Charge of ſo coſtly a Voyage.

"Commonly that Iſland ſends out two or three Ships, of a reaſonable Burden, to tranſport the yearly Commodities that it yields; for tho' it have Name of being in the *Indies*, yet it is a Place remote, and unfrequented with Traffick, either from the *Indies*, or any other Place: Or tho' the Iſland ſhould be ſurprized, at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year as their Commodities were ripe, and ready for Tranſportation, yet the Value is not to be eſteemed, where ſo many People that adventured with my Lord were to look for a Dividend, according to their Adventure.

"And yet I will not deny, but by Accident this Iſland was made worthy an Attempt upon it, by Example of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, who, as you have heard, ſailed thither, on their own Account, *Anno* 1595. And their Defeat made it the more admired, and purchaſed my Lord's greater Honour, in that he carried it with a ſmaller Number of Men, and leſs Loſs, than *Drake* was repulſed with.

"But becauſe Time and Opportunity alter the Circumſtances of Things, therefore, to ſatisfy theſe common and vulgar People, who judge according to Event, and not Reaſon, you ſhall underſtand the Difference, and the Cauſe that made the Difference, betwixt Sir *Francis Drake* in the Year 1595, and the Earl of *Cumberland* in 1598.

"Sir *Francis Drake* was commanded thither by Directions from the Queen; not that ſhe expected Profit or Benefit from the Iſland, which ſhe well knew of itſelf was unworthy of any Enterprize; but what ſhe did was upon Intelligence ſhe received of a Galleon of Plate, which, with the Loſs of her Maſts, was forced into that Iſland, as I gave an Account, when I treated before of that Voyage of 1595.

"In the mean Time, five Frigates were preparing in *Spain* to bring home that Treaſure, and in them to the Number of 8 or 900 Soldiers, who, in their Courſe to *Puerto Ricco*, ſurprized a Pinnace of Sir *Francis Drake*'s Fleet, that gave Intelligence of his Deſign, as well againſt that Place as *Nombre de Dios*, whither he was bound; by which Accident his Deſigns were prevented, and the Enemy had Leiſure to fortify, ſtrengthen, and man the Towns, with the Soldiers brought in by the Frigate, which made Sir *Francis Drake* ſuddenly and diſhonourably retire, with the Loſs of divers Gentlemen, and others of good Quality. This Misfortune was ſuppoſed to haſten the Death of Sir *John Hawkins*, who then died, after he had ſeen himſelf thus repulſed.

"My Lord might as well have conſidered, that no Uſe could be made of the Situation of that Iſland, as of other Iſlands of leſs Value and Riches there might be; as for Inſtance the *Tercera*, which tho' the Soil yields not that Plenty and Profit, which *Puerto Ricco* does, yet, by our inhabiting it, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* would find great Annoyances in their Return from their *Indies*, *Brazil*, and *Guinea*, in which Seas our Ships would continually lie, and endeavour cutting them off. As, on the contrary, *Puerto Ricco* is ſeated ſo loneſome, that they have ſcarce the Sight of a Ship in the whole Year, except thoſe few of their own I have formerly ſpoken of."

The Year 1599 makes a good Appearance in the Naval Hiſtory of *England*, if we view the royal Fleet, which was rigg'd, victualled, and furniſh'd in the ſhort ſpace of 12 Days. This Fleet conſiſted of the following Ships and Commanders[a]: The *Elizabeth-Jonas*, the Lord *T. Howard*; *Ark-Royal*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*; *Triumph*, Sir *Fulk Grivell*; *Mary-Honora*, Sir *Henry Palmer*; *Repulſe*, Sir *Thomas Vavaſor*; *Garland*, Sir *William Harris*; *Defiance*, Sir *William Monſon*; *Nonpariel*, Sir *Robert Croſs*; *Lion*, Sir *Richard Leviſon*; *Rainbow*, Sir *Alexander Clifford*; *Hope*, Sir *John Gilbert*; *Foreſight*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*; *Mary-Roſe*, Mr. *Forteſcue*; *Bonaventure*, Capt. *Throughton*; *Crane*, Capt. *Jones*; *Swiftſure*, Capt. *Bradgate*; *Tramontane*, Captain *Slingſby*; *Advantage*, Capt. *Hore*, in his printed Tracts *White*; *Quittance*, Cap. *Reynolds*.

But Sir *William Monſon* remarks, that "tho' there was never greater Expectation of War, there was never leſs Performance: Whether it was a Miſtruſt one Nation had of the other, or Policy held on both Sides, to make Peace with Sword in Hand, a Treaty being entertained by Conſent of each Prince, I am not to examine; but ſure I am, the Preparation was great on both Sides, one expecting an Invaſion from the other. It was, however, generally conceived, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only Relation to my Lord of *Eſſex*, who was then in *Ireland*, and had a Deſign to try his Friends in *England*, and to be revenged of his Enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved after by his Fall [a]. However it was, the Charge was not ſo great as neceſſary; for it was commonly known the *Adalantada* had drawn both his Ships and Gallies to the *Groyne*, which was not uſually done, but upon ſome intended Action for *England* or *Ireland*; tho' he converted them afterwards to another Uſe.

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[a] Sir William Monſon's Tracts MS.

“The Gallies were ſent into the *Low-Countries*, and paſſed the Narrow-Seas whilſt our Ships lay there, and with the Fleet the *Adalantada* purſued the *Hollanders* to the Iſlands, whither he ſuſpected they were gone. This Fleet of *Hollanders*, which conſiſted of 73 Sail, were the firſt Ships that ever diſplayed their Colours in warlike Sort againſt the *Spaniards*, in any Action of their own; for how cruel ſoever the War ſeemed to be in *Holland*, they maintained a peaceable Trade in *Spain*, and abuſed us [b]. And as this was the firſt Action of the *Hollanders*, ſo it was not the moſt ſucceſsful for them. For after their Spoil of a Town in the *Canaries*, and ſome Hurt done at the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, they kept the Sea for ſeven or eight Months, in which Time their General and moſt of their Men died with Sickneſs, and the reſt returned with Loſs and Shame. The ſecond Benefit we received by this Preparation was, that our Men were taught ſuddenly to arm, every Man knowing his Command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of; and who knows not that ſudden and falſe Alarms in Armies are ſometimes very neceſſary.

“The Expedition which was then uſed in drawing together ſo great an Army by Land, and Rigging ſo great and royal a Navy to Sea, in ſo little Space, was ſo admirable in other Countries, that they received a Terror by it; and many that came from beyond the Sea ſaid, the Queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing ſhe ever did.

“*Frenchmen* that came a-board our Ships, did wonder at it, as a Thing incredible, that her Majeſty had rigged, victualled, and furniſhed her royal Ships to Sea, in 12 Days Time: And *Spain*, as an Enemy, had Reaſon to fear and grieve, to ſee this ſudden Preparation; but more, when ſhe underſtood how the Hearts of her Majeſty's Subjects joined with their Hands; for with one Conſent they were ready to ſpend their deareſt Blood for her and her Service. *Holland* might likewiſe ſee, that if they became inſolent, we ſhould be as ſoon provided for them, as they for themſelves, which Celerity they did hardly believe to find in any Nation but themſelves.

“It is probable too, that the King of *Spain*, and the Archduke, where drawn by this to entertain Thoughts of Peace; for as ſoon as our Fleet was at Sea, a Gentleman was ſent from *Bruſſels* with an Overture of Peace; altho', for that Time, it ſucceeded not. Whether it was that the intended Invaſion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her Majeſty was fully ſatisfied of my Lord of *Eſſex*, I know not; but one or other is very likely, by the ſudden Return of the Ships from Sea, by her Command, after they had lain three Weeks or a Month in the *Downs*.”

Sir *William* then gives a ſummary Account of the Queen's cautionary Squadron fitted out next Year under the Command of Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Admiral of the narrow Seas.

“The laſt Year, as the Reader has heard, put all Men in Expectation of War, which yet came to nothing; this Summer gave us great Hopes of Peace, but with the like Effect; for by Conſent of the Queen, the King of *Spain*, and the Archduke, their Commiſſioners met at *Boulogne* in *Picardy* to treat of a Peace, a Place choſen indifferently, the King of *France* being in League and Friendſhip with them all. Whether their meeting was but a Show, as being out of Hopes to effect a Peace; or that their ſeparating after they met, was upon adviſed and juſt Grounds, I know not; but methinks the Occaſion was but very ſlender that parted them. There grew a Difference of Precedency, betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, which was ever due to *England*; and ſo that happy Buſineſs was made fruſtrate, which once more, I ſay, if it had been really intended, might eaſily have been accommodated.

“The Queen ſuſpecting the Event hereof before their Meeting, and the rather becauſe the *Spaniards* entertained her with the like Treaty in 1588, at the ſame Inſtant his Navy appeared upon her Coaſt to invade her, and leſt her Majeſty ſhould be blamed or condemned, by other Princes of too great Security, in relying upon the Succeſs of this uncertain Treaty, ſhe furniſhed three Ships; the *Repulſe*, Sir *Richard Leviſon*; *Warſpight*, Captain *Throughton*; *Vanguard*, Captain *Sommers*; but in ſhew to guard the Weſtern Coaſt, which at that Time was infeſted with *Dunkirkers*.

“And becauſe there ſhould be the leſs Notice taken of this little Fleet, part of the Victuals was provided at *Plymouth*, and Sir *Ricard Leviſon*, who was then Admiral of the narrow Seas, was appointed General, for the more ſecret and provident Carriage of theſe Ships, ſo as it could not be conjectured, either by their Victualling, or by the mean Condition of their Commander, being only Admiral of the narrow Seas, that it was deſigned a Service from home. When they were in a Readineſs at *Plymouth*, expecting their Orders, the Queen being fully ſatisfied that the Treaty of *Boulogne* would break off without Effect, ſhe commanded Sir *Richard Leviſon* to haſten to the Iſlands, there to expect the Carracks and *Mexico* Fleet. The *Spaniards*, on the other Side, being as circumſpect to prevent a Miſchief, as we were ſubtle to contrive it; and truſting, as we did, that the Peace would prove a vain hopeleſs Shew of what was never meant, they furniſhed 18 tall Ships to the Iſlands, as they had uſually done, ſince the Year 1591. The General of this Fleet was Don *Diego de Borachero*.

“Our Ships came nigh to the Iſlands, and both they and the *Spaniards* had Intelligence of one another, but not the Sight; for Sir *Richard Leviſon* hailed 60 Leagues to the Weſtward, not only to avoid them, but in Hopes to meet with the Carracks and *Mexico* Fleet, before their joining; but the Carracks being formerly warned by the taking one of them, and the burning another in 1591, I know not whether to impute it to Detections or to their Foreſight; but it is moſt certain, that ſince that Year, they ſhunned the Sight of that Iſland, and by Conſequence of the Fleet that lay to wait for them. Our Fleet being thus prevented, as they had often before been, whereby the Uncertainty of Sea-actions may be diſcerned, where Ships are to meet one another caſually; and they having conſumed their Time and Victuals, and ſeen not ſo much as one Sail, from the Time they quitted the Coaſt of *England*, until their Return, two Ships of *Holland* excepted, that came from the *Eaſt-Indies* (for then began their Trade thither) which Ships Sir *Richard Leviſon* relieved, finding them in great Diſtreſs and Want.”

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[a] The Earl of Eſſex having, upon his Submiſſion, been re-admitted into Favour, was made Lord-deputy of Ireland, where the Earl of Tyr-Oen had gained great Advantages over the Engliſh, had cauſed the whole Province of Munſter to revolt, and had brought almoſt the whole Kingdom into the ſame Diſpoſition, by his Aſſurances of the powerful Aſſiſtance they might expect from the Pope and the Spaniards. About the latter End of March, the Earl ſet ſail for that Kingdom with an Army of 20000 Foot and 1300 Horſe, which were afterwards augmented to 2000, the moſt formidable Army the Engliſh ever had in that Iſland. His Commiſſion was very extenſive, even to the Power of continuing or ending the War as he ſhould think fit; but it was particularly inſerted in it, that, laying aſide all other Affairs, he ſhould apply himſelf wholly to purſue and ruin Tyr-oen, the chief of the Rebels. This he himſelf had firſt propoſed in Council; and yet, no ſooner was he in Ireland, than he acted directly contrary to his Inſtructions. He ſpent the whole Summer, and waſted his Army in trifling Expeditions; and then, having firſt had a private Conference with the Rebel, unadviſedly concluded a diſadvantageous Truce with him, and returned to England, without the Queen's Permiſſion, to juſtify his Conduct. The Queen received him with ſome ſeeming Marks of Favour; but ſoon after committed him to Cuſtody.

[b] It ſeems the Dutch began theſe underhand Dealings, which they have ſince ſo conſtantly purſued, in the very Infancy of their Republick, even to thoſe who made them what they were.

"In the Year 1600, and part of the Year 1601 (ſays the ſame Author) there was a kind of Ceſſation from Arms, though not by Agreement; for this Year gave Hopes of Peace, which failing, the former Courſe of annoying each other was revived; we in relieving the Low-countries, the *Spaniards* in aſſiſting the Rebels in *Ireland.* This was the Summer that the Archduke beſieged *Oſtend*, which was bravely defended, but principally by the Supplies out of *England.* Towards Winter, when the *Spaniards* thought we leaſt looked for War, Don *Diego de Borachero*, with 48 Sail of Ships, and 4000 Soldiers, was ſent to invade *Ireland.*

"In his Way thither he loſt the Company of his Vice-admiral *Siriago*, who returned to the *Groyne*; which when the King heard, he was much diſtaſted with *Siriago*, and commanded him upon his Allegiance to haſten with all Speed to *Ireland*, as he was formerly directed. Don *Diego*'s Landing being known in *England*, tho' too late to prevent it, yet leſt he ſhould be ſupplied with farther Forces, Sir *Richard Leviſon* [a] valiantly entered the Harbour where he rode, drew near to the Fortifications he had raiſed, and fought the Enemy the Space of one whole Day, his Ship being an Hundred Times ſhot thro', and but eight Men ſlain. God ſo bleſſed him that he prevailed in his Enterpriſe, deſtroyed their whole Shipping, and made *Siriago* fly by Land into another Harbour, where he obſcurely embarked himſelf, in a *French* Veſſel, for *Spain.*

"All this while the main Arm, which landed with their General Don *Juan de Aquila*, was at *Kingſale*, expecting the Aid of *Tyr-Oen*, who promiſed every Day to be with him. Our Army, whereof the Lord *Mountjoy* was General, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (in the Room of the Earl of *Eſſex)* beſieged the Town, ſo that he prevented their Meeting, and many Skirmiſhes paſt betwixt them.

"This Siege was continued with great Miſeries to both Armies, and not without Cauſe, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and the Condition of the Country, that afforded little Relief to either. Some few Days before *Chriſtmas, Tyr-Oen* appeared with his Forces, which was a little Heartning to the Enemy, in hopes to be freed of their Impriſonment, for ſo may I call it, they were ſo ſtrictly beleaguered.

"The Day of Agreement betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Tyr-Oen* to give Battle was *Chriſtmas* Eve, which Day there happened an Earthquake in *England.* And as many Times ſuch Signs betoken *aut bonum aut malum Omen*, this proved fortunate to us. The Victory being obtained with ſo little Loſs, as is almoſt incredible.

"This was the Day of Tryal, whether *Ireland* ſhould continue a Parcel of our Crown or no; for if the Enemy had prevailed in the Battle, and a Treaty had not hereafter obtained more than Force, it is to be feared, *Ireland* would hardly have been ever recovered. The *Spaniards*, in *Ireland*, ſeeing the bad Succeſs of *Tyr-Oen*, and the Impoſſibility for him to reinforce his Army, being hopeleſs of Supplies out of *Spain*, and their Poverty daily increaſing, they made Offers of a Parley, which was granted, and a Peace enſued; the Conditions whereof are extant. They were furniſhed with Ships, and ſecured of their Paſſage into *Spain*, where arriving in *Engliſh* Veſſels, the Ships returned back for *England.*"

This is the memorable Year [b], in which the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company was firſt chartered. The Reader may recollect that we have produced manifeſt Tokens of a Communication with the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſo early as in the Days of our famous King *Alfred* [c]; tho' without a Continuance. Yet the Spices and other Commodities of the Eaſt found their way into this Iſland by foreign Bottoms, at firſt thro' the *Red-Sea* by *Alexandria*, and afterwards by the way of *Trebezon, Damaſcus*, and *Aleppo*, which increaſed the Trade of the free Cities or States of *Venice, Genoa, Piſa*, &c. And thoſe Goods were not only vended in all the Countries bordering upon the *Mediterranean*, but were ſent to *England, Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and all over the *Baltic*, which gave Encouragement to the Traffic of *Bruges*, where the Commodities of the North, as Corn, Naval Stores, *&c.* were lodged in the Summer, and where thoſe Ships took in the Commodities from the *Levant* back again to the *Hanſe-towns*; and thoſe Ships that came from the *Levant*, tranſported the Northern Goods from *Bruges* into the *Mediterranean.*

Such was the Courſe of the Trade then, and it is very clear from our old Writers, that Spices and other *Indian* Commodities were never totally Strangers in this Iſland, nor indeed could they, ſince we had an annual Veſſel, and ſometimes more from *Venice*, well ſupplied with ſuch rich Goods; and by this means, though ſuch Commodities might be dear, ſince it was in the Power of the State of *Venice* to raiſe them almoſt to what Prices ſhe would, yet we had them regularly, and in conſiderable Plenty, by this Method, down to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the laſt great Carrack, which came from that Country, was loſt upon our Coaſt, of which Sir *William Monſon* was an Eye-witneſs; and has given of it, as he does of all Things, a moſt clear, entertaining, and inſtructive Account, which for the Reader's Information, and my own Juſtification, I ſhall tranſcribe, as it gives a clearer, fuller, and more authentic Account of theſe Points, than is any where elſe to be met with.

"The *Venetians* engroſſed the whole Trade upon thoſe Seas, and furniſhed us with the rich Merchandiſe of *Turkey, Perſia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleaſed themſelves; and yet this was not all, for they laboured to make us Strangers to the *Great Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London.* The *Venetians* ſent yearly their *Argoſſers* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoyed a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wreſted out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to the utter Decay of that Town; and the *Argoſſers* ſince then have become Strangers in *England*, the laſt whereof took her Leave with an unfortunate End, which my Eyes were Witneſſes to in the Month of *October* 1587.

"This goodly Ship of 1100 Tons, being richly laden with the accuſtomed Commodities they uſed to ſerve the Kingdom with, and being come in the Channel, as high as the *Iſle of Wight*, which Land the *Engliſh* Pilot viſibly made; this Pilot, called *Forſter*, who for his excellent Skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkiſh* Captivity, by the *Venetians*, to ſerve in this Voyage. Upon this good Land-fall the Pilot put the Paſſengers, in hopes, many of them being of great Account and Eſteem, the next Morning to harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that Evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing unto them, they thought themſelves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas.

"But to be ſhort, they compelled the Pilot by Force to put in at the *Needles*, the Weſtermoſt Part of the *Iſle of Wight.* When the poor Man, neither with Perſuaſions, nor Tears, could prevail, he did his beſt to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but ſuch was the Greatneſs of the Waves, and the Unweildineſs of the Ship, not anſwering her Helm, that ſhe ſtruck upon the Shingles, where ſhe, her Goods and Company, except ſeven poor Creatures, periſhed. The Sea betwixt the Iſland and the main Land was enriched, by her Loſs, with ſeveral ſorts of Merchandiſe. What was ſaved was not worth ſpeaking of. I had the Fortune to light on two Butts of Muſkedine floating on the Sea, for then was I riding at *Cowes.*

"In the firſt Ship I ever went Captain of, I found theſe two Butts of Muſkedine a great Help to us in our Voyage, when we were reduced to Extremity for want of Victuals. About this Time our Merchants of *London*

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[a] With five Ships only, viz. the Warſpight, Sir Richard Leviſon; Garland, Sir Amias Preſton; Defiance, Captain Gore; Swiftſure, Captain Somers; Crane, Captain Manwaring.

[b] A. D. 1600.

[c] A. D. 883.

“ began to take into Conſideration theſe great and ineſtimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who abſolutely enjoyed the Trade of *Turky*, and a great Part of the Wealth which came out of *Perſia* and *India* was retailed from them to us. They deviſed how ſuch Commodities might come to our Hands by a more direct Way than to be ſerved as we were at ſecond hand, and therefore reſolved to make an Overture by Favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the *Great Turk*, for an immediate Traffic from *England* to *Turky*, and his Dominions, and ſo home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholden to others.

“ Theſe Letters were ſent by her Majeſty, and received with great Humanity and Courteſy by the Grand Seignor; and Articles were agreed upon, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities to her Majeſty's Subjects. We may reckon from this Time the Decay of State in Matters of the *Venetian* Trade: For *Argoſſes*, which were wont to viſit us, are now unknown to us, and we poſſeſs the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Perſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, are brought by ourſelves in our own Veſſels directly out of *Turky*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can deſire. Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to take Freight in their Ships to tranſport from Port to Port, now we abſolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more deſirous to put their Goods into *Engliſh* Bottoms than theirs.”

Yet here it will be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between this and the true Commerce of the *Indies*; for, tho' we found a Way to free ourſelves from this Dependance upon the *Venetians*, yet it was by breaking in upon their *Levant* Trade at firſt, and not by ſailing directly to theſe Eaſtern Parts, which was a Work of great Time and Labour, and brought about by a great Variety of Accidents, with the Relation of which the *Engliſh* Reader cannot but be extremely well pleaſed, ſince it will ſhew him the great and ſpeedy Progreſs of our Maritime Strength and Power at Sea.

The firſt Perſon that ever propoſed the eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Trade in *England*, as has been related, was one Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a Merchant of *London*, who ſettled at *Seville* in *Spain*, and reſiding there many Years, gained a perfect Knowledge of the Manner in which both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were diſcovered. This very judicious Gentleman applied himſelf about the Year 1527 to his Majeſty King *Henry* VIII. to whom he repreſented very fully, yet in few Words, the vaſt Advantages that would accrue to his Subjects by a direct Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

How wiſe or how practicable ſoever Mr. *Thorne*'s Scheme might be, I do not find that it was ever conſidered in any other Light, than as a Project too bold to be put in Execution; and, to ſay the Truth, the firſt Perſon that gave us any Light into this Navigation was Sir *Francis Drake*, in the Year 1578. The very next Year Mr. *Stevens* went from *Liſbon* to *Goa* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and wrote a large Account of his Voyage while he reſided at *Goa*. *A. D.* 1586, the famous *Candiſh* made his Voyage round the World, which having clearly opened a Paſſage to theſe Parts, Captain *George Raymond*, in a Ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others, called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, ſailed in the Year 1591 for the *Eaſt-Indies*, not with a View to trade, but to cruiſe upon the *Portugueſe*. See before, p. 282.

But in this Space of time, though no *Engliſh* Ships had been ſent to the *Indies* for Commerce, abundance of *Engliſhmen* had been there in different Services, and on their Return home gave ſuch an Account of thoſe Countries, and of the Eaſe with which the *Engliſh* might ſettle Factories, and eſtabliſh a regular Trade thither, that many great Men, and rich Merchants, began to entertain a Deſire of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Commerce; and that they might do this effectually, they applied themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Charter, and ſhe accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31ſt of *December* 1600, in the 43d Year of her Reign.

The firſt Petitioners for this Eſtabliſhment, to whom likewiſe the Privilege was granted, were Sir *John Hart*, of *London*, Knt. Sir *John Spencer*, of *London*, Knt. Sir *Edward Michelburn*, Knt. *William Candiſh*, Eſq; *Paul Banning*, *Robert Lee*, *Leonard Holiday*, *John Watts*, *John Moore*, *Edward Holmden*, *Robert Hampſon*, *Thomas Smith*, and *Thomas Cambell*, Citizens and Aldermen of *London*, and upwards of 200 Perſons more, named by Name in that Privilege.

They were formed into a Body Corporate and Politic, in Deed and in Name, by the Title of the *Governor and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies. They were allowed a common Seal, with Power to change or alter it at Pleaſure. The firſt Governor and 24 Directors were nominated in the Privilege, and Power veſted in the Company to elect a Deputy-governor, as likewiſe to elect a Governor, Deputy-governor, and 24 Directors yearly, for the future. The Freedom was granted to them and their Succeſſors, and their Sons, when arrived to the Age of 21, and to their Apprentices, Factors and Servants employed by them, for the Space of 15 Years, freely to traffic, and uſe the Trade of Merchandiſe by Sea, in, and by ſuch Ways and Paſſages, already found out or diſcovered, or hereafter to be found out and diſcovered, as they ſhould eſteem and take to be fitteſt, into, and from the *Eaſt-Indies*, into the Countries, and Parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*; and into, and from all the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Towns, and Places of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, or any of them beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the Streight of *Magellan*, where any Trade or Traffic of Merchandiſe may be uſed or had, to and from every of them, in ſuch Order, Manner, Form, Liberty, and Condition, as they themſelves ſhould, from Time to Time, agree upon.

They were allowed the Authority of making reaſonable Bye-laws; as likewiſe to puniſh Offenders, either in Body or Purſe, provided it were not contrary to the Laws of *England*. Their outward-bound Goods were allowed Cuſtom-free for the firſt four Voyages; and afterwards the Cuſtom of all Goods exported, which ſhould miſcarry, to be allowed in other Goods afterwards ſhipped. For the Cuſtoms and Subſidies on imported Goods, they were allowed ſix Months Credit for one half, and twelve Months for the other half, with a free Re-exportation for thirteen Months. They were allowed to export every Voyage the Value of 30000 *l.* foreign Coin or Bullion [*], provided 6000 *l.* were recoined in her Majeſty's Mint.

Six Ships and ſix Pinnaces, with 500 Mariners, were allowed to be ſent yearly to the *Eaſt-Indies*, any Reſtraint notwithſtanding; except when the Royal Navy was going out, and Ships and Mariners were wanting.

All other her Majeſty's Subjects were, by this Privilege, excluded from trading into thoſe Parts, under ſeveral Penalties, without the Aſſent and Licence of the Company. They were allowed the Liberty of admitting others into this Freedom. The Company was obliged to bring in, after every Voyage returned, within ſix Months, as great a Quantity of Silver, Gold, or foreign Coin, as they ſhould carry out, the firſt Voyage excepted. All Silver or Gold exported by the Company was to be ſhipped at the Ports of *London*, *Dartmouth*, or *Plymouth*. The Privilege was not to extend into any Place, being in the actual Poſſeſſion of any Prince in League or Amity with her Majeſty. If this Privilege was found unprofitable for the Realm, then within two Years Warning given, under the Privy-ſeal, the ſame was to be void; but, on the contrary, if it was found beneficial, then it was to be renewed, with ſome Additions.

In conſequence of this Charter, the Company immediately began to raiſe a Joint Stock for carrying their Project into Execution; and this with ſuch Induſtry, that in a very ſhort Space their Treaſurer had in his Hands 72000 *l.*

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[*] Camden, tho' the Eaſt-India Company was in its Infancy in his Time, ſtarts a Queſtion, which has ſince puzzled the Heads of a great many wiſe Men to diſcuſs, and is perhaps not yet determined. That is, “ Whether notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed glorious Succeſs of it, it be for the real Advantatage of the Kingdom, to have ſuch a Maſs of Money exported yearly in their Voyages?” (He might have added ſome farther Conſiderations.) Which Queſtion (he ſays) he leaves Poſterity and wiſer Judges to determine; and ſo ſhall I.

upon which it was reſolved to fit out five able Ships to begin their Correſpondence in that Part of the World. Theſe were the *Dragon* of 600 Tons, Admiral of the Squadron; the *Hector*, Vice-admiral, of 300 Tons; the *Suſannah*, of 200 Tons; the *Aſcenſion*, of the ſame Burthen; the *Gueſt*, a *Store*-ſhip, of 130 Tons. The Complement of Men in all their Ships were 480, and the Expence of equipping them amounted to 45000 *l.* and their Cargo took up the other 27000 *l.*

They had on-board of them in all 450 Men; and were furniſhed with Ammunion and Victuals for 20 Merchants. They carried along with them to the Value of 27000 *l.* in Money and Goods, as a Trading-ſtock; the remaining Part of their Capital-ſtock having been wholly employed upon the Ships, and the neceſſary Furniture of them.

Being ready to ſail, they departed from *Woolwich* on the 13th of *February*, under the chief Command and Direction of Captain *James Lancaſter*, but it was the 2d of *May* before they departed from *Torbay*; and on the 21ſt of *June*, being two Degrees on the North of the Line, they met a *Portugueſe* Ship, which was likewiſe bound to the *Eaſt Indies*. They took her, and among other Things found in her 146 Butts of Butter, 176 Jars of Oil, 12 Barrels of Oil, and 55 Hogſheads of Meal, which were a great Help to them in their Voyage.

The laſt of *June* they paſſed the Line. The 20th of *July*, being in 19 Degrees and 40 Minutes South-latitude, they diſcharged their Victualling-ſhip the *Gueſt*, taking out all her Maſts, Yards, and Sails, and breaking down her higher Building for Fire-wood, they turned her adrift. The 24th they paſſed the Tropick of *Capricorn*; and having great Numbers of Sick on-board, reſolved to ſail either for *St. Helena* or *Soldania* for Refreſhment: But in their Paſſage, the Number of their Sick increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that the very Merchants were obliged to work at the Helm, and do the Offices of common Sailors.

The 9th of *September* they arrived in the Road of *Soldania*, in ſo ſickly a Condition, that in three of their Ships they had not found Men enough to hoiſt out a Boat, or to let fall an Anchor. Here they went on-ſhore, and having ſet up Tents, and raiſed Fortifications about them, to ſecure them from a Surprize, they traffick'd with the Natives for Cattle, *&c.*

On the 1ſt of *November* they doubled the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and on the 25th they came into the Bay of *Antongil*, and the 26th anchored in a very good Road, between the ſmall Iſland and the Main; where they went a-ſhore on the Main, and traffick'd with the Natives for Oranges, Lemons, Rice, Peas and Beans, Oxen and Hens; where having refreſhed themſelves till the 6th of *March* 1602, they held on their Courſe for the *Indies*, and on the 5th of *June* came to an Anchor in the Road, two Miles from the City of *Achen*.

The very Day of his Arrival, the Admiral ſent five or ſix Gentlemen of his Company to wait on the King, to inform him of the Meſſage and Letters he had brought from her Majeſty, and to deſire the Favour of an Audience; together with his Majeſty's Promiſe, for the Security of himſelf and Ships, during the Time they ſtay'd in that Port.

The King, who very well knew the Queen's Power and Fame, and had heard of her many and great Succeſſes againſt the *Spaniards*, and particularly that ſtupendous Defeat of the Armada, received this Meſſage with a more than ordinary Satiſfaction. He gave the *Engliſh* a ſplendid Banquet, promiſed all the Security the Admiral deſired, and bid him come to his Audience, with as much Aſſurance of a good Reception, as if he were going into the Preſence of his own Queen. So that on the 8th of *June*, the Admiral went aſhore with a handſome Retinue to the King's Audience, where he deliver'd the Queen's Letter and Preſents, and was received with all the Splendor, and Marks of Favour and Diſtinction, he could wiſh.

At a ſecond Audience, the King expreſs'd a great Satiſfaction in the Queen's Letters, and appointed two of his chief Miniſters to treat with the Admiral about Buſineſs. In conſequence of which, a League between the King and her Majeſty was concluded, and certain Privileges for Trade ſtipulated; which being engroſſed, the King vouchſafed the Admiral the Honour to deliver the Writings to him with his own Hands, and accompanied them with a great many gracious Expreſſions of Good-will to her Majeſty, and the whole Nation in general.

In theſe Writings, the *Engliſh* had the following Privileges confirmed to them:

1. Free Entry and Trade.
2. Cuſtom-free, whatever Goods were brought in or carried out.
3. The Liberty of making Wills, and diſpoſing of their Eſtates, where and to whom they thought fit.
4. Full Security as to all Bargains and Payments; in both which Reſpects, the *Achenese* ſhould be tied to a punctual and ſtrict Obſervation of all the Meaſures of Juſtice and fair Dealing.
5. Authority to inflict Puniſhments on their own Delinquents, without Appeal to the Civil-magiſtrate of the Country.
6. Aſſurance of Juſtice to be done, in all Caſe of Injuries from the Natives, upon Complaint made.
7. Freedom from all Arreſts upon Goods or Prizes.
8. Liberty of Conſcience, and the undiſturbed Exerciſe of their own Religion.

But theſe Tranſactions could not be carried on without the Knowledge of the *Portugueſe*, who looking on this kind Reception, and ſucceſsful Negotiations of the *Engliſh*, by the King of *Achen*, with a jealous Eye, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, but in vain, to render them abortive.

However, the *Engliſh* paid them in their own Coin. For, leaving proper Merchants to manage their Affairs at Court, the Fleet cruiſed upon the *Portugueſe* Settlements; and joined by a *Dutch* Adventurer, took, after a ſhort but ſmart Engagement, a *Portugueſe* Ship of 900 Tons, and 600 Men, bound from *St. Thomas*'s, in the Bay of *Bengal*, to the *Malaccas*, and richly laden with 950 Packs of Callicoes, Pintados, beſides a great Quantity of other valuable Merchandiſe; out of which the Admiral, at his Return to *Achen*, made the King ſeveral preſents; who, as a Teſtimony of his Sincerity in the late Negotiations, and Regard for the *Engliſh*, on his Part, diſmiſſed the Admiral with great Ceremony, at his Audience of Leave to return home, and gave him a Letter to her Majeſty, together with a Preſent for her, conſiſting of three rich Pieces of Cloth, embroidered with Gold, and a Ring with a very large Ruby; he alſo preſented the Admiral with another Ring with a fair Ruby for himſelf. After ſeveral Ceremonies, his Majeſty pronounced a Bleſſing upon them in great Order, and diſmiſſed them with a Promiſe, that they ſhould find the ſame kind Entertainment, if ever they came into his Country again[*].

They departed from *Achen* on the 9th of *November*, with three Ships, for *Priaman* and *Bantam*. Two Days afterwards, the Admiral diſpatch'd the *Aſcenſion* for *England*, and the other two Ships ſailed along the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in order to meet the *Suſan*. Having croſs'd the Equinoctial the third Time, they arrived at *Priaman* on the 20th, where they found the *Suſan*, provided with 600 Bahars of Pepper, and 66 of Cloves; and ſhe was ordered to complete her Loading, and then to ſail directly homewards.

From *Priaman* they ſailed for the Streights of *Sunda*, and anchored three Leagues from *Bantam*, on the 15th of *December*; and on the 16th they entered *Bantam* Road, and the Vice-admiral went on-ſhore, to certify their Arrival and Buſineſs to the King, and to deſire his Safe-conduct. The King ſent one of his Nobles with the Vice-admiral, to bid the Admiral welcome, and conduct him to Court. He met with the ſame kind Reception here as at *Achen*; the Queen's Letter and Preſent of Plate was received with great Satiſfaction; and a Trade was allowed them, with all the Freedom they could deſire, and with as much Safety as if they were in their own Country.

During their Stay at *Bantam*, they loſt their Vice-admiral, Captain *John Middleton*.

Their Trade went on ſo briſkly, that by the 10th of *February* they had their complete Loading of Pepper, and were ready to ſail. But the Admiral, before he went, diſpatch'd a Pinnace for the *Molaccas*, to begin a Trade there, and procure a Factory to be ſettled, againſt the next Return of the Ships from *England*; and made Proviſions alſo for carrying on the *Bantam* Trade in his Abſence, leaving a ſufficient Number of Men and Factors, for the diſpoſing of the Merchandiſe he was obliged to leave behind.

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[*] In Harris the Reader may ſee Copies of the Queen's Letter to the King of Achen, and of that King's Anſwer.

When he took Leave of the King, and returned him his laſt Thanks for the Favours and Privileges vouchſafed the *Engliſh* Nation in his Dominions; his Majeſty was pleaſed to make him the Bearer of a Letter, and a Preſent of very fine Bezoar ſtones for the Queen; and for himſelf a Stone of the ſame Kind, and a curious *Java*-dagger.

They ſet ſail for *England* on the twentieth of *February*, and on the eleventh of *September* 1603, arrived ſafe in the *Downs*.

A Company of Adventurers, about the latter End of the Year 1601, fitted out three ſmall Privateers for the *Spaniſh* Main. The Fleet [a], which went on this glorious Enterprize, conſiſted only of two ſmall Ships, a Pinnace, and two Shallops, commanded in chief by Captain *William Parker* of *Plymouth*, and under him Captain *Edward Giles*, and Captain *Philip Ward*, Land-officers; and Captain *Fugars*, Captain *Loriman*, Captain *Aſhley*, and ſome other Gentlemen, as Volunteers. The Ships were, the *Prudence*, Admiral, of 100 Tons, and 130 Men, commanded by Mr. *Parker* himſelf; the *Pearl*, Vice-admiral, of 60 Tons, and 60 Men, Captain *Robert Rawlins*; the Pinnace, of 20 Tons, and 18 Men; which ſet ſail in *November*, and off the South Cape, had the Misfortune in a violent Guſt of Wind to loſe their Pinnace, with all her Men but three. Steering their Courſe from thence to the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*, they ſet 100 Men on-ſhore, and took one of them, called *St. Vincent*, with the Town of the ſame Name, and after having given the Spoil of it to the Soldiers, ſet it on-fire.

Then they haled over to the Coaſt of the Continent, and coming to *La Rancheria*, or the Pearl-fiſhery, in the ſmall Iſland of *Cubagua*, they there found the Governor of *Cumana*, with a Company of Soldiers, who in vain attempted to hinder their Landing. At firſt they were received with great Warmth and Briſkneſs, but at laſt they got the better of the *Spaniards*, and took the Place, with ſeveral Priſoners, Barks and Boats; all which they ranſomed for the Value of 500 *l.* in Pearl.

Hence they ſailed directly for Cape *de la Vela*, where they took a great *Portugueſe* Ship, of 250 Tons, coming from *Angola* and *Congo*, and bound for *Carthagena*, which having little in her but 370 Negroes, they ranſomed her for 500 *l.*

After this they went to the Iſland of *Cabeças*, where they embarked 150 of their Men, in two ſmall Pinnaces and two Shallops, and ſailed to the Iſland *dos Baſtimentos*, where they landed, and picking up ſome Negroes for their Guides, with their Boats and Pinnaces they entered the River of *Puerto Bello*, the 7th of *February* 1602. It being Moon-light, the Watch diſcovered them at their very firſt Entrance into the Haven, and haled them by the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Philip*, in which were 35 Braſs-guns, and Soldiers enough to manage them. Having ſome *Spaniſh* Tongues on-board, they pretended they were *Spaniards* coming from *Carthagena*. The Officer of the Caſtle bid them come to Anchor, which they did; but about an Hour after Captain *Parker* gave them the Slip with his two Boats, and about 30 Men, leaving the Pinnaces at Anchor before the Caſtle. With this Force he went directly to the Town of *Triana*, and tho' the Alarm was given, landed his 30 Men, and ſetting it on-fire, left it burning, and marched into the great and rich Town of *Puerto Bello*, to which *Triana* was a ſort of Inlet. He marched directly to the King's Treaſury, where he found a Squadron of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Braſs Field-pieces well mounted on their Carriages. The Fight was long and obſtinate on both Sides, and *Parker* had loſt the beſt Part of his Men, when Captain *Fugars*, and Captain *Loriman*, who commanded the Pinnaces, hearing the Noiſe, came timely to his Relief with 120 freſh Men. This Aſſiſtance ſoon turned the Scale, and the *Spaniards* began to think of ſecuring themſelves by Flight. A good Number of them got into the King's Houſe, where they defended themſelves very reſolutely for four or five Hours, but at length the *Engliſh* beame Maſters as well of that as of the whole Town. They found at this time but 10,000 Ducats in the Treaſury, tho' there is often 6,000,000 in it; and if they had been ſeven Days ſooner would have found 120,000, which were gone in two Frigates for *Carthagena*. The Spoil of the Town, which in Money, Plate and Merchandiſe, was not inconſiderable, was given to the Soldiers; but two Frigates, which he took farther up the River, he carried away with him.

After keeping Poſſeſſion of the Town two Days, *Parker* generouſly ſpared it, with its Churches, Buildings, and Forts, from burning, and releaſed the Priſoners, among whom were Don *Pedro Melandez*, the Governor, the *Scrivano*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, without any Ranſom; ſatisfied with the Honour of having taken, with a Handful of Men, in a little Time, and with an inconſiderable Loſs, one of the fineſt Towns the King of *Spain* had in the *Weſt-Indies*. By which Act of Generoſity, he gave the *Spaniards* an Example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies; and the Governor he releaſed, becauſe he had fought ſo bravely, having received eleven Wounds in the Action. The Town had two handſome Churches, ſix or ſeven fine Streets, three ſmall Forts on the one Side, beſides the great Caſtle of *St. Philip* on the other; all which they might have demoliſhed, and have left the Town a Heap of Ruins. During their Stay in the Town, they had not the leaſt Diſturbance from any rallied Forces of the *Spaniards*, nor no Alarm given, only as they were ſailing away again the Enemy began to appear, and make ſome little Stir; but it was only the Exchange of a few Bullets, and taking Leave of each other from the Mouths of their great Guns.

This little Fleet arrived ſafe at *Plymouth*, laden with Honour, and not without ſome Reward for their Labour.

The long-neglected Diſcovery of *Virginia*, which had now lain dormant 12 Years, was revived in 1602 by Captain *Bartholomew Goſnol*, who ſailed from *Dartmouth* [b] on the 26th of *March*, with 32 Perſons more, in a ſmall Bark; and finding in theſe Northern Parts a Proſpect of things to his liking, he did not trouble himſelf to undertake the Diſcovery of the Southern Parts. It was in the Latitude of little more than 42 Degrees North, and on the 11th of *May*, that they came firſt on the *Virginian* Shore, and it was in the Latitude of 41 Degrees and 10 Minutes, that the Captain fixed his Reſidence, in an Iſland, which he called *Elizabeth*'s Iſland, and lies two Leagues from the Main; a ſmall uninhabited Spot, and over-run with Trees, but fertile and pleaſant; with a Lake of freſh Water, about a League in Circumference, on the N. W. Side, and very near the Sea, in the midſt of which was another little Iſland, of about an Acre of Ground; this he pitched upon as the moſt commodious Place for building a Fort, and begun it accordingly.

They viſited the main Land adjoining to this Iſland, which they found in all Reſpects as charming, as curious Meadows, Groves, Brooks and Rivers could make it. The *Indians* of the main Land came and bartered with them, for ſome of their *European* Rarities, giving in exchange for Knives and other Toys, their Beavers, Lucerns, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals and Deer-ſkins. And the Affairs of this Plantation might have gone on very well, had not the Planters been too intent upon their private Intereſts, and contrived only to make a profitable Voyage. The Captain ſeeing he could not prevent their Selfiſhneſs, got good ſtore of Saſſafras, Cedar-wood, Furs, and other good Commodities, and ſet ſail for *England*.

They left their little Fort (which ten Men, in about nineteen Days, had made fit to harbour a conſiderable Number, together with their Proviſions) on the eighteenth of *June*, and on the twenty-third of *July* they arrived at *Exmouth*.

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[a] Harris's Collection, Vol. I. p. 717. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1243.

[b] Harris's Collection, part I. p. 816. Smith's General Hiſtory of Virginia. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1647. Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 10.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, at the ſame time, having ſeveral times before ſent in ſearch of the People who were left in *Virginia*, in the Year 1587, employed one *William Mace*, of *Weymouth*, who had been twice there before, on the ſame Errand; who departed from *Weymouth* the laſt of *March*, and fell 40 Leagues to the South-weſtward of *Hataraſk*, in 34 Degrees, or thereabouts; where having ſpent near a Month, without ever concerning himſelf about what he was ſent, he returned, and pretended that the Extremity of Weather, and Loſs of ſome principal Ground-tackle, forced and frighted him from ſearching the Port of *Hataraſk*; having loaded his Ship at another Place with Saſſafras, *China*-root, Benzoin, Caſſia, and a Rind of a Tree more ſtrong, than any known Spice; with ſeveral other Commodities.

The *Ruſſia* Company[a] fitted out two Fly-boats, one of 70, and the other of 60 Tons, victualled for 18 Months, to diſcover the N. W. Paſſage, under the Command of Mr. *George Weymouth*, who departing from *Ratcliff* on the 2d of *May*, met with ſo much Ice, Froſt, and Fog, in the Middle of *July*, in the Latitude of 68 Degrees and 53 Minutes, that his Men being diſcouraged would proceed no farther, alledging this Reaſon: "That if it were granted they might winter between 60 and 70 Degrees of Latitude, with Safety of their Lives and Veſſels, yet it would be in *May* next before they could unmoor them, and launch them into the Sea again; and therefore if the Merchants would proceed in the Diſcovery of theſe North-weſt Parts of *America*, their Ships might be in the ſame Latitude from *England* by the 1ſt of *May*, and ſo be better furniſhed with Men and Victuals, to proceed in the Action." Whereupon they directed their Courſe for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 5th of *September*.

The Queen, who had been amuſed by Treaties or Negotiations, and entertained Hopes of Peace for two or three Years paſt, being convinc'd of the Inſincerity of *Spain*, by the repeated Aid ſent from thence to the Rebels in *Ireland*, reſolved once more to carry her Arms into her Enemy's Country, in order to divert them from freſh Attempts upon her Dominions. With this Intention we find her Majeſty fitted out a Squadron of eight large Men of War and a Caravel, to which having added ſome hired Ships[b], they were put under the Command of Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, for an Expedition to the Coaſts of *Spain*.

The Names of the Queen's Ships, and the Commanders of them, were as follows: The *Repulſe*, Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Admiral; *Garland*, Sir *William Monſon*, Vice-admiral; *Defiance*, Captain *Gore*; *Mary-Roſe*, Captain *Slingſby*; *Warſpight*, Captain *Sommers*; *Nonpareil*, Captain *Reynolds*; *Dreadnought*, Captain *Manwaring*; *Adventure*, Captain *Trevor*; an *Engliſh* Caravel, Captain *Sawkell*; having a Promiſe from the States of *Holland*, that they would join 12 Sail of their Ships in this Expedition. And as this important Service required great Speed, the Ships were forced to be content with what Men and Proviſions could be got, at ſo ſhort a Warning. For the Reſolution was taken only on the 2d, and Sir *Richard Leviſon* ſet ſail with five of them on the 19th of *March*; Sir *William Monſon* being left behind with the reſt, to wait the coming of the *Hollanders*. But they not keeping Time, Sir *William* received Command from the Queen, three Days after, to haſten with all Speed after Sir *Richard*, being informed that the Plate-fleet was arrived at *Tercera*. Accordingly, Sir *William Monſon* neglected no Time, but put to Sea on the 26th of *March*.

In the mean Time, Sir *Richard Leviſon*, with his few Ships, met theſe Carracks in their Courſe from *Tercera* to *Spain*, and bravely fought them, tho' they were 38 Sail; but without Succeſs, for want of the reſt of his Fleet, and the Help of the 12 *Hollanders*.

Sir *Richard Leviſon* being thus fruſtrated, and by the Remiſſneſs of the *Dutch* chiefly croſſed, he plied towards the Rock of *Liſbon* to meet Sir *William Monſon*, being the Place appointed for their Rendezvous. But Sir *William* having ſpent 14 Days thereabouts, and hearing no Tidings of him, went round to the Southward Cape, where he was alſo fruſtrated of a moſt promiſing Expectation; for meeting with certain *Frenchmen* and *Scotch* at the ſame Inſtant, he diſcovered three Ships of ours ſent by Sir *Richard* to look for him. Theſe *French* and *Scotch* Ships came from *St. Lucar*, and reported, that five Galleons were ready the next Tide to ſet ſail for the *Indies*; they likewiſe told him of two others, that departed three Days before, in which went Don *Pedro de Valdez*, to be Governor of the *Havannah*, who had been Priſoner in *England* in 1588. But after cruiſing for them ſeveral Days, they eſcaped him, employ'd in the Chace and Taking of an *India* Ship.

Upon the 1ſt Day of *June*, Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, who ſome few Nights before had met accidentally at Sea, were cloſe on-board the Rock of *Liſbon*, where they took two Ships of the *Eaſt Country*, bound for *Liſbon*; and whilſt they were rummaging theſe Ships, they eſpied a Caravel coming from Cape *Eſpichel*, bearing with them, which, by Signs ſhe made, they perceived had a Deſire to ſpeak with them. Sir *Richard* immediately chaſed her, and left Sir *William*, with the two *Eaſterlings*, to cruiſe about the Rock till his Return.

The Caravel being fetch'd up, gave an Account that a large Carrack, of 1600 Tons, was juſt arrived at *Cezimbra*, near *St. Ubes*, richly laden from the *Eaſt-Indies*; and that there were eleven Gallies in the ſame Harbour, three of them *Portugueſe*, and the reſt bound for *Flanders*, under the Command of *Frederick Spinola*, to cruiſe againſt the *Dutch*. She ſaid likewiſe, that ſhe was ſent by two Ships of ours, the *Nonpareil* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to look out the Admiral.

Sir *Richard* made Signs to Sir *William* to ſtand with him; and leaſt the Signs ſhould not be diſcerned, he cauſed the Caravel to ply up with him, deſiring him with all Speed to come to him; but before they could approach the Cape it was in the midſt of the Night, and nothing happened all that Time, but the Exchange of ſome Shot betwixt the Admiral and the Gallies.

Next Day every Man looked out early in the Morning what Ships of her Majeſty's were in Sight, which were five in Number, the *Warſpight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was, (for the *Repulſe* he had ſent for *England* ſome few Days before by reaſon of a Leak) the *Garland*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, beſides the two *Eaſterlings* taken the Day before. All the Captains reſorted onboard the Admiral to Council, which took up the moſt Part of the Day. At firſt there was an Oppoſition by ſome, who alledged the Danger and Impoſſibility of taking the Carrack, ſhe being defended by the Caſtle and 11 Gallies; but Sir *William Monſon* urged it ſo ſtrongly, that he prevailed at laſt, and made them all conſent to attack her the next Day, notwithſtanding her advantageous Situation; and they concluded upon the following Method, *viz.* That he and Sir *Richard* ſhould anchor as near the Carrack as they could, and the reſt ply up and down and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this Occaſion to be revenged of the Gallies, hoping to requite the Slavery they put him to, when he was a Priſoner in them, and ſingled himſelf from the Fleet a League, that the Gallies might ſee it was in Defiance of them. The Marquis of *S. Cruz*, and *Frederick Spinola*, the one General of the *Portugueſe*, the other of the *Spaniſh* Gallies, apprehended his Meaning, and came out with an Intent to fight him; but being within Shot, they were diverted by one *John Bedford* an *Engliſhman*, who pretended to know the Force of the Ship, and Sir *William* who commanded her.

The Town of *Cezimbra* (or *Seſimbria*) lies at the Bottom of a Bay, which is a good Road for Ships, with a Northerly Wind. It is built of Free-ſtone, and near the Sea is erected a ſtrong and ſpacious Fort, well repleniſh'd with Ordnance: Above the Town, upon the Top of a Hill, is ſeated an ancient ſtrong Friary, whoſe Situation makes it impregnable, and able to command the Town, Caſtle, and Road: Cloſe to the Shore, under the Fort, lay the Carrack, like a Bulwark, to the Weſt-ſide of it; ſo that it defended
both

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[a] Harris's Col. P. I. p. 587.

[b] Camden. Sir William Monſon's Tracts. MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Columna Roſtrata.

both that and the Eaſt-part of the Town. The 11 Gallies had flanked and fortified themſelves with the ſmall Neck of a Rock on the Weſt-ſide of the Road, with their Stems foremoſt, to play upon the *Engliſh*, every one carrying a Cannon in her Beak, beſides four other Pieces in her Prow. And they were no way to be damaged by the *Engliſh*, till their Ships came ſo nigh the Town, that all theſe Forces might play upon them at once.

The *Engliſh* alſo ſaw their Tents pitched, and great Troops of Soldiers drawn together, which were no leſs than the whole Country in Arms againſt them. Their Boats paſt between the Shore and the Carrack all the Day long, which they ſuppoſed was to unlade her, but they found it was rather to ſtrengthen her with Men and Ammunition. Thus there appeared many Difficulties and Dangers.

Beſides, there was another great Danger; the Gallies were flanked with the Point of a Rock at their Entrance, it being likewiſe calm, and they ſhooting low. On the other hand, was the Danger of the Wind; for if it had come about from the Sea, the Road being open, and the Bay deep, would have fruſtrated their Attempt. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Dangers, and many more apparently ſeen; and that there was no Man but thought that moſt of the Carrack's Lading was on-ſhore, and that they would hale her on Ground, ſo near under the Caſtle, that no Ship would be able to float to her, the Reſolution to attack her was confirm'd. And as Delay is perilous, they thought convenient to charge the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and the Carrack immediately, and all at one Inſtant.

They had alſo determined, if the Carrack had been on Ground, or ſo nigh the Shore that the Queen's Ships could not float to her, that the two *Eaſterlings*, which were taken the Day before, ſhould board and burn her.

Early next Morning, every Man was in a Readineſs, and expected Orders when to begin, according to the Agreement the Day before; and a Gale of Wind happening about 10 of the Clock, the Admiral weighed, ſhot off a Warning-piece, and put out his Flag in the Main-top. The Vice-admiral did the like in his Foretop, according to Cuſtom; and every Captain ſo encouraging his Men, as embolden'd them; tho' they were grown weak and feeble before, they were now revived, and beſtirred themſelves as if a new Spirit had been infuſed into them. The Admiral was the firſt that gave the Charge, after him followed the reſt of the Ships, ſhewing great Valour, and gaining great Honour. The laſt of all was the Vice-admiral, who, entering into the Fight, ſtill ſtrove to luff up, as near the Shore as he could, where he came to an Anchor, continually fighting with the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and the Carrack, all at once; for he had laid himſelf ſo, that he could play both his Broad-ſides upon them at once. And now might be ſeen the Prows of the Gallies ſwimming on the one Side; on the other Side, the Slaves forſaking them, and ſwimming to us, and in ſhort every Thing in Confuſion amongſt them. In this Manner they fought till five of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Vice-admiral was anchored in ſuch a Place, that the Gallies rowed from one Side to another ſeeking to ſhun him; which Sir *Richard Leviſon* obſerving, he came on-board him, and openly, in the View and Hearing of his whole Company embraced him, and told him he had won his Heart for ever, by his good Service.

All the other Ships, except the Admiral, plied up according to Directions; who, by the Negligence of his Maſter, or ſome other Impediment, without his Privity, when he ſhould have anchored, fell ſo far to the Leeward, that the Wind and the Tide carried him out of the Road, ſo that it was the next Day before his Ship could be fetched in again; which ſo enraged the Admiral, that he put himſelf into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an Anchor cloſe to the Vice-admiral, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon. No Opportunity was let ſlip; where the Admirals ſaw Defect in any other Ship, they ſupplied it with their own Perſons. And the *Eaſterlings*, appointed to board the Carrack, beginning to faint, and fail of obſerving the Directions given them, the Vice-admiral perceiving it, went on board them himſelf, vowing if they ſeemed backward in putting in Execution the Order to fire the Carrack, they ſhould have as little Mercy to hope from the *Engliſh*, as they could expect from the Enemy. He even offered to accompany them in the Attempt. But Sir *Richard Leviſon* came to him, and would in no wiſe ſuffer Sir *William* to board the Carrack himſelf; but carried him into the *Dreadnought*.

They then conſulted how to preſerve the Carrack, and poſſeſs her. And the Reſult of this Conference was, to offer her Parley; which they preſently put in Practice, commanding all the Ships to leave Firing, till the Return of the Meſſenger. The Man employed was one Captain *Sewell*, who had eſcaped and ſwam to them, after having been four Years Priſoner in the Gallies; as likewiſe did many *Turks* and *Chriſtians*. The Deſign of this Parley was, to perſuade them to yield, by promiſing them honourable Conditions. He was to intimate, as of himſelf, that the Gallies, whoſe Strength they moſt preſumed upon, were beaten, ſome burnt, the reſt fled, and that now the *Engliſh* had Poſſeſſion of the Road, the Caſtle not being able to withſtand their Ordnance, much leſs the Carrack; and that if they refuſed this Offer of Mercy, they were to expect all the Cruelty and Rigour that a Conqueror could inflict. The Captain of the Carrack anſwered, that he would ſend ſome Gentlemen of Quality on-board, with Commiſſion to treat, and deſired that ſome of the like Quality from the *Engliſh* might be ſent to him, for the ſame Buſineſs.

The *Spaniſh* Gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the Admiral and Vice-admiral were, expecting the Return and Succeſs of Captain *Sewell:* But having delivered their Meſſage, they deſired to return ſpeedily on-board the Carrack again, to prevent the bad Effects of an Uproar, and a Diviſion there was in her; ſome being of Opinion to entertain a Parley, others to ſave themſelves, and ſet her on Fire. Sir *William Monſon* hearing this, (without any farther Delay or Conference with Sir *Richard* what was to be done) he leap'd immediately into his Boat, and rowed to the Carrack.

As he drew near her, he was known to divers Gentlemen on-board, ſince his Impriſonment among them; who ſeemed to be very glad of their Meeting, and embraced him in Remembrance of their old Acquaintance. The Captain of her was Don *Diego Lobo*, a gallant young Gentleman, and of a noble Houſe; he came down upon the Bend of the Ship, and commanded his Men to ſtand aſide, Sir *William* did the like to his Company in the Boat. The Captain demanded of him, if he had the *Portugueſe* Language; he told him ſufficiently to treat of that Buſineſs, and acquainted him of the Command he had in the Fleet. Sir *William* likewiſe intimated the Affection he bore to the *Portugueſe* Nation, and that the Treaty which was offered proceeded from his Motion, and wiſhed him to proceed to his Propoſals.

The *Spaniſh* Captains demanded: *Firſt*, that they might be ſafely put on-ſhore with their Arms. *Secondly*, that it ſhould be done the ſame Night. *Thirdly*, that they ſhould enjoy their Ship and Ordnance, as appertaining to the King, but the *Engliſh* the Wealth. *Fourthly*, that the Flag and Ancient ſhould not be taken down, but worn during the whole Time the Carrack was unlading.

Sir *William* replied, that his Demands gave room to ſuſpect, that under Pretence of Parley they meant Treachery, or that their Hopes were greater than there was Cauſe, or he could conceive; but as he knew it was the way of ſome Men to demand great Things, when leſs would ſerve them, he would not loſe his Advantage by Delay in Parleying.

He then deſired, that what they intended might be quickly concluded; for Night growing on might advantage them. As for his own Reſolution, he ſhould underſtand it in a few Words, *viz.* He was willing to agree that they ſhould be put on-ſhore with their Arms; alſo that they ſhould be ſet on-ſhore that Night, except eight or ten Gentlemen, which he would detain three Days. That to imagine he would conſent to ſeparate Ship and Goods, was *Coſa de burla*, or a mere Jeſt; and that he reſolved never to permit a *Spaniſh* Flag to be worn in the Preſence of the Queen's Ships, unleſs it were diſgracefully over the Poop. And when Sir *William Monſon* was quite out of Patience with the Obſtinacy of the Captain, he offered to leap into his Boat, reſolving to break off the Treaty; but the reſt of the Gentlemen perceiving that he had propoſed nothing but what might very well ſtand with their Reputation, they entreated him once more to come into the Ship. He complied; and they enter'd into this Capitulation: "That a Meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the Admiral, to have his Confirmation to the Points concluded on, and that in the mean Time the Flag and Ancient ſhould be taken down; and if the Admiral ſhould not conſent to the Agreement, they to have Leiſure to put out their Flag and Ancient, before the Fight ſhould begin. That the Company ſhould be preſently ſet on-ſhore; the Captain, with eight other of the principal Gentlemen, three Days after. That the Ship, with her Goods, ſhould be ſurrendered without any Deceit or Treachery. That they ſhould uſe their Endeavours for the Caſtle to forbear Shooting, whilſt the *Engliſh* rid in the Road."

This Carrack had wintered in *Moſambique*, in her Return from the *Indies*, and there contracted ſuch an Infection, that out of 600 and odd Men, not 20 of them lived to return to this Port of *Cezimbra*. The Viceroy of *Portugal*, informed of her Diſtreſs, ſent 11 Gallies to her Reſcue, and 400 *Moças de Camara*, which is a Title of Gentlemen that ſerve the King upon any honourable Occaſion, when they are commanded. And in this State this Ship was, when ſhe was forced to yield on the aforeſaid Conditions.

Three Days were limited for ſetting the Captain on-ſhore; but as it was Diſcretion not to detain him any longer than the Carrack was brought off ſafely to their Ships, Sir *William Monſon* carried the Captain, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, on-board his Ship, where they ſupped, had Variety of Muſick, and ſpent the Night in Mirth and Pleaſure; and the next Morning he accompanied them on-ſhore himſelf, where the *Conde de Vitagera* had drawn down all the Force of the whole Country, amounting to the Number of 20,000 Men [a].

The Number of Men ſlain, in the Town, the Caſtle, the Carrack, and the Gallies, is unknown; tho' it muſt have been very conſiderable. The Carrack was found to be worth 1,000,000 of Ducats; the Value of the two Gallies, burnt with their Loading of Powder, was a Service of great Importance. The Loſs, on the *Engliſh* Side was not much; only one Man killed in the *Fly-boat*; five ſlain, and as many wounded, in the *Garland*; and one hurt in the *Adventure*. Sir *William Monſon* had the left Wing of his Doublet ſhot away, but received no other Hurt.

The next Day they ſailed with a favourble Wind for *England*; and in 47 Degrees were met by a Pinnace, ſent with a Packet from the Lords of the Council, with Advice of the Readineſs of a ſecond Fleet to ſupply them, and with the Departure of the *Hollanders*, which were ſo long looked for.

The Admiral and Vice-admiral concluded from hence, that it would not be proper for both to appear at home, and leave a Fleet, of ſo great Importance, upon the Enemy's Coaſt, without a Guide or Head. And it was reſolved, that the Vice-admiral ſhould put himſelf on-board the *Nonpareil*, as the ableſt Ship of the Fleet, and make his Return once more to the Coaſt of *Spain*.

He had taken his Leave, and directing his Courſe for the Coaſt, a moſt violent Storm, with a contrary Wind, took him, and continued ten Days, ſo that his Ship narrowly eſcaped foundering; and the Carpenters and the Company, ſeeing the apparent Danger he would be in, if he did not bear up before the Wind, preſented him a Petition, beſeeching him to have a Regard to their Lives; for by keeping the Seas, they muſt all inevitably periſh. By which he was forced, againſt his Inclination, to bear for *England*; and coming to *Plymouth*, he found the Carrack ſafely arrived, and that the Fleet he went back to take Charge of, had not quitted the Coaſt of *England*.

Sir *Richard Leviſon*'s Fleet [b] being happily returned, with the Fortune of a Carrack, as the Reader has heard, and the Queen having now no Ships upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, to interrupt the Enemy's Preparations, her Majeſty feared the Fleet, which was ready at the *Groyne*, was to give a ſecond Aſſault upon *Ireland*; whereupon Sir *William Monſon*, who by this time was arrived at *Plymouth*, was ſent for in great Haſte by her Majeſty, to adviſe about, and take upon him the Charge of the Fleet at *Plymouth*. After a long Conference, in the Preſence of her Majeſty, her Lord Admiral, her Treaſurer, her Secretary, and Sir *William Monſon*, it was reſolved, That Sir *William* ſhould repair to *Plymouth*, and with all Speed get out thoſe Ships, and others that were there making ready. His Directions were to preſent himſelf before the Harbour of the *Groyne*, the Place where the *Spaniards* made their Rendezvous, and if he found any Likelihood of Danger, to be intended againſt *Ireland*, not to quit that Coaſt till he utterly ſaw the Iſſue and Event thereof; but if he found *Ireland* ſecure, and the Enemy's Preparations to be for the Defence of their own Coaſt only; then his Inſtructions led him thence, to the Place where the *Hollands* Fleet had Orders to attend and expect him; and after this, the Carriage of the Action was referred to his Diſcretion; but with this Caution, that above all Reſpects of other Profits and Advantage, he ſhould attend the Affairs of *Ireland*. The Wind, this part of the Summer being contrary, it was ſix Weeks before he could clear the Coaſt, the time which gave the greateſt Hopes of Profit, by the Return of the Carracks and *India* Fleet, which happened one Month before his Arrival. He ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the laſt of *Auguſt*, with a ſcant Wind, which continued with foul Weather, until he recovered the *Groyne*, chuſing rather to keep the Sea, than hazard the Overthrow of his Voyage, by his Return. The Ships were, the *Swiftſure*, Sir *William Monſon*; *Mary Roſe*, Captain *Trevors*; *Dreadnought*, Captain *Caſield*; *Adventure*, Captain *Norris*; *Anſwer*, Captain *Bredgate*; *Quittance*, Captain *Brown*; *Lion's Whelp*, Captain *May*; *Paragon*, a Merchant, Captain *Jaſon*; a ſmall Caravel, Captain *Hooper*.

He ſtaid at the *Groyne* till he was truly informed, that the Fleet which was there prepared, and ſuſpected for *Ireland*, was gone to *Liſbon*, to join with Don *Diego de Borachero*, who all that Summer durſt not ſet out, for fear of our Fleet, that made good the Coaſt thereabouts. Sir *William*, in the way to the Rock, commanded his Caravel to repair to the Iſland of *Bayona*, as the likelieſt Place to procure Intelligence of the State of thoſe Parts. As the Caravel drew near the Iſlands, ſhe diſcerned the *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of 24 Sail, whoſe Deſigns were, as ſhe underſtood by a Boat ſhe took, to look out the *Engliſh* Fleet, whoſe coming they daily expected upon the Coaſt. And meeting Sir *William* with this News, he held it a good Service to be thus warned of them. Here he took two goodly Ships of *France* bound for *Liſbon*, which Harbour he put them from, and took Pledges that they ſhould directly return into *France*, without touching in any Harbour of *Spain*; for he underſtood the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ill provided of Men, and many other Things which thoſe Ships could ſupply. Sir *William* and the *Dreadnought* were carried with a Chaſe into the Road of *Cezimbra*, the Place where the Carrack was taken not long before; and after ſome Fight with the Caſtle, which defended the Veſſel they chaſed, they came to a friendly Treaty, and Preſents paſſed betwixt them. That Night, whilſt the Admiral rid in the Road, a Caravel coming in, and not miſtruſting him, was taken, but diſmiſſed again with friendly Treatment; by whom he underſtood the Affairs of *Liſbon*, but could get no Notice of the *Hollands* Fleet, which was appointed to attend at the Rock, whither once more he repaired.

Coming thither the 26th of *September*, a Light was eſpied in the Night, which the Admiral chaſed, thinking it had been the Fleet of *St. Thomas*, or *Brazil*, bound into *Liſbon*, where they were expected; but drawing ſo near them, that he might hale them, he found them by the

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[a] The Names of the Carrack and 11 Gallies, as follows: St. Valentine, a Carrack of 1700 Tons; the Chriſtopher, Admiral of Portugal, wherein the Marquis of Santa Cruz went; the St. Lewis, wherein Frederick Spinola went General of the Gallies of Spain; the Forteleza, Vice-admiral to the Marquis; the Trinidad, Vice-admiral to Frederick Spinola, burnt; the Leva, in which Sir William Monſon was Priſoner, Anno 1591; the Occaſion, burnt, and the Captain taken Priſoner; the St. John Baptiſt; the Lazar; the Padillar; the Philip; and the St. John.

[b] Sir William Monſon's Tracts. MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

Hugeneſs of their Veſſels, and the Number, which anſwered the Relation the Caravel made, to be the Armada of *Spain*; whereupon he ſought Means how to clear himſelf, being engaged amongſt them, and made a *Spaniard* which ſerved him call unto them; but they could not hear him. The *Adventure* only and the *Whelp* were left with him, the reſt loſing Company four Nights before in a Storm. The Enemy perceiving our Lights, and thinking it to be the Admiral that had commanded ſome Fleet of *Flemmings*, ſtood in amongſt them; but the *Adventure* being diſcovered to be an Enemy, the Alarum was ſoon taken, and they ſhot at her, and ſlew and hurt ſome of her Men. As ſoon as the Day appeared, the *Spaniards* beheld the three *Engliſh* Ships ahead of them, whom they chaſed; and as three of them were better Sailors than the reſt, they fetched upon them, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of too ſmall Force to reſiſt them.

But the Admiral reſolving, tho' it was to his own evident Peril, not to ſee a Pinnace of her Majeſty's ſo loſt, if he could reſcue her with the Hazard of his Life, tho' it was much againſt the Perſuaſions of his Maſter and Company; he ſtruck his two Sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to ſtand her Courſe, whilſt he ſtaid for the three *Spaniſh* Ships, in hopes to make them glad to leave off the Purſuit. The Admiral of the *Spaniards*, perceiving how little he cared for his three Ships, becauſe he lingered for their coming up, ſtood in with the Shore, and ſhot off a Piece for his three Ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by ſeveral Expeditions of ours, how much the ſwift ſailing of Ships avail, being the principal Advantage in Sea-ſervice, and the only Thing we could preſume upon, in our War againſt the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus eſcaped the Enemy in his Traverſe at Sea, there happened, as there doth on all Coaſts, where there is Plenty of Trade, divers Occaſions of Chaſes; and one Day, Sir *William* following one Ship, and the *Adventure* another, they loſt Company for the whole Voyage.

Sir *William* was informed by a Ship he took, being a *Frenchman*, which came from *St. Lucar*, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was looked for daily; which Intelligence made Sir *William* bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have News of his Fleet.

He was no ſooner come to the Cape, but he was informed by ſome *Engliſh* Ships of War, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was paſſed by two Days before. Here he met with divers Ships of ſeveral Nations; ſome he reſcued from Pirates; and to others, that were in League with her Majeſty, he gave his ſafe Conduct for their free Paſſage on the Sea.

He kept that Coaſt until the 21ſt of *October*, on which Morning he gave Chaſe to a Galleon of the King of *Spain*'s, who recovered under the Caſtle of Cape *St. Vincent*, before he could fetch her up; but notwithſtanding that he knew the Strength of that Caſtle, and knew the Shore, yet he attempted her, and had carried her, had it not been for the Fear and Cowardlineſs of the Man at the Helm, who bore up when he was ready to board. The Fight was not long, but ſharp and dangerous; for there never paſſed Shot from one to the other, until they were within length of their Ships. The Caſtle played her Part, and rent his Ship ſo, that a Teem of Oxen might have crept through her, under the Half-deck; and one Shot killed ſeven Men. Betwixt the Ship and Caſtle, they ſlew in the Admiral 10 Men, and hurt many more, in the View of *Siriago* and his Squadron to the Weſtward, and of divers *Engliſh* Men of War to the Eaſtward, that durſt not put themſelves to the Reſcue of Sir *William*, for fear of the Caſtle. Sir *William* being now left alone, and ſeeing what Head-land ſoever he came unto, he was to encounter a *Spaniſh* Squadron, he ſtood his Courſe that Night to Sea, thinking to try if the Iſland of *Tercera* would afford him any better Fortune; but coming within 40 or 50 Leagues of the Iſlands, he was taken ſhort with the Wind, yet ſtill bearing up what he could for the Rock. But at length finding his Victuals grew ſhort, his Maſt periſhed, and the Dangers he was expoſed to by keeping that Coaſt, he directed his Courſe for *England*, and came into *Plymouth* the 24th of *November*, where he found the *Mary-Roſe*, and *Dreadnought*, with moſt part of their Men dead and ſick.

The *Adventure* arrived within one Hour after him, who in her way homeward fell amongſt the *Brazil* Fleet, and encountering with them, loſt divers Men; but took none. The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a Prize of Sugar and Spices, which countervailed the Charge of the Voyage. The *Quittance*, in her Return, met two Ships of *Dunkirk*, and in fight with them her Captain was ſlain; but ſhe acquitted herſelf very well without further Hurt.

This Fleet, as the Reader has heard, was to keep the Enemy occupied at home, that he might be diverted from the Thoughts of *Ireland*; and what Hazard it endured by the Enemy, the Fury of the Sea, and by foul Weather, is evident; and no wonder, for it was the lateſt Fleet in Winter, that was ever kept upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and the laſt Fleet her Majeſty employed. As Sir *William Monſon* was General of her laſt Fleet, ſo was he a Soldier, and a Youth, at the Beginning of the Wars; and was at the taking of the firſt *Spaniſh* Prize that ever ſaw the *Engliſh* Coaſt, which they bought with the Death of 25 Men killed, and 50 wounded; which Ship was after a Man of War, and ſerved againſt the *Spaniards*, and in thoſe Days the beſt Man of War that we had; ſhe was called the *Commander*, and belonged to Sir *George Carew*, then Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*.

About this time *Frederick Spinola*, with his Gallies which had eſcaped from *Cezimbra*, as the Reader has ſeen, making the beſt of his way for *Flanders*, arrived the 23d of *September* near the Streights of *Dover*, where Sir *Robert Manſel*, with ſome of her Majeſty's Ships, was cruiſing off the South Foreland, to intercept him; as were alſo ſome *Dutch* Ships on the *French* and *Flemiſh* Coaſts, with the ſame Deſign. The *Engliſh* falling in with the Enemy near the *Goodwin*, attacked them with ſuch Succeſs, that out of all theſe Gallies, only that commanded by *Spinola* himſelf eſcaped to *Dunkirk*, the reſt being all either ſunk in the Engagement, or loſt on the Coaſt of *Flanders*.

Queen *Elizabeth* this ſame Year reduced the *Iriſh* Rebels to a Neceſſity to ſubmit to her Mercy, being convinced from the Activity and Strength of her Fleets, that there could be no Hopes for them in the repeated Promiſes of *Spain*, whoſe Intereſt had engaged *Philip* to keep up a Faction, and to nouriſh the Seeds of Rebellion for ſo many Years in that Iſland; all his Attempts towards a Conqueſt having miſcarried, and ſome of them fruſtrated in an almoſt miraculous Manner.

But her Majeſty did not live long to enjoy the Fruits of this Tranquillity. For, as it were, worn out with the Cares of State, ſhe was ſeized with a kind of paralitic Diſorder; a Numbneſs not only affected her Limbs, but rendered her Speech alſo very difficult; with which ſhe lingered till the 24th of *March* 1602-3; after ſhe had raiſed the Nation's Glory to the higheſt Pitch, by the many great Exploits at Sea, performed under her Influence, which have intitled her to the Name of *The Reſtorer of Naval Glory*, and the *Miſtreſs of the Ocean*. " For, by her
" wiſe Conduct [*], and the Bravery of her Sea-commanders,
" ſhe ſpread her Fame into all Parts of the known World.
" She was ſenſible of the true Foundation of her Greatneſs,
" and looked upon Manufactures as the richeſt Mine of
" the State, and the Dominion of the Seas, as the chief
" Jewel of her Crown. This diſpoſed her to take all
" poſſible Meaſures both to promote Trade, and to deprive
" the neighbouring Nations of the Means of rivalling the
" *Engliſh* at Sea. By her victorious Arms ſhe broke the
" Naval Force of *Spain*, and curbed the Inſolence of the
" *Hanſe-towns*. The Terror of her Succeſſes held *France*,
" tho' governed by the Great *Henry*, ſo much in Awe,
" that the Sea-forces of that Kingdom could not become
" formidable during her Reign. And having the *Bril*,
" *Ramakins* and *Fluſhing*, the Keys of *Holland* and *Zea-*
" *land*, in her Hands, ſhe could, as it were, lock up the
" Sea-forces of the *Dutch*, at her Pleaſure. Thus ſhe
" remained till her Death, the abſolute Miſtreſs of the
" Seas, and by conſequence the Arbitreſs of the Affairs
" of *Europe*. To ſignify this, ſhe cauſed a Portcullis to
" be ſtamped on ſome of her Coin, intimating thereby,
" that

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[*] Columna Roſtrata.

“ that it was in her Power to ſhut up the Sea; which ſhe “ made ſufficiently appear, when the King of *Denmark*, “ and the *Hanſe-towns*, ſoliciting a Paſſage thro' her Seas “ to tranſport Corn to *Spain*, were refuſed it; and when “ the *Hanſeatick* Fleet, which had dared to attempt a Paſſage, without her Permiſſion, was ſeized and confiſcated. “ I ſhall only add, from Mr. *Echard*, that the utmoſt “ Bounds of *Europe*, *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, could not limit “ the Extent of her great Fame; but it ſpread farther, into “ the moſt remote Parts of *Aſia*, *Africa* and *America*, “ among the *Turks*, the *Perſians*, *Barbarians* and *Indians*. “ In moſt of whoſe Dominions, to the great enriching of “ her Kingdom, ſhe ſettled Commerce, and gained large “ Privileges for the Encouragement of her Merchants, “ whom ſhe cheriſhed, as a moſt neceſſary and important “ Part of her Commonwealth.”

The Names *of ſuch* Ships *as her* Majesty *left at her Death*[a].

Names of Ships.	Tons.	Men in Harb.	Men at Sea, whereof,	Marin.	Gunn.	Sail.
Elizabeth-Jonas,	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph,	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White-Bear,	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory,	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mary-Honora,	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark-Royal,	800	17	400	268	32	100
St. Matthew,	1000	30	500	340	40	120
St. Andrew,	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulſe,	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland,	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warſpight,	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary-Roſe,	600	12	250	150	30	70
Hope,	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure,	600	12	250	150	30	70
Lion,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought,	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope,	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftſure,	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow,	330	10	160	114	16	30
Foreſight,	300	10	160	114	16	30
Tide,	250	7	120	88	12	20
Crane,	200	7	100	76	12	20
Adventure,	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance,	200	7	100	76	12	20
Anſwer,	200	7	100	76	12	20
Advantge,	200	7	100	70	12	20
Tyger,	200	7	100	70	12	20
Tramontain,		6	70	52	8	10
Scout,	120	6	66	48	8	10
Catis,	100	5	60	42	8	10
Charles,	70	5	45	32	6	7
Moon,	60	5	40	30	5	5
Advice,	50	5	40	30	5	5
Spy,	50	5	40	30	5	5
Merlin,	45	5	35	26	5	4
Sun,	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet,	20	2				
George Hoy,	100	10				
Penny-Roſe Hoy,	80	8				

A List *of the Names of ſuch Perſons as have been dignified with the Office of* Lord High-admiral, *or have enjoyed that Command, under any other Title or Denomination, from the Death of King* John[b], *to the Death of Queen* Elizabeth.

8 Hen. III. *Richard de Lucy* is ſaid to have *Maritimam Angliæ*.

48 Hen. III. *Thomas de Moleton* was conſtituted *Capitaneus & Cuſtos Maris & Portuum Maritimorum*, (Captain and Guardian of the Sea, and of the Maritime Ports.)

15 Edw. I. *William de Leyburn* is ſtiled, at the Aſſembly at *Bruges*, 8 *March*, 15 *Edw.* I. 1286, *Admirallus Maris Angliæ*, (Admiral of the *Engliſh* Sea.)

22 Edw. I. *John de Botefort* (or *Botetort*) Admiral of the North, for the Coaſt of *Yarmouth*, and that Station.

William de Leiburn, Admiral of the South, for *Portſmouth*, and that Station.

A certain *Iriſh* Knight, Admiral of the Weſt, and the Parts thereof.

	ADMIRALS Of the North, *viz.* From the Mouth of the River *Thames* Northward.	ADMIRALS, Of the Weſt, *viz.* From the Mouth of the River *Thames* Weſtward.
34 Edw. I.	*Edward Charles*.	*Gervaſe Allard*.
8 Edw. II.	*John Botetort*.	*William Cranis*.
10	*John Perbrun*, or *Perburn*.	Sir *Robert de Leiburn*.
		12 Ed. II. *John Athey*.
15	*John Perburn*.	Sir *Robert de Leiburn*, Admiral of all the Weſtern Ports of *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*.
16	*John Perburn*.	*Robert Batrail*, or *Batall*, one of the Barons of the Cinq. Ports.
18	*John de Sturmy*, *l'Eturmy*, or *Oturwin*.	*Robert Bendon*.
19	*John de Sturmy*.	*Nicholas Kyriel*. *John de Felton*.

☞ *Walſingham* calls theſe three the Admirals of the three Coaſts of *England*, viz. of *Yarmouth*, *Portſmouth*, and the *Weſt*. And here we are to obſerve, that the South Coaſt is comprehended in the Weſt.

19	*John de Sturmy*.	*Nicholas Kyriel*.
20	*John de Sturmy*.	*Nickolas Kyriel*.
20	*John de Leyborne*.	
1 Edw. III.	*John Perburn*.	*Wareſ. de Valoniis*.
		7 Edw. III. *William de Clinton*.
8	*John de Norwico*.	*Roger de Hegham*, or *Higham*.
10 Edw. III.	*Thomas Ughtred*.	
	John de Norwico.	*Walter de Say*, Bart.
	Robert Ufford. *John de Roos*.	} *William de Manton*.
11	*Walter de Manny*.	*Bartholomew de Burgherſhe*.
12	*Thomas de*[c] *Draiton*.	*Peter Bardus*, or *Bard*.
13	*Robert de Morley*, Baron of *Hengham*.	*Robert Truſſel*.
		14 Edw. III. *Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*.
15	*Robert de Morley*.	*William Clinton*, Earl of *Huntingdon*.
16	*William Truſſel*.	*Robert Baupel*.
17	*William Truſſel*.	*John de Monte Gomerico*.
18	*Robert de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*.	*Reginald de Cobham*.
		19 Edw. III. *Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*.
20	*Robert de Ufford*, Earl *of Suffolk*.	*Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*.
21	Sir *John de Howard*.	Sir *John de Monte Gomerico*.
22	Sir *Walter de Manney*, Baron *St. Salvato*.	Sir *Reginald de Cobham*.

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[a] Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

[b] By Sir Henry Spelman.

[c] We find this Thomas mentioned elſewhere, not as Admiral, but only as Vice-admiral to Walter de Manney.

24 Edw. III.	*Robert de Causton.*	*John de Bello Campo (Beauchamp)* Knt. of the Noble Order of the Garter.
25	*Robert de Morley.*	
25	*William de Bohun,* Earl of *Northampton.*	*Henry,* Duke of *Lancaster.*
26	*William de Bohun,* Earl of *Northampton.*	*Thomas de Bello Campo,* Sen. Earl of *Warwick.*
29	*Robert de Morley,* Baron of *Hengham.*	*John de Bello Campo* [*], the Brother of *Thomas.*
30	*Robert de Morley.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.* 31 Edw. III. Sir *Guido de Brian.*
33, 34	*Robert de Morley.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.*
35	Sir *Robert Herle,* Admirallus omnium Flotarum utriuſque Partis, (Admiral of all the Fleets in every Station.)	
38	*Ralph Spigornel,* Admirallus utriuſque Partis, (Admiral in every Station.)	
43	Sir *Nich. Tamworth.*	Sir *Robert Aſton.*
44	*John Nevil,* Baron of *Raby.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.*
45	*Ralph de Ferrariis.*	Sir *Robert Aſton.*
46, 47, 48	*William de Nevil.*	*Philip Courtney.*
50	*William de Ufford,* Earl of *Suffolk.*	*William de Monte Acuto* (Mountague.)
50, 51	Sir *Michael de la Poole,* Dom. *de Wingfield,* Brother of *Robert de Hales,* Prior of the Hoſpital of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem.*	
1 Rich. II.	*Thomas de Bello Campo,* Jun. Earl of *Warwick.*	*Richard,* the Son of *Alanus,* Earl of *Arundel.*
2	*Thomas Percy,* Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland.*	Sir *Hugh Calvely.*
3, 4	Sir *Will. de Elmham.*	Sir *Philip Courtney.*
5	Sir *Will. de Elmham.*	Sir *John Roches.*
6	Sir *Walter,* Son of Sir *Walter,* Dom. *de Woodham.*	Sir *John Roches,* or *de Rupibus.*
7	*Henry Percy,* Earl of *Northumberland.*	*Edward Courtney,* Earl of *Devon.*
8	*Thomas Percy,* Brother of *Henry,* Earl of *Northumberland.*	*John Radington,* Prior of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem.*
9	Sir *Philip Darcey.*	Sir *Thomas Trivet.*
10	*Richard,* the Son of *Alanus,* Earl of *Arundel,* Admirallus Angliæ, (Admiral of *England.*)	
12	*John de Bello Monte,* Baron of *Folkington.*	*John Holland,* Earl of *Huntingdon.*
12	Sir *John de Rupibus.*	
13	*John de Bello Monte,* aforeſaid.	*John Holland,* aforeſaid.
14	*Edward,* Earl of *Rutland.*	*John Holland,* aforeſaid.
15	*Edward,* Earl of *Rutland* and *Corcagiæ,* afterwards Duke of *Albemarle,* conſtituted High-admiral, as well of the North as Weſtern Parts.	
21	*John Beaufort,* Marquis of *Dorſet,* and Earl of *Sommerſet,* the Son of *John de Gondavo,* Duke of *Lancaſter,* Admiral of the North and Weſt.	
22	*Thomas Percy,* Earl of *Winchester,* Brother of *Henry,* Earl of *Northumberland,* conſtituted Admiral of both Parts.	
2 Hen. IV.	*R. Gray,* Baron of *Codenore.*	Sir *Thomas Reniſtan.*
5	*Thomas Beaufort,* Brother of the aforeſaid Marquis of *Dorſet.*	*Thomas,* Lord *Berkley.*
7	*Nich. Blackburn,* Eſq;	*Rd. Childerbow,* Eſq;

ADMIRALS of ENGLAND, &c.

6 Hen. IV.	*Thomas* of *Lancaſter,* the Son of King *Henry* IV. Viceroy of *Ireland,* High-ſteward of *England;* afterwards Duke of *Clarence;* Admirallus utriuſque Partis, (Admiral in every Station.)
8	*John Beaufort* aforeſaid, Earl of *Sommerſet,* Admirallus Angliæ, (Admiral of *England.*)
8	*Edmund Holland,* Earl of *Kent,* Admirallus Angliæ, (Admiral of *England.*)
9	*Thomas Beaufort* aforeſaid, Admirallus Angliæ, (Admiral of *England.*)
4 Hen. VI.	*John* of *Lancaſter,* Duke of *Bedford,* Earl of *Richmond* and *Candale,* High-conſtable of *England,* Son of King *Henry* IV. Admirallus Angliæ, (Admiral of *England.*)
14	*John Holland,* Duke of *Exon,* Earl of *Huntingdon,* conſtituted (together with his Son) Admirals of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain,* for Life.
25	*William de la Poole,* Marquis and Earl of *Suffolk,* made Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain,* during the Minority of *Henry,* Duke of *Exon;* who, with his Father, had that Office, by the King's Grant, *ad terminum vitæ eorum,* &c. (for the Term of both their Lives.)
28	*Henry Holland,* Duke of *Exon,* Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain.*
1 Edw. IV.	*Richard Nevil,* Earl of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury,* Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain.*
2	*William Nevil,* Earl of *Kent,* and Baron *Falconberg,* Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain.*
2	*Richard,* Duke of *Glouceſter,* Brother to the King, Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain.*
42 Hen. VI.	*Richard Nevil,* Earl of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury,* Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Calais,* Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Dover,* and Guardian of the Cinque Ports, Admiral, as above.
11 Edw. IV.	*Richard,* Duke of *Glouceſter,* aforeſaid, conſtituted Admiral, as above.
1 Rich. III.	*John Howard,* Duke of *Norfolk,* Admiral of *England, Ireland* and *Aquitain.*
1 Hen. VII.	*John de Veer,* Earl of *Oxford,* High-chamberlain of *England,* &c. Admiral, as above.
4 H. VIII.	Sir *Edward Howard,* the Son of *Thomas,* Earl of *Surrey,* afterwards Duke of *Norfolk,* Admiral, as above.
5	*Thomas Howard,* elder Brother of *Edward,* aforeſaid, Earl of *Surrey,* afterwards Duke of *Norfolk,* Admiral, as above.
17	*Henry,* natural Son of King *Henry* VIII. Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerſet,* Earl of *Nottingham,* Admiral, as above.
28	*William Fitz-Williams,* Earl of *Southampton,* Admiral, as above.
32	*John,* Lord *Ruſſel,* Admiral, as above.
34	*John Dudley, Vicecom. Inſulæ,* and Baron of *Malpas,* &c. Admiral, as above.
1 Edw. VI.	*Thomas de St. Mauro* (vulg *Seimor*) Lord of *St. Mauro,* of *Sudley,* Brother of *Edward,* Duke of *Sommerſet,* Admiral of *England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, Boulogne,* &c.
3	*John Dudley,* Earl of *Warwick,* Viſcount *Liſley,* &c. High-admiral of *England, Ireland, Wales, Calaïs, Boulogne,* and their ſeveral Counties of *Normandy, Gaſcony* and *Aquitain;* alſo General Prefect of the Fleet, and of the King's Seas, *&c.*

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[*] John de Bello Campo aforeſaid, was conſtituted High-admiral, as well of the North, as of the Weſt of England, the 18th of July. At which time he was alſo Warden of the Cinque Ports, Conſtable of the Tower of London, and of the Caſtle of Dover; and died the 2d of December, of the ſame Year, in Poſſeſſion of theſe Employs.

4	Edw. VI.	*Edward Clinton*, Baron of *Clinton* and *Say*, Admiral, as above.
1	Mary I.	*William Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Admiral, as above.
3		*Edward Clinton*, Baron of *Clinton* and *Say*, Admiral, as above.
1	Elizabeth	——— *Malyn*, Vice admiral.
2		Sir *William Winter*, Admiral.
3		*Ambroſe Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*.
25.		*Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*, created Lord-high-admiral in 1585, to ſucceed the Earl of *Lincoln*.
28		Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-admiral.
28		Sir *John Hawkins*, Rear-admiral.
29		Sir *John Norris*, Admiral.
29		Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, Admiral.
29		Sir *Richard Greenville*, Vice-admiral.
		Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Admiral.
		Lord *Thomas Howard*, Vice-admiral.
		Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Admiral.
		Devereux, Earl of *Eſſex*, Admiral.
		Sir *William Monſon*.

The great Increaſe of Trade under the wiſe and active Adminiſtration of this Reign, may be plainly diſcovered by the Premiſes. But it will be neceſſary, according to the Plan of this Work, to review the Means by which her Majeſty eſtabliſhed the Intereſt of her Subjects, both at home and abroad.

Her Majeſty's firſt Eſſay, towards the Improvement of her Subjects Commerce, was the Method ſhe took to get rid of foreign Factors, and to encourage her own Subjects in the right Management thereof; which had, for ſeveral Ages, been carried on by the Merchants of the *Hans-towns*.

Theſe Merchants, in the two laſt Reigns, had been ſomewhat mortified and abridg'd in their ancient Privileges, which they enjoyed under the Name of the *Anſeatic* Company, on conſideration of certain Impoſitions paid to the City of *London*; and applying to the Miniſtry for Redreſs, at the Acceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, expecting to take Advantage of the narrow Circumſtances to which the Nation was then reduced, both by the Poverty of the Exchequer, the unſettled State of the Kingdom, and the little Credit it had abroad, they complained loudly of ill Treatment. But *Elizabeth* and her Council were not to be baited into Conceſſions hurtful to her Subjects; and without appearing to take any Part in the Affair, anſwered prudently, "That it was not her Intention to innovate any Thing, "and that ſhe would protect them in the Immunities ſhe "found them poſſeſſed of."

This *Laconic* Declaration ſpirited up the natural-born Subjects to divide themſelves into Staplers and Merchant-adventurers, who ſettled a Correſpondence with each other in different Parts of *Europe:* and when other Arts proved ineffectual to ſtop their Progreſs, the *Hans*-merchants engaged the Emperor to interpoſe with the Queen in their Favour. But her Majeſty was ſo far from yielding to the Emperor's Requeſt, that ſhe thereupon, convinced of the great Importance of ſupporting her Subjects, reduced the *Hanſe* to the Level of other Strangers trading in her Dominions. And they applying to the Emperor for further Relief, drew upon themſelves her Majeſty's Reſentment. They prevailed with the Emperor to prohibit all Commerce by *Engliſh* Merchants in his Dominions; and *Elizabeth* expelled them entirely, and ſeized upon 60 Sail of Ships belonging to *Hamburgh*, laden with Proviſions, *&c.* on account of the King of *Spain*. It was commonly thought that her Majeſty would have been contented with this Token of her Reſentment, and Example of her Power; but when ſhe was about to diſmiſs the Captures, being informed that the general Aſſembly at *Lubeck* were concerting Meaſures to diſtreſs the Trade of her Subjects, ſhe confiſcated all the Ships and Cargoes, except two, which were permitted to carry home the diſagreeable News of the Contempt, in which her Majeſty held all their Proceedings. Nor did ſhe treat the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador from *Sigiſmund*, in their Behalf, with more Ceremony; who talking in a very lofty Strain, was told, That his Maſter would do well firſt to conſider what Power he had to ſupport ſuch Language, and that he was very little fit for the Employment of an Ambaſſador [a].

The next mercantile Affair was with the King of *Denmark*, who ſpirited up, as ſuppoſed, by the *Anſeatics*, interrupted the *Engliſh* Merchant-adventurers, and ſeized their Ships found in his Ports. But the Queen demanded ſuch peremptory Satisfaction, and Dr. *Parkins*, ſent upon that Errand, ſo properly delivered his Meſſage, that the *Dane* was glad to compound the Matter for 40000 Dollars paid on the Nail; which her Majeſty appropriated to make good the Damages ſuſtain'd by the Merchants [b].

Foreigners being thus beat out of our Trade, and the Spirit of Commerce daily increaſing among her own Subjects, there was no Part of the known World without ſome Attempt to extend or ſettle their Trade. *Barbary*, *Turky*, *Muſcovy*, *Perſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, were induced by her Influence to admit of Factories from *England*. And in 1566 there paſſed an Act for incorporating, and more effectually eſtabliſhing, a Company of Merchant-adventurers [c].

In 1563 there paſs'd an Act for the better Regulation, Maintenance, and Increaſe of the Navy [d]. In 1566 a Law paſs'd to enable the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the *Trinity-houſe* to ſet up Beacons and Sea-marks [e]; another for the Increaſe of Mariners, and for the Maintenance of Navigation, and more eſpecially for recovering the Trade to *Iceland*, which heretofore had employed annually upwards of 200 Sail of ſtout Ships [f]. And the following Acts, for the preventing of Frauds and Abuſes in the Revenue, and the illegal Importation and Exportation of prohibited and unaccuſtomed Goods, are ſtill in Force, and neceſſary to be known by all Merchants and Traders by Sea.

1 *Eliz.* cap. 11. "No Maſter, Shipper, or Purſer, or "other Perſon or Perſons, taking Charge of the Voyage, "or of the Merchants Goods, ſhall receive or take into "any Ship, Crayer, or other Veſſel, any Goods, Wares, "or Merchandiſe (except before excepted) to be carried "or tranſported into any of the Parts beyond the Seas, or "into the Realm of *Scotland* [g], before he ſhall have ſignified to the Cuſtomer of the Port where he ladeth, and "other Officers there in the open Cuſtom-houſe, if any "ſuch be there, or elſe where the ſaid Officers, their Deputies, or Servants, or any of them be, or ſhall be uſually reſident, that he intendeth to lade, and to what "Place he intended to paſs; nor ſhall, after his or their "full Lading, depart out of the Port, Creeks, or Stream "where he ſhall ſo lade, before he do in like Manner ſignify unto the Cuſtomer, and other Officers, as is aforeſaid, of his Lading, and what Merchant and other "Perſons ſhall have laden with him, or in his Ship, Crayer, "Veſſel, or Bottom, and further truly do anſwer to ſuch "Queſtions as ſhall be miniſtred to him or them by the "Cuſtomer or other Officer, concerning ſuch Wares and "Merchandiſes as he ſhall have laden, being examined "upon his or their Oath, or otherwiſe, in the open Cuſtom-houſe, or otherwiſe, as is aforeſaid; upon Pain to "forfeit for every ſuch Default, not truly advertiſing nor "anſwering, as aforeſaid, 100 *l.*

"No Owner, Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon, taking "Charge of any Ship, Crayer, Veſſel, or Bottom, where"in any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe (except before "excepted) ſhall be laden and brought from any the Parts "beyond the Sea, or the Realm of *Scotland* [h], ſhall diſcharge into any Lighter or Bottom, and lay on Land, "or procure, cauſe, or willingly ſuffer to be diſcharged into "any Lighter or Bottom, and to be laid on Land out of "ſuch Ship, Crayer, Veſſel, or Bottom, any Goods, "Wares, or Merchandiſe whatſoever, before ſuch Owner, "Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon or Perſons taking Charge "of the Ship, Crayer, Bottom, or Veſſel, or the Merchants Goods for that Voyage, ſhall have ſignified "and declared to the Cuſtomer or other Officer of the "Port, Haven, or Creek where he arriveth, the Names of every of the Merchants or Laders, and ſhall have truly anſwered to ſuch Queſtions and Interrogatories, touching or concerning ſuch Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe, as ſhall be then laden in any Ship, Veſſel, or Bottom, as ſhall be to him miniſtered by ſuch Cuſtomer or other Officer openly in the Cuſtom-houſe, or in ſuch other Places, as is aforeſaid, upon his or their Oath, if Need ſo require; upon Pain that every Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon or Perſons taking Charge of ſuch Ship, Crayer, or other Veſſel, for that Voyage, ſhall forfeit and loſe for every ſuch Default, not advertiſing, nor anſwering, as is aforeſaid, 100 *l.*[a]

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[a] Camden. Stowe. Molloy de Jure Marit.
[b] Stow's Ann.
[c] Hackluit, Vol. I. p. 394.
[d] 1 Eliz. c. 5.
[e] 8 Eliz. c. 13.
[f] A. D. 1581. 22 Eliz. c. 7.
[g] Alter'd as to Scotland, by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.
[h] Altered as to Scotland, by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

5 *Eliz.* Cap. 7. Sect. 3. "No Perſon ſhall bring or cauſe to be brought into this Realm, any Girdles, Harneſs for Girdles, Rapiers, Daggers, Knives, Hilts, Pummels, Lockets, Chapes, Dagger-blades, Handles, Scabbards, and Sheaths for Knives, Saddles, Horſe-harneſs, Stirrups, Bits, Gloves, Points, Leather-laces, or Pins, ready made or wrought, in any Parts beyond the Seas, to be ſold, bartered, or exchanged, on Forfeiture, or the Value thereof; half to the King, half to the Informer.

8 *Eliz.* Cap. 3. "Rams, Lambs, or Sheep alive, prohibited to be carried or conveyed out of the Realm, or out of any of the Queen's Dominions, on Pain that every Perſon or Perſons, their Aiders, Abetters, Procurers, and Comforters, ſhall, for their firſt Offence, loſe all his Goods for ever; half to the Queen, half to the Informer; every ſuch Offender ſhall alſo ſuffer One Year's Impriſonment, and at the Year's End, ſhall, in open Market, have his Left hand cut off, and there nailed up; and every Perſon eftſoons offending, ſhall be adjudged a Felon, and ſhall ſuffer Death, as in Caſes of Felony.

"The Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, Juſtices of Gaol Delivery, and Juſtices of Peace, have Power to hear and determine the Offences.

13 *Eliz.* Cap. 2. Sect. 7. "If any Perſon ſhall bring into this Realm any Things called by the Name of *Agnus Dei*, or any Croſſes, Pictures, Beads, or ſuch ſuperſtitious Things from the Biſhop of *Rome*, or pretending the ſame to be hallowed by him, or any Perſon authorized by him; and if the ſame Perſon ſo bringing in ſuch *Agnus Dei*, and other like Things, as aforeſaid, ſhall deliver or cauſe to be delivered the ſame to any Subject of this Realm, then ſuch Perſon ſhall incur a *Præmunire*[b].

18 *Eliz.* Cap. 5. Sect. 1. "Be it further enacted, That no ſuch Informer or Plaintiff ſhall or may compound or agree with any Perſon or Perſons that ſhall offend, or ſhall be ſurmiſed to offend againſt any penal Statute, for ſuch Offence committed, or pretended to be committed, but after Anſwer made in Court unto the Information or Suit in that Behalf exhibited or proſecuted; nor after Anſwer, but by the Order or Conſent of the Court in which the ſame Information or Suit ſhall be depending, upon Pains and Penalties hereafter in this preſent Act ſet down and declared; and that if any ſuch Informer or Plaintiff, as aforeſaid, ſhall willingly delay his Suit, or ſhall diſcontinue, or be nonſuit in the ſame, or ſhall have the Trial or Matter paſt againſt him therein by Verdict or Judgment of Law, that then, in every ſuch Caſe, the ſame Informer or Plaintiff ſhall yield, ſatisfy, and pay unto the Party Defendant his Coſts, Charges, and Damages, to be aſſigned by the Court in which the ſame Suit ſhall be attempted; for the Recovery and Execution whereof, every ſuch Defendant ſhall immediately upon the ſame Coſts, Charges, and Damages aſſigned, have his *Capias ad ſatisfac. Fieri fecit*, or *Elegit*, to be awarded unto him, out of the ſame Court, in which the ſame ſhall be ſo aſſigned, as is aforeſaid, as in other Caſes of Execution.

"II. And be it alſo enacted, That if any Perſon or Perſons (except the Clerks of the Court only, for making out of Proceſs, otherwiſe than is above appointed) ſhall offend in ſuing out of Proceſs, making of Compoſition, or other Miſdemeanour, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Statute, or ſhall by Colour or Pretence of Proceſs, or without Proceſs, upon Colour or Pretence of any Matter of Offence againſt any penal Law, make any Compoſition, or take any Money, Reward, or Promiſe of Reward, for himſelf, or to the Uſe of any other, without Order or Conſent of ſome of her Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, that then he or they ſo offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall ſtand on the Pillory in ſome Market-town next adjoining, where the ſame Offence ſhall be committed, in the open Market-time, and therein remain by the Space of Two Hours; and ſhall, from and after ſuch Conviction, for ever be diſabled to purſue, or be Plaintiff or Informer in any Suit or Information upon any Statute, popular or penal; and ſhall alſo for every ſuch Offence forfeit and loſe Ten Pounds of lawful *Britiſh* Money; the one half thereof to the Queen's Majeſty, her Heirs, and Succeſſors, and the other half to the Party grieved thereby, to be recovered in any Court of Record, by Action of Debt or Information; in which no Eſſoign, Protection, Injunction, or Wager of Law ſhall be permitted or allowed: And that Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, Juſtices of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of Peace in their Quarter-ſeſſions, ſhall have full Power and Authority to hear and determine all Offences to be committed or done contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this preſent Act.

18 *Eliz.* Cap. 9. "Tallow and Raw-hides ſhipp'd with Intent to be exported, forfeit the Goods, and treble the Value; the Owner of the Ship knowing thereof, forfeits his Ship; the Maſter or Mariners knowing thereof, forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and to ſuffer One Year's Impriſonment; half to the Queen, half to the Informer[c]."

However, the peculiar Glory of this Reign was the great Care ſhe took of the current Coin.

During[d] the ſhort Reigns of King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*, ſome Progreſs had been made towards reſtoring good Money, but it was reſerved for this excellent Princeſs to compleat; and, next to the Reformation in Religion, nothing could be more glorious, or more beneficial to the Kingdom, than the Reformation of the Money. This, amongſt other Felicities of her Reign, was mentioned by the Parliament[e], in their Congratulations to her Majeſty upon the Happineſs of the Times; and the ſame is juſtly inſerted amongſt the Encomia upon her Tomb at *Weſtminſter*.

In the two firſt Years of her Reign, there was a great deal of Money coined, whereby the Want of good Money being in ſome meaſure ſupplied, ſhe ſet about reforming the bad. And, firſt, having prohibited any Perſon to melt or carry away any Coin out of the Kingdom, the bad Money was reduced to the true Value, by a Proclamation[f] dated the 28th of *September*, 1560; the Subſtance whereof it will not be improper to inſert[g].

Firſt, The Honour and Reputation of the ſingular Wealth that this Realm was wont to have above all others, was partly, in that it had no coined Monies but Gold and Silver, whereas the reſt of Chriſtendom have had, and ſtill have, baſe Monies; and to recover this, as her Majeſty meant, for her Part, to be at great Charges, ſo every good *Engliſh* Subject ought to be content, tho' it was ſome ſmall Loſs at the firſt; alſo, by continuing the baſe Monies, Counterfeiters, both at home and abroad, had made no ſmall Quantities, and uttered the ſame, firſt at twelve Pence the Teſtoon, afterwards for eight Pence, tho' not worth above two Pence; and for ſmall Sums of Money counterfeited, had carried out ſix Times the Value in Commodities of the Realm; alſo changing the ſaid baſe Monies for the Gold and fine Silver Monies of the Realm, and tranſported the ſame: So that although there had been coined, both in the latter End of King *Edward*, and the Time of Queen *Mary*, and alſo ſince the Queen's Majeſty's Reign,

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[a] This was by 3 Car. I. Sect. 11 & 22. continued to the End of the firſt Seſſion of next Parliament; and by the 16 Car. I. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. continued until altered by Parliament.

[b] Made perpetual by 27 Eliz. Cap. 10.

[c] This Act was by the 3 Car. I. Sect. 22. continued to the End of the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament; and by the 16 Car. I. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. continued until altered by Parliament.

[d] Hiſtorical Account of Engliſh Money, p. 232.

[e] Camden's Eliz. Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 11.

[f] Stow's Annals, 1560.

[g] From a Copy without the Draughts, printed in 1696.

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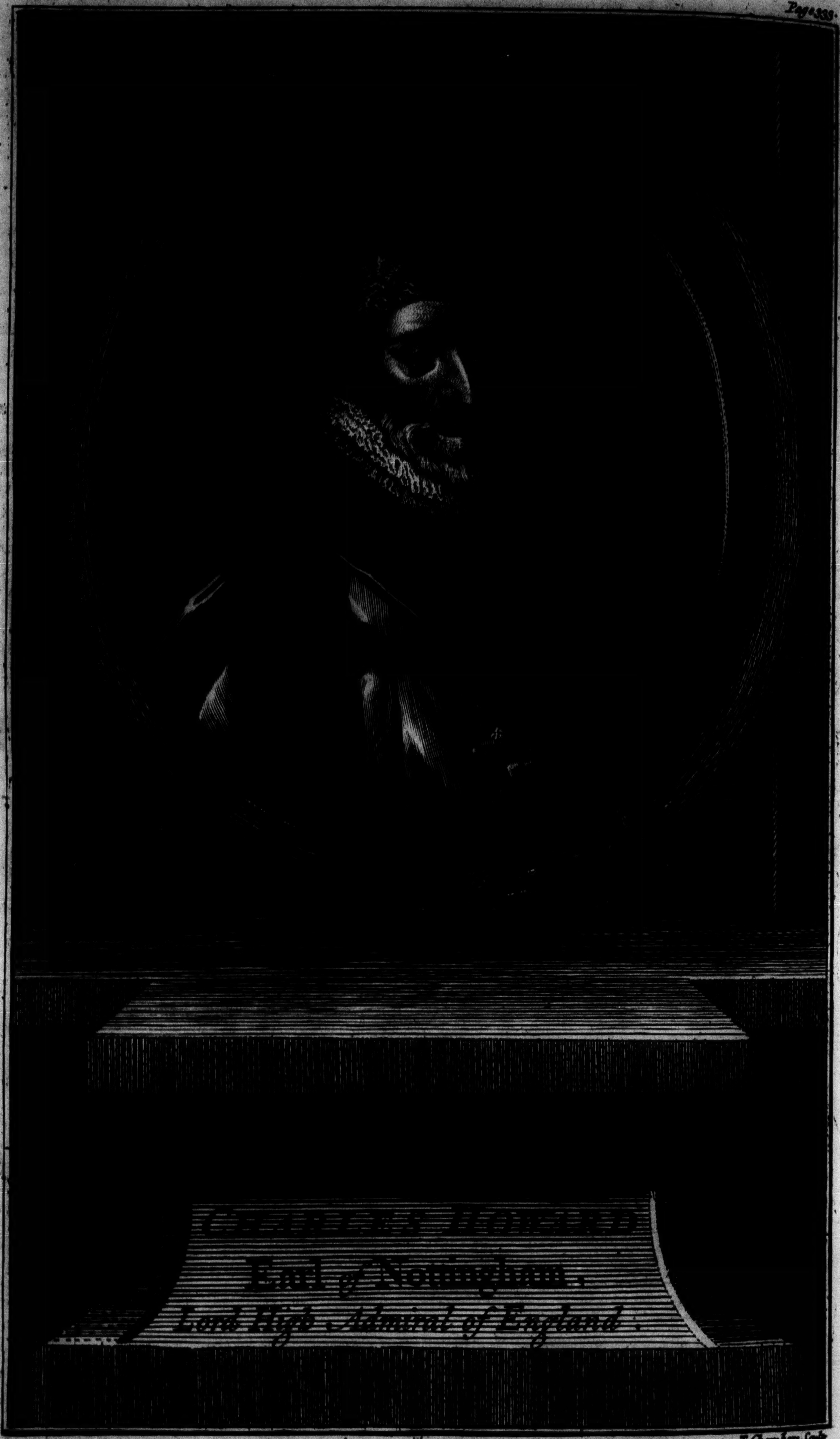

CHARLES HOWARD

Earl of Nottingham,

Lord High Admiral of England.

T. Chambers Sculp

London, July 20th 1756. Engraved for the New Naval History
Printed for R. Manby, W. Reeve, W. Bizat, P. Davey & B. Law, & J. Scott.

great Quantities of Gold and Silver, yet no Part thereof was ſeen commonly current, ſome being carried out, and ſome perchance hoarded by the wiſer Sort, as it were to be wiſhed that the whole were.

Alſo, the Prices of all Things produced from the Earth, tho' there had been a plentiful Increaſe, immeaſurably and daily roſe, and no Remedy could be deviſed to amend the ſame, but to reduce the ſaid baſe Monies to their juſt Value; for every Man knew, that a Teſtoon was not worth ſix Pence, and therefore no Man would give that which was, and ever had been worth ſix Pence for a Teſtoon, but rather would require two Teſtoons; and ſo a Thing being worth ſix Pence, was bought and ſold either for two Teſtoons, or one and a half, which was in reckoning twelve or nine Pence. Whereas every Teſtoon being brought to the juſt Value, it muſt needs follow, that one ſhall buy that for four Pence Halfpenny, which was wont to coſt ſix Pence, ſo that what he may loſe by the bad Money, he will gain by the next good Money he ſhall get.

By this means the Exchange ſhall riſe in Eſtimation as formerly, and the foreign Commodities be thereby bought for eaſier Prices; ſo that every Man ought to thank God, that he may live to ſee the Honour of his Country thus partly recovered, and be ſecured from the privy Thief, which is the Counterfeiter.

And her Majeſty is fully reſolved to reform the Monies according to her Proclamation, as Experience ſhall try, within a Month or ſix Weeks, within which Time neceſſary Things for the Mint muſt be provided; and that the Monies ſhall be of ſo juſt Value, as the Teſtoon ſet at two Pence Farthing, her Majeſty will allow for every Pound of them twenty Shillings and three Pence in Reward, which is rather more than they are worth being melted; ſo that her Majeſty, who, ſince ſhe came to the Crown, never gained any Thing by any Coinage, nor yet ever coined any Manner of baſe Monies for this Realm, will not now determine to leſſen the Honour and Fame, that ſhe ſhall, with ſmall Loſs or Gain, recover, by this noble Act, to benefit her Realm and People.

And as to the Burthen of the greateſt Loſs upon the Teſtoon of two Pence Farthing, thoſe, by good Accounts, appeared not to be above a ſixth Part, compared to the other baſe Monies of the ſame ſort of Teſtoons, coined at the Mints of this Realm; and at the Coinage of the ſame baſe Teſtoons, now valued at two Pence Farthing, which was done in the Time of the Wars heretofore, there were ſet thereto certain Marks, as a Lion, a Roſe, a *Fleur de Lis*, a Harp, called the privy Marks of ſuch as were then Maſters of the Mint, which alſo be ſpecified in the Proclamation, for the better underſtanding whereof, the Stamps of every kind of the ſame baſe Teſtoons are ſet at the End of the Declaration: And to eaſe her Subjects as much as poſſible, the Officers of the Mint are to allow for counterfeit Teſtoons, as much as they contain in good Silver, which in no Realm any Prince either hath, or ought to do.

Given under the Queen's Majeſty's Signet, at her Honour of *Hampton-Court*, the 29th of *September*, in the 2d Year of her Majeſty's Reign, MDLX.

The Queen valued herſelf greatly for the Advantages, which had accrued to her Subjects by her completing the great Work of the Coinage. She called it the Conqueſt of that Monſter, which had ſo long devoured them; and as it is of great Conſequence to have a juſt Notion of the national Stock in ready Money, at this Period, when our great foreign Commerce began, it will be very proper to remark, that the current Coin of *England* amounted now [a] to about 4,000,000.

The Coin being ſet right, all the ſubordinate Parts of general Commerce received envigorating Strength; which, cultivated by the Willingneſs her Majeſty ſhewed upon upon every Occaſion to facilitate, both by her Power and Money, the Schemes of her Subjects for improving Manufactures at home, and their Trade and Navigation abroad, ſoon changed the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, and opened a way to all Parts of the known World, and to the Diſcovery of thoſe invaluable Countries in *North America*; for whoſe Defence *Great-Britain*, at this time, thinks it worth the Exertion of her whole Strength againſt the Encroachments made thereon by the *French*; as may be more particularly collected from the preceding Accounts of the ſeveral Naval Expeditions, both for maintaining the *Sovereignty* and *Dominion of the Seas*, for the Extenſion of Trade, and for the Diſcovery of diſtant Regions, to be added to her Empire. In which the following Noblemen and Gentlemen chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their Courage and Knowledge in Maritime Affairs.

The LIFE *of* CHARLES HOWARD, *Baron of* Effingham, *and afterwards created Earl of* Nottingham, *Knight of the Garter, and Lord High-admiral of* England.

Charles Howard, Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High-admiral of *England*, was Son of *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, and Grandſon of *Thomas*, the ſecond Duke of *Norfolk* [b]. He was born in 1536 [c], and initiated early into the Affairs of the State, being ſent in 1559, on the Death of *Henry* II. King of *France*, with a Compliment of Condolence to his Succeſſor *Francis* II. and to congratulate him on his Acceſſion to the Throne; as alſo to deſire, that the Friendſhip ſo lately commenced between the two Crowns might be continued [d]. Returning from this Embaſſy, he was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Surrey* in 1562 [e]; and in 1569 was General of the Horſe under the Earl of *Warwick*, in the Army ſent againſt the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, then in Rebellion [f]. The Year following he went with a Fleet of Men of War to convoy the Princeſs *Anne* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, going into *Spain*, over the *Britiſh* Seas [g]. In 1571 he repreſented the County of *Surrey* in Parliament; and in 1573, upon the Death of his Father (12th of *January* 1572) ſucceeded him in his Honour and Eſtate [h]. The ſame Year he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter [i], and likewiſe made Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold [k], to the great Mortification of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, his Lordſhip's Oppoſite; and in 1585 conſtituted Lord High-admiral of *England*, with the general Approbation of the Nation, more eſpecially of the Sailors, who loved him exceſſively [l].

In 1588, the memorable Year of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, the Queen knowing his great Abilities in Naval Affairs, and the Eſteem which the Seamen univerſally had for him, gave him the Command of her whole Fleet; with which he intirely diſperſed and deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* Armada [m]; not ſo much with the Strength of this Fleet, as by his Courage and Conduct. Had he returned into Port with four of the largeſt Ships, and diſmiſſed the Seamen to ſave Expence, when *Walſingham* wrote thoſe Directions, after the Court had received Advice that the *Spaniards* were diſabled, and returned into Port, the Nation had fallen an eaſy Prey to the Invader. But Lord *Howard* remonſtrated againſt thoſe Orders, and backed his Reaſons with an Offer to keep the four Ships at Sea on his own Expence, ſhould they not be found ſufficient; which had the deſired Effect.

He no ſooner was informed of the *Spaniſh* Fleet's Entrance into the Channel, than he lent his own Hand to get what Ships he could the firſt Night out of *Plymouth*, and with no more than 30 of the ſmalleſt Ships in the Fleet, attacked the *Spaniſh* Armada, in the Morning [n]; and diſpatched Sir *Edward Hobby*, his Brother-in-law, to inform the Queen of the great Diſproportion between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, to deſire her Majeſty to haſten what Ships ſhe poſſibly could to his Aſſiſtance, and to diſpoſe of her Land-forces in the moſt effectual Manner for the Security of the Coaſt. His Valour was diſcovered in the repeated Attacks he made on a ſuperior Enemy; and his

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[a] A. D. 1600. Dr. Davenant.

[b] Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 278, 279.

[c] Dugdale, p. 279, ſays, that he was 88 Years of Age at his Death in 1624.

[d] Camdeni Annales, Eliz. p. 30. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1625.

[e] Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 254. 2d Edit.

[f] Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 1212.

[g] Camden, p. 191.

[h] Id. p. 254.

[i] Dugdale, p. 278.

[k] Camden, p. 254.

[l] Id. p. 417.

[m] Id. p. 517, &c.

[n] See an Account of this Battle on Page 261. of this Hiſtory.

Conduct or Prudence recovered him, without any Loſs, from the Power of the *Spaniards*, after he had been driven into, and continued a whole Night in the midſt of their Fleet; and that it was owing to his Lordſhip's Magnanimity and Prudence, is confeſſed by Sir *Richard Hawkins*, in theſe Words: "Worthy of perpetual Memory, ſays he, was the prudent Policy and Government of our *Engliſh* Navy, in *Anno* 1588, by the worthy Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High-admiral of *England*, who, in like Caſe, with mature and experimented Knowledge, patiently withſtood the Inſtigations of many courageous and noble Captains, who would have perſuaded him, to have laid them aboard; but well he foreſaw, that the Enemy had an Army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in Number of Shipping, and thoſe greater in Bulk, ſtronger built, and higher molded; ſo that they, who with ſuch Advantage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all Oppoſition below, the Slaughter, peradventure, proving more fatal than the Victory profitable; by being overthrown, he might have hazarded the Kingdom; whereas by the Conqueſt (at moſt) he could have boaſted of nothing but Glory, and an Enemy defeated. But by Sufferance, he always advantaged himſelf of Wind and Tide, which was the Freedom of our Country, and Security of our Navy, with the Deſtruction of theirs, which in the Eye of the Ignorant (who judge all Things by the external Appearance) ſeemed invincible, but truly conſidered, was much inferior to ours in all Things of ſubſtance, as the Event proved; for we ſunk, ſpoiled and took many of them, and they diminiſhed of ours but one ſmall Pinnace, nor any Man of Name ſave only Captain *Cocke*, who died with Honour amidſt his Company." A Service, for which the Queen not only rewarded him with a Penſion, but ever after conſidered him as the Preſerver of his Country.

For which Reaſon, when, in 1596, another Invaſion was expected from the *Spaniards*, and a Fleet of 150 Ships was equipped with a proper Number of Land-forces, he was appointed Commander in Chief at Sea, as the Earl of *Eſſex* was at Land. In this Expedition *Cadiz* was taken, and the *Spaniſh* Fleet in that Port was burnt [a]. His Prudence and Moderation, as well as his great Experience and Reputation amongſt the Seamen and Soldiers, were the principal Cauſes of the Succeſs the *Engliſh* met with in that Attempt; and his Conduct throughout the whole, was ſo wiſe and fortunate, that upon his Return home, the Queen, on the 22d of *October*, the ſame Year, advanced him to the Dignity and Title of Earl of *Nottingham* (being deſcended from the Family of *Mowbray*, whereof ſome had been Earls of that County) the Reaſons whereof are particularly mentioned in the Patent of Creation [b]; "That, by the Victory obtained, *Anno* 1588, he had ſecured the Kingdom of *England* from the Invaſion of *Spain*, and other impending Dangers; and did alſo, in conjunction with our dear Couſin *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, ſeize by Force the Iſle, and ſtrongly fortified the City of *Cadiz*, in the fartheſt Part of *Spain*; and did likewiſe entirely rout and defeat another Fleet of the King of *Spain*, prepared in that Port againſt this Kingdom." And on his firſt going to the Houſe of Peers, he was received with unuſual Marks of Joy, ſufficiently teſtifying how worthy the beſt Judges eſteemed him of his new Dignity, to which the Queen ſhortly after added another, making him Juſtice-itinerant of all the Foreſts South of *Trent* for Life [c].

In 1599, upon an Apprehenſion of the *Spaniards* again deſigning the Invaſion of *England*, occaſioned by the Embarkation of a great Number of *Engliſh* Fugitives on-board a Fleet at the *Groyne*; and on private Intelligence, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, diſcontented at the Power of his Adverſaries, had treated with the Rebels he was ſent to reduce, and was meditating to return into *England* with a ſelect Party of Men; the Queen, with the Aſſiſtance of the City of *London*, having reinforced her Navy, and raiſed 6000 Foot-ſoldiers, to be ready on any Emergency, repoſed ſo intire a Confidence in the Earl of *Nottingham*, that ſhe committed to him the chief Command [d], with the Title of Lord Lieutenant-general of all *England*; an Office never before enjoyed by any *Britiſh* Subject, and which he held for ſix Weeks, tho' it fell little ſhort of the ſupreme Power in the Government. But theſe Forces being again diſbanded a few Weeks after, his Lordſhip had no Opportunity to exerciſe his Courage or Conduct, till the Year 1601, when, upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Inſurrection, he was ſent to ſuppreſs it [e]. This was on the 8th of *February* 1600; and the Queen ſaw herſelf (in the Decline of her Life, and after ſhe had triumphed over foreign Foes in the utmoſt Peril, from an aſſuming Favourite, who owed all his Credit to her Kindneſs, and who had thus attempted a Rebellion in her Capital) on the Point of being impriſoned or depoſed. In this perilous Situation, ſhe had recourſe to the Loyalty of her People, and to the Courage and Conduct of her Nobility, giving the Command of all to the Lord Admiral, who, ſhe often ſaid, *was born to ſerve, and to ſave his Country*. He performed, on this Occaſion, as on all others, the utmoſt the Queen could expect; for he reduced the Earl of *Eſſex* to ſuch Diſtreſs, that he was content to yield himſelf; and when he had ſo done, the Lord High-admiral treated him with all the Lenity and Kindneſs poſſible [f]. The ſame Year, the Admiral was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Earl-marſhal of *England* [g]; and in the Beginning of the Year 1602-3, the Queen being ſenſible of the Approach of Death, obſerved to his Lordſhip, that as her Throne had been held by Princes in the way of Succeſſion, it ought not to be filled by any, but her next and immediate Heir; which the Earl acquainting the Council with, he was deputed, with the Lord Keeper *Egerton*, and the Secretary *Cecil*, to know her Majeſty's Pleaſure in reference to the Succeſſion; which ſhe declared in favour of the King of *Scots* [h].

Upon the Acceſſion of that King to the Throne of *England*, the Earl was continued in his Poſt of Lord Admiral, and at the Coronation was made Lord High-ſteward of *England* for that Occaſion; and the Year following, upon the renewing the Commiſſion unto ſeven Lords for exerciſing the Office of Earl-marſhal, he was appointed one of that Number [i].

In 1604 he was one of the Commiſſioners to treat of an Union between *England* and *Scotland* [k]; and in 1605 ſent Embaſſador to the Court of *Spain*, attended with a ſplendid Retinue (ſix Peers and 50 Knights) who being "Perſons of Quality, accoutred with all Ornaments ſuitable, were the more admired by the *Spaniards* for Beauty and Excellency, by how much the *Jeſuits* had made Impreſſions in the vulgar Opinion, that ſince the *Engliſh* left the *Roman* Religion, they were transformed into ſtrange horrid Shapes, with Heads and Tails like Beaſts and Monſters [l]." His Employment there was to take the Oath of the King of *Spain* to the Treaty of Peace lately made with him; and he had a particular Inſtruction, that in performing that Ceremony, which was moſt likely to be in the Royal Chapel, he ſhould have eſpecial care, that it might be done, not in the Forenoon in the time of Maſs, but rather in the Afternoon, at which time the *Romiſh* Service is moſt free from Superſtition [m]. During this Embaſſy, the King of *Spain* did more Honour to the Earl than ever he had done to any Perſon in his Employment in that Kingdom [n]; and the People in general ſhewed all poſſible Regard for him [o], as his Lordſhip's Behaviour there juſtly deſerved [p]; and at his Departure from thence in *June* the ſame Year, he had Preſents made him by that King in Plate, Jewels, and Horſes, to the Value of 20,000 *l.* beſides the Gold-chains and Jewels given to his Attendants [q]. But theſe Favours were repreſented in ſo bad a Light to King *James*, by the Court Sycophants, who envied his good Fortune, that the Earl, on his Return to *England*, found a great Alteration in his Maſter's Eſteem for him, which had been greatly impaired by falſe Reports of his

having

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[a] Camden, p. 667, &c.
[b] Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.
[c] Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 1.
[d] Camden, p. 740.
[e] Id. p. 788, 789.
[f] Stowe. Hollinſhed. Speed. Camden. Sir Walter Raleigh's Life by Mr. Oldys.
[g] Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in dorſo. Dugdale, p. 279.
[h] Camden, p. 852—854.
[i] Dugdale, p. 279.
[k] Wilſon's Life of King James I. p. 27. Edit. London 1653. in fol.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 26.
[m] See his Inſtructions, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 53.
[n] Winwood, p. 72.
[o] Id. p. 74.
[p] Id. p. 72.
[q] Id. p. 89.

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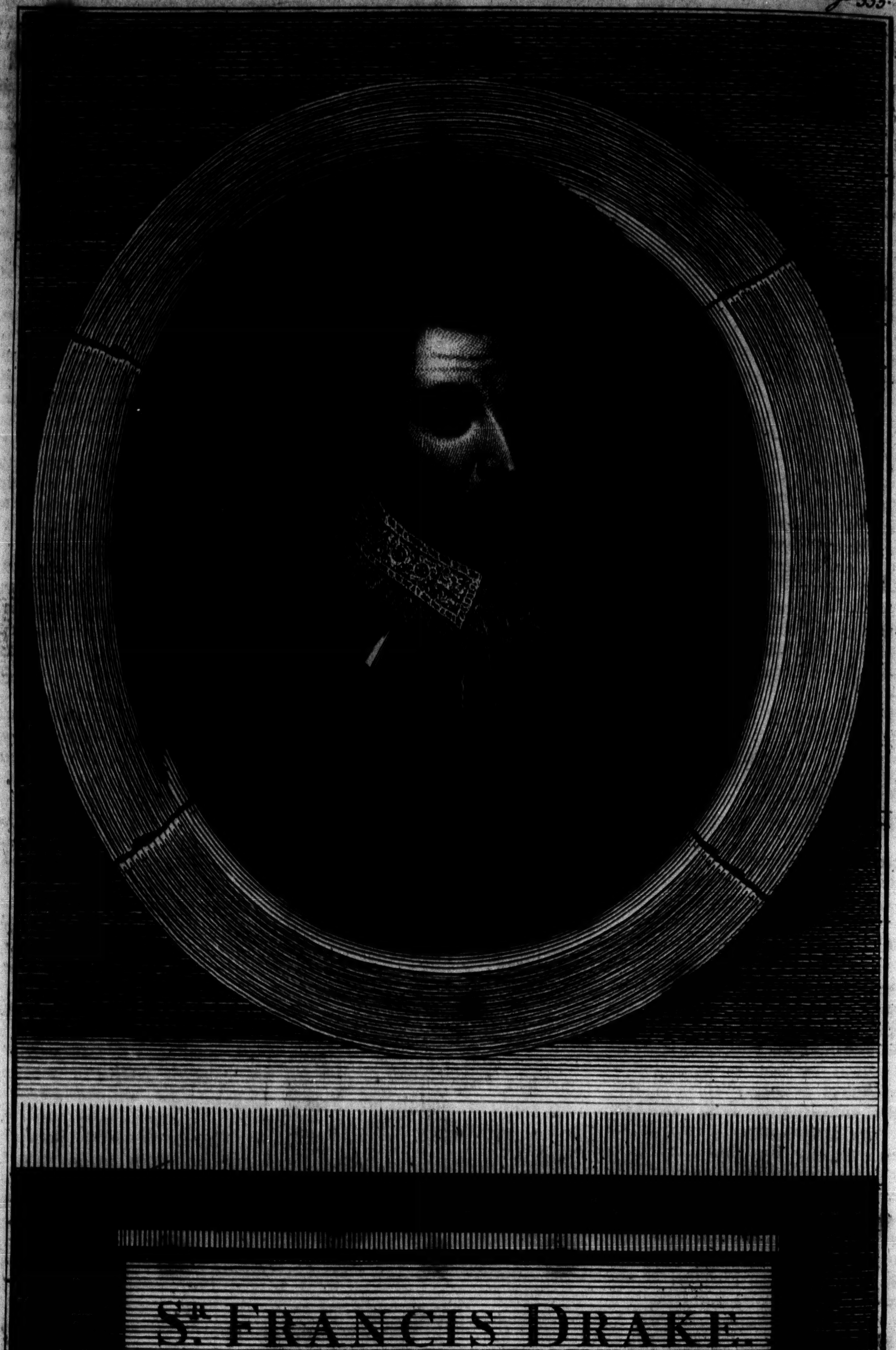

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having aſſumed too much State, during his Embaſſy, and not having acted with neceſſary Precaution. However, his Preſence ſoon effaced the Effects of thoſe Miſrepreſentations; for upon the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* to the Elector Palatine, *February* the 14th 1612-13 [a], the Earl of *Nottingham*, with the Duke of *Lenox*, was appointed to conduct her Highneſs from the Chapel [b], when ſhe was married to the Elector Palatine; and had the Honour of convoying her with a Royal Navy to *Fluſhing* [c].

He continued Lord High admiral of *England* till *February* the 6th 1618-19, when finding himſelf unable any longer to perform the neceſſary Duties of that great Employment, which he had enjoyed about 33 Years with the higheſt Applauſe, and willing to provide for a young Wife, the Daughter of the Earl of *Murray*, he voluntarily reſigned it to his Majeſty; who being ſenſible of the important Services, which he had done the Nation, did at the Earl's Requeſt, remit him a Debt owing to the Crown of 18000*l.* [d], ſettled upon him a Penſion of 1000*l.* a Year for Life [e], and granted him the Place and Precedency of *John Mowbray*, who had been created Earl of *Nottingham* by King *Richard* II. at the time of his Coronation [f].

He died on the 14th of *December* 1624, at the Age of 88, leaving rather an everlaſting Memorial of his extraordinary Worth, than any great Eſtate to his Family; altho' he had enjoyed ſo long the profitable Poſt of Lord Admiral. He lived in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent Manner, keeping ſeven ſtanding Houſes at the ſame time [g]; and was always forward to promote any Deſign ſerviceable to his Country.

Sir *Robert Naunton* ſtiles him [h] "a good, honeſt, and " brave Man; and as for his Perſon, as goodly a Gentle-" man as any of that Age." And Mr. *Oſborne* tells us [i], that his "Fidelity was impregnable in relation to Corrup-" tion." By his firſt Wife, *Catharine*, Daughter to *Henry Cary* Lord *Hunſdon*, he had two Sons and three Daughters; and by his ſecond, *Margaret*, Daughter to *James Stuart* Earl of *Murray* in *Scotland*, two Sons [k].

The LIFE *of Sir* FRANCIS DRAKE, *one of the diſtinguiſhed naval Heroes in the Reign of Queen* ELIZABETH, *Vice-admiral of her Fleet in* 1588, *and the firſt* Engliſhman *that made a Voyage round the World.*

Sir *Francis Drake* was a Man, of whom it may be truly ſaid, that he had a Head to contrive, a Heart to undertake, and a Hand ready to execute, whatever promiſed Glory to himſelf, and Good to his Country. As he was, properly ſpeaking, the *Son of Merit*, we have but a very indifferent Account of his Family, or even of his Father; except we may implicitly rely on *Camden*'s Account, who quotes *Drake* himſelf for its Veracity. "This *Drake*," ſays he, "was born of mean Parentage in *Devonſhire*, and " had *Francis Ruſſel*, afterwards Earl of *Bedford*, for his " Godfather, who, according to the Cuſtom, gave him " his Chriſtian Name. Whilſt he was yet a Child, his " Father embracing the Proteſtant Doctrine, was called in " queſtion by the Law of the Six Articles made by *Henry* " VIII againſt the Proteſtants, fled his Country, and with-" drew into *Kent*. After the Death of King *Henry*, he got " a Place among the Seamen in the King's Navy to read " Prayers to them, and ſoon after he was ordained a Dea-" con, and made Vicar of the Church of *Upnore* upon the " River *Medway*, where the Royal Fleet uſually rides. " But, by reaſon of his Poverty, he put his Son Appren-" tice to the Maſter of a Bark, his Neighbour, who held " him cloſely to his Buſineſs, by which he made him an " able Seaman; his Bark being employed in coaſting along " the Shore, and ſometimes in carrying Merchandiſe into " *Zealand* and *France*. The Youth being painful and di-" ligent, ſo pleaſed the old Man by his Induſtry, that, " being a Bachelor, at his Death he bequeathed his Bark " unto him by his laſt Will."

But the Criticks on this Relation obſerve, That it falls out unhappily for this Story, that the Parts of it are not conſiſtent. If *Drake* was in his tender Years or Childhood, when his Father was perſecuted on the Score of the *Six Articles*, he muſt have been born a good while before the Year 1539 [l], and if ſo, how could Sir *Francis Ruſſel* be his Godfather, who was himſelf born in 1527 [m]? ſo that without much ſtraining this Account, they might be both of an Age. It is very certain, that Mr. *Drake* was but a young Man when Sir *John Hawkins* made him Captain of the *Judith*, but according to this Computation he was 35 or 36 at leaſt. It is allowed by all the Writers of his Time, that he died in the Flower of his Age, which could not well be ſaid, if he had been between 60 and 70. As to the Account that I have followed, we have it from *John Stowe*, who was a very induſtrious careful Man, and particularly inquiſitive into Things of this Nature [n]. Beſides, as the Reader ſees in the Text, he ſettles every Step of his Advancement, and affirming that he was in the 22d Year of his Age when he became Captain of the *Judith*: this fixes his Birth to 1545, ſince he was veſted with that Command in *October* 1566. By fixing this Date, the Facts mentioned by *Camden* from the Mouth of Sir *Francis Drake* become very probable; for Sir *Francis Ruſſel* might well be his Godfather, and all the Events follow that he ſets down, only the Perſecution his Father ſuffered muſt have been in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, which is the more probable, if we conſider that *Camden* himſelf aſſures us, Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Beginning of her Reign, made that Eſtabliſhment of the Fleet in the River *Medway*, where *Drake*'s Father read Prayers to the Seamen [o].

According then to this other Account, I find he was the Son of one *Edmund Drake*, an honeſt Sailor, and born near *Taviſtock* in the Year 1545, being the eldeſt of 12 Brethren, and brought up at the Expence, and under the Care, of his Kinſman Sir *John Hawkins*. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, at the Age of 18, he was Purſer of a Ship trading to *Biſcay*, at 20 he made a Voyage to *Guinea*, and at the Age of 22, had the Honour to be appointed Captain of the *Judith*, and, in that Capacity, was in the Harbour of *St. John de Ulloa*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*, where he behaved moſt gallantly in the glorious Actions under Sir *John Hawkins*, and returned with him into *England* with a very great Reputation, but not worth a Groat [p]. Upon this he conceived a Deſign of making Repriſals on the King of *Spain*, which, ſome ſay, was put into his Head by the Miniſter of his Ship; and, to be ſure in Sea-divinity, the Caſe was clear; the King of *Spain*'s Subjects had undone Mr. *Drake*, and therefore Mr. *Drake* was at Liberty to take the beſt Satisfaction he could on the Subjects of the King of *Spain* [q]. This Doctrine, how rudely ſoever preached, was very taking in *England*, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his Deſign, than he had Numbers of Volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no ſuch Pretence to colour their Proceedings as he had [r]. In 1570 he made his firſt Expedition with two Ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, and the next Year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich.

In theſe two Voyages, Captain *Drake* had two great Points in View, the one was, to inform himſelf perfectly of the Situation and Strength of certain Places in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; the other to convince his Countrymen, that notwithſtanding what had happened to Captain *Hawkins* in his laſt Voyage, it was a Thing very practicable to ſail into theſe Parts and return in Safety; for it is to be obſerved, that *Hawkins* and *Drake* ſeparated in the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the former, finding it impoſſible to bring all his Crew home to *England*, had ſet a Part of them, but with their own Conſents, aſhore in the Bay of *Mexico*, and theſe being looked upon as ſo many Men loſt, and indeed very few of them found their way home, the Terror of ſuch a Captivity, as theſe poor Men were known to endure, had a great Effect [s]. But Captain *Drake* in theſe two Voyages, having very wiſely avoided coming to Blows with the *Spaniards*, and bringing home ſufficient Returns to ſatisfy his Owners, diſſipated theſe Apprehenſions, as well as raiſed his own Character; ſo that at his Return from his ſecond Voyage, he found it no difficult Matter to raiſe ſuch a Strength, as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own Mind, but which he never would have been able to effect, but by purſuing this cautious Method.

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[a] Camdeni Apparat. Annal. Regis Jacobi I. p. 9.
[b] Wilſon, p. 64.
[c] Id. p. 65.
[d] Camdeni Apparat, p. 41.
[e] Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 256.
[f] Camdeni Apparat. ubi ſupra.
[g] Fuller's Worthies, in Surrey, p. 84.
[h] Fragmenta Regalia, p. 31. Edit. London, 1641.
[i] Hiſtorical Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 17.
[k] Dugdale, p. 279.
[l] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 256.
[m] As appears from the Inſcription on his Monument.
[n] See the Life of Mr. Stowe, written by the Rev. Mr. Strype, prefixed to his Edition of Mr. Stowe's Survey of London.
[o] Annal. Eliz. p. 86.
[p] Stowe's Annals, p. 807.
[q] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 236.
[r] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.
[s] See the Accounts of John Oxenham's Voyage, pag. 212.

This he put in Execution on the 24th of *March* 1572, on which Day he ſailed from *Plymouth*, himſelf in a Ship called the Paſcha, of the Burthen of 70 Tons; and his Brother *John Drake* in the *Swan*, of 25 Tons Burthen; their whole Strength conſiſting of no more than 73 Men and Boys; and, with this inconſiderable Force, on the 22d of *July* he attacked the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then ſerved the *Spaniards* for the ſame Purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as thoſe for which they now uſe *Porto Bello*. He took it in a few Hours by Storm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous Wound he received in the Action; yet after all they were no great Gainers, but, after a very briſk Action, were obliged to betake themſelves to their Ships with very little Booty. His next Attempt was to plunder the Mules laden with Silver, which paſſed from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*; but in this Scheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the Town of *Venta Cruz*, carried it, and got ſome little Plunder. In their Return they unexpectedly met with a String of 50 Mules laden with Plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt. In theſe Expeditions he was very much aſſiſted by a Nation of *Indians*, who then were, and yet are, engaged in a perpetual War with the *Spaniards*. The Prince or Captain of theſe People, at this Time, was named *Pedro*, to whom Captain *Drake* preſented a fine Cutlaſs which he wore, and to which he ſaw the *Indian* had a mind. *Pedro*, in Return, gave him four large Wedges of Gold; all theſe Captain *Drake* threw into the common Stock, with this remarkable Expreſſion, "That he thought it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the Charge "of ſo uncertain a Voyage, on his Credit, ſhould ſhare the "utmoſt Advantages that Voyage produced." Then embarking his Men with all the Wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for *England*, and was ſo fortunate as to ſail in 23 Days from *Florida* to the Iſles of *Scilly*, and thence, without any Accident, to *Plymouth*, where he arrived the 9th of *Auguſt* 1573[a]. His Succeſs in this Expedition, joined to his honourable Behaviour towards his Owners, gained him a high Reputation, and the Uſe he made of his Riches ſtill a greater; for, fitting out three ſtout Frigates, at his own Expence, he ſailed with them to *Ireland*, where, under *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex* (the unfortunate Father of that ſtill more unfortunate Earl, who was beheaded) he ſerved as a Volunteer, and did many glorious Actions[b]. After the Death of his noble Patron he returned into *England*, where Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who was then Vice-chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, Privy-counſellor, and a great Favourite, took him under his Protection, introduced him to her Majeſty, and procured him her Countenance[c]. By this Means he acquired a Capacity of undertaking that grand Expedition, which will render his Name immortal. The Thing he firſt propoſed was, a Voyage into the *South-Seas* through the Streights of *Magellan*, which was what hitherto no *Engliſhman* ever attempted. This Project was well received at Court, and in a ſhort Time Captain *Drake* ſaw himſelf at the Height of his Wiſhes; for in his former Voyage having had a diſtant Proſpect of the *South-Seas*, he framed an ardent Prayer to God, that he might ſail an *Engliſh* Ship in them, which he now found an Opportunity of attempting, the Queen's Permiſſion furniſhing him with the Means, and his own Fame quickly drawing to him a Force ſufficient to accompliſh it; which, all Things conſidered, muſt at this Day appear a very extraordinary Event, more eſpecially if we conſider that he never diſcloſed his real Intention after he had his Commiſſion, nor indeed could diſcloſe it with Safety, and yet made all his Preparations ſo judiciouſly, that it does not appear any other Circumnavigator met with fewer Diſcouragements than he, who performed all by the Light of his own Judgment, and at the Expence of private Perſons who had an entire Confidence in him.

The Fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary Expedition, and all its moſt material Circumſtances, have been related above, under the Year 1577. But as the Execution of *John Doughty* is often urged to the Diſadvantage of *Drake*'s Memory, it will be very proper to deſcend more particularly into that Circumſtance, and relate the faireſt Accounts which Antiquity is able to furniſh.

On the 18th of *June*, Captain *Drake* arrived with his ſmall Fleet at Port *St. Julian*, which lies within one Degree of the Streights of *Magellan*, where he continued about two Months, during which Time he made the neceſſary Proviſion for paſſing the Streights with Safety[d]. Here it was, that on a ſudden having carried the principal Perſons engaged in the Service to a deſart Iſland lying in the Bay, he called a Kind of Council of War, or rather Court-martial, where he expoſed his Commiſſion, by which the Queen granted him the Power of Life and Death, which was delivered him with this remarkable Expreſſion from her own Mouth: *We do account that he*, Drake, *who ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us.* He then laid open with great Eloquence, (for tho' his Education was but indifferent he had a wonderful Power of Speech) the Cauſe of this Aſſembly. He proceeded next to charge Mr. *John Doughty*, who had been ſecond in Command during the whole Voyage, when *Drake* was preſent, and firſt in his Abſence, with plotting the Deſtruction of the Undertaking, and the Murder of his Perſon. He ſaid, he had the firſt Notice of this Gentleman's bad Intentions before he left *England*; but that he was in Hopes his Behaviour towards him would have extinguiſhed ſuch Diſpoſitions, if there had been any Truth in the Information. He then appealed for his Behaviour to the whole Aſſembly, and to the Gentleman accuſed. He next expoſed his Practices from the Time they left *England*, while he lived towards him with all the Kindneſs and Cordiality of a Brother; which Charge he ſupported by producing Papers under his own Hand; to which Mr. *Doughty* added a full and free Confeſſion. After this the Captain, or as in the Language of thoſe Times he is called, the General, quitted the Place, telling the Aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a Verdict upon him, for he would be no Judge in his own Cauſe. *Camden*, as the Reader will ſee, ſays, that he tried him by a Jury; but other Accounts affirm, that the whole 40 Perſons, of which the Court was compoſed, adjudged him to Death, and gave this in Writing under their Hands and Seals, leaving the Time and Manner of it to the General. Mr. *Doughty* himſelf ſaid, that he deſired rather to die by the Hands of Juſtice than to be his own Executioner. Upon this, Captain *Drake* having maturely weighed the whole Matter, preſented three Points to Mr. *Doughty*'s Choice. Firſt, to be executed upon the Iſland where they were; next, to be ſet aſhore on the Main-land; or laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the Juſtice of his Country. He deſired he might have till the next Day to conſider of theſe, which was allowed him; and then giving his Reaſons for rejecting the two laſt, he declared that he made the firſt his Choice; and having received the Sacrament with the General, from the Hands of Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, Chaplain to the Fleet, and made a full Confeſſion, his Head was cut off with an Ax, by the Provoſt-marſhal, *July* 2d 1578. It is very remarkable, that this Iſland had been the Scene of another Affair preciſely of the ſame Nature, 58 Years before, when *Magellan* cauſed *John de Carthagena*, who was joined in Commiſſion with him by the King of *Spain*, to be hanged for the like Offence, and from hence it was called the Iſland of *true Juſtice*[e].

As to the Imputations which this Matter brought upon *Drake*, we will firſt cite what *Camden* ſays of this Tranſaction[f]. "On the 26th of *April* entering into the Mouth "of the *River of Plate*, he ſaw an infinite Number of Sea-"calves. From thence ſailing into the Haven of *St. Julian*, "he found a Gibbet ſet up as is thought by *Magellan*,

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[a] See that Relation; as alſo Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinſhed, and Speed.

[b] Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

[c] Idem, ibid.

[d] See the Relation of this Voyage in Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 733. Engliſh Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived, p. 71.

[e] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 396.

[f] Annal. Eliz. p. 354.

“for the Puniſhment of certain Mutineers. In this very Place, *John Doughty*, an induſtrious and ſtout Man, and the next unto *Drake*, was called to his Trial for raiſing a Mutiny in the Fleet, found guilty by 12 Men after the *Engliſh* Manner, and condemned to Death, which he ſuffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having firſt received the Holy Communion with *Drake*. And indeed, the moſt impartial Perſons in the Fleet were of Opinion, that he had acted ſeditiouſly, and that *Drake* cut him off as an Emulator of his Glory, and one that regarded not ſo much, who he himſelf excelled in Commendations for Sea-matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not ſome, who pretending to underſtand Things better than others, gave out that *Drake* had in Charge from *Leiceſter*, to take off *Doughty* upon any Pretence whatever, becauſe he had reported that the Earl of *Eſſex* was made away by the cunning Practices of that Earl.” We find this Matter touched in ſeveral other Books, and particularly in two, which were written on Purpoſe to expoſe the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and perhaps deſerving the leſs Credit for that Reaſon [a].

It may be offered in Defence of Sir *Francis Drake*, that this Man was openly put to Death, after as fair a Trial as the Circumſtances of Time and Place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his Sentence, and received the Sacrament with *Drake*, whom he embraced immediately before his Execution. Beſides theſe, there are two Points which deſerve particular Conſideration. *Firſt*, that in ſuch Expeditions, ſtrict Diſcipline and legal Severity are often abſolutely neceſſary. *Secondly*, that as to the Earl of *Eſſex*, for whoſe Death *Doughty* had expreſſed Concern, he was *Drake*'s firſt Patron, and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a Man for endeavouring to detect his Murder. We may add to all this, if Liberty may be indulged to Conjectures, that this Man preſuming upon the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Favour, (who very probably impoſed him upon *Drake* to be rid of him) was from thence encouraged to form Deſigns againſt *Drake*, and this might alſo be the Reaſon which hindered him from inclining to an abſolute Pardon, as doubting whether it was poſſible to truſt one, who had ſo far abuſed his Confidence already, and whoſe known Intereſt with ſo great a Man, might always enable him to find Inſtruments, in caſe he was wicked enough to enter upon freſh Intrigues.

In this Voyage Sir *Francis* ſailed completely round the Globe; which no Commander in Chief had done before him. The firſt into whoſe Thoughts the Poſſibility of this entered, was the celebrated *Chriſtopher Columbus*, whoſe Knowledge in the Art of Navigation, when one conſiders the Defects in Philoſophy and Aſtronomy in his Time, appears perfectly amazing [b]. Sir *John Cabot*, Father to *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who was Contemporary with *Columbus*, comprehended his Principles perfectly, which induced him to propoſe to our K. *Henry* the VIIth, the finding a *North-weſt* Paſſage. *Ferdinand Magellan*, a *Portugueſe* by Birth, offered his Service to the Crown of *Spain*, and propoſed ſearching for a Paſſage to the South, which was accepted. He ſailed from *St. Lucar*, *September* the 20th 1519; he found and paſſed the *Streights*, which bear his Name, the next Year, but in his Return was killed in the *Eaſt-Indies*. His Ship came back ſafe to *Spain*; and as this was the firſt, ſo it was the only Example that Captain *Drake* had to encourage him in his Deſign; and to ballance this, there were a Multitude of unfortunate Attempts afterwards. In 1527 the *Spaniards* ſent *Garcia de Louiſa*, a Knight of *Malta*, with a Squadron of ſeven Ships to follow the Rout of *Magellan*. He paſſed the *Streights* indeed, loſt ſome of his Ships in the *South-Seas*, others put into the Ports of *New-Spain*, and only his Veſſel and another reached the *Eaſt-Indies*, where himſelf and all his People periſhed. Another Squadron of ſeven Ships, fitted out by the Biſhop of *Placentia*, had no better Fortune; for having reached the *South-Seas*, they were ſo diſcouraged, that they proceeded no further. In 1526 the *Genoeſe* ſent two Ships to paſs theſe *Streights*, of which one was caſt away, and the other returned home without effecting any Thing. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, in the Service of the Crown of *Portugal*, made the like Trial, but not being able to find the *Streights*, returned into the *River of Plate*. *Americus Veſpuſius*, from whom the new World received its Name, undertook to perform in the Service of the Crown of *Portugal*, what *Cabot* had promiſed; but this vain Man was ſtill more unlucky, for he could not find either the *Streights*, or the *River of Plate*. Some Years after, the *Spaniards* equipped a ſtout Squadron under the Command of *Simon de Alcaſara*; but before they reached the Height of the *Streights*, the Sailors mutinied, and obliged their Commander to return [c]. Such repeated Miſfortunes diſcouraged even the ableſt and boldeſt Seaman, ſo that from this Time, both *Spaniards* and Strangers dropped all Thoughts of emulating *Magellan*; and highly probable it is, that if Captain *Drake* had fully diſcloſed his Deſign, he had not been more fortunate than the reſt. His Courage therefore may well be admired, who durſt endeavour an Enterprize, the declaring of which had infallibly deſtroyed it; his Sagacity in navigating Seas wholly unknown, as well in his Return, as in his going out, for not a Man on-board his Ship had ever ſeen the *Cape of Good-Hope*, can hardly be enough admired. His Intrepidity in ſailing ſo far to the North, in hopes of coming that Way home was very ſurprizing; and the Methods he took through all the Voyage, to keep his People ſteady, in full Spirits, and for the moſt Part in good Health, muſt give us a very high Idea of his Capacity; and therefore, we need not at all wonder that upon his coming to *England*, his Fame roſe to ſuch a Height, as to provoke Envy as well as Praiſe.

His Succeſs in the Voyage, and the immenſe Maſs of Wealth he brought home, raiſed much Diſcourſe throughout the Kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his Exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his Country; that it would eſtabliſh our Reputation for maritime Skill in foreign Nations, and raiſe a uſeful Spirit of Emulation at home; and that as to the Money, our Merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs Practices of the *Spaniards*, there was nothing more juſt than that the Nation ſhould receive the Benefit of *Drake*'s Repriſals. The other Part alledged, that in Fact he was no better than a Pirate; that, of all others, it leaſt became a trading Nation to encourage ſuch Practices; that it was not only a direct Breach of all our late Treaties with *Spain*, but likewiſe of our old Leagues with the Houſe of *Burgundy*; and that the Conſequences would be much more fatal, than the Benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this Uncertainty during the Remainder of the Year 1580, and the Spring of the ſucceeding Year. At length they took a better Turn; for on the 4th of *April* 1581, her Majeſty going to *Deptford* in *Kent*, went on-board Captain *Drake*'s Ship, where, after Dinner, ſhe conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood, and declared her abſolute Approbation of all that he had done, to the Confuſion of his Enemies, and to the great Joy of his Friends [d]. She likewiſe gave Directions for the Preſervation of his Ship, that it might remain a Monument of his own and his Country's Glory.

It is obſerved by Mr. *Camden*, that when the Queen went to dine on-board the *Golden Hind*, there was ſuch a Concourſe of People, that the wooden Bridge over which they paſſed broke, and upwards of an 100 Perſons fell into the River: by which Accident, however, there was no body hurt; as if, ſays he, that Ship had been built under ſome lucky Conſtellation. Upon this Occaſion, the following Verſes, made by the Scholars of *Wincheſter-College*, were nailed to the Mainmaſt [e].

Plus Ultra, *Herculeis inſcribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.

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[a] Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 41. Leiceſter's Ghoſt, Stanza 112, 113.

[b] See his Life written by his Son, in the 2d Volume of Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

[c] See large Accounts of theſe Voyages in Eden, Hackluit, and Purchas.

[d] Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Hollinſhed. Speed.

[e] Camden's Annals, p. 359.

In *Engliſh* thus,

His Pillars paſs'd thou *Drake* may'ſt boldly claim,
Than *Hercules* the Great, a greater Name.

Drace, *pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,*
Quemque ſimul mundi vidit uterque Polus;
Si taceant homines, facient te ſidera notum.
Sol neſcit comitis non memor eſſe ſui.

Which may be rendered,

Expos'd to thee have Earth's laſt Limits been,
Thou at like Diſtance both the Poles haſt ſeen;
Were Mankind mute, the Stars thy Fame would blaze,
And *Phœbus* ſing his old Companion's Praiſe.

Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclyta ſtellis;
Supremo cœli vertice digna Ratis.

Thus tranſlated,

Amidſt the Stars, thy Ship were fitly plac'd,
And Stars in gracing it, be doubly grac'd.

The ſame learned Author, in another famous Work of his[a], takes Notice of a Circumſtance very extraordinary in relation to this celebrated Ship, which is ſo ſtrange in itſelf, that we ſhould have paſſed it by in a Writer of leſs Credit; but what *Camden* thought fit to record of Things happening in his own Time, it might be juſtly thought a Fault in us to omit. Speaking of the Shire of *Buchan* in *Scotland*, he ſays: "It is hardly worth while to mention the *Clayks*, a ſort of *Geeſe*, which are believed by ſome with great Admiration, to grow upon Trees on this Coaſt, and in other Places, and when they are ripe to fall down into the Sea, becauſe neither their Neſts nor Eggs can any where be found. But they who ſaw the Ship in which Sir *Francis Drake* ſailed round the World, when it was laid up in the River *Thames*, could teſtify that little Birds bred in the old rotten Keels of Ships, ſince a great Number of ſuch, without Life and Feathers, ſtuck cloſe to the Outſide of the Keel of that Ship. Yet I ſhould think, that the Generation of theſe Birds was not from the Logs of Wood, but from the Sea, termed by the Poets, the Parent of all Things." But to proceed in our Narration. Time, that deſtroys all Things, having made great Breaches in this Ship, which for many Years had been contemplated with juſt Admiration at *Deptford*, it was at length broke up, and a Chair made out of the Planks, was, by *John Davis* Eſq; preſented to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; upon which, the famous *Abraham Cowley* made the following Epigram, that neither the Hero nor his Veſſel might want the Aſſiſtance of the Muſes to render them immortal[b].

To this great Ship, which round the World has run,
And matcht in Race, the Chariot of the Sun;
This *Pythagorean* Ship (for it may claim)
Without Preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a Name.
By Knowledge once, and Transformation now
In her new Shape, this ſacred Port allow,
Drake and his Ship, could not have wiſh'd from Fate,
An happier Station, or more bleſt Eſtate:
For lo! a Seat of endleſs Reſt is given
To her in *Oxford*, and to him in Heaven.

To this, let us add another hitherto unpubliſhed.

Thy Glory *Drake*, extenſive as thy Mind,
No Time ſhall tarniſh, and no Limits bind:
What greater Praiſe! than thus to match the Sun
Running that Race? which cannot be out-run.
Wide as the World thou compaſs'd, ſpreads thy Fame,
And with that World, an equal Date ſhall claim.

His next Expedition was to the *Weſt-Indies*, in 1585. In which he took the Cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and *St. Auguſtin*, exceeding even the Expectation of his Friends, and the Hopes of the common People; though both were ſanguine to the laſt Degree[c]. Yet the Profits of this Expedition were but moderate, the Deſign of Sir *Francis* being rather to weaken the Enemy, than to enrich himſelf[d].

In 1587 he proceeded to *Liſbon* with a Fleet of 30 Sail, and having Intelligence of a great Fleet aſſembled in the Bay of *Cadiz*, which was to have made part of the Armada, he, with great Courage, entered that Port, and burnt there upwards of 10,000 Tons of ſhipping; and, after having performed all the Service that the State could expect, he reſolved to do his utmoſt to content the Merchants of *London*, who had contributed, by a voluntary Subſcription, to the fitting out of his Fleet. With this View, having Intelligence of a large Carrack expected at *Tercera* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, thither he ſailed; and though his Men were ſeverely pinched for want of Victuals, yet, by fair Words, and large Promiſes, he prevailed upon them to endure theſe Hardſhips for a few Days; within this Space the *Eaſt-India* Ship arrived, which he took, and carried home in Triumph; ſo that throughout the whole War there was no Expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to Reputation or Profit[e]; and therefore we need not wonder, that, upon his Return, the mighty Applauſe he received might render him ſomewhat elate, as his Enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no Man's Pride had ever a happier Turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in Service to the Public. Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring Water into the Town of *Plymouth*, through the want of which, till then it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a Stream from Springs at eight Miles Diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtrait Line; for in the Manner by which he brought it, the Courſe it runs is upwards of 20 Miles[f].

In 1588 Sir *Francis Drake* was appointed Vice-admiral under *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, High-admiral of *England*. Here his Fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever; for he made Prize of a very large Galleon, commanded by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, who yielded on the bare Mention of his Name. In this Veſſel 50,000 Ducats were diſtributed among the Seamen and Soldiers, which preſerved that Love they had always borne to their valiant Commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that through an Overſight of his, the Admiral ran the utmoſt Hazard of being taken by the Enemy; for *Drake* being appointed, the firſt Night of the Engagement, to carry Lights for the Direction of the *Engliſh* Fleet, he, being in full Purſuit of ſome Hulks belonging to the *Hanſe-towns*, neglected it, which occaſioned the Admiral's following the *Spaniſh* Lights, and remaining almoſt in the Centre of their Fleet till Morning. However, his ſucceeding Services ſufficiently effaced the Memory of this Miſtake, the greateſt Execution done on the flying *Spaniards* being performed by the Squadron under his Command[g].

A little before this formidable *Spaniſh* Armament put to Sea, the Ambaſſador of his Catholic Majeſty had the Confidence to propound to Queen *Elizabeth*, in *Latin* Verſe, the Terms upon which ſhe might hope for Peace; which, with an *Engliſh* Tranſlation by the facetious Dr. *Fuller*[h], we will preſent to the View of the Reader, the rather, becauſe it appears that *Drake*'s Expeditions to the *Weſt-Indies* make a part of this Meſſage. The Verſes are theſe:

Te veto, ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Quæ Dracus eripuit, nunc reſtituentur oportet:
Quas pater evertit, jubeo te condere cellas:
Religio Papæ fac reſtituatur ad unguem.

In *Engliſh*:

Theſe to you are our Commands,
Send no Help to the *Netherlands*;
Of the Treaſure took by *Drake*,
Reſtitution you muſt make;

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[a] Britannia, 2d Edition, p. 1263, 1264.

[b] Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 563.

[c] Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 534. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden's Annals, p. 353. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Hollinſhed. Speed.

[d] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

[e] Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

[f] Weſtcot's Survey of Devonſhire, MS. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[g] Camden's Annals, p. 565—573. Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 602. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe. Hollinſhed. Speed.

[h] Holy State, p. 303.

And thoſe Abbies build anew
Which your Father overthrew.
If for any Peace you hope,
In all Points reſtore the Pope.

The Queen's extempore Return:

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.

Worthy King, know this! your Will
At Latter Lammas we'll fulfil.

There is a Letter ſtill preſerved by *Strype*, written by Sir *Francis Drake* to the Lord High-treaſurer *Burleigh*, dated *June* 6, 1588, wherein he acquaints him, that the *Spaniards* were approaching, and that though their Strength outwent Report, yet the Chearfulneſs and Courage which the Lord Admiral expreſſed, gave all, who had the Honour to ſerve under him, Aſſurance of Victory. This Compliment, which ſure was very well turned, proved alſo a Prophecy, which Sir *Francis* had his Share in fulfilling [a]. On the 22d of *July*, Sir *Francis* obſerving a great *Spaniſh* Ship, commanded by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, who was reputed the Projector of this Invaſion, floating at a Diſtance from both Fleets, ſent his Pinnace to ſummon thoſe, who were on-board, to yield. *Valdez*, to maintain his Credit and Pretence to Valour, returned, that they were 450 ſtrong, that he himſelf was Don *Pedro*, and ſtood much upon his Honour, and thereupon propounded ſeveral Conditions upon which he was willing to yield: But the Vice-admiral replied, that he had no Leiſure to parley, but if he thought fit inſtantly to yield, he might; if not, he ſhould ſoon find that *Drake* was no Coward. *Pedro* hearing it was *Drake*, whoſe Name was ſo terrible to the *Spaniards*, preſently yielded, and with 46 of his Attendants, came aboard Sir *Francis*'s Ship, where, giving him the ſolemn *Spaniſh* Congee, he proteſted, "That they were all reſolved to have died "fighting, had they not fallen into his Hands, whoſe Fe-"licity and Valour was ſo great, that *Mars* the God of "War, and *Neptune* the God of the Sea, ſeemed to wait "upon all his Attempts, and whoſe noble and generous "Carriage towards the vanquiſhed, had been oft expe-"rienced by his Foes." Sir *Francis*, to requite theſe *Spaniſh* Compliments with real *Engliſh* Kindneſs, ſet him at his own Table, and lodged him in his own Cabbin, ſending the reſt of his Company to *Plymouth*. *Drake*'s Soldiers were well recompenſed with the Plunder of this Ship, wherein they found 55000 Ducats of Gold, which they joyfully ſhared amongſt them [b]. This Don *Pedro Valdez* remained above two Years Sir *Francis Drake*'s Priſoner in *England*, and, when he was releaſed, paid him for his own and his two Captains Liberties, a Ranſom of 3500 *l* [c].

The *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding their Loſs was ſo great, and their Defeat ſo notorious, took great Pains to propagate falſe Stories; which in ſome Places gained ſo much Credit as to hide their Shame. This provoked all good *Engliſhmen*, and, amongſt them, none more than Sir *Francis Drake*, who, to ſhew that he could upon Occaſion draw his Pen as well as his Sword, vouchſafed this Refutation of their Romances [d]. "They were not aſhamed to publiſh "in ſundry Languages in Print, great Victories in Words; "which they pretended to have obtained againſt this Realm, "and ſpread the ſame in a moſt falſe ſort over all Parts of "*France*, *Italy*, and elſewhere; when, ſhortly after, it was "happily manifeſted in very deed to all Nations, how their "Navy, which they termed *invincible*, conſiſting of 140 "Sail of Ships, not only of their own Kingdom, but "ſtrengthened with the greateſt *Argoſies*, *Portugal* Car-"racks, *Florentines*, and large Hulks of other Countries, "were by 30 of her Majeſty's own Ships of War, and a "few of our own Merchants, by the wiſe, valiant, and "advantageous Conduct of the Lord *Charles Howard*, "High-admiral of *England*, beaten and ſhuffled together "even from the *Lizard* in *Cornwall*, firſt to *Portland*, where "they ſhamefully left Don *Pedro de Valdez* with his mighty "Ship; from *Portland* to *Calais*, where they loſt *Hugh* "*de Monçado*, with the Gallies of which he was Captain; "and from *Calais* driven with Squibs from their Anchors, "were chaſed out of the Sight of *England*, round about "*Scotland* and *Ireland*. Where, for the Sympathy of their "Religion, hoping to find Succour and Aſſiſtance, a great "part of them were cruſhed againſt the Rocks, and thoſe "other that landed, being very many in Number, were, "notwithſtanding, broken, ſlain, and taken; and ſo ſent "from Village to Village, coupled in Halters, to be ſhipped "into *England*, where her Majeſty, of her princely and "invincible Diſpoſition, diſdaining to put them to Death, "and ſcorning either to retain or entertain them, they were "all ſent back again to their Countries, to witneſs and re-"count the worthy Atchievement of their invincible and "dreadful Navy. Of which the Number of Soldiers, the "fearful Burthen of their Ships, the Commanders Names "of every Squadron, with all other their Magazines of "Proviſions, were put in Print, as an Army and Navy "irreſiſtible and diſdaining Prevention; with all which their "great terrible Oſtentation, they did not in all their ſailing "round about *England*, ſo much as ſink or take one Ship, "Bark, Pinnace, or Cock-boat, of ours, or ever burnt ſo "much as one Sheepcote on this Land."

The Reputation gained in 1588 ſuffered greatly, the next Year, by the Miſcarriage of the Expedition againſt *Liſbon*, intended to ſet Don *Antonio* upon the Throne of *Portugal*. In this Expedition Sir *Francis* was encumbered with a Land-force under the Command of Sir *John Norrice*, or *Norris*, which preſently interrupted that Harmony, which Sir *Francis* was always remarkable to maintain aboard of his Fleet. They were hardly got out to Sea, before the Commanders differed; tho' it is on all Hands agreed, that there never was an Admiral better diſpoſed with reſpect to Soldiers, than Sir *Francis Drake*. The Ground of their Difference was this; the General was bent on landing at the *Groyne*, whereas Sir *Francis*, and the Sea-officers, were for ſailing to *Liſbon* directly, in which, if their Advice had been taken, without queſtion, their Enterpriſe had ſucceeded, and Don *Antonio* been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading *Portugal*, that the Enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them to ſo good Purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any Impreſſion. Sir *John Norris*, indeed, marched by Land to *Liſbon*, and Sir *Francis Drake* very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the River with his whole Fleet; but when he ſaw the Conſequences which would have attended the keeping his Word, he choſe rather to break his Promiſe, than to hazard the Queen's Navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by *Norris*, and the Miſcarriage of the whole Affair was imputed to his Failure in performing what he had undertaken; yet Sir *Francis* fully juſtified himſelf on his Return, for he made it manifeſt to the Queen and Council, that all the Service that was done was performed by him, and his ſailing up the River of *Liſbon* would have ſignified nothing to the taking the Caſtle, which was two Miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the Town [e].

Sir *Francis* alledged, and it could not be denied, that the very Time they ſpent at the *Groyne*, the *Spaniards* employed in fortifying *Liſbon*, which was the Reaſon he oppoſed that Meaſure [f]. He ſhewed, that whatever was done there or elſewhere for the Credit of the Nation, was performed ſolely by the Fleet and by his Orders, in conſequence of which a large Fleet, laden with naval Stores from the *Hanſe-towns*, was taken, and a great Quantity of Ammunition and Artillery. He farther ſhewed, that, had it not been for the Fleet, the Army muſt have been ſtarved; and that, if they had ſtaid any longer, neither Fleet nor Army could have returned home; all which Diſtreſſes aroſe from their not going about their principal Buſineſs at firſt, which was what he adviſed; but when he found he could not prevail upon ſome Men to manage their own Affairs right, he contented himſelf with managing, as well as he could, thoſe that were immediately within his own Province, and with reſpect to theſe, even the Cenſurers of this Expedition admit, that nobody could have managed them better.

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[a] This Letter was formerly among the Lord Burleigh's Manuſcripts. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. [b] Engliſh Hero. [c] Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. Life of Sir Francis Drake, p. 195. [d] Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 531, 532. [e] Camden's Annals, p. 601—606. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p 755. Hollinſhed. Speed. [f] Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

This was the firſt Check of Fortune received by our brave and ſkilful Seaman. But it was followed with one that gave him much more Uneaſineſs, and quite extinguiſhed both his Glory and Life at once.

The War with *Spain* ſtill continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the Enemy ſo much as the Loſſes they met with in the *Indies*, a Propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake*, the moſt experienced Seamen in her Kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual Expedition into thoſe Parts, than had hitherto been made through the whole Courſe of that War; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great Part of the Expence themſelves, and to engage their Friends to bear a conſiderable Proportion of the reſt [a]. The Queen readily gave Ear to this Motion, and furniſhed, on her Part, a ſtout Squadron of Men of War, on-board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir *John Hawkins* embarked. Their whole Force conſiſted of 27 Ships and Barks, and on-board them were about 2500 Men. Of all the Enterprizes throughout the War, there was none of which ſo great Hope was conceived as of this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe.

Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins* were, without doubt, two of the moſt experienced Officers, that thoſe ſtirring Times, and that glorious Reign, had bred. Each of them had his Reaſons for undertaking that Expedition, and both of them acted from Motives of Honour; they knew well the Situation of the Countries which were to be the Scene of their Actions, and the Plan they laid was equally worthy of the great Experience they had, and the high Reputation raiſed thereby. In few Words, their Aim was to plunder and deſtroy *Nombre de Dios*, to force a Paſſage through the *Iſthmus*, and then to make themſelves Maſters of *Panama*, which done, they were to act as Circumſtances ſhould direct [b]. The Preparations made for their Voyage, chiefly at the Expence of the Generals, were ſuch as could not be concealed: The *Spaniards*, being appriſed of theſe, alarmed *England*, and thereby gained time to ſend Advice into *America*. When, after many Months Delay, the Queen allowed them to proceed, ſhe charged him with another Project, which was attacking *Porto Rico*, where, according to her Information (and it was true) the whole Cargo of a rich Galleon was depoſited [c]. When they were at Sea, Sir *Thomas Baſkerville* ſtarted a third Project, which was reducing one of the *Canary* Iſlands, to which Sir *Francis Drake* aſſented, as believing, that, whatever became of their Expedition, the Conqueſt of that Iſland would be of very great Importance to the Nation [d]. Their Miſcarriage in that was many ways detrimental, but chiefly through this which they did not foreſee, that it gave Time for the Court of *Spain* to ſend five Frigates, with 900 regular Troops on-board, to *St. John de Porto Rico*. Of this they had no Suſpicion, and therefore they ſpent more Time than they needed to have done before they went thither, and the Bark *Francis* being taken in their Paſſage, Sir *John Hawkins* truly foreſaw what afterwards happened, that the *Spaniards*, by the Help of the Reinforcement that Squadron carried, would be too ſtrong for them. The ſad Accident of his Death, and of two principal Commanders deſperately wounded the ſame Evening, damped the Spirits of the Soldiers and Seamen exceedingly. General *Drake* himſelf, when he took his Leave of Mr. *Brown* in order to go to the Attack, could not help ſaying, *Brute, Brute* (that was his Chriſtian Name) *how heartily could I lament thy Fate, but that I dare not let my Spirits ſink now* [e].

The ſeveral Enterprizes that followed, were to gratify other Mens Projects, but at laſt Sir *Francis Drake* returned to his firſt Deſign, and made an Attempt upon the *Iſthmus*, but the *Spaniards* were too well provided, ſo that he plainly ſaw Things went not with him as in former Days. The whole of this Expedition was a Series of Misfortunes, in which Providence made uſe of their own Counſels to deſtroy them. If they had gone at firſt to *Porto Rico*, they had done the Queen's Buſineſs and their own. If, when they had Intelligence of the *Spaniſh* Succours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the *Iſthmus*, in order to have executed their Deſigns againſt *Panama*, before their Forces had been weakened by that deſperate Attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt Intention; but graſping too many Things ſpoiled all.

“Now [f] began the Diſcontent of Sir *Francis* to feed upon him. He conceived that Expectation, a mercileſs Uſurer, computing each Day ſince his Departure, exacted an Intereſt and Return of Honour and Profit proportionable to his great Preparations, and tranſcending his former Atchievements. He ſaw that all the Good which he had done in this Voyage, conſiſted in the Evil he had done to the *Spaniards* afar off, whereof he could preſent but ſmall viſible Fruits in *England*. Theſe Apprehenſions accompanying, if not cauſing, the Diſeaſe of the Flux, wrought his ſudden Death; and Sickneſs did not ſo much untie his Clothes, as Sorrow did rend at once the Robe of his Mortality aſunder. He lived by the Sea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus, an extempore Performance, ſcarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, comes off with better Applauſe, or miſcarries with leſs Diſgrace, than a long ſtudied and openly premeditated Action. Beſides, we ſee how great Spirits having mounted up to the higheſt Pitch of Performance, afterwards ſtrain and break their Credits in ſtriving to go beyond it. Laſtly, God oftentimes leaves the brighteſt Men in an Eclipſe, to ſhew, that they do but borrow their Luſtre from his Reflexion. We will not juſtify all the Actions of any Man, tho' of a tamer Profeſſion than a Sea-captain, in whom Civility is often counted Preciſeneſs. For the main, we ſay, that this our Captain was a religious Man towards God, and his Houſes, generally ſpeaking, Churches, where he came, chaſte in his Life, juſt in his Dealings, true of his Word, and merciful to thoſe that were under him, hating nothing ſo much as Idleneſs.”

Such was the End of this great Man, when he had lived 55 Years [g], according to ſome, but according to our Computation 51 [h]; but his Memory will ſurvive as long as that World laſts, which he firſt ſurrounded. His Death was generally lamented by the whole Nation, but more eſpecially by his Countrymen, who had great Reaſons to love him from the Circumſtances of his private Life, as well as to eſteem him in his public Character. He was elected Burgeſs for the Town of *Boſſiney*, alias *Tintagal*, in the County of *Cornwall*, in the Parliament held the 27th of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for the Town of *Plymouth* in *Devonſhire*, in the 35th of the ſame Reign [i]. He died without Iſſue, and left behind him a Widow, *Elizabeth* [k], Daughter and ſole Heireſs of Sir *George Sydenham*, of *Combe-Sydenham*, in the County of *Devon*, Knight, who afterwards married *William Courteney*, Eſq; of *Powderham-Caſtle*, in the ſame County. It was not the Cuſtom of thoſe times to ſet up Cenotaphs, at leaſt for private Perſons, otherwiſe one might have expected ſome Monument ſhould have been erected to the Memory of Sir *Francis Drake*. Indeed it was needleſs; for his Picture was common not only here, but in all Parts of *Europe*, inſomuch, that a Diſturbance was occaſioned at *Rome* by the Imprudence of a famous Painter, who cauſed the Head [l] of Sir *Francis Drake* to be hung up in a public Place, next to that of his Catholic Majeſty.

He was low of Stature, but well ſet, had a broad open Cheſt, a very round Head, his Hair of a fine brown, his Beard full and comely, his Eyes large and clear, of a fair Complexion, with a freſh, chearful, and very engaging Countenance [m]. As Navigation had been his whole Study, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect Maſter in every Branch, eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and in the Application thereof to the Nautic Art. As all Men have Enemies, and all eminent Men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir *Francis Drake*, who performed ſo many great Things, ſhould have as much Ill ſpoken of him as of any Man of that Age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him alledged, that he was a Man of low Birth, haughty in his Temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate Speaker, and, though indiſputably a good Seaman, no great General; in Proof of which they took Notice of his neglecting to furniſh his Fleet thoroughly in 1585; his not keeping either *St. Domingo* or *Carthagena*, after he had taken them; the ſlender Proviſion he made in his Expedition to *Portugal*; his breaking his Word to Sir *John Norris*; and the Errors he committed in his laſt Undertaking [a]. In Excuſe of theſe it is ſaid, that the Glory of what he did might very well remove the Imputation of his mean Deſcent; what was thought Haughtineſs in him, might be no more than a juſt Concern for the Support of his Authority; his Diſplay of his great Services, a thing incident to his Profeſſion, and his Love of ſpeaking, qualified by his Wiſdom and Eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful Expreſſion. In equipping his Fleet, he was not ſo much in Fault as thoſe whom he truſted; Sickneſs hindered his keeping the Places he took in the *Weſt-Indies*; his Counſels were continually croſſed by the Land-officers in his Voyage to *Portugal*; and, as to his laſt Attempt, the *Spaniards* were certainly well acquainted with his Deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left *England*, if not before. His Voyage round the World, however, remains an inconteſtible Proof of his Courage, Capacity, Patience, Quick-ſightedneſs, and public Spirit, ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a Man, who preferred the Honour and Profit of his Country to his own Reputation, or private Gain [b].

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[a] Camden's Annals, p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims. Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

[b] It was upon this Plan they formed the Offer they made to the Queen, and, no doubt, had good Intelligence.

[c] Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[d] Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

[e] Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

[f] Fuller's Holy State, p. 130, 131.

[g] Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Camden's Annals, p. 700. Engliſh Hero, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

[h] In the Margin of Stowe's Annals he is ſaid to have died at 55; but, from all the Paſſages in that Account of him, he appears to have been no older than we have reported him.

[i] Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 122—295.

[k] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 244. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

[l] Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 540.

[m] Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

He was the great Author of our Navigation to the *Weſt-Indies*; for though he was not the firſt that went thither, yet, after the ſevere Check that Sir *John Hawkins* met with, when *Drake* commanded the *Judith*, our Seamen were much diſcouraged, and in all Probability would ſcarce have adventured upon any Expeditions of that Sort in haſte, if he had not encouraged them by his two proſperous Voyages. In theſe he acted with extraordinary Caution, and was remarkably careful of the Health and Safety of his Seamen, that he might beget in them not only a Confidence in himſelf, but a thorough Contempt of thoſe vulgar Fears, which repreſented Voyages into that Part of the World as ſo difficult and dangerous in many Reſpects, beſides that of falling into the Hands of the *Spaniards* [c]. In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that in the Space of a very few Years, many ſmall Veſſels, moſt of them commanded by Perſons bred under him, followed that Courſe, and partly by Trading, partly by Privateering, brought great Wealth into the Nation, and accuſtomed the *Engliſh* Mariners to traverſe Seas, and viſit Ports, to which, but for his Vigilance and good Fortune, they had remained much longer Strangers [d]. On this Account, therefore, he may be conſidered very juſtly as the Author of all our Succeſs in thoſe Parts; for tho' ſeveral famous Seamen engaged afterwards in Expeditions of the like Nature, and began to think of making Settlements alſo in thoſe remote Parts, yet it was but in Conſequence of the Lights he gave them, and from that Spirit of Emulation which was raiſed by the extenſive Reputation he had acquired.

He was alſo the firſt that ſhewed his own Nation, what till then no other Nation had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very ſmall Force to act againſt the *Spaniards*, both by Sea and Land; as that Nation has acknowledged, and attribute to him all the Troubles they afterwards met with from the *French* and *Dutch*, as well as from the *Engliſh* [e]. In his Expedition of 1572, he had but two Ships, if they might be ſo called, one of 70 Tons, commanded by himſelf; the other of 25 Tons, commanded by his Brother *John*; and his whole Force conſiſted but of 73 Men and Boys. Yet after he was diſcovered, and known to be upon the Coaſt, and to have committed Hoſtilities, he had the Courage to reſolve upon remaining there, and to do his Buſineſs with Pinnaces, finding his Ships too large, and therefore intending to deſtroy one, and convert the other into a Store-ſhip; but knowing that his Seamen would never conſent to this, tho' the Ships were his own, and the beſt Part of his Eſtate, he prevailed upon the Carpenter of the leſſer, to bore Holes in the Bottom of her in the Night, without ſo much as communicating the Deſign to his own Brother who commanded her. This happy Temerity was followed by as much Succeſs as he could wiſh, ſince he kept the Bay of *Mexico* for many Months in a manner blocked up; and his Fertility in inventing Expedients to anſwer all Purpoſes, and to provide againſt all Dangers, excited that amazing Spirit amongſt the Seamen of his Time, that is ſcarce credible in ours [f]; A Spirit that rendered them ſo famous, as to occaſion their being ſought after, and employed by all Nations, but more eſpecially the *French* and *Dutch*, as might be ſhewn from numerous Inſtances.

His Genius was far from being confined to ſmall Undertakings, though Neceſſity compelled its firſt Appearance in ſuch; for when he undertook his Voyage round the World, he not only framed the Scheme in his own Head, but kept it entirely within his own Breaſt, bringing it out only by Parts, as the Execution required, and propoſing nothing to be effected till he had made the neceſſary Proviſions for effecting it, tho' without any Communication; by which he drew his People firſt into the *South-Seas*, thence to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and home by a Rout new to him and them, which he had never accompliſhed, if his Intentions had been foreſeen from the Beginning [g]. In 1585 he executed a great Undertaking with a conſiderable Force, having under him Captain *Forbiſher* and other able Seamen, with like Conduct and Courage, and with dreadful Deſtruction to the Enemy; ſo that there is very little Reaſon to regret Sir *Philip Sidney*'s not going that Voyage with him; nor will any wiſe Man believe implicitly, on the Credit of Sir *Fulk Grevil*, that Sir *Francis Drake* was leſs capable of performing any Service in *America*, than that excellent Perſon [h], or that he left him behind from a Jealouſy of his ſuperior Abilities.

We are aſſured by *Camden* [i] and other Writers, that Sir *Francis Drake* firſt brought Tobacco into *England*; from whence a certain Writer moſt unaccountably took it in his Head, to conclude his Life of Sir *Francis Drake* with a violent Invective againſt that Plant, and an outrageous Abuſe upon all who take it [k]. But Men of milder Tempers and clearer Judgments will acknowledge, that Sir *Francis* was in this a very great Benefactor to his Country, ſince it will not be eaſy to name any one Commodity, through which ſuch vaſt Advantages have accrued to this Nation. It is true, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is commonly entitled to this Honour; but then it is grounded upon his bringing it into Uſe, by his own Practice and Example. Yet in both of theſe truly great Men, the Good done to their Country was but accidental; for we cannot ſuppoſe that either of them could foreſee what prodigious Wealth the Cultivation of Tobacco would bring into *Great-Britain*, and yet this ought not to leſſen, in the leaſt, our Gratitude or Veneration towards their Memories.

The laſt Thing I have to ſay, and I ſay it upon the Credit of Mr. *Camden*, is, that he was the Author of our Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; for, as that learned Writer informs us, the Books, Papers, and Charts, that were found in the *Eaſt-India* Ship, which he took in his Return from his Expedition to the Coaſts of *Spain* in 1587, gave thoſe Lights, which encouraged the undertaking a Trade to thoſe Parts, and produced an Application to the Queen for eſtabliſhing our firſt *Eaſt-India* Company [l].

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[a] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. VI. p. 1185. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[b] Camden's Annals, p. 351. The World encompaſſed, p. 18. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

[c] See Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage to the South-Seas.

[d] Drake's Antiquities of York, p. 230.

[e] See the Account of Captain Drake's Expedition by Lopez the Spaniard, in Hackluit.

[f] Camden, Britannia, 2d Edition, p. 34. Engliſh Hero.

[g] This Sir William Monſon fairly acknowledges, though no great Admirer of Sir Francis Drake.

[h] In his large Life of Sir Philip Sidney.

[i] Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 149.

[k] Winſtanley's Britiſh Worthies, p. 211.

[l] Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 551.

Theſe are Facts that are certainly worth the knowing, remembring, and conſidering, that we may do proper Juſtice to the Character of this illuſtrious Perſon, who, as from low and mean Beginnings, he raiſed himſelf to move in a ſuperior Orb; ſo, by his Example, he encouraged and raiſed thoſe *Engliſh* Fleets, that have ſince given Law in the Seas, which he viſited with Barks ſo ſmall, that they would now be ſcarce thought capable of ſuch a Voyage. Let us conclude with a Circumſtance, which though not of ſo publick, is yet not altogether of a private Nature, and deſerves to be remembred to the Honour of this worthy Perſon, and of Sir *John Hawkins*, who in 1588 adviſed the Eſtabliſhment of the Cheſt at *Chatham*, for the Relief of Seamen wounded in their Country's Service [a]. They were indeed both remarkable for bearing in Mind that they had been [b] once Seamen themſelves, as long as they lived; and though they were very ſtrict in maintaining Diſcipline, yet they were ſo well obeyed from a Principle of Affection, that Inſtances of Severity were Things to which they were very ſeldom conſtrained.

It was the Felicity of our Admiral to live under the Reign of a Princeſs, who never failed to diſtinguiſh Merit, or to beſtow her Favours where ſhe ſaw Deſert. Sir *Francis Drake* was always her Favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a Quarrel he had with his Countryman Sir *Bernard Drake*, whoſe Arms Sir *Francis* had aſſumed, which ſo provoked the other, who was a Seaman likewiſe, that he gave him a Box on the Ear. The Queen took up the Quarrel, and gave Sir *Francis* a new Coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a Feſs wavy between two Pole-ſtars argent*, and for his Creſt, *a Ship on a Globe under Ruff*, held by a Cable, with a Hand out of the Clouds, over it this Motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath, *Sic parvis magna*, in the Rigging whereof is hung up by the Heels a *Wivern*, *Gules*, which was the Arms of Sir *Bernard Drake* [c]. The Land-eſtate which he had purchaſed, and which was very conſiderable, (for though on proper Occaſions he was extremely generous, yet he was alſo a great Œconomiſt) it came to his Nephew and Godſon *Francis Drake*, Son to his Brother *Thomas* [d], who by Letters-patents dated *Auguſt* 2d 1622, in the 20th Year of the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, was created a Baronet [e], and in the Beginning of the next Reign, was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Devon* [f].

The LIFE *of Sir* WALTER RALEIGH.

As to his Deſcent, or the particular Time of Sir *Walter*'s Birth, I ſhall paſs them by for Circumſtances of very little Moment; it will be ſufficient, to ſatisfy the Over-curious, to take Notice, that he was born at a Seat of his Family called *Hays*, in the Village of *Budeley*, or *Budleigh*, in *Devonſhire*. Whatever Honours might belong to the Name of *Raleigh*, before he enobled it, Time has been ſilent as to their Eſtates; and our Sir *Walter* ſtarted into the World the youngeſt Brother of his Family. They who envied his Promotions, as it is not to be wondered, endeavoured to rob him of his Gentility; but, to defend him on that Quarter, it was a Stateſman's [g] Obſervation on Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe, through her whole Reign was never guilty of a haſty Creation, or took into her Favour a meer new Man, or a Mechanic; a Maxim, which ſucceeding Monarchs have broke through without much Scruple. I remember Sir *Walter* ſomewhere talks of Nobility in Parchment, either purchaſed by the Owner's Vanity, or conferred by the Prince's Favour; "and theſe, ſays he, are indeed but Honours of "Affection, which Kings, with the Change of their Fan"cies, wiſh they knew well how to wipe off again."

Where he took the firſt Impreſſions of Literature, might be a Matter of vain Diſquiſition; tho' probably it was at ſome private School in the County which claims the Honour of his Birth; and when he was ripened to Univerſity Learning, we find him a Member of *Oriel* College in *Oxford*. It has been a Doubt, whether the Slenderneſs of his Fortune, or the active Diſpoſition and ambitious Reaches of his Soul, made him ſo reſtleſs and unconfined, that he thought an Intenſeneſs to his Studies might be a Bar to his Preferment; and therefore he ſought the firſt Occaſions of gaining a Reputation by Buſineſs and Action.

The prevailing Opinion that our Hero paſſed immediately from the Univerſity to one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were Places of Eſteem with his Queen, may be true; but that there he ſpent his Time, and improved himſelf in the intricate Knowledge of our Laws, I believe is a Miſtake ſo obvious, that no Merit can reaſonably be aſſumed from correcting it; for Sir *Walter* upon his Arraignment, in a Reply to the Attorney-general, lays a heavy Imprecation upon himſelf, "if ever he read a Word of the Law, or "Statutes, before he was a Priſoner in the *Tower*."

Sir *Walter*, whoſe Aim was to recommend himſelf early to the Notice of the World, had the Advantage of a ſtirring Age to ſecond his Ambition. *France* was then imbroiled in civil Feuds; *England*, to divert a threatened Danger from the growing Power of *Spain*, lent Aſſiſtance to the then diſtreſſed and humble *Hollanders*; *Spain*, by a political Reprizal, raiſed ſtrong Commotions in *Ireland*; and the Pope, to make Rebellion more laſting, and give it the neceſſary Colour of Religion, pretended that Kingdom was a Perquiſite of *St. Peter*. Sir *Walter*, in the Heat of theſe Diſtractions, thruſt himſelf into Arms, and made ſome Compaigns in *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Ireland*. But here he found his Succeſs, or Encouragement, ſo ſmall, and Reputation ſo ſlowly attending his Exploits, that he was reſolved to try how far a Sea-voyage might improve his Fortune, or extend his Character. His Thirſt of Honour, and Impatience of a Condition below his Spirit, made him a Pattern of Induſtry in every Employment. The ſcanty Portion of Sleep that he allowed himſelf, and his indefatigable Application to Books and Buſineſs, made him equally a Maſter in the Arts of War and Navigation; and he wanted but the Sunſhine of a Court to throw out into View thoſe Wonders, which were reſerved for his riper Years.

Little was he yet heard of at Court, and leſs were his Expectations of riſing there, till a Quarrel aroſe between the Lord-deputy of *Ireland*, and our *Raleigh*, who was ſent with a Captain's Commiſſion into that Kingdom. The Matter was complained of, and referred to the Hearing of the Council in *England*. In this Juncture, as ſome Traditions will have it, *Raleigh* found an Advocate in the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, either out of Spleen to the Lord-deputy, or a private Intereſt of his own (too often the chief Motives of a Stateſman's Proceedings) related the whole Buſineſs to the Queen at Council, with no little Advantage to *Raleigh*'s Conduct. Others ſays, he was firſt introduced by *Suſſex*, to defeat the Deſigns, and eclipſe the Splendor of *Leiceſter* his Enemy.

Nor muſt I here paſs by one ſmall Step to his future Height, which our Chronicles have overlooked, as below the Pen of an Hiſtorian, tho' ſome have judged an Account of ſome little Tranſactions the beſt Inlets to Truth and Myſteries of State. The Occaſion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of *Ireland* upon the afore-mentioned Cauſe to Court, in very good Habit (which it ſeems was the greateſt Part of his Eſtate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Deſerts are not known, found the Queen walking, till ſhe was ſtopped by a plaſhy Place which ſhe ſcrupled treading on, preſently he ſpread his new Pluſh-coat on the Ground, on which the Queen trod gently, being not a little pleaſed, as well as ſurpriſed, with ſo unexpected a Compliment. Thus, as one [h] remarks upon this Story, "an advantagious Admiſſion into the firſt No"tices of a Prince, is more than half a Degree to Prefer"ment." For he preſently after found ſome gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was reſolved, and well knew how, to cheriſh and contract. To put the Queen in Remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye.

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majeſty either eſpying, or being ſhewn, underwrote this Anſwer,

If thy Heart fail thee, climb not at all.

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[a] Camden's Britannia, p. 235.

[b] Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage to the South-Seas, p. 288.

[c] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

[d] Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

[e] Sir William Dugdale's Catalogue, p. 93.

[f] Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 254.

[g] Sir Robert Nanton.

[h] Fuller's Worthies.

But his aſpiring Soul could not reſt in the lower, tho' ſafer Way of living. He could not be mean, whoſe Reſolutions were ſo great, and whoſe Prudence and Activity made him capable of the higheſt Preferments. Inſpired with a reſtleſs and ambitious Genius, he deſigned nothing but what was extreme, and had rather not be, than not be one of the moſt eminent. And to the greateſt Height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reign than that of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; the former being not over-haſty to raiſe any to any great Honour; and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was ſo towardly an Apprentice in the Court-trade, that he ſoon ſet up for himſelf, and would have improved this Stock of Favour to a great Advantage, had he not loſt by thoſe common Enemies to it, Envy and Jealouſy. In a ſhort time he is become a Minion, obtains the Queen's Ear, is often conſulted, and nothing done without him.

His Admiſſion to Court, however grounded, by his Wit and Management ſoon opened him a Paſſage to Favour and Preferment: For the Queen, who was ſo good a Judge of a bright Genius, ſoon found his Capacity of ſerving her; and ſo far vouchſafed him her Royal Ear, that ſcarce any thing of Moment was afterwards done, without conſulting him upon the Method.

Her Favour, and his Parts, ſoon began to alarm his Rivals, who like ſome envious Neighbours, will not eaſily permit any Fabric to ſtand long that hinders their own Proſpect. Jealous Favourites, like wiſe Planters, will not ſuffer the Under-wood to riſe, which may obſtruct the Growth of taller Trees.

Leiceſter began to repent of his Choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too faſt in his Miſtreſs's Favour. To ſtop the Current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Eſteem, and introduce a new Favourite, that might be his Rival. To bring about this Deſign, *Leiceſter* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by *Raleigh*'s Abſence he could have Opportunity to introduce the Earl of *Eſſex*; nor did he long expect before one offered itſelf: For the Queen, being willing to encourage *Raleigh*, (who, as Mr. *Camden* is pleaſed to tell us, was never ſufficiently to be commended for the great Pains he took to diſcover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *Engliſh* Navigation and Trade) ſent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitleſs one; for at his Return he brought News of a new Country, diſcovered by him in the Year 1584, called in Honour of the Queen, *Virginia*, before called *Wingandacoa*, by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been ſince of no inconſiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to ſettle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*; wherein this Nation quickly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulneſs of the Place, ſo agreeable to our *Engliſh* Bodies, and profitable to the Exchequer. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her Parſimony to other Parts of the World. An Acre there yielding often 40 Buſhels of Corn; and, which is more ſtrange, there being three Harveſts in a Year; for their Corn is ſowed, ripe, and cut down, in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Deſigns, this Year her Majeſty was pleaſed to confer on him the Honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more eſteemed than in her Succeſſor's; the Queen keeping the Temple of Honour cloſe ſhut, aud never opened but to Virtue and Deſert. Nor was ſhe indeed ever haſty to reward; for ſhe ſeldom paid in any other Coin than Patents and good Words. So that the greateſt Number of thoſe who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a Spectator, who praiſes the Workmanſhip, and commends the handſome Contrivances of a Building, but is at no part of the Expences of raiſing it. Hence our Sir *Walter*'s Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Deſigns, but the Wardenſhip of the *Stannaries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jerſey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor anſwerable to his Worth, or juſt Ambition.

In 1588, the Grand Climacteric of *Spain* (for Bodies Politic have their critical Times) I find Sir *Walter* by his Example encouraging others of the Gentry to ſet out Ships, at their proper Charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the beſt Uſe. Which hired Ships were Actors of no ſmall Uſe in that fatal Blow given to the Invincible Armada. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatneſs, with infinite Expences and Induſtry; but was beaten, ruined, and diſhonourably overthrown in leſs than a Month's Space; the *Spaniards* finding that our Ships, as well as the Heavens, could fight againſt them.

But this Shock, like ſome Ague-fit, was eaſily recovered; and in a ſhort time after the *Spaniards* began to renew their former Deſigns. For in the Parliament which began *February* the 19th, 1592, I find Sir *Walter Raleigh* informing the Houſe, That the Queen could not without Subſidies prevent the imminent Dangers threatened from the *Spaniard*; of which Subſides he ſpake (as he proteſted) not only to pleaſe the Queen, to whom he was infinitely obliged, but for the Neceſſity he both ſaw and knew. He told them, he very well diſcovered the great Strength of the King of *Spain*; and to ſhew his Mightineſs, he informed the Houſe how he poſſeſt all the World; and that his Malice and ill Purpoſes againſt this Realm might be evident, he ſhewed how on every Side he had beleaguered us; in *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility, ſo it was very likely he would ſpeed himſelf of Ships from thence; in the maritime Towns of the *Low-countries*, and in *Norway*, he hath laid in great Store of Shipping; in *France* he hath the Parliament-towns at command; in *Brittany* he hath all the beſt Havens; and in *Scotland* he hath corrupted the Nobility, and promiſed them Forces to aſſiſt the Papiſts; and that they were ready to join with any foreign Aids, that would make them ſtrong enough to be by themſelves, and to reſiſt others; for, as he thought, there were not ſix Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion; in his own Country there are all poſſible Preparations making, and he is coming with 60 Gallies, beſides other Shipping. If our Subſidies are not ſudden, he may with Eaſe invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withſtand him. At his coming he fully reſolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at leaſt to poſſeſs ſome of the Havens this Summer within our Land; and *Plymouth* is in moſt Danger; for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the Paſſages will not give Leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to ſend a Royal Army, and ſupplant him in *Brittany*, and to poſſeſs ourſelves there; and to ſend a ſtrong Navy to Sea, and to lie with it on the *Cape*, and at *Lambuck*, to which Places come all his Ships with Riches from all Parts, and there they may ſet upon all that come.

What Succeſs this Speech alone had, I know not; but the Subſidy was granted, with the general Conſent of the Houſe, to carry on a War againſt *Spain*. His Expedition a little after demonſtrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the *Spaniards* at a diſtance; and whilſt ſhe could not handſomely aſſault his more neighbourly and guarded Parts, to diſturb thoſe that were more naked and further off, his *Indies*. The Monies brought from thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefeſt Incendiary in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, which if handſomely ſtopt, would put an End to his Greatneſs, and humble the mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an Opportunity to ſhew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen ſends him to Sea to manifeſt both; thinking none more fit to be employed in a Buſineſs, than the Perſon that counſelled and ſtarted it; having the Courage of a Soldier to put in Execution the ſober Advices of the Gown-man. To *America* he is ſent with 15 Men of War, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* ſhip the Riches, or to intercept their Paſſage homewards. But he found more Encouragement from the Willingneſs of the Seamen, than from the Winds, which held the Ships in their Havens for three Months; a Circumſtance, which put an ill Look upon the Enterpriſe, and had almoſt made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were buoyed up with the Hopes of Prey, and the Succeſs of their Commander. Having ſet ſail at laſt, they got beyond the *Spaniſh Cape*, called the *Lands-end*, where they met with unwelcome Intelligence, *viz.* That by expreſs Command from his Catholic Majeſty, no Ship was to ſtir from the *Weſt-Indies* that Year; together with this News, inſtead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attacked with a more invincible one, a furious Tempeſt, which diſperſt and diſordered the Fleet, and ſunk their Ship-boats. Thus being on all Sides aſſaulted, with Tempeſts, Diſaſters, and the worſe News of the *Spaniards* Stay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had daſhed his Deſigns, and rendered a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at firſt he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offered itſelf after ſecond Thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the Hope, that tho' while together they had been ſucceſsleſs, yet Fortune might offer them when ſeparated ſomething worthy their Patience and Deſires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the Conduct of Sir *John Burroughs*, Son to the Lord *Burroughs*; the other to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, with their reſpective Commiſſions. Sir *Martin*'s Charge was to lie off and on the Coaſt of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Veſſels; Sir *John*'s to wait at the *Azores*, for the coming of the Carracks out of the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Sir *Walter* was much blamed for this Action, and thought ſhort in his Politicks, in giving over the hopeful Part of the Deſign to Sir *John Burroughs*, and retiring himſelf to Court. But the Succeſs was the only Argument of his Overſight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Diviſion of the Fleet proved a wiſe Deſign, and amazed the *Spaniards*; for while the *Spaniſh* Admiral eyed *Forbiſher*, the mighty Carracks were unreguarded, and left to the Mercy of *Burrough*'s Men of War, as an eaſy Prey; who having according to Order arrived at *Santa Cruz*, a ſmall Town in the Iſle of *Azores*, a little after got Sight of a *Portugal* Merchantman (briſkly purſued by a Privateer of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at a too far Diſtance. But a more welcome Storm ariſing in the Night, forced both to weigh Anchor. As ſoon as Day appeared, the *Portugueſe* Ship was unlading as faſt as ſhe could at *Flores*, and upon the Approach of the *Engliſh* fired their Carrack; but tho' their Deſigns were ruined on that Ship, yet the News they got from ſome Priſoners taken, gave them freſh Hopes, and heartened them with the Information, that ſeveral other Merchantmen were behind coming from *Spain*. This put Sir *John Burroughs* upon placing his Men of War at ſeveral Diſtances, to reach as far about as was poſſible. But they had not long waited, before their Diligence was rewarded with the Surpriſal of a large Veſſel, called the *Mother of God*, which was 165 Foot long from Head to Stern, and ſeven Decks high, laden with Goods to the Value of 150,000 *l. Engliſh*, beſides what the Seamen privately ſeized for their own Uſe.

Sir *Walter* now for a while became a Courtier, till an indiſcreet Paſſion baniſh'd him from that Sphere; for happening to debauch one of the Maids of Honour, (whom he afterwards, in Juſtice to her, and his own Fame, married) the Frowns of the Queen for ſome Time put a Reſtraint upon his Liberty. He, who could but ill brook a Confinement that oppos'd the growing of his Fortunes, was not a little importunate to obtain his Freedom; which obtained, he was no leſs zealous to get out of the Eye of his Miſtreſs's Diſpleaſure; judging rightly, that his Abſence, and a ſucceſsful Voyage, would be moſt likely to abate her Reſentments, and reconcile him to her Favour. It was about this Time that he put himſelf upon his firſt *Guiana* Expedition; a Country that had been ſo much talk'd of by the *Spaniards*, and, if poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh*, was ſo conveniently ſituated to annoy *Spain* in her *American* Trade. Sir *Walter* ſoon made ſuch Diſcoveries there, that it was mov'd at the *Engliſh* Court, that a Colony ſhould be planted there, and ſome proportionable Force ſent over to make good the Action: But, this Motion, on Advice, was rejected, in regard of the Diſtance of the Country from the main Body of our Strength; and becauſe the *Spaniards*, bordering near upon it, might eaſily caſt out our ſmall Forces, and make the Enterpriſe diſhonourable to our Nation. Sir *Walter*, however, upon his Return, found his Diſcoveries ſo ſatisfactory at Court, that the Queen ſeem'd to have forgot he had ever miſbehav'd; and began anew to cheriſh him with her Favour.

After his Eclipſe, he ſhone brighter at Court; and the Death of thoſe two famous Seamen, *Hawkins* and *Drake*, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the Neceſſity of State forced them to cheriſh and encourage. It is ſtrange, that what was *Eſſex*'s Ruin, ſhould confirm Sir *Walter* in Favour; frequent Abſence from his Miſtreſs. But Sir *Walter*'s Obſequiouſneſs work'd much upon the Humour of the Queen, who lov'd Pliantneſs and exact Obedience, which *Eſſex* could not always counterfeit.

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the Poſſeſſion of *Cales*, from whence it was but a ſhort cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former Scourge *Drake*, and the earneſt Solicitations of the *Iriſh* (who thro' her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which was fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, tho' they had been ſufficiently blooded by the *Engliſh*;) and the Queen foreſeeing a Storm gathering, thought the beſt way was to ſcatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She reſolved therefore to begin with the *Spaniard* firſt, and fairly to ſet on the Enemy in his own Ports: A noble Fleet of 150 Sail hereupon was made ready. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Charles Howard*, the Admiral, were made Commanders in Chief, with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals; and to them were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The Fleet ſoon came to an Anchor on the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland of *Cales*, and within two Days after it was agreed to attack the *Spaniſh* Ships.

Eſſex, heated with Youth, and an Ambition of doing bravely, would have preſently landed and aſſaulted the Enemy; but this Heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter*'s Advice, who impugned all ſuch raſh Attempts. At laſt a fit Opportunity preſented itſelf, and by all it was reſolved to fight them; at which News the Earl threw up his Hat for Joy. The Ebbing-waters would not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater Hazard than the Enemy: Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the moſt proper Perſon in the midſt of the Channel to provoke them; who accordingly, in a little Ship called the *Waſtſpight*, directed his Prow againſt the *Spaniſh* Men of War, which thereupon preſently fell back. Upon this the reſt of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took ſeveral of their Ships. After this Victory at Sea, the Men were very importunate to go aſhore; whom *Eſſex* landed at *Puntal*, a League from the City. At firſt the *Spaniards* received them with a great Deal of Courage; but the *Engliſh* charged ſo warmly, that they thought it their prudenteſt way to retire with more Speed than they came out. The *Engliſh* purſued ſo cloſe, that they had almoſt recovered the City-gates as ſoon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he eſpied an Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very ſteep Precipice; but this did not affright ſeveral of our *Engliſh*, who leaped from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the mean time Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entered the Town, and the Caſtle was ſurrendered on merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* was not idle, or eager after the Enjoyment of his Conqueſt; for whilſt others were reaping the plentiful Harveſt of War, he with ſome ſmall Ships who could paſs up the Channel, fired their Merchantmen which were withdrawn to *Port Real*, although they offered 2,000,000 of Ducats for their Redemption. Great were the Loſſes to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Hiſtories, amounted to no leſs than 20,000,000 of Ducats. Upon Conſultation it was reſolved to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Eſſex*, who was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*; and being weary at laſt of their Victories, they reſolved for home, tho' much againſt *Eſſex*'s Will, whoſe youthful Heat was but inflam'd by their Succeſſes, but was wiſely ſlak'd by the Prudence of the Admiral, and the ſober Advice of Sir *Walter*; who finding their Men ſick, and having gotten ſo ample Rewards, were not again for hazarding their Fortune upon Hopes of a future Prey.

In the following Year, the Queen being inform'd that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet againſt *Ireland*, ſhe fitted out a Navy of 120 Sail, divided into three Squadrons, the firſt to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*; the ſecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*; and the third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. In this Expedition they were diſtreſs'd with dreadful Tempeſts, and the Fleet ſcatter'd; but they met again at the Iſles call'd *Azores*, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, was oblig'd to go on-ſhore without Leave, and before he could be furniſh'd, was commanded to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayall*; where not finding him, he obſerved the Port, and calling a Council, the Commander adviſ'd him to attack the Place. Sir *Gilly Merick*, a Creature of *Eſſex*'s, diſſuaded Sir *Walter* from this Deſign, alledging, that it would rob the Earl of the Honour of taking the Town, and ſo confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter*, either too ambitious of this Action, or too eager of the Spoil, with ſome of his chief Voluntiers landed, and ſoon won the Town. The next Day *Eſſex* arriv'd, and *Merick* fail'd not maliciouſly to inſinuate, that Sir *Walter* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordſhip in the Honour of the Exploit. Some perſuaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and caſhier *Raleigh*; and others adviſ'd the taking off his Head for landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. Sir *Walter*, in his Defence pleaded, That he being one of the three Generals, was not oblig'd to obſerve thoſe Orders which the inferior Officers and Soldiers were; that he was neceſſitated to land, being in extreme want of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. This Matter was ſoon made up by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*; but from that, and former Jealouſies, aroſe ſuch an unhappy Conteſt and Emulation between the Earl and *Raleigh*, as never could be thoroughly extinguiſh'd, but by Death itſelf.

Eſſex, at that Time, ſtood in ſo high Eſtimation with the People, that Sir *Walter*'s Actions were by Prejudice miſconſtrued, and becauſe he was not *Eſſex*'s Friend, he muſt of courſe be an Enemy to his Country; but a ſhort Term of Years took this beloved Rival out of the way; for the Earl's Heat and Indiſcretion run him into Projects ſo indirect, as made his Life dangerous to the Safety of the Queen, and ſhe was oblig'd, tho' with much Reluctancy, to ſubmit to his Execution. When the Earl was brought to the Scaffold, as moſt People believ'd Sir *Walter* pleas'd at the Occaſion, ſo he was highly reflected on for coming openly to ſee him die, as if it were on purpoſe to inſult in the Sacrifice of his Enemy: But if we are to believe his own dying Words, he proteſted, That he ſhed Tears at the Earl's Death, tho' he was one of the contrary Faction; and that he was all the while in the Armoury at the further End, where he could but ſee *Eſſex*, and was ſorry that he was not with him, becauſe he heard that *Eſſex* had a Deſire to ſee, and be reconciled to him.

Thus ended that Favourite, whoſe Death ſtruck a Damp on the Queen's proſperous Days, and gave Blackneſs to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but ſhook his Enemies at a Diſtance; for it reached Sir *Walter* too, who wanting Strength to grapple with his Rival the Treaſurer, and not owning Humility enough to be his Servant, periſhed at laſt in the Encounter. This himſelf preſaged (if we may believe *Oſborne*) as he came from the Execution of *Eſſex* in a Boat, when he was heard to ſay, “ That it was more ſafe to have many Enemies at Court “ of equal Power, than one falſe and ambitious Friend “ who hath attain'd to the Abſoluteneſs of Command.”

The Queen did not long ſurvive the Fate of that Favourite, and Affairs as ſoon chang'd to the Diſadvantage of Sir *Walter*: For when King *James* came in, and the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter* had deſign'd to meet him on the Road, he ſent them word, *That they might ſave themſelves that Labour*. The Conſequences of ſuch Coolneſs gave room for private Diſcontents, which were heighten'd by Sir *Walter*'s being turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord. Whatever dangerous Meaſures he entred into, to revenge the Contempts ſhewn to his Merits, Accuſations aroſe to a Suſpicion of Treaſon, and Sir *Walter*, the Lord *Cobham*, and ſeveral others were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

In the *November* following, the Peſtilence raging at *London*, they were removed from the Tower, under ſtrong Guard, to be arraigned at *Wincheſter*. Their Indictment lay for conſpiring to kill the King, to raiſe a Rebellion, to alter the Religion, ſubvert the State, and procure a foreign Invaſion. Concerning the firſt Point, it was prov'd, that *Thomas* Lord *Grey* deſign'd to obtain the levying of 2000 Men for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with them to ſeize upon the King and Prince, and ſecure the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Particulars it was alledg'd, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at *St. Martin's in the Fields*, and there conſulted about moving Sedition, raiſing Rebellion, altering Religion, ſubverting the State, and ſetting up the Lady *Arabella Stuart*. That Sir *Walter* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Money, and the Lord *Cobham* to apply himſelf to the Arch-duke and King of *Spain*, to induce them to aſſiſt the Lady *Arabella*.

It was much inſiſted, by their Friends, in behalf of the Priſoners, That theſe Things could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet crown'd; and beſides, that the whole Accuſation was but a verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treaſon. Theſe were look'd upon but as evaſive Pleas, offer'd in Mitigation, rather to ſkreen than excuſe the Offenders, and therefore had no Influence upon the Proceedings againſt them.

Sir *Walter*, on the 17th Day of *November* 1603, was brought to his Trial before the Earl of *Suffolk* Lord-chamberlain, the Earl of *Devon*, Lord *Henry Howard*, Lord *Cecil* Earl of *Saliſbury*, Lord *Wootton*, Sir *John Stanhope* Vice-chamberlain, Lord Chief-juſtice *Popham*, Lord Chief-juſtice *Anderſon*, Mr. Juſtice *Gaudie*, Mr. Juſtice *Warburton*, and others, Commiſſioners by ſpecial Delegate aſſign'd. The Indictment being read, Sir *Walter* was aſk'd, if he would except againſt any of his Jury? To which he reply'd, “ No, he knew none of them; they “ were all Chriſtians, and honeſt Gentlemen;” but prayed, that he might anſwer to Points particularly as they were delivered, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of his Memory, and Sickneſs. Then began *Heath*, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Sir *Edward Coke*, the Attorney-general, to deſcant on the Indictment, or rather to exclaim againſt the Priſoner: (A method which ever was, and ever will be made uſe of in Proceedings for the Crown; ſince, if we may believe ſo wiſe a Man as Sir *Walter*, *There is no Cauſe ſo doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good againſt the Law.*) As ſoon as the general Pleadings were over, Sir *Walter* informed Mr. Attorney, That his Words could not condemn him; but if they could prove one of the Things, wherewith they had charged him, he would confeſs the whole Indictment: That he did not hear that they had ſpoken one Word againſt him; and if my Lord *Cobham* was a Traytor, what was that to him? Mr. Attorney replied, That whatever my Lord *Cobham* had done, was by *Raleigh*'s Inſtigation: And then for Proof proceeded to read his Examination, in which he confeſs'd, That he had a Paſſport to go to the *Spaniſh* King, intending to go to the Archduke to confer with him about theſe Practices, and becauſe he knew he had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to *Spain*, to deal with the King for 600,000 Crowns, and to return by *Jerſey*; and that nothing ſhould be done, until he had ſpoken with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for Diſtribution of the Money to thoſe who were diſcontented in *England*; and that he had never entered into theſe Courſes, but by his Inſtigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Sir *Walter* here made a ſtrong and ample Defence to the Matters ſuggeſted againſt him by *Cobham*'s Examination; which Defence, becauſe pathetic, as well as pertinent to the whole Cauſe, I have thought proper to tranſcribe at its full Length. After having called for a Sight of the Examination, “ This (ſaid he) is all the Evidence can be “ brought againſt me: Poor Shifts! You, Gentlemen of “ the Jury, I pray you underſtand this. This is that “ which muſt either condemn, or give me Life; which “ muſt free me, or ſend my Wife and Children to beg

“ their Bread about the Streets: This is that muſt prove me a notorious Traitor, or a true Subject to the King. I never ſaw this Examination before. At my firſt Examination by my Lords at *Windſor*, what I knew of *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*, I anſwered negatively; and as concerning *Arabella*, I proteſt before God, I never heard one Word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of a thouſand Treaſons. It is a ſtrange Thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard ſo much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*. After being examined, I told my Lords, That I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I ſuſpected his viſiting him: For after he departed from me at *Durham-houſe*, by his own Stairs, and paſſed over to *St. Mary Saviour*'s; I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* aſk'd my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*: I ſaid, That if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerons, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you ſhall give my Lord *Cobham* Notice therefore. I was aſk'd likewiſe, who was the greateſt Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I anſwered, I knew no Man ſo great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*. As ſoon as *Cobham* ſaw my Letter to have diſcovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accuſed me; but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and ſaid, he had done me Wrong. When he came to the End of his Accuſation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Jerſey*, I would have delivered him to the King. Mr. Attorney, you ſaid, this never came out of *Cobham*'s Quiver: He is a ſimple Man. Is he ſo ſimple? No: He hath Diſpoſitions of his own, he will not eaſily be guided by others; but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not eaſily drawn from it; he is no Babe. It is ſtrange for me to deviſe with *Cobham*, that he ſhould go to *Spain*, to perſuade the King to diſburſe ſo much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having reſign'd my Room of chiefeſt Command, the Wardenſhip of the *Stanneries*. It is ſtrange for me to make myſelf *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to be in better Eſtate than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* aſſured, which before was ſuſpected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had ſurpriz'd, we had now a lawful Succeſſor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me; I had written a Diſcourſe, which I had intended to preſent unto the King, againſt Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had ſix Repulſes; three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord-admiral. I knew he was diſcourag'd, and diſhonour'd. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudeſt Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King, my Maſter, for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports ſix or ſeven Score Sail of Ships, he hath now but ſix or ſeven. I knew of 25,000,000 he had from his *Indies*, he hath ſcarce one left. I knew him ſo poor, that the Jeſuits in *Spain* were feign to beg at the Church Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince ſhould diſburſe ſo much Money, without a ſufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majeſty Money without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the *States* Money without *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought he would let *Cobham* have ſo great a Sum! I never came to the Lord *Cobham*'s, but about Matters of his Profit; as the ordering his Houſe, paying of his Servants Boardwages, *&c.* I had of his, when I was examined, 4000 *l.* worth of Jewels for a Purchace; a Pearl of 3000 *l.* and a Ring worth 500 *l.* If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left ſo much to have purchas'd a Leaſe in Fee-farm. I ſaw him buy 300 *l.* worth of Books, to ſend to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of 300 *l.* to give to Mr. Attorney for drawing the Conveyance; and God of Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Diſcourſe with him, or in what Language he ſpake unto him, if I knew any of theſe Things, I would abſolutely confeſs the Indictment, and acknowledge myſelf worthy of a thouſand Deaths.”

Sir *Walter* further urged ſtrenuouſly to the Court, that *Cobham*'s Examination, which he had refuſed to ſubſcribe, was at beſt but a Circumſtance againſt him, and an Accuſation which the Accuſer himſelf had forſworn; and therefore was vehement that *Cobham* might appear, and perſonally accuſe him. Mr. Attorney, to the firſt Point, replied, That the Accuſation being teſtified to the Lords, was of as great Force, as if he had ſubſcribed it; and the Judges would in no wiſe hearken to *Cobham*'s being brought to juſtify his Examination, for ſo a Number of Treaſons might flouriſh; that the Accuſer might be drawn by Practice, while he was in Perſon; that ſuch a Gap muſt not be opened for the Deſtruction of the King; that my Lord *Cobham* might poſſibly have been laboured with, and to ſave Sir *Walter*, his old Friend, might deny all that he had ſaid on his Examination.

The Lord *Cecil*, who ſubtily inſinuated that he was in great Diſpute with himſelf to ſpeak in the Caſe of Sir *Walter*, for that a former Dearneſs between them had tied ſo firm a Knot of his Conceit of his Virtues, was afterwards ſo buſy in oppoſing Sir *Walter*'s Demands to the Court, that he thought fit to apologize for himſelf, and was afraid his often Speech would make the World think, he delighted to hear himſelf talk; but that Sir *Walter* knew by the Law of the Realm, my Lord *Cobham* could not be brought; that if he had retracted part of his Examination, many Particulars were not retracted, and the Validity of all muſt be left to the Jury. Sir *Walter* ſtill inſiſted that the Proceedings againſt him muſt be *ſecundum allegata & probata*; and he appealed to God and the King, whether *Cobham*'s Accuſation could be ſufficient to condemn him. After this he pulled out a Letter of Juſtification written to him from *Cobham*, which he deſired the Lord *Cecil* to read, becauſe he knew his Hand. The Effect of which Letter was as follows: “ Seeing myſelf ſo near my End, for the Diſcharge of my own Conſcience, and freeing myſelf from your Blood, which elſe will cry Vengeance againſt me; I proteſt upon my Salvation, I never practiſed with *Spain* by your Procurement. God ſo comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any thing that I know: I will ſay as *Daniel*, *Purus ſum a ſanguine hujus*: So God have Mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treaſon by you.”

This, or whatever *Raleigh* could alledge, was of no Weight with the Jury to ſtave off his Condemnation; the Judges and the King's Counſel did what they could to baul him out of his Life; and ſince, as an Author ſays in his Life, they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. Sir *Walter* finding Oppoſition in vain, concluded with but a ſhort Addreſs to the Jury, telling them that Preſumptions muſt proceed from precedent or ſubſequent Facts; that he had ſpent 40,000 Crowns againſt the *Spaniards*; that he had not purchaſed 40 *l.* a Year; and if he had died in *Guiana*, he had not left 300 Marks a Year to his Wife and Son; that if they would be contented on Preſumptions delivered, to be ſlaughtered, to have their Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread, if they would be contented to be ſo judged, to judge ſo of him.

The Jury however brought him in Guilty, and Sentence of Death was paſt upon him; but he was left to his Majeſty's Mercy, and remanded back to the *Tower*, where he remained a Priſoner above 12 Years; but was permitted to enjoy that Freedom which is called *Libera Cuſtodia*. Whether the King ſent ſome ſecretly (Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays) to *Winchester*, to obſerve all Paſſages, upon whoſe true and faithful Relations of that Innocency of the Perſons arraigned, and ſlight Proof upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to ſign any Warrant for the Execution of *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*.

For *Raleigh*'s Defence (ſays the ſame Author, a Courtier of thoſe Times) it was ſo brave and juſt, as (had he not wilfully caſt himſelf, out of very Wearineſs, as unwilling to detain the Company longer) no Jury could ever have caſt him: All the Evidence brought againſt him was *Cobham*'s Accuſation, which he only deſired might appear, (*vivâ voce*) and he would yield without further Defence; but that they knew full well *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him; having been tampered with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and *Saliſbury*'s great Creature: *Wade* deſired it under his Hand, that alſo he refuſed; at laſt *Wade* got a Trick by his Cunning, to ſurpriſe *Cobham*'s Weakneſs, to get him to write his Name to a Blank, to which *Wade*, no queſtion, wrote the Accuſation, as will appear hereafter; for *Saliſbury* urging *Raleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accuſed him under his Hand, would he then yield? *Raleigh* replied, "he knew *Cobham* weak of Judgment, and did not know how that Weakneſs might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his Face accuſe him; and therefore would not put his Life, Fortune, and all on that;" at which Fence he ſtood till 9 at Night; at laſt his Fate carried him againſt his Reaſon, and he yielded upon the producing *Cobham*'s Hand, which was inſtantly pulled out, and was in truth his Hand, but not his Act or Deed.

Poſterity, in one Reſpect, are bound to thank King *James* for that ineſtimable Treaſure, which probably had never been compiled, or tranſmitted down to us, had not Sir *Walter* been made a Priſoner, and taken off from Action and public Employments. For during his Confinement in the *Tower* (to tranſcribe the Character another Author has given it) he was delivered of that great *Minerva*, the *Hiſtory of the* WORLD; a Book, which for the Exactneſs of its Chronology, Curiouſneſs of its Contexture, and Learning of all ſorts, ſeems to be the Work of an Age. An Hiſtory, which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if ſome Authors are to be credited, of King *James* himſelf, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man, who had been the greateſt Part of his Life taken up in Action, ſhould write ſo judiciouſly, ſo critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book itſelf.

While Sir *Walter* remained a Priſoner in the *Tower* (under the Jealouſy, rather than Juſtice, of King *James*, ſays Sir *Francis Oſborne*, who did ſo far participate of the Humour of a puſillanimous Prince, as to pardon any ſooner than thoſe injured by himſelf) a fatal Incident, promoted by himſelf, and turned againſt him by his Enemies, ſeemed to confirm an Opinion of that Treaſon, which aroſe but to a bare Suſpicion before, even with thoſe who owed him the leaſt Kindneſs.

Queen *Anne* at that time was ſeized with a deſperate, and as it was feared, incurable Diſeaſe, whereof the Phyſicians were at the End of their Study to find the Cauſe, and at a greater Nonplus for the Cure. Sir *Walter*, being by his long Studies an admirable Chymiſt, undertook, ſays *Welden*, and performed the Cure; an Action that might at once have wiped off all Aſperſions, ſecured him a Pardon, and reconciled him to the Royal Favour! But Sir *Walter*, obſtinate to have his wounded Honour cured, would receive no other Reward for this Service, than that her Majeſty ſhould procure certain Lords to be ſent, who ſhould examine *Cobham*, whether he had accuſed Sir *Walter Raleigh* of Treaſon at any time under his Hand.

The King, at the Queen's Requeſt (and in Juſtice he could do no leſs) ſent ſix Lords, of whom *Saliſbury* was one, to demand of *Cobham*, Whether he had not under his Hand accuſed Sir *Walter Raleigh* at *Wincheſter*, upon that Treaſon for which he was there arraign'd? *Cobham* did proteſt, he never had, nor could he. "But, ſaid he, that Villain *Wade* did often ſolicit me, and, not prevailing, got me, by a Trick, to write my Name upon a Piece of white Paper; which I, thinking nothing, did; ſo that if any Charge came under my Hand, it was forged by that Villain *Wade*, by writing ſomething above my Hand, without my Conſent or Knowledge." The ſix Lords, returning to the King, made *Saliſbury* their Spokeſman, who told him, my Lord *Cobham* had made good all that ever he wrote or ſaid. This indeed was an equivocating Trick, for it was true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he never wrote any thing to accuſe *Raleigh*.

Stateſmen, once oppos'd in the Courſe of their Politicks, ſeldom or never forgive the Perſons oppoſing; and though the Injury may ſleep under Smiles and Court-behaviour, the ſmother'd Fire will take its Time to break out to their Deſtruction. Sir *Walter*, as *Oſborne* tells us, had formerly diſoblig'd *Saliſbury* (then Sir *Robert Cecil*) by obſtructing, to the fartheſt Extent of his Power, a Peace which, by *Saliſbury*'s Mediation, working with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, was propounded at the very Cloſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

Upon the King's Acceſſion, Malice was induſtrious to ruin *Raleigh* in his Opinion, and by ſupplanting, to work him up to Diſcontent. The Conſpiracy, which was laid on him, put on ſuch a Face, ſays *Wilſon*, that few or none could diſcover, or know what to make of it. That the muddy Waters were ſtirr'd, was apparent, but it was with ſuch a Mixture, that little could be viſible in it.

If we may believe *Welden*, Sir *Walter*, and moſt of his Party, were diſcontented to ſee that *Saliſbury*, their old Friend, ſhould trample on, neglect and contemn them, who before had been his chief Supporters, and ever of his Faction: But it was then believ'd an errant Trick of State to overthrow ſome, and diſable others, knowing their ſtrong Abilities might otherwiſe live to overthrow *Saliſbury*; for they were intimate in all his ſecret Counſels for the Ruin of *Eſſex*, eſpecially *Raleigh*, *Grey*, and *Cobham*. Tho' the latter was a Tool, yet he had been very uſeful to them, as the Tool in the Hand of the Workman. To have ſingled out theſe without ſome Prieſts, who were Traitors by the Law, had ſmelt too rank, and appear'd too poor and plain a Trick of State: And *Saliſbury*, in this, had a double Benefit; firſt, in ridding himſelf of ſuch as he fear'd would have been Thorns in his Side; ſecondly, by indearing himſelf to the King, by ſhewing his Diligence and Vigilance for his Safety: So that it might be ſaid of him, as of *Cæſar* in another Caſe, *inveniam aut faciam*, I will either find out a Treaſon, or make one. Beſides, the *Spaniard* was ſo powerful at that time at Court, as that Faction could command the Life of any Man who might prove dangerous to their Deſigns: And it was thought one of the greateſt Maſter-pieces of *Gondamor* to purchaſe *Raleigh*'s Head, who had done their State ſuch ſingular Miſchiefs, and with whom (as *Cato* of old us'd to ſay, *delenda eſt Carthago*;) it was a conſtant Maxim, *That* Spain *was to be humbled*. But above all, ſays *Oſborne*, of ſo incomparable a Dexterity in his Judgment was Sir *Walter*, that the Treaſurer *Saliſbury*, (who had already, by an univerſal Compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchas'd the Monopoly of his Favour) grew jealous of his excellent Parts, leſt he ſhould ſupplant him.

But ſtill, as ſtrong as *Saliſbury*'s Odium was to Sir *Walter*, and as active and ſubtle an Inſtrument as *Gondamor* was in his Maſter's Service, the Execution of *Raleigh* was not to be extorted from the King, who in many things, as *Welden* ſays, was over-aw'd by his timorous Diſpoſition.

Raleigh, whoſe Mind labour'd under nothing more than the Tediouſneſs of his Confinement, neglected no Interceſſions for his Inlargement. Prince *Henry*, while living, had been extream curious in ſearching out the Nature of his Offences: the Queen had informed herſelf from the Beginning; and the King of *Denmark* at both Times of his being in *England* was thoroughly ſatisfied of his Innocency; and they all mov'd his Majeſty on his Behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, as he juſtly obſerves, do not uſe to ſue for Perſons ſuſpected. His Thoughts were now centred on a new Enterprize of diſcovering golden Mines in *Guiana*: What he knew of the Riches of that Place was from his own View, and not Hearſay; but the Perſons moſt in Truſt at Court were reſolv'd not to believe it, not becauſe they doubted the Truth, but becauſe they doubted his Diſpoſition towards themſelves. He makes his Propoſitions to Sir *Ralph Winwood* Secretary of State, deſiring him to recommend them to his Majeſty; "It is true, Sir," ſays he, in his Letter to the Secretary, "that his Majeſty has ſometimes anſwer'd, his Council knew me better than he did; meaning ſome two or three of them: and it was indeed my Infelicity; for had his Majeſty known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majeſty, they had never been ſo long where they now are. His Majeſty not knowing of me hath been my Ruin: and his Majeſty, miſknowing of them, hath been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Eſtate: but they are all of them now, ſome living and ſome dying, come to his Majeſty's Knowledge. But, Sir, how little ſoever his Majeſty knew me, and how much ſoever he believ'd them, yet have I been bound to his Majeſty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majeſty, nor Life, nor ought elſe had remain'd. In this Reſpect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the ſame Life, and all I have for his Majeſty's-Service: to die for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World."

The Secretary was ſo juſt as to repreſent Sir *Walter*'s Propoſitions to the King; and the King, who, as *Coke* informs us, had before ſtopp'd his Ears to Sir *Walter*'s Advice concerning the *Dutch* Fiſhery upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, now opens them to his *American* Project; and looking on *Raleigh* as a Man, whoſe Abilities might better the Nation, if improved the right way, gave him Liberty and a Commiſſion under the Privy-ſeal, to equip and ſet forth Ships and Men for that Service.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and ſubtle Inſtrument to ſerve his Maſter's Ends) took alarm at this, and repreſented to his Majeſty the Enterpriſe of Sir *Walter* to be hoſtile, and predatory, intending to a Breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithſtanding, Power at laſt is granted to Sir *Walter* to ſet forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon Pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promiſing on the Word of a King to keep it ſecret) the Number of his Men, the Burthen and Strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very original Paper was found in the *Spaniſh* Governor's Cloſet at *St. Thomas*. So active were the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, that Advertiſement was ſent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But as we have juſt Cauſe to admire the more than uſual Activity of the *Spaniſh* Agents, ſo may we wonder no leſs at the Miſcarriage of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, who notwithſtanding he had paſt his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; ſo much both King and Court were at *Gondamor*'s Service.

A Commiſſion indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor*'s Means is limited; that the Fleet ſhould commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain*'s Subjects by Land, unleſs they began firſt; with other Limitations in the Commiſſion, which for the Reader's Curioſity and Satisfaction I have here inſerted.

"*James*, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, to be heard, or ſeen, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knt. intending to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, unto the South Parts of *America*, or elſewhere within *America*, poſſeſſed and inhabited by heathen and ſavage People, to the end, to diſcover and find out ſome Commodities and Merchandiſes in thoſe Countries, that be neceſſary and profitable for the Subjects of theſe our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no Uſe or Eſtimation; whereupon alſo may enſue by Trade and Commerce, ſome Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, and reformed Religion, amongſt thoſe ſavage and idolatrous People. And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well diſpoſed to aſſiſt Sir *Walter Raleigh* in this his Enterpriſe, had they ſufficient Aſſurance to enjoy their due Parts of the Profits returned (in reſpect of the Peril of Law wherein the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* now ſtandeth.) And whereas alſo we are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Kinſmen and Friends of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are alſo deſirous to follow him, and to adventure their Lives with him, in this his Journey, ſo as they might be commanded by no other than himſelf:

"Know ye, that we, upon deliberate Conſideration had of the Premiſes, being deſirous by all Ways and Means to work and procure the Benefit and Good of our loving Subjects, and to give our princely Furtherance to the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Friends and Aſſociates herein, to the Encouragement of others in the like laudable Journies and Enterprizes, to be hereafter proſecuted and purſued; and eſpecially in Advancement and Furtherance, as well of the Converſion of ſavage People, as of the Increaſe of the Trade, Traffick, and Merchandizes uſed by our Subjects of this our Kingdom, being moſt famous throughout all Nations: Of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, full Power and Authority, and free Licence and Liberty out of this our Realm of *England*, or any other our Dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his ſaid intended Voyage into the ſaid South Parts, or other Parts of *America*, (poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid) and to travel thither, all ſuch, and ſo many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become our loving Subjects, and live under our Obeiſance and Allegiance, as ſhall willingly accompany him, with ſufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habiliments, Victuals, and ſuch Wares and Merchandizes, as are eſteemed by the wild People in thoſe Parts, Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horſes and Mares, and all other ſuch things as he ſhall think moſt neceſſary for his Voyage, and for the Uſe and Defence of him and his Company, and Trade with the People there; and in paſſing and returning to and fro, and in thoſe Parts to give away, ſell, barter, exchange, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame Goods, Merchandiſes, and Premiſes, to the moſt Benefit, and at the Will and Pleaſure of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Company, and ſuch other Perſon or Perſons, as ſhall be Adventurers or Aſſiſtants with, or unto him, in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our Kingdom, or any other our Dominions, ſuch Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandiſes, or Commodities whatſoever, as they ſhall think moſt fit and convenient; and the ſame being ſo returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our Kingdom, or any other our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Uſe, Benefit, and Behoof of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his ſaid Company, and other Perſons Adventurers and Aſſiſtants with, or to him, in his Voyage, without the Lett, Interruption, Moleſtation, and Diſturbance of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any the Officers, or Miniſters of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors whatſoever; paying and anſwering unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the full fifth Part, in five Parts to be divided, of all ſuch Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Oar of Gold, or Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stones, as ſhall be imported over and beſides, and together with ſuch Cuſtoms, Subſidies, and other Duties, as ſhall be due for, or in reſpect of any other Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes whatſoever, to be ſo imported, by the true Meaning of theſe Preſents. And to the end the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his Enterpriſe, and all our loving Subjects deſirous to be Adventurers with him, or aſſiſtant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Proceedings; we do hereby in *verbo Regio*, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, covenant, promiſe, and grant, to and with the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all other Perſons that ſhall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Aſſiſtants with, or to him, in this Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes whatſoever, of what kind or ſort ſoever, by him or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our Kingdom of *England*, or any other our Dominions, from any the ſaid South, or other Parts of *America* (poſſeſſed or inhabited as aforeſaid) ſhall be attached, ſeized, or taken by us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or to the Uſe of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or by any the Officers, or Miniſters of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors whatſoever; but that the ſame, and every of them (the fifth Part of the ſaid Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Oar of Gold and Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stones, and other the Cuſtoms and Duties aforeſaid, being truly anſwered and payed) ſhall be, and remain to the ſole and proper Uſe

“ and Behoof of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his ſaid
“ Company, and ſuch Perſons as ſhall be Adventurers
“ with him, or aſſiſtant to him, in this his Voyage; any
“ Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Pro-
“ viſion, or Reſtraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of
“ us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any other Matter or
“ Thing whatſoever to the contrary, in any wiſe notwith-
“ ſtanding. And further, of our more eſpecial Grace, cer-
“ tain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we do hereby for
“ us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ordain, conſtitute, and
“ appoint, the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to be the ſole Go-
“ vernor and Commander of all Perſons that ſhall travel,
“ or be with him in the ſaid Voyage, to the ſaid South, or
“ other Parts of *America* (ſo poſſeſſed and inhabited, as afore-
“ ſaid) or in returning from thence. And we do hereby
“ give unto him, full Power and Authority to correct, pu-
“ niſh, pardon, govern, and rule them, or any of them,
“ according to ſuch Orders, Ordinances, Conſtitutions, Di-
“ rections, and Inſtructions, as by the ſaid Sir *Walter*
“ *Raleigh*, ſhall be from time to time eſtabliſhed, as well
“ in Caſes capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and
“ other; ſo always as the ſaid Statutes, Ordinances, and
“ Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agree-
“ able to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy, of
“ this our Realm of *England*, and not againſt the true
“ Chriſtian Faith now profeſſed in the Church of *England*.
“ And becauſe that in ſuch and the like Enterpriſes and
“ Voyages, great Inconveniences have grown by the mu-
“ tinous and diſorderly Carriage of the Mariners and Sailors
“ employed in the ſame, for want of ſufficient Authority
“ to puniſh them according to their Offences; we do there-
“ fore by theſe Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors,
“ give full Power aad Authority to the ſaid Sir *Walter*
“ *Raleigh*, in caſe of Rebellion, or Mutiny, by Sea or
“ Land, to uſe and exerciſe Martial Law (upon juſt Ground
“ and apparent Neceſſity) in as large and ample Manner
“ as our Lieutenant-general by Sea or Land, or our Lieu-
“ tenants in our Counties, within our Realm of *England*,
“ have had, or ought to have by Force of their Com-
“ miſſion of Lieutenancy. And we do further by theſe
“ Preſents, give full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir
“ *Walter Raleigh*, to collect, nominate, and appoint, ſuch
“ Captains and other inferior Commanders and Miniſters
“ under him, as ſhall be requiſite for the better ordering
“ and governing of his Company, and the good of the
“ Voyage. And further, we do by theſe Preſents, for us,
“ our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſtraitly charge and command
“ the Warden of our Cinque-ports, and all the Cuſtomers,
“ Comptrollers, Surveyors, Searchers, Waiters, and other
“ Officers and Miniſters of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors,
“ for the time being, that they, and every of them, do
“ quietly permit and ſuffer the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and
“ all Perſon and Perſons that ſhall be willing to travel and
“ adventure with him, in this Voyage, with their Ships,
“ Munition, Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſes whatſoever,
“ out of this our Realm, or any other our Dominions, to
“ paſs into the ſaid South, or other Parts of *America* (poſ-
“ ſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid) and from thence to re-
“ turn and import into this our Realm, or any other our
“ Dominions, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes what-
“ ſoever, and there to ſell, or otherwiſe to diſpoſe of the
“ ſame, to the beſt Benefit and Advantage, and to the
“ only Uſe and Behoof of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and
“ his Company, and ſuch other Perſons as ſhall be Ad-
“ venturers with him, in this Voyage, paying the fifth
“ Part of all Gold and Silver, Bullion, and Oar of Gold
“ and Silver, and of Pearl, and precious Stones imported,
“ and other the Cuſtoms and Duties aforeſaid. And theſe
“ Preſents, or the Inrolment thereof, ſhall be unto the ſaid
“ Warden of the Cinque-ports, Cuſtomers, Comptrollers,
“ and other the Officers, and Miniſters aforeſaid, for the
“ time being, a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that
“ Behalf. And our Will and Pleaſure is, and by theſe
“ Preſents for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, we do grant
“ unto the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that theſe our Letters
“ Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and ſingular
“ Grants, Clauſes, and Things therein contained, ſhall be
“ firm, ſtrong, ſufficient, and effectual in Law, according
“ to our gracious Pleaſure and Meaning herein expreſſed;
“ any Law, Statute, Act, Proviſion, Ordinance, or Re-
“ ſtraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the contrary
“ thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Although expreſs
“ Mention, *&c.* In Witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs our
“ ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the 26th Day of *Auguſt*, in the four-
“ teenth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France* and *Ire-*
“ *land*, and of *Scotland* the fiftieth.

“ *Per breve de privato Sigillo.*”

His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Eſtates, and Perſons, upon the Deſign: and being gallantly furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary, in the Month of *Auguſt* 1617 they ſet out for *Guiana*.

But this Commiſſion granted to Sir *Walter*, it ſeems, but ill agreed with the Treaty made between the King in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and the moſt renowned *Spaniſh* Monarch: wherein, in the firſt Article, it was agreed, that they ſhould uſe one another with all kind and friendly Offices: and by this Treaty the *Engliſh* were reſtrain'd to their *European* Trade, the King of *Spain* being as jealous of his *Weſt-Indies*, as other Kings of their Prerogatives.

The Fame of Sir *Walter*, and the Expectations of the Mountains of Gold to be pour'd into the Exchequer by this Expedition, blaz'd it every where abroad. King *James*, unwilling to diſoblige his Brother of *Spain*, commanded Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to ſet down under his Hand the Country, and the River, which he was to enter, the compleat Number of his Men, the Burden of his Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried. This being made known to the Count *Gondamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and by him in Poſt to the King of *Spain*, a Diſpatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters ſent from *Madrid*, before Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with his Fleet, departed out of the River *Thames*.

To this Practice Sir *Walter* was no Stranger, and yet it deterr'd him not from the propos'd Expedition.

With this Commiſſion, and the Company of ſeveral brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood and Worth, he ſet out in queſt of the Mine, with a compleat Fleet of 12 Sail; letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit, than his Wiſdom, “ That his whole Hiſtory of the World had
“ not the like Preſident: Of a King's Priſoner to purchaſe
“ Freedom, and his boſom Favourite to have the Halter;
“ but in Scripture, *Mordecai* and *Haman*;” meaning himſelf and the Duke of *Somerſet*. To which he was told, that the King replied, “ He might die in that Deceit;” which he did, for *Somerſet* was ſaved. Of whom was made good, what Sir *Walter* uſed to ſay of Favourites; That Minions were not ſo happy as vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and ſometimes to unnatural Employments.

On the 17th of *November* he arrived at *Guiana*, having been much retarded by contrary Winds, and having loſt ſeveral of his Volunteers in the Voyage, by a violent Calenture. But of the whole Tranſactions, Sir *Walter* hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary; which I have here tranſcribed.

SIR,

“ As I have not hitherto given you any Account of our
“ Proceedings and Paſſages towards the *Indies*, ſo I have
“ no other Subject to write of, than of the greateſt Miſfor-
“ tunes that ever befel any Man. For whereas for the
“ firſt, all thoſe that navigate between *Cape de Verd* and
“ *America*, do paſs between 15 or 20 Days at moſt, we
“ found the Wind ſo contrary, and (which are alſo con-
“ trary to Nature) ſo many Storms and Rains, as we ſpent
“ ſix Week in the Paſſage; by reaſon whereof, and that
“ in ſo great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Iſle
“ *Prano* of *Cape de Verd*, we loſt our Anchors and Cables,
“ and our Water-caſks; and being driven away from the
“ Iſle with a Hurricane, we were like all to have periſhed.
“ Great Sickneſs fell amongſt us, and carried away great
“ Numbers of our ableſt Men, both for Sea and Land.
“ The 17th of *November* we had ſight of *Guiana*, and ſoon

after came to anchor in five Degrees of the River *Galliano*; here we ſtaid till the 14th of *December*, landed our ſick Men, ſet up our Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of *England* in Quarters, waſhed our Ships, and took in freſh Water, being fed and cheriſhed by the *Indians*, of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Reſpect. Myſelf being in the Hands of Death this ſix Weeks, and not able otherwiſe to move, than I was carried in a Chair, gave Orders to five ſmall Ships to ſail into *Oronoque*, having Captain *Keymis* for their Conductor towards the Mines; and in thoſe five Ships, five Companies of 50, under the Command of Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Brethren to the Lord *Monteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat, which they have endured; my Son had the third Company; Captain *Thornix* of *Kent*, the fourth Company; Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Serjeant-major, Captain *Piggot*, died in the former miſerable Paſſage, ſo my Lieutenant, Sir *Warham Saint Leiger*, lay ſick without hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew, *George Raleigh*, who had alſo ſerved long with infinite Commendations; but by reaſon of my Abſence, and of Sir *Warham*'s, was not ſo well obeyed as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſſed up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and ſhot at us, both with their Ordnance and Muſkets; whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them, and ſoon after beat them out of the Town. In the Aſſault, my Son (more deſirous of Honour than Safety) was ſlain; with whom, to ſay truth, all the Reſpects of this World have taken end in me; and altho' theſe five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongſt them ſome 20 or 30 valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of ſingular Courage; as of my Son's Company, Mr. *Knivet*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Langworth*, Mr. *John Pleaſington*; his Officers, Sir *John Hambden*, Mr. *Simon Leak* Corporal of the Field, Mr. *Hammond*, the elder Brother, Mr. *Nicholas* of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Roberts* of *Kent*, Mr. *Perin*, Mr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Mullinax*, Mr. *Winter* and his Brother, Mr. *Wray*, Mr. *Miles Herbert*, Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Captain *Hall*, and others.

“ Sir, I have ſet down the Names of theſe Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majeſty ſhall have cauſe to uſe their Service, it may pleaſe you to take notice of them for very ſufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships ſtaid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The ſecond Ship was commanded by my Vice-admiral Captain *John Penington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the ſufficienteſt Gentlemen for the Sea, that *England* hath. The third by Sir *Warham Saint Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir *John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With theſe five Ships I daily attend their Armada of *Spain*, which had they ſet upon us, our Force divided, the one half in *Oronoque*, 150 Miles from us, we had not only been torn in Pieces, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed, being of no Force at all for Sea-fight. But we had reſolved to be burnt by their Sides, had the Armada arrived. But belike, they ſtay'd for us at *Margaret*, by which they knew we muſt paſs to the *Indies*. For it pleaſed his Majeſty to value us at ſo little, as to command me upon my Allegiance to ſet down, under my Hand, the Country and River by which I was to enter it; to ſet down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried; which being known to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and by him unto the King of *Spain*, a Diſpatch was made, and Letters ſent from *Madrid* before my Departure out of the *Thames*. For his firſt Letter, ſent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of *March* 1617, at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here encloſed ſent to your Honour; the reſt I reſerve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The ſecond by the King, dated the ſecond of *May*, ſent alſo by a Colonel of *Diego de Polonioque*, Governor of *Guiana*, *Eldredo*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Biſhop of *Perericho*, and delivered to *Polonioque*, the 15th of *July* at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was ſent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Cuſtoms in the *Indies*. At the ſame time by that of the King's Hand ſent by the Biſhop, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeedy levying of 300 Soldiers, and 10 Pieces of Ordnance, to be ſent from *Portricho*, for the Defence of *Guiana*. One 150 from *Nueno Remo de Grando*, under the Command of Captain *Anthony Muſica*; and the other 150 from *Portricho*, to be conducted by Captain *Francis Landio*.

“ Now, Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* ſince his Majeſty's Time, knew that the *Spaniards* have flaid alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchantmen; what Death and cruel Torment ſhall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto failed groſsly, being ſet out thence as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.

“ Laſtly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine (though I know his Majeſty expected it, whom I am to ſatisfy as much as myſelf) having loſt my Son and my Eſtate in the Enterpriſe; yet it is true, that the *Spaniards* took more care to defend the Paſſage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the King's Inſtructions they might eaſily do, the Countries being *aſpera & nemoroſa*.

“ But it is true, that when Captain *Kemyis* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in moſt Places near the Mine by a Mile, and where he found a Deſcent, a Volley of Muſkets came from the Woods upon the Boat, and ſlew two Rowers, and hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thornix*, of which Wound he languiſheth to this Day: He, to wit, Captain *Keymis*, following his own Advice, thought that it was in vain to diſcover the Mine; for he gave me this for an Excuſe at his Return, that the Companies of *Engliſh* in the Town of *St. Thome*, were not able to defend it againſt the daily and nightly Aſſaults of the *Spaniards*; that the Paſſages to the Mines were thick and unpaſſable Woods, and that the Mine being diſcovered, they had no Men to work it, did not diſcover it at all: For it is true, the *Spaniards* having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the ſecond by *Harmian Frotinio*, the third of Silver by Captain *Franciſco*, for the want of Negroes to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be conſtrained, by a Law of *Charles* the Vth. ſo the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the Labour of the Mines, whatſoever the Bragadocio, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſaith. I ſhall prove under the Proprietors Hands, by the Cuſtom-book, and the King's Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I ſhall alſo make it appear to any Prince, or State, that will undertake it, how eaſily thoſe Mines, and five or ſix more of them may be poſſeſſed, and the moſt of them in thoſe Parts, which have never as yet been attempted by any, nor by any Paſſage to them, nor ever diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But at *Keymis*'s Return from *Oronoque*, when I rejected his Counſel and his Courſe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King paſt Recovery, he ſlew himſelf: For I told him, that ſeeing my Son was ſlain, I cared not if I had loſt 100 Men more in opening the Mine, ſo my Credit had been ſaved. For I proteſt before God, had not Captain *Whitney* (to whom I gave more Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another Ship with him of Captain *Woollaſton*'s, I would have left my Body at *St. Thome*, by my Son's, or have brought with me out of that, or other Mines, ſo much Gold-ore as ſhould have ſatiſfied the King. I propounded no vain Thing; what ſhall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor Eſtate conſumed; and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I deſire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lord of *Arundel* and *Pembrook*, to take ſome Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her Sorrow for her Son; and I beſeech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord *Carew*; for to a broken Mind, a ſick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have

“ found many Things of Importance for diſcovering the State and Weakneſs of the *Indies*, which, if I live, I ſhall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I ſhall remain a faithful Servant,

“ WALTER RALEIGH.”

Sir *Walter*, ſtill ſanguine in what he had promiſed from the Voyage, writes to his Wife, and tells her, he hoped to perform what they had undertaken, if the diligent Care at *London* to make their Strength known to the *Spaniſh* King by his Ambaſſador, had not taught the *Spaniſh* King to fortify all the Entrances againſt them. “ However, ſays he, we muſt make the Adventure, and if we periſh, it ſhall be no Honour for *England*, nor Gain for his Majeſty, to loſe, among many others, an Hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* has in it.”

It was bruited before his Departure from the Channel, by ſome that loved him little, that he meant nothing leſs than to go to *Guiana*; but that being once at Liberty, and in his own Power, having made his way with ſome foreign Prince, he would turn Pirate, and utterly forſake his own Country. Nor did *Gondamor* himſelf believe that a Voyage thither was intended, for he had ſaid to Secretary *Winwood*, and ſeveral of the Lords, that if Sir *Walter* meant indeed to ſail to *Guiana*, and had no Intent to invade any Part of his Maſter's *Weſt-Indies*, nor his Fleets, he ſhould not need to ſtrengthen himſelf as he did; for he ſhould work his Mine there without Diſturbance, and in Peace.

For the Particulars at length of this his laſt unhappy Voyage, I muſt refer the Readers to that excellent Apology, which he has left drawn up by his own Pen; and only here recount the main Actions, which were afterwards made Aggravations to deſtroy him. Sir *Walter*, now in an advanced old Age, having ſtruggled with a long Sickneſs, and being yet unable to move otherwiſe than in a Chair, ordered five ſmall Ships to ſail up the River *Oronoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Keymis*, towards the Mine of which he had informed Sir *Walter* in *England*. As they paſſed up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and fired at the *Engliſh* Ships with great and ſmall Shot; yet ſtill they landed their Forces, without much Loſs, near the Town called *St. Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themſelves Maſters, and burnt it, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s Son, to the great Grief of the Aſſailants. The Father's Concern was ſo vehement for this Loſs, that he could willingly have died Heart-broken, as he ſent his Wife Word, did he not contend againſt Sorrow for her Sake, in hope to provide ſomewhat for her, and to comfort and relieve her. Tho' the *Spaniards* were not ſtrong enough to defend the Town, yet they were ſufficiently prepared to ſecure the Mine: So that Captain *Keymis* finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land ſo well guarded, he thought the Enterpriſe too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow returned.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitleſs Return of *Keymis*, was touched to the very Soul, crying out to *Keymis*, That he had utterly ruined him, and wounded his Credit with the King, beyond Recovery; but he, who was the firſt Mover of the Deſign, muſt expect to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himſelf.

Keymis, as deeply tormented as himſelf, and leſs able to ſuſtain the Burthen, retired to his Cabin overwhelmed with Melancholy, and ſhot himſelf; but the Bullet only breaking a Rib, which was too ſlow for his Fury, he deſperately thruſt a Knife in his Heart up to the Haft; and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expired. For the Deſign being thus diſcovered and broken, their Ships being leaky, Proviſions failing, and the Men miſſing the golden Showers they expected, ſeveral of them began to mutiny, ſome would return home, and the major Part forced Sir *Walter* to ſwear not to go home without their Allowance. Then ſome would go for *Italy*, ſome for *France*, and a few for *England*, fearing the *Spaniſh* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*: And thus being ſhattered in Judgment, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produced, Sir *Walter* at length arrived with four Ships at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, where he ſtaid for ſome ſhort Space in Safety.

No ſooner had they arrived upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, but the taking and ſacking of *St. Thomas*, and the firing of the Town, and putting the *Spaniards* there to the Sword (tho' in their own Defence) was noiſed abroad in all Parts, and was by ſpecial Advertiſement, come unto the Knowledge of Count *de Gondamor*; who thereupon deſiring Audience of his Majeſty, ſaid he had but one Word to ſay; his Majeſty much wondering what might be delivered in one Word. When he came before him, he only bawled out, *Pirates, Pirates, Pirates.* A very pretty ſhort Speech for an Ambaſſador!

The Matter is aggravated with the higheſt Circumſtances by thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as if this Irruption of *Raleigh*'s not only tended to the Breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which was then in Motion, but to the Infringement of the Peace and Amity, eſtabliſhed betwixt the two Crowns. The King's Fears being heightened to Anger, he diſavows the Action; and leſt others of his Subjects ſhould by this Example take the Boldneſs to attempt the like Hoſtility againſt the King of *Spain*, he puts out a Proclamation, in which he ſhews his Deteſtation of ſuch Proceedings, and threatens ſevere Puniſhment to the Enterpriſers, thereby to deter them.

This gave *Gondamor* ſome Satisfaction, who, his Deſign being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home, after this Bruſh vented little Paſſion, but ſo cunningly ſkin'd over his Malice, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found nor heard of no ſuch great Difficulties, Dangers often flying upon the Wings of Rumour, but that he might appear in *England*; ſo the Men, not willing to be baniſh'd their own Country, tho' ſome of them had *France* in their Eye, put into *Plymouth*.

But, after all this Noiſe, Sir *Walter* is not queſtioned for his *Guiana* Action; for it is believed, not without very good Ground, that neither the Tranſgreſſion of his Commiſſion, nor any thing acted beyond the Line, where the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend, could have in a legal Courſe of Trial ſhortened his Days.

When Sir *Walter* was arrived at *Plymouth*, Sir *Lewis Stukely*, Vice-admiral of the County of *Devon*, ſeized him, being commiſſioned by his Majeſty to bring him for *London*; which could add no Terror to a Perſon who could expect nothing leſs; and was now forced to make uſe of all the Arts imaginable to appeaſe his Majeſty, and defer his Anger. To which Intent, *Mannowry*, a *French* Quack at *Saliſbury*, gave him ſeveral Vomits, and an artificial Compoſition, which made him look ghaſtly and dreadful, full of Pimples and Bliſters, and put the Cheat upon the Phyſicians themſelves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (though often inſpected) being adulterated with a Drug in the Glaſs, that turned it, even in their very Hands, into an earthy Humour of a blackiſh Colour, and of a very offenſive Savour.

While he lay under this politick Diſguiſe, he penned his Declaration and Apology, which have ſufficiently proved his honourable Deſigns in that Voyage, and anſwered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to *London*, he was permitted the Confinement of his own Houſe; but finding the Court wholly guided by *Gondamor*, he could hope for little Mercy, therefore he wiſely contrived the Deſign of an Eſcape into *France*, which Sir *Lewis Stukely* betrayed. But the Fate of Traitors purſued him, and brought him to a contemptible End, to die a poor diſtracted Beggar in the Iſland of *Lindey*, having for a Bag of Money falſified his Faith, confirmed by the Tie of the Holy Sacrament, (if we may give Credit to Mr. *Howel*, who hath given us this Story;) as alſo before the Year came about, to be found clipping the ſame very Coin in the King's own Houſe at *Whitehall*, which he had received for a Reward of his Perfidiouſneſs; for which, being condemned to be hanged, he was forced to ſell himſelf to his Shirt, to purchaſe his Pardon of two Knights.

He was no ſooner in the Tower, but all his Tranſactions in this Buſineſs are put to the Rack, and tenter'd by his Adverſaries. They ſay now he knew of no Mine, nor did *Keymis* know that the Mine he aimed at was Gold; but *Keymis* bringing him a Piece of Ore into the Tower, he fobb'd a Piece of Gold into it in diſſolving, making the poor Man believe the Ore was right, that by theſe golden Degrees he might aſcend to Liberty, promiſing the King to fetch it from where the *Spaniards* never had been: That when *Keymis* found by better Experience he was cozen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the Mine: And that *Raleigh* knowing none but *Keymis* could accuſe him, made him away. This Vizard was put upon the Face of the Action, and all the Weight of the Miſcarriage was laid upon *Raleigh*'s Shoulders.

Gondamor, that looked upon him as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Animoſity enough to do his Maſter Miſchief, (being one of thoſe Scourges, which that *old Virago* (Queen *Elizabeth*) as he called her, uſed to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his Baits about the King.

The King took great Delight in the Company and Converſation of *Gondamor*; a Perſon, as *Nani* obſerves, who with a ſtupendous Acuteneſs of Wit, ſo confounded pleaſant Things with ſerious, that it was not eaſy to be diſcerned when he rallied, or when he ſpoke of Buſineſs. He knew how to inſinuate and transform himſelf to the King's own Way and Humour; was full of Conceits, Jeſts, and witty Sayings, and would ſometimes ſpeak falſe *Latin* purpoſely to pleaſe the King, telling him, that his Majeſty ſpoke *Latin* like a Pedant, but himſelf like a Gentleman.

All Complections and Natures (as Sir *Francis Oſborne* has curiouſly remark'd) are not competent for to be employ'd as Ambaſſadors; ſome lying at too open a Guard in their Diſcourſe, a Fault incident to free People, and Perſons not bred under Reſtraint; others, of a Faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the Intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks; which, by the way, a publick Miniſter is to regard more than Words; Maſters of their Tongues being not ſeldom betray'd to a full Diſcovery by their Blood, which the Shame of Lying, or ſome one Paſſion or other pumps up, for want, it may be, of an Impudence, which none but thoſe wickedly bred from their Cradle are capable of. A good Reaſon why ſwarthy Perſons, and People bordering upon the Sun, are more apt for Negotiations than the ruddy *Engliſh*, fam'd for fine Force, rather than Circumvention, the Buſineſs of an Ambaſſador.

Gondamor, who ever proceeded upon Obſervation, found out, and ſo reported to his Countrymen, that King *James*'s moſt intrinſick Deſires were legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his Manner was, firſt to diſturb his Paſſions, and after to appeaſe them by ſome facetious Drollery, before he imbarked himſelf in what he intended to make the Employment of the preſent Audience: And he was in all Companies, as well as the King's, inclinable more to Mirth than Melancholy; chuſing rather to conceal, than demonſtrate, the Wiſdom and Arts by which he brought about his Maſter's Deſigns, no leſs to the Shame of the *Engliſh*, than the Honour of his own Dexterity. In ſhort, no ſtubborn Piece of either Sex ſtood in *Gondamor*'s way, but he had an Engine to remove them, or ſcrew them up to him.

A Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain* having long been propoſed by the Duke of *Lerma* abroad, and negotiated by *Gondamor* here at home; he wrought himſelf ſo by Subtlety into the King's good Affections, that he did not only work his own Will, but the King's into a Belief that the Treaties in Agitation for that Marriage were, tho' ſlowly proſecuted, real and effectual. The *Spaniards* made ſhew, that, on their Part, nothing under Heaven was more deſired than this Alliance; and the King of *Spain* commanded that his Treaſure ſhould be gathered together for the *Infanta*'s vaſt Portion, being no leſs than 2,000,000. If this Match then was to go on, and Amity with the *Spaniard* to be maintained and courted, *Gondamor* could not wiſh a fairer Opportunity vigorouſly to demand the Head of *Raleigh*, for an Aſſault made by him on his Maſter's *Indies*: A Head, of more Weight to our Court, ſays *Oſborne*, (eſpecially in that Dearth of Wiſdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be. But as the fooliſh Idolaters were wont to ſacrifice the choiceſt of their Children to the Devil, the common Enemy of Humanity, ſo our King gave up this incomparable Jewel to the Will of this Monſter in Ambition, under the Pretence of a ſuperannuated Tranſgreſſion; contrary to the Opinion of the moſt honeſt Sort of Gown-men, who maintained, that his Majeſty's Pardon lay incluſively in the Commiſſion he gave him upon his ſetting out to Sea; it being incongruous, that he, who remained under the Notion of one dead in Law, ſhould, as a General, diſpoſe of the Lives of others, not being himſelf Maſter of his own. The then Lord-chancellor *Verulam*, told him poſitively, (as Sir *Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of Sir *William St. Geon* for a pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a leſs Sum than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in theſe Words: "Sir, " the Knee-timber of your Voyage is Money; ſpare your " Purſe in this Particular, for, upon my Life, you have " a ſufficient Pardon for all that is paſſed already, the King " having under his Broad-ſeal made you Admiral of your " Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial-law over the " Officers and Soldiers."

Raleigh, tho' confined with more Severity than before, was not inſenſible how cloſely his Life was purſued, and how little Expectations he could found of Mercy: He conſidered, however, that Stubbornneſs and Obſtinacy might be laid to his Charge, if he made no ſort of Submiſſion to his Majeſty, or at leaſt juſtified the Honeſty of his Intentions, tho' his Voyage had ſo fatally miſcarried: He therefore penned the following Letter of Apology, which he got conveyed to the King's own Hands.

" *May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,*

" If, in my Journey outward bound, I had my Men " murdered at the Iſlands, and yet ſpared to take Re- " venge; if I did diſcharge ſome *Spaniſh* Barks taken, " without Spoil; if I forbore all Parts of the *Spaniſh Indies*, " wherein I might have taken 20 of their Towns on the " Sea-coaſts, and did only follow the Enterpriſe I under- " took for *Guiana*, where, without any Directions from " me, a *Spaniſh* Village was burnt, which was ſet up " within three Miles of the Mine; by your Majeſty's Fa- " vour, I find no Reaſon why the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador " ſhould complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spa-* " *niards* to murder 26 *Engliſhmen*, tying them Back to " Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had " traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on " the Land without ſo much as one Sword, and that it " may not be lawful to your Majeſty's Subjects, being " charged firſt by them, to repel Force by Force, we may " juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Engliſh*!

" If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeachy* and other Places " in the *Honduras*, ſeated in the Heart of the *Spaniſh In-* " *dies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had " nothing ſaid to them at their Return; and myſelf " forbore to look into the *Indies*, becauſe I would not " offend, I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable Sir *Walter* " *Raleigh*!

" If I have ſpent my poor Eſtate, loſt my Son, ſuffered " by Sickneſs, and otherwiſe, a World of Miſeries; if I " have reſiſted, with manifeſt Hazard of my Life, the " Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would " have made me rich; if, when I was poor, I could have " made myſelf rich; if, when I had gotten my Liberty, " which all Men, and Nature itſelf do much prize, I vo- " luntarily loſt it; if, when I was ſure of my Life, I ren- " dered it again; if I might elſewhere have ſold my Ship " and Goods, and put 5 or 6000*l.* into my Purſe, and yet " brought her into *England*; I beſeech your Majeſty to " believe that all this I have done, becauſe it ſhould not " be ſaid to your Majeſty, that your Majeſty had given " Liberty and Truſt to a Man, whoſe End was but the " Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your " Majeſty's Truſt.

" My Mutineers told me, That if I return'd for *Eng-* " *land*, I ſhould be undone; but I believed in your Ma- " jeſty's Goodneſs more than in all their Arguments. Sure " I am the firſt that, being free and able to inrich myſelf, " yet have embraced Poverty and Peril; and as ſure I am, " that my Example ſhall make me the laſt. But your

“ Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs I have made my
“ Judges, who have ever been, and ſhall ever be,

“ *Your Majeſty's moſt humble Vaſſal,*

“ WALTER RALEIGH.”

Whatever private Judgment the King might make in favour of *Raleigh*, he made no Efforts to arreſt the Proſecution againſt him. It was reſolved, that Sir *Walter*'s Miſfortunes ſhould loſe him his Head; but how to do it with a Face of Juſtice was the Queſtion. That he fell a Sacrifice to the *Spaniſh* Faction, has ſcarce ever been doubted by Perſons of Diſcernment; and a great Miniſter, who was empowered from the King to let the *Spaniards* know what Teſtimonies he gave of his ſincere Intentions towards them, has in a Letter to Mr. *Cottington*, then our Agent there, put this Opinion in a very clear Light. “ Further, “ you may let them know, ſays he, how able a Man Sir “ *Walter Raleigh* was to have done his Majeſty Service, “ if he ſhould have been pleaſed to employ him; yet to “ give them Content, he hath not ſpared him; when, by “ preſerving him, he might have given great Satisfaction “ to his Subjects, and had, at Command, upon all Occaſions, as uſeful a Man as ſerved any Prince in *Chriſtendom*.”

Upon the 28th Day of *October* 1618, Sir *Walter* was brought up to the King's-bench Bar in *Weſtminſter*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* were open'd, and he demanded why Execution ſhould not be done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounced againſt him? *Raleigh*, by way of Anſwer, began to juſtify himſelf in the Proceedings of the late Voyage; but the Lord Chief-juſtice wiſhed him to ſpare that Trouble, for there was no other Matter in Queſtion but the former Judgment, which the King would have executed upon him, for ſome Occaſions beſt known to himſelf, unleſs he could ſhew good Cauſe to the contrary.

Sir *Walter* anſwered, that he was told by his Council, that Judgment was void by the Commiſſion his Majeſty was pleaſed to give him ſince, under the Great-ſeal, for his laſt Employment, which gave him a new Vigour and Life to that Service. The Lord Chief-juſtice reply'd, that he was deceived; and that the Opinion of the Court was to the contrary. Sir *Walter* then deſired that ſome reaſonable Time might be allowed him to prepare for Death: but it was anſwered, that the Time appointed was the next Morning; and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himſelf for Death long ſince. “ You have been a “ General, ſaid the Lord Chief-juſtice, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thruſting himſelf into the Middle of a Battle, cried aloud, “ *Mors me expectat, & ego Mortem expectabo.* As you “ ſhould not contemn, ſo neither ſhould you fear Death; “ the one ſheweth too much Boldneſs, and the other no “ leſs Cowardice.” With ſome few more Inſtructions the Court was broke up; and *Raleigh* having a courageous Spirit (finding the Bent of the King's Mind, and knowing Diſputes to be in vain where Controverſies are determin'd) acquieſced, and was by the Sheriff conveyed to the *Gatehouſe*, in order to his ſuffering in the *Old Palace-yard* the Morning following.

Upon *Thurſday* the 29th of *October* 1618, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was conveyed by the Sheriffs of *London*, to a Scaffold in the Old Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where he was executed about Nine of the Clock in the Morning of the ſame Day; whoſe Confeſſion and ſeveral Speeches there delivered, with his Geſture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His firſt Appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a ſmiling Countenance, ſaluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there preſent; when, after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addreſſed himſelf to ſpeak in this Manner:

“ I deſire to be borne withal, becauſe this is the third Day “ of my Fever; and if I ſhew any Weakneſs, I beſeech “ you to attribute it to my Malady, for this is the Hour “ I look for it.”

Then pauſing a while, directing himſelf towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel* and the Lord of *Doncaſter*, with ſome other Lords and Knights ſat, with a loud Voice he ſaid as followeth:

“ I thank God of his infinite Goodneſs, that he hath “ ſent me to die in the Sight of ſo honourable an Aſſembly, and not in Darkneſs.” But by reaſon the Place were they ſat was ſome Diſtance from the Scaffold, that they could not eaſily hear him, he ſaid: “ I will ſtrain myſelf, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.” The Lord of *Arundel* anſwered, “ We will come upon the “ Scaffold;” where after he had ſaluted every one of them ſeverally, he began as followeth:

“ As I ſaid, I thank my God heartily that he hath “ brought me into the Light to die, and hath not ſuffered “ me to die in the dark Priſon of the *Tower*, where I “ have ſuffered a great Deal of Adverſity, and a long Sickneſs; and I thank God that my Fever hath not taken “ me at this time, as I prayed God it might not.

“ There are two main Points of Suſpicion, that his “ Majeſty hath conceived againſt me, and wherein his “ Majeſty cannot be ſatisfied, which I deſire to clear and “ reſolve you of.

“ One is, that his Majeſty hath been informed that I “ have had ſome Plot with *France*, and his Majeſty had “ ſome Reaſon to induce him thereunto. One Reaſon that “ his Majeſty had to conjecture ſo, was, that when I came “ back from *Guiana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*; which was, becauſe I would “ fain have made my Peace before I came to *England*. “ Another Reaſon was, that upon my Flight, I did intend to fly to *France* for ſaving of my Life, having had “ ſome Terror from above. A third Reaſon was the “ *French* Agent's coming to me, and it was reported that “ I had a Commiſſion from the King of *France*.

“ But this I ſay, for a Man to call God to witneſs to a “ Falſhood at any Time, is a grievous Sin, and what ſhall “ he hope for at the Tribunal-day of Judgment? But to “ call God to witneſs to a Falſhood at the Time of Death, “ is far more grievous and impious, and there is no Hope “ for ſuch an one. And what ſhould I expect, that am “ now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do “ therefore call the Lord to witneſs, as I hope to be ſaved, “ and as I hope to ſee him in his Kingdom (which I hope “ will be within this Quarter of this Hour) I never had “ any Commiſſion from the King of *France*, nor any “ Treaty with the *French* Agent, nor with any from the “ *French* King; neither knew I that there was an Agent, “ or what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my “ Lodging, unlooked for. If I ſpeak not true, O Lord, “ let me never come into thy Kingdom.

“ The ſecond Suſpicion was, that his Majeſty hath been “ informed, that I ſhould ſpeak diſhonourably and diſloyally of him. But my Accuſer was a baſe *Frenchman*, a kind of a chymical Fellow, one whom I knew “ to be perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at “ *Wincheſter*, in which my Hand was toucht, and he being ſworn to Secreſy over Night, revealed it in the “ Morning.

“ But in this I ſpeak now, what have I to do with “ Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I “ fear them; I have now to do with God, therefore to “ tell a Lie now, to get the Favour of the King, were in “ vain. Therefore, as I hope to be ſaved at the laſt Day, “ I never ſpake diſhonourably, diſloyally, or diſhoneſtly “ of the King, neither to this *Frenchman*, nor to any other, “ neither had I ever, in all my Life, a Thought of Ill of “ his Majeſty. Therefore I cannot but think it ſtrange, “ that this *Frenchman*, being ſo baſe, ſo mean a Fellow, “ ſhould be ſo far credited; and ſo much for this Point. “ I have dealt truly, and I hope I ſhall be believed. I “ confeſs I did attempt to eſcape; and I did diſſemble and “ feign myſelf ſick at *Saliſbury*, but I hope it was no Sin. “ The Prophet *David* did make himſelf a Fool, and did “ ſuffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard to eſcape the Hands “ of his Enemies, and it was not imputed to him as Sin; “ and I did it to prolong Time till his Majeſty came, “ hoping for ſome Commiſeration from him.

“ I forgive this *Frenchman*, and Sir *Lewis Stukely*, and “ have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean; “ and I do alſo forgive all the World. But thus much I “am bound in Charity to ſpeak of this Man, that all Men may take good Heed of him: Sir *Lewis Stukely*, my Kinſman and Keeper, hath affirmed, that I ſhould tell him, that I did tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaſter*, of my preſent Eſcape; but I proteſt before God, I never told *Stukely* any ſuch Thing; neither did I tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord *Doncaſter*, of my intended Eſcape. It was not likely that I ſhould acquaint two Privy-councellors of my Purpoſe; neither would I tell him, for he left me ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, or ten Days, to go where I liſted, while he rode about the Country.

“Again he accuſed me, that I ſhould tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaſter*, would meet me in *France*; which was never my Speech or Thought.

“Thirdly, he accuſed me, that I ſhewed him a Letter, and that I ſhould give him 10000 *l.* for my Eſcape; but caſt my Soul into everlaſting Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 *l.* or 1000 *l.* but merely I ſhewed him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts ſhould be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 *l.* for if I had had ſo much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherwiſe.

“Fourthly, when I came to Sir *Edward Pelham*, who had been ſometimes a Follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment, he gave out, that I had received ſome Dram of Poiſon in Sir *Edward Pelham*'s Houſe; when I anſwered, that I feared no ſuch Thing, for I was well aſſured of them in the Houſe. Now God forgive him, for I do, and deſire God to forgive him; I will not only ſay God is the God of Revenge, but I deſire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.”

Then he looked over his Note of Remembrance, “Well, ſaith he, thus far have I gone; now a little more, and I will have done by and by.

“It was told the King, I was brought *per* Force into *England*, and that I did not intend to come again; whereas Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Leak*, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, ſhall witneſs for me; for the common Soldiers, which were 150, mutined, and ſent for me to come into the Gun-room to them, for at that Time they would not come to me; and there was I forced to take an Oath, that I would not come into *England* till they would have me, or elſe they would caſt me into the Sea, and drown me; afterwards they entered my Cabbin, and ſet themſelves againſt me. After I had taken this Oath, with Wine and other Things I drew the chiefeſt of them to deſiſt, and at length I perſuaded them to go into *Ireland*; then would they have gone into the North-parts of *Ireland*, but I told them they were *Redſhanks*: But at laſt, with much ado, I perſuaded them to go into the South-parts, promiſing to get their Pardons; but was forced to give them 125 *l.* at *Kingſale* to bring them home, otherwiſe I had never got from them.

“There was a Report, that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any ſuch Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full Intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majeſty, and thoſe that went with me, with the reſt of my Countrymen: But he that knew the Head of the Mine, would not diſcover it, when he ſaw that my Son was ſlain, but made himſelf away.” And then he turned to my Lord of *Arundel*, and ſaid, “Being in the Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, and ſaid you would requeſt me one thing, that was, *That whether I made a good Voyage or bad, yet I ſhould return again into* England; when I made you a Promiſe and gave you my Faith that I would: *And ſo you did*, (anſwered my Lord) *it is true, they were the laſt Words I ſpake unto you.* Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 1600 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my Hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before; whereas I proteſt I had but 100 Pound in all the World, whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife: The Reaſon of this Speech was this, there was entered 20,000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound in the Surveyor's Book; now I gave my Bill for the other 16,000 Pound for divers Adventurers; but I proteſt I had not a Penny of Money more then 100 Pound, as I hope to be ſaved.

“Another Slander was raiſed, that I would have gone away from them and left them at *Guiana*; but there was a great many of worthy Men that accompanied me always, as my Serjeant-major *George Raleigh*, and divers others (which he then named) that knew my Intent was nothing ſo. And theſe be the material Points I thought good to ſpeak of; I am now at this Inſtant to render my Account to God, and I proteſt, as I ſhall appear before him, this that I have ſpoken is true.

“I will ſpeak but a Word or two more, becauſe I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.

“There was a Report ſpread, that I ſhould rejoice at the Death of my Lord of *Eſſex*, and that I ſhould take Tobacco in his Preſence; when as I proteſt I ſhed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction, and at the Time of his Death I was all the while in the Armory at the further End, where I could but ſee him; I was ſorry that I was not with him, for I heard he had a Deſire to ſee me, and be reconciled to me. So that I proteſt I lamented his Death, and good Cauſe had I, for it was the worſe for me as it proved, for after he was gone I was little beloved.

“And now I intreat you all to join with me in Prayer, that the great God of Heaven, whom I have grievouſly offended, being a Man full of all Vanity, and have lived a ſinful Life, in all ſinful Callings, having been a Soldier, a Captain, a Sea-captain, and a Courtier, which are all Places of Wickedneſs and Vice; that God (I ſay) would forgive me, and caſt away my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlaſting Life. So I take my Leave of you all, making my Peace with God.”

Then Proclamation being made that all Men ſhould depart the Scaffold, he prepared himſelf for Death, giving away his Hat and wrought Night-cap, and ſome Money to ſuch as he knew that ſtood near him: Taking his Leave of the Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen; among the reſt taking Leave of the Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to deſire the King, that no ſcandalous Writing to defame him might be publiſhed after his Death; ſaying further unto him, *I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my Leave.*

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headſman to ſhew him the Ax; which being not preſently ſhew'd him, he ſaid, *I pray thee let me ſee it, doſt thou think that I am afraid of it?* And having it in his Hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and ſmiling, ſpake to the Sheriff, ſaying, *This is a ſharp Medicine, but it is a Phyſician for all Diſeaſes.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every Side he pray'd the Company to pray to God to aſſiſt him and ſtrengthen him.

And ſo being aſked which Way he would lay himſelf, on which Side the Block, as he ſtretched himſelf along and laid his Head on the Block, he ſaid, *So that the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then praying after he had forgiven the Headſman, having given him a Sign when he ſhould do his Office, at two Blows he loſt both Head and Life, his Body never ſhrinking nor moving.

Upon Sir Walter Raleigh's *Execution and Death.*

Great Heart, who taught Thee ſo to die?
Death yielding Thee the Victory.
Where took'ſt Thou leave of Life? If here,
How could'ſt Thou be ſo far from Fear?
But ſure Thou dyed'ſt, and quitd'ſt the State
Of Fleſh and Blood, before that Fate.
Elſe what a Miracle were wrought,
To triumph both in Fleſh and Thought?
I ſaw in every Stander by
Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
The Legacy Thou gav'ſt us then,
We'll ſue for, when thou dieſt again.
Farewel, Truth ſhall this Story ſay,
We died, Thou only livd'ſt that Day.

Thus died that Knight, who was *Spain*'s Scourge and Terror; *Gondamor*'s Triumph; whom the whole Nation pitied; and ſeveral Princes interceded for; Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favourite; and her Succeſſor's Sacrifice. A Perſon of ſo much Worth, and ſo great Intereſt, that King *James* would not execute him without an Apology. One of ſuch incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for *Eſſex*, was the Envy of *Leiceſter*, and *Cecil*'s Rival, who grew jealous of his excellent Parts, and was afraid of being ſupplanted by him. His Head was wiſht on the Secretary's Shoulders, and his Life valued by ſome at a higher Rate than the *Infanta* of *Spain*, tho' a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Mind and Body.

This was the fatal End of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, once ſo highly in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake*, the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*. A Man of extraordinary Bravery, and admirable Abilities, who in his excellent Writings has nobly traced the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of great Men, yet after all could not eſcape himſelf.

His Death was managed with ſo high and religious a Reſolution, as if a *Roman* had acted a *Chriſtian*, or rather a *Chriſtian* a *Roman*: So that amongſt the Number who contributed to the Deſtruction of the Earl of *Eſſex*, none but he died pitied.

King *James*, finding that his Subjects proſecuted his Death with ſuch Reſentment, and his Memory with ſuch Favour; according to the Mode of weak and ill-conſulted Princes (ſays *Oſborne*) put forth a Declaration, ſhewing the Motives which induced his Majeſty to recall that Mercy, through which Sir *Walter* had lived ſo many Years a condemn'd Man; but, according to the ordinary Succeſs of ſuch Apologies, it ſerved to render the Condition of that Proceeding but more black in the World's Opinion.

The LIFE *of Sir* MARTIN FROBISHER, *Admiral, and firſt Adventurer in the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage to* CHINA.

Sir *Martin Frobiſher* (or *Frobiſer*, according to his own manner of writing his Name [a]) was born near *Doncaſter* in *Yorkſhire* [b]. Who were his Parents, or in what Year he was born, is not mentioned any where. But being brought up in his Youth to Navigation, either thro' his own or his Friends Choice, he became one of the moſt eminent Sailors in his Time; and was the firſt *Engliſhman* that attempted to find out a N. W. Paſſage to *China*. For, having a thorough Knowledge of the Sphere, and being extremely well ſkilled in his Profeſſion, he judged, from his own Experience, and many Years Obſervations both by Sea and Land, that a Voyage that way was not only poſſible, but alſo moſt eaſily practicable. Having therefore well laid his Deſign, he reſolved to go and put it himſelf in Execution; but wanting Ships and other Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe, which he could not procure at his ſole Charge, he conſulted a long time with his private Friends how to have his Wants ſupplied. He made alſo many Offers to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants, even for a Courſe of 15 Years; but meeting at laſt with no ſufficient Encouragement from them, he applied to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court, which, under her Royal Influence, promoted to the utmoſt the Trade and Navigation of *England*. And ſo, through the Favour and Countenance of her wiſe Miniſters, particularly of *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, he engaged a ſufficient Number of Aventurers in the Affair; and, by degrees, with no ſmall Expence and Pains, collected ſuch Sums of Money as enabled him to fit himſelf out for his Voyage. The Ships he provided, were only three; namely, two ſmall Barks, of about 25 Tons a-piece, named the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*; the one commanded by himſelf, the other by Capt. *Matthew Kinnerſley*; and a Pinnace of 10 Tons Burthen [c]. They ſailed from *Deptford* on the 8th of *June* 1576, and bending their Courſe Northward, came, the 24th of the ſame Month, within ſight of *Fara*, or *Faire* Iſle, one of the Iſlands of *Shetland*. Thence they caſt about to the Weſtward, in 59 Degrees of Latitude; and the 11th of *July*, being in 61 Degrees, diſcovered *Frieſland*, bearing W. N. W. which ſtood high, and was all covered with Snow. Making towards it, they could not land, by reaſon of the Ice, and Depth of Water, which, near the Shore, was above 150 Fathoms: The Eaſt Point of this Iſland the Captain named Queen *Elizabeth*'s Foreland. On the 28th of the ſaid Month, in 62 Degrees of Latitude, they had ſight of *Meta Incognita* [d], being part of *New Groenland*; towards which advancing, they endeavoured to find out a Harbour, and to land, but could not for the Reaſons juſt now mentioned [e]. *Auguſt* the 10th he went on a deſart Iſland, three Miles from the Continent; but ſtaid there only a few Hours. The next Day, in Latitude 63 Degrees 8 Minutes, he entered into a Streight, which he called, and that hath ever ſince borne the Name of, *Frobiſher*'s Streight; and went as far as 60 Leagues in it. On the 12th, ſailing to *Gabriel*'s Iſland, they came to a Sound, which they named *Prior*'s Sound, and anchored in a ſandy Bay there. The 15th they ſailed to *Prior*'s Bay; the 17th to *Thomas Williams*'s Iſland; and the 18th came to an Anchor under *Burcher*'s Iſland; where they went on-ſhore, and had ſome Communication with the Natives; but he was ſo unfortunate as to have five of his Men, and a Boat, taken by thoſe Barbarians. Having endeavoured in vain to recover them, he ſet again ſail for *England* on the 26th of *Auguſt*; came within ſight of *Frieſland* the 1ſt of *September*; and, notwithſtanding a terrible Storm on the 7th of the ſame Month, he arrived ſafe at *Harwich October* the 2d [f]. He took Poſſeſſion of the Country in the Queen of *England*'s Name; and, in token of ſuch Poſſeſſion, ordered his Men to bring him whatever they could firſt find. One, among the reſt, brought a Piece of black Stone, much like a Sea-coal, but very weighty. Having, at his Return, diſtributed Fragments of it among his Friends, one of the Adventurer's Wives threw a Piece into the Fire; which being taken out again, and quenched in Vinegar, glittered like Gold; and being tried by ſome Refiners in *London*, was found to contain a rich Quantity of that Metal [g]. From this Eſſay, the Nation dreaming of nothing but Mountains of Gold, great Numbers earneſtly preſſed, and ſoon fitted out, Captain *Frobiſher* to undertake a ſecond Voyage the very next Spring. The Queen lent him a Ship of the Royal Navy, named the *Aid*, of 200 Tons; and he had beſides two ſmall Barks, of about 30 Tons a-piece; one named the *Gabriel*, and the other the *Michael*. His whole Complement, of Gentlemen, Soldiers, and Sailors, was about 140, furniſhed with Victuals, and all other Neceſſaries for half a Year [h]. *May* 26, 1577, they fell down to *Graveſend*, and two Days after came to *Harwich*, where Captain *Frobiſher* went on-board; having been to take his Leave of the Queen, who was then at the Earl of *Warwick*'s Seat in *Eſſex*. The Privy-council having ſent him Orders, not to take in more Men than the Number appointed him, he diſcharged ſeveral to their great Grief: And ſetting ſail the 31ſt of *May*, arrived in *St. Magnus Sound* at the *Orkney* Iſlands the 7th of *June*. After having taken there a few Neceſſaries, they proceeded the 8th of *June* on their Voyage; and kept their Courſe W. N. W. for the Space of 26 Days, without ſight of any Land; at length, on the 4th of *July*, being in the Latitude of 60 Degrees and a half, they diſcovered *Frieſland*; along the Coaſt of which they found Iſlands of Ice of incredible Bigneſs. Not having been able ſafely to land in this Place, they proceeded for *Frobiſher*'s Streights; and, on the 17th of the ſame Month, made the North Foreland in them, otherwiſe named *Hall*'s Iſland [i]; as alſo a ſmaller Iſle of the ſame Name, where they had, in their laſt Voyage, found the Ore, but could not get now a Piece ſo big as a Walnut; however, they met with good Quantity of it in other adjacent Iſlands. On the 19th they went upon *Hall*'s greater Iſland, to diſcover the Country, and the Nature of the Inhabitants; with ſome of whom they trafficked, and took one of them, neither in a very juſt nor handſome Manner: And upon a Hill here, they erected a Column of Stones, which they called Mount *Warwick*. The 21ſt they diſcovered a Bay into which they anchored, and named it *Jackman*'s Sound, from the Maſter's-mate, who firſt liked the Place. Upon a ſmall Iſland within it, called *Smith*'s

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[a] Ex MSS. Harleian.

[b] Stow's Annals. Edit. 1631. p. 809.

[c] Hackluit's Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 29, 57, 58. Purchas Pilgrim. Vol. V. p. 811.

[d] Which they wrongly ſuppoſed to be Labrador. Hackluit, ibid. p. 30.

[e] Ibid. and p. 58.

[f] Hackluit, ibid. p. 31, 51.

[g] Ibid. p. 60.

[h] Ibid. p. 32, 60.

[i] He was Maſter of the Gabriel, in the former Voyage.

Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 63.

Iſland (from one of that Name who firſt ſet up his Forge there) they found Mines both of Silver and Gold; but not ſufficient, it ſeems, to merit their Attention. As they went along theſe Streights, they landed on both Sides, namely, the 23d of *July* on the South Side, and the 26th on the North Side, without meeting any thing very remarkable. One of the Bays they anchored in, was named by them *Beare*'s Sound, from *James Beare*, Maſter of the *Michael*; and an Iſland in it, *Leiceſter*'s Iſle, in Honour of *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*. Another Bay received the Appellation of *Yorke*'s Sound, from *Gilbert Yorke*, Captain of the *Michael*; under whoſe Conduct, a Party landing in an Iſland there, had a bloody Conflict with ſome of the Natives, five or ſix of which they killed, and brought away a Woman with her Child. Further up, they named another Bay, with an Iſland, *Anne Counteſs of Warwick's Sound, and Iſland*. And this was the furtheſt Place they went, this Year, within thoſe Streights, which in the narroweſt Place they found nine Leagues broad, being only about 30 Leagues[a]. For the Captain's Commiſſion directed him, in this Voyage, only to ſearch for Ore, and to leave the further Diſcovery of the *North-weſt* Paſſage till another Time[b]. Having therefore, in the Iſland laſt mentioned, found a good Quantity of Ore, he took a Lading of it, intending, the firſt Opportunity, to return home. But, before that, he would fain have recovered the five Men he loſt the foregoing Year; for which Purpoſe he landed in ſeveral adjacent Places, and uſed all poſſible and imaginable Means, though ſtill in vain[c]. So, deſpairing of ever ſeeing them again, they ſet ſail on the 23d of *Auguſt*; and, though very much toſſed and ſeparated by Storms, all ſafely arrived in *England*, about the End of *September*, the *Aid* at *Milford-haven*, the *Gabriel* at *Briſtol*, and the *Michael* at *Yarmouth*. In this Voyage they loſt only two Men; the Maſter of the *Gabriel*, who was waſhed over-board; and one who died at Sea, being ill when he went out[d].

Captain *Frobiſher* was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen, whoſe ſingular Pleaſure and Glory it was, to extend the *Engliſh* Name and Trade to the furtheſt Parts of the habitable World. And as the Gold-ore he brought had an Appearance and Shew of great Riches and Profit; and the Hopes of a *North-weſt* Paſſage to *China* were greatly increaſed by this ſecond Voyage, the Queen appointed Commiſſioners to make Trial of the Ore, and examine thoroughly into the whole Affair. Alſo the new-diſcovered Country not being known by any particular Name, her Majeſty named it *Meta Incognita*[e].

The Commiſſioners, after ſufficient Proof of the Ore, and Examination of every Circumſtance, reported, how great was the Value of the Undertaking, and the Expediency of further carrying on the Diſcovery of the *North-weſt* Paſſage. Whereupon ſuitable Preparations were made, with all poſſible Diſpatch. And, becauſe the Mines newly found out were ſufficient to anſwer all Adventurers Charges, it was thought neceſſary to ſend a ſelect Number of Soldiers, and other proper Perſons, to ſecure the Places already diſcovered, to make further Diſcoveries in the inland Parts, and to ſearch again for the Paſſage to *Cathay*. As they were to be left behind, a ſtrong Fort of Timber was framed to be ſet up at their Landing, in order to protect them from the Injuries of the Weather, and defend them againſt all Attacks of the Natives. The Adventurers which willingly offered, and were appointed to ſtay in that cold and deſart Country all the Year round, were 100 in Number; whereof 40 were Mariners for the Uſe of the Ships, 30 Miners to dig the Ore, and 30 Soldiers to guard the whole Company; in which laſt Number were included the Gentlemen, Refiners, Bakers, Carpenters, and other uſeful Perſons. Their Leaders were Capt. *Edward Fenton*, Lieutenant-general to Admiral *Frobiſher*, Capt. *Beſt*, and Capt. *Philpot*. To each of theſe Captains was aſſigned one Ship, as well for the better ſearching of the Coaſt and Country, as to bring them back again to *England*, if they ſhould be driven by Neceſſity, or diſappointed of a Fleet's coming the next Year.

Beſides theſe three Ships, 12 others were fitted out for this Voyage, which were to return in the End of the Summer, [f] with a Lading of Gold-ore[g]. They aſſembled at *Harwich* the 27th of *May*, from whence they departed the 31ſt of the ſame Month; and ſailing Weſtward through the *Engliſh* Channel, arrived, June 6, at *Cape Clear* in *Ireland*. Then they bent their Courſe Northward, and in 14 Days came within Sight of *Weſt Freeſland*, where the General went on-ſhore, and taking Poſſeſſion of the Country in the Queen of *England*'s Name, named it *Weſt England*; and one high Cliff therein, *Charing-croſs*. *June* the 23d they made for *Forbiſher's Streights*, and on the ſecond of *July* came within the Mouth of them; but being obſtructed by the Ice (which ſunk the Bark *Dennis*) and driven out to Sea by a violent Storm, they were ſo unfortunate as not to hit the Entrance into them again. For, inſtead thereof, being deceived by a ſwift Current from the North-eaſt, which had dragged them many Miles more South-weſtward than was thought poſſible; and remaining 20 Days in a continual Fog, they ran above 60 Leagues into Streights hitherto unknown, before they were ſenſible of their Miſtake. However, coming back again, the Admiral made for the real Streights that bore his Name; and, on the 23d of *July*, at a Place within them called *Hatton's Headland*, found ſeven Ships of his Fleet, by which he was heartily welcomed. At length, on the 31ſt of the ſame Month, after many Difficulties, he recovered his long deſired Port, and came to anchor in the Counteſs of *Warwick*'s Sound[h]. But the Seaſon of the Year was ſo far advanced, that he could not pretend to undertake any new Diſcoveries during this Voyage; and Part of the wooden Fort being loſt, a Council which was called, did not think it adviſeable to leave thoſe Perſons behind, that were carried on purpoſe to winter in that deſolate Country. So all that remained to do, was to get as much Ore as they poſſibly could; which they did in great Quantities, particularly out of a new Place, named by them the Counteſs of *Suſſex*'s Mine[i]. On the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, and the Day following, the whole Fleet ſet ſail from the Counteſs of *Warwick*'s Sound; and, after a ſtormy and very dangerous Paſſage, arrived ſafely in *England*, about the Beginning of *October*. The *Emmanuel* of *Bridgewater* being left behind the reſt, in great Danger of never getting out of the Ice, was forced to ſeek a Way Northward beyond *Beare*'s Sound, through an unknown Channel full of Rocks, into the North-ſea, upon the Back of *Frobiſher's Streights*. And, in her Paſſage home, to the South-eaſt of *Freeſeland*, diſcovered a great Iſland in the Latitude of 57 Degrees and a half, which was never found before; along the Coaſt of which they ſailed for three Days, the Land ſeeming to be fruitful, full of Woods, and a champain Country.

In all this Voyage there died not above 40 Perſons in the whole Fleet: a ſmall Number, conſidering the extreme Hardſhips, and the Variety of Fortunes they underwent[k]. We find no Account how Capt. *Frobiſher* employed himſelf from this Time till the Year 1585, when he commanded the *Aid* in Sir *Francis Drake*'s Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*; which was attended with the glorious Succeſs of taking and ſacking *St. Dominga* in *Hiſpaniola*, *Carthagena* on the Continent, and *Santa Juſtina* in *Florida*, three Towns of great Importance[l]. In 1588, he bravely exerted himſelf in the Defence of his Country againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, commanding then the *Triumph*, one of the three largeſt Ships in that Service, and which had on-board the greateſt Number of Men of any in the whole *Engliſh* Fleet[m]. On the 26th of *July*, he received the Honour of Knighthood, from the Hand of the Lord High-admiral, at Sea, on-board his own Ship the *Ark*, amongſt four others of

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[a] Hackluit, p. 66.

[b] Ibid. p. 70.

[c] Ibid. p. 69, 70, 71.

[d] Ibid. p. 39, 73.

[e] i. e. An unknown Mark, or Boundary.

[f] The Names of all the Ships, and of their Captains, were, the Aid, being the Admiral-ſhip, in which was the General Capt. Frobiſher; the Thomas Allen, Vice-admiral, Capt. Yorke; the Judith, Lieutenant-general, Capt. Fenton; the Anne Francis, Capt. Beſt; the Hopewell, Capt. Carew; the Beare, Capt. Philpot; the Thomas of Ipſwich, Capt. Tanfield; the Emmanuel of Exeter, Capt. Courtney; the Francis of Fowey, Capt. Moyles; the Moone, Capt. Upcot; the Emmanuel of Bridgwater, Capt. Newton; the Solomon (or Salamander) of Weymouth, Capt. Randal; the Bark Dennis, Capt. Kendal; the Gabriel, Capt. Harvey; the Michael, Capt. Kinnerſley.

[g] Hackluit, p. 74.

[h] Ibid. p. 84.

[i] Ibid. p. 90.

[k] Ibid. p. 91, 92, 95.

[l] Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, in Collection of Voyages, printed for Churchill, Edit. 1745. Vol. III. p. 155.

[m] It was a Ship of 500 Tons, and had on-board 1100 Men.

the gallanteſt Officers [a]; for a Reward, and Encouragement, of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and unparallel'd Valour [b]. And when, after this ſignal Victory, Queen *Elizabeth* thought it neceſſary to keep a Fleet on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, as well to hinder the freſh Preparations King *Philip* might make againſt her, as to intercept his Flota's from *America*, Sir *Martin* was employed in that Service; particularly in 1590, when he commanded a Squadron, as Sir *John Hawkins* did another: But though they alarmed the Coaſts of *Spain*, and ranged as far *Tercera* [c], they had not ſo good Succeſs in making of Prizes as in 1592, when two Ships of good Value were taken by Sir *Martin*, and a rich Carrack by another Part of his Squadron [d]. In 1594, he was ſent with four Men of War [e] to the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* IV, King of *France*, againſt a Body of the *Leaguers* and *Spaniards* then in Poſſeſſion of Part of *Bretagne*, which had fortified themſelves very ſtrongly at *Croyzon* near *Breſt*. But in an Aſſault upon that Fort, on the 7th of *November*, Sir *Martin* unfortunately was wounded with a Ball in the Hip, or Side, of which he died, ſoon after he had ſafely brought back the Fleet to *Plymouth* [f], and was buried in that Town [g]. Some accuſe him of having been harſh and violent [h]; but he is univerſally allowed to have been a Man of great and undaunted Courage, and inferior to none of his Age in Experience and Conduct, or the Reputation of a brave Commander [i].

The Life *of Sir* Robert Dudley, *Earl of* Warwick, *Duke of* Northumberland, *an eminent Navigator.*

Sir *Robert Dudley*, as he was called here, and as he was ſtiled abroad, Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Northumberland*, was Son of *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, by the Lady *Douglas Sheffield*, and was born at *Sheen* in *Surry* in 1573, where he was very carefully concealed, as well to prevent the Queen's Knowledge of the Earl's Engagements with his Mother, as to hide it from the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, to whom he was then contracted, if not married. At the Time of his Birth, however, and ſome Time after, he was conſidered as the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s lawful Son, by *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick*, and others of his neareſt Relations, particularly by Sir *Thomas Butler* and his Son, who, as the Earl affirms in his Will, intended to leave his Son *Robert* their Eſtate. When he was about five Years old, his Father, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, married *Lettice*, Counteſs-dowager of *Eſſex*, openly, and thereupon his Son *Robert* was no longer treated as his lawful Child, but as his natural Iſſue by the Lady *Douglas Sheffield*. Out of her Hands the Earl was very deſirous of getting him, in order to put him under the Care of Sir *Edward Horſey*, Knt. Governor of the *Iſle of Wight* [k]; which ſome have imagined was with a ſiniſter View, not againſt the Boy, for whom *Leiceſter* had ever the greateſt Tenderneſs, but with a Thought of bringing him upon the Stage at ſome proper Time, as his natural Son by another Lady. At that Time, however, he failed of his Purpoſe; but not long after it ſeems he prevailed, and got the Child into his Hands; he ſent him then to School at *Offington* in *Suſſex* in 1583, where he was under the Care of one *Owen Jones*, to whom, upon a certain Occaſion, the Earl expreſſed himſelf to this Purpoſe [l]: "*Owen*, thou knoweſt that *Robin* my Boy is my lawful " Son; and as I do, and have charged thee, to keep it " ſecret, ſo I charge thee not to forget it; and therefore " ſee thou be careful of him." There he received the firſt Rudiments of Literature, and gave very extraordinary Proofs of the wonderful Pregnancy of his Parts, which were not only equal, but even ſuperior to thoſe of any of his Family. After remaining four Years in this private School, he was removed in 1587 to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and there entered of *Chriſt Church* by the Stile of *Comitis Filius*, i. e. an Earl's Son, and placed under the Care of Mr. *Thomas Chaloner*, afterwards Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, and Tutor to Prince *Henry* [m]. In about a Year after he came to the Univerſity, and when he was about the Age of Fifteen, his Father died, leaving him, after the Deceaſe of his Uncle *Ambroſe*, Earl of *Warwick*, his noble Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, the Lordſhips of *Denbigh* and *Chirk*, and the Bulk of his Eſtate, which, before he was of Age, he in a great meaſure enjoyed, notwithſtanding the Enmity borne him by the Counteſs-dowager of *Leiceſter*.

He was at this Time looked upon, and very deſervedly, as one of the fineſt Gentlemen in *England*; in his Perſon tall, well-ſhaped, having a freſh and fine Complexion, but red-haired; learned beyond his Age, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks; and very expert in his Exerciſes, and particularly in riding the great Horſe, in which he was allowed to excel any Man of his Time [n]. With theſe Accompliſhments, and a great Fortune, it is no wonder that he was every where well received, and particularly at Court, more eſpecially as he was of a frank and open Diſpoſition, very generous and friendly, and though few were ſo well verſed in Books, much addicted to an active Life. His Genius prompted him to great Exploits; and having a particular Turn to Navigation and Diſcoveries, he reſolved, ſoon after he was of Age, to make a Voyage into the *South-Seas* at his own Expence, in hopes of acquiring as great Fame thereby, as the famous *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Trimley*, Eſq; his dear and intimate Acquaintance, whoſe Siſter he married. But after a great deal of Pains taken, and much Money ſpent, the Government would not ſuffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous Voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the Lives of the Queen's Subjects [o].

Mr. *Dudley* was not to be cured of his Deſire of going to Sea, even by this Diſappointment; and therefore fitted out a ſmall Squadron for the River *Oroonoque*, and the Coaſts adjacent, of which he took the Command in Perſon. He ſailed from *Southampton* Road *November* 6, 1594, and returned to *St. Ives* in *Cornwall* about the End of *May* 1595, having performed all, and indeed more, than could be expected from him, conſidering his ſmall Strength, taking, ſinking, and otherwiſe deſtroying, nine Sail of *Spaniſh* Ships, one of which was a Man of War of 600 Tons, which he fought Board and Board for two Days, till he had no Powder left, and ſhe afterwards ſunk at Sea [p]. He wrote a particular Account of this Voyage at the Requeſt of the Reverend Mr. *Huckluit*.

In the ſucceeding Year he fitted out two Ships and two Pinnaces for the *South-Seas*, under Captain *Benjamin Wood*, at his ſole Expence; and attending the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord-high-admiral of *England*, in their glorious Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, he, for his gallant Behaviour at the taking of *Cadiz*, received the Honour of Knighthood from the firſt of thoſe noble Peers [q].

In the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Dudley* being then a Widower, married *Alice*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Leigh* [r], and ſettled upon her in Jointure great Part of his Eſtate; and gaining by this Marriage ſome powerful Friends, he began to entertain Hopes of reviving the Honours of his Family. He conſidered with himſelf, that it was not yet too late to make Proof of the Legitimacy of his Birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the Honour of Lord *L'Iſle* and Earl of *Leiceſter*, as Heir to his Father, as alſo to the Earldom of *Warwick*, by virtue of the Limitations in his Uncle's Patent, as alſo to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and ſeveral fair Manors in that County and elſewhere, by Force of the Entail. Full of theſe Hopes, in the Year 1605 he commenced a Suit in the Court of Audience of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the Plague being then in *London*, obtained a Commiſſion directed to Dr. *Zachary Babington*, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, to examine Witneſſes on that Head, which was accordingly done [s].

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[a] The Lord Thomas Howard, Edmund Lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, and John Hawkins.
[b] Deſcription by P. M. of the Tapeſtry Hangings in the Houſe of Lords, engraved by J. Pine, 1738. fol. p. 9, 13, 16.
[c] Linſchoten's Voyages. ch. 99.
[d] Monſon's Tracts, p. 162, 164.
[e] Stow ſays ten, which is more probable. Ubi ſupra.
[f] The memorable Service of Sir John Norice, at Breſt, in Britaine, by Tho. Churchyard. Lond. 1602, 4to. p. 135—141. And Monſon's Tracts, p. 166.
[g] Stow's Annals, p. 809.
[h] Stow, ibid
[i] Churchyard, ubi ſupra, p. 141. And Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the Year 1594.
[k] From the Depoſitions taken in the Star-chamber.
[l] Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 223.
[m] Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 275.
[n] Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 225.
[o] So it appears from his own Account of it in Hackluit.
[p] Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 574.
[q] Camden Annal.
[r] Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 250.
[s] From the Proceedings in the Star-chamber.

But no ſooner had *Lettice*, Counteſs of *Leiceſter*, Notice of theſe Proceedings, than ſhe procured an Information to be filed by Sir *Edward Coke*, the King's Attorney-general, in the Star-chamber, againſt Sir *Robert Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Leigh*, Dr. *Babington*, and others, for a Conſpiracy; and, upon the Petition of Lord *Sidney*, an Order iſſued out of that Court for bringing in all the Depoſitions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbiſhop's Commiſſion, ſealing them up and depoſiting them in the Council-cheſt[a]. In order, however, to keep up ſome Appearance of Impartiality, Sir *Robert Dudley* was allowed to examine Witneſſes, as to the Proof of his Legitimacy, in that Court; which when he had done in as full a Manner as in ſuch a Caſe could be expected, a ſudden Order was made for ſtaying all Proceedings, and locking up the Examinations, of which no Copies were to be taken but by the King's Licence[b]. This was ſuch a Blow to all the Hopes of Sir *Robert Dudley*, and made it ſo evident that he had no Favour to expect where his Enemies had Influence enough to preclude him from Juſtice, that he reſolved to retire abroad, in hopes that Time might either leſſen his Misfortune, or at leaſt mitigate the ſharp Senſe he had of it; in order to this he applied for a Licence to travel for three Years, which was very readily granted him, there being many who choſe to have him out of their way, and others, who bore him Good-will, thought that at this Juncture his withdrawing for a Time might be of uſe to him.

He had not been long abroad, before ſuch as meant him no good, procured, notwithſtanding his Licence, a Privy-ſeal, commanding his Return into *England*, being very ſenſible that he would not obey it. The Pretence for this was, that he had aſſumed in foreign Countries the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, which irritated ſome at Court extreamly[c]. It ſeems they formed a true Notion of his Circumſtances and Diſpoſition; for Sir *Robert*, finding himſelf well received at the Court of *Florence*, reſolved to continue there notwithſtanding the Letter of Re-call; and this gave a Handle for ſeizing his whole Eſtate, which was veſted in the Crown, during his natural Life, by the Statute of Fugitives. He left behind him Lady *Alice Dudley* his Wife, and four Daughters, for whom ſufficient Proviſion was made. Though Sir *Robert Dudley* lived in Exile, and without receiving any conſiderable Supplies from *England*, he ſtill cheriſhed ſome Hope of his Return; to facilitate which, and to ingratiate himſelf with King *James*, he drew up a Scheme for improving the royal Revenue[d]; which Scheme falling into the Hands of ſome Perſons of great Diſtinction, and being by them made publick, this was conſidered as a Thing of a pernicious Nature, for which they were impriſoned, but upon a Diſcovery of the true Author, they were ſhortly after releaſed.

The Place which Sir *Robert Dudley* choſe for his Retreat, upon his leaving his native Country, was *Florence*, where he was very kindly received by *Coſmo* II, great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and, in proceſs of Time, was made great Chamberlain to his ſerene Highneſs's Conſort, the Arch-ducheſs *Magdalen* of *Auſtria*, Siſter to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, with whom he was a great Favourite[e]. He diſcovered in that Court thoſe great Abilities for which he had been ſo much admired in *England*, contrived ſeveral Methods of improving Shipping, introduced new Manufactures, excited the Merchants to extend their foreign Commerce, and by other Services of ſtill greater Importance, obtained ſo high a Reputation, that, at the Deſire of the Arch-ducheſs, the Emperor *Ferdinand* before-mentioned, by his Letters-patents, dated at *Vienna*, *March* the 9th, 1620, created him a Duke of the holy *Roman* Empire[f]; upon which he aſſumed his Grandfather's Title of *Northumberland*, and ten Years after got himſelf enrolled by Pope *Urban* VIII, amongſt the *Roman* Nobility[g]. Under the Reign of the grand Duke *Ferdinand* II, he became ſtill more famous, on account of that great Project which he formed, of draining a vaſt Tract of Moraſs between *Piſa* and the Sea, and raiſing *Livorno*, or *Leghorn*, which was then, though an antient, yet a mean and pitiful Place, into a large and beautiful Town, improving the Haven by a Mole, which rendered it both ſafe and commodious; and having engaged his Serene Highneſs to declare it *ſcala franca*, or a free Port, he, by his Influence and Correſpondencies, drew many *Engliſh* Merchants to ſettle and ſet up Houſes there[h], which was a Thing of great Importance to our *Italian* Trade; and, conſidered in that Light, was of very great Service to his native Country. It was not only in the Courts of Princes, that Sir *Robert Dudley*, by a happy Application of his great Talents, made himſelf admired, but alſo among the Learned, to whom he was a generous Patron and conſtant Friend, and at the ſame Time held a very high Place himſelf in the Republick of Letters, as well on account of his Skill in Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſick, as his perfect Aquaintance with all the Branches of the Mathematicks, and the Means of applying them for the Service and Benefit of Mankind; of all which, he has left abundant Evidence in his excellent Writings[i]. In Gratitude to his Merit, and for the Support of his Dignity, the Grand-duke beſtowed upon him a Penſion of 2000 Sequins *per Annum*; which, however, went but a a little way in his Expences, for he affected Magnificence in all Things, built a noble Palace for himſelf and his Family at *Florence*[k], and much adorned the Caſtle of *Carbello*, three Miles from that Capital, which the Grand-duke gave him for a Country-retreat, and where he breathed his laſt, in the Month of *September* 1649[l], in the 66th Year of his Age.

The LIFE *of* ROBERT DEVEREUX, *Earl of* Eſſex, *General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.*

Robert Devereux, Earl of *Eſſex*, was a gallant Soldier, a great Favourite, and an unhappy Victim to the Arts of his Enemies and his own Ambition, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. He was Son to *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Lettice*, Daughter to Sir *Francis Knolles*, who was related to Queen *Elizabeth*, born *November* 10th 1567, at *Nethewood*, his Father's Seat in *Herefordſhire*[m], when that noble Perſon had attained no higher Title than that of Viſcount *Hereford*[n]. In his tender Years it is reported, that there did not appear any pregnant Signs of an extraordinary Genius. When *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex* breathed his laſt in *Ireland*, he recommended this Son of his, then in the 10th Year of his Age, to the Protection of *Thomas Radcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, and to the Care of *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*[o], whom he appointed his Guardian. Mr. *Waterhouſe*, then Secretary for *Ireland*, a Perſon equally favoured by his Father, and Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord-deputy of *Ireland*, had the immediate Direction of his Perſon and Eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his Father's public Spirit, was however very conſiderable.

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[a] Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224; 18 Octob. 1603.

[b] Proceedings in the Star-chamber.

[c] Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

[d] Hamond L'Eſtrange's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 111.

[e] Fuller's Worthies, Surrey, p. 18.

[f] So recited in the Preamble of the Ducheſs's Patent.

[g] Il Ceremonitle del Rome, Anno 1630.

[h] Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

[i] The Work by which he is chiefly known to the learned World, and which in truth is moſt worthy of his general Learning and great Compaſs of Knowledge, is that which follows, viz. Del Arcano del Mare, &c. Firenze, 1630, 1646, in two Volumes in Folio. This Work has been always ſo ſcarce, as ſeldom to have found a Place even in the Catalogues that have been publiſhed of rare Books. It is full of Schemes, Charts, Plans, and other Marks of its Author's mathematical Learning; but is chiefly valuable on the Score of the Projects that are contained therein, for the Improvement of Navigation, and the extending of Commerce. If we conſider what has been ſince done, the Work will appear leſs valuable; but capable Judges will allow for the Time in which it was wrote, and in that Point of View it will appear truly admirable, as the Author hints at many things that were in thoſe Days totally unknown, and of which, notwithſtanding, he appears to have judged very right. There are alſo many things that have not as yet been executed, which might turn to the Advantage of any maritime Power that would be at the Expence to proſecute his Deſigns. In ſhort, it is a ſingular Treaſury of curious and important Schemes, which manifeſtly prove the Author's high Capacity for the Advancement of uſeful Knowledge, no Man having ever had a ſtronger Propenſity to reduce Speculations to Practice than he; and the Succeſs that attended his Labours in this Reſpect, ought to derive an extraordinary Degree of Credit, to whatever he ſuggeſts as practicable. We are told by Mr. Wood, that our Author wrote a phyſical Treatiſe, entitled Catholicon. He was the Author of a very famous Powder, called Pulvis Comitis Warwicenſis, or the Earl of Warwick's Powder. This celebrated Powder is thus made, "Take of Scammony, prepared with the Fumes of Sulphur, two Ounces; of diaphoretic Antimony, an "Ounce; of the Cryſtals of Tartar, half an Ounce; make them all together into a Powder." It is common in extemporaneous Preſcriptions, eſpecially as a Purge for Children, to whom it is convenient to give, becauſe of the Smallneſs of the Quantity requiſite for a Doſe; it is a ſmart Purge, and frequently given to Children againſt Worms, from 5 to 15 Grains; and to grown Perſons, from 15 Grains to half a Dram.

[k] Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

[l] As appears from his Son's Letter.

[m] Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 86[illegible]

[n] Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

[o] Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

In 1578, when he was about 12 Years of Age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of *Cambridge* by the Lord *Burleigh*, who placed him in *Trinity-College*, under the Care of Dr. *Whitgift*, then Maſter of it, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*[a]. He was educated there with much Strictneſs, and applied himſelf to Learning with great Diligence, ſo that, his Quality conſidered, there were few young Men of his Standing more diſtinguiſhed, either for Solidity of Judgment, or for an eaſy and eloquent Manner of expreſſing their Sentiments[b].

In 1582, having taken the Degree of Maſter of Arts, he ſoon after left *Cambridge*[c], and retired to his own Houſe at *Lampſie* in *South-Wales*, where he ſpent ſome Time in Privacy and Retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the Eagerneſs or Impetuoſity natural to Youth, that, inſtead of being diſpleaſed, he became enamoured of his rural Retreat[d], inſomuch, that it was with Difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it[e].

His firſt Appearance at Court, at leaſt as a Candidate for Royal Favour, was in the 17th Year of his Age; when however he came thither, it is certain he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better Reception[f]. He brought thither, amongſt other ſtrong Recommendations, a fine Perſon, an agreeable Behaviour, and an Affability which procured him many Friends, beſides the rare Qualities of true Piety, unaffected Zeal for the publick Welfare, and a Warmth and Sincerity in his Friendſhips, which entitled him to univerſal Eſteem[g].

He, by degrees, ſo far overcame that Reluctance which he is ſaid to have ſhewn, to uſe the Aſſiſtance of the powerful Earl of *Leiceſter*, that, towards the Cloſe of the Year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the Nobility, to *Holland*, where we find him the next Year in the Field, with the Title of General of the Horſe[h]; and, in this Quality, he gave the higheſt Proofs of perſonal Courage in the Battle of *Zutphen*, *September* 22d 1586, in which Action Sir *Philip Sydney* was mortally wounded[i]. It was for his gallant Behaviour upon this Occaſion, that the Earl of *Leiceſter* conferred upon him the Honour of a Knight-banneret in his Camp[k].

On his Return to *England*, it very quickly appeared, that the Queen not only approved, but was deſirous alſo of rewarding his Services; and his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, being advanced to the Office of Lord-ſteward of her Majeſty's Houſhold, ſhe, on the 23d of *December* 1587, made the Earl of *Eſſex* Maſter of the Horſe in his Room[l]. In the ſucceeding Year, which ſome have held the moſt critical of that Reign, he continued to riſe, and indeed almoſt reached the Summit of his Fortune; for, when her Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble an Army at *Tilbury*, for the Defence of the Kingdom, in caſe the *Spaniards* had landed, ſhe gave the Command of it, under herſelf, to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and created the Earl of *Eſſex* General of Horſe[m], ſhewing him, upon that Occaſion, not only as much Countenance as his own high Spirit could expect, but a Degree of Favour even ſuperior to that of *Leiceſter*[n]; ſo that, from this Time, he was conſidered as the Favourite declared; and, if there was any Mark yet wanting to fix the Peoples Opinion in that Reſpect, it was ſhewn, by the Queen's conferring on him the moſt noble Order of the Garter[o].

We need not wonder that ſo quick an Elevation, and to ſo great a Height, ſhould ſomewhat affect the Judgment of ſo young a Man, and therefore there will not appear any thing ſtrange in the Eagerneſs he is ſaid to have ſhewn, in diſputing the Queen's Favour with Sir *Charles Blount*[p], who, in Proceſs of Time, became Lord *Montjoy* and Earl of *Devonſhire*; which, however, coſt him ſome Blood; for that brave Man taking Diſtaſte at ſomewhat the Earl ſaid of a Favour beſtowed upon him by the Queen, challenged him, and in *Marybone-Park*, after a ſhort Diſpute, wounded him in the Knee; with which the Queen, who did not love to be controuled in her Actions, was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that ſhe ſwore a round Oath, it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him down, otherwiſe there would be no ruling him. She reconciled the Rivals; and it will remain an Honour to both their Memories, that, profeſſing themſelves Friends, they remained ſuch, ſo long as they lived together[q].

In the Beginning of the Year 1589, the Earl of *Eſſex* took a very extraordinary Step, which, how much ſoever it might increaſe the Reputation of his Courage, did certainly no great Credit to his Prudence[r]. Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* had undertaken an Expedition, for reſtoring Don *Antonio* to the Crown of *Portugal*, which the Earl beheld as an Action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a Spectator only. He followed the Fleet and Army therefore to *Spain*; and having joined them at *Corunna*, proſecuted the reſt of the Expedition with great Vigilance and Valour; which, however, was not attended with much Succeſs, at the ſame time that it expoſed him to the Queen's Diſpleaſure[s].

At his Return, he ſoon recovered her Majeſty's good Graces; nor was it long before this was teſtified to the World, by his obtaining new Marks of Favour, in Grants of a very conſiderable Value; a Circumſtance, in which his Credit with the Queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other Favourites[t].

In 1591, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, having demanded freſh Aſſiſtance from the Queen, though he had already a Body of her Troops in his Service, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the Earl of *Eſſex* with 4000 Men, a ſmall Train of Artillery, and a competent Fleet, into *Normandy*; where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the *French* Army, in order to undertake the Siege of *Rouen*[u]. But the *French* King, either through want of Power, the Diſtraction of his Affairs, or ſome other Cauſe, neglected to perform his Promiſe, notwithſtanding that *Eſſex* made a long and hazardous Journey to his Camp, at that Monarch's Requeſt, in order to have concerted Meaſures for giving the Queen Satisfaction[w]. Upon his Return from this Journey, which proved of little Conſequence, *Eſſex*, to keep up the Spirit of his Officers, conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon many of them, a Circumſtance with which the Queen was much offended[x]. He likewiſe made Excurſions from his Camp to the very Walls of *Rouen*; and the Earl, expoſing his Perſon very freely in theſe Skirmiſhes, came off indeed unhurt himſelf, but loſt there his only Brother *Walter Devereux*, then in the Flower of his Age, being two Years younger than the Earl[y].

He returned ſome Time after, to give an Account of the State of Things to the Queen, and then came back to his Charge, the Siege of *Rouen* being formed, and the *French* King expreſſing a great Deſire to become Maſter of it. This Winter-ſervice harraſſing the Troops exceedingly, provoked *Eſſex* not a little, who ſollicited King *Henry* for Leave to proceed in his Manner, promiſing to make a Breach with his own Artillery, and then to ſtorm the Place with the *Engliſh* Troops; which the King however refuſed, as being not at all deſirous of having that rich Place taken and plundered by the *Engliſh*, in his Sight[z]. *Eſſex* ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolved not to continue in a Place where no Reputation was to be got, firſt challenged the Governor of *Rouen*, Mr. *Villars*; and upon his refuſing to fight[a], left the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops to Sir *Roger Williams*, an Officer of great Courage and Experience, and then embarked for *England*, where his Preſence was become very neceſſary, his Enemies having repreſented his Behaviour in a very indifferent Light to the Queen his Miſtreſs[b].

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[a] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 9. Yet his being bred under that Prelate is doubtful.

[b] Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

[c] Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

[d] As he tells us himſelf, in his Apology addreſſed to Mr. Anthony Bacon.

[e] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ. p. 2, 3.

[f] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[g] Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

[h] Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

[i] Stowe's Annals, p. 737.

[k] Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

[l] Pat. 30 Eliz. p. 18.

[m] Stowe's Annals, p. 749.

[n] Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Eſſex.

[o] Milles de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, p. 180.

[p] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[q] As appears by Bacon's Apology addreſſed to this Nobleman.

[r] Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

[s] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

[t] Camd. Annal. p. 862.

[u] Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

[w] Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

[x] She ſaid his Lordſhip had done well to have built his Almſhouſes before he had made his Knights.

[y] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

[z] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 628.

[a] Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 223.

[b] Camden. Annal. p. 647.

At this Time he was exceedingly courted by very different Sorts of People, for many of the young Nobility, who were deſirous of entering into the World under the Patronage of ſome eminent Perſon, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great Affability to his Followers, as becauſe of his known Intereſt with the Queen [a]. All the military Men that were not of a very old ſtanding, looked upon him as their Chief, and one from whoſe Favour they were to derive Preferment; the Puritan Miniſters alſo, and their Dependants, conſidered him as the Succeſſor to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and, conſequently, as their Protector [b]. One need not wonder therefore, that, having ſuch Power, he had ſo many Enemies, and that theſe ſhould gain Advantages over him in his Abſence; but, upon his Return, he triumphed for the moſt Part; and the Queen, who looked upon herſelf as tied to him by former Acts of Kindneſs, ſeldom refuſed him any new Marks of Favour, for which he was importunate in his Demands [c].

We find him preſent in the Parliament which began at *Weſtminſter*, *February* 19th, 1592-3 [d], in which Seſſion, chiefly through his Intereſt, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, who had married his Siſter, was reſtored in Blood, which had been corrupted by the Attainder of Sir *John Perrot* his Father, who had been Lord-deputy of *Ireland*; and in this Seſſion it was, that the Houſe of Peers paid a very extraordinary Compliment to the Earl of *Eſſex* [e]. About this Time alſo the Queen, who had given him ſo many Marks of her Favour, added to them a new Honour, which was, at the ſame time, a very high Teſtimony of her Confidence, by cauſing him to be ſworn one of the Members of her moſt honourable Privy-council [f]. He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding Years, with various Cauſes of Chagrin, partly from the Loſtineſs of his own Temper, but chiefly from the Artifices of thoſe who envied his great Credit with the Queen, and were deſirous of reducing his Power within Bounds. Occaſion was taken, in this Reſpect, from a dangerous and treaſonable Book, written abroad by *Parſons* the Jeſuit, and publiſhed under the Name of *Doleman*, with Intention to create Diſſention in *England* about the Succeſſion to the Crown [g]; which Book, as the whole Deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior Spirit of Malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of *Eſſex*, on purpoſe to create him Trouble; in which it had its Effect [h].

But what chiefly grieved and broke his Spirits, or rather ſoured them, was his perceiving plainly, that though he could, in moſt Suits, prevail for himſelf, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his Friends, as particularly appeared in the Caſe of Sir *Francis Bacon*; which, though the Earl bore with ſome Impatience, yet it gave him an Opportunity of ſhewing the Greatneſs of his Mind, by giving that Gentleman a ſmall Eſtate in Land, which ought to have bound him better to his Fortunes [i]. Indeed, the Earl of *Eſſex* was never wanting, on any Occaſion, to his Friends, as many of the Writers of thoſe Times agree, and of which *Camden* gives a remarkable Inſtance in the Year 1595, in his attending the Funeral of Sir *Roger Williams*, an old experienced Officer, whom he had long encouraged and ſupported; though the Roughneſs of his Behaviour had expoſed him to the Diſlike of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and other conſiderable Perſons [k]. But whatever Diſadvantages *Eſſex* might labour under from Intrigues at Court, yet, in Times of Danger, the Queen had commonly recourſe to his Aſſiſtance. Thus,

In 1596, when the *Spaniards* in the Month of *April* laid ſiege to *Calais*, and the Diſcharges from their Batteries were heard at *Greenwich*, an Army was haſtily raiſed, and marched towards *Dover*, the Command of which was given to the Earl of *Eſſex* [l], the Queen intending to have embarked theſe Troops for the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, which however they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the *Spaniards* keep *Calais* for a little while, than ſee it reſcued from them by the *Engliſh*, who would, preſuming on their old Rights, probably keep it for ever [m]. The Queen, however, taking Advantage of that warm Diſpoſition which appeared in her People, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the War at a Diſtance, and to prevent the *Spaniards* from meditating a ſecond Invaſion, ordered a Fleet to be equipped for attacking *Cadiz*, beſt Part of the Expences being borne by the principal Perſons engaged in that Enterpriſe [n]. The Command of this Army and Fleet was, with joint Authority, intruſted to *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles* Lord *Howard*, then Lord-high-admiral of *England*, with whom went many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Officers, both for the Land and Sea-ſervice, that were then in *England*; the Council being compoſed of Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Conyers Clifford*; the Fleet, for its Number of Ships, and for the Land-ſoldiers and Mariners aboard, being the moſt conſiderable that in thoſe Times had been ſeen [o].

On the firſt of *June* they ſailed from *Plymouth*, but were forced to put back by a contrary Wind, which changing, they took the firſt Opportunity of putting again to Sea. On the 18th of the ſame Month they arrived at Cape *St. Vincent*, where they met with an *Iriſh* Bark, which informed them that the Port of *Cadiz* was full of Ships, and that they had no Notice whatever of the ſailing of the *Engliſh* Fleet, or that ſuch an Expedition was ſo much as intended [p]. After this welcome News they purſued their Voyage, and on the 20th in the Morning they anchored near *St. Sebaſtian*'s, on the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland of *Cadiz*, where the Admiral would have had the Forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the Town; which *Eſſex* cauſed to be attempted, but found to be impracticable, and upon the Advice of Sir *Walter Raleigh* deſiſted [q]. *Camden* indeed charges this Raſhneſs upon *Eſſex*; but Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who is certainly better Authority in this Point, ſtates it the other way [r]. It was then propoſed by the Earl to begin with attacking the Fleet, which was a very hazardous Enterpriſe, but at laſt agreed to by the Lord-admiral; of which, when *Eſſex* received the News, he threw his Hat into the Sea for Joy. The next Day this gallant Reſolution was executed with all imaginable Bravery, and in point of Service none did better, or hazarded his Perſon more, than the Earl of *Eſſex* [s], who, in his own Ship, *The Due Repulſe*, went to the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and offered, if it had been neceſſary, to have ſeconded him in boarding the *St. Philip* [t]. The *Spaniards* behaved very gallantly, ſo long as there were any Hopes; and when there were none, ſet Fire to their Ships, and retired [u]. The Earl of *Eſſex* then landed 800 Men at the *Puntall*, and having firſt taken proper Meaſures for deſtroying the Bridge, next attacked the Place with ſo much Fury, that it was very quickly taken, and the next Day the Citadel ſurrendered upon a Capitulation, by which a great Ranſom was ſtipulated for the Town [w]. An Offer was then made of 2,000,000 of Ducats to ſpare the Ships, and more might have been obtained, but the Lord-admiral ſaid, *He came there to conſume, and not to compound*; of which, when the *Spaniards* were informed, they reſolved to have the burning of their own Fleet, which they accordingly ſet on Fire, their Loſs by which was computed at 20,000,000 [x].

The Earl was very deſirous of keeping *Cadiz*, which he offered to have done with a very ſmall Garriſon, but the Council differed from him in Opinion; ſo that, having plundered the Iſland, and demoliſhed the Forts, they embarked on the 5th of *July*, and bore away for the Port of *Faro* in *Algarve*, which they plundered and deſtroyed; thence they proceeded to Cape *St. Vincent*, and being driven by a briſk Wind out to Sea, it fell under Conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the *Azores*, in hopes of intercepting the Plate-fleet, which was carried in the Negative; and the Earl's Propoſal, with two of her Majeſty's Ships, and ten others, to make this Attempt, was rejected likewiſe [a]; which Mr. *Camden* attributes to the Deſire of ſome of the Officers, who had made large Booties, to get their Treaſure ſafe on-ſhore [b]. They looked in, however, at *Corunna*, and the Earl would have then proceeded to *St. Andero* and *St. Sebaſtian*; but others thinking they had done enough, the Fleet returned proſperouſly to *Plymouth*, on the 8th of *Auguſt* following, and the Earl, with his Squadron, two Days after [c]. He was very well received by the Queen, and highly applauded by the People; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely ſatisfied in himſelf; which induced him to write (at a Time when ſome Faults were imputed to him) a kind of Narrative of this Exploit, and a Cenſure upon other Mens Conduct; which gained him little Credit, and did him leſs Good.

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[a] Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

[b] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[c] Reliquiæ Wottonionæ, p. 9.

[d] Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 456.

[e] Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

[f] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

[g] A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the laſt Day of that Year.

[h] Sidney's State-papers, p. 350, 357.

[i] See this in Bacon's Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

[k] Annal. Eliz. p. 707.

[l] Stowe's Annals, p. 770.

[m] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p 718.

[n] See the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

[o] Stowe's Annals, p. 771.

[p] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p 28

[q] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by William Oldys, Eſq; p. 95.

[r] Annal. Eliz. p. 722.

[s] See the Cadiz Voyage in Hackluit. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. fol. 1929. Sir William Monſon's Account, &c. p. 29.

[t] Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of the Cadiz Action in his Genuine Remains, publiſhed by his Grandſon, p. 23.

[u] See the Account of this Action at large in Hackluit.

[w] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 30, 31.

[x] Stowe's Annals, p. 774.

Whatever the Sentiments might be of the graver and wiſer Part of the Court, it appears plainly, that upon his Return from this Expedition, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtood very high in the Favour of the Queen, and of the Nation; and perhaps it might have gained him an Acceſſion of Favour with the former, if the Earl had not enjoyed ſo much of the latter, or had ſeemed to value it leſs than he did; but as he had little of Diſſimulation in his Temper, ſo the Warmth with which he diſcovered either his Affection or Diſlike, expoſed him continually to the ſiniſter Practices of his Enemies, who were thoroughly ſkilled in thoſe Arts which he knew leaſt about [d]. They inſinuated, therefore, to the Queen, that conſidering the Earl's Popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her Service to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil Employments; and this they carried ſo far, as to make even his Approbation deſtructive to Mens Fortunes [e]; whom they had encouraged and recommended themſelves; a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt Evidence to prove it.

It was a natural Conſequence that the Earl, who wanted not Penetration enough to ſee, or Spirit to reſent this, ſhould behave towards thoſe he took to be the Authors of ſuch Counſels with viſible Marks of Anger and Diſcontent; and this Conduct of his made him frequently upon bad Terms even with the Queen herſelf, who was a Princeſs very jealous of her Authority, and, in Caſes of this Nature, bore but very indifferently with any Expoſtulations [f]. However, as well out of her natural Kindneſs to him, as from a Deſire of ſhewing a juſt Acknowledgment for his late Service, ſhe was pleaſed, on the 19th of *March* 1597, to appoint him Maſter of the Ordnance by Patent [g]. This ſeems to have had a good Effect in quieting the Mind, and raiſing the Spirits of this great Nobleman, who, upon the Report that the *Spaniards* were forming a new Fleet at *Ferrol* and *Corunna*, for the Invaſion of *Ireland* at leaſt, if not *England*, readily offered his Service to the Queen, and chearfully declared, as *Camden* aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new Armada, which had threatned *England* for a Year together, or periſh in the Attempt, as one willingly devoted for the Service of his Country [h]. The Queen, well pleaſed with this Propoſal, gave it all the Countenance that could be deſired, and cauſed a conſiderable Fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the Action required, to be equipped for this Service.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was appointed General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief; the Lord *Thomas Howard* Vice, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* Rear-admiral; the Lord *Montjoy* was Lieutenant-general of the Land-forces, and Sir *Francis Vere*, Marſhal. We may gueſs at the Intereſt which the Earl had in the Succeſs of this Voyage, by the Number of his Friends, who engaged therein as Volunteers; and amongſt them of the Nobility were the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, and the Lords *Cromwell* and *Rich* [i].

His ſanguine Hopes were, in ſome meaſure, diſappointed; for ſailing about the 9th of *July* from *Plymouth*, they met, at 60 Leagues Diſtance, with ſo rough a Storm, and of four Days Continuance, that they were obliged to put back to *Plymouth*, where they remained wind-bound for the Space of a Month [k], in which Time a great Part of their Proviſions was conſumed. While the Fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſet out Poſt for the Court, in order to receive freſh Inſtructions [l]. The Propoſals made by *Eſſex*, even after this Diſappointment, were very bold and great, but, as *Camden* ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the Queen would not countenance his Projects, but rather left the Direction of the Expedition to the Commanders in Chief, according as the Seaſon and Circumſtances might encourage or permit [m].

As ſoon as the Fleet was repaired, and the Land-forces were debarked that by the Queen's Command were to remain at home, they ſailed again from *Plymouth* the 17th of *Auguſt*, having now two Points in view, the one to burn the *Spaniſh* Fleet in their own Harbours, the other to intercept the Ships they expected from the *Weſt-Indies*. *Camden* blames *Eſſex* for appearing openly within Sight of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and thereby alarming the Enemy; but Sir *William Monſon* acquaints us with the true Reaſon of the Earl's Conduct, which was, by making a Show of a few Ships to draw out the Enemy's Fleet, it being found impoſſible to burn them in Port [n]. He alſo inſinuates, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* kept at a Diſtance from the Fleet, which was another Diſcouragement; but, from the beſt Accounts we have, this alſo appears to be a groundleſs Imagination [o]. Sir *Walter* is afterwards ſaid to have ſeparated from the Fleet by Deſign, under Pretence of repairing his Ship; but Sir *William Monſon* tells us plainly, that this Separation was owing to an involuntary Miſcarriage in *Eſſex* himſelf [p]. When they joined again at the Iſlands, it appears plainly, that *Eſſex* and *Raleigh* were very good Friends, notwithſtanding there were ſome on both Sides, who laboured all they could to incenſe them againſt each other. When they had refreſhed at *Flores*, *Eſſex* commanded *Raleigh* to ſail for *Fayal*, which he intended to attack with the whole Fleet; but Sir *Walter* coming there firſt, and apprehending that the ſmalleſt Delay might have prevented their Deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf Maſter of the Iſland before the Arrival of *Eſſex* with the reſt of the Fleet [q]. This gave Occaſion to Sir *Walter*'s Enemies to repreſent his Vigilance and Activity in the Light of Diſobedience and Contempt to *Eſſex*, which occaſioned very high Diſputes, but, by the Interpoſition of Lord *Thomas Howard*, all things were compromiſed: Sir *Walter* excuſed what had happened to the Earl, and the Earl accepted his Excuſe [r].

The Earl of *Eſſex* was created Earl-marſhal of *England* on *December* 28th 1597 [s], and took his Place in Parliament accordingly on *Wedneſday* the 11th of *January* following. It is generally agreed, that this noble Perſon had nothing of Diſſimulation in his Nature, and therefore having obtained this new Favour of the Queen, he was perfectly well pleaſed, and very readily promiſed Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State, who was appointed to execute a Commiſſion of great Importance to the *French* King, that nothing to the Prejudice of his Intereſt ſhould be done in his Abſence, without which Promiſe the Secretary would not have gone; and this he not only performed with the utmoſt Punctuality, but even diſcharged the Secretary's Buſineſs, in his Abſence, with the utmoſt Care and Vigilance, and all this Time no Quarrels with Sir *Walter Raleigh* happened, or ſo much as the leaſt Coldneſs; on the contrary, Sir *Walter* knowing that the Earl had engaged himſelf to his Relation Sir *Robert Sydney*, in reference to the Poſt of Vice-chamberlain, which was then vacant, he declined ſolliciting for it purely out of Reſpect to *Eſſex*[a].

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[a] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 32.
[b] Annal. Eliz. p. 728.
[c] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 33.
[d] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.
[e] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 730.
[f] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 24, 25.
[g] Pat. 39 Eliz. p 7.
[h] Annal. Eliz. p 738.
[i] Stowe's Annals, p. 783.
[k] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 738.
[l] Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1935.
[m] Annal. Eliz. p. 739.
[n] Annal. Eliz. p. 740. Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34.
[o] Annal. Eliz. p. 740. See the accurate Account of this Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.
[p] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34. Annal. Eliz. p. 740.
[q] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 345. of this Hiſtory.
[r] See the Accounts of this Voyage before referred to.
[s] Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 171.

But in the Month of *May* 1598, Sir *Robert Cecil* returning to *England* with new Notions in relation to the Peace, there quickly aroſe freſh Diſputes in the Council about the Expediency of that Meaſure, which was very earneſtly as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe Lord-treaſurer *Burleigh*, and as warmly decried by the Earl of *Eſſex*, who wanted not very plauſible Reaſons in ſupport of what he ſaid[b]. The Treaſurer at length grew into a great Heat, inſomuch that he told the Earl of *Eſſex*, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but Blood and Slaughter; the Earl explained himſelf upon this, that the Blood and Slaughter of the Queen's Enemies might be very lawfully his Intention; that he was not againſt a ſolid, but a ſpecious and precarious Peace; that the *Spaniards* were a ſubtle and ambitious People, who had contrived to do *England* more Miſchief in Time of Peace than of War; and that as to an Enemy, whoſe Hands it was impoſſible to bind by Treaty, it was better not to tie up our own[c]. The Treaſurer at laſt drew out a Prayer-book, in which he ſhewed *Eſſex* this Expreſſion, *Men of Blood ſhall not live out half their Days.* Yet *Camden*, from whom we have all this, acknowledges, that many thought the Arguments of *Eſſex* had Weight, and that, in reality, his chief Concern was for the Honour and Happineſs of his native Country, which he thought might be better promoted by an open War, which would always keep the King of *Spain*'s Hands full at home, than by an unſteady Peace, which might give his Catholic Majeſty Time to recover his ſucceſſive Loſſes, and allow him Leiſure alſo to practiſe his uſual Arts for weakening us[d].

As the Earl knew well enough, that various Methods would be uſed to prejudice the common People againſt him, more eſpecially ſuch as in any Degree got their Living by Trade, or thought themſelves oppreſſed by the Taxes levied for the Support of the War, he reſolved to write a Vindication of his own Proceedings, and to deliver his own Arguments with all the Advantages that his own pathetic Eloquence could give them[e]; which he addreſſed to his dear Friend *Anthony Bacon*, and which ſtill remains a Memorial of his great Virtues and admirable Abilities. In it he gives a ſuccinct and very impartial Account of the Undertakings and Conduct of his whole Life; he declares his Love of Peace, and his Diſlike of War, when it is a worſe Evil than a bad Peace; he explains the Cauſes for ſuſpecting the Sincerity of the *Spaniſh* Offers; obſerves, that when they treated before, they at the ſame Time laboured to corrupt Dr. *Lopez*, the Queen's Phyſician, to poiſon her; and even at this Time he aſſerts, that there was one *Anthony Rolles*, a Priſoner in the *Tower*, who came over with a Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*, to offer him, the Earl of *Eſſex*, whatever Title, Preferment, or Penſion he ſhould deſire, for taking their Part[f]. He next opens the political Motives that might, in all Probability, induce the Catholic King to conclude a Peace, without any true Intention of living at quiet; the great Advantages that might ariſe from thence to *Spain*, and bad Conſequences to us and our Allies, more eſpecially the States of *Holland*, of whoſe Government and Intereſts he diſcourſes with great Clearneſs and Capacity, and ſhews how fit he was to manage, as he did that very Year, a new Treaty between the Queen his Sovereign and that Republick[g].

About this Time died the Lord-treaſurer *Burleigh*[h], which was a great Misfortune to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſince the Remembrance of his Father, the Truſt repoſed in him by committing this his eldeſt Son to his Care, and the Reſpect and Obedience which had been ſhewn him by the young Lord for ſeveral Years, preſerved in him a Tenderneſs for his Perſon, and a real Concern for his Fortunes; but when that great Counſellor was gone, thoſe who hated the Earl acted without any Reſtraint, croſſed whatever he propoſed, ſtopped the Riſe of every Man he loved, and treated all his Projects with an Air of ſupercilious Contempt, except one which they thought would be his Ruin.

By the Death of the Lord-treaſurer *Burleigh*, the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* became vacant, upon which, as the higheſt Mark of their Reſpect poſſible, that learned Body choſe the Earl of *Eſſex* in his Room[i]. Upon this Account he went down to pay them a Viſit, was entertained at *Queen's-College* with great Magnificence; and, as a Proof of their general Affection, the Room in which he lay was long after diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Eſſex Chamber*[k]. We may account this one of the laſt Inſtances of this great Man's Felicity, for he was now advanced too high to ſit at Eaſe; and thoſe who longed for his Honours and Employments, very buſily ſtudied how they might bring about his Fall. The firſt great Shock he had given him in the Queen's Favour, was on the Score of the Perſon he propoſed to be ſent over to *Ireland*, before he was drawn to have Thoughts of going thither himſelf; and though, in Appearance, he was reconciled and reſtored to the Queen's Favour, yet there is good Reaſon to doubt whether it was ever recovered in Reality[l], or at leaſt to the Degree in which he formerly held it. The Queen looked upon Sir *William Knolles*, Uncle to *Eſſex*, as the moſt proper Perſon for that Charge; and *Eſſex* contending that Sir *George Carew* would much better execute that Office (perhaps on Purpoſe to get rid of him) and when the Queen could by no means be perſuaded to approve his Choice, he quite forgot himſelf and his Duty, and turned his Back upon his Prince in a kind of Contempt. The Queen, not able to bear his Inſolence, beſtowed on him a Box on the Ear, and bad him go and be hanged. He immediately clapped his Hand on his Sword, and the Lord-admiral ſtepping in between, he ſwore a great Oath he neither could nor would put up an Affront of that Nature, nor would he have taken it at the Hands of *Henry* VIII himſelf; and in a great Paſſion immediately withdrew from the Court. The Lord-keeper adviſed him, in a ſerious and conſiderate Letter, to apply himſelf to the Queen for Pardon[m], alledging, "That 'twas the beſt way to ſtoop to her Anger for the preſent, remembering that Paſſage of *Seneca*, *If the Law puniſhes a guilty Perſon, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice; if one innocent, he muſt yield to Fortune.* If he had given the Queen a juſt Offence, 'twas not in his Power to make her Amends; whereas if ſhe had done him an Injury, he was obliged in Prudence, Duty, and Religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many Obligations, for that there was a vaſt Difference between a Prince and a Subject." He ſent the Lord-keeper his Anſwer in a long and paſſionate Letter, which his Friends afterwards unadviſedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in Expreſſions ſomething to this Purpoſe: "That there is no Tempeſt ſo boiſterous as the Reſentment of an angry Prince; that the Queen was of a flinty Temper; that he well enough knew what was due from him as a Subject, an Earl, and Grand-marſhal of *England*, but did not underſtand the Office of a Drudge or a Porter; that to own himſelf a Criminal was to injure Truth, and the Author of it, God Almighty; that his Body ſuffered in every Part of it by that Blow given him by his Prince; that 'twould be a Crime in him to ſerve a Queen who had given him ſo great an Affront. What! was it impoſſible for crowned Heads to wrong, and ſo to ſtand accountable to their Subjects? Was any Power below of an unlimited Nature? And did not *Solomon* ſay, that he is a Fool who laughs when he is ſtricken? They only that were Gainers by the Miſcarriages of Princes were obliged to take the Indignities they offered; and thoſe who ſuſpected the Omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleaſed, place it in earthly Princes; for my Part, ſaid he, I have ſuffered ſo many and great Injuries, that I cannot but reſent them from my very Heart." However, in a little Time he became more pliant, received his Pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's Favour, who always thought it a leſs Crime to offend a Perſon, than to proſecute him with a perfect Hatred. However, his Friends were apt to date his Ruin from this unlucky Circumſtance, having made this Remark, That Fortune ſeldom careſſes a caſt-off Favourite a ſecond time, and Princes once diſobliged are ſeldom heartily reconciled.

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[a] Sidney's State-papers, Vol. II. p. 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

[b] Stowe's Annals, p. 789. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 765, 766, 767.

[c] Ibid. p. 771.

[d] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 771.

[e] This Apology ſtole into the World not long after it was written, with which the Queen was exceedingly offended.

[f] Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain, p. 24.

[g] Camd. Annal. p. 776.

[h] Camd. Annal. p. 773.

[i] Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 864.

[k] Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 156.

[l] Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 772, 773.

[m] Theſe Letters may be found at large in the Cabala, P. i. p. 216, 217. As alſo in Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 232. where there is a ſtrange Miſtake as to the Time in which the Earl's Anſwer was written.

An Event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the Sentiments the Enemies of *England* had of this noble Perſon, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real Affection for their Country. There was one *Edward Squire* ſeized and impriſoned for Treaſon, and his Caſe came out to be this; he had been a Groom in the Queen's Stables, went afterwards to Sea with Sir *Francis Drake*, was taken Priſoner, and carried to *Spain*, where he was perſuaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the Earl of *Eſſex*, and afterwards Queen *Elizabeth*, for performing which he had Poiſon given him in a Bladder [a]. He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle; got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on-board the Earl's Ship in the Iſland Voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the Arms of his Great-chair; yet no Effect followed in either Caſe [b]. Upon this the *Spaniſh* Jeſuit ſuſpecting the Man, and not his Drug, cauſed Information to be given in *England* againſt *Squire*, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his Confeſſor, opened the whole Scene, and plainly acknowledged his Endeavours to diſpatch both the Queen and the Earl, for which he was deſervedly executed [c].

The Miſeries of *Ireland* continued all this time, or rather increaſed, and when Propoſals were made, in the Queen's Council, for ſending over a new Governor, with certain Reſtrictions, *Eſſex* took Occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed Frugality, and that the *Iriſh* Rebels had been the only Gainers by the Reſtraints put upon the *Engliſh* Deputies [d]. Thoſe who hated this noble Perſon, were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this Diſpoſition, and, at length, took in their Turn Occaſion from his Objections to ſuggeſt, that the total Reduction of that Iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which, at firſt, he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little Quiet or Comfort at home, that it was with Difficulty he maintained his Credit, and that by failing the Expectations of his Friends he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept that fatal Preferment, and agreed to go over into that Kingdom, which had been the Grave of his Father's Fortunes, and which his beſt Friends foreſaw would prove the Gulf of his own [e]. It is indeed true, that he had a great Army granted him, and that due Care was taken for the Payment of it; that his Powers were very large, and his Appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many Struggles, and Notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them [f]; and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with Alacrity, as to a Place which he had ſought, and to a Command which he meditated for the Sake of greater Things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a Baniſhment, and a Place aſſigned him for a Retreat from his Sovereign's preſent Diſpleaſure, rather than a potent Government beſtowed upon him by her Favour.

On the 12th of *March* 1598, his Commiſſion for Lord Lieutenant paſſed the Great Seal [g], and on the 27th of the ſame Month, about two in the Afternoon, he ſet out from *Seething-lane*, and paſſing thro' the City in a plain Habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility, he was attended by vaſt Crowds of People out of Town; and it was obſerved, with a View, perhaps, to prepare the World to have a bad Opinion of his Conduct, that the Weather was exceeding fair when he took Horſe, but by that time he came to *Iſlington*, there was a heavy Storm of Rain, attended with Thunder and Lightning [h]. The like bad Weather he met with at Sea, ſo that he did not arrive at *Dublin*, or take upon him his Charge, before the 15th of *April*, 1599 [i].

He found Things in that Country in a State very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any Purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the Country in which he was to act. He found likewiſe, that the new-raiſed Men he had brought over were altogether unfit for Action, till they were ſeaſoned to the Country, and well acquainted with Diſcipline [k]. Theſe Conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to *Ulſter*, for fear *Tir-Oen* ſhould make any Advantage of his Weakneſſes; and the Council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome Diſorders in *Munſter*, he thought that a fair Occaſion of exerciſing his new Troops, and did it effectually [l]. On his Return to *Dublin*, that very Day two Months on which he had received the Government, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full Repreſentation of the State of Things in that Country; which moſt admirable Performance pointing out all the Steps that were afterwards taken, and by which his Succeſſor made an End of the War, remains upon Record in *Ireland* [m]; but, of the Contents thereof, not a Syllable is mentioned in *Camden*, or the reſt of our Hiſtorians. This Letter he ſent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt Notion of the State of Things in that Iſland, but it produced no ſuch Effect; on the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into *Ulſter*, in order to attack *Tir-Oen*, and repeated her Orders upon that Head in very ſtrong Terms [n].

Before theſe arrived, Sir *Henry Harrington*, with ſome of the freſh Troops, had been worſted by the *O Brians*; which ſo provoked *Eſſex*, that he cauſed the Remains of thoſe Troops to be decimated [o]; which, with the throwing a Soldier over-board in his laſt Expedition, with his own Hands, are the only Inſtances of Severity that are recorded of him [p]. When he received the Queen's Orders, and was on the Point of marching into *Ulſter*, he was prevailed upon to enter the County of *Ophaly*, to reduce the *O Connors* and the *O Moores*, which he performed; but his Troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the Advice and Conſent of the Council of *Ireland*, he wrote home for a Recruit of 2000 Men [q].

In the midſt of theſe Croſſes in *Ireland*, an Army was ſuddenly raiſed in *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; no-body well knowing why, but, in reality, from the Suggeſtions of the Earl's Enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an Invaſion on his native Country, than the Reduction of the *Iriſh* Rebels [r]. At length *Eſſex*, intending for *Ulſter*, ſent Orders to *Clifford*, who commanded in *Connaught*, to march towards the Enemy on that Side, that *Tir Oen* might be obliged to divide his Forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill Fortune, that the *Engliſh*, being ſurpriſed, were beaten, with the Loſs of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, and 140 Men [s]. Upon the Arrival of the Succours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, tho' with a ſmall Force, againſt *Tir-Oen*, in the latter End of the Month of *Auguſt*; but, on the 8th of *September* following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the Ford of *Ballaclynch*; and afterwards, with Counſellors on both Sides, when he concluded a Truce for ſix Weeks, and ſo from ſix Weeks to ſix Weeks, till *May*, provided that, on a Fortnight's Notice, either Party might be at Liberty to reſume the War [t]. He was led to this by the weak and deſperate Reſolution he had taken of returning to *England*, whither he had once ſome Thoughts of tranſporting a Body of his Forces, but was diſſuaded from it by his Friends. However, upon receiving a ſharp Letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to ſtay no longer, ſettled the Government in the beſt Manner he could, and with a few of his Friends, came over to *England*[a].

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[a] Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.
[b] Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 779.
[c] Stowe's Annals, p. 788.
[d] This is affirmed by Bacon in his Declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's Treaſon.
[e] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.
[f] As appeared from the Speeches of the Lords of the Privy-council in the Star-chamber.
[g] Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 1, 11.
[h] Stowe's Annals, p. 788.
[i] Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. I. p. 416.
[k] Collected from the ſeveral Accounts of his Proceedings in that Kingdom.
[l] As is acknowledged in a Letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 57, 71.
[m] Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Part I. p. 418.
[n] Camden. Annal. p. 790.
[o] Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Part I. p. 421.
[p] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 30.
[q] Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Part I. p. 421.
[r] Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 39.
[s] Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, P. I. p. 421.
[t] Camden. Annal. p. 791, 792.

He arrived before any Notice could be received of his Deſign, went directly to the Court at *Nonſuch*, and preſented himſelf to the Queen on the 28th of *September*, where he met with a tolerable Reception, but was ſoon after committed, treated with a Mixture of Kindneſs and Severity, till, upon his abſolute Submiſſion, he was brought before ſome of the Privy-council, ſeverely reprimanded, diſmiſſed from the Board, ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of all his great Offices, except that of Maſter of the Horſe, and committed to a Keeper, Sir *Richard Barkley*, who was, not long after, withdrawn[b]. Such was the Iſſue of the Queen's Reſentments; as for what happened afterwards, it was the Effects of his own ill Conduct, wrought up to a Degree of Madneſs from the Artifices of his ſubtle Enemies.

In the Summer of the Year 1600 he recovered his Liberty, and, in the Autumn following, he received Mr. *Cuffe*, who had been his Secretary in *Ireland*, into his Councils; who laboured to perſuade him, that Submiſſion would never do him any good; that the Queen was in the Hands of a Faction, who were his Enemies; and that the only way to reſtore his Fortune, was to find a means of obtaining an Audience, in which he might be able to repreſent his own Caſe, let that means be what it would[c]. The Earl heard this dangerous Advice without conſenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his Farm of the ſweet Wines renewed, then it is ſaid that, giving a looſe to his Paſſion, he let fall many vehement Expreſſions, and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal Reflection[d], *That the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her Mind was become as crooked as her Carcaſe. Camden* ſays[e], that this was aggravated by ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their Intrigues. Thoſe Enemies, who had exact Intelligence of all that he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the Execution of his Deſigns, hurried him upon his Fate by a Meſſage ſent on the Evening of the 7th of *February*, requiring him to attend the Council, which he declined[f]. He then gave out that they ſought his Life, kept a Watch in *Eſſex-houſe* all Night, and ſummoned his Friends, for his Defence, the next Morning. The Queen, being informed of the great Reſort of People of all Ranks to the Earl, ſent the Lord Keeper *Egerton*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *Francis Knollys* (his Uncle by the Mother's Side) and the Lord Chief-juſtice *Popham*, to know his Grievances, whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual Conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Monteagle*, and about 200 Gentlemen, he went into the City, where the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and ſome other Gentlemen, joined him, but his Dependance on the Populace failed him; and Sir *Robert Cecil* prevailing upon his Brother, the Lord *Burleigh*, to go with Sir *Gilbert Dethick*, then King at Arms, and proclaim *Eſſex* and his Adherents Traitors, in the principal Streets, the Earl found it impoſſible to return to his Houſe by Land; and, therefore, ſending Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* before to releaſe the Chief-juſtice, who, for his own Sake, thought fit to extend that Order to the reſt of the Privy-counſellors; the Earl, with his principal Attendants, returned in Boats to *Eſſex-houſe*, which was quickly inveſted by the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral, with a great Force, to whom, after many Diſputes, and ſome Blood ſpilt, he and his Adherents, at laſt, ſurrendered[g].

Eſſex was carried that Night to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Palace at *Lambeth*, with the Earl of *Southampton*, and the next Day they were ſent to the *Tower*[h]. On the 19th of the ſame Month they were arraigned before their Peers, and, after a long Trial, the moſt material Circumſtances of which, we have had occaſion to mention elſewhere, they were ſound guilty, and Sentence of Death pronounced by the Lord *Buckhurſt*, who ſat as Lord High-ſteward[i]. Upon this melancholy Occaſion all that *Eſſex* ſaid was, *If her Majeſty had pleaſed, this Body of mine might have done her better Service; however, I ſhall be glad if it may prove ſerviceable to her any way*[k].

The Manner of the Earl's ſuffering Death is ſo largely related in *Camden*, and others, that we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that, as many Actions of his Life ſpoke him a Hero, ſo this laſt Action ſhewed him a true Chriſtian, by manifeſting that he was far leſs careful of his Body than his Soul, and much more afraid of his Sin than of his Puniſhment[l]. His Character is very fully drawn by Sir *Henry Wotton*[m], very fairly by Sir *Robert Naunton*[n], very freely by *Camden*[o], and very finely touched by the maſterly Pen of the noble Hiſtorian[p]; neither are there wanting ſome uſeful Touches in *Oſborne*[q], *Fuller*[r], *Lloyd*[s], *Winſtanley*[t], and other Writers of leſs Fame. It appears from the Compariſon of theſe, that, in reſpect to the Publick, he was truly a Patriot, had a great Regard to his Sovereign's Honour, and no leſs Zeal for his Country's Service; he valued himſelf on loſing a Father and a Brother, and in ſpending a great Part of his Subſtance, in the Cauſe of both; his Projects were high but very honourable, and the Difficulties with which they were embarraſſed ſeemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal Favour, and, ſome ſay, not reſpectful enough to the royal Perſon; and, if there was any Truth in this, his Fault was inexcuſable, the Queen preventing his Merit by her Favours, as well as rewarding it by Honours; nor did he feel the Sun-ſhine only, but the Dew of the Court, ſince, if the Lord-treaſurer *Buckhurſt* computed right, and he was no Enemy to my Lord of *Eſſex*, he received in Grants, Penſions, and Places, to the Amount of 300,000 Pounds; but then, as he received all this from, he ſpent it for, the Publick; and if he ſometimes appeared covetous, it was that he might be always generous; for, to his Honour be it ſpoke, Learning never approached him ungraced, Merit unrewarded, or Want without receiving Relief. His Sovereign's Favour he loſt often, the Fidelity of his Friends, and the Affection of the People, never; yet he ſometimes truſted thoſe who had been formerly his Enemies, and was not fortunate in all his Enterprizes, which renders the Wonder greater. As to his Perſon, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made, his Countenance reſerved, his Air rather martial than courtly, very careleſs in Dreſs, and very little addicted to trifling Diverſions. Learned he was, and a Lover of learned Men, wrote with that Facility which is the true Mark of Genius, with that Cloſeneſs and Perſpicuity which is the happieſt Fruit of Learning, and that noble Simplicity which is the Characteriſtic of a great Mind. Sincere in his Friendſhip, but not ſo careful as he ought to have been in making a right Choice; ſound in his Morals, except in the Point of Gallantry, and thoroughly well affected to the Proteſtant Religion, of which he had very juſt Notions, deſpiſing alike the Meanneſs of Superſtition, and the Folly of Infidelity. He died in the 34th Year of his Age.

The LIFE *of* THOMAS CANDISH, *or* CAVENDISH, *a renown'd Navigator.*

Thomas Candiſh, or *Cavendiſh*, a famous Navigator in the XVIth Century, and the ſecond *Engliſhman* that ſailed round the World, was the Son of *William Cavendiſh* of *Trimley St. Martin*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq;[u]. He was born at *Trimley*, where he had a fine Seat, and large Poſſeſſions[w]; but having in a few Years conſumed almoſt his whole Eſtate, in Gallantry and following the Court, he thought to recover his ſinking Fortune by a Voyage to the *South Sea*. At that Time, the *Spaniard*, againſt whom

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[a] Stowe's Annals, p. 789.
[b] Camden. Annal. p. 795—799.
[c] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.
[d] Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 230.
[e] Annal. Eliz. p. 857.
[f] See the Declaration of the Treaſons of the Earl of Eſſex, by Sir Francis Bacon.
[g] Stowe's Annals, p. 792.
[h] Camden. Annal. p. 846.
[i] State Trials, Vol. I. p. 208.
[k] Camden. Annal. p. 857.
[l] Stowe's Annals, p. 791.
[m] In his Parallel between the Earl of Eſſex and the Duke of Buckingham.
[n] Fragmenta Regalia, cap. XIX.
[o] Annal. p. 861—864.
[p] Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Eſſex.
[q] In his traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, and his political Deductions from the Death of the Earl of Eſſex.
[r] Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.
[s] State Worthies, p. 563.
[t] England's Worthies, p. 221.
[u] The Peerage of England, &c. by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Edit. 1735, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 121.
[w] Ibid. and Stow's Annals, Edit. 1631. p. 809.

England had ſome Time before declared War, was looked upon as a formidable Enemy, whom it was neceſſary to diſtreſs on every Side; Mr. *Cavendiſh* therefore choſe to endeavour to do it on the Side of *America*. For that Purpoſe, he procured three Ships, as already mentioned on p. 249. They ſailed from *Plymouth* the 21ſt of *July* 1586, and on the 26th of *Auguſt* arrived at *Sierra Leona*, which was 930 Leagues from the Place of their Departure [a]. There they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes Towns, burnt two or three Houſes, and took what Spoil they would, all the Inhabitants being fled into the Woods. The laſt Day of *October*, about 24 Leagues from Cape *Frio* in *Braſil*, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round Top like a Town, with two little Iſlands from it. On the 1ſt of *November*, they went in between the Iſland of *St. Sebaſtian* and the Main-land, where carrying their Things aſhore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, repaired what was out of Order, and took in Water; all which detained them till the 23d of that Month. The 16th of *December* they fell in with the Coaſt of *America* in 47 Degrees $\frac{1}{3}$ South Latitude, and ran along the Shore till they came into 48 Degrees, finding it a ſteep Beach all along. They came to a Harbour the next Day, which Mr. *Cavendiſh* named *Port Deſire*, and continued in it until the 28th following [b].

On the 3d of *January* 1586-7, they fell in with a great Cape in 52 Degrees 45 Minutes, from which there runneth a low Beach about a League to the Southward, that reaches to the opening of the Streights of *Magellan*. He was paſſing thoſe Streights from the 6th of *January* to the 24th of *February*, tho' they are but about 90 Leagues in Length [c]. Within them, in 53 Degrees Latitude, he named a Place *Port-Famine*, another *Muſcle-Cove*, and another *Elizabeth-Bay*. The 24th of *February* they entered into the *South-Sea*, and the four firſt Days of *March* met with a violent Storm; during which, the *Hugh Gallant* had like to be loſt, but the two other Ships rid it out at the Iſland of *La Mocha*. Here, ſome of the Men going on-ſhore, met with a warm Reception from the *Indians* of *Arauco*, a Country abounding with Gold, and never conquered by the *Spaniards*. The 16th of the ſame Month they came to *St. Mary's Iſland*, and finding there large Quantities of Wheat and Barley laid up in Store-houſes, for the Uſe of the *Spaniards*, who are Maſters of that Place, they took ſome of the Corn, and likewiſe Hogs, Fowls, Potatoes, and other Proviſions. They left this Iſland on the 18th, anchored under another called the *Conception* on the 19th, and on the 30th came into the Bay of *Quintero*, which ſtands in 33 Degrees 50 Minutes South Latitude. About 50 or 60 of the Men landed the next Day, and went up ſeven or eight Miles into the Country well armed, but ſaw no human Creature, tho' there were 200 *Spaniſh* Horſemen watching for them, who eſpied them out, but durſt not attack them. The Day following, being *April* 1, they took their Opportunity, and came pouring down from the Hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed *Engliſh* Sailors, who were filling Water. Some they killed, and took a few Priſoners, about 12 being loſt in all; the reſt were reſcued by 15 Soldiers, who obliged the Enemy to retire with the Loſs of 24 Men.

The 5th of *April* they ſailed from this Place, and on the 15th came to an excellent Harbour in 23 Degrees and a half, called *Morro Moreno*. Whilſt they remained here, they took a ſmall Bark from *Arica*, which they kept, and called the *George*. They took alſo three other Veſſels, (one of them laden with Wine) two of which they burnt, and ſunk the third [d]. On the 13th of *May* they made themſelves Maſters of a Ship of 300 Tons, and of two others, loaden with Sugar and Proviſions, of which one was valued at 20,000 *l.* they took out what they wanted, and burnt the reſt, with the Ships. The 20th of the ſame Month they came to *Paita*, in five Degrees four Minutes South Latitude. Having driven the Inhabitants up into the Mountains, they pillaged the Town (where they found 25 Pounds-weight of Pieces of Eight) and then ſet it on Fire, with a Bark that was riding in the Road. The Town contained 200 Houſes. Sailing thence, they arrived on the 25th at the Iſland of *Puna*, in one Degree South Latitude, where moſt of the Cables in the *South-Sea* were made. They found in the Harbour a Ship of 250 Tons, which they ſunk; and alſo burnt a Church that was in that Iſland, and brought the Bells away. The Governor of the Iſland, upon their Approach, had ſent his Riches upon the Continent, and his Furniture and other valuable Effects to a neighbouring Iſland; which laſt being diſcovered, the *Engliſh* took of them what they liked. But on the 2d of *June*, they being careleſsly diſperſed about in getting Proviſions, 100 *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and many *Indians*, came down ruſhing upon them, killed five, took three Priſoners, and four were otherwiſe deſtroyed, with the Loſs however of 46 *Spaniards* and *Indians* [e]. Going aſhore again the ſame Day with 70 Men, they met 100 *Spaniards* armed with Muſkets, and 200 *Indians* with Bows and Arrows, whom they put to Flight; reduced their Town to Aſhes, which had 300 Houſes; made Havock of their Fields and Gardens; and burnt four great Ships, which were on the Stocks. The 5th of *June* they quitted this Place, and watered at *Rio Dolce*; and by that Time had loſt ſo many Men, that they were obliged to ſink their Bark, called the *Hugh Gallant*, for want of Hands to navigate it.

They paſſed the Equinoctial Line on the 12th, and continued a Northerly Courſe all the reſt of that Month. The firſt of *July* they came within Sight of the Coaſt of *New Spain*, being then in 10 Degrees Northern Latitude; and on the 9th of the ſame Month took a new Ship of 120 Tons, out of which taking the Men, and what elſe they wanted, they ſet it on Fire. The next Day they ſeized an Advice-boat, which they alſo burnt. On the 26th they came to an Anchor in the River of *Copalita*, in 16 Degrees Northern Latitude; from whence, the ſame Night, 30 of them rowed in the Pinnace to *Aquatulco*, that was two Leagues off. Coming there, the next Morning, *July* 27, by Break of Day, they landed, and burnt the Town, with the Church, and Cuſtomhouſe, in which were 600 Bags of Anile to dye Cloth, each Bag worth 40 Crowns; and 400 Bags of Cocoa, valued at 10 Crowns each. They were joined the Day following by the reſt of the Fleet, which found it difficult to water at *Copalita*, and therefore proceeded for that Purpoſe to the Bay of *St. Jago*, in 19 Degrees 18 Minutes Latitude. In the mean Time, Mr. *Cavendiſh* went, on the 24th of *Auguſt*, in his Pinnace with 30 Men to *Puerto de Natividad*; and miſſing of a Prize he expected to find there, he burnt the Town, and two new Ships of 200 Tons each.

The 3d of *September* they came into the Bay of *Malacca*, and going up into the Country, burn the Town of *Acatlan*, which conſiſted of about 30 Houſes. Thence they proceeded to *Chaccalla*, and the Iſle of *St. Andrew*; and on the 24th arrived at *Maſſatlan*, which ſtands under the Tropic of *Cancer*. The 27th they went to an Iſland near it, where they refitted, and furniſhed themſelves with Neceſſaries. Having ſtaid there till the 9th of *October*, they departed for the Cape of *St. Lucar*, on the South of the Iſland of *California*; with which they fell in on the 14th, and lay near it till the 4th of *November*. On that Day they met the *St. Anne*, a Ship of 700 Tons, being the *Spaniſh* Admiral of the *South-Sea*; which, after three ſharp Engagements, they made themſelves Maſters of. It had in it 120,000 Pezo's, or Pieces of Gold, each worth eight Shillings, and great Quantities of rich Silks, and other valuable Commodities, the chief of which they ſhared amongſt themſelves. After having put on-ſhore (at *Puerto Seguro*) the whole Crew, conſiſting of 190 Perſons, they ſet Fire to the Ship, having 500 Tons of Goods in it, and ſaw it burnt down to the Water, on the 19th of *November* [f].

Thus did Mr. *Cavendiſh* and his Company ravage the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, from the Middle of *February* to the Middle of *November* 1578. But after his laſt great Booty, he began to think of returning back to *England*, by the way of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Accordingly, he ſet ſail from *Puerto Seguro* in *California November* the 19th, and in 45 Days, namely, on the 3d of *January* 1587-8, came within Sight of *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones* Iſlands, in 13 Degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ of Northern Latitude. The 14th of the ſame Month they fell in with *Cabo del Spirito Santo*, a Promontory of one of the *Philippine* Iſlands, 310 Leagues from *Guana*; and the next Day arrived at *Capul*, where he ſtaid nine Days; during which, he exacted a Tribute of Proviſions from the *Caciques* of this and 100 Iſlands more. But after having acquainted them that he and his Company were *Engliſhmen*, and Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and made them promiſe, that they, and all the neighbouring Iſlands, would aſſiſt him, whenever he ſhould come again, to overcome the *Spaniards*, he returned them the Value of their Tribute in Money[a]. The 24th they left this Place, and ſailing between the Iſlands of *Panama* (or *Panay*) and *Negros*, they coaſted along *Gilolo*, and the adjoining Cluſters of Iſlands, till the 1ſt of *March*; when having paſſed the Streights of *Java*, they anchored South of that Place, and took in freſh Proviſions.

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[a] Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hackluit, Vol. III. Edit. 1600. p. 803.

[b] Ib. p. 804, 805.

[c] Ib. p. 806, 807.

[d] Ib. p. 808, 809, 810.

[e] Ibid. p. 811, 812, 813.

[f] Ibid. p. 814, 815, 816. They burnt and ſunk 19 Ships in all, ſmall and great. Ibid. p. 837.

On the 16th of *March* they ſailed from hence for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which they made the 16th of *May*; having in nine Weeks run about 1850 Leagues. They arrived at *St. Helena* the 19th of *June*, where having refreſhed themſelves, and taken in Neceſſaries, they ſet ſail on the 20th for *England*. The 24th of *Auguſt* they came within Sight of the *Azores*; and the 9th of *September*, after a terrible Storm, which carried away moſt of their Sails, arrived at *Plymouth*, from whence they firſt ſet ſail[b]; having ſpent two Years, one Month, and nineteen Days, in ſailing round the Globe.

Mr. *Cavendiſh* had been ſo fortunate in this Voyage, that he undertook another[c] in 1591, but with very different Succeſs. He ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the 26th of *Auguſt*, with three tall Ships and two Barks; and in about a Month came within Sight of the *Canary Iſlands*[d]. But, under the Equinoctial Line, he had the Misfortune to be becalmed for 27 Days together, driving to and fro without the leaſt Wind; in which Time moſt of his Men fell ſick of the Scurvy. At length, a North-weſt Wind brought them, in 20 Days[e], namely, on the 29th of *November*, to the Bay of *Salvador*, on the Coaſt of *Braſil*. Here they took a ſmall Bark, laden with *Negroes*, Sugar, and Haberdaſhers Wares. A few Days after they came to *Placentia*, or *Ilha Grande*, where they rifled ſome Houſes inhabited by *Portugueſe*, which they afterwards ſet on Fire, together with a new Ship; and left on-ſhore the *Negroes* they had taken in the Bay of *Salvador*[f]. But the Pleaſure or Advantage of having taken this Place, was ſpoiled by unreaſonable Quarrels amongſt Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s Men.

The 11th of *December* they quitted this Place, and on the 14th, arrived at the Iſle of *St. Sebaſtian*, five Leagues from *Santos*; which laſt Place they reſolved to make themſelves Maſters of, as being very proper to ſupply all their Wants. Having agreed, that their Long-boat, with one Sloop, and 100 Men, were ſufficient for the taking it; they accordingly watched their Opportunity, early in the Morning on the 24th of *December*, when the chief of the Inhabitants were at High-maſs, and with 23 Men only ſeized the Town[g]. There they continued too long, which proved the Ruin of their intended Voyage. Nay, ſome were for wintering at that Place, but Mr. *Cavendiſh* would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the Outparts of the Town, and ſet all the Ships in the Harbour on-fire, they marched, on the 22d of *January*, by Land to *St. Vincent*, which they burnt to the Ground[h]. On the 24th of the ſame Month, they ſet ſail with a fair Wind for the Streights of *Magellan*; but, in about 37 Degrees of Southern Latitude, they had a moſt violent Storm, which began the 7th of *February*, and laſted till the 9th, whereby the Ships were ſeparated and much damaged. The *Deſire* and the *Roebuck*, after having ſuffered great Hardſhips, arrived together at *Port Deſire*, the general Rendezvous, on the 6th of *March*. The 16th of the ſame Month, the *Black Pinnace* came alſo thither; but Mr. *Gilbert*'s Bark, inſtead of proceeding ſo far, returned to *England*. As for the Galleon, commanded by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, it did not arrive till the 18th[i]. The Captain having in his Paſſage been in continual Danger from his Ship's Crew, which never ceaſed to mutiny againſt him[k]. For that Reaſon, he quitted his own Ship, the Galleon, and went into the *Deſire*. The 20th of *March*, they departed from *Port Deſire*; and on the 8th of *April* fell in with the Streights of *Magellan*, having ſuffered much by ſeveral violent Storms. The 14th, they paſſed the firſt Streight; and on the 16th, the ſecond, which was 10 Leagues diſtant from the firſt.

The 18th they doubled Cape *Froward*, but three Days after were forced, by the Violence of the Weather, to put into a ſmall Bay, upon the South-ſhore, where they remained till the 15th of *May*[l]. In this Place they endured inexpreſſible Hardſhips, as well for want of Proviſions, as by the exceſſive Cold. And Mr. *Cavendiſh* not being able to provide for the many ſick Men he had in the Galleon, ordered them to be put on-ſhore; where they miſerably periſhed with Cold and Famine. Having now not above 50 Men in that Ship fit for Service (for 40 died in ſeven or eight Days, and 70 fell ſick) and perceiving that the Froſt and Snow decayed his Tackling, and was likely to laſt two Months more, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to ſtay longer in that miſerable Place, without utter Ruin. Whereupon he acquainted his Company, That finding it impracticable to purſue his Voyage to *China*, as he intended, through the Streights of *Magellan*, he would go thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*. But they prevailed upon him to return to the Coaſts of *Brazil*, till a more favourable Seaſon; which he the more readily complied with, as he had not above four Months Proviſions left, and wanted both Ropes and Sails[m].

The 15th of *May* they ſet ſail, and on the 18th were out of the Streights. The 20th, being over-againſt *Port Deſire*, in 47 Degrees Southern Latitude, the *Deſire* and the *Black Pinnace* left him, which proved the chief Cauſe of his enſuing Misfortunes[n]. However, he held on his Courſe for *Brazil*, together with the *Roebuck*; which in Latitude 36, was parted from him by a moſt violent Storm. Mr. *Cavendiſh* arrived at length, with extreme Difficulty and great Danger, at *Santos*, and came to an Anchor in the Bay of *St. Vincent*. Here 25 of his Men going on-ſhore to refreſh themſelves, got drunk, and were all cut to pieces by the *Indians* and *Portugueſe*. To be revenged on the *Portugueſe*, Mr. *Cavendiſh* firmly reſolved to go and beat *Santos* to the Ground (having the *Roebuck* in his Company, which was now come in) but the River being too narrow, he only landed a little above the Town, and plundered ſome Farm-houſes. He intended to have gone from thence to a ſmall Iſland, 20 Leagues off, in order to furniſh himſelf with Neceſſaries; and then caſting off the *Roebuck*, whoſe Wants he could not ſupply, to have returned again at a ſeaſonable time for the Streights of *Magellan*[o]. In the mean time, being adviſed by a *Portugueſe* Pilot to go to *Spirito Santo*, he raſhly ſent and attacked that Place, before which he loſt 80 Men, and 40 were ſorely wounded. When he ſaw he could do no good there, he determined to go to the Iſland of *St. Sebaſtian*; and, after having burnt one of his Ships for want of Hands, to go back to the Streights of *Magellan*. But the *Roebuck*'s Crew hearing of this his Intention, run away from him in the Night, carrying off all his Surgeons, and leaving him full of ſick Men, and in a diſtreſſed Condition[p].

Thus forſaken, he made for *St. Sebaſtian*'s Iſland, then 200 Leagues diſtant, where he arrived when he had but one Caſk of Water left; there he ſet 20 ſick Men on-ſhore. Having refitted and refreſhed himſelf, he would fain have ſailed back again for the Streights of *Magellan*; but his mutinous Crew obliged him to ſail for *England*, "Tho' "he rather deſired to die in going forward, than baſely in "returning back again[q]." Several Attempts he made to reach

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[a] Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by Hackluit, Vol. III. Edit. 1600, p. 816—819.

[b] Ib. p. 819—825.

[c] See above p. 277.

[d] Purchas's Pilgrims, P. IV. Edit. 1625. p. 1202.

[e] Ibid. and Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 842.

[f] Purchas, ubi ſupra.

[g] Purchas, p. 1202, 1203; and Hackluit, ubi ſupra.

[h] Purchas, p. 1203, 1204; and Hackluit, ubi ſupra.

[i] Hackluit, ubi ſupra; and Purchas, p. 1192, 1193.

[k] Purchas, p. 1192.

[l] Hackluit, as above, p. 843.

[m] Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1181.

[n] Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 843, 844. Purchas, p. 1194.

[o] Purchas, as above, p. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197—1205, 1206.

[p] Ibid, p. 1198—1206.

[q] Ibid, p. 1198, 1200.

reach the Iſle of *St. Helena*, and all to no Purpoſe, being perpetually croſſed by his own Men, who were bent upon returning to *England*, tho' entirely againſt his own Inclination [a]. At length he died of a broken Heart, and continual Labour and Vexation; but whether at Sea or Land, is uncertain. Such was the End of the unfortunate *Thomas Cavendiſh*: His firſt Voyage was as full of Glory, as this of Unhappineſs. No Man ever compaſſed the Globe in ſo little time; no Man ever did greater Things abroad, and returned to his Country in greater Pomp and Triumph than he: And it is not unlikely, that he might have ſhone this laſt time as bright as he did the firſt, had not the ill Humours of a Company of baſe Fellows interpoſed and eclipſed him [b]. We are informed, That he was of a delicate Wit and Perſonage [c].

The LIFE *of the eminent and noble* NAVIGATOR, *Lord* GEORGE CLIFFORD *Earl of* Cumberland.

George Clifford, of whom we treat, was the third Earl of *Cumberland*, of that noble and antient Family, was a Perſon very eminent for his Skill in Navigation. He was born in the Year 1558 [d], and educated at *Peter-houſe* in *Cambridge*, where he had for his Tutor the celebrated *John Whitgift*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In this Place, he applied himſelf chiefly to the Study of the Mathematicks, which his Genius led him to; whereby he became qualified for the ſeveral great Expeditions he undertook afterwards [e]. The firſt Time he had publick Employment, was in the Year 1586, when he was one of the Peers who ſat in Judgment upon *Mary* Queen of *Scots* [f]. But having a greater Inclination to act by Sea than by Land; and (according to the Faſhion in the brave and warlike Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) being bent on making foreign Diſcoveries, and defeating the ambitious Deſigns of the *Spaniard*, who was preparing his invincible Armada for conquering *England*: he fitted out, at his own Charge, a little Fleet, conſiſting of three Ships, and a Pinnace, with a View to ſend them into the *South-Sea*, on purpoſe to annoy the *Spaniſh* Settlements there [g]. They ſailed from *Graveſend* the 26th of *June* 1586, and from *Plymouth* the 17th of *Auguſt*; but were forced back by contrary Winds into *Dartmouth*. From whence putting out again on the 29th, they fell in with the Coaſt of *Barbary* the 17th of *September*, and the next Day hauled in with the Road of *Santa Cruz*. On the 25th, they came to the *Rio del Oro*, juſt under the northern Tropick, where they anchored [h]. Searching up that River, the next Day, they found it to be as broad 14 or 15 Leagues upward, as at the Mouth, which was two Leagues over; but met with no Town, nor Houſe. The laſt of *September* they departed for *Sierra Leona*, where they arrived the 21ſt of *October*. Going on-ſhore, they burnt a Town of the Negroes, and brought away to their Ships about 14 or 15 Tons of Rice: and having furniſhed themſelves with Wood and Water, they ſailed the 21ſt of *November* from *Sierra Leona*, making for the Streights of *Magellan*. The ſecond of *January* 1586-7, they diſcovered Land; and, on the fourth of that Month, fell in with the *American* Shore in 30 Deg. 40 Min. South Latitude. Continuing their Courſe Southward, they took, *January* 10, not far from *Rio de la Plata*, a ſmall *Portugueſe* Ship; and the next Day, another; out of which they furniſhed themſelves with what Neceſſaries they wanted [i]. The 12th of *January* they came to *Seal iſland*, and two Days after to the *Green-iſland*, near which they took in Water. Returning to *Seal-iſland*, a Conſultation was held on the ſeventh of *February*, Whether they ſhould continue their Courſe for the *South-Sea*, and winter in the Streights of *Magellan*, or ſpend three or four Months upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and proceed on their Voyage in the Spring? The Majority being for the former, they went as far as 44 Degrees of Southern Latitude. But, meeting with Storms and contrary Winds, they took a final Reſolution on the 21ſt of *February*, to return to the Coaſt of *Braſil*: accordingly, they fell in with it the fifth of *April*; and after taking in Water and Proviſions in the Bay of *Camana*, came into the Port of *Baya* the 11th. Eight *Portugueſe* Ships being there, they found Means to carry off four of them (the leaſt of which were of 130 Tons) notwithſtanding all the Enemy's Reſiſtance; and alſo fetched a Supply of freſh Proviſion from the Shore. The 16th and 17th of *May* they got a Quantity of Sugar out of the *Portugueſe* Ingenio's [k]. The 26th of the ſame Month, they made themſelves Maſters of a new Ship of 120 Tuns Burden, loaden with Meal and Sugar.

On the third of *June*, ſome were for purſuing their Voyage to the *South-Sea*; but finding themſelves upon Examination, in want of a due Number of Men, and ſufficient Proviſions, they reſolved, on the 10th, to ſail back to *England*; where they arrived, *September* 29, after an unproſperous Voyage [l]. This ſame Year he went, with many other *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the Relief of *Sluys* then beſieged by the Duke of *Parma*; but at his Arrival, he found the Place ſurrendred [m].

In 1588, he was one of thoſe brave Perſons, who put themſelves on-board the *Engliſh* Fleet, to oppoſe the *Spaniſh* Armada that was advancing to invade *England*. He commanded, on that Occaſion, the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, and ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable Manner; eſpecially in the laſt Engagement with the *Spaniards*, near *Calais* [n].

Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo pleaſed with his good Services, that ſhe granted him a Commiſſion, dated *October* 4, 1588, to purſue his intended Voyage to the *South-Sea*: and, for his greater Honour and Encouragement, lent him one of her own royal Ships, named the *Golden-lion*, to be the Admiral. This he victualled and furniſhed at his own Charge, and ſailed about the End of *October*, attended with many brave *Engliſh* Gentlemen. In the Channel he took a Ship of *Dunkirk*, named the *Hare*, laden with Merchandiſe for *Spain*, which he ſent home. But contrary Winds at firſt, and afterwards a violent Storm, which forced him to cut his Main-maſt by the Board, deprived him of further Hopes and Ability, to proſecute his Deſigns on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, ſo that he returned to *England* [o].

Not diſcouraged by this unhappy Diſappointment, he undertook a third Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies* in 1589. For that Purpoſe, he obtained the Queen's Leave, and one Ship of the Royal Navy, called the *Victory*; to which adding three other ſmall Ships, furniſhed at his own Expence, with about 400 Men, and all Neceſſaries, he ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the 18th of *June* [p]. Three Days after they took three *French* Ships belonging to the Leaguers [q] in that Nation. Meeting, on the 13th of *July*, with eleven Ships bound for *Hamborough*, and other neighbouring Ports, they took out of them a Quantity of Pepper and Cinnamon belonging to a *Jew* of *Liſbon*, valued at about 4500 *l*. The 1ſt of *Auguſt* they came within ſight of *St. Michael*, one of the *Azores*, and put out *Spaniſh* Colours, the more eaſily to execute the Project they had formed, of carrying off in the Night ſome Ships that were in the Harbour. Accordingly they cut the Cables of three of them, and towed them away; they were loaded with Wine and Oil from *Seville*. The 7th they took another little Veſſel, whoſe Lading was *Madeira*-wine, Woollen-cloth, Silks, *&c.* Having got Information that the *Spaniſh* Carracks (a very valuable Booty) were at *Tercera*, they made haſte thither; and by the way looked into *Fyal* Road, *Auguſt* the 27th, whence they brought away a Ship of 250 Tons, and 14 Guns, that was moored to the Caſtle, and loaded with Sugar, Ginger, and Hides. They fetched out likewiſe five other ſmall Ships, newly come from *Guinea*, notwithſtanding the briſk Fire of the Enemy, and ſent four of them to *England* on the 30th of *Auguſt*. At their coming near *Tercera*, being told that the Carracks had been gone thence eight Days, they returned back to *Fyal* on the 10th of *September*; and having made themſelves Maſters of the Town with much Eaſe, obliged the Inhabitants to ranſom it for 2000 Ducats [a]; they took there alſo 58 Pieces of Iron-ordnance. The 27th of that Month they went to *St. Michael*; and the 1ſt of *October* to *Gratioſa*, where they got a new Supply of Proviſions.

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[a] Ibid, p. 1199, 1200.

[b] See Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. Edit. 1705, fol. Vol. I. p. 698.

[c] Stowe's Annales, ubi ſupra.

[d] This appears from hence, becauſe he was above eleven Years of Age in 1569-70, January the 8th, when his Father died. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 345.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad an. 1586.

[g] As we have more largely related above.

[h] Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hackluit, Edit. 1600. Vol. III. p. 769. Purchas's Pilgrims, Edit. 1625. Part IV. p. 1141.

[i] Hackluit, as above, p. 770, 771; and Purchas, ubi ſupra.

[k] That is, Houſes where they purge and refine the Sugar.

[l] Hackluit, p. 772—778. Purchas, p. 1142.

[m] Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1142.

[n] Account of the Spaniſh Invaſion, by P. Morant; joined to the Tapeſtry Hangings of the Houſe of Lords, &c. engraven by J. Pine, Lond. 1739, fol. p. 9—18.

[o] Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1142.

[p] Navigations, Voyages, &c. publiſhed, by R. Hackluit, Vol II. Edit. 1599. Part II. p. 155. Purchas, ubi ſupra.

[q] That is, to the Faction formed in France againſt King Henry III. They were looked upon as Enemies by the Engliſh.

On the 14th they took a *French* Ship loaden with Fiſh from *Newfoundland*. The ſame Day, and the five following, the Earl of *Cumberland* endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of 15 Sail of the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, that had put into the Port of *Angra* in *Tercera*; but finding it too dangerous an Attempt, he deſiſted. Next he ſailed to *St. Michael*'s; where being hindered from taking in freſh Water, he went for it to *St. Mary*'s Iſland. And finding two *Braſil* Ships there, which the People were trying to bring a-ground, Captain *Liſter* boldly carried one of them off, notwithſtanding the Enemy's violent Fire. But the Earl attempting to take the other, had two Parts of his own Men killed or wounded, and received himſelf three Shot upon his Shield, and a fourth on his Side, tho' not deep; his Head was likewiſe broke with Stones, and all covered with Blood, and both his Head and Legs were much burnt with Granadoes [b]. Not being able to have Water there, he took ſome in at *St. George*'s Iſland, *October* 29; and then reſolved to ſail for *England*, taking the Coaſt of *Spain* in his way. On the 4th of *November*, they had the good Fortune to make themſelves Maſters of a *Portugueſe* Ship of 110 Tons, freighted with Sugar and *Braſil*-wood; and two Days after of another, between 3 and 400 Tons, loaden with Hides, Cochineal, Sugar, *China*-diſhes, and Silver. Both were valued at 14000 *l.* and forthwith were ſent to *England*; but the latter was ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and all the Men periſhed except five or ſix; however, ſome of the Goods were ſaved [c]. The Earl himſelf being kept out at Sea, by Storms and contrary Winds, longer than he expected, was, for want of Proviſions, reduced to the greateſt Extremities. But at length, on the 2d of *December*, reaching *Bantry-Bay* in the Weſt of *Ireland*, and having there refreſhed himſelf and his Men, he arrived ſafe at *Falmouth* the 29th of *Decmber*, after a tedious Paſſage of nine Days from *Ireland* [d].

In 1591, his Lordſhip undertook a fourth Voyage to the Coaſt of *Spain*, with five Ships, fitted out at his own Charge [e]. He ſailed from *England* in *May*; and, in his way to the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, found ſeveral *Dutch* Ships coming from *Liſbon* loaden with Spices, which he took out of them. Theſe Spices he determined to ſend to *England* in a Ship, guarded by the *Golden Noble* his Rear-admiral; but they were taken in a Calm, by ſome *Portugueſe* Gallies from *Penicha*; one of the Captains, with ſeveral of the Men were ſlain, and the reſt carried Priſoners to *Penicha*, and from thence to *Liſbon*. His Lordſhip took, beſides the Spices juſt now mentioned, a Veſſel freighted with Wine, which he unloaded into his own, and two Ships laden with Sugar; but one having a Leak that could not be found, he left it; the other he ſent for *England*, and by contrary Winds, and want of Victuals, it was forced into the *Groyne*, where it fell into the Enemy's Hands. Theſe ſeveral Misfortunes obliged the Earl to return to *England*; after having ſent Advice to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, then waiting at the *Azores* to intercept the *Weſt-India* Plate-fleet, that there was a large *Spaniſh* Squadron ready to put out to Sea [f].

The next Year the Earl of *Cumberland* undertook a fifth Expedition, in which he choſe not to make uſe of any of her Majeſty's Ships. He intended to have commanded in this Voyage in Perſon; but he was ſo croſſed with Winds, that three Months Proviſions were ſpent in Harbours, before they could get to the Weſtward of *Plymouth*. Whereupon, being diſappointed in his principal Deſign, namely, the taking of the outward-bound *Spaniſh* Carracks, he transferred the chief Command to Captain *Norton*, with Inſtructions to go to the *Azores*, and returned himſelf to *London*. His little Fleet purſued their Voyage, and one of the Ships [g] took near *Caſcais*, and within Shot of the Caſtle, a *Portugueſe* Ship, which was conducted to *England* by the *Golden Noble*. The reſt went to the *Azores*, and with the Aſſiſtance of other *Engliſh* Ships attacked the *Santa Cruz*, a large Carrack, in the Road of *Lagowna*, which the *Spaniards* ſet on Fire, after having put the beſt of its Cargo on-ſhore; but the *Engliſh* landed, and made themſelves Maſters both of it and the Town. The 3d of *Auguſt* they took another rich Carrack, named *Madre de Dios*, or the Mother of God, valued at a 150,000 *l.* Sterling, which was brought to *Dartmouth* [h]. The Earl of *Cumberland*'s Share, in proportion to his Number of Ships and Men employed in that Service, muſt have amounted to a very conſiderable Sum; but becauſe his Commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his Return, and the ſubſtituting another in his Room, it was adjudged, that he ſhould depend on the Queen's Mercy and Bounty. And by reaſon of ſeveral Embezzlements, not above the fifth Part of the Ship's Value being brought to Account, his Lordſhip was forced to ſit down contented with 36,000 *l.* and that too as a mere Matter of Bounty and Favour, not as his juſt Right [i].

The Earl undertook a ſixth Voyage in the Year 1593. Queen *Elizabeth* lent him for this Expedition two Ships of her Royal Navy, namely, the *Golden-lion*, Admiral, which his Lordſhip commanded in Perſon; and the *Bonaventure*, Vice-admiral; to which he added four other Ships [k]. He had not been long at Sea, before he took two *French* Ships of great Value, guarded by 14 great Hulks, one of which he carried with him, and ſent the other to *England*. When he came near the *Azores*, hearing that the *Spaniards* had a Fleet there to intercept him, and perceiving, by an Advice-boat of theirs he took, that they were much ſuperior to him in Strength; he kept Company with them one Day, and then withdrew at 10 or 12 Leagues diſtance, and ſo continued for three Weeks. In which time being ſeized with a violent Fit of Illneſs, he left the Command of his little Fleet to Captain *Monſon* (who took one Prize afterwards) and returned to *England*; this proving the moſt gainful Voyage he ever made. Whilſt he was near the Coaſt of *Spain*, he ſent three of his Ships [l] to the *Weſt-Indies*. They firſt touched at *St. Lucia* and *Martinico*, where they refreſhed themſelves; and then proceeding to *Margarita*, an Iſland famous for the Pearl-fiſheries, ſeized there a large Quantity of Pearl, to the Value of 2000 *l.* beſides other Booty; and obliged alſo the Inhabitants to pay them 2000 Ducats in Pearl, to ſave their Town from being plundered. They ſailed next to *Cumana*, to the Iſlands of *Aruba* and *Curaſſow*, and to *Rio de la Hache*, which they intended to have taken, but found the People ready for them, and learned that they had carried their Goods up to the Mountains: they therefore ſet ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, and. having viſited ſeveral Ports round it, and alſo the Iſlands of *Mona* and *Savona*, went up the River *Socko* in *Hiſpaniola*, were they exacted large Contributions, threatning otherwiſe to pillage the *Spaniards* Farmhouſes. At *Domingo* they took a fine Frigate, which they brought to *England*. Thence they went to *Jamaica*, to *Cuba*, Cape *Corientes* and Cape *St. Antonio*, where they waited for ſome time in vain for Ships coming from the *Havannah*. After eight Months ſpent in thoſe Parts, the *Pilgrim* ſailed for *England*, and arrived at *Plymouth* the 14th of *May* 1594; but the *Antonio* and the Frigate went to the Bay of *Honduras*, where, near *Porto Cavallo*, they found ſeven *Spaniſh* Ships; from ſix of them the *Spaniards* had taken off the Rudders, that they might be diſabled from ſailing; and refuſing to ranſom them, the *Engliſh* ſet them on-fire. But they firſt took out the beſt Effects, and put them on-board the *Spaniſh* Admiral, a Ship of 250 Tons, which they brought to *England*; and arrived at *Plymouth* the 15th of *May*, the next Day after the *Pilgrim* [m].

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[a] Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 157, 158. [b] Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1143. [c] Hackluit, as above, p. 162, 163, 166. [d] Ibid. p. 164, 165, 166. and Purchas, p. 1143, 1144. [e] Purchas, as above, p. 1144. [f] Purchas, p. 1144. and Sir William Monſon's Tracts. [g] The Golden Noble. [h] Hackluit, Vol. II. P. II. p. 196—198. [i] Purchas, p. 1145. [k] Viz. the Bark Chaldon, the Pilgrim, the Antony, and the Diſcovery. Purchas, p. 1146. [l] The Antony of 120 Tons, Capt. Jam. Langton, Commander; the Pilgrim of 100 Tons, commanded by Capt. Fr. Slingſby; and the Diſcovery. Purchas, ubi ſup. [m] Purchas, as above, p. 1146, 1147.

Before the Return of theſe Ships, the Earl of *Cumberland* had, at his own Charge, with the Help of ſome Adventurers, fitted out a ſmall Fleet, deſigned for the *Azores*, and particularly for the Iſland of *Tercera*. They ſailed from *Plymouth* the 6th of *April* 1594, and about the 25th took a ſmall Bark of *Viana* in *Portugal*, loaden with *Galicia* Wines, and other Commodities, which they divided amongſt themſelves. On the 2d of *June* they came within ſight of *St. Michael*'s Iſland, one of the *Azores*; and, on the 13th of the ſame Month, met [a] with a large *Portugueſe* Carrack, of 2000Tons, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or the five Wounds, returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*. They attacked it very vigorouſly, and would probably have become Maſters of it; but it being accidentally ſet on-fire during the Engagement, was blown up, with a great Quantity of Powder it had on-board. After this Diſaſter they ſailed for the Iſland of *Flores*, where they refreſhed themſelves; and then putting out again to Sea, came up, the 1ſt of *July*, with another large Carrack of 1500 Tons, which, after a few Shot, they ſummoned to ſurrender. But it ſtanding upon its Defence, and in the Engagement with the former Carrack the Vice-admiral and ſeveral Men having been killed, and the Admiral with many more wounded, the reſt began to grow faint and diſcouraged. So leaving this Carrack, they went and waited about *Corvo* and *Flores* for ſome Prize from the *Weſt-Indies*. None coming, and their Victuals beginning to grow ſhort, they returned for *England*, and arrived at *Portſmouth* about the End of *Auguſt*, having done much harm to the Enemy, and little good to themſelves [b].

The Earl of *Cumberland* reſolved upon an eighth Expedition in the Year 1595. Thinking himſelf ill-uſed by the Queen, in the ſmall Share he received of the Treaſure found in the *Madre de Dios*; and not liking to be tied to ſuch ſtrict Orders as he was when he went out with any Ships of the Royal Navy; likewiſe, being highly diſpleaſed at the Loſs of the two laſt mentioned Carracks for want of a ſufficient Strength; he built, at *Deptford*, a Ship of his own, of 900 Tons; which the Queen, at the Launching of it, named *The Scourge of Malice*. It was the beſt and largeſt Ship, that, till then, had ever been built by any *Engliſh* Subject. In this his Lordſhip intended to have gone in Perſon, and had prepared three other Ships to accompany him. But when he had gone as far as *Plymouth*, the Queen ſent him an Order, by Sir *Walter Raleigh* and Sir *John Hawkins*, to return; and he complied. The Ships, however, purſued their Voyage; three of them [c] went to the *Azores*, where they took a Caravel from *St. Thomas*, of 100 Tons, laden with Sugar. They attacked, afterwards, near *Flores*, a large Ship which they ſuppoſed to be a Carrack, but found it to be the *St. Thomas*, Vice-admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, waiting there to convoy the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Fleets to *Europe*. Being like to be over-powered by the *Engliſh*, it went and joined the other *Spaniſh* Ships; all which together were too ſtrong for the Earl of *Cumberland*'s ſmall Squadron. Whereupon, theſe latter ſailed for the Coaſt of *Spain*; near it they took three *Dutch* Ships, laden with Wheat, Copper, and other Ammunitions and Proviſions; which being for the King of *Spain*, were on that Account thought lawful Prize. By this time their Victuals being near ſpent, they returned to *England* [d].

In 1596, his Lordſhip fitted out a ſecond time the *Scourge of Malice*; in which he went in Perſon, accompanied with the *Dreadnought*, belonging to the Queen, and ſome other ſmall Ships. About 30 or 40 Leagues from *England* he met with a Storm, wherein the *Scourge* ſprung her Main-maſt, and was made unſerviceable for that Voyage; ſo that he was forced to return for *England* in the *Dreadnought* [e].

The Queen having at that time prepared a large Fleet, to go on the Coaſt of *Spain*, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord Admiral; the Earl of *Cumberland* thought it proper to ſend alſo thither the *Aſcenſion*, a Ship of 300 Tons, 34 Pieces of Ordnance, with 120 Men, commanded by Captain *Francis Slingſby*, on purpoſe to wait for ſuch Ships as were expected from *Liſbon*. Near the *Goodwin-ſands* it had like to be loſt in a Storm; but, however, having been able to proceed to *Plymouth*, and being refitted there, they went on their Voyage. Meeting with a Caravel, they made a fruitleſs Attempt upon it, in which the Captain was grievouſly wounded. Afterwards they happened to be vigorouſly attacked by ſeven *Spaniſh* Ships, one of them the Admiral, againſt which they as vigorouſly defended themſelves. They continued on the Coaſt of *Spain* till they had but 14 Days Proviſions left; and then returned to *England*, without ſo much as one Prize to make good the Damage and Loſs they and the Ship had ſuſtained [f].

The laſt, and moſt conſiderable Expedition undertaken by the Earl of *Cumberland*, was in the Year 1598. Having then fitted out, and victualled his own Ship the *Scourge of Malice*, with 19 others, chiefly at his own Charge, he undertook a Voyage in Perſon to the *Weſt-Indies*. For that Purpoſe, he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, *March* 6, 1597-8; and, on the Coaſt of *Spain*, took a *Hamburgh* Ship laden with Corn, Copper, Powder, and prohibited Commodities; and a *French* Ship laden with Salt going into *Liſbon*; but had, in taking the firſt, three Men killed, five or ſix wounded, and his Ship ſhot in ſeveral Places. Soon after he received Intelligence, that there were at *Liſbon* five very rich Carracks ready to ſail for the *Eaſt-Indies*, and 25 Ships for *Brazil*. But they hearing of the Approach of the Earl's Fleet, and he being tired of waiting for them, ſailed on the 5th of *April*, for the *South-Cape*. The 8th Day they went from thence towards the *Canaries*; and, on the 13th, made themſelves Maſters of *Lancerota*, where they hoped to have met with a very great Treaſure, that Iſland being then governed by a Marquis reputed worth 100,000 *l.* but they found little or nothing in the Place [g]. On the 21ſt of *April* ſailing from *Lancerota*, they directed their Courſe towards *Dominica*, where they arrived the 23d of *May*, and ſtaid till the 1ſt of *June*.

Next they went to the *Virgin* Iſlands, then uninhabited, where the Earl muſtered his Men, and acquainted them with his Deſign upon the Iſland of *St. Juan de Porto Rico* [h]. Accordingly they ſet ſail for that Place, where they arrived the 6th of *June*, and immediately landed the Soldiers, which were about 1000 in Number. After a very difficult Paſſage over a Cauſeway to the Town, and two violent Aſſaults, the Enemies quitted the Place, of which his Lordſhip took Poſſeſſion the 8th of *June* [i]. Within a few Days the ſtrong Fort of *Mora*, in which were 400 Soldiers, ſurrendered alſo to the *Engliſh*, and was afterwards razed. This Town being accounted the very Key of the *Weſt-Indies*, and a Paſſage to all the Gold and Silver in the Continent of *America*, his Lordſhip determined to keep it, and make it a Place of War. For that Purpoſe he ſent away the Inhabitants, on the 7th of *July*, to *Carthagena* [k]; tho' they made great Offers to be permitted to ſtay. But a Bloody-flux that carried off about 4 or 500 of his Men [l], made him alter his Reſolution. In the mean time, a Caravel coming on the 19th of *July*, into the Harbour, from *Margarita*, with about 1000 Ducats worth of Pearl, was ſeized upon by the *Engliſh*; by which they being informed, that the King of *Spain*'s Pearl-cheſt at *Margarita* was very rich, and but ſlenderly guarded, the Earl of *Cumberland* ſailed with three Ships, in order to have that great Booty, but was hindered by contrary Winds from executing his Purpoſe. Before he quitted the Iſland of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, he endeavoured to prevail upon the chief Inhabitants, for a Sum of Money to ranſom their Iſland and City. But finding that they trifled with him, and ſuſpecting ſome Treachery, he left the Strength of his Fleet with Sir *John Berkley*, to whom he gave full Power and Commiſſion to tranſact all Affairs in his Abſence.

He took, for his own Part, nine Ships with him, on-board of which he put what Hides, Ginger, Sugar, and Ammunition he could get; the Bells of the Churches;

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[a] Off the Sound between Fyall and Pico, ſix Leagues to the Southward.

[b] Hackluit, Vol. II. Part II. p. 199—201. Purchas, p. 1147, 1148.

[c] The Scourge, the Anthony, and the Frigate.

[d] Purchas, p. 1148.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Ibid. p. 1149.

[g] Ibid. p. 1149—1156.

[h] Ibid. p. 1152, 1153, 1159.

[i] Ibid. p. 1160, 1161, 1162.

[k] Ibid. p. 1166.

[l] Of the 1000 that landed, the greater Part was dead, or made unſerviceable, ibid. p. 1167.

and all the Braſs-cannons that were in the Iſland, being 80 in Number. With theſe nine Ships he ſet ſail, on the 14th of *Auguſt* for the *Azores*, where he hoped to intercept the *Spaniſh Mexico* Fleet, or ſome of the Carracks[a]. After many tedious Calms, and one violent Storm, he arrived at *Flores*, on the 15th of *September*: but, at his coming there, was told, that he came too late. It was in all likelihood much for his Safety and Advantage: for, but a few Days before, there had been at that Place 29 large *Spaniſh* Men of War, which undoubtedly would have proved too ſtrong for him[b]. Here he was joined by Sir *John Berkley*, with the reſt of his Fleet. After having taken in ſome Proviſions, they ſailed all together, the 16th of *September*, for *England*, where they arrived about the Beginning of *October*[c]. In this Expedition, his Lordſhip loſt a Barge, ſunk by his Order in the Haven, to the Prejudice of the Enemy; another Barge caſt away in a Storm at *Bermudas*; the *Pegaſus* wrecked upon the *Goodwin-ſands*, and the old Frigate upon the *Uſhant*; in which two laſt Ships, 40 Perſons were drowned. He loſt otherwiſe about 700 Men, whereof 600 died of the Bloody-flux and Calenture at *Porto Rico*, and 60 were ſlain in fight[d].

By the 11 Voyages above-mentioned, and by Building of Ships, Horſe-racing, Tilting, and the like expenſive Exerciſes, this noble Earl waſted more of his Eſtate than any of his Anceſtors[e]. I ſhould have obſerved, that, in 1592, he was elected Knight of the Garter[f]. In 1601, he was one of the Lords that were ſent with Forces to reduce the Earl of *Eſſex* to Obedience[g]. He departed this Life at the *Savoy* in *London*, *October* 30, 1605, and was buried at *Skipton* in *Craven* in *Yorkſhire* the 30th of *March* following, where a fine Tomb was afterwards erected to his Memory[h]. He married *Margaret*, the third Daughter of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, by whom he had two Sons, who died young, and a Daughter named *Anne*. Dying thus without Iſſue-male, he was ſucceeded in his Honours by his Brother *Francis*; who deceaſed in 1641, and had for Succeſſor his only Son *Henry*. And he alſo dying the 11th of *December* 1643, left one only Daughter, *Elizabeth*, born in 1613, and married *July* 5, 1635, to *Richard Boyle* Viſcount *Dungarvan*, Heir-apparent to *Richard* Earl of *Cork*, created in 1644 Lord *Clifford* of *Lanſborough*, and on the 20th of *March* 1664, Earl of *Burlington*, Anceſtor of the preſent Earls of that Name[i].

The LIFE *of* JOHN DAVIS, *an eminent* NAVIGATOR *in the* XVIth *Century*.

John Davis, the fortunate Diſcoverer of unknown Countries in this Reign, was born at *Sandbridge*, a pleaſant Seat in the Pariſh of *Stoke Gabriel*, near *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*[k]. His Birth and Education near that eminent Seaport, which in thoſe Days was excelled by none for mercantile Navigation, having given him a fair Opportunity, to which probably was added a ſtrong natural Diſpoſition, he put himſelf early to Sea; where, by the Help of a good Maſter, and his ſubſequent Induſtry, Knowledge, and Experience, he became the moſt expert Pilot, and one of the ableſt Navigators of his Time[l]. The firſt publick Employment he had, was in the Year 1585, when he undertook to diſcover *a new Paſſage*, by the North-weſt Parts of *America* to the *Eaſt-Indies*. For that Purpoſe, he ſailed from *Dartmouth* on the 7th of *June* with two Barks, as we have more largely related in this Hiſtory, and met, *July* 19th, many Iſlands of Ice floating, in 60 Degrees Northern Latitude[m]. They were ſoon encompaſſed with them; and going upon ſome, perceived that the roaring Noiſe they heard, at which they were greatly aſtoniſhed, was cauſed only by the rolling of the Ice together. The next Day they diſcovered the Southern Coaſt of *Groenland*, 500 Leagues diſtant from the *Durſeys*, or *Miſſenhead*, in *Ireland*; and obſerved it to be extremely rocky and mountainous, and covered with Snow, without any Signs of Wood, Graſs, or Earth to be ſeen. The Shore likewiſe was ſo full of Ice, that no Ship could come near it by two Leagues: and ſo ſhocking was the Appearance of it, and the Cracking of the Ice ſo hideous, that they imagined it to be a quite deſolate Country, without a living Creature, or even any vegetable Subſtance; for which reaſon Captain *Davis* named it, *The Land of Deſolation*[n].

Perceiving that they were run into a very deep Bay, wherein they were almoſt ſurrounded with Ice, they kept coaſting along the of Edge it, South-ſouth-weſt, till the 25th of *July*; when, after having gone 50 or 60 Leagues, they found that the Shore lay directly North. So they altered their Courſe to the North-weſt, in hopes of finding their deſired Paſſage; but on the 29th they diſcovered Land to the North-eaſt, in 64 Deg. 15 Min. Latitude. Making towards it, they perceived that they were paſſed the Ice, and were among many green, temperate, and pleaſant Iſlands, bordering upon the Shore; tho' the Hills of the Continent were ſtill covered with great Quantities of Snow. Among theſe Iſlands were many fine Bays, and good Roads for Shipping; they landed in ſome, and the People of the Country came down and converſed with them. By Signs they made Mr. *Davis* underſtand, that there was a great Sea towards the North and Weſt[o]. He ſtaid in this Place till the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, and then proceeded in his Diſcovery. The 6th of that Month they found Land in 66 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude, quite free from Ice; and anchored in a ſafe Road, under a great Mountain, the Cliffs whereof glittered like Gold. This Mountain he named, *Mount Raleigh*; the Road where their Ships lay at Anchor, *Totneſs Road*; the Bay which encompaſſed the Mountain, *Exeter Sound*; the Foreland towards the North, *Dier's Cape*; and the Foreland towards the South, *Cape Walſingham*.

He departed from hence the 8th of *Auguſt*, coaſting along the Shore, which lay South-ſouth-weſt, and Eaſt-north-eaſt; and on the 11th came to the moſt Southerly Cape of that Land, which he named *The Cape of God's Mercy*, as being the Place of their firſt Entrance for the Diſcovery. Going forward, they came into a very fine Streight, or Paſſage, in ſome Places 20 Leagues broad, in others 30, quite free from Ice, the Weather in it very tolerable, and the Water of the ſame Colour and Nature as the main Ocean. This Paſſage ſtill retains the Name of its firſt Diſcoverer, being called to this Day *Fretum Davis*, or *Davis's Streights*.

Having ſailed North-weſt 60 Leagues[p] in this Paſſage, they diſcovered ſeveral Iſlands in the Midſt of it; in ſome of which they landed. The Coaſt was very barren, without Wood or Graſs; and the Rocks were like fine Marble, full of Veins of divers Colours. Some Days after they continued ſearching for the North-weſt Paſſage, but found only a great Number of Iſlands. And, on the 20th, the Wind coming contrary, they altered their Courſe and Deſign; and returning for *England*, arrived at *Dartmouth* the 29th of *September*[q].

The next Year he undertook a ſecond Voyage, for the further Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, being ſupported and encouraged again by Secretary *Walſingham*, and other Adventurers[r]. With a View therefore of ſearching the Bottom of the Streights he had been in the Year before, he ſailed from *Dartmouth*, *May* the 7th 1586, with four Ships; and the 15th of *June* diſcovered Land in 60 Deg. Latitude, and 47 Deg. Longitude Weſt from *London*. The Ice along the Coaſt reached in ſome Places 10, in ſome 20, and in others 50 Leagues into the Sea; ſo that, to avoid it, they were forced to bear into 57 Deg. Latitude. After many tempeſtuous Storms, they made the Land again, *June* the 29th, in 64 Deg. of Latitude, and 58 of Longitude, and ran among the temperate Iſlands they had been at the Year before. But the Water was ſo deep, they could not eaſily come to an Anchor; however, they found means to go aſhore on ſome of the Iſlands, where they were extremely careſſed and welcomed by the Natives, who knew them again[a]. Having finiſhed a Pinnace, which was to ſerve them for a Scout in their Diſcoveries, they landed, not only in that, but alſo in their Boats, in ſeveral Places; and, upon the ſtricteſt Search, found the Land not to be a Continent, as they imagined, but a Collection of huge, waſte, and deſert Iſlands, with great Sounds and Inlets paſſing between Sea and Sea[b].

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[a] Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1168, &c. [b] Ibid. p. 1176. [c] Ibid. p. 1174, 1175, 1176. [d] Ibid. p. 1149.

[e] Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra. [f] Ibid. And Sept. 27. the ſame Year, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, Wood. Faſti. Edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 144. [g] Camden, as above, ad Ann. 1601. [h] Dugdale, p. 345, 346. [i] Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Vol. II. p. 333. [k] Weſcot's Deſcript. of Devon in Sandridge. Prince's Worthies, p. 247. [l] Prince, ibid. [m] Voyages, Navigations, &c. by R. Hackluit, Vol. III. Edit. 1600. p. 98, &c. and Purchas's Pilgrims, Part III. Book III. c. 2. p. 463, 464.

[n] Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 99, 119. [o] Hackluit, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 119. [p] Mr. Davis himſelf ſays only 30 or 40 Leagues. See Hackluit, as above, p. 119. [q] Hackluit, p. 102, 119. [r] Ibid. p. 119.

They purſued their Voyage the 11th of *July*, and on the 17th, in 63 Deg. 8 Min. Latitude, met with a moſt prodigious Maſs of Ice, which they coaſted till the 30th. This was a great Obſtacle and Diſcouragement to them, not having the like there the Year before; and, beſides, the Men beginning to grow ſickly, the Crew of the *Mermaid*, on which he chiefly depended, forſook him, and reſolved to proceed no further[c]. However, not to diſappoint Mr. *W. Sanderſon*, who was the chief Adventurer in this Voyage, and for fear of loſing the Favour of Secretary *Walſingham*, who had this Diſcovery much at Heart, Mr. *Davis* undertook to proceed alone in his ſmall Bark of 30 Tons. Having therefore fitted, and well victualled it, in a Harbour lying in 66 Deg. 33 Min. Latitude, and 70 Deg. Longitude, which he found to be a very hot Place, and full of Muſcatoes, he ſet ſail the 12th of *Auguſt*, and coming into a Streight, followed the Courſe of it for 80 Leagues, till he came among many Iſlands, where the Water ebbed and flowed ſix Fathom deep[d]. He had Hopes of finding a Paſſage there, but upon ſearching further in his Boat, he perceived there was none. So he returned again into the open Sea, and kept coaſting Southward as far as 54 Deg. ½ Latitude; in which Time he found another great Inlet, near 40 Leagues broad, between two Lands, Weſt, where the Water ran in with great Violence. This, he imagined, was the Paſſage ſo long ſought for; but the Wind being then contrary, and two furious Storms happening ſoon after, he neither thought it ſafe nor wiſe to proceed further; eſpecially in one ſmall Bark, and when the Seaſon was ſo far advanced. Wherefore he ſailed for *England* the 11th of *September*[e], and arrived thither in the Beginning of *October*. By what Obſervations he made, he concluded that the North-parts of *America* were all Iſlands[f].

He made a third Voyage to theſe Parts again the Year following, 1587. All the weſtern Merchants, and moſt of thoſe of *London*, refuſed to be engaged further in the Undertaking; but the Lord-treaſurer *Burleigh*, and Secretary *Walſingham*, ſet it forwards. Mr. *Davis* having, in his laſt Voyage, diſcovered prodigious Quantities of excellent Cod-fiſh, in 56 Deg. of Latitude; for that Reaſon, two Ships were ſent along with him for Fiſhing, and one only for the Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage.

They ſailed from *Dartmouth* the 19th of *May*, and diſcovered Land the 14th of *June*, at 16 Leagues Diſtance, being very mountainous, and covered with Snow[g]. On the 21ſt of *June* the two Barks left him, and went upon the fiſhing, after having promiſed him not to depart till his Return to them about the End of *Auguſt*. But having finiſhed their Voyage in about 16 Days after, they ſet ſail for *England*, without any Regard to their Promiſe. As for Captain *Davis*, he purſued his intended Diſcovery in the Sea between *America* and *Groenland*, from 64 to 73 Deg. of Latitude.

Having entered the Streights which bear his Name, he went on Northward, from the 21ſt to the 30th of *June*; naming one Part *Merchants Coaſt*[h]; another, *The London Coaſt*; another *Hope-Sanderſon*, in 73 Deg. Latitude, being the furtheſt he went that Way. The Wind coming northerly, he altered his Courſe, and ran 40 Leagues Weſt, without ſeeing any Land[i]. On the ſecond of *July*, he fell in with a great Bank of Ice, which he coaſted Southward till the 19th of *July*, when he came within Sight of *Mount-Raleigh* on the *American* Coaſt, in about 67 Degrees of Latitude. Having ſailed 60 Leagues North-weſt into the Gulf that lies beyond it, he anchored, *July* 23d, at the Bottom of that Gulf, among many Iſlands, which he named, *The Earl of Cumberland's Iſles*.

He quitted that Place again the ſame Day, and ſailed back South-eaſt, in order to recover the Sea; which he did the 29th in 62 Deg. of Latitude. The 30th, he paſſed by a great Bank, or Inlet, to which he gave the Name of *Lumley's Inlet*; and the next Day by a Headland, which he called *The Earl of Warwick's Foreland*. On the firſt of *Auguſt* he fell in with the ſouthermoſt Cape, named by him *Chudley's Cape*; and, the 12th, paſſed by an Iſland which he named *Darcy's Iſland*. When he came in 52 Deg. of Latitude, not finding the two Ships that had promiſed to ſtay for him, he was in great Diſtreſs, having but little Wood, and only half a Hogſhead of Water left. However, taking Courage, he made the beſt of his Way home, and arrived at *Dartmouth September* the 15th[k], very ſanguine, that the North-weſt Paſſage was moſt probable, and the Execution eaſy. But Secretary *Walſingham* being otherwiſe engaged, and dying not long after, that Deſign was laid aſide[l].

Mr. *Davis* notwithſtanding did not remain idle. For, *Auguſt* 26, 1591, he was Captain of the *Deſire*, Rear-admiral to Mr. *Thomas Cavendiſh*, in his ſecond unfortunate Expedition to the *South-Sea*; and is highly blamed by Mr. *Cavendiſh* for having deſerted him, and thereby being the Cauſe of his Overthrow. After many Diſaſters, Mr. *Davis* arrived again at *Bear-haven* in *Ireland*, *June* 11, 1593[m].

He performed afterwards no leſs than five Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Station of a Pilot[n]. One was in a *Dutch* Ship, wherein he ſet out *March* 15, 1597-8, from *Fluſhing*, and returned to *Middleburgh*, *July* 23, 1600[o]. Of the reſt we have no Account, only of one he performed with Sir *Edward Michelbourne*[p], in which were ſpent 19 Months, from *December* 5, 1604, to *July* 9, 1606. During this Voyage Mr. *Davis* was ſlain, on the 27th of *December* 1605, in a deſperate Fight with ſome *Japoneſe* near the Coaſt of *Malacca*[q]. He married *Faith*, Daughter of Sir *John Fulford*, of *Fulford* in *Devonſhire*, Knight, by *Dorothy* his Wife, Daughter of *John* Lord *Bouchier* Earl of *Bath*[r], by whom probably he had Iſſue; for ſome of his Poſterity are ſaid to have been living ſome Years ago, at or near *Deptford*[s].

The LIFE *of the bold* ADVENTURER *Captain* EDWARD FENTON.

Edward Fenton, a bold Adventurer for Diſcoveries, an experienced Seaman, and a gallant Officer in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was deſcended from an ancient Family in the County of *Nottingham*, and had ſome Eſtate there[t], which he ſold; as did alſo his younger Brother *Geoffrey*, afterwards Secretary of State for *Ireland*, being more enclined to truſt to their own Abilities, than the ſlender hereditary Patrimony deſcending to them from their Anceſtors; and they were among the very ſmall Number of thoſe, who take ſuch daring Reſolutions in their Youth without living to repent of them in their own old Age. He was a Perſon of very quick and lively Parts, which had been improved by a good Education[u]; but as his Brother's Turn was to Study and Books, ſo *Edward*'s Inclination led him rather to a military and active Life, which induced him to court the Favour, and by Degrees procured him the Protection, of the two potent Brothers *Warwick* and *Leiceſter*[w].

He ſerved ſome time with great Reputation in *Ireland*, but upon Sir *Martin Frobiſher*'s Report of the Probability of diſcovering a N. W. Paſſage into the *South-Seas*, he reſolved to engage with him in his ſecond Voyage, and accordingly was appointed Captain of the *Gabriel*, a Bark of 25 Tons, in which he accompanied that famous Seaman in his Voyage to the Streights which bear his Name, in the Summer of the Year 1577; but in their Return he was ſeparated from Sir *Martin* in a Storm, notwithſtanding which he had the good Fortune to arrive ſafe at *Briſtol* [a].

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[a] Hackluit, p. 103, 104.
[b] Ibid. p. 103, 105.
[c] Ibid. p. 119.
[d] Ibid. p. 120.
[e] Ibid. p. 107, 108, 120.
[f] Ibid. p. 120.
[g] Ibid. p. 111, 120.
[h] Becauſe he found People there, that merchandiſed with him. Hackluit, p. 112.
[i] Ibid.
[k] Ibid. p. 114, 120.
[l] Ibid. p. 120.
[m] Hackluit, Vol. III. p. 842—852.
[n] Prince, ubi ſupra.
[o] See Collection of Voyages, &c. publiſhed by J. Harris, 2 Vol. fol. London 1705. Vol. I. p. 49, &c.
[p] Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 132. and Vol. III. p. 556.
[q] Harris, ibid. p. 57.
[r] Weſtcot's Pedigree. See Prince, ubi ſupra.
[s] Prince, ibid.
[t] Thoroton's Hiſt. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.
[u] Fuller's Worthies, P. II. p. 318.
[w] This appears from the Inſtructions given him, on his undertaking his laſt Voyage.

In the third Expedition undertaken in 1578, he commanded the *Judith*, one of the 15 Sail which compoſed Sir *Martin Frobiſher*'s Squadron, and had the Title of Rear-admiral [b]. It is very certain that ſcarce any Expedition was undertaken during that Reign with greater Expectation, or proſecuted with leſs Effect; which Misfortune put an end, for that time, to all Endeavours of the like Nature.

Captain *Fenton*, however, was very far from being convinced by this Miſcarriage that the Deſign was impracticable; but, on the contrary, ſuggeſted from time to time, that the Diſcovery of a N. W. Paſſage was a Point of very great Importance to the Commerce and Navigation of *England*, and might, notwithſtanding former Diſappointments, be reſumed with reaſonable Hopes of Succeſs. His importunate Solicitations for ſeveral Years, joined to the Intereſt of his noble Patron the Earl of *Warwick*, procured him at length another Opportunity of trying his Fortune at Sea, and that in a Way, and with a Force, ſufficient to gratify his Ambition [c]; and for the ſpeedy Execution of which he immediately betook himſelf, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, to make all the Preparations poſſible. Of this Voyage we have ſeveral authentic Accounts, and yet it is not eaſy to apprehend the true Deſign of it. The Inſtructions given by the Privy-council to Mr. *Fenton*, and which [d] are ſtill preſerved, ſay expreſsly, That he ſhould endeavour the Diſcovery of a N. W. Paſſage, but by a new Rout which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and, being arrived at the *Moluccas*, he was to go from thence to the *South-Seas*, and to attempt his Return by the ſuppoſed N. W. Paſſage, and not by any means to think of paſſing the Streights of *Magellan*, except in caſe of abſolute Neceſſity.

Notwithſtanding theſe Inſtructions, Sir *William Monſon* tells us plainly, that Mr. *Fenton* was ſent to try his Fortune in the *South-Seas* [e], and ſo himſelf underſtood it. In the Month of *May* 1582, Mr. *Fenton* left the *Engliſh* Coaſt, with three ſtout Ships and a Bark. With theſe he ſailed firſt to the Coaſt of *Africa*, and then for that of *Brazil*, directly from whence he intended to have ſailed for the Streights of *Magellan*; but hearing there that the King of *Spain*, who had better Intelligence it ſeems of his Project and Intentions than if he had read his Inſtructions, had ſent Don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, with a ſtrong Fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature Deliberation, reſolved to careen [f]. Putting into a *Portugueſe* Settlement for that Purpoſe, he there met with three of the *Spaniſh* Squadron, one of which was their Vice-admiral, which he ſunk after a very briſk Engagement, and then put to Sea in order to come home [g]. His Vice-admiral, Captain *Luke Ward*, who commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* of 300 Tons, was ſeparated from the Admiral ſoon after the Action, and perceiving no hopes of rejoining him, proceeded homewards as well as he could, and, not without enduring great Hardſhips; and paſſing through many Difficulties, arrived at length ſafely at *Plymouth*, towards the latter End of the Month of *May* 1583 [h]. It is from this Captain *Ward* that we have an Account of this Voyage, which ſeems to be very fairly and honeſtly written, though it does not appear that he was in any Degree in the Secret of the Deſign, or acquainted with the real Intentions of his Admiral, either as to Trade or Diſcovery [i].

As to Captain *Edward Fenton*, he too returned ſafely into *England*, and does not ſeem to have loſt any Credit by the Diſappointment he met with in this Expedition. It may be his Patrons were ſatisfied with his Conduct, and with the Reaſons that he gave them for his Return; which ſeems the more probable, ſince we find him at Sea again in 1588, and entruſted with the Command of one of her Majeſty's Ships. In ſome of the Accounts of that glorious Action, he is ſaid to have commanded the *Antelope* [k]; yet Sir *William Monſon* [l] makes him Captain of the *Mary-Roſe*; but, in which ever Ship he was, it is unanimouſly agreed, that he behaved like a Man of Honour, and had a very diſtinguiſhed Share in thoſe Actions, the Fame of which will laſt as long as Hiſtory remains.

We know little or nothing of his future Courſe of Life, except that he ſpent the Remainder of his Days, at, or near *Deptford*, it may be at *Says-Court*, afterwards the Seat of Sir *Richard Brown*, and now in the Poſſeſſion of Sir *John Evelyn* as his Deſcendant, where he died in the Spring of the Year 1603, and was buried in the Pariſh-church at *Deptford* [m]. A Monument was there erected to his Memory, by the pious Care of *Richard* Earl of *Cork*, who married his Niece, with a ſuitable Inſcription thereon [n]; which, becauſe it is not only elegant but ſuccinct, we ſhall tranſcribe, as we find it in *Fuller's Worthies*.

Memoriæ perenni Edwardi Fenton, *Reginæ* Elizabethæ *olim pro corpore Armigeri*, Jano O-Neal, *ac poſt eum Comite* Deſmoniæ, *in* Hibernia *turbantibus, fortiſſimi Taxiarchi, qui poſt luſtratum improbo auſu, ſeptentrionalis Plagæ Apocbryphum Mare, & excuſas variis peregrinationibus inertis Naturæ latebras, Anno* 1588, *in celebri contra* Hiſpanos *Naumachia, meruit Navis prætoriæ Navarchus.*

Obiit Anno Domini 1603.

In *Engliſh* thus:

To the never-fading Memory of *Edward Fenton*, heretofore Eſquire of the Body to Queen *Elizabeth*, a gallant Commander during the Troubles of *Ireland*, firſt againſt *Shane O-Neal*, and then againſt the Earl of *Deſmond*, who after having explored the hidden Paſſages of the Northern Seas, and in other hazardous Expeditions viſited remote and ſcarce known Places, merited the Command of a Royal Ship in that glorious Sea-fight againſt the *Spaniards* in the Year 1588.

He died in the Year of our Lord 1603.

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[a] Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 757.
[b] Stowe's Annals, p. 808.
[c] Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 402.
[d] See above in this Hiſtory, p. 231.
[e] Naval Tracts, p. 402.
[f] Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 726.
[g] Sir W. Monſon's Tracts, p. 402.
[h] Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 768.
[i] As appears from his Relation on p. 234. of this Hiſtory.
[k] Stowe's Annals, p. 747.
[l] Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.
[m] Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 97.
[n] Fuller's Worthies, P. II. p. 318.

BOOK III.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to our *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Acceſſion of King JAMES *the Firſt*, and the UNION of the TWO CROWNS, to the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN *in the Reign of King* JAMES I.

THE Death of Queen *Elizabeth* [a] having made way for *James* the King of *Scotland* to the Throne of *England*, we date from his Acceſſion the Stile and Name of *Great-Britain*, which has ever ſince been given to this Iſland. And tho' his Mother loſt her Head for aſcertaining her Title to the Crown of *England*; upon the Demiſe of the late Queen, *James* was proclaimed King at the Requeſt of *Elizabeth*, a little before her Death, and in Purſuance of her laſt Will. To which he was intitled by the natural Right of being the neareſt in Blood to *Elizabeth*, and by the Parliamentary Right of that Act, which ſecured the Crown to *Henry* VII. and his Heirs.

James I. of *England*, and VI. of *Scotland*, was the Son of *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*, by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who was the only Child of *James* V. King of *Scots*, who was the eldeſt Son of *James* IV. King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Wife, eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* VII. King of *England*. So that it appears that King *James* I. was great Grandſon of the Princeſs *Margaret*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* VII. and that upon Failure of Iſſue of *Henry* VIII. who was the only ſurviving Son of *Henry* VII. he had an unqueſtionable Right to the Crown of *England* by Deſcent.

This unexpected Unanimity, by which *James* was proclaimed King of *England*, being notified in Form to his Majeſty from the Privy-council, he ſet out immediately for *London*; and with a ſmall Retinue, and eaſy Stages, arrived in that Capital on the 7th of *May*. In the mean time the Government continued their Diligence for the Security of the State. It had been cuſtomary for the Queen to keep a continual Force upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts from *February* to *November*, to interrupt the Navigation of the Enemy, and to ſecure her own Subjects from foreign Inſults. So that when the Miniſtry perceived that her Majeſty's Health greatly declined, and her Danger to increaſe, Sir *Richard Leviſon*, and Sir *William Monſon*, were haſtened to guard the Coaſts of the Narrow Seas, with eight Ships of the Line [b]; holding it a Point of Policy of State, to keep our Seas guarded, from fear of any foreign Attempt, until his Majeſty ſhould be peaceably ſeated in *England*.

This Fleet departed from *Queenborough* the 22d of *March*, and arrived at the *Downs* the 25th of the ſame, being the Day after her Majeſty's Death.

The News hereof, and the Command to proclaim King *James* VI. of *Scotland*, our lawful right Inheritor to the Crown, arrived both together, which put us into two contrary Paſſions; the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief, by the Loſs of the Queen; and Joy, in accepting the King, and in that peaceable Manner, that it made a Happineſs to all Men, againſt Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Part and Office of this Fleet was to guard and defend the Coaſts from any Incurſion that ſhould be made out of *France* or the *Low-Countries*, ſo the Commanders were as vigilant to appear upon the Coaſts, once in two Days, to diſhearten them, if they had any ſuch Thought; but it was far from their Abilities, whatſoever was in their Hearts, to put a Stop to his Majeſty's Proceedings; and becauſe the Archduke would make it appear more evidently to the World, he called in his Letters of Reprizal againſt the *Engliſh*, and publiſhed an Edict of a free and lawful Traffic into *Flanders*, ſo that then our Merchants might trade peaceably into thoſe Parts, from which they had been debarred, during the Continuance of 18 Years War.

The King finding that *France* neither called his Right in Queſtion, nor gave any Jealouſy, by the raiſing of an Army, and that the Archduke made a Demonſtration of his Deſire of Peace, his Majeſty did the like, acknowledging his League with thoſe Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars; for Wars betwixt Countries are not hereditary; but commonly end with the Deaths of their Kings. Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their Southern Employment, and repair unto *Chatham*, giving manifeſt Teſtimonies, that his Subjects ſhould recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly loſt by War [c].

The undiſturbed Tranquillity of the Nation, and the pacific Advices, which daily arrived from *France*, *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*, increaſed the Number of Adventurers in the Settlement of our late Diſcoveries, and in ſailing in queſt of other unknown Countries. The Merchants of *Briſtol* reſolved upon a further Diſcovery, and, by Leave from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Patentee, to ſettle a Colony in the North Part of that vaſt Continent called then *Virginia*. Another Company of Adventurers at *London* agreed with Sir *Walter* for Permiſſion to make another Settlement on the ſame Coaſt, at or near *Cheſepeak* Bay. The former [d] raiſed a Stock of about 1000 *l.* and fitted out a Ship called the *Speedwell*, of about 50 Tons, commanded by Captain *Martin Pring*, with about 30 Officers, Men and Boys under him; and a Bark called the *Diſcoverer*, commanded by Mr. *William Brown*, with a Mate, and 11 Men and Boys. They were victualled for eight Months, and laden with all ſorts of Apparel, Tools, and Bawbles, proper to trade with the Savages of the Countries, whither they were going; under the Care and Management of Mr. *Robert Saltern*.

They ſailed from *Milford-haven* on the 10th of *April*, and fell in with a Multitude of ſmall Iſlands on the North Coaſt of *Virginia*, in the Latitude of 43 Degrees, in the Month of *June*, and took a narrow View of theſe Iſlands, and of all the Continent oppoſite to them, and of all the Inlets into it; but finding no Inhabitants, nor Saſſafras,

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[a] On the 24th of March 1603.

[b] The Ships and Commanders nominated for this Expedition were, the Repulſe, Sir Richard Leviſon; Mary-Honora, Sir William Monſon; Defiance, Captain Gore; Warſpight, Captain Seymour; Rainbow, Captain Trevor; Dreadnought, Captain Reynolds; Quittance, Captain Howard; Lion's-Whelp, Captain Polewheele. The ſmaller Ships are not named. Sir William Monſon's Tracts, MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

[c] Monſon, ibid.

[d] Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1654. Smith's General Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 18. Harris's Collection, Part I. p. 816.

fras, they directed their Courſe towards *Savage Rock*; and thence to the great Gulf, which Captain *Goſnoll* had overſhot the Year before; where they found People both on the North and South Side, in about 41 Degrees, and had ſome Intercourſe with them, particularly at a Place where they purpoſed to take in their Loading, to which they gave the Name of *Whitſon* Bay. And having by the End of *July* loaded their Bark with Saſſafras, and diſpatched her home before-hand; in about 14 Days after, having loaded their Ship likewiſe, to their Satisfaction, they departed for *England*, and arrived at *Kingrode* the 2d of *October*.

Among ſeveral Curioſities they brought back with them, the moſt remarkable was one of the Boats uſed by the Inhabitants, made of the Bark of a Birch-tree, ſowed together with Twigs, and the Seams covered with Rozin or Turpentine, which, tho' it was 17 Foot long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine Perſons, did not weigh 60 Pounds.

The Commander employed by the *London* Adventurers was Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert* [a], lately returned from *Virginia*, under Captain *Goſnoll*. He ſailed in a Bark of 50 Tons only from *Plymouth*, on the 10th of *May*, and, in the way, traded at *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, and *Mevis*, at the latter of which he cut about 20 Tons of *Lignum Vitæ*. The 3d of *July* he ſet ſail from thence for the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and particularly for *Cheſepeak* Bay. The 25th they came near the Mouth of that Bay; but, the Wind blowing hard, with a high Sea, after beating about for two or three Days, they were obliged to bear more to the Eaſtward, where on the 29th, the Captain with four of his beſt Men landed in their Boat, and being provided with Arms, marched up into the Country; but falling into an Ambuſh, they were overpowered by the Inhabitants, and all killed; it was even with Difficulty that the Boat with two young Men, who were left in her, reached the Ship again, to bring the News.

The Command devolved on Mr. *Henry Shute*, the Maſter, or Pilot, who with only 11 Men and Boys in the Ship, being afraid to venture the Loſs of any more of their ſmall Company, and their Proviſions growing ſhort, reſolved, tho' they were in extreme want of Wood and Water, to return homewards; and arrived in the River of *Thames* about the End of *September*, in great Diſtreſs.

Beſides theſe two Adventurers, this Year produced another [b], at the Expence of Mr. *Francis Cherrie*, in a Ship called the *Grace*, of 50 Tons, commanded by Captain *Stephen Bennet*, which ſailed as far as 74 Degrees and 30 Minutes N. Lat. which Iſland therefore was named *Cherrie* Iſland.

The Peace, which at this time opened a Trade with *Spain* and *Italy*, encouraged the Merchants to continue all Methods to avail themſelves of the preſent Circumſtances, and they, amongſt other Means, procured a Charter of an excluſive Right for a Company to trade to thoſe Countries. But the Injury of ſuch a Monopoly was ſo flagrant, and diſagreeable to the reſt of the Nation, that the Parliament in their next Seſſion, took it into Conſideration, and prevailed with the King to revoke his Patent [c].

The *Eaſt-India* Company exerted themſelves alſo, and prepared for a ſecond Venture, in conſequence of their late Voyage under the Command of Captain *Lancaſter*, as related in the preceding Book. This new Voyage was made by four Ships, *viz.* the *Red Dragon*, the *Hector*, the *Aſcenſion*, and the *Suſan*; commanded in chief by Sir *Henry Middleton*, who weighed Anchor and departed from *Graveſend* on the 2d Day of *April* [d]. His Men proved ſo ſickly, that ſcarce 50 remained alive, in all the four Ships, on his Arrival at *Bantam*, where they all came to Anchor on the 29th or 30th Day of *December* following.

Next Day Sir *Henry* delivered a Letter to the King of the Iſland from King *James*, and was treated with great Civility and Ceremony. And having procured Leave to traffic, and to load the *Hector* and *Suſan* with Pepper, he left them behind to take it in. He diſpatched the *Aſcenſion* for the Iſles of *Banda*; and himſelf, on-board the *Dragon*, ſailed for the *Moluccas*.

During the Abſence of the Admiral Sir *Henry*, the *Dutch* treacherouſly endeavoured to undermine the *Engliſh* in their Trade, and to traverſe all their Attempts to traffic in thoſe Parts, by ſcandalous Aſperſions to render them odious and hateful to the *Eaſt-Indians*. However, all their Suggeſtions at *Bantam*, *Ternate*, and *Tydore*, proved ineffectual. The Kings and Natives of thoſe Iſlands received the *Engliſh* Adventurers in a friendly Manner, and entered with them into Treaties of Amity and Commerce.

Sir *Henry* returned to the Port of *Bantam* in *Auguſt* 1605, and found his two Ships loaded with Pepper, but in Diſtreſs for Hands; for their two Maſters were dead, as were alſo ſeveral of their Men, and the reſt were in a very ſickly Condition. Nevertheleſs it was reſolv'd, that they would put to Sea early in the Spring. Accordingly the *Hector* and *Suſan* were ordered to ſail about the latter End of *February*, or Beginning of *March*. The *Dragon* and *Aſcenſion* followed ſoon after, and came up with the *Hector* off the *Cape of Good Hope*, which had only ten Men left alive; and had parted with the *Suſan*, three Months before, which was never more heard of. By this Means the *Hector* was ſaved, and arrived ſafe in the *Downs* on the 6th of *May* 1606, with the other two Ships.

About three Weeks after Sir *Henry*'s Departure for *England* from *Bantam*, Captain *John Davis*, of whom we have made honourable Mention in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at the ſame Port [e] with the *Tyger*, a ſtout Veſſel of 240 Tons, and a Pinnace named the *Tyger's Whelp*, from *Cowes* in the *Iſle of Wight*, at the Riſque of Sir *Edward Michelbourn*, who alſo made the Voyage with this ſkilful Navigator.

On their Arrival, the Factors for the *Eaſt-India* Company went on-board, and told them, that the Company of *Dutch* Ships that were in the Road, had repreſented them to the King of *Bantam* as Thieves and Vagabonds, and ſuch as came for nothing but to deceive them, or uſe ſuch Violence as Time would give them an Opportunity of executing; and that the *Engliſh* durſt not come into the Road among them, but kept two or three Leagues off for Fear.

Sir *Edward Michelbourn* was ſo provoked at this ill Uſage of his Countryman, by a People who owed their very Being to the *Engliſh* Nation, that he weighed Anchor, and ſent the *Hollanders* Word, he would come and ride cloſe by their Sides, and defied the proudeſt of them all to point a Piece of Ordnance againſt him; and further ſent them Word, if they did go about either to brave, or to diſgrace him or his Countrymen, he would either ſink them, or ſink himſelf by their Sides. A Meſſage which made the *Hollanders*, tho' they were five Ships, (one of 7 or 800 Tons, but the reſt were of a much ſmaller Burden) as quiet as Lambs, and hardly to appear out of their Ships, as long as the *Engliſh* remained in Sight.

On the 27th of *December*, Captain *Davis* leaving this Coaſt in queſt of a better Cargo, and being off of *Pan-Hange*, a Country lying between *Patane* and *Jor*, met a Junk full of *Japoneſe*, (who had been pyrating along the Coaſt of *China* and *Cambaia*, but having loſt their Ship, were making the beſt of their way home to *Japan* in this Veſſel) about 90 in Number, who had all the Appearance of Perſons of ſome Diſtinction, except their Pilot. They alſo at firſt were ſociable, viſited and made Preſents one to the other. But 26 of the *Tyger*'s Men being on-board the Junk, ſearching among their Rice for hidden Commodities of a greater Value, the *Japoneſe*, who had before concerted their Deſign, ſet upon them, ſlew the greater Part of them, and drove the reſt over-board. At the ſame Time they ſet upon the Ship like ſo many Furies, and fought with incredible Reſolution.

The *Engliſh* forced them to retire from the Half-deck down into the Cabbin, where they defended themſelves with great Obſtinacy for four or five Hours; when ſetting the Cabbin on Fire, they fought with the Flames about their Ears, reſolving to burn themſelves with the Ship, rather than yield, which obliged the *Engliſh* to plant a Couple of great Guns, charged with Croſs-bars, Bullets, and Caſe-ſhot, againſt the Cabbin, and to fire in upon them; which did ſuch Execution, that of 22 only one eſcaped, the reſt being torn and ſhattered to Pieces. By this Means they freed themſelves from this imminent Danger; but loſt a great Number of Men, and Captain *Davis* their Commander.

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[a] Purchas, ibid. p. 1656. Harris, ibid.

[b] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 566.

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 579 to 596. Rapin.

[d] A. D. 1604. Harris's Voyages, Part I. p. 74. 1ſt Edition. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 179 and 703. Churchill's Voyages, Introduction, p. 29.

[e] Harris, ibid. p. 55. Purchas, ibid. p. 132, and Vol. III. p. 556.

A few Days after, they gave chaſe to two *Chineſe* Veſſels, which, as they afterwards found, were Part of a rich Fleet. Theſe they boarded, after a ſhort Diſpute, brought them to Anchor, and found Silks, Raw-ſilk, and about 50 Ton of *China*-ſilver on-board: But as they hoped to load their Ship to better Advantage, out of the Ships which were ſtill behind, they diſcharged them, taking little or nothing out of them.

Soon after, receiving Intelligence by ſome *Dutch* Ships, that the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bantam* were in great Danger, on account of their taking the *Chineſe* Ships, Sir *Edward*, poſtponing his private Intereſt, to the Welfare of his Countrymen, directed his Courſe homewards, and arrived at *Portſmouth* on the 9th of *July*.

In this ſame Year[a], Captain *Charles Leigh* undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*, at his own and his Brother Sir *Olave Leigh*'s Charge, in a Bark of about 50 Tons, called the *Olive-Plant*, and 46 Men and Boys. This Adventurer ſailed from *Woolwich* on the 21ſt of *March*, to make a more complete Diſcovery of the Country of *Guiana*, and to fix an *Engliſh* Colony in the Town of *Wiapoco*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, 3° 30′ N. Lat. where they arrived on the 22d of *May*; and the Captain came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they ſhould allow him a good Space of Ground, and ſome Houſes for the preſent, in conſideration of which he was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Caribbees*, their inveterate Enemies: And for the better Security of the Performance of this Agreement, the Savages conſented to give five of their Body (among whom were two of Note) as Pledges, to be ſent to *England*.

The Settlement was made on Part of the Mountain that lies on the Weſt-ſide of the Entrance of the River *Wiapoco*, to which they gave the Name of *Mount Howard*. And the Captain ſent his Ship to *England* in the Month of *June*, for freſh Supplies of ſuch Things as he wanted, retaining 35 of his Men and Boys with him, to ſettle the Colony. Her Return ſet this Colony upon a better Footing. They had ſome Trade with the Natives, as well round about their Settlement, as farther up the River, for Wax, fine white long Feathers, Flax, Tobacco, Parrots, Monkies, green and black Cotton-yarn and Wool, ſweet Gums, Red-pepper, Spleen and Matiate-ſtones, with ſeveral Sorts of Wood, Roots and Berries, partly for Medicines, and partly for Dying. But the Flux, and other Diſtempers, having carried off a good Number of the Company; and the Captain being ſeized with it himſelf, juſt as he was going on-board for *England*, to fetch a complete Loading of ſuch Things as were needful for his Colony, died of it likewiſe. By this unhappy Stroke the whole Undertaking was quaſhed; and every one ſhifting for himſelf, ſome returned to *England* in their own Veſſel, others in a *French* Ship, and again others in two *Dutch* Ships, very much to the Regret of the *Indian* Natives, who preferred the *Engliſh* Friendſhip to all other Nations.

The *Hollanders* did not confine their ill Uſage of the *Engliſh* to the diſtant Regions in the Eaſt. They, by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, being left to ſhift for themſelves, and pretending to be injured by the late Peace made with *Spain*, threw off that Reſpect, which all Nations paid to the *Engliſh* Flag in the Narrow Seas; took our Ships upon frivolous Pretences, and treated the Sailors ſo taken with great Severity. This obliged King *James* to fit out a Fleet to maintain the Honour of the *Engliſh* Flag, his Superiority of the *Britiſh* Seas, and to chaſtiſe thoſe that dared to interrupt the Navigation of his Subjects.

This Fleet was commanded by Sir *William Monſon*; and put to Sea early in the Year 1604, and continued annually. Yet Sir *William* found it a very difficult Matter to execute his Commiſſion; the *Dutch*, whenever he conferred with any of their chief Officers, gave him fine Language, and fair Promiſes; but they minded them very little, taking our Ships on very frivolous Pretences, and treating thoſe they found on-board them with great Severity, till ſuch time as it appeared the Admiral would not bear ſuch Uſage, and began to make Repriſals, threatning to hang, as Pirates, People who ſhewed themſelves very little better in their Actions. There were alſo high Conteſts about the Flag, which began through ſome accidental Civilities paid to the *Hollanders*, in the late Reign, when they ſailed under the Command of *Engliſh* Admirals, upon joint Expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her Majeſty's Subjects; which Favours they now pretended to claim as Prerogatives due to them in quality of an independant State[b].

It will not be amiſs to give the Reader an Account in Sir *William Monſon*'s own Words, of the Spirit with which he inſiſted on Satisfaction from the *Dutch* on this Head, whereby the Right of the *Engliſh* Flag, which has been ſo much ſtood upon ſince, was eſtabliſhed with regard to this Republic.

“In my Return from *Calais*, ſays Sir *William*, the firſt of *July* 1605, with the Emperor's Ambaſſador, as I approached near *Dover* Road, I perceived an Increaſe of ſix Ships to thoſe I left there three Days before, one of them being the Admiral; their coming in ſhew was to beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were then at *Dover*.

“As I drew near them, the Admiral ſtruck his Flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other Coaſt, at ſuch a time, cauſed me to make another Conſtruction than he pretended; and indeed it ſo fell out, for I conceived his Arrival at that time was for no other end than to ſhew the Ambaſſador, who he knew would ſpread it abroad throughout all *Europe*, as alſo the *Spaniards*, that they might have the leſs Eſteem of his Majeſty's Prerogative in the Narrow Seas, that by their wearing their Flag, they might be reputed Kings of the Sea, as well as his Majeſty. I haſtened the Ambaſſador aſhore, and diſpatched a Gentleman to the Admiral, to entreat his Company the next Day to Dinner, which he willingly promiſed.

“The Gentleman told him, I required him to take in his Flag, as a Duty due to his Majeſty's Ships. He anſwered, that he had ſtruck it thrice, which he thought to be a ſufficient Acknowledgment, and it was more than former Admirals of Narrow Seas had required at his Hands.

“The Gentleman replied, that he expected ſuch an Anſwer from him, and therefore he was prepared what to ſay to that Point. He told him, the Times were altered; for when no more but ſtriking the Flag was required, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in Hoſtility with *Spain*, which cauſed her late Majeſty to tolerate divers Things in them. As, for Inſtance, the Admiral's wearing his Flag in the Expedition to *Cadiz*, and the Iſlands, where the Lord Admiral of *England* and the Lord of *Eſſex* went as Generals, and that Courteſy they could not challenge by Right, but by Permiſſion; and the Wars being now ceaſed, his Majeſty did require by me, his Miniſter, ſuch Rights and Duties as have formerly belonged to his Progenitors.

“The Admiral refuſed to obey my Command, ſaying, he expected more Favour from me than from other Admirals, in reſpect of our long and loving Acquaintance; but he was anſwered, that all Obligation of private Friendſhip muſt be laid aſide, when the Honour of one's King and Country is at Stake. The Gentleman adviſed him in a friendly Manner to yield to my Demand; if not, he had Commiſſion to tell him, that I meant to weigh Anchor, and come near him, and that the Force of our Ships ſhould determine the Queſtion; for, rather than I would ſuffer his Flag to be worn in view of ſo many Nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury myſelf in the Sea.

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[a] Harris's Col. Part I. p. 712. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1250.

[b] See this Matter ſtated in Selden's Mare Clauſum. Molloy de Jure Maritimo, Tit. Flag. See alſo the Introduction to this Hiſtory, Title, “Dignity of the Britiſh Flag.”

“ The Admiral, it ſeems, upon better Advice, took in his Flag, and ſtood immediately off to Sea, firing a Gun for the reſt of the Fleet to follow him. And thus I loſt my Gueſt the next Day, at Dinner, as he had promiſed.

“ This Paſſage betwixt the Admiral and me, was obſerved from the Shore, People beholding us to ſee the Event. Upon my Landing, I met with *Sciriago*, the General of the *Spaniards*, who, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was employed under *Mendoza*, the Ambaſſador of *Spain*. He told me, that if the *Hollanders* had worn their Flag, Times had been ſtrangely altered in *England*, ſince his old Maſter King *Philip* the Second, was ſhot at by the Lord Admiral of *England*, for wearing his Flag in the Narrow Seas, when he came to marry Queen *Mary* [a].”

The Year 1605 is memorable for the Reſumption of the Diſcovery and Settlement of *Virginia*. The Report of the late Adventurers under the Direction and Command of Captain *Goſnoll*, and others, being very favourable to the Country, Climate, and Natives, and the Profits made by their Voyages turning to the great Advantage of the Undertakers, induced ſeveral Perſons, not only in Trade, but of Quality, to think ſeriouſly of making Eſtabliſhments on the Continent of *North America*.

Amongſt the Nobility, *Henry Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, and the Right Honourable *Thomas Arundel* Baron of *Warder* [b], retained Captain *George Weymouth*, and diſpatched him in the Ship *Archangel*, to trade with the *Virginians*; who ſailed from *Graveſend* on the 10th of *March*, with 29 Men in the Service, and well furniſhed with Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries. But putting into *Dartmouth*, it was the 31ſt before the Wind would favour their Courſe. However, the Wind veered about ſo fair, that by ſix o'Clock on the 1ſt of *April* the *Archangel* was got ſix Leagues S. S. E. from the *Lizard*, and proceeded with a proſperous Voyage to the Coaſt of *Virginia*. The firſt Land they made was the Iſland, which in ſome Charts is dignified with the Name of *St. George*, but is moſt commonly known by the Name of *Long* Iſland, on the 16th of *May*, which abounded in Wood, good Fruits, freſh Water, Fiſh, and Fowl.

From hence they could diſcern a great many other Iſlands, and the main Land itſelf, from the W. S. W. to the E. N. E. Several of the Iſlands adjoining to the Continent they viſited, and found them all very full of Trees, both Timber and Fruit, of ſeveral ſorts. Among theſe Iſlands they found a Harbour, in which Ships of any Burden might lie defended from all manner of Winds, in ſix to ten Fathom Water, upon a tough clay Ooze. This they called *Pentecoſt* Harbour, becauſe it was at *Whitſuntide* they diſcovered it. The Fir-trees, which were in great Numbers, on theſe Iſlands, yielded an exceeding ſweet Turpentine; and the Muſcles which they found about the Rocks afforded ſmall Pearl in abundance, and ſome that were large and orient; the Shell of theſe Pearls on the Inſide, reſembled Mother of Pearl; but they wanted proper Tackle to dredge for them.

The Savages from the Continent came off in their Canoes (while they lay in this excellent Harbour) to truck Skins and Furs, for Knives, Beads, and ſuch like Trifles; giving the Value of ten or twelve Pounds in their Goods, for five Shillings Worth of *Engliſh* Ironmongers Ware.

In the mean time the Captain with 13 Men in his Shallop ſearched the Coaſt, and diſcovered a fine Tract of Land on the Continent, waſhed by a large River, with a ſafe Harbour for Shipping. To which they ſailed with all convenient Speed; and of which Mr. *Roſier* gives the following clear Deſcription:

“ The River [c] itſelf, as it runneth up into the Main very nigh 40 Miles toward the great Mountains, beareth in Breadth a Mile, ſometimes three Quarters, and half a Mile is the narroweſt, where you ſhall never have under four and five Fathoms Water hard by the Shore, but ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, and ten Fathoms all along; and on both Sides, every Half-mile, very gallant Coves, ſome able to contain almoſt 100 Sail, where the Ground is excellent ſoft Ooze, with a tough Clay under for Anchorhold, and where Ships may lie without either Cable or Anchor, only moored to the Shore with a Hawſer.

“ It floweth, by their Judgment, 18 or 20 Foot at Highwater.

“ Here are made by Nature moſt excellent Places, as Docks to grave or careen Ships of all Burthens, ſecured from all Winds; which is ſuch a neceſſary incomparable Benefit, that in few Places in *England*, or in any Parts of *Chriſtendom*, Art, with great Charges, can make the like.

“ Beſides, the bordering Land is a moſt rich Neighbour, trending all along on both Sides in an equal Plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green Border of Graſs, doth make Tender unto the Beholder of her pleaſant Fertility, if, by cleanſing away the Wood, ſhe were converted into Meadow.

“ The Wood ſhe beareth is not ſhrubbiſh, fit only for Fuel, but goodly tall Fir, Spruce, Birch, Beech, Oak; which in many Places is not ſo thick, but may with ſmall Labour be made feeding Ground, being plentiful, like the outward Iſlands, with freſh Water, which ſtreameth down in many Places.

“ As we paſſed with a gentle Wind up with our Ship in this River, any Man may conceive with what Admiration we all conſented in Joy. Many of our Company, who had been Travellers in ſundry Countries, and in the moſt famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Voyage to *Guiana*, in the Diſcovery of the River *Oronoque*, which echoed Fame to the World's Ears, gave Reaſons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the Dangers of many Shoals and broken Ground, wherewith that was incumbred; others before that notable River in the *Weſt-Indies*, called *Rio Grande*; ſome before the River of *Loyer*, the River *Seine*, and of *Bourdeaux* in *France*; which although they be great and goodly Rivers, yet it is no Detraction from them to be accounted inferior to this, which not only yieldeth all the foreſaid pleaſant Profits, but alſo appeared infallibly to us free from all Inconveniences.

“ I will not prefer it before our River of *Thames*, becauſe it is *England*'s richeſt Treaſure; but we all did wiſh thoſe excellent Harbours, good Deeps in a continual convenient Breadth, and ſmall Tide-gates, to be as well therein for our Country's Good, as we found them here (beyond our Hopes) in certain, for thoſe to whom it ſhall pleaſe God to grant this Land for Habitation; which if it had, with the other inſeparable adherent Commodities here to be found, then I would boldly affirm it to be the moſt rich, beautiful, large, and ſecure harbouring River, that the World affordeth.

“ *Wedneſday*, the 12th of *June*, our Captain manned his Light-horſeman with 17 Men, and ran up from the Ship, riding in the River, up to the Cod thereof, where we landed, leaving ſix to keep the Light-horſeman till our Return. Ten of us with our Shot, and ſome armed, with a Boy to carry Powder and Match, marched up into the Country towards the Mountains, which we deſcried at our firſt falling with the Land. Unto ſome of them the River brought us ſo near, as we judged ourſelves when we landed to have been within a League of them; but we marched up about four Miles in the Main, and paſſed over three Hills; and becauſe the Weather was parching hot, and our Men in their Armour not able to travel far, and return that Night to our Ship, we reſolved not to paſs any further, being all very weary of ſo tedious and labourſome a Travel.

“ In this March we paſſed over very good Ground, pleaſant and fertile, fit for Paſture, for the Space of ſome three Miles, having but little Wood, and that Oak like Stands left in our Paſtures in *England*, good and great, fit Timber for any Uſe. Some ſmall Birch, Hazle and Brake, which might in ſmall time with few Men be cleanſed and made good arable Land; but as it now is will feed Cattle of all kinds with Fodder enough for

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[a] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

[b] Roſier's Relation of this Voyage.

[c] Now called Connecticut River, or Powhatan, South of the Bay of Cheſapeak.

“Summer and Winter. The Soil is black, bearing ſundry Herbs, Graſs, and Strawberries bigger than ours in *England*. In many Places are low Thicks like our Copices of ſmall young Wood. And ſurely it did all reſemble a ſtately Park, wherein appear ſome old Trees with high withered Tops, and other flouriſhing with living-green Boughs. Upon the Hills grow notable high Timber-trees, Maſts for Ships of 400 Tons; and at the Bottom of every Hill, a little Run of freſh Water; but the furtheſt, and laſt we paſſed, ran with a great Stream able to drive a Mill.

“We might ſee in ſome Places where fallow Deer and Hares had been, and by the rooting of Ground we ſuppoſed wild Hogs had ranged there, but we could deſcry no Beaſt, becauſe our Noiſe ſtill chaſed them from us.

“We were no ſooner come aboard our Light-horſeman, returning towards our Ship, but we eſpied a Conoe coming from the further Part of the Cod of the River Eaſtward, which haſted to us; wherein, with two others, was he who refuſed to ſtay for a Pawn; and his coming was very earneſtly importing to have one of our Men to go lie on-ſhore with their Baſhabes (who was there on-ſhore, as they ſigned) and then the next Morning he would come to our Ship with many Furs and Tobacco. This we perceived to be only a mere Device to get Poſſeſſion of any of our Men, to ranſom all thoſe which we had taken, which their natural Policy could not ſo ſhadow, but we did eaſily diſcover and prevent. Theſe Means were by this Savage practiſed, becauſe we had one of his Kinſmen Priſoner, as we judged by his moſt kind Uſage of him, being aboard us together.

“*Thurſday*, the 13th of *June*, by two o'Clock in the Morning (becauſe our Captain would take the Help and Advantage of the Tide) in the Light-horſeman, with our Company well provided and furniſhed with Armour and Shot, both to defend and offend, we went from our Ship up to that Part of the River which trended Weſtward into the Main, to ſearch that; and we carried with us a Croſs, to erect at that Point, which (becauſe it was not Day-light) we left on the Shore until our Return back; when we ſet it up as we had done before on *Long* Iſland, at our firſt Arrival. For this (by the way) we diligently obſerved, that in no Place, either about the Iſlands, or up in the Main, or along the River, we could diſcern any Token or Sign, that ever any Chriſtian had been before; of which, either by cutting Wood, digging for Water, or ſetting up Croſſes (a thing never omitted by any Chriſtian Travellers) we ſhould have perceived ſome Mention left.

“But to return to our River, further up into which we then rowed by Eſtimation 20 Miles, the Beauty and Goodneſs whereof I cannot by Relation ſufficiently demonſtrate. That which I can ſay in general is this: What Profit or Pleaſure ſoever is deſcribed and truly verified in the former Part of the River, is wholly doubled in this; for the Breadth and Depth is ſuch, that any Ship drawing 17 or 18 Foot Water, might have paſſed as far as we went with our Light-horſeman, and by all our Mens Judgment much further, becauſe we left it in ſo good Depth and Breadth, which is ſo much the more to be eſteemed of greater Worth, by how much it trendeth further up into the Main; for from the Place of our Ship's riding in the Harbour at the Entrance into the Sound, to the furtheſt Part we were in this River, by our Eſtimation was not much leſs than 60 Miles.

“From each Bank of this River are divers branching Streams into the Main, whereby is afforded an unſpeakable Profit by the Conveniency of Tranſportation from Place to Place, which in ſome Countries is both chargeable, and not ſo fit, by Carriages on Wain, or Horſeback.

“Here we ſaw great ſtore of Fiſh, ſome great, leaping above Water, which we judged to be Salmons. All along is an excellent Mould of Ground. The Wood in moſt Places, eſpecially on the Eaſt-ſide, very thin, chiefly Oak, and ſome ſmall young Birch, bordering low upon the River; all fit for Meadow and Paſture-ground; and in that Space we went, we had on both Sides the River many plain Plots of Meadow, ſome of three or four Acres, ſome of eight or nine, ſo as we judged in the whole to be between 30 and 40 Acres of good Graſs; and where the Arms run out into the Main, there likewiſe went a Space on both Sides of clear Graſs, how far we know not, in many Places we might ſee Paths made to come down to the Watering.

“The Excellency of this Part of the River, for his good Breadth, Depth, and fertile bordering Ground, did ſo raviſh us all with variety of Pleaſantneſs, as we could not tell what to commend, but only admired; ſome compared it to the River *Severn* (but in a higher Degree) and we all concluded (as I verily think we might rightly) that we ſhould never ſee the like River in every Degree equal, until it pleaſed God we beheld the ſame again; for the farther we went, the more pleaſing it was to every Man, alluring us ſtill with expectation of better; ſo as our Men, although they had with great Labour rowed long, and eat nothing (for we carried with us no Victuals, but a little Cheeſe and Bread) yet they were ſo refreſhed with the pleaſant Beholding thereof, and ſo loth to forſake it, as ſome of them affirmed, they would have continued willingly with that only Fare and Labour two Days; but the Tide not ſuffering us to make any longer Stay (becauſe we were to come back with the Tide) and our Captain better knowing what was fit than we, and better what they in Labour were able to endure, being very loth to make any deſperate Hazard, where ſo little Neceſſity required, thought it beſt to make return, becauſe whither we had diſcovered was ſufficient to conceive that the River ran very far into the Land. For we paſſed ſix or ſeven Miles, altogether freſh Water (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the ſalt; which after a great while Ebb, where we left it, by Breadth of Channel, and Depth of Water, was likely to run by Eſtimation of our whole Company an unknown Way farther.

“Our Captain now wholly intended his Proviſion for ſpeedy Return. For although the time of Year, and our Victuals were not ſo ſpent, but we could have made a longer Voyage, in ſearching farther, and trading for very good Commodities; yet as they might have been much profitable, ſo (our Company being ſmall) much more prejudicial to the whole State of our Voyage, which we were moſt regardful now not to hazard. For we ſuppoſing not a little preſent private Profit, but a public Good, and true Zeal of promulgating God's holy Church, by planting Chriſtianity, to be the ſole Intent of the Honourable Setters forth of this Diſcovery; thought it generally moſt expedient, by our ſpeedy Return, to give the longer Space of time to make Proviſion for ſo weighty an Enterpriſe.

“*Friday*, the 14th Day of *June*, early by 4 o'Clock in the Morning, with the Tide, our two Boats, and a little Help of the Wind, we rowed down to the River's Mouth, and there came to an Anchor about 11 o'Clock. Afterward our Captain in the Light-horſeman ſearched the Sounding all about the Mouth and coming to the River, for his certain Inſtruction of a perfect Deſcription.

“The next Day, being *Saturday*, we weighed Anchor, and with a Breeze from the Land, we ſailed up to our Watering-place, and there ſtopped, went on-ſhore and filled all our empty Caſks with freſh Water.

“*Sunday*, the 16th of *June*, the Wind being fair, and becauſe we had ſet out of *England* upon a *Sunday*, made the Iſlands upon a *Sunday*, and as we doubt not (by God's Appointment) happily fell into our Harbour upon a *Sunday*, ſo now we weighed Anchor, and quit the Land upon a *Sunday*.

“*Tueſday*, the 18th Day, being not run above 30 Leagues from Land, and our Captain for his certain Knowledge how to fall with the Coaſt, having ſounded every Watch, and from 40 Fathoms had come into good Deeping, to 70, and ſo to 100. This Day the Weather being fair, after the four o'Clock Watch, when we ſuppoſed not to have found Ground ſo far from Land, and before ſounded in above 100 Fathoms, we had Ground in 24 Fathoms. Wherefore our Sails being down, *Thomas King* Boatſwain, preſently caſt out a Hook, and before “he judged it at Ground, was fiſhed, and haled up an exceeding great and well-fed Cod; then there were caſt out three or four more, and the Fiſh was ſo plentiful and ſo great, as when our Captain would have ſet ſail, we all deſired him to ſuffer them to take Fiſh awhile, becauſe we were ſo delighted to ſee them catch ſo great Fiſh, ſo faſt as the Hook came down: Some with playing with the Hook they took by the Back, and one of the Mates, with two Hooks at a Lead, at five Draughts together hauled up 10 Fiſh; all were generally very great, ſome they meaſured to be five Foot along, and three Foot about.

“This cauſed our Captain not to marvel at the Shoulding, for he perceived it was a Fiſh-bank; which (for our Farewel from the Land) it pleaſed God, in Continuance of his Bleſſings, to give us Knowledge of; the abundant Profit whereof ſhould be alone ſufficient Cauſe to draw Men again, if there were no other Good both in preſent certain, and in hope probable to be diſcovered. To amplify this with Words, were to add Light to the Sun; for every one in the Ship could eaſily account this preſent Commodity, much more thoſe of Judgment, which knew what belonged to Fiſhing, would warrant (by the Help of God) in a ſhort Voyage, with few good Fiſhers, to make a more profitable Return from hence than from *Newfoundland*; the Fiſh being ſo much greater, better fed, and abundant with Train; of which ſome they deſired, and did bring into *England*, to beſtow among their Friends, and to teſtify the true Report.

“After, we kept our Courſe directly for *England*, and with ordinary Winds, and ſometime Calms, upon *Sunday* the 14th of *July*, about ſix a Clock at Night, we were come into Sounding in our Channel; but with dark Weather, and contrary Winds, we were conſtrained to beat up and down till *Tueſday* the 16th of *July*, when, by five a Clock in the Morning, we made *Scilly*; from whence, hindered with Calms and ſmall Winds, upon *Thurſday* the 18th of *July*, about four a Clock after Noon, we came into *Dartmouth*; which Haven happily (with God's gracious Aſſiſtance) we made our laſt and firſt Harbour in *England*.

“Further, I have thought fit here to add ſome Things worthy to be regarded, which we have obſerved from the Savages ſince we took them.

“Firſt, although at the Time when we ſurpriſed them, they made their beſt Reſiſtance, not knowing our Purpoſe, nor what we were, nor how we meant to uſe them; yet after perceiving by their kind Uſage we intended them no Harm, they have never ſince ſeemed diſcontented with us, but very tractable, loving, and willing, by their beſt Means, to ſatisfy us in any thing we demand of them, by Words or Signs for their underſtanding; neither have they at any Time been at the leaſt Diſcord among themſelves, inſomuch as we have not ſeen them angry, but merry; and ſo kind, as if you give any thing to one of them, he will diſtribute Part to every one of the reſt.

“We have brought them to underſtand ſome *Engliſh*, and we underſtand much of their Language, ſo as we are able to aſk them many Things. And this we have obſerved, that if we ſhew them any thing, and aſk them if they have it in their Country, they will tell you if they have it, and the Uſe of it, the Difference from ours in Bigneſs, Colour, or Form; but if they have it not, be it a thing never ſo precious, they will deny the Knowledge of it.

“They have Names for many Stars, which they will ſhew in the Firmament.

“They ſhew great Reverence to their King, and are in great Subjection to their Governors; and they will ſhew a great Reſpect to any we tell them are our Commanders.

“They ſhew the manner how they make Bread of their *Indian* Wheat, and how they make Butter and Cheeſe of the Milk they have of the Rain-deer and Fallow-deer, which they have tame as we have Cows.

“They have excellent Colours; and having ſeen our Indico, they make ſhew of it, or of ſome other like thing which maketh as good a Blue.

“One eſpecial thing is their manner of killing the Whale, which they call *Powdawe*; and will deſcribe his Form; how he bloweth up the Water; and that he is 12 Fathoms long; and that they go in Company of their King with a Multitude of their Boats, and ſtrike him with a Bone made in Faſhion of a Harping-iron faſtened to a Rope, which they make great and ſtrong of the Bark of Trees, which they veer out after him; then all their Boats come about him, and as he riſeth above Water, with their Arrows they ſhoot him to Death; when they have killed him and dragged him to Shore, they call all their chief Lords together, and ſing a Song of Joy; and thoſe chief Lords, whom they call *Sagamos*, divide the Spoil, and give to every Man a Share, which Pieces ſo diſtributed, they hang up about their Houſes for Proviſion; and when they boil them, they blow off the Fat, and put to their Peaſe, Maiz, and other Pulſe, which they eat.”

Purchas [a], and after him *Harris* [b], and other Writers, give a Relation of a Voyage made this Year [c] by Captain *St. John*, who in the *Olive-Bloſſom*, and in Company with Captain *Catalin*, was diſpatched by Sir *Olave Leigh*, with a freſh Supply of Men and Neceſſaries, for his Brother's Settlement in *Guiana*, before he had received any certain Account of Captain *Leigh*'s Proceedings.

This Ship departed from *Woolwich* on the 14th of *April*, for the River *Wiapoco* in *Guiana*: But inſtead of making their intended Voyage, ſhe was driven by Winds and Currents, and the Unſkilfulneſs of Mr. *Richard Chambers* the Maſter, ſo far to the Leeward, that ſhe was obliged to put into *Barbadoes*, and then into *St. Lucia*; where it was determined to make the beſt of their way back to *England*, for want of Proviſions.

But upon examining their Stores of Proviſions, and finding not near enough to ſerve ſo large a Company as they were, for ſo long a Voyage, Captain *St. John* himſelf, with 67 Paſſengers, reſolved rather to ſtay, and take their Lot upon that Iſland, than to run the Hazard of being ſtarved at Sea; and were ſet on-ſhore on the 23d of *Auguſt*, with their Swords, Muſkets, Powder, one ſmall Piece of Ordnance, and one Barrel of Biſcuit for Food; which was all the others would allow them, becauſe they had forcibly detained their Boat.

Their firſt Care was to cultivate an Acquaintance with the *Indians*, who furniſhed them, in Exchange for Trifles, with Roots, Fruits, and ſome Fowls too, as Hens, Gulls, Pelicans, Woodcocks and Snipes. In the Nights, with very little Trouble, they took delicate Tortoiſes upon the Sands. They lived in this Manner five or ſix Weeks, in little Huts, which they had built, without making any Excurſions into, or any Journey towards the Diſcovery of the Country; till one Day, the Captain obſerving certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of ſome of the *Indians*, and being informed by one *Brown* a Refiner, who was in their Company, that they were three Parts Gold, enquired of the *Indians* from whence they had it, and they pointing to a very high Mountain, in the North-weſt Part of the Iſland, he, with ſeveral of the chief of his Men (as many as would fill his Boat) went in queſt of this golden Mountain, the reſt being appointed to keep good Guard at home in the mean while, promiſing to return in a Week at fartheſt. But this Act of Curioſity was ſo reſented by the *Indians*, that inſtead of bringing down Proviſions, as they uſed to do, they followed the Travellers to ſo good (or rather ill) Purpoſe, that they cut them all off, and reſolved to make the ſame Riddance of the home Guard. They engaged one *Augramert*, a deſperate Savage, and Captain of the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, to head them in this Enterpriſe. But to cover their Deſign, they carried it fair to them, and viſited them frequently; till one Day, *Augramert*, having dined with them, and met with a courteous Entertainment, would needs, under a Pretext of a Return for the Civility, inſiſt that the *Engliſh* go with him to his Quarters, where he promiſed to furniſh them with whatever Proviſions they wanted. By this Stratagem, Mr. *St. John*, and

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[a] Vol. IV. p. 1250.

[b] Part I. p. 713 1ſt Edition.

[c] A. D. 1605.

17 others, were decoyed into an Ambuſh of above 500 Savages, who attacked them on every Side with Vollies of Arrows, and after doing all that Men could do in their own Defence, ſlew them all, but one *John Nicholls*, who having made his Eſcape from this bloody Slaughter, was forced to hide himſelf in a Wood: He ſwam a Lake, and ſo with great Difficulty returned home, having three Arrows in his Body, juſt Time enough to give his Companions the Alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their Houſes, in order to aſſault them; but upon letting fly their ſmall Piece of Ordnance amongſt them, they quickly marched off.

In two or three Days Time they returned, to the Number of 13 or 1400 Men, who, after having in vain attacked their little Fort and Houſes for ſeven Days together, with little Succeſs, at length thought of the pernicious Stratagem of ſending in Fire with their Arrows, which in a ſhort Time reduced the Habitations of the *Engliſh*, and all they had, to a Heap of Aſhes. But they continued to defend themſelves in ſo brave a Manner, that the *Indians* reſolved at laſt to abandon the Enterpriſe, deſpairing of Succeſs.

Some of the neighbouring Savages, leſs inhumane than the reſt, commiſerating their Diſtreſs, furniſhed them with the Neceſſaries of Life for about a Week, and then were prevailed upon, for a Reward of Hatchets, Knives and Beads, to furniſh them with an old pitiful Boat: In which 19 of them (and not one of them a Mariner) the miſerable Remains of 68, of which 12 were wounded, ventured out to Sea in her, without Chart or Compaſs, or any more than four or five Gallons of Water, with a few Plantans and Potatoes, about 20 Biſcuits, and a little Rice.

In this Veſſel, ſo over-loaden that her Gunnel lay almoſt even with the Water, they lived at Sea 10 Days; tho' four of them were obliged by Turns, Day and Night, to keep ſcooping out of the Water. On the 10th Day, when all Hopes began to fail them, and one of their Company was juſt expired, they diſcovered Land: But they could not reach it before Night; and then came upon it before they were aware, and ſplit their Boat upon a Rock. They, with great Difficulty, ſcrambled up the Rocks, and ſaved themſelves from the Fury of the Waves, to run the Hazard of dying by Famine; for the Land proved to be an uninhabited Iſland, that afforded no Manner of Suſtenance.

In this miſerable Plight, they had no Remedy but to repair their Boat again, as well as they could, and to ſend over five of their Men to the Continent to ſeek Relief; who, after many Difficulties and Dangers, came to an *Indian* Town on the Continent called *Tocoya*; from whence, after 15 Days Abſence, they carried Succour to their miſerable Companions, of whom five, in the mean Time, died for want of it, which reduced them to 13; who got together to a *Spaniſh* Town called *Coro*, where, tho' treated with great Humanity, two more of them died. Three of them went from thence to *Carthagena*, and were followed thither by two more, from whence they got a Paſſage to *Spain*.

The Eſtabliſhment of the flouriſhing Colony of *New-England*, takes its Riſe from the Attempts made in 1606, by ſeveral Gentlemen and Merchants of *London*, and of the Town and Port of *Plymouth*, &c. who encouraged by the Reputation of the Country, on the Credit of Captain *Goſnoll* before-mentioned, and the Humour of the Court for granting Charters and Monopolies, applied for and obtain'd Letters-patents, dated the 10th of *April* 1606, for a Plantation, wherever they thought moſt convenient, within certain Degrees of Latitude.

In one Patent, his Majeſty incorporated them into two diſtinct Companies, to make two ſeparate Colonies: "Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, Knights, Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, Clerk, Prebend of *Weſtminſter*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Eſq; Adventurers of the City of *London*, and ſuch others as ſhould be join'd unto them of that Colony, which ſhould be call'd, *The Firſt Colony*; with Liberty to begin their firſt Plantation and Seat, at any Place upon the Coaſt of *Virginia*, where they ſhould think fit and convenient, between the Degrees of 34 and 41 of Northern Latitude: And that they ſhould extend their Bounds from the ſaid firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, 50 *Engliſh* Miles along the Sea-coaſt each Way; and include all the Lands within an 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt, and alſo back into the Main-land 100 Miles from the Sea-coaſt: And that no other ſhould be permitted or ſuffer'd to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them towards the Main-land, without the expreſs Licenſe of the Council of that Colony thereunto in Writing firſt had and obtain'd. And for the ſecond Colony, *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Eſqs; of the Town of *Plymouth*, and all others who ſhould be join'd to them of that Colony; with Liberty to begin their firſt Plantation and Seat at any Place upon the Coaſt of *Virginia*, where they ſhould think fit, between the Degrees of 38 and 45 of Northern Latitude, with the like Liberties and Bounds as the firſt Colony: Provided they did not ſeat within an 100 Miles of them."

The *Weſt-Country* Patentees made the firſt Attempt for the Settlement in *New-England*, by Mr. *Henry Challons*, with not above 30 Perſons in all, among whom were two Natives of the Country, in a ſmall Ship, called the *Richard*, of *Plymouth*. This Voyage was undertaken at the Charges of the Right Honourable Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief-juſtice of *England*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governor of *Plymouth* Fort, with ſeveral other *Weſt-Country* Gentlemen and Merchants. They ſet out in *Auguſt*; but being gotten as far as the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Iſlands, they fell in with a Fleet of *Spaniſh* Ships, by whom they were taken, and after a great deal of ill Uſage carried into *Spain*, where their Treatment alſo was very cruel and inhumane, and ſo wholly overthrew the Voyage.

The Lord Chief-juſtice *Popham*, before he had any Advice of the Diſaſter which had happened to Mr. *Challons*, ſent out another Ship, under the Command of Captain *Hanham*, one of the Patentees, with all Neceſſaries for his Support; tho' this Gentleman's Buſineſs was not ſo much to plant, as to make Diſcoveries in order to it: Arriving at the Place appointed, but not finding Mr. *Challons* there, after having made ſome Diſcoveries, he returned, and gave ſo good an Account of the Country, that all People were as much encouraged, as they had been the contrary, by the firſt Miſcarriage, now generally known, and thoſe who fell off before, now came boldly on to be Adventurers again. Sir *John Popham*, and every one elſe who were before concerned in this Deſign, were now ſo confident of its Succeſs, that they willingly joined in the Expence required, for ſending over the next Year a competent Number of People, to lay the Ground-work of ſo promiſing a Plantation; and Captain *Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert*, two others of the Patentees, were ſent away with two Ships and 100 Men, with Ordnance, Stores, and all neceſſary Proviſions for their Uſe, till farther Supplies could be ſent. Theſe Gentlemen ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the laſt of *May* 1607, and arrived at *Monahigan* the 11th of *Auguſt*. They ſeated themſelves at *Sagadabock* in *Norembegua*, nine or ten Leagues Southward, at the Mouth of a navigable River, where they built *St. George*'s Fort.

Before theſe Ships could come back again, the Lord Chief-juſtice *Popham* died, which was a great Spoke in the Wheel of this Buſineſs. Sir *Francis Popham* his Son, did, however, encourage the Affair with his moſt zealous Endeavours, and contributed liberally towards the ſending out a freſh Supply, firſt of two, and then of one Ship, which accordingly the next Year was performed. Theſe Ships arriving there, brought the uncomfortable News of the Deaths of the Lord Chief-juſtice, and Sir *John Gilbert*, (Brother to the Captain, and Preſident of the *New-England* Council.) Captain *Popham* being dead in the mean Time there, and Captain *Gilbert*, on account of his Brother's Death, obliged to return to *England*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, there was no conſiderable Man to leave upon the Spot, to ſtand at the Head of the Company. All theſe Miſfortunes, together with the Loſs of their Stores, which they had ſuffered that Winter by Fire, ſo diſpirited the whole Plantation, that they unanimouſly reſolved to go back to *England*.

The *London* Adventurers fitted out three Ships [a], one of 100 Tons, another of 40, and a Pinnace of 20 Tons, under the Care of Captain *Chriſtopher Newport*, a Mariner well practiſed for the Weſtern Parts of *America*. But their Orders for Government were put in a Box, not to be opened, nor the Governors known until they arrived in *Virginia* [b].

On the 19th of *December* 1606, they ſet ſail, but by unproſperous Winds, were kept ſix Weeks in the Sight of *England*.

They watered at the *Canaries*, and traded with the Savages at *Dominica*; and ſpent three Weeks in refreſhing themſelves amongſt the *Weſt-India* Iſles; in *Guardalupa* they found a Bath ſo hot, as would boil Pork as well as over the Fire; and at a little Iſle called *Monica*, they took from the Buſhes with their Hands near two Hogſheads full of Birds in three or four Hours. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the *Virgin* Iſles, they ſpent ſome time. Going from thence in ſearch of *Virginia*, the Company was not a little diſcomforted, ſeeing the Mariners had three Days paſſed their Reckoning, and found no Land, ſo that Captain *Ratcliffe*, (Captain of the Pinnace) rather deſired to bear up the Helm, to return for *England*, than make further Search. But God, the Guider of all good Actions, forcing them by an extreme Storm to hull all Night, did drive them by his Providence to their deſired Port [c], beyond all their Expectations, for never any of them had ſeen that Coaſt.

The firſt Land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where anchoring, Meſſ. *Wingfield*, *Goſnoll*, and *Newport*, with 30 others, recreating themſelves on-ſhore, were aſſaulted by five Savages, who hurt two of the *Engliſh* very dangerouſly. That Night the Box was opened, and the Orders read, in which *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Council, and to chooſe a Preſident amongſt them for a Year, who with the Council ſhould govern. Matters of Moment were to be examined by a Jury, but determined by the major Part of the Council, in which the Preſident had two Voices. Until the 13th of *May* they ſought a Place to plant in; then the Council was ſworn, Mr. *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident, and an Oration made, why Captain *Smith* was not admitted of the Council as the reſt.

Every Man now took to work; the Council contrive the Fort, the reſt cut down Trees to make Place to pitch their Tents; ſome provide Clapboards to relade the Ships, ſome make Gardens, ſome Nets, &c. The Savages often viſited them kindly. The Preſident's overweening Jealouſy would admit no Exerciſe at Arms, or Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees caſt together in the Form of a Halfmoon, by the extraordinary Pains and Diligence of Captain *Kendall*.

Newport, with *Smith*, and 20 others, were ſent to diſcover the Head of the River; by divers ſmall Habitations they paſſed; in ſix Days they arrived at a Town called *Powhatan*, conſiſting of 12 Houſes pleaſantly ſeated on a Hill, before it three fertile Iſles, about it many of their Corn-fields, the Place very pleaſant, and ſtrong by Nature. Of this Place the Prince was called *Powhatan*, and his People *Powhatans*. The *Indian* Name of this River was *Powhatan*, but they called it *James* River, after the King's own Name.

Of this River they made a full Search, before they would come to any Reſolution about a Settlement, and then, by an unanimous Conſent, they pitched upon a Peninſula, about 50 Miles up the River, which, beſides the Goodneſs of the Soil, was eſteemed as moſt fit, and capable to be made a Place, both of Trade and Security. Two thirds of it is environed by the main River, which affords good Anchorage all along; and the other third, by a ſmall narrow River, capable of receiving ſeveral Veſſels of 100 Tons Burden, quite up, till it comes within 30 Yards of the main River again, and where generally, in Spring-tides, it overflows into the main River. For which Reaſon, the Land they choſe to pitch their Town upon has obtained the Name of an Iſland. In this Back-river, Ships and ſmall Veſſels may ride laſhed to one another, and moored aſhore, ſecure from all Wind and Weather whatſoever.

The People in all Parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within 20 Miles of *James's* Town, they gave juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy; but had God not bleſſed the Diſcoverers otherwiſe than thoſe at the Fort, there had then been an end of that Plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next Day, they found 17 Men hurt, and a Boy ſlain by the Savages; and had it not chanced a Croſs-bar ſhot from the Ships ſtruck down a Bough from a Tree amongſt them that cauſed them to retire, our Men had all been ſlain, being ſecurely all at work, and their Arms in dry Fats.

Hereupon the Preſident was contented the Fort ſhould be palliſadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his Men armed and exerciſed.

They gave the ſame Name to the Town as to the River, *viz. James's-town*. The whole Iſland, thus encloſed, contains above 2000 Acres of high Land, and many thouſands of very good and firm Marſh, and is an extraordinary good Paſture as any in that Country. By means of the narrow Paſſage, this Place was of great Security to them from the *Indian* Enemy; and to ſtrengthen it the more, they built Caſtles and a Fort there. This was the firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh* which continued, as it does to this Day.

They were no ſooner ſettled in all this Happineſs and Security, than they fell into Quarrels and Diſſenſions among themſelves, by a greedy Graſping after the *Indian* Treaſure, envying and over-reaching one another in that Trade; and Captain *Smith*, who was of ſingular Service in this new Colony, was very ill requited. For the Gentlemen, who went over with him, envied his Zeal and Experience, eſpecially in Maritime Affairs, and uſed him ſo ill, that it was thought they intended to put him to Death. The chief Promoter of this Malice againſt him was Mr. *Wingfield*, whom they had elected their Preſident, a covetous haughty Perſon, who, while Captain *Smith* was trading and treating with the *Indian* Kings, was contriving his Ruin. Falſe Witneſſes were ſuborned to ſwear ill Deſigns againſt him; and he was not only refuſed to be admitted into the Council, tho' he was nominated by the Company in *England*, but was thrown into Priſon. They feigned that he intended to uſurp the Government, murder the Council, and make himſelf King; that his Confederates were diſperſed in all the three Ships; and that divers of his Confederates that revealed it, would affirm it; for this he was committed: Thirteen Weeks he remained thus ſuſpected; and by that Time the Ships ſhould return, they pretended, out of their Commiſerations, to refer him to the Council in *England* to receive a Check, rather than by ſpecifying his Deſigns, make him ſo odious to the World, as to touch his Life, or utterly overthrow his Reputation; but he much ſcorned their Charity, and publickly defied the uttermoſt of their Cruelty, having wiſely prevented their Policies, though he could not ſuppreſs their Envies; yet ſo well he demeaned himſelf in this Buſineſs, as all the Company did ſee his Innocency, and his Adverſaries Malice, and thoſe ſuborned to accuſe him, accuſed his Accuſers of Subornation: Many Untruths were alledged againſt him; but being ſo apparently diſproved, begat a general Hatred in the Hearts of the Company againſt ſuch unjuſt Commanders. Many were the Miſchiefs that daily ſprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) Spirits; but the good Doctrine and Exhortation of Mr. *Hunt* the Chaplain, reconciled them, and cauſed Captain *Smith* to be admitted of the Council: The next Day all received the Communion; the Day following the Savages voluntarily deſired Peace; and Captain *Newport* returned for *England*, leaving in *Virginia* 100 Men, the 15th of *June* 1607.

Mr. *Wingfield* being depoſed of his Preſidency, Captain *Ratcliffe* was choſen Preſident, who being ſenſible of *Smith*'s Abilities, left the Adminiſtration of Affairs almoſt wholly to him.

When the Ships were gone, the ſame Feuds and Diſorders happened continually among them, to the unſpeakable

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[a] Proceedings of the Engliſh Colony in Virginia, by W. S. Printed at Oxford 1612.

[b] This Patent included Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as they are now diſtinguiſhed from each other, for the London Adventurers; and New England, New York, New Jerſey and Pennſylvania, as they are now divided into ſeveral Provinces, for the Plymouth Adventurers; but the whole was then called Virginia, as well that which was granted to the one, as to the other.

[c] The Mouth of Cheſepeak Bay, on the 26th of April 1607.

Damage of the Plantation. Yet in the midſt of theſe Feuds, they fell to planting and ſowing, to building and fortifying; but above all they carried on a very advantageous Trade with the *Indians*; and might have made much greater Gains of it, and managed it both to the greater Satisfaction of the *Indians*, and the greater Eaſe and Security of themſelves; if they had been under any Rule, or ſubject to any Method in Trade, and not left at Liberty to outvie or outbid one another; by which they not only cut ſhort their own Profit, but created Jealouſies and Diſturbances among the *Indians*, by letting one have a better Bargain than another: For they being unaccuſtomed to barter, ſuch of them as had been hardeſt dealt by in their Commodities, thought themſelves cheated and abuſed; and ſo conceived a Grudge againſt the *Engliſh* in general, making it a National Quarrel: And this ſeems to be the original Cauſe of moſt of their ſubſequent Miſfortunes by the *Indians*.

What alſo gave a greater Interruption to this Trade, was an Object that drew all their Eyes and Thoughts aſide, even from taking the neceſſary Care for their Preſervation, and for the Support of their Lives; which was this. They found in a Neck of Land, on the Back of *James-town* Iſland, a freſh Stream of Water ſpringing out of a ſmall Bank, which waſhed down with it a yellow ſort of Duſt-iſinglaſs, which being cleanſed by the freſh ſtreaming of the Water, lay ſhining in the Bottom of that limpid Element, and ſtirred up in them an unſeaſonable and inordinate Deſire after Riches: For they, taking all to be Gold that glittered, ran into the utmoſt Diſtraction, neglecting both the neceſſary Defence of their Lives from the *Indians*, and the Support of their Bodies by ſecuring of Proviſions; abſolutely relying, like *Midas*, upon the Almighty Power of Gold, thinking, that where this was in plenty nothing could be wanting: But they ſoon grew ſenſible of their Error; and found that if this gilded Dirt had been real Gold, it could have been of no Advantage to them. For, by their Negligence, they were reduced to an exceeding Scarcity of Proviſions, and that little they had, was loſt by the Burning of their Town, while all Hands were employed upon this imaginary Golden Treaſure; ſo that they were forced to live for ſome time upon the wild Fruits of the Earth, and upon Crabs, Muſcles, and ſuch like, not having a Day's Proviſion before-hand; as ſome of the lazieſt *Indians*, who have no Pleaſure in Exerciſe, and won't be at the Pains to fiſh and hunt: And, indeed, not ſo well as they neither; for by this careleſs neglecting of their Defence againſt the *Indians*, many of them were deſtroyed by that cruel People; and the reſt durſt not venture abroad, but were forced to be content with what fell juſt into their Mouths.

In this Condition they were, when the firſt Ship of the two before-mentioned came to their Aſſiſtance, but their golden Dreams overcame all Difficulties: They ſpoke not, nor thought of any thing but Gold, and that was all the Lading that moſt of them were willing to take care for; accordingly they put into this Ship all the yellow Dirt they had gathered, and what Skins and Furs they had trucked for; and filling her up with Cedar, ſent her away.

After ſhe was gone, the other Ship arrived, which they ſtowed likewiſe with this ſuppoſed Gold-duſt, deſigning never to be poor again; filling her up with Cedar and Clapboard.

Theſe two Ships being thus diſpatched, they made ſeveral Diſcoveries in *James* River, and up *Cheſapeak* Bay, by the Undertaking and Managemen tof Capt. *John Smith*: And the Year 1608 was the firſt Year in which they gathered *Indian* Corn of their own planting.

While Capt. *Smith* was out on his Expedition among the Savages, he was treacherouſly fallen upon by 300 of the *Indians*, under the Command of one of their Kings called *Pamaunkee*, who put all his Men to Death, and taking him Priſoner [a], carried him to *Powhatan*, their chief King, who would have put him to Death, had he not been ſaved at the Interceſſion of *Powhatan*'s Daughter, *Pocahontas*, of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. Being releaſed, he returned to *James-town*, where Mr. *Ratcliff* reſigning his Preſidentſhip, he was unanimouſly deſired to accept of that Office.

While theſe Diſcoveries were making by Captain *Smith*, Matters run again into Confuſion in *James-town*; and ſeveral uneaſy People, taking Advantage of his Abſence, attempted to deſert the Settlement, and to run away with the ſmall Veſſel, which was left to attend upon it; for Captain *Smith* was the only Man among them who could manage the Diſcoveries with Succeſs, or who could keep the Settlement in any Order. Thus the *Engliſh* continued to give themſelves as much Perplexity, by their own evil Conduct, as the *Indians* did by their Watchfulneſs and Reſentments.

Neverthelеſs, amidſt all theſe Inconveniences, which they brought upon themſelves, the Plantation being increaſed to near 500 Men, they made two other Settlements, one at *Nanſamond*, in *James* River, above 30 Miles below *James-town*, and the other at *Powhatan*, ſix Miles below the Falls of *James* River (which laſt was bought of *Powhatan*, a King of the Country, for a certain Quantity of Copper) each Settlement conſiſting of 120 Men: And ſoon after they made another Settlement at *Kiguotan*, near the Mouth of *James* River. From theſe ſmall Beginnings it was that *Virginia* roſe to the Figure it has ſince made, in the *Britiſh* Commerce.

The *Muſcovy* Company, in purſuance of their Charter, made this Year [b] another Attempt towards diſcovering a N. W. Paſſage, in a Veſſel of 40 Tons, commanded by Captain *John Knight*. Of which Voyage we have no other Particulars; but that the Captain was ſlain with three of his beſt Men on the firſt Land they made in *America*, by the Savages; and that the reſt of his Crew hardly eſcaped with their Lives, and returned to *Dartmouth* on the 20th of *September*, by way of *Newfoundland*.

The Progreſs of the *Eaſt-India* Company increaſed the Navigation in the following Year [c]. They fitted out four Ships under two different Commanders, and on a diſtinct Trade.

The firſt Command in Chief was given to Captain *William Keeling*, who had under him, about 310 Perſons, in three Ships, the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Conſent*.

The *Conſent* being before departed, the other two Ships ſeparated likewiſe, at *Deliſa*, a Road in the North of *Socotora*, in the *Arabian* Sea. Captain *Keeling*, in the *Dragon*, went for *Bantam*; and Captain *Hawkins*, in the *Hector*, for *Surat*. The former, at their Arrival, found the *Dutch* had been before-hand with them, and had got two Ships laden with Cloves, and two more ready to be laden with Pepper. They made a ſhift, however, to get their Ship laden, and after having, during the time of their ſtay there, experienced many freſh Inſtances of the Treachery and Ingratitude of the *Dutch*, as well as in ſeveral other Places, during the Voyage, they returned to *England*.

At *Surat*, Captain *Hawkins* went on-ſhore, and having diſpatched his Ship for the Iſles of *Banda*, travelled by Land to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, at *Agra*, to negotiate the Company's Affairs, for the Eſtabliſhment of Trade, in ſundry Parts of the *Indies*.

The *Hector* being arrived at the Iſles of *Banda*, they found the firſt thing they had to do was to regulate the Cuſtom and Payments, which was part in Money, and part in Merchandiſe. This done, they began to trade, but found great Oppoſition from the under-hand Dealings and Practices of the *Dutch*. The *Engliſh* made an Agreement with the Natives of *Puloway*, for the Settlement of a Factory in that Iſland; but the *Dutch* hearing of it, ſet themſelves to oppoſe and hinder it, with all the Art and Intrigue imaginable; tho' they could not with all their Management prevent their getting about 1300 Weight of Mace, and near half a Ton of Nutmegs.

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[a] Before he was taken, he placed his *Indian* Guide before him, as a Shield, and in that Poſture ſlew three of them, and wounded ſo many more, that none of the reſt would come near him. In this Manner he attempted to retire to his Boat, keeping his Savage always between him and them; but being obliged to have his Eyes more upon them than his Way, he fell into a Slough, up to his Middle, and dragged his *Indian* after him. Even here they durſt not come near him, till being near dead with cold, he threw away his Arms and ſurrendered.

[b] A. D. 1606. Harris. Purchas.

[c] A. D. 1607. Harris. Purchas.

The *Engliſh* having, in the mean time, an Account that the *Dutch* deſigned to erect a Fort at *Banda*, and knowing what the Conſequences of that would be, propoſed to the chief Men of the Place, to make a formal Delivery of it to them, in the Name, and for the Uſe of, the King of *England*, before they began their Work. This Propoſal they ſeemed to like very well; but it was all Treachery and Deceit; for though, according to the private Inſtructions given them by the *Dutch*, they carried it with all the ſpecious Pretences of Friendſhip and Kindneſs in the World; and pretended their Spice ſhould rot on the Trees, before they would let the *Dutch* have an Ounce of it; yet they would never come to a Reſolution on that Point, and by their Delays, plainly ſhewed they had ſome under-hand Dealings with their ſecret Enemies, and gave them the Preference. *Purchas* indeed ſays, they did actually ſign a Writing to deal with the *Engliſh*; but if they did, they ſoon broke it; and they paid dearly for it afterwards, when the *Dutch*, having compleated their Fort, treated them, as well as the *Engliſh*, with all the Rudeneſs and Inſolence imaginable.

The *Bandaneſe*, finding they had been tricked, reſolved to be revenged, and ſoon gave a notable Inſtance of their Reſentment; for having cunningly drawn the *Dutch* Admiral, with the chief of his Followers, and Council, into a convenient Place, they put them every one to the Sword. They afterwards formed a Plot to cut them all off, and had executed it, had not the *Engliſh* taken the Snake into their Boſoms, and interpoſed on their Behalf. For which the *Dutch* uſed them Snake-like, as ſoon as they had recovered their Strength and Vigour, and put themſelves not only in a defenſive, but an offenſive Poſture. Theſe Tumults were in the Month of *May*, 1609; and the very next Month they began to lay many unreaſonable Reſtraints upon the Trade of the *Engliſh*, which they were forced to ſubmit to, being but 62 againſt above 1000 of them.

In *July* they carried their Inſolence ſo far, that they ſent the *Engliſh* an Order, ſigned by the Vice-admiral, and the Reſidue of the Council, to depart in five Days. They were obliged to compound with them for a longer Stay, and to go away at laſt before they had compleated their Loading.

From thence they ſailed to *Bantam*, where they took in 3481 Bags of Pepper; and having eſtabliſhed a Factory there in *May* 1710, returned without the Loſs of one ſingle Man.

The ſecond Command was given to Captain *David Middleton*, who ſailed at the ſame time with Captain *Keeling*, in the *Conſent*, a Veſſel of 115 Tons, which ſet out with the other two Ships, but being deſigned on a different Voyage, ſoon left them, and came into the Bay of *Soldania*, in *July*[a], five Months before the other. They went from thence to *Bantam*, where they diſcharged their Loading of Lead and Iron, and took in other Goods proper for the *Moluccas*, whither they ſet ſail on the 6th of *December*, and reached them the Beginning of *January* 1608. They lay there till the Middle of *March*, and met with great Obſtructions in their Trade from the *Spaniards*, who, after great Difficulties, permitted it the Beginning of that Month, but countermanded their Orders in a few Days after, and urged their Departure.

The Natives, who had more Kindneſs for them, continued however to drive a Trade with them ſecretly in the Night, till about the Middle of the Month, the *Spaniards* ſent their final and poſitive Orders for them to remove.

Having left the *Moluccas*, they ſought for Buſineſs elſewhere, and, to that end, entered the Streights of *Bangaya* the 23d of that Month. They found the People thereabouts very fond of a Correſpondence with them, and, by all the obliging Behaviour that could be, they endeavoured to procure it. They received, in particular, great Civilities from the King of *Botun*, who, after having viſited them onboard, invited them to his chief Town, and ſent a Pilot to carry them up thither. Here he renewed his Civilities, and ſome *Javan* Veſſels coming, in the mean time, into that Harbour, laden with Cloves, they happily ſecured them for themſelves, and got their Ship compleatly filled with them.

Their Buſineſs being finiſhed here, they took their Leave of this courteous and juſt Prince, and returned to *Bantam*, where they arrived the 22d of *May* 1708, and, having ended their Trade there, departed the 15th of *July* for *England*.

The Diſaſter of Captain *Knight*, did not hinder certain Merchants of *London* from ſending out Captain *Hudſon* on the ſame Errand, to make Diſcoveries towards the *North-Pole*; who with 10 Men and a Boy, ſailed in a ſmall Veſſel on the 1ſt of *May* from *Graveſend*. The 27th of *June* they deſcried *Greenland*[b]. The Ice lay very thick along the Shore; and having a fair Wind, they coaſted it in a ſmooth Sea, without Ground, at a 100 Fathom, four Leagues from the Shore. They reckoned themſelves to be in 78 Degrees, and not far from *Vogel Hook*. The 14th of *July* they came into the Bay, which has ſince bore his Name, at the Mouth of which they had 30 Fathom Water, then 26, but further in had no Ground at a 100 Fathom, and therefore judged it rather a Sound than a Bay. On the Southern Side lay three or four ſmall Iſlands or Rocks. The 15th, being clear Weather, they ſaw the high Land of *Greenland*, at 20 Leagues from them, to the North-eaſt; and by their Account, the Northern Part of the Land, which they then ſaw, ſtretched into 81 Degrees. The Author of the *Britiſh Empire in America* ſays, he diſcovered but to 80 Degrees and 23 Minutes. The 16th, having run towards the fartheſt Part of the Land they had diſcovered, they could diſcern more Land joining to the ſame, ſtretching into 82 Degrees, and by the bowing and ſhewing of the Sky much farther. The Abundance of the Ice to the Northward, which joined to the Land, hindering them from proceeding farther, they bore up the Helm, and returning, arrived in the *Thames* the 15th of *September*.

Captain *Hudſon*, in this Voyage, gave Names to ſeveral Places, which they have retained to this Day, as *Whale-Bay*, *Hackluit's Headland*, *Hudſon's Touches*, &c.

On the 22d of *April* 1608, Mr. *Henry Hudſon* ſet ſail again from *St. Katherine's*, with 15 Perſons in his Company, on a ſecond Voyage for finding a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the North-eaſt.

On the 15th of *June*[c], one of the Company looking over-board, ſaw a Mermaid, and calling up ſome of the Company to ſee her, one more came up, and ſhe was then cloſe to the Ship-ſide, looking earneſtly on the Men. Soon after a Sea came and over-turned her. From the Navel upwards, her Back and Breaſts were like a Woman's, her Body as big as one of us, her Skin very white, and long black Hair hanging down behind: In her going down, they ſaw her Tail, like the Tail of a Porpoiſe, and ſpeckled like a Mackrel. The Mens Names who ſaw her were *Thomas Hills* and *Robert Rayner*. *Hudſon* returned from this Voyage to *Graveſend* the 26th of *Auguſt*.

In the Year 1608, King *James* publiſhed a Proclamation[d], prohibiting all foreign Nations to fiſh on the Coaſt of *Great-Britain*. This Prohibition, tho' general, was deſigned againſt the *Dutch*; and it occaſioned a Treaty the Year following, whereby they engaged to pay an annual Sum, for Leave to fiſh; an evident Acknowledgment of the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Seas. The King concluded, however, two Treaties this Year with the *States*, which bear Date the 26th of *June*, one of Alliance, and the other concerning the Payment of what was due to him.

Several Complaints having been about this Time made, of great Abuſes, Deceits, Frauds, Corruptions, Negligences, Miſdemeanors, and Offences, committed in the Management of the Navy, and other Offices thereunto belonging; and by the Officers, Soldiers, Mariners, and others belonging to, and ſerving in and under the Navy; his Majeſty thought it requiſite to appoint a Committee of Enquiry, conſiſting of ſeveral Lords and others, to ſearch into, examine, and report the Grounds of ſuch Complaints.

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[a] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 226. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 94.

[b] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 464. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 564. Britiſh Emp. in America, Vol. I. p. 383.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. XVI. p. 674. ſeq.

The original Regiſter of the daily Proceedings of this Committee, is yet preſerved in the *Cotton Library*. The following is a Copy of the Commiſſion, containing a Specimen of the chief Matters they were directed to make the Subject of their Enquiry[a].

"*James*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, Lord-keeper of our Privy-ſeal, and Lord-warden of our *Cinque Ports*, and *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-high-admiral of *England*; and to our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellors, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, and *Edward* Lord *Wotton*, Comptroller of our Houſhold; and to our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Knight, Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of our Exchequer, and Sir *Thomas Parry*, Knight, Chancellor of our Duchy of *Lancaſter*; and to our truſty and well-beloved Sir *Edward Philips*, Knight, and Sir *John Doderige*, Knight, our Serjeants at Law; Sir *Henry Hobart*, Knight, our Attorney-general; Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight, our Sollicitor-general; Sir *William Woade*, Knight, our Lieutenant of our Tower of *London*; Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, Knight; Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knight; Sir *Thomas Crompton*, Knight; and *John Corbet*, Eſquire, one of the Clerks of our Privy-council, Greeting. Whereas we are informed, that very great and intolerable Abuſes, Deceits, Frauds, Corruptions, Negligences, Miſdemeanors, and Offences have been, and daily are perpetrated, committed and done, againſt the continual Admonitions and Directions of you our High-admiral, by other the Officers of and concerning our Navy Royal, and by the Clerks of the Prick and Check, and divers other inferior Officers, Miniſters, Soldiers, Mariners and others, ſerving, working or labouring, in or about our ſaid Navy, or other Things concerning the ſame, to the great Decay, Hinderance and Weakning of our ſaid Navy Royal, and of our Store and Proviſions belonging to the ſame; being, under God's Providence, one of the principal Strengths and Defences of our Crown and Kingdoms, we minding, that the ſaid intolerable Abuſes, Frauds, Miſdemeanors and Offences, ſhall forthwith be enquired of, the Offenders therein condignly puniſhed, and alſo to provide a ſpeedy Reformation of the ſame, for the Time to come. And repoſing aſſured Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdoms, Fidelities and Circumſpections, have aſſigned and appointed you to be our Commiſſioners; and do, by theſe Preſents, give and grant full and free Liberty, Power, and Authority unto you, or any three or more of you, from Time to Time, to call before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, as well the Treaſurer, Comptroller, Surveyor, Clerk of the Navy, Purveyors, and other Officers of the Navy whatever, that now are, as thoſe that have been in the ſaid Offices, ſince the Year 1598, and all, every or any of their Servants, Deputies, Officers or Subſtitutes, as all other ſuch inferior Officers and Miniſters whatſoever, having, or pretending to have, or that have had, or pretended to have, any Office, Charge, Function or Employment whatſoever, in or about our ſaid Navy, and all other Perſons, which have had any meddling or dealing, with the buying, ſelling, bringing in or carrying forth, taking in or delivering out, or any other kind of Dealing in, about or concerning the Stores and Proviſion belonging to our Navy. And alſo all Maſters of Ships, Purſers, Boatſwains, Shipwrights, Artificers, Labouring-men, Soldiers, Mariners, and other Perſons whatſoever, that are, or have been, appointed to any Charge, Office, Labour, Employment or Buſineſs, in or about our ſaid Navy. And all other Perſons whatſoever, whom you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit. And to enquire, ſearch, diſcover, and find out, as well by the Oaths of good and lawful Men, by whom the Truth of the Premiſes may beſt be known, as alſo by Examination of Witneſſes, and by all other Ways and Means whatſoever, which to you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall ſeem convenient, all and every the Abuſes, Deceits, Frauds, Corruptions, Negligences, Miſdemeanors and Offences aforeſaid. And alſo to cauſe all and every the ſaid Officers of our Navy, and other Perſons, whom you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit to bring, or cauſe to be brought before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, all and every their Books of Entry, Books of Office, Regiſter-books, Books of Accounts, Books of Survey, Books of Iſſues, both Rough-books and Quarter-books, of Prick, and all other Books and Writings, which they, or any of them keep, or ought to keep, by reaſon of their ſeveral Offices and Places. And to ſurvey, peruſe, caſt up, and examine all their ſaid Books, Accounts and Writings, and alſo to cauſe them, and every or any of them, to ſhew unto you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, all ſuch Warrants or Diſcharges, as they, or any of them, can produce, for or concerning any Matter or Thing, by them, or any of them, done, touching or concerning our ſaid Navy, or touching or concerning any Proviſion, Victuals, Stores, Pay, or other Things, belonging to our ſaid Navy. And for your more Eaſe and Expedition, in the due Execution of this our Commiſſion, our Will and Pleaſure is, that you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall appoint ſuch of our Auditors and Clerks to attend upon you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, for the caſting up of the ſaid Accounts, and performing of ſuch other Buſineſs, in and about the Premiſes, as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit, for the better expediting of our ſaid Service. For which Purpoſe, we do alſo, by theſe Preſents, ſtrictly charge and command our ſaid Auditors and Clerks, to be ready and attendant upon you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, as often as you ſhall require the ſame. And for that it may ſometimes fall out, that divers Perſons, whoſe Examinations, Depoſitions, and Confeſſions, are very neceſſary to be had, for the Diſcovery of the Truth and Certainty of the Premiſes, are either dwelling or abiding in far remote Countries and Places, whereby their Teſtimony may be loſt, or their coming up very chargeable, or otherwiſe ſo ſick or impotent, as they cannot travel: Therefore we are well pleaſed, for the Eaſe of ſuch Perſons, that every Note or Writing, ſubſcribed with the Hands of you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, and directed to the Lord-chancellor of *England*, or to the Lord-keeper of the Great-ſeal of *England*, for the Time being, requiring therein, that a Commiſſion or Commiſſions may be made forth, under our Great ſeal of *England*, unto ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think good, for the taking of the Confeſſions, Examinations, or Depoſitions of ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit to be examined, touching the Premiſes, or any Part thereof, ſhall, from Time to Time, be a good and ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge unto you, the ſaid Lord-chancellor, or Lord-keeper of the Great-ſeal, for the making forth of every ſuch Commiſſion and Commiſſions, under our Great-ſeal, accordingly: And our farther Will and Pleaſure is, and we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command you, our ſaid Commiſſioners, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, to certify unto us, from Time to Time, of your Proceedings therein, to the End that we may take ſuch farther Order herein, as we ſhall think meet. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patent. Witneſs ourſelf, at *Weſtminſter*, the 30th Day of *April*, in the 6th Year of our Reign of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*; and of *Scotland* the 41ſt."

P bre de privato Sigillo.

The *Eaſt-India* Company made a very unfortunate Voyage in 1608, in two Ships, the *Aſcenſion*[b], and the *Union*, which ſet ſail on the 14th of *March* from *Woolwich*, under the chief Command of Capt. *Alexander Sharpey*. They kept Company to the Bay of *Soldania*, where they arrived the 13th of *July*, and lay till the 26th of *September*. Quickly after their leaving this Place, the two Ships were ſeparated, and the *Aſcenſion* bore up with the Iſlands of *Comora*, between *St. Lawrence* and the Main, where the King of the Country was very kind to them.

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[a] MS. in Bibl. Col. Julius, F. III. Folio 3.

[b] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 228. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 96.

They fell in next with the Iſle of *Pemba*, in ſix Degrees S. Latitude, where they found the People ſo treacherous, that they could not forbear calling the Place Hell, on account of its malicious, barbarous and deceitful Inhabitants. At leaving this Place, they took three Pangays, or Barks, belonging to the Moors of *Melinda*, and carried all their principal Men, to the Number of 50, on-board their own Ship: But this Action had like to have coſt them dear; for, though the Moors had ſuffered themſelves to be eaſily taken, it was, it ſeems, only in order to take a ſeverer Revenge afterward, and, as they hoped, to betray the Ship. They watched their Opportunity, when they thought the *Engliſh* were the moſt unguarded, and, at once, drawing their long Knives, fell upon them, and ſtabbed their Miniſter, one of their Merchants, and two Mates, deſigning the ſame Fate for the reſt; but the *Engliſh* returned the Compliment ſo heartily, that of the 50 they ſlew 40, who proved to be of the beſt Quality in *Melinda*, and many of them of the royal Blood: The other ten they put on-ſhore to carry the News. *Purchas* ſays only five or ſix of the Moors came off alive. It was now high time for them to leave the Place, and get out of thoſe Seas, it being not conſiſtent with their Safety, after this Action, to ſtay any longer within the Reach of *Pemba* and *Melinda*, or any other Place that might pretend to a Concern in the Revenge of the Death of theſe Moors.

In the Month of *January* 1609, they fell in with a Cluſter of pleaſant fruitful Iſlands, but deſtitute of Inhabitants, for which Reaſon they called them the *Deſolate Iſlands*. They were about 13 in Number.

From thence they arrived, in *April* 1609, at *Aden*, a Place under the Sovereignty of the *Great Turk*, and the Key which lets him into all the Treaſures and Sweetneſſes of *Arabia Felix*. Here they were civilly entertained by the Baſhaw, and left two Merchants to make a Settlement there: They paid however pretty dear for this Permiſſion; for as they had no Patent from the Grand Signor, and the Freedom of Commerce, which he allowed them, was, as he pretended, only by Connivance, in return for that Favour, and this other Civilities, he made bold to take what Cloth he pleaſed, from them, for his own Uſe, which was no more than the whole Parcel they had ſent up to the Place of his Reſidence.

They then ſet ſail for *Moha*, or *Mocha*, a City on the *Red Sea*, and the grand Staple for all the *Indian* Trade, where they likewiſe met with courteous Uſage. Their next Deſign was for *Cambaya*, where their Ship was loſt on the Shoals, about 18 Leagues from the Shore, by the Wilfulneſs of the Captain, who would not be perſuaded to take a Pilot, though forewarned of the Danger. The Men got on Land, and travelled to *Surat*, from whence they got to *England* by different Ways.

The *Union*, after ſhe was ſeparated from the *Aſcenſion*, and had weathered out the Storm, refreſhed at *St. Lawrence*'s, and then made away for *Zanzibar*, where they met with much the ſame treacherous Uſage as their Companions at *Pemba*: Firſt kindly uſed, and then an Ambuſh laid to knock them on the Head. From thence they ſailed for *Madagaſcar*, where they anchored 14 Days in the Bay; but were, in that Time, expoſed to great Dangers and Loſſes, by the Barbarity of the Inhabitants.

From hence they directed their Courſe to *Achen*, where, after a conſiderable Oppoſition from the *Dutch*, they made the King their Friend, and began a Trade with the *Guzurats*. After ſome Time ſpent here, they went to *Priaman*, upon the Iſland of *Sumatra*, where they fell into a Trade ſo fine and flouriſhing, that the Happineſs of their Settlement there ſeemed to make amends for their paſt Miſfortunes. After having got in a good Lading of Pepper here, they ſet ſail for *England*; but with ill Succeſs, and a Repetition of the former or worſe Diſaſters.

In 1609, the Company ſent out the *Expedition*, for *Java* and *Banda*, under the Command of Captain *David Middleton*, who ſailed from the *Downs* [a] the 24th of *April* 1609. This Voyage contains little more than freſh Inſtances of the baſe and perfidious Dealings of the *Dutch*; notwithſtanding which, Captain *Middleton* had the Fortune to get a conſiderable Loading of Spices at *Puloway*, when the *Dutch* themſelves could not get a Pound that Year; and this was chiefly owing to his Courage and Reſolution; for he let the Governor know, he would trade there, in ſpite of all his Force, let him do his worſt to prevent him. And, it ſeems, the brave *Dutchman* took his Word for it; and tho' he had ten times his Force, did not attempt to prevent him. With this Cargo he arrived ſafe in *England*, in the Beginning of the Year 1611.

This Year [b] produced a new Colony upon the Iſland of *Newfoundland* by Mr. *Guy*, who having obtained a Patent for that Purpoſe, he landed with his Company, and began a Settlement at *Conception* Harbour. But, tho' the Natives gave him no Diſturbance, it does not appear that this Colony anſwered the Expectation of the Adventurers; for in a few Years they all returned to *England*.

The Reports from *Guiana* were ſo favourable, that there was another Adventure reſolved upon for that Coaſt, and the Voyage was committed to the Direction and Command [c] of *Robert Harcourt*, of *Stanton Harcourt*, in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq; and the Veſſels employed in it were the *Roſe*, a Ship of 80 Tons; the *Patience*, a Pinnace of 36 Tons; and the *Lilly*, a Shallop of nine Tons. In the *Roſe* were, with Mr. *Harcourt*, Captain *Edward Fiſher*, Captain *Edward Harvey*, Mr. *Edward Gifford*, and his Kinſman Mr. *Thomas Harcourt*, with 31 Gentlemen and others, Landmen, two *Indians*, and 23 Mariners and Sailors; in the *Patience*, Mr. *Harcourt*'s Brother, Captain *Michael Harcourt*, with 20 Gentlemen and others, Landmen, and 11 Mariners and Sailors; and in the *Lilly*, *Jaſper Lilly* Maſter, with one Landman, and two Sailors; the whole Company conſiſting of 97 Perſons, whereof 60 were Landmen. They ſet ſail from *Dartmouth* the 23d of *March*, and arrived the 17th of *May* in the Bay of *Wiapoco*. The *Indians*, finding they were *Engliſh*, came on-board without any Fear or Ceremony; ſuch an Idea had Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by his courteous and upright Behaviour, imprinted in them, of the *Engliſh* Nation. Theſe People, who were very forward and ready to traffick with the *Engliſh*, were of the Town called *Caripo*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Hill, at the Mouth of *Wiapoco*-river.

Mr. *Harcourt* acquainted them, that the Occaſion of his coming among them was to ſettle a Colony there, and to take Poſſeſſion of the Country for the King of *England*, by virtue of a Grant of it, by them, to Captain *Leigh*, and by ſome of their Countrymen before, to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; aſſuring them, however, at the ſame time, that his Majeſty intended no unjuſt Uſurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like Slaves and Vaſſals, but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the Inſolencies and Oppreſſions of the *Caribbees* [d].

After ſome Debate, the *Indians* gave their Conſent that they might live amongſt them, and promiſed to furniſh them with Houſes, and all other Neceſſaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear expreſſing ſome Diffidence in their performing their Promiſes, ſince Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been ſo dilatory in his. Matters being thus agreed, the *Engliſh* went aſhore, and met with the beſt Reception the *Indians* could give them.

The great Rains, which confined them near a Month, being ceaſed, the Captain ſet himſelf to diſcover the golden Mountains, which had been the Spurs to this Undertaking: But their Guide, who had promiſed ſuch great Things, during the Voyage, failed in the Performance of them, and either

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[a] Harris's Col. P. I. p. 99. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 238.

[b] A. D. 1609.

[c] Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1267. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 715. Appendix to Smith's Gen. Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 49.

[d] Their King, or chief Lord, who had been ſome Years in England, was then with Mr. Harcourt, and, with another of his Countrymen, came Paſſengers with him, though he had not diſcovered his Quality, till the Joy of his Subjects, at the Sight of him, made him known. Among the Indians, who came firſt on-board, was one who ſpoke the Engliſh Tongue perfectly well, and was known to ſome of the Ship's Company, having ſerved Sir John Gilbert in England many Years. And the Indian, who accompanied the King or Chief, having been 14 Years in England, theſe two were of ſingular Service to the Engliſh.

either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himſelf; for when he came to the Spot he had built his Hopes upon, nothing was to be found. And yet, they were convinced the Country afforded Gold, as well by the Aſſurances given them by the Natives, who ſhewed them certain Images, which, upon an Eſſay, appeared to contain at leaſt one third Gold, as by ocular Demonſtration of great Quantities of the white Spar, in which the Gold engenders; and which they found to contain both Gold and Silver; but they had Reaſon to believe theſe Mines were too far up, in the higher Parts of *Guiana*, and perhaps too ſtrongly guarded, for them to hope getting at them; and, beſides, they had then neither Time, nor Power to ſearch into the Bowels of the Earth, for the Mines.

They who had embarked with no other View than to plunge at once into Riches, were ready to mutiny; but the Captain, with great Prudence and good Conduct, prevented its running ſuch a Length; and, to keep them employed, not only went himſelf up the River of *Wiapoco*, upon Diſcovery, but ſent his Brother, with ſome others, on the ſame Errand, to the River *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the River of the *Amazons*. He went alſo and took Poſſeſſion of the Mountain *Gomeribo*, which is the uttermoſt Point of Land to the Northward, in the *Wiapoco*. This he did, according to Cuſtom, with the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the Preſence both of his own People, and of the *Indians*; and then the Mountain was delivered over to an *Indian*, to hold and poſſeſs the ſame, himſelf and his Heirs, of his Majeſty, *James*, King of *England*, paying the yearly Duty of a tenth Part of all Tobacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto, and other Commodities growing within the Limits of the ſame.

The Captain's Brother, and Captain *Harvey*, in diſcovering of the River *Arrawary*, met with great Difficulties. The Length they run by Sea to this River was near 100 Leagues, thro' terrible Breaks upon the Flats and Shoals; they went likewiſe 50 Leagues up the River, and all this only with flat-bottomed Canoes, ſomething longer than the common *Thames* Wherries, but not near ſo broad; and the *Indians* they met with up this River having never ſeen *European* Faces before, could not without much Trouble be brought to any ſort of Trade or Converſation with them, (tho' they had other *Indians* in their Company) till the Sight of their Toys wrought upon them, and induced them to come to ſome Terms for Proviſions; a Want of which, at laſt, obliged them to return to *Wiapoco*. They took Poſſeſſion nevertheleſs of the Country, in Form, as Mr. *Harcourt* had done of *Gomeribo*.

Mr. *Harcourt* was obliged to return for *England*, for fear of wanting Caſks to contain ſufficient Beer and Water, for the Voyage; the Maſter having neglected to have his Caſks Iron-bound, before their Departure, which occaſioned many of them to burſt their Hoops in that hot Country. He ſailed on the 18th of *Auguſt*, and left his Brother to command in Chief, in his Abſence, to whom Captain *Harvey* was joined as Aſſiſtant, and Mr. *Gifford* as his Lieutenant, and with them he left 50 or 60 of his Men [a].

In his Way homewards, Mr. *Harcourt* made ſeveral Diſcoveries on the Coaſt, and in ſome of the Rivers; and returned ſafe to *England*, having touched on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, the 29th of *November*. Being come to *London*, by the Favour of Prince *Henry*, he obtained a large Patent, for all that Coaſt called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs; but he was involved in ſo many Troubles, that he was not able to ſupply his Colony, and only ſent over ſome few Paſſengers, with certain *Dutchmen*, who kept Poſſeſſion for him full three Years, in which time he loſt but ſix Men.

This Year *James-town* ſent out People, and made two other Settlements; one at *Nanſamond* in *James* River, above 30 Miles below *James-town*, and the other at *Powhatan*, ſix Miles below the Falls of *James* River (which laſt was bought of *Powhatan* for a certain Quantity of Copper) each Settlement conſiſting of about 120 Men. Some ſmall time after another was made at *Kiquotan*, by the Mouth of *James* River.

In the mean while the Treaſurer, Council, and Company of *Virginia* Adventurers in *London*, not finding that Return and Profit from the Adventurers they expected; and rightly judging that this Diſappointment, as well as the idle Quarrels in the Colony, proceeded from a Miſmanagement of the Governor, petitioned his Majeſty, and got a new Patent, with leave to appoint a Governor.

Upon this new Grant they ſet out nine Ships, and plentiful Supplies of Men and Proviſions; and made three joint Commiſſioners or Governors in equal Power, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and Captain *Newport*. They agreed to go all together in one Ship.

This Ship, on-board of which the three Governors had embarked, being ſeparated from the reſt, was put to great Diſtreſs in a ſevere Storm; and after three Days and Nights conſtant Baling and Pumping, was at laſt caſt aſhore at *Bermudas*, and there ſtaved, but by good Providence the Company was preſerved.

In the mean time, Captain *Smith* being very much burnt by the accidental firing of ſome Gun-powder, as he was upon a Diſcovery in his Boat, was forced for his Cure, and the Benefit of a Surgeon, to take his Paſſage for *England* in a Ship that was then upon the Point of ſailing.

Several of the nine Ships that came out with the three Governors arrived, with many of the Paſſengers; ſome of which in their Humours would not ſubmit to the Government there, pretending the new Commiſſion deſtroyed the old one; that Governors were appointed inſtead of a Preſident, and that they themſelves were to be of the Council; and ſo would aſſume an independent Power, inſpiring the People with Diſobedience; by which means they became frequently expoſed in great Parties to the Cruelty of the *Indians*; all ſorts of Diſcipline was laid aſide, and their neceſſary Defence neglected; ſo that the *Indians* taking Advantage of thoſe Diviſions, formed a Stratagem to deſtroy them Root and Branch, and indeed they did cut many of them off, by maſſacring whole Companies at a time; ſo that all the Out-ſettlements were deſerted, and the People that were not deſtroyed took Refuge in *James-town*, except the ſmall Settlement at *Kiquotan*, where they had built themſelves a little Fort, and called it *Algernoon* Fort: And yet, for all this, they continued their Diſorders, waſting their old Proviſions, and neglecting to gather others; ſo that they who remained alive were all near famiſhed, having brought themſelves to that Paſs, that they durſt not ſtir from their own Doors to gather the Fruits of the Earth, or the Crabs and Muſcles from the Water-ſide; much leſs to hunt or catch wild Beaſts, Fiſh or Fowl, which were found in great Abundance there. They continued in theſe ſcanty Circumſtances till they were at laſt reduced to ſuch Extremity, as to eat the very Hides of their Horſes, and the Bodies of the *Indians* they had killed; and ſometimes alſo upon a Pinch they would not diſdain to dig them up again to make a homely Meal of after they had been buried [b].

For the firſt three Years that Captain *Smith* was with them, they never had in that whole time above ſix Months *Engliſh* Proviſions. But as ſoon as he had left them to themſelves, all went to ruin; for the *Indians* had no longer any Fear for themſelves, or Friendſhip for the *Engliſh*. And ſix Months after this Gentleman's Departure, the 500 Men that he left were reduced to 60; and they too muſt of neceſſity have ſtarved, if their Relief had been withheld a Week longer.

As to this Accident of the Wreck on the *Bermudas*, we are indebted for their Diſcovery, we ſhall add under this Year, the Account thereof, wrote by one in the Wreck.

“ I being [c] in the Ship called the *Seaventure*, with Sir
“ *Thomas Gates* our Governor, Sir *George Sommers*, and
“ Captain *Newport*, bound for *Virginia*, in the Height of
“ 30 Degrees of Northerly Latitude, or thereabouts, we
“ were taken with a moſt ſharp and cruel Storm upon the
“ 25th Day of *July* 1609, which did not only ſeparate us
“ from the Reſidue of our Fleet (which were eight in
“ Number) but with the violent working of the Seas, our
“ Ship became ſo ſhaken, torn, and leaked, that ſhe re-
“ ceived ſo much Water as covered two Tire of Hogſheads
“ above the Ballaſt, that our Men ſtood up to their Mid-
dles,

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[a] Harris.

[b] Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 21.

[c] Deſcription by W. C. printed in 1613.

dles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to bail out the Water, and continually pumped for three Days and three Nights together, without any Intermiſſion; and yet the Water ſeemed rather to increaſe, than to diminiſh; inſomuch that all our Men, being utterly ſpent, tired, and diſabled for longer Labour, were even reſolved, without any Hope of their Lives, to have ſhut up the Hatches, and to have committed themſelves to the Mercy of the Sea. Some of them having ſome good and comfortable Waters in the Ship, fetched them, and drank one to the other, taking their laſt Leave one of the other, until their more joyful and happy Meeting in a more bleſſed World; when it pleaſed God, out of his moſt gracious and merciful Providence, ſo to direct and guide our Ship (being left to the Mercy of the Sea) for her moſt Advantage; that Sir *George Sommers* ſitting upon the Poop of the Ship (where he ſat three Days and three Nights together, without a Meal's Meat, and little or no Sleep) couning the Ship to keep her as upright as he could (for otherwiſe ſhe muſt needs inſtantly have foundered) moſt wiſhedly and happily deſcried Land; whereupon he moſt comfortably encouraged the Company to follow their Pumping, and by no means to ceaſe bailing out of the Water, with their Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, whereby they were ſo over-wearied, and their Spirits ſo ſpent with long Faſting, and Continuance of their Labour, that for the moſt Part they were fallen aſleep in Corners, and whereſoever they chanced firſt to ſit or lie; but hearing News of Land, wherewith they grew to be ſomewhat revived, being carried with Will and Deſire beyond their Strength, every Man buſsled up, and gathered his Strength and feeble Spirits together, to perform as much as their weak Force would permit them; thro' which weak Means, it pleaſed God to work ſo ſtrongly as the Water was ſtaid for that little time (which as we all much feared, was the laſt Period of our breathing) and the Ship kept from preſent ſinking, when it pleaſed God to ſend her within half an *Engliſh* Mile of that Land that Sir *George Sommers* had not long before deſcried, which were the Iſlands of the *Bermudas*. And there neither did our Ship ſink, but more fortunately in ſo great a Misfortune fell in between two Rocks, where ſhe was faſt lodged and locked, for further budging; whereby we gained not only ſufficient Time, with the preſent Help of our Boat and Skiff, ſafely to ſet, and convey our Men aſhore (which were 150 in Number) but afterwards had Time and Leiſure to ſave ſome good Part of our Goods and Proviſion, which the Water had not ſpoiled, with all the Tackling of the Ship, and much of the Iron about her, which were Neceſſaries not a little available for the Building and furniſhing of a new Ship and Pinnace, which we made there, for the tranſporting and carrying of us to *Virginia*. But our Delivery was not more ſtrange in falling ſo opportunely and happily on the Land, than our Feeding and Preſervation was beyond our Hopes, and all Mens Expectations, moſt admirable. For the Iſlands of the *Bermudas*, as every Man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were never inhabited by any Chriſtian or Heathen People, but ever eſteemed and reputed, a moſt prodigious and inchanted Place, affording nothing but Guſts, Storms, and foul Weather; which made every Navigator and Mariner to avoid them, as *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, or as they would ſhun the Devil himſelf; and no Man was ever heard to make for the Place, but as againſt their Wills, they have by Storms and Dangerouſneſs of the Rocks, lying ſeven Leagues into the Sea, ſuffered Shipwreck; yet did we find there the Air ſo temperate, and the Country abundantly fruitful of all fit Neceſſaries for the Suſtentation and Preſervation of Man's Life.

“ On the 28th Day of *July* 1609 (after the Extremity of the Storm was ſomething qualified) we fell upon the Shore at the *Bermudas*, where after our General Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and Captain *Newport*, had by their provident Carefulneſs landed all their Men, and ſo much of the Goods and Proviſions out of the Ship, as was not utterly ſpoiled, every Man diſpoſed and applied himſelf to ſearch for, and to ſeek out ſuch Relief and Suſtentation, as the Country afforded; and Sir *George Sommers*, a Man inured to Extremities (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this Service neither idle nor backward, but preſently by his careful Induſtry went, and found out ſufficient of many kind of Fiſhes, and ſo plentiful thereof, that in half an Hour he took ſo many great Fiſhes with Hooks, as did ſuffice the whole Company one Day. And Fiſh is there ſo abundant, that if a Man ſtep into the Water, they will come round about him; ſo that Men were fain to get out for fear of biting. Theſe Fiſhes are very fat and ſweet, and of that Proportion and Bigneſs, that three of them will conveniently lade two Men; thoſe we called Rock-fiſh. Beſides there are ſuch Abundance of Mullets, that with a Sean might be taken at one Draught 1000 at the leaſt, and infinite ſtore of Pilchards, with divers kinds of great Fiſhes, the Names of them unknown to me; of Cray-fiſhes very great ones, and ſo great ſtore, as that there hath been taken in one Night with making Lights, even ſufficient to feed the whole Company a Day. The Country affordeth ſo great Abundance of Hogs, as that there hath been taken by Sir *George Sommers*, who was the firſt that hunted for them, to the Number of 32 at one time, which he brought to the Company in a Boat, built by his own Hands.

“ There is Fowl in great Number upon the Iſlands, where they breed, that there hath been taken in two or three Hours 1000 at the leaſt; the Bird being of the Bigneſs of a good Pigeon, and layeth Eggs as big as Hen-eggs upon the Sand, where they come and lay them daily, although Men ſit down amongſt them; that there hath been taken up in one Morning by Sir *Thomas Gates*'s Men, 1000 Eggs; and Sir *George Sommers*'s Men coming a little Diſtance of time after them, have ſtaid there whilſt they came and laid their Eggs amongſt them, that they brought away as many more with them, with many young Birds, very fat and ſweet. Another Sea-fowl there is that lieth in little Holes in the Ground, like unto a Coney-hole, and are in great Numbers, exceeding good Meat, very fat and ſweet (thoſe we had in the Winter) and their Eggs are white, and of that Bigneſs, that they are not to be known from Hen-eggs. The other Birds Eggs are ſpeckled, and of a different Colour; there are alſo great ſtore and plenty of Herons, and thoſe ſo familiar and tame, that we beat them down from the Trees with Stones and Staves; but ſuch were young Herons; beſides many white Herons, without ſo much as a black or grey Feather on them; with other ſmall Birds, ſo tame and gentle, that a Man walking in the Woods with a Stick, and whiſtling to them, they will come and gaze on you, ſo near that you may ſtrike and kill many of them with your Stick; and with ſinging and hollowing you may do the like. There are alſo great ſtore of Tortoiſes (which ſome call Turtles) and thoſe ſo great, that I have ſeen a Buſhel of Eggs in one of their Bellies, which are ſweeter than any Hen-eggs; and the Tortoiſe itſelf is all very good Meat, and yieldeth great ſtore of Oil, which is as ſweet as any Butter; and one of them will ſuffice 50 Men a Meal at the leaſt; and of theſe hath been taken great ſtore, with two Boats, at the leaſt 40 in one Day.

“ The Country yieldeth divers Fruits, as prickled Pears, great Abundance, which continue green upon the Trees all the Year; alſo great plenty of Mulberries, white and red; and on the ſame are great ſtore of Silk-worms, which yield Cods of Silk, both white and yellow, being ſome coarſe, and ſome fine. And there is a Tree called a Palmito-tree, which hath a very ſweet Berry, upon which the Hogs do moſt feed; but our Men finding the Sweetneſs of them, did willingly ſhare with the Hogs for them, they being very pleaſant and wholeſome, which made them careleſs almoſt of any Bread with their Meat, which occaſioned us to carry in a manner all that ſtore of Flower and Meal we did or could ſave, for *Virginia*. The Head of the Palmito-tree is very good Meat, either raw or ſodden, it yieldeth a Head which weigheth about 20 Pound, and is far better Meat, than any Cabbage. There are an infinite Number of Cedar-trees (the faireſt I think in the World) and thoſe bring forth a very ſweet Berry, and wholeſome to eat.

“The Country affords no venomous Creature, or ſo much as a Rat or Mouſe, or any other thing unwholeſome.

“There is great ſtore of Pearl, and ſome of them very fair, round, and oriental; and you ſhall find at leaſt 100 Seed of Pearl in one Oyſter; there hath been likewiſe found ſome good Quantity of Ambergreaſe, and that of the beſt ſort.

“There are alſo great plenty of Whales, which I conceive are very eaſy to be killed, for they come ſo uſually, and ordinarily to the Shore, that we heard them oftentimes in the Night a-bed; and have ſeen many of them near the Shore, in the Day-time.

“There was born upon the *Bermudas*, at the time of our being there, two Children, the one a Man-child, there baptiſed by the Name of *Bermudas*; and a Woman-child, baptiſed by the Name of *Bermuda*; as alſo there was a Marriage between two *Engliſh* People upon that Iſland.

“This Iſland, I mean the main Iſland, with all the broken Iſlands adjacent, are made in the Form of a Half-moon, but a little more round, and divided into many broken Iſlands, and there are many good Harbours in it, but we could find but one eſpecial Place to go in, or rather to go out from it, which was not altogether free from ſome Danger, where there is three Fathoms Water at the Entrance thereof, but within, ſix, ſeven, or eight Fathoms at the leaſt, where you may ſafely lie Land-locked, from the Danger of all Winds and Weathers, and moor to the Trees. The coming into it is ſo narrow and ſtrait between the Rocks, as that it will with ſmall ſtore of Munition be fortified, and eaſily defended, againſt the Forces of the potenteſt King of *Europe*, ſuch Advantage the Place affords.

“There are alſo plenty of Hawks, and very good Tobacco, as I think, which through Forgetfulneſs, I had almoſt omitted.

“Now having finiſhed and rigged our Ship and Pinnace, the one called the *Deliverance*, the Pinnace which we built there, the *Patience*, we prepared and made ourſelves ready, to ſhip for *Virginia*, having powdered ſome ſtore of Hogs Fleſh for Proviſion thither, and the Company thereof, for ſome reaſonable time; but were compelled to make Salt there for the ſame Purpoſe, for all our Salt was ſpent and ſpoiled, before we recovered the Shore. We carried with us alſo a good Portion of Tortoiſe-oil, which either for frying or baking did us very great Pleaſure, it being very ſweet, nouriſhing, and wholeſome. The greateſt Defects we found there, was Tar and Pitch for our Ship and Pinnace, inſtead whereof we were forced to make Lime there of a hard kind of Stone, and uſe it; which for the preſent Occaſion and Neceſſity, with ſome Wax we found caſt up by the Sea, from ſome Shipwreck, ſerved the Turn to pay the Seams of the Pinnace Sir *George Sommers* built, for which he had neither Pitch nor Tar. When all Things were made ready, and commodiouſly fitted, the Wind coming fair, we ſet ſail and put off from the *Bermudas* the 10th Day of *May*, in the Year 1610, and arrived at *James-town* in *Virginia* the 24th Day of the ſame Month, where we found ſome 60 Perſons living. And being then ſome three Weeks or thereabouts paſſed, and not hearing of any Supply, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and Captain *Newport*, the Governors, were very compaſſionate of their Condition; and called a Council, wherein they informed them, that they had but 16 Days Proviſion aboard; and therefore deſired to know their Opinion, whether they would venture to Sea under ſuch a Scarcity; or if they reſolved to continue in the Settlement, and take their Fortunes, they would ſtay likewiſe, and ſhare the Proviſions among them; but deſired that their Determination might be ſpeedy. They ſoon came to the Concluſion of returning for *England*: But becauſe their Proviſions were ſhort, they reſolved to go by the Banks of *Newfoundland*, in hopes of meeting with ſome of the Fiſhermen (this being now the Seaſon) and dividing themſelves among their Ships for the greater Certainty of Proviſion, and for their better Accommodation.

“According to this Reſolution, they all went aboard, and fell down to *Hog* Iſland the 9th of *June* at Night, and the next Morning to *Mulberry* Iſland Point, which is 18 Miles below *James-town*, and 30 above the Mouth of the River; and there they ſpied a Long-boat, which the Lord *Delawar* (who was juſt arrived with three Ships) had ſent before him up the River ſounding the Channel. His Lordſhip was made ſole Governor, and was accompanied by ſeveral Gentlemen of Condition. He cauſed all the Men to return again to *James-town*.

“After ſome few Days, my Lord underſtanding of the great Plenty of Hogs and Fiſh that was at the *Bermudas*, and the Neceſſity of them in *Virginia*, was deſirous to ſend thither, to ſupply himſelf with thoſe Things, for the better comforting of his Men, and the Plantation of the Country. Whereupon Sir *George Sommers*, being a Man beſt acquainted with the Place, and being willing to do Service unto his Prince and Country, without any reſpect of his own private Gain, and being of 60 Years of Age at the leaſt, out of his worthy and valiant Mind, offered himſelf to undertake to perform with God's Help that dangerous Voyage for the *Bermudas*, for the better Relief and Comfort of the People in *Virginia*, and for the better Plantation of it, which Offer my Lord *Delawar* very willingly and thankfully accepted; and ſo upon the 19th of *June*, Sir *George Sommers* embarked himſelf at *James-town* in a ſmall Barge of 30 Tons, or thereabouts, that he built at the *Bermudas*; wherein he laboured from Morning until Night, as duly as any Workman doth labour for Wages, and built her all with Cedar, with little or no Iron-work at all; having in her but one Bolt, which was in the Kilſon; notwithſtanding, Thanks be to God, ſhe brought us in Safety to *Virginia*.”

The Miniſtry of King *James* were greatly embarraſſed between the pacific Diſpoſition of their Sovereign, his great Affection for Negotiations, his Averſion to Arms, and the Encroachments of his Neighbours upon the *Britiſh* Coaſts, Navigation and Fiſhery; who with impunity were eſtabliſhing an illicit Trade within the Diſtricts of the *Britiſh* Admiralty. However, at laſt they prevailed with him to iſſue a Proclamation [a] in general Terms againſt all Foreigners, for taking unreaſonable Liberties in Fiſhing in our Seas, roundly aſſerting the King's Sovereignty in that Point, and prohibiting all foreign Nations to fiſh on the *Britiſh* Coaſt. This, though general in Appearance, had yet particular Relation to the *Dutch*, who found themſelves affected thereby, eſpecially when the King appointed Commiſſioners at *London*, for granting Licences to ſuch Foreigners as would fiſh on the *Engliſh* Coaſt; and at *Edinburgh*, for granting Licences of a like Nature to ſuch as would fiſh in the Northern Sea: And to theſe Regulations, though with great Reluctance, they ſubmitted for the preſent; the Reaſon of which ſeems to be, their having then Affairs of great Moment to manage with the Court of *Great-Britain* [b]; in which they ſucceeded. But tho' two Treaties were concluded on the 26th of *June* 1608, between the Crown of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, the one of Peace and Alliance, the other for Stating and Settling the Debt due to King *James* [c]; within a ſhort Time after, they diſputed paying the *Aſſize-herring* in *Scotland*, and the *Licence-money* in *England*; and, to protect their Subjects from the Penalties which might attend ſuch a Refuſal, they ſent Ships of Force to eſcort their Herring-buſſes [d]. Theſe Facts prevailed upon the King to republiſh his Proclamation, (which follows) that a Parliament, whenever they met, might ſee the Miniſtry had done their Duty, and adviſe the King thereupon as they ſhould think fit.

The Proclamation concerning Fiſhing.

“Whereas, we have been contented, ſince our coming to the Crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiſcuous kind of Liberty, to all our Friends whatſoever, to fiſh within our Streams, and upon any of our Coaſts of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and other adjacent Iſlands, ſo far forth as the Permiſſion, or Uſe thereof, might not redound

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[a] A. D. 1608.

[b] Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 358, 359.

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p. 674. et ſequen.

[d] Selden. Mare Clauſ. Lib. II. cap. 31. ex Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. c. 60. et Parliament 6 ejuſd. c. 86.

“to the Impeachment of our Prerogative Royal, nor to the Hurt and Damage of our loving Subjects, whoſe Preſervation and flouriſhing Eſtate we hold ourſelf principally bound to advance before all worldly Reſpects: ſo finding that our Continuance therein, hath not only given Occaſion of over-great Encroachments upon our Regalities, or rather queſtioning for our Right, but hath been a Means of daily Wrongs to our own People, that exerciſe the Trade of fiſhing, as (either by the Multitude of Strangers, which do pre-occupy thoſe Places, or by the Injuries which they receive moſt commonly at their Hands) our Subjects are conſtrained to abandon their fiſhing, or at leaſt are become ſo diſcouraged in the ſame, as they hold it better for them to betake themſelves to ſome other Courſe of living, whereby not only divers of our Coaſt-towns are much decayed, but the Number of our Mariners daily diminiſhed, which is a Matter of great Conſequence to our Eſtate, conſidering how much the Strength thereof conſiſteth in the Power of Shipping and Uſe of Navigation; we have thought it now both juſt and neceſſary, in reſpect that we are now, by God's Favours, lineally and lawfully poſſeſſed, as well of the Iſland of *Great-Britain*, as of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Iſles adjacent, to bethink ourſelves of good and lawful Means to prevent thoſe Inconveniencies, and many others depending on the ſame. In Conſideration whereof, as we are deſirous that the World may take notice, that we have no Intention to deny our Neighbours and Allies thoſe Fruits and Benefits of Peace and Friendſhip, which may be juſtly expected at our Hands, in Honour and Reaſon, or are afforded by other Princes mutually in the Point of Commerce, and Exchange of thoſe Things which may not prove prejudicial to them; ſo becauſe ſome ſuch convenient Order may be taken in this Matter, as may ſufficiently provide for all thoſe important Conſiderations which depend thereupon; we have reſolved, firſt, to give Notice to all the World, that our expreſs Pleaſure is, that from the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt* next coming, no Perſon, of what Nation or Quality ſoever, being not our natural-born Subject, be permitted to fiſh upon any of our Coaſts and Seas of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Iſles adjacent, where moſt uſually heretofore any fiſhing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained Licences from us, or ſuch our Commiſſioners as we have authorized in that Behalf, *viz.* at *London* for our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and at *Edinburgh* for our Realm of *Scotland*; which Licences our Intention is, ſhall be yearly demanded for ſo many Veſſels and Ships, and the Tonnage thereof, as ſhall intend to fiſh for that whole Year, or any Part thereof, upon any of our Coaſts and Seas, as aforeſaid, upon Pain of ſuch Chaſtiſement, as ſhall be fit to be inflicted upon ſuch as are wilful Offenders.

“Given at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 6th Day of *May*, in the 7th Year of our Reign of *Great-Britain*, *Anno Dom.* 1609.”

The *Eaſt-India* Company in the Year 1610, feeling the Sweets of their former Ventures, but convinced of the Neceſſity of ſending a more powerful Squadron to counter-act the Schemes and Force of the *Hollanders*, who ſtopt at no Meaſures to interrupt their Trade, and deſtroy their Factories and Ships, diſpatched Sir *Henry Middleton* with four Ships[a], the *Trade's Exerciſe*, of 1000 Tons, Admiral; the *Pepper-corn*, of 250 Tons, Vice-admiral; the *Darling*, of 90, and a Victualling-bark of 180 Tons.

At *Mocha*, Sir *Henry*, after he had delivered his Majeſty's Letters and Preſents to the Baſhaw and Aga, was received with all poſſible Marks of Kindneſs and Friendſhip: But this ſhort Sun-ſhine was only a Snare to allure the Admiral, with as many of his Company and their Effects on-ſhore, as they could; and it ſeems they had Hopes too of enticing the Ships into their Harbour, which they would have made a Prey of, with all that was in them; but being diſappointed in this their Expectation, the 10th of *November*, the *Mahometans* fell upon them like ſo many Furies, killed eight of them, deſperately wounded fourteen, with the Admiral; and after they had rifled him, threw him, with the reſt of the Company who were on-ſhore, into a Dungeon, chained ſeven together by the Neck, and ſeized their Effects. Afterwards they made an Attempt upon the *Darling*; but being bravely repulſed, a good Number of them blown up into the Air, and the reſt all killed but one, they were thereby deterred from any farther Aſſault.

The Admiral was frequently threatned with the Loſs of his Head, if he would not deliver up his Ships; but he choſe rather to ſacrifice his Life than his Honour, and bravely bid them Defiance: And after near ſix Months Impriſonment, he found Means, about the Beginning of *May* 1611, to eſcape, with moſt of his Company, to his Ships, which had lain in a ſafe Harbour on the *Abaſſinian* Coaſt. He had now an Opportunity of ſhewing his Reſentment, and triumphing in his Turn: He therefore ſent the Aga Word, “That if he did not immediately releaſe the Remainder of his Company, and make him Satisfaction for the Damages he had received, he would fire all the Ships in the Road, and batter the Town about his Ears.” This threatning Meſſage had its Effect: His Men and Pinnace were reſtored, and 18,000 Rials of Eight paid him for Damages.

He ſailed from hence in *July* 1611, to purſue their *Indian* Voyage; and in the Beginning of *September* came into the Road of *Deliſa*, in the Iſland of *Socotora*; and arrived, the latter End of the ſame Month, in *Swally*-Road at *Surat*, where a *Portugueſe* Fleet of 20 Ships, well provided, as well for Offence as Defence, lay in wait to intercept them, at the Bar of *Surat*, or at leaſt to prevent their trading there, or any where elſe, in thoſe Parts.

Sir *Henry* had no Remedy, but either to fight his way through, at ſo great a Diſproportion of Ships and Force, or elſe to loſe his Voyage; he reſolved upon the former, and Succeſs crowned his Reſolution. He not only made his way through, and diſperſed the *Portugueſe* Fleet, after having done them conſiderable Damage; but took one of their Frigates, and defeated them ſeveral Times on-ſhore. But by the baſe Inſinuation of the Jeſuits, they met with continual Diſappointments and Obſtructions in their Trade, and were obliged at laſt to leave the Place, and take Captain *Hawkins* and Captain *Sharpey*, with the reſt of the Factory, and their Effects on-board, without being allowed Time to gather in their Debts.

They proceeded to *Dabul*, where they had ſomething better Succeſs; and had an Opportunity of being revenged on the *Portugueſe*, by taking one of their Ships, of 300 Tons, laden with Cocoes, Tin, Sugar, Racka-nuts, *China*-diſhes, Spices, Wax, Allom, and Baſt-ropes; and a Frigate of 60 Tons, laden with Rice and Tamarinds; with which they returned to the *Red-Sea*, and arrived there about the latter End of *March* 1612; which gave them an Opportunity of getting Satisfaction for the Damages they had ſuſtained at *Mocha* laſt Year, by ſeizing 17 *Indian* Ships, from 1500 to 200 Tons Burthen, and ſome leſs, in the rich Loading of which the Inhabitants of *Mocha* were deeply concerned. The Ships and Goods, after they had been ſufficiently plundered, were ranſomed for a conſiderable Sum, of which one Ship alone paid 15,000 Rials of Eight.

The Admiral proceeded to *Bantam*, where he diſpatched the *Darling* from *Macaſſar* and other Places; but himſelf ſtaying behind, to repair his Admiral-ſhip, died there.

The *North-weſt* Adventurers made another Attempt to diſcover a Paſſage, this ſame Year, under the Command of Mr. *Henry Hudſon*, who, on the 17th of *April*[b] 1610, ſailed from *St. Katherine's*, was obliged to winter in that unfriendly Climate, and died there, after he had proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had ever done before him, and gave new Names to ſeveral Places.

The maritime Hiſtory in 1611 records an early Example of the Diligence of the *French* to take all Advantages of our *Weſt-Indian* Commerce. They took the Opportunity of the Departure of the *Engliſh* from *New-England*, to fix immediately within the Limits of their Patent[c]; and en-

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[a] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 247. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 100.

[b] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 596. Harris's Col. P. I. p. 567, and 538.

[c] Harris, Part I. p. 852. 1ſt Edit. Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 27.

deavoured to ſecure their Poſſeſſion by ſeveral Forts, at Mount *Manſel*, *St. Croix*, and *Port Real*, the more effectually to cover their Encroachment. But the *Virginians* not liking their new Neighbours, diſpatched Sir *Samuel Argall* to diſlodge them; which he performed with great Courage and Dexterity, and diſmounting their Fortifications, he carried away all their Ordnance, Proviſions, and Ship itſelf, to *Virginia*, and ſo effectually fruſtrated their whole Deſign of ſeating themſelves in *New-England*.

The *French* being expelled, ſome there were in *England*, who (not willing to part with this Country on ſo eaſy Terms, at leaſt, without making one Trial more) ſent out this Year another Ship, under Captain *Hobſon* and Captain *Harley*, with Men, Arms, Ammunition and Proviſions, to make ſome Diſcovery that ſhould revive the Deſign of planting again. But a little before this Ship arrived there, one *Hunt* (or *Hind*) an *Engliſhman*, had been upon the Coaſt, and ſeduced ſome of the Natives aboard, by fair Promiſes, clapped them under Hatches, carried them away, and ſold ſome of them for Slaves; which ſo enraged them againſt the *Engliſh* Nation in general, that they bent all their Thoughts on Revenge; and plotted to cut the Throats of the *Engliſh*. But they, having ſome Notice of their Indignation, and the Cauſe of it, were ſo wiſe as to be always upon their Guard, and ſo were not ſurpriſed; yet the Action coſt them ſome Wounds, but no Lives at all, tho' many of the Savages were cut off. It was therefore to no Purpoſe now to ſtay in the Country, the Natives being all in Arms againſt them, ſo Captain *Hobſon* ſailed home to *England*.

The *Eaſt-India* Company this Year ſent two Ventures to the *Indies*; one a ſingle Ship only, the *Globe* commanded by Captain *Anthony Hippon*; the other three Ships, the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, under the Command of Captain *John Saris*.

The *Globe* [a] was intended for a trading Voyage, and departed from *Blackwall* in the Port of *London* on the 3d of *January* 1611, and did not return till the Beginning of the Year 1616, which Delay was principally occaſioned by the Schemes and Treachery of the *Dutch*, and by the Perfidy of the Governor of *Narſinga*, who, upon the Death of the King of that Country, who had invited the *Engliſh* to ſettle a Factory in his Dominions, and contracted a Debt with them, took the Advantage of the Confuſion that Event occaſioned, to put off the Payment of a juſt Debt to them. They being ready to depart, and finding nothing was like to be done by fair Means, privately conveyed ſome Arms on-ſhore, reſolving to ſeize either the Governor himſelf, or his Son, and to carry him on-board as a Pledge for their Demand. It was not long before they had an Opportunity of ſeeing the Son at the Cuſtom-houſe, with a ſlight Guard; they ſoon made themſelves Maſters of his Perſon, and, notwithſtanding the Poſſy of the whole Town was raiſed upon them, made good their Retreat to their Boat and Ship, in the Sight of 3 or 4000 People, nor was he releaſed till the Governor thought fit to pay the laſt Penny, on the 24th of *November* 1614.

Captain *Saris* was ordered for the *Red-Sea*, *Java*, the *Moluccas* and *Japan*. He did not eſcape the *Dutch*, who were every where, and on all Occaſions, purſuing Meaſures to interrupt and deſtroy our *India* Trade. But all their Craſt could not prevent the Captain's gaining an Eſtabliſhment for the *Engliſh* Company on the Iſland of *Japan*, with certain Privileges.

This Succeſs with the Emperor of *Japan* is principally aſcribed to one Mr. *William Adams*, an *Engliſh* Pilot, born at *Gillingham*, near *Chatham*, in *Kent*, where he ſerved as an Apprentice to Mr. *Nicholas Diggines*, for 12 Years, being only 12 Years old at his Binding. He then ſerved her Majeſty Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſpent 11 or 12 Years in the Service of the Merchants who traded to *Barbary*; and, at laſt, deſirous to viſit the *Eaſt-Indies*, he paſſed over to *Holland*, and engaged himſelf in the *Dutch* Service [b], who by his means alſo gained a Footing on the rich Iſland of the jealous *Japoneſe*.

He was hired by the *Dutch* in quality of Maſter-pilot, and the Management of the whole Fleet, conſiſting of five Ships, was committed principally to his Care and Prudence; which ſailed from the *Texel* on the 24th of *June* 1586, for the Streights of *Magellan*, intending to make the Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies* by thoſe Streights and the *South-Seas*. It is foreign to our Hiſtory to make this Voyage with the *Dutch* any further than to obſerve, that after many Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, and the Loſs of all the other Ships, that alone in which Mr. *Adams* ſailed, made the hoſpitable Shore of *Japan* on the 19th of *April* 1588, in Lat. 35° 30' at the Port of *Bungo*.

The Sailors were all quite ſpent, and if the *Japoneſe* would have plundered them, or knocked them on the Head, they might have done it without any Trouble; yet they did them no manner of Harm, as to any Violence, or any ſort of Affront; but they pilfered and ſtole all that they could lay Hands on; for which ſome of them paid very dear afterwards. The Vice-king of the Place proved very kind to them, took them into his Protection, and ſent a Guard (as ſoon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to ſee that none of the Merchants Goods were ſtolen. This would have done very well had it come in good Time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good ſtore of Proviſions ſent them, and a Houſe provided on purpoſe for them, and, in ſhort, were made very much of, and began in ſome meaſure to enjoy themſelves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea.

But it was their ill Luck to meet with *Portugueſe* and Jeſuits here; they were forced to make uſe of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and choſe rather to have made uſe of the ſilent Language of Geſtures and Signs, than have made uſe of ſuch Interpreters as they were: For, theſe Men gave the Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all Parts of the World where they meet them) that they were Spies or Pirates, and not trading Men, as they themſelves pretended; and this ſo ſet the *Japoneſe* againſt them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehenſive at one time that they ſhould have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be ſet up upon Croſſes.

Now, when a Company of poor Seamen came to throw themſelves upon their Mercy, as it were, in a ſtrange Country, where they were not able to ſpeak for themſelves, and where their Liberties and Lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and ſerve them at that Rate, was an unpardonable Piece of Villainy, and an Action ſo very inhuman and baſe, as was only fit for *Portugueſe* and Jeſuits to be guilty of; but it was not long before the Emperor, hearing of this Ship, ſent for Mr. *Adams*, being the Pilot, to come to him. The Court was then at *Oſala*, which is about 18 Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Engliſhman*, not knowing whether it was for Life or Death, to Priſon and Puniſhment, or for their Favour and Enlargement.

The Emperor viewed him, he ſays, with a wonderful deal of Attention; but yet with his mild and favourable Aſpect, which took off, in a great meaſure, from the Dread his Countenance might otherwiſe have impreſſed. He aſked, by his Interpreters, a World of Queſtions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from, the People, their Manners, their Affairs both as to War and Peace, and Products of it in Beaſts, Fiſh, and Fowl, the Trade and Buſineſs, and Laws and Government; and, in ſhort, the whole natural and civil Hiſtory of it. More than this he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examine his Faith, aſking him what it was he believed in? a Queſtion, that if a Man had not known the Emperor's Religion, would almoſt have made him afraid the Jeſuits had ſet up an Inquiſition here, and that he was one of the Tribunal.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzled him ten times worſe, when he ſhewed him the *Magellanic Streights* in his Chart, thro' which he ſailed to *Japan*. The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good Opinion of him before, but now he thought him a downright Liar, the Myſtery of ſuch a Voyage was ſo incomprehenſible, that he had no Faith to beſtow upon it; yet ſince Mr. *Adams* affirmed it, and he could not confute him, he entertained it as a Man does all Points of pure

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[a] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 314. Harris, Part. I. p. 110.

[b] Harris, Vol. I. p. 856, &c. Second Edition.

Myſtery, with ſilent Admiration, and humble Submiſſion of their Reaſon to the Difficulty, tho' cramped and tortured with it at the ſame time. Tho' his Underſtanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. *Adams* afterwards, as appeared by his holding him in talk till Midnight: He had ſeveral other Conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a conſiderable Time notwithſtanding, kept in Priſon, tho' he had all Neceſſaries allowed him, and nothing like a Puniſhment, but a large Confinement. The *Portugueſe* made all the Intereſt at Court they could poſſibly againſt him, and, by their Agents, were continually infuſing ſome ſcandalous Reports of him and his Country in the Emperor's Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was ſo juſt and generous as to tell them, that the *Engliſh*, having done him no Miſchief, it would not be fair for him to ſee them ſuffer from any in his Country, and that it would be contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Reaſon, for him to ſuffer an innocent Man to be executed, merely becauſe his Country and theirs were at War.

Mr. *Adams*'s Circumſtances now began to mend, and grew more favourable; his Enemies were quite diſheartened, and the Emperor expreſſed every Day more and more good liking to him. In the firſt Place, he freed him from his Impriſonment, and gave him Leave to ſee his old Ship's Company, who were ſurpriſed with no ſmall Joy at this, having heard ('tis probable from the *Portugueſe*, who intended it ſhould be ſo) that he had been executed ſome time before: But here he found the Ship abſolutely plundered, and all his Goods and Inſtruments gone, and all the reſt had loſt what they had as well as he; for being all ſick and weak aſhore, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to thoſe that could be unjuſt enough to ſeize them.

When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the Recovery of them; but being gone too far out of Reach, he commanded 50,000 Rials of Eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make ſure that this Money ſhould not be either fraudulently detained by his Treaſurers, or converted to any other Uſe, he ſaw the Payment of it himſelf into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the Management of their Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this the Court removed to *Eddo*, about 122 Leagues from *Oſaoca*.

The Emperor ordered Mr. *Adams* to move thitherwards with his Ship, and here they took the Liberty to petition him, that they might be perfectly free, and purſue the Deſign of their Voyage, in going to trade in ſome other Parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not diſpoſed to part with them yet; ſo they got the Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongſt themſelves, every Man his Share, and then they diſperſed themſelves about the Country, chuſing thoſe Places to ſettle in that beſt pleaſed their Fancies; but the Emperor ordered them, beſides an Allowance of Rice, two Pound a Day for every Man, and over and above, ſo much yearly as came to eleven or twelve Ducats: There was no Diſtinction made between Captains, Pilots, and common Sailors; but they all fared alike.

Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they followed every Man his Buſineſs in the Country for a Livelihood, ſince it was determined that there they muſt live and die; but when the Term of Years was expired, the Emperor ſent for Mr. *Adams* to Court, and the Buſineſs was to make him a Ship. This was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor, and tho' he knew how to guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not uſed to the making of them; but he was ſo very urgent and preſſing to have it done, that Mr. *Adams* undertook the Work, and built him a Ship of about 80 Tons.

When he came aboard it he expreſſed a wonderful deal of Pleaſure in it, and it was a Piece of Service he valued ſo much, that the Maker of it roſe mightily in his Favour, by this very Means; beſides ſeveral very good Preſents, his Penſion was increaſed too, being made ſuch as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice; and theſe well managed, were a tolerable Livelihood for a ſingle Perſon in the Country: But that which recommended him moſt effectually to the Emperor's Eſteem was his Skill in Mathematical Learning; Mr. *Adams* had a good Share of Knowledge in the practical Parts, and was now honoured with having ſo great a Prince for his Scholar. He inſtructed him in ſeveral Points of theſe uſeful Arts, and made him capable of ſolving to himſelf that myſterious Problem of ſailing to *Japan* by the *Magellanic Streights*. He could pleaſe him at any time with deſcribing Geometrical Figures.

The Emperor was plunged in the Study, charmed and conjured within the Circles Mr. *Adams* drew him. This latter uſed his Geometry to ſuch good Purpoſe, that he diſcovered the true Method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got, as he ſays, the exact Length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any Point of Diſpute and Controverſy, and which Side ſoever Mr. *Adams* took, the Emperor was always of the ſame. He had ſo great a Stroke now at Court, that even the Jeſuits themſelves were willing to make uſe of his Intereſt there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* received ſeveral Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwiſe in no likely way of obtaining. Being in thoſe Circumſtances, he thought it not impoſſible to win upon the Emperor, ſo far as to return into his own Country, and for that Purpoſe renewed his old Requeſt, promiſing to do his utmoſt for the bringing both an *Engliſh* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, if he might be ſuffered to go home.

But the Emperor was too much pleaſed with his Company to hearken to any Propoſal about the loſing of it. Mr. *Adams* ſhould have concealed his Skill in Mathematics, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himſelf, if he had intended to have ſeen his own Country again; he was too uſeful a Man to be parted with, and there was no Hopes of his Libery, till he had quite loſt the Knowledge of all thoſe Arts that had ſo charmed the Emperor. In ſhort, there was no going from him, and his Wife and Children muſt be contented without him; yet he procured Leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in to go, and, to make his Life as eaſy and pleaſant as might be, the Emperor ſettled a Lordſhip upon him, in which he had a Compaſs of Land to manage, and a Parcel of Slaves, to the Number of 80 or 90, appointed to do his Country-work.

He employed Mr. *Adams* to ſail in the Veſſel he had built for him as far as *Eddo*, which our Author tells us was as far as from *London* to the *Lizard*, or Land's End. As he ſucceeded happily in this, as well as in other Affairs; he was directed to build a larger Veſſel after the *European* Manner, which accordingly he did, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as were under him, and who, following his Inſtructions, finiſhed a very good Ship, of the Burden of 100 Tons; and that ſhe was in every Reſpect a very complete Veſſel, appears from the Uſe that was afterwards made of her; for it ſo fell out, *Anno Domini* 1609, that the *Spaniſh* Governor of the *Manillas*, going in a large Galleon of 1000 Tons to *New Spain*, was driven out of his Courſe by a violent Storm, which threw him upon the Coaſt of *Japan*, where arriving in the Night, the Crew, thro' Ignorance, ran the Veſſel on-ſhore in the Latitude of 35° 50′ North, by which unfortunate Accident 136 Men were drowned; but the Governor with 350 more eſcaped, and applied themſelves to the Emperor, beſeeching him to have Compaſſion upon them in their Diſtreſs, and to aſſiſt them in their Deſign of proceeding to *New Spain*.

As the *Japoneſe*, from the Maxims of their Government, were never very deſirous of having many Strangers in their Dominions, this Requeſt of the *Spaniſh* Governor was very readily complied with, and as ſoon as Proviſions and other Neceſſaries could be got together, the Governor and his Men were embarked on-board the Ship which Mr. *Adams* laſt built, in which they ſafely proceeded to *Acapulco*. In Gratitude for this Favour, this Governor, in the Year 1611, ſent another Ship in Exchange, with a great Preſent, and an Embaſſador on-board, who had Inſtructions to thank the Emperor for his Civility, and alſo to make him a large Preſent.

It was in this Year alſo that our Author had an Opportunity, by the Arrival of a *Dutch* Ship, to give his Countrymen in *England* ſome Account of his Adventures, and of the Condition he was then in. This Letter he addreſſed to his unknown Friends and Countrymen, deſiring it might be carried either to *Limehouſe* near *London*, or to *Gillingham*.

The Concluſion of this Letter is extremely curious, and therefore I ſhall give it our Readers in his own Words, that they may better judge of the Genius and Capacity of this Man, who made ſuch a Change in the Affairs of *Japan*, and procured that Settlement for the *Dutch*, which without his Aſſiſtance, it is very probable they had never attained.

“ Now, whether I ſhall come out of this Land I know not; until this preſent there hath been no Means, but now thro' the Trade of the *Hollanders* there is Means. In the Year of our Lord 1609, two *Holland* Ships came to *Japan*, their Intention was to take the Carrack that yearly came from *Macao*, and being ſome five or ſix Days too late, nevertheleſs they came to *Firando*, and came to the Court to the Emperor, where they were in great Friendſhip received, conditioning with the Emperor yearly to ſend a Ship or two, and ſo they departed, with the Emperor's Paſs. Now, this Year 1611, there is a ſmall Ship arrived with Cloth, Lead, Elephants-teeth, Damaſk, and black Taffaties, raw Silk, Pepper, and other Commodities, and they have ſhewed Cauſe why they miſſed the former Year 1610, according to Promiſe yearly to come.

“ This Ship is well received, and with great Kindneſs entertained: You ſhall underſtand, that the *Hollanders* have here an *Indies* of Money, for they need not to bring Silver out of *Holland* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; for in *Japan* there is much Silver and Gold to ſerve their Turns in other Places, where Need requireth in the *Eaſt-Indies*; but the Merchandiſe, which is here vendible for ready Money, is raw Silk, Damaſk, black Taffaties, black and red Cloth of the beſt, Lead, and ſuch-like Goods. So now underſtanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arrived here, there is a ſettled Trade driven by my Countrymen in the *Eaſt-Indies*, I preſume ſome amongſt them, either Merchants, Maſters, or Mariners, muſt needs know me. Therefore I have emboldened myſelf to write theſe few Lines, in ſhort, being deſirous not to be over-tedious to the Reader.

“ This Iſland of *Japan* is a great Land, and lieth to the Northward in 48°, and the Southermoſt Part of it in 35°, and the Length of it E. by N. and W. by S. (for ſo it lies) is 228 Leagues. The Breadth South and North of it, 13 Degrees, 20 Leagues to the Degree, is 260 Leagues, and is almoſt ſquare. The People of this Iſland of *Japan* are good of Nature, courteous above Meaſure, and valiant in War. Their Juſtice is ſeverely executed, without any Partiality, upon Tranſgreſſors of the Law. They are governed in great Civility, I think no Land better governed in the World by civil Policy. The People are very ſuperſtitious in their Religion, and are of diverſe Opinions. There are many Jeſuits and *Franciſcan* Friars in this Land, and they converted many to be Chriſtians, and have many Churches in the Iſland.

“ Thus, in ſhort, I am conſtrained to write, hoping by one Means or other, in Proceſs of Time, I ſhall hear of my Wife and Children, and ſo with Patience I wait the good Will of God Almighty, deſiring all thoſe to whom this my Letter ſhall come, to uſe the Means, to acquaint my good Friends with it, that ſo my Wife and Children may hear of me; by which Means there may be Hope that I may hear of my Wife and Children before my Death. The which the Lord grant to his Glory and my Comfort. *Amen*. Dated in *Japan* the 22d of *October* 1611.”

As ſhort as our Author's Deſcription of *Japan* may appear, it deſerves ſome Notice and Explication. There is no doubt, that he extends the Latitude of this Country too high, when he tells us, it reaches to 48 Degrees; but perhaps he took what he wrote from the Information of the Inhabitants, and might, by his Enquiries, as to the Diſtance they had ſailed and travelled North, be led to take the Land of *Yedzo* into his Computation; and if ſo, we may very eaſily account for his extending the Bounds of *Japan* into ſo high a Latitude; neither is he to be blamed, for ſuppoſing that Country a Part of the Continent, and of the Empire of *Japan*, ſince the Natives were at that time perſuaded of both, and conſequently in his Circumſtances he was not likely to obtain any better Information. The reſt of his Account is exact enough, and the whole of it is apparently calculated to invite the *Engliſh* thither, by affording them a Proſpect of an advantageous Commerce. It is plain likewiſe, that Mr. *Adams* meant by this all the Service poſſible to his Country, and if it ſhould be enquired why he introduced the *Dutch* there firſt, the Anſwer is very clear, and very evident, becauſe he had no Means of writing to, or correſponding with the *Engliſh*, how much ſoever he deſired it.

It is alſo very evident, that by his Introduction of the *Dutch*, he meant to find out ſome Means of correſponding with his own Countrymen; and indeed, it was a very natural Method, ſince he came to *Japan* in the *Dutch* Service, and had no other way of working his own Deliverance, but by their Means. Another natural and juſt Obſervation upon his Letter is, that he ſpeaks very briefly of Facts, and without mentioning any thing to his own Praiſe; in which, without doubt, he acted very prudently, and this for two Reaſons. In the firſt Place, if he had given a large and full Account of the *Dutch* Settlement, and of the Pains it coſt him to eſtabliſh it, it would certainly have hindered his Letter from coming at all to the Hands of his Countrymen, by raiſing the Jealouſy of the *Dutch*, who were extremely tender of having their Affairs known. This is the more certain, ſince the latter Part of a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, and which contained a larger and more full Account of the Affairs of *Japan*, was actually torn off, and deſtroyed by thoſe who were entruſted with it. In the ſecond Place, ſuppoſing his Epiſtle had been more fortunate, and had come directly to the Hands of the *Engliſh*, it would not have recommended him to them, had he inſiſted on the Pains and Trouble he had taken in procuring the *Dutch* a Settlement in that Country, and therefore the longer, and the more attentively we conſider his Manner of Proceeding, the more certain we may be, that he acted in this Reſpect with all the Care and Precaution, and at the ſame Time, with all the Uprightneſs and public Spirit that it was poſſible.

When he found there was no Hopes of procuring his own Liberty, he not only applied, as he tells us, for the Diſcharge of his Captain, but of another *Dutch* Officer, ſuppoſing that two Lives were better than one, in which he judged very right, for his Captain was ſoon afterwards killed, and it was the other Officer who carried the News of Mr. *Adam*'s Eſtabliſhment in *Japan* to the *Dutch* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

It was in conſequence of this, that a Yacht, called the *Lion*, was ſent in the Spring of the Year 1609, from the River of *Johore* to *Japan*. This Veſſel arrived on the Coaſt of *Firando* on the 1ſt of *July*, and two Commiſſioners being ſent to the Emperor's Court, they, by the Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, procured all they could deſire; and having free Liberty given them to trade, ſailed on the 3d of *October*, arrived at *Bantam* on the laſt of *November*, and from thence continuing their Voyage home, arrived ſafely in the *Texel* on the 20th of *July* 1610. It was on the Report they made, that another ſmall Yacht was ſent, which arrived at *Firando* on the 1ſt of *July* 1611.

The firſt thing they did was to have Recourſe to Mr. *Adams*; for at their Arrival they found all things went very untowardly, at leaſt in their Opinion, who were not at all uſed to that ſort of Behaviour which was practiſed by the *Japoneſe*; and therefore they abſolutely refuſed to comply with what was demanded of them, in giving a Liſt of the Merchandiſe which they had brought to the royal Factor. On the other hand, the *Japoneſe* were but indifferently ſatisfied with them; for, whereas they expected an annual Ship ſhould have been ſent, as there was, from *Macao*, there was now two Years elapſed, and but a very ſmall Veſſel, and a Cargo of very moderate Value ſent at laſt, which did not at all agree with the Humours of the *Japoneſe*, who, like moſt of the Eaſtern Nations, are exceedingly caught by Pomp and Shew.

To heal theſe Breaches, the principal Perſons on-board the Ship went to make Mr. *Adams* a Viſit, reſolving to be wholly guided by his Inſtructions, becauſe, as the *Dutch* Writer of this Voyage informs us, they were very well ſatisfied he had as much or more Intereſt with the Emperor than any of his Miniſters or Nobility; and it was purely out of Reſpect to him, that after their firſt Differences with the Officer at the Court, they had obtained Licence to make their Application to the Emperor. On their coming to Court, Mr. *Adams* obſerved to them, that though their Cargo was ſmall, it would be requiſite to make conſiderable Preſents, ſince it depended upon their Behaviour on this Occaſion, whether the Licence which he had procured for them to trade, ſhould be continued, or ſuppreſſed. The Inſight he gave them into the Commodities and Manufactures of the Country, and the vaſt Profits that might be made, by eſtabliſhing themſelves there, operated ſo powerfully on their Minds, that they came immediately into all that he propoſed, and very wiſely reſolved not to heed the Loſs they might ſuſtain by their firſt Cargo, provided they might ſecure thereby a ſecond Licence to ſend an annual Ship thither.

On the other hand, Mr. *Adams* had ſuch an Intereſt with the principal Perſons, and great Miniſters at the Court of *Japan*, that he ſoon brought them to conſider the *Dutch* in that Light in which it was moſt for their Intereſt that they ſhould be conſidered. There was at that Time a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *Japan*, who had a great Train, made a ſplendid Appearance, and took great State upon him; for which Reaſon the *Dutch* Supercargoes were very apprehenſive that he would get the better of them in their Negotiation; but Mr. *Adams* having taken the Affair entirely into his own Hands, turned this very Incident to their Advantage. He repreſented to the *Japoneſe* Miniſters, that this *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador treated them with an Air of Haughtineſs and Superiority, and rather dictated to them his Demands, than applied to them for their Favour; whereas the *Dutch* were abſolutely a trading People, no way formidable to them in any Reſpect, who deſired to have the Honour of furniſhing the Emperor and his Subjects with ſuch foreign Commodities as they wanted, and were ready to ſubmit to ſuch Regulations, and to carry on their Trade under ſuch Reſtrictions, as for the Safety and Welfare of the Empire they, in their great Wiſdom, ſhould think fit to preſcribe.

By this means, as the *Dutch* Writers themſelves confeſs, Mr. *Adams* wrought ſo effectually in their Favour, that they were every where received, not only with Civility and Kindneſs, but with the greateſt Candour and Complaiſance; while the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, notwithſtanding the great Figure he made, was not only very coldly treated, and made little Progreſs in his Negotiation, but was likewiſe expoſed to Incivilities and Affronts.

The *Portugueſe* Writers attribute alſo to our Countryman *Adams*, the evil Impreſſions that about this Time the Emperor began to entertain of their Nation, and particularly of the Miſſionaries; of which, however, we find not the leaſt Footſtep in either *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Author: But, to ſay the Truth, it is probable enough; and what they report is very conſiſtent with the Notions that are aſcribed to Mr. *Adams* by the *Dutch* Writers. In ſhort, he did expreſs ſome Diſlike to the Jeſuits; and when aſked concerning them by the Emperor, he ſaid very freely, that they were the Authors of all the Diſturbances in *Europe*, and that they had been expelled not only *Great-Britain*, but *France*, for this Reaſon. It is highly probable, that the Emperor might from hence take a Reſolution, of treating them in the ſame manner, for the Security of his own Dominions; but then it muſt be allowed, he would not have thought of taking this Meaſure, if he had not found their Behaviour in *Japan* juſtify the Character which Mr. *Adams* had given him of them: But the *Portugueſe* Writers ſay not a Word of the Calumnies ſpread by their Prieſts, and the *Japoneſe* Nobility in their Intereſt, against the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, repreſenting both Nations as a ſort of Pirates and Free-booters, which might not only provoke Mr. *Adams* to make ſuch Returns, but likewiſe lay him under a kind of Neceſſity of clearing up theſe Points to the Emperor's Satisfaction. But to return to our Subject:

About the latter End of *Auguſt* 1611, the *Dutch*, thro' Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt ſolely, obtained a Licence to trade in *Japan* under the Emperor's Seal; in which, however, that Clauſe was wanting which chiefly induced them to make this long Journey to Court, and that was an Exemption from being viſited by the Inſpector of Commerce, by whom they had been greatly aggrieved. This Officer, though a very bad Man, had a very great Intereſt at Court, his Siſter being one of the Emperor's Wives; and the *Dutch* found, upon Application to the Prime Miniſter, that he was ſo much afraid of offending her, that he durſt not ſo much as propoſe that Clauſe to the Emperor, which gave them great Concern, ſince without obtaining it, they were not much inclined to make uſe of the Licence.

To obviate this Difficulty, the Prime Miniſter propoſed, that Mr. *Adams* ſhould draw up a Petition for inſerting of this Clauſe, with ſuch Reaſons as he thought proper, and ſhould take an Opportunity of preſenting it to the Emperor when he was in a good Humour, promiſing that he would do all in his Power to ſupport it; and aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he had written ſuch a Letter to the Inſpector, as would prevent their meeting with any Difficulties for the preſent, adviſing them to leave the whole Affair to the Management of Mr. *Adams*, for whoſe Succeſs he would be anſwerable; but all he could ſay had no Effect upon the *Dutch*, they were reſolved to truſt no body, and not to ſtir from Court, till they had this Clauſe inſerted in their Licence.

To ſatisfy them therefore, if it was poſſible, Mr. *Adams* drew up a proper Petition, and the very next Day preſented it to the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Conſent and Seal he procured; ſo that by his Intereſt the *Dutch* obtained, on their firſt Application, what the *Portugueſe* were never able to obtain in the Courſe of ſo many Years as they had been ſettled in *Japan*, which is ſuch a Proof of Mr. *Adams*'s Intereſt at that Court, as if it was not reported by the *Dutch* Writers themſelves, would ſcarce deſerve Credit; but, as it is, I think there can be no ſort of Doubt raiſed about it. All Things being thus ſettled to their Satisfaction, and every thing done for them that they could deſire, they returned to *Firando*; and having landed their Goods, and ſettled a Factory there, they ſailed from thence on the 28th of *September* 1611.

It is of this *Dutch* Ship, and their Reception, that our Author ſpeaks, at the Cloſe of his Letter, in Terms which ſeem particularly deſigned to ſhew his Countrymen how eaſy a matter it would be for them to eſtabliſh a Factory likewiſe in that Empire. The Letters of Mr. *Adams*, conveyed to the *Engliſh*, were brought to *Bantam* in the Iſland of *Java*, in the Month of *October* the next Year; that is, *Anno Domini* 1612. There was then there a conſiderable Number of *Engliſh* Ships and Merchants, to whom theſe Letters were read, and it was preſently agreed, that ſuch an Opportunity was not to be loſt; whereupon Capt. *John Saris*, whom the *Portugueſe* are pleaſed to call Sir *William Saris*, was ordered to ſail in the *Clove*, a large *Eaſt-Indiaman*, from thence for *Japan*.

He had on-board him 74 *Engliſh*, one *Spaniard*, one *Japoneſe*, and five *Indians*; and on the 14th of *January* 1613, he proceeded on his Voyage. On the laſt of that Month he had Sight of the great Iſland of *Celebes*, paſſed happily through the Streights of *Bouton*, and towards the End of the Month of *February* reached the *Moluccas*: He made ſome Stay there, though he was but indifferently treated by the *Dutch*. On the 24th of *April*, he obſerved an extraordinary Eclipſe of the Moon, about Seven in the Morning, which, he ſays, laſted three Hours and an half. On the 1ſt of *June* he paſſed the Tropick of *Cancer*, and on the 9th of the ſame Month had Sight of the Iſland of *Ximo*, which is one of the Iſlands of *Japan*. On the 11th he arrived at *Firando*, and was very well received; but found it, however, impoſſible to do any thing, till the King had ſent to acquaint Mr. *Adams* with his Arrival, who was then at *Eddo*, 200 Leagues from thence. The Meſſenger, it ſeems, did not make ſo much Haſte as he ought to have done, and therefore the King, upon his Return, ſent him into Baniſhment.

On the 29th of *July* Mr. *Adams* arrived, and Captain *Saris* conferred with him about the Means of ſettling a

Trade, and the Proſpect there was of making it worth their while. He was told upon this Subject, that the Commerce of *Japan*, like that of the reſt of the World, was ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs profitable; but that, however, it would be always found worth the ſeeking, and worth the keeping too. Here I cannot but obſerve, that in Captain *Saris*'s Opinion, Mr. *Adams* had acquired a great Affection for that Country, in which he had now ſpent near 12 Years. This was a Remark natural enough to make, for one who was not acquainted, either with him, or with the Country; but the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* Writers, who, for what Reaſon I know not, always ſtile him Sir *William Adams*, report him to have been a Perſon of great Probity, and unblemiſhed Character, and one, whoſe Candour and Sincerity made him highly eſteemed, even by ſuch as conſidered him as their Enemy: But Captain *Saris* ſeems to have looked upon him as a mere *Engliſh* Pilot, and therefore much his Inferior, without conſidering that his Circumſtances were now very much changed, and that therefore he ought to have been looked upon as a kind of Miniſter to the Emperor of *Japan*.

He took his Advice, however, and agreed to go with him to the Emperor's Court, to which he was the more readily induced, by the King of *Firando*'s offering him all kind of Conveniences for his Journey. He carried with him Preſents for the Emperor, the Emperor's Son, their Prime Miniſters, for the Judge at *Meaco*, for the Admiral, and for the Treaſurer; all of which amounted together to the Value of 180*l*.

We ſhall give the Hiſtory of this Journey in Captain *Saris*'s own Words, becauſe he has been always conſidered as one of the moſt ſenſible and correct of our maritime Writers.

“ We ſet ſail (ſays the Captain) from *Firando*, and paſſed by ſeveral Iſlands; the moſt Part are very well inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them, but the firſt of Note that we put in at was *Fuecate*, a very large and conſiderable Place, not much leſs than *London*; within the Walls very well built, and ſo even and uniform, that one might ſee from one End of a Street to another. It has a ſtrong Stone Caſtle, a good Ditch, and a Draw-bridge, all kept in very good Repair; but no Soldiers, or Ordnance. As for Ordnance, indeed, I did not ſo much wonder to find none, ſince there was no ſuch thing at *Firando*; and 'tis a ſort of Military-furniture that the *Japoneſe* are wholly without. All along this Coaſt, and ſo up to *Oſaca*, we found Women that lived with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Livelihood by Fiſhing, at which they were very great Artiſts; but they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impoſſible for the Fiſh to eſcape them; for what they miſſed with their Lines and Nets, they would dive for, and catch that way without fail; and this they would do with Eaſe, to the Depth of eight Fathom. Theſe Women are very eaſy to be known from all others, for by continual Diving, their Eyes were ſtrangely altered, and looked as red as Blood; and by this Token the Diving-women are diſtinguiſhed in *Japan*.

“ When we paſſed the Streights of *Xemina-ſoque*, the next Town of Note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferior to the former in Compaſs and Dimenſions, and one of the principal Sea-ports of the Empire. There's a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and ſeveral very fine Timber-bridges laid over it. It has a Caſtle very extraordinary for Bigneſs and Strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and ſeveral Draw-bridges artificially made, and Grates ſo ſtrongly plated with Iron, as may ſeem to bid Defiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Caſtle is of Free-ſtone, and the Walls are of the ſame; but a matter of ſeven Yards thick, and put together without any Mortar or Cement; the Stones being ſo nicely cut, as to lie perfectly cloſe together, and needs no other Binding; only if there happens to be a void Space any where, they throw a little Earth to fill up the Crevice, and that's all they do. It is regularly contrived, ſtrengthned with Bulwarks and Battlements, with good Store of Loop-holes for ſmall Shot and Arrows, and various Paſſages for the throwing out of Stones upon thoſe that ſhould come to attempt it.

“ Over againſt *Oſaca*, on the other Side of the River, lies another great Town, called *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Iſles thereabouts. At *Fuſhimi*, to which we came next, we found a Garriſon of 3000 Soldiers, appointed for the keeping ſome of theſe Parts in good Order. This Garriſon is ſhifted every three Years; and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of ſeeing ſomething of the Rules of their military Diſcipline: They generally march no more than five a-breaſt, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Diſpoſition, according to the Quality of their Arms, is thus: Firſt of all march their Shot, that is, Calievers, for Muſkets they have none, neither will they uſe any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadaſhes or Hooks, and laſtly Calievers again cloſe the March; and among all theſe they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any Sort of warlike Muſick.

“ The *Japoneſe* Horſes are not large or high, but of the Size of our middling Horſes, ſmall headed, and extremely full of Mettle; and, in my Opinion, far beyond *Spaniſh* Gennets, both in ſtately Carriage and Spirit. Their Soldiers obſerve very good Order upon the Road, and are ſo exactly governed, that they are as welcome at the Publick-houſes as any Gueſts whatever; no Man is in the leaſt diſturbed or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it without any Quarreling: The Roads are very well furniſhed with Houſes of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon their March, they provide Victuals for them; ſo that they have, at a Inſtant's Warning, what they want, and at very cheap Rates; a Dinner of good wholſome Food, and enough of it, from two Shillings downward, to one Penny.

“ The Diet generally uſed through the Country is Rice of ſeveral Sorts, the white being counted the beſt; Fiſh, freſh and ſalted, Herbs, Radiſhes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheaſant, Partridge, Quail, and Fowls: Of Beaſts they have all Sorts; of Deer, wild Boars, Goats, and black Cattle; Cheeſe alſo in great Plenty; but Butter they make none; neither will they eat any Milk, becauſe they eſteem it the Blood of the Animal; and, for what Reaſon I know not, they will not touch a Bit of any tame Beaſts, though they have them in Abundance. Their Wheat ought not to be forgotton, which is as plump, and as good as any, but all of the red Colour. We did in our Travels buy Rice at a Half penny *per* Pound; Hens and Pheaſants, the beſt and fatteſt, for three Pence a-piece; Pigs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Ox for ſixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings. The Drinks in requeſt in this Country are only the Spirits diſtilled from the Rice, very ſtrong, and of the Colour of *Canary*, and common Water, which is the common Drink of the poorer Sort of People, that can't reach to the Price of other Liquor. They always drink their Water warm, and ſay that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

“ Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, by the latter End of this Month, we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finiſh the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furniſhed with Horſes, and all Conveniences for that Purpoſe, at the Emperor's Charge. I had alſo a Palankin or one of their Sedans provided for me, and a freſh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place ſor the carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horſe; and, for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palankin. The King's Harbingers alſo went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road. This Part of the Journey was very pleaſant and eaſy; the Way, for the moſt Part, is exceeding even and plain; and wherever there was any rugged mountainous Ground, a ſmooth level Paſſage was cut through it. This Road is all along good Sand and Gravel; 'tis divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers; and at every League's End are two ſmall Hills raiſed, on either Side one, and upon each a fair Pine-tree planted. The Deſign of which Mark is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their own Journies, that they may not be abuſed by the Hackney-men, and thoſe that let out Horſes, and ſo pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

“All along the Road you meet with Multitudes of People paſſing and repaſſing, and Towns, and pleaſant Villages, Farms and Country-houſes; and ſometimes Temples, ſtanding at a little Diſtance, in ſhady Groves, with the Habitations of the Prieſts round about them. The moſt unpleaſant Sight we had, was the Sight of the Malefactors, faſtened upon Croſſes, near all the great Towns where thoſe Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Puniſhment among them at *Japan*; and, as they manage it, 'tis ſome ſort of Puniſhment to Travellers too, to paſs by a Multitude of noiſome, putrifying Carcaſſes and Bodies; beſides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Diſturbance of the Smell thoſe Bodies yield: And we had the worſt Trial of all when we came to *Suranga*; there were Croſſes, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcaſſes, and Limbs, hanging about in ſo many Places without the City, that our Pleaſure in going along was greatly leſſened. *Suranga* ſeems to be as big as *London*, even taking in the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs: The outer Parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all Sorts, placed there for the Eaſe and Quiet of the genteeler People, who don't care to be diſturbed with the Noiſe and Buſtle the others made in their Trades.

“After a Repoſe of a Day or two, I went, with all my Company in a Body, to the Caſtle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and to deliver the Preſents intended for that Court; I was introduced by two of the greateſt Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary and his Admiral. Theſe led me firſt into a very fine matted Room, where we ſat down for ſome Time, according to their Cuſtom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Preſence, where ſtood an empty Chair of State, to which I was obliged to do Reverence. After ſome ſhort Time, Word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which theſe Courtiers brought me, but durſt not preſume to look in themſelves. The Cuſtom is, for all the Preſents that are brought to be placed in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly, when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly manner laid before him. He received his Majeſty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me welcome: He deſired me to go and ſee the King his Son at *Eddo*, (with all the Neceſſaries for which Journey he would take care to furniſh me) and by that Time I returned, his Letters ſhould be ready for our King.

“The Articles relating to Trade and Privilege, which we requeſted his Majeſty's Confirmation of, were all eaſily granted by him, one only excepted, reſpecting the *Chineſe*: It was to this Purpoſe, That whereas the *Chineſe* had refuſed all Trade and Commerce with the *Engliſh*, if we could take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japan*, and make Sale of the Goods, ſo taken, in his Majeſty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at firſt; but his Mind was altered afterwards by a Conference with the Ambaſſador of *China*, and he refuſed to allow it. The reſt all paſſed under his Great-ſeal, which is not of Wax, like ours, but ſtamped like a Print, and coloured red. The Secretary would take no Preſent, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it ſeems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

“Having ſeen this Buſineſs done, we ſet out from *Suranga* for the great City of *Eddo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court: The Country is well inhabited between theſe two Cities; the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the Totoques, or Temples, ſcattering up and down in good Numbers too. There's one mighty Image, (which they call *Dabis*) that ſtands in this Road, at which all the *Japaneſe* ſtop to pay their Devotions, when they go this way. It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick: 'Tis in the Shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks reſting on his Heels, and his Arms extended: He is repreſented wearing a Gown, and notwithſtanding that bending Poſture, is 22 Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionally large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and then fell a hollowing and hooping; the Noiſe of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much ſuch agreeable Sort of Muſick as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris*'s brazen Bull. It ſtands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Paſſage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; for they always make a Pauſe at *Dabis*, but this is but a ſlight Ceremony.

“It is at *Tencheday*'s Temple the great Work is to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may meet all Sorts of People, rich and poor, ſound and diſtempered, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night, as well as by Day, and all the Year round. About the Middle of this Month we came to *Eddo*, a City much larger than *Suranga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance. The very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Doors ſet off with ſhining Varniſh. They have no Glaſs-windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted: There's a Cauſeway runs thro' the chief Street in the City; which Street is as broad as any in *England*; and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cauſeway; at every 50 Paces there's a Well-head ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-ſtone, and provided with Buckets for the People, in caſe of any Danger by Fire. The Caſtle of this City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that of *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance than the Emperor his Father.

“He received us in a very obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters and Preſents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Preſent of two intire Suits of *Japan* Armour, finely varniſhed, and a long Sword for myſelf: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common Wear; but the Talahes, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account. It is ſaid to be no leſs than 22 Days Journey on Horſeback, from this City of *Eddo* to the moſt Northern Part of *Japan*, which makes it a Country of a vaſt Extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying a Compliment; which being done, we had no further Occaſion of ſtaying; and having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back to *Suranga*, where we arrived again at the End of this Month.

“We were not obliged to wait long in this City; for our Diſpatches, the Emperor's Letter, and the Inſtrument, containing our Privileges, and the Terms upon which we were to eſtabliſh a Factory in *Japan*, being, thro' the Care, Induſtry, and Intereſt of Mr. *Adams*, both ſpeedily and effectually diſpatched; ſo that we had no Reaſon to complain either of the Delays or Diſappointments that are uſually met with at Courts; and of which we underſtood by Report, that of *Japan* is not more free than others, if one has not a good Agent, as luckily for us we had.”

The Letter from the Emperor of *Japan* to the King of *Great-Britain* is thus tranſlated; and tho' this Verſion is not literal, yet it is very ſtrict, and expreſſes the Meaning of the Original very exactly; ſo that the Senſe and Spirit of theſe *Japaneſe* Papers may be clearly apprehended thereby.

To the KING *of* GREAT-BRITAIN.

“Your Majeſty's kind Letter ſent me by your Servant Captain *John Saris* (who is the firſt that I have known to arrive in any Part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to underſtand of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command. I acknow-

"ledge your Majeſty's great Bounty, in ſending me ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare Things, ſuch as my Land affordeth not; neither have I ever before ſeen, which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as myſelf, deſiring the Continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs; and that it may ſtand with your good liking to ſend your Subjects to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they ſhall be moſt heartily welcome, applauding much their Worthineſs in the Admiral's Knowledge of Navigation, having with much Facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote; being no whit amazed with the Diſtance of ſo mighty a Gulph, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds and Storms, from proſecuting honourable Enterpriſes of Diſcoveries and Merchandiſing, wherein they ſhall find me to further them, according to their Deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love, (by your ſaid Subject) deſiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your Friendſhip. And whereas your Majeſty's Subjects have deſired certain Privileges for Trade, and ſettling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto them, under my Broad-ſeal, for better eſtabliſhing thereof. From my Caſtle in *Suranga*, this fourth Day of the ninth Month, in the eighteenth Year of our Dary, according to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend, the higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of *Japan*. Subſcribed *Minna Mouttono. Yei Ye Yeas.*"

Privileges granted by Ogoſhoſamma, *Emperor of* Japan, *unto the Right Worſhipful Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knight, Governor, and others, the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to the* Eaſt-Indies.

"I. *Imprimis.* We give free Licence to the Subjects to the King of *Great-Britain*, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Smith* Governor, and Company of the *Eaſt-Indian* Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, ſafely to come into any of the Ports of our Empire of *Japan*, with their Ships and Merchandiſes, without any Hinderance to them, or their Goods; and to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according to their own Manner with all other Nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their Pleaſures.

"II. *Item.* We grant unto them Freedom of Cuſtom for all ſuch Merchandiſes, as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdoms, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any foreign Part; and do authoriſe thoſe Ships that hereafter ſhall arrive and come from *England*, to proceed to preſent Sale of their Commodities, without coming or ſending up to our Court.

"III. *Item.* If any of their Ships ſhall happen to be in danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects, not only to aſſiſt them, but that ſuch Part of Ship and Goods, as ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape-merchant, or their Aſſigns; and that they ſhall, or may build one Houſe, or more, for themſelves, in any Part of our Empire, where they ſhall think fitteſt; and at their Departure make Sale thereof at their Pleaſure.

"IV. *Item.* If any of the *Engliſh* Merchants, or other, ſhall depart this Life within our Dominions, the Goods of the Deceaſed ſhall remain at the Diſpoſal of the Cape-merchant; and that all Offences committed by them ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape-merchant, according to his Diſcretion, and our Law to take no hold of their Perſons or Goods.

"V. *Item.* We will, that ye our Subjects trading with them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the ſame, according to Agreement, without Delay, or Return of their Wares again unto them.

"VI. *Item.* For ſuch Commodities as they have now brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service and proper Uſe, we will, that no Arreſt be made thereof, but that the Price be made with the Cape-merchant, according as they may ſell to others, and preſent Payment upon the Delivery of the Goods.

"VII. *Item.* If in Diſcovery of other Countries for Trade, or Return of their Ships, they ſhall need Men or Victuals, we will, that ye our Subjects furniſh them for their Money, as their Need ſhall require.

"VIII. *Item.* And that without other Paſſport, they ſhall, and may, ſet out upon the Diſcovery of *Yedzo*, or any other Part in or about our Empire.

"From our Caſtle in *Suranga*, this firſt Day of the ninth Month, and in the eighteenth Year of our Dary, according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad-ſeal, *&c.* Underwritten,

"*Minna Mouttono. Yei Ye Yeas.*"

"Our Buſineſs at *Suranga* being finiſhed, we took Leave of the Emperor and Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our Way lay by Land as far as *Oſaca*; and in paſſing thither, we took *Meaco* in our Way. This is abſolutely the greateſt City in *Japan*, and a Place of mighty Trade. All the Tradeſmen dwell in a Part of this City by themſelves; and all of ſuch an Employment in ſuch a Street by themſelves. The *Japoneſe* think it very unſeemly and irregular, to have Men of ſo many Profeſſions and Buſineſſes mixed and huddled together in ſuch a confuſed Manner, as they are in other Places. They are for making all of the ſame Trade (who are fitteſt to converſe together) Neighbours to one another; Birds of the ſame Feather to be all in a diſtinct Flock by themſelves, that a Man that looks may know where to find them. And the plain Truth of it is, this Order is not without its Beauty and Conveniency; and it added, methought, a peculiar Grace to the City, which all its other Advantages could not have given it.

"The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is here at *Meaco*, built of Free-ſtone, and as long as *St. Paul*'s in *London* from the Choir, arched, adorned with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice, and ſmall Money (called Cundries, 20 of which make a Shilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzees belonging to it: And by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Mannada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame Form with *Dabis* before-mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch. The Temple ſtands advantageouſly upon the Top of a very high Hill, and upon each Side the Aſcent you have a long Row of Columns, of Free-ſtone, about 50 in each Series, 10 Paces diſtant one from another, and upon the Top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in which are lighted every Night, and make a very glaring Shew. There are ſeveral other Temples beſides, but this vaſtly exceeds all the reſt in all Points of Beauty and Grandeur. It was juſt finiſhed at our being there, the Foundation being laid by the famed *Taicoſania*, whoſe Horſe was kept in an Apartment hard by, and is to be maintained here in a Life of perfect Eaſe and Reſt, as long as Nature will allow him to hold it out.

"The *Portugueſe* Jeſuits have a ſtately College in this City, very well furniſhed with Men of that Society. They breed up abundance of *Japoneſe* Youths, reading Philoſophy, and the Popiſh Divinity to them, making many of them Preachers, and, I ſuppoſe, Jeſuits too. There is no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they can; and, amongſt other Arts, teach ſome of thoſe that are peculiar to their Order. They have the New Teſtament tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* Tongue; and beſides this hopeful Fry breeding up in the College, there are reckoned 5 or 6000 that profeſs Chriſtianity in *Meaco*.

"While we ſtaid here we received the Emperor's Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us, *viz.* 10 Beobs, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with. From hence we travelled to *Oſaca*, where the Galley that ſet us down before was attending our Return, to tranſport us to *Firando*, and this at the Charge of the brave and generous King of that Place. This Prince was extremely glad at our Return to his Iſland, as alſo of the Succeſs of our Affairs at Court, and had carried it with that ſteady and even Hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there, as he did to all of us, when together; but yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing.

“ In our Abſence the *Japoneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, though we had come from the other End of the World to take their Money. One Reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allowed in the Country; and till the Trade has its public Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native may dare to buy. But another thing was this, the moſt Part of our Commodities we intended for theſe Parts, were Broad-cloths (which had not long before been ſold here for 20 Rials of Eight *per* Mat, which is two Yards) a ſort of Ware the *Japoneſe* were now almoſt out of Conceit with, becauſe we did not take care to recommend the Goodneſs of it by our own Wearing. You, ſay they, cry up your Broad-cloths to us, and, at the ſame time, hardly wear a Rag of it yourſelves; but are all for your Silks and Stuffs, and any thing in the World, except juſt what you would have us to buy of you. And the truth of it is, the *Japoneſe* were in the right, and their Objections not eaſy to be anſwered. We ought to be more fond of our own Country Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable, by the Uſe of them we make ourſelves. Foreigners won't be ſo ready to believe us, if they ſee we don't order our Faſhions ſo as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad in the World; and, for ought I know, other Nations may tell us, as well as the *Japoneſe*, of not wearing our own Broad-cloth; may reproach us with the Neglect of our own Commodities, and deſpiſe them till they ſee us do otherwiſe ourſelves.

“ This *Firando* is a very good Place for our Ships to put in at, with reſpect to the Point of victualling, and all that; but it is not ſo proper for Trade, becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japan*, where are not only moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving Encouragement to Trade, which, in thoſe little bye Iſlands, is not to be expected. We might, I don't queſtion, be welcome at any of them all; and the Kings of two of theſe petty Iſlands gave us a formal Invitation. But there is few of them can afford Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement: Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to trade here, would not ſail to *Firando*, but to *Oringgaco*, upon the main Iſland, and about 15 Leagues diſtant from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding, and a much greater Proſpect of Advantage. This Place indeed is not capable of affording ſo good an Entertainment as may be deſired: Proviſions are not altogether ſo plentiful there as at *Firando*; but that Want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country.

“ Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Progreſs comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langeſaique*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had, it is true, gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon ſome Pique taken againſt the Chriſtians, baniſhed them all from thence, and confined them to *Langeſaique*; and as a Prevention of its creeping into the Court, and rooting itſelf any where near him, he made it Death to any who ſhould offer to build a Church, or ſing Maſs, within 10 Leagues of the Place where he reſided. This Change was but a very little before our going to *Eddo*; notwithſtanding which, the Chriſtian Religion is otherwiſe indulged. The Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have, as far as I ſee, the ſame Protection and Privilege with others; and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes. The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that Purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſured that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Patana*; as alſo, that the *Dutch* made ſomething of their Buſineſs here; and we had Reaſon to believe we had not a leſs Share in the Good-will and Eſteem of this Country than they. We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with Inſtructions alſo to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſhmay*, and other Parts adjoining, againſt the next Return of the Ships. By exact Obſervations we made, during our Stay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33° 14′ N. and the varying of the Compaſs 2° 50′ Eaſterly.”

Thus far we have followed exactly the Memoirs of Captain *Saris*, who farther reports abundance of Civilities received from the King of *Firando*; together with a Letter, written by that Prince, to our King *James*, expreſſing a very earneſt Deſire to render all the Service in his Power to the *Engliſh* Nation; and highly commending their Deſign of eſtabliſhing a Correſpondence between their own Country and the *Japoneſe*; for the promoting of which, he profeſſes himſelf ready to do whatever lay in his Power. Captain *Saris* proſecuted his Voyage to *Bantam*, in the Iſland of *Java*, without any remarkable Accident; and he commends *Linſchoten*'s Voyages as very ſincere, and his Charts as very exact. He arrived at *Bantam* on the firſt of *January* 1614, and found things there in a very indifferent Condition, owing, as he conceived, to their having too many Factories; however, he got his Lading, and in the latter End of the Month of *May* proceeded for *England*, and arrived ſafely on the 27th of *September* following at *Plymouth*. He does not appear to have been very ſanguine in the Affair of ſettling a Factory in *Japan*, but ſeems to have been obliged thereto by his Inſtructions; yet as he was a Man of great Obſervation and Reflection, he took all imaginable Pains to have a diſtinct Account of what Goods were to be ſent there, and what might be expected in return. I apprehend, that the true Reaſon of his Diffidence was, our not having, at that time, an open Trade with *China*, the greateſt Profit reſulting from the *Japan* Trade, being made on *Chineſe* Goods; but however, Time and Patience might have overcome all theſe Difficulties, and have eſtabiſhed us as effectually as the *Dutch*. But the truth of the Matter was, that our People were leſs under Command, and conſequently leſs fit for living in that Country, and eſtabliſhing a Trade there.

Purchas[a], and after him *Churchill*[b], inform us of a Voyage performed in 1611, towards the North-pole, by Sir *Thomas Button*, who paſſed the Streights of *Hudſon* in purſuit of a N. W. Diſcovery, and leaving *Hudſon's-Bay* to the South, ſailed above 200 Leagues to the South Weſtward, thro' a Sea above 80 Fathom deep, and diſcovered a great Continent, which he called *New Wales*: Where after much Miſery and Sickneſs, wintering at Port *Nelſon*[c], he carefully ſearched all the Bay, from him called *Button's Bay*, back again almoſt to *Digg's-Iſland*; and he diſcovered the great Land called *Swan's-Neſt*.

And according to *Purchas*[d], this is the Year from whence the *Engliſh* ought to date their Skill in the *Whale Fiſhery*. For he writes, That the *Muſcovy* Company having fitted out the two firſt Ships the *Engliſh* ever ſent to *Greenland* for killing of Whales, *viz.* the *Mary-Margaret*, of 160 Tons, commanded by *Thomas Edge*; and the *Elizabeth*, of 60 Tons, *Jonas Poole* Maſter; the Company alſo engaged in their Service ſix Men of *Biſcay*, who were ſkilled in the *Whale Fiſhery*, and from theſe the *Engliſh* firſt learned this Art. The largeſt of theſe Ships was loſt; but the other, about the 12th of *June*, killed a ſmall Whale, which yielded 12 Tons of Oil, being the firſt Oil that ever was made in *Greenland*.

We have alſo an Account[e] of an Attempt to improve our Navigation about *Nova Zembla*, the River *Ob*, &c. but it amounts to nothing more than a Journal of Tides and Winds, or what has been already remarked in former Voyages into thoſe Seas.

The Year 1612, continues our Hiſtory of the *Bermudas* Iſlands. Sir *George Sommers*, as related before, being diſpatched from *Virginia* to fetch Hogs, Turtles, and other Proviſions from the *Bermudas*, died as ſoon as he landed, having been extremely harraſſed with the Fatigues of the

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[a] Vol. III. p. 465, 711. and IV. p. 1882.

[b] Introduct. fol. p. 56.

[c] In 57° 10′ N. Lat.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 530. The Ship was called The Amity, Mr. Will. Gourdon of Hull the Pilot, and James Vadun, Maſter.

Sea, above what his advanced Years [a] could bear. He enjoined his Men to return to *Virginia*; but after his Death they took another Reſolution, and ſtoring their Cedar-ſhip with ſuch Proviſions as they had, ſet ſail for *England*.

Theſe Perſons, at their Return, gave ſuch an Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between it and *England*; and accordingly ſold theſe Iſlands to 120 Perſons of the ſame Society, who obtained a Charter of King *James*, and became Proprietors of them.

The new *Bermudas* Company diſpatched the *Plough*, with 60 Perſons, to make a Settlement; over whom they placed one Mr. *Richard Moor*, an honeſt induſtrious Perſon, for Governor; who pitched upon a Plain, in *St. George*'s Iſland, to ſettle upon, and there firſt built himſelf a Houſe, or rather a Cabbin, of *Palmeto* Leaves, large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the reſt of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a Sort of Town, which in Time grew to a conſiderable Bigneſs, and is now *St. George*'s Town, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt-built in all our *American* Colonies, the Houſes being of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone, according to the firſt Model made by Mr. *Moor*.

In the firſt Year of his Government, another Ship arrived, with a Recruit of Proviſions, and 30 Paſſengers. By this Time he had found out the Booty of Ambergreaſe, which *Carter*, *Waters*, and *Chard* had concealed; but one of them afterwards diſcovering it, the Governor ſeized it as belonging to the Proprietors. He ſent one third of it to the Company at *London*, by the Ship which brought the Supply, and the reſt by the next Opportunity, in the ſame Proportions; which gave ſuch Encouragement to the Adventurers, that they continued to ſupply them with Proviſions, Stores, and more Company, till they were in a Condition to defend and ſupport themſelves by their own Strength and Plantations.

It is ſaid, that when Sir *George Sommers* was firſt here, two of his Men ſtayed behind him, having committed ſome Crime, for which they would have ſuffered Death, if they had gone to *Virginia*. They were ſtill here when Sir *George* returned, and had built them a Hut on *St. George*'s Iſland. Theſe two Men, whoſe Names were *Chriſtopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, ſtay'd ſtill behind, when Sir *George*'s ſecond Company departed, of whom they perſuaded one *Edward Chard* to remain there with them; and now they were ſole Lords of the Country; but like other Sovereigns, Power and Ambition ſet them together by the Ears among themſelves. *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitch'd Battle; but *Carter*, tho' he equally hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatning to declare againſt the Man who ſtruck the firſt Stroke.

Neceſſity at laſt made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Diſcoveries; in one of which Expeditions, they found the greateſt Piece of Ambergreaſe among the Rocks, that ever was ſeen in one Lump, weighing 80 Pounds, beſides other ſmaller Pieces. This Treaſure, in value 9 or 10,000 *l.* made them almoſt mad. It turned their Heads; they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it; and that they might have an Opportunity of making uſe of it, they reſolved on the moſt deſperate Attempt that Men in Diſtraction could run upon, which was to build a Boat, after the beſt Manner they could, and ſail to *Virginia* or *Newfoundland*, according as Wind and Weather ſhould preſent; but before they could put this extravagant Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from *England*.

Mr. *Moor* continued there three Years, and was relieved from time to time, till he had above 600 Inhabitants, who built ſeveral Forts; but had like to have been themſelves deſtroyed by an infinite Number of Rats, which increaſed from a few coming aſhore out of a Ship, and continued for four Years, devouring all the Growth of the Country, notwithſtanding all poſſible Means were uſed to deſtroy them. They diſappeared however at length, as ſtrangely as they at firſt increaſed, no body knew how or in what Manner. But one thing is as remarkable as it is difficult to be accounted for, which is, that during the Time the Plague of Rats laſted, a great Number of Ravens were ſeen in theſe Iſlands; but diſappeared with them, and were not ſeen afterwards.

The *Eaſt-India* Trade was ſtill puſhing forward. The Company early in the Year [b] ſent out the *Dragon*, the *Oſiander*, the *James*, and the *Solomon*, under the chief Command of Captain *Thomas Beſt*. On the 8th of *June* they arrived at the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and laid to for 20 Days to refreſh the Men, many of whom were ſick, and obliged to be carried aſhore [c], and nurſed under Tents. On the 7th of *September* they arrived at *Surat*, and were very kindly received by the Governor and Chiefs of that City. But before Captain *Beſt* could get his full Lading, and as he lay with his little Fleet at the Bar [d] at Anchor, he deſcried a Fleet of 240 Sail of *Portugal* Frigates, all Merchants, bound for *Cambaya*; and was alſo ſoon alarmed with Letters, which brought the News of another *Portugueſe* Fleet, coming with Intention to drive them out of thoſe Seas, notwithſtanding the Privileges the *Engliſh* had obtained of the *Great Mogul*, for the ſettling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Amadavar*, or any other Part or Parts of that Country, within his Dominions.

This Fleet, conſiſting of four *Portugal* Galleons and 24 Frigates, came in ſight alſo ſoon after. Captain *Beſt*, in the *Dragon*, immediately weighed Anchor, and encouraged his Men not to fear them, nor the Greatneſs of their Ships or Fleet, but to ſhew themſelves true *Engliſh*. He then met their Admiral and Vice-admiral, and ſhot not one Shot till he came between them, and then gave each of them a Broad-ſide, and ſuch a Volley of ſmall Shot, as made them give way, and come no more near her that Day. Night coming, and their Long-boat being ſunk at their Stern, by an unlucky Shot, they anchored. The other *Portugueſe* Ships were not as yet come up; and the *Oſiander* [e] could not get clear of her Anchors, ſo ſhe fired not one Shot that Day. But the *Dragon* had ſupplied her want very well; and it drawing near Night, they came on all Sides to Anchor, within Sight of each other. The next Morning they weighed Anchors again, and began their Fight, in which the *Oſiander* bravely redeemed the Time ſhe had loſt the Day before. The fiery *Dragon* (beſtirring herſelf) in about three Hours hot Fight, drove three of the Galleons on the Sands; and then the *Oſiander*, drawing little Water, danced the Hay about them, and ſo payed them, that they durſt not ſhew a Man on their Decks, killing and wounding their Men, and battering their Ships exceedingly. In the Afternoon, the Flood being come, the Galleons, with the Help of the Frigates, were afloat again, and received a brave Welcome of the two *Engliſh* Ships, with whom they continued fighting about four Hour, when Night brought them all to an Anchor; and there they rode that Night, and all the next Day, without meddling with one another.

The Day after, the *Dragon* drawing much Water, and the Bay being ſhallow, the Captain went from thence, and rode on the other Side of the Bay; where, for about 10 Days, they had ſome Trade and Commerce with the Natives, while the *Portugueſe* Ships and Frigates repleniſhed their Wants, with Store of freſh Men; which being done, they ſailed in purſuit of Captain *Beſt*, who ſeeing them approach weighed Anchor, and with a brave Reſolution ſet on them, battering them in ſuch a Manner, that their whole Defence was in flying away. And in four Hours Space they drove them clear out of Sight, and returned and anchored, with perpetual Honour; it having been performed in the Sight of Thouſands of the Country-people, who till then believed that there was no Nation to compare with the *Portugueſe* at Sea.

Our Ships returning again, on the 27th of *December* came to *Swally*, having loſt in both theſe Fights with the *Portugueſe* but three Men, and thoſe Sailors, and none wounded, but one Man, who had his Arm ſhot off. The *Portugueſe* had 160 Men ſlain at leaſt.

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[a] 60 Years and upwards.

[b] A.D. 1612, Feb. 5th.

[c] Harris, Part I. p. 157. MS. Journal of Nich. Withington, Factor in the Voyage.

[d] On the 29th of November.

[e] The James and Solomon had ſeparated, and taken another trading Courſe, according to Inſtructions.

Captain *Beſt* proceeded with his Ships to *Achen*, where he arrived in *April* 1613, and procured a Ratification of the Treaty formerly made between the *Engliſh* and that King by Captain *Lancaſter*. He returned to *England* in 1614.

The Diſcovery of a N. W. Paſſage was conſidered in thoſe Days ſo probable, that ſeveral Merchants, as Sir *George Lancaſter*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Mr. *Hall*, &c. fitted out two Veſſels on that Expedition; the one called the *Patience*, 140 Tons Burden, with 40 Men and Boys; the other called the *Hearts-Eaſe*, of 60 Tons, with 20 Men and Boys. The Command in Chief was given to Mr. *Hall*, who being unfortunately killed by the Savages, the Voyage came to nothing [a].

The *Greenland* Company [b] had better Encouragement; their firſt Attempt in the Whale-fiſhery, laſt Seaſon, prompted them to ſend two Ships this Year on the ſame Errand, which brought home 17 Whales. And ſome runaway *Engliſh* piloting the *Dutch* into the ſame Seas; they this Year made their firſt Eſſay in the *Greenland*-fiſhery.

The *Virginian* Colonies were not forgot. But tho' the Lord *Delawar* in the Year 1710, revived the expiring Colony, and by his prudent Management ſettled it upon a tolerable Footing: Yet, when in 1611, Sir *Thomas Dale*, being then made Marſhal-general, arrived with three Ships, which brought Supplies of Men, Cattle and Hogs, he found them growing again into the like Diſorders as before, taking no care to plant Corn, and wholly relying upon their Store, which then had but three Months Proviſions in it. Sir *Thomas* therefore ſet them to work about Corn, and tho' it was the Middle of *May*, before they began to prepare the Ground, they had a pretty Crop.

From this Knight's Government, and his Care for the Good of the Colony, may the Proſperity of it be dated; among other good Things, he built a new Town, called *Dale's Gift*, at his own Charge.

Sir *Thomas Gates* arrived [c] at *James-town*, with ſix Ships more, and a plentiful Supply of Hogs, 100 Head of Cattle, a great Number of Fowls, *&c.* with a good Quantity of Ammunition, Tools and all other Things neceſſary for a new Colony; and a Reinforcement of 350 choſen Men.

In the Beginning of *September* he ſettled a new Town at *Arrabattuck*, about 50 Miles above *James-town*, paling in the Neck, above two Miles from the Point, from one Reach of the River to the other. Here he built Forts and Sentry-boxes, and in Honour of Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico-polis*; and alſo run a Palliſado on the other Side of the River, at *Coxendale*, to ſecure their Hogs. And now great Care began to be taken, both at home and abroad, for the future, as well as preſent Happineſs of the Colony. Lands were cultivated, the Colonies ſpread, private Plantations were poſſeſſed, and, in *England*, great Collections were made for building of Churches, founding of Schools, endowing of Preachers, *&c.*

In the Year 1612, two Ships more arrived with Supplies: And Captain *Argal*, who commanded one of them, being ſent in her to *Potowmeck* to buy Corn, he there met with *Pocahontas*, the excellent Daughter of *Powhatan*; and having prevailed with her to come on-board, to a Treat [d], he detained her Priſoner, and carried her to *James-town*, deſigning to make Peace with her Father, by her Releaſe: But, on the contrary, that Prince highly reſented the Affront, and tho' he loved his Daughter with all imaginable Tenderneſs, yet he would not be brought to Terms by that unhandſome Treachery; till about two Years after a Marriage being propoſed betweeen Mr. *John Rolfe*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and this Lady, which *Powhatan* taking to be a ſincere Token of Friendſhip, he vouchſafed to conſent to it, tho' he would not come to the Wedding. *Pocahontas* being thus married, in 1613, a firm Peace was concluded with her Father.

This brought in the *Chickahominy Indians* alſo, tho' not out of any Kindneſs or Reſpect to the *Engliſh*, but out of Fear of being, by their Aſſiſtance, brought under *Powhatan*'s abſolute Subjection, who uſed, now and then, to threaten and tyranniſe over them.

The *Eaſt-India* Company ſent out a Ship of 260 Tons, under the Command of Captain *Chriſtopher Newport*, called the *Expedition*; who carried Sir *Robert Shirley*, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and Sir *Thomas Powell*, with their Retinues, and landed them on the Coaſt of that Empire. The *Baluches*, tho' Tributaries to the *Perſian* Monarch, formed a Scheme to ſeize upon the Ambaſſador and his Effects; but were happily prevented by the *Engliſh* from carrying it into Execution. After which Captain *Newport* made a good trading Voyage, and returned ſafe to the *Downs*, on the 10th of *July* 1614 [e].

The Treachery of thoſe Men, who had, the laſt Year, piloted the *Dutch*, and inſtructed them in the Art of catching of Whales, greatly alarmed the *Muſcovy* Company, who had been at ſo much Expence to bring that advantageous Fiſhery to bear; and therefore in order to ſecure to themſelves the Profits, they applied for, and obtained a Charter under the Broad-ſeal of *England*, forbidding Foreigners, as well as the Natives of this Iſland, to frequent the Coaſt of *Greenland* [f]; and ſent out ſeven Ships on their own Account to fiſh in thoſe Seas [g], of ſuch Force as to aſſert their Right againſt all Foreigners and Interlopers.

This Fleet met with 15 Sail of large Ships, foreign Bottoms, *viz.* two *Dutch*, the reſt *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Flemings*, beſides four *Engliſh* Interlopers, which they drove from the Coaſt.

In this Voyage they diſcovered *Hope* Iſland, and others to the Eaſtward; and caught 16 Whales, according to Mr. *Baffin*'s Account.

As this is the memorable Æra, at which the Claim of the *Engliſh* to the ſole Trade of the *Greenland* Fiſhery was made, and the Royal Charter granted the *Engliſh* Adventurers an excluſive Right, and which has been found ſo advantageous to this Nation, tho' intruded upon by the *Dutch*, and almoſt every other People that are able to fit out a Ship; it will not be improper to give the Reader a ſummary Account of the Grounds upon which they claim that ſole Right, and of the Trade and Laws which have from time to time been enacted for its Encouragement. But firſt let us premiſe, That the Whale is the chief Object of the Adventurers into theſe Seas; and that the true large Whale differs from the reſt of the Fiſh ſo called, by his having no Teeth; inſtead of which, on each Side of the Upper-jaw grows the Whale-bone, in 4 or 500 different Blades, at equal Diſtances, ſome exceeding 12 Feet in

[a] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 831. Churchil, Vol. VI. p. 245.

[b] Muſcovy Company.

[c] Auguſt, 1611.

[d] She was betrayed on-board by her own Uncle, who ſold her for a Copper-kettle. Smith's General Hiſtory of Virginia.

[e] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 188. Harris, Part I. p. 140.

[f] Greenland, or Spitzbergen, as the Dutch call it, is undiſcovered on the North; on the Weſt it has the Northern Ocean; on the South the ſame, between it and the Muſcovite Lapland, and the Northernmoſt Part of Norway, over-againſt which it lies; on the Eaſt it has an undiſcovered Country, to which it is joined by an Iſthmus, which is by ſome called Eaſt, or New Greenland. Spitzbergen lies neareſt to the Pole of any Country yet examined by Seamen; that is, from 76 to 82 Degrees North Latitude, and perhaps much farther for ought we know. There are no Towns nor Villages in this whole Country, that we know of, it not being inhabited by the human Species that is any way certainly known. Such of the Mountains as are expoſed to the warm Air and Sun-beams are covered with Heath and Moſs; and in the Cliffs of theſe Rocks there are infinite Numbers of Fowls, that reſt there all the Year. The Dung of theſe Birds, with the Moſs waſhed down by the melted Snow, makes a Mould, in ſome Places near the Shore, where it produces a kind of Lettuce, Scurvy-graſs, exceeding mild and pleaſant, Snake-weed, Mouſe-ear, Heart's-eaſe, Strawberries, Houſe-leek, Wall-pepper, and ſome Plants unknown to us. The Sea is obſerved not to be ſo ſalt here as in other Places, and changes its Colour with the Sky. The Air is ſo cold, that there is almoſt a continual Froſt, which is ſtrongeſt in April and May. South or Weſt Winds, bring Snow or Rain, and moderate the Cold. In June, July, and Auguſt, the Weather is uſually calm, and in the two laſt Months, eſpecially in July, the Sun ſhines ſo hot as to melt the Tar between the Seams of a Ship, if the Wind cannot come at it. This Country abounds with a kind of white Bear.—The largeſt are Water-bears, which live upon what they can get at Sea. Their Skins make very comfortable Cloathing for ſuch as travel in Winter, and are dreſſed in Spitzbergen by treading them in hot Saw-duſt. They have a fine kind of Deer in this Country; they abound in Seal, Sea-dogs, and Horſes. There are few Land-fowl, but Water-fowl in abundance. The Fiſh on this Coaſt require the moſt Notice, the taking them being the ſole Motive that brings Ships into theſe Seas, where their Whale-fiſhing is carried on with great Profit.

[g] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 465—713—716. A. D. 1613.

in Length, and a Foot broad at Bottom, growing narrow upwards, like the Strokes of a Fan inverted, the largeſt weighing about 20 Pounds. The Head makes $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole Body; his Tongue is about eight Feet long, and ten broad, weighing near 600 Weight; his Bones are hard, but, inſtead of a large Cavity in the Middle, are porous, and full of Marrow; his Belly and Back are red; his Fleſh coarſe and hard, mixed with many Sinews, and is very dry and lean, becauſe the Fat lies between the Fleſh and the Skin. The Fat is mixed with Sinews, which holds the Oil as a Sponge does Water; the other ſtrong Sinews are about the Tail, with which he turns and winds himſelf as a Ship is guided by a Rudder. He ſwims as ſwift as a Bird flies, and makes a Track in the Sea like a large Ship under ſail. Beſides the uppermoſt thin Skin, there is another, almoſt an Inch thick, but neither very ſtrong, which is thought the Reaſon why the Whale does not exert that Force that might be expected from a Fiſh of that Size. The middle Sort of them are from 50 to 60 Feet long, and yield from 70 to 100 Barrels of Blubber, tho' ſometimes they are much larger. *Marten* mentions one that yielded 130 Hogſheads. This Blubber lies immediately under the Skin; they cut it into thin Slices, which are put into hot Coppers; the Oil ſoon melting out, the Skin is thrown away.

Of the Manner of taking the Whales *in this Trade.*

As ſoon as the Fiſhermen hear a Whale blow, they cry out, Fall! Fall! and every Ship gets out its Long-boat, in each of which there are ſix or ſeven Men; they row till they come pretty near the Whale; then the Harpooner ſtrikes it with his Harpoon, which is a ſharp Iron, reſembling the Head of an Arrow, fixed to a Stick; and this requires great Dexterity.

Thro' the Bone of his Head there is no ſtriking, but near his Spout there is a ſoft Piece of Fleſh, into which the Iron ſinks with eaſe. As ſoon as he is ſtruck, they take care to give him Rope enough, otherwiſe, when he goes down, as he frequently does, he would inevitably ſink the Boat: This Rope he draws with ſuch Violence, that, if it were not well watered, it would, by its Friction againſt the Sides of the Boat, ſet fire to it. The Line faſtened to the Harpoon is ſix or ſeven Fathoms long, and is called the Forerunner; it is made of the fineſt and ſofteſt Hemp, that it may ſlip the eaſier; to this they join a Heap of Lines, of 90 or 100 Fathoms each; and, when there are not enough in one Long-boat, they borrow from another. The Man at the Helm obſerves which way the Rope goes, and ſteers the Boat accordingly, that it may run exactly out before; for the Whale runs away with the Line, with ſo great Rapidity, that it would overſet the Boat, if it were not kept ſtraight. When the Whale is ſtruck, the other Long-boats row before, and obſerve which way the Line ſtands, and ſometimes pull it; if they feel it ſtiff, it is a Sign the Whale ſtill pulls in Strength; but if it hangs looſe, and the Boat lies equally high, before and behind, upon the Water, they pull it in gently, but take care to cover it ſo, that the Whale may have it eaſily again, if he recovers Strength; they take care, however, not to give him too much Line, becauſe he ſometimes entangles it about a Rock, and pulls out the Harpoon.

The fat Whales do not ſink as ſoon as dead, but the lean ones do, and come up ſome Days afterwards. They ſink almoſt as ſoon as they expire.——When they ſpout, the Fiſhermen know that he draws towards his End, and prepare for cutting him up. In order to which, they haul him cloſe to the Ship's Side, and with great Knives ſlice his Sides, raiſing the Blubber by a Hook and a Pulley, which they lift up as they cut. Many of theſe great Flakes they ſtring upon a Rope, and ſo drag them on-ſhore, where they are heaved up by a Crane, laid on the Whale's Tail, and afterwards hewed into Pieces no bigger than Trenchers, and ſo thrown into Coppers.——So ſoon as they become brown, they are called Fritters, taken out, and caſt away; the Liquor is then laded into a Boat half full of Water, to cool and cleanſe it; and thence by long Troughs, that it may be more cool, conveyed into Hogſheads cloſe to the Shore. In the mean time, the Head is cut off, and drawn as near as can be to the Shore, and hoiſted up by a Crane, till the Whale-bone is cut out, and tied by fifties; and then the reſt of the Head is alſo boiled for Oil. The Tongue is craned up with great Care; that of a large Whale yielding from ſeven to twelve Hogſheads of Oil: And there have been Inſtances of their yielding 24 Hogſheads; but this is extraordinary.

Within the Body of the Whale is ſeldom found any thing but 10 or 12 Handfuls of a kind of ſmall black Spiders, and ſome ſmall Quantity of green Herbs, torn up from the Bottom of the Sea, and which are ſuppoſed to be the Food upon which the Whales chiefly ſubſiſt. The Sea hereabouts is ſo covered with theſe Inſects, that it appears quite black; which is a Sign, to thoſe who go about catching of Whales, that they are like to make a good Booty, the Whales delighting generally in that Part of the Sea which produces theſe Inſects.

All the requiſite Fiſhing-inſtruments, ſuch as Harping-irons, or Harpoons, Lances, Cutting-knives, Noſe-hooks, Lines, Shallops, Caſks, *&c.* muſt be provided, and the Ships completely fitted, victualled, and manned before the End of *March*; when, every thing being on-board, the Ships muſt ſail at fartheſt by the Beginning of *April* for *Greenland.*

The Veſſels moſt proper for the Whale-fiſhing are thoſe we call Fly boats, or Cats, or Hag-boats; they ſhould be very ſtong built, and particularly doubled at the Bow, that they may reſiſt the Shocks of the Ice. The Size of theſe Ships commonly uſed is about 200 to 500 Tons; and they are ſupplied with Men and Shallops in proportion to their Burden, as follows:

	Tons.		Shallops.			
A Ship of	200	muſt have	4	And	29	Men and Boys.
	250	—	5		36	
	300	—	6		43	
	450	—	7		50	

The particular Qualifications of the Men for a Ship of about 300 Tons, and ſix Shallops, are generally as follows, *viz.*

The Voyage to *Greenland* outwards is commonly performed in four or five Weeks, allowing for variable Winds and foul Weather, the Seaſon of the Year being uſually ſtormy when they ſet out, and particularly ſubject to long Eaſterly Winds, otherwiſe they often run it, with a fair Wind, in 18 or 20 Days; and it is obſerved that they return home, from the time of beginning to ſail, in leſs time than they go out. The Fiſhery begins in *May*, and continues all *June* and *July*; but, whether they have good or bad Succeſs, they muſt come away, and get clear of the Ice, by the End of *Auguſt*; ſo that, in the Month of *September* at fartheſt, they may be expected home; but a Ship that meets with a fortunate and early Fiſhery in *May*, may return in *June* or *July*.

When the Whale-fiſhers ſee ſeveral Whales at a time, two or three Veſſels generally agree to purſue their Game in Concert, and to aſſiſt one another in the Catching; and they divide what they catch according to Agreement.

If a dead Whale be found floating upon the Sea, the Property is theirs who find, and take hold of it; and, to encourage the Ship's Crew to be always very watchful, he who diſcovers the dead Whale has a Premium of half a Guinea. The Train-oil of ſuch a dead Whale, eſpecially if it died of itſelf, is of a reddiſh Colour, and not ſo valuable as of a Whale that is immediately killed; but the Fins are of equal Goodneſs.

There are, beſides the Whales, ſeveral other monſtrous Fiſh found and catched in theſe Seas, namely, (1.) The Pot-fiſh, or ſperma-cœti Fiſh; he is as big as the Whale, having a monſtrous large Head, from which they take from 12 to 20 Barrels of Brains; which being well cleanſed, they call (but falſly) ſperma-cœti: They cut alſo from the Body of the Fiſh ſeveral Puncheons of Blubber; but he is not near ſo fat as the Whale.

(2.) The Fin-fiſh is almoſt as big as the Whale, and is diſtinguiſhed from it by a large Fin on its Back; he is not ſo fat, nor hath ſuch Fins in his Mouth, as a Whale; ſo that they are ſeldom thought worth the Trouble of killing, or to venture the Harpoons and Lines upon, as being more nimble, they are more likely to eſcape. Alſo, (3.) There is ſometimes met with in theſe Seas a Fiſh called the Unicorn, a Creature beautifully ſpotted, with a Horn growing out of his upper Jaw, and pointing ſtrait forward, from three to 12 Feet long, according to the Growth of the Fiſh, which is as eſtimable as Ivory. The Fiſh will yield one or two Barrels of Blubber, and the Train-oil of it is whiter than that of the Whale.

(4.) The Merſe, or Sea-cow, called by ſome the Sea-horſe, is found here both in the Water and on the Ice; it as is big as a large Bullock. From one that is pretty large they cut about a Puncheon of Blubber.

(5.) The Seal, or Dog-fiſh, are often upon the Ice, and are eaſily taken. They afford very good Train-oil; and the Fat of about 12 or 20 Seals will fill a Puncheon. Their Skin is uſed by the Trunk-makers, or dreſſed as Leather for divers Uſe.

The *Engliſh* were the firſt that ever attempted to ſail among theſe Iſlands of Ice; and, in queſt of new Diſcoveries, they traverſed the frozen Zone to the Latitude of 76, far within the arctic Circle. Here they diſcovered *Greenland*, as we name it, or *Spitzbergen*, as others call it; and, though they found the Land not capable of being cultivated, or inhabited, yet they found the Seas full of Whales; and, finding them profitable, became dextrous Harponiers. From them the *Hollanders*, *Bremeners*, and *Hamburghers* learned it; and, in their firſt Attempts, they were obliged to hire *Engliſhmen* for Harponiers and Steerſmen, as we now are (ſo unhappily are the Tables turned) to hire *Dutchmen* and *Germans*, if we engage in the ſame Trade.

In 1598, they began this Trade, tho' with two Ships only; and made ſo gainful a Voyage as to encourage further Attempts; and ſo their Trade continued till 1612.

In which Year the *Hollanders*, hearing of the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, and in hope of the like Advantages, ſent the firſt time to *Spitzbergen*, ſupplying themſelves with ſkilful Pilots and Harponiers from *England*, as mentioned before. But the *Engliſh* claiming the Property in this Trade, as indeed was their Due, forbid the *Hollanders* meddling with the Fiſh, and ſent them home for the firſt time empty. The *Dutch*, however, not giving it over, ſent two Ships the next Year, 1613; and theſe, being Ships of Force, reſolved to defend themſelves. But the *Engliſh* attacked them, and brought them to *England*, with all the Oil, their Shallops, Fiſhing-tackle, *&c.* the *Dutch* Ships being fully laden, and having made a good Voyage; for the *Dutch* proved their Loſs to be 130,000 Guilders.

After this they had various Bickerings, the *Dutch* puſhing into the Trade, and the *Engliſh* attacking them, till at laſt, in the Year 1617, the *Dutch* ſtrengthening their Fiſhery with Ships of Force, and the *Engliſh* attacking them again, it came to a kind of general Action, wherein the *Engliſh* were worſted, the *Dutch* taking one of their Ships. —This they carried to *Holland*; but the States General, being unwilling to give Offence to King *James* I. cauſed the Ship to be very honeſtly reſtored, with all that was in her; and, in order to prevent the like for the future, ſent over a Deputation to *England*, to treat upon the Subject, and to ſettle a Freedom of the Fiſhery both for the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. But the King did not decide the Queſtion, nor encourage his Subjects to diſturb the *Dutch*; ſo it remained undetermined, and both Sides went on fiſhing together.

The *Engliſh* had, indeed, Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Spitzbergen*, and of the Harbours and Bays where the Ships uſually went for Shelter, and where they built Houſes and Sheds to lay up their Caſks, to boil their Blubber, *&c.* and which were the beſt in the Place, *viz.* Clock Bay, the Safe Harbour, *Engliſh* Bay, *Engliſh* Harbour, and the like. —Upon this the *Hollanders* went farther North, and ſettled by themſelves in ſeveral other Places, as at North Bay, South Bay, *Holland*'s Bay, *Amſterdam* Iſland, and the like. —The *Danes*, who came afterwards, ſettled likewiſe, and placed themſelves between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, at a Place called the *Daniſh* Bay.—The *Hamburghers* came after the *Danes*, and pitched farther Weſt, calling their Place *Hamburgh* Bay.—After theſe came the *French* and the *Spaniards*, and they were obliged ſtill to go farther North, and their Settlement is called *Biſcay* Hook.

But, as the Iſland became farther diſcovered, and ſeveral other Bays and Harbours found out, all thoſe Nations ſhifted their Stations, as they found the moſt fit for their Convenience; the Iſland, and the Fiſhery alſo, being more than ſufficient for them all, had they been many more than they were.

At that Time, the Whales, having not been uſed to be diſturbed, frequently came near the Shores, into the very Bays, and were accordingly killed almoſt cloſe to the Shore; ſo that the Blubber, being cut off, was immediately carried on-ſhore in the Shallops, and boiled into Oil on the Spot. Thus the Ships took in nothing but the pure Oil and the Fins, and all the Buſineſs was executed there; whereby a Ship could bring home the Product of many more Whales than ſhe can according to the preſent way of conducting this Trade. The Fiſhery alſo was then ſo plentiful, that they were obliged ſometimes to ſend other Ships to fetch off the Oil they had made, the Quantity being more than the Fiſhing-ſhips could bring away.

Time and Change of Circumſtances have ſhifted the Situation of this Trade. The Ships coming in ſuch Numbers, the Whales were diſturbed, and gradually, as other Fiſh often do, forſaking the Place, were not to be killed ſo near the Shore as before, but are now found, and have been ſo ever ſince, in the Openings and Spaces among the Ice, where they have deep Water, and where they go ſometimes a great many Leagues from the Shore. This Alteration has rendered all their Ware-houſes and Cookeries on-ſhore uſeleſs, their Ruins only remaining to been ſeen; for it is above 80 Years ſince they have been forſaken.

This Fiſhery requiring to be managed after a new Manner, and to be carried on in the high Seas, and among the Ice, became more difficult and dangerous than it had been before; ſeveral Ships were loſt in the Beginning of it, before they could ſo fully learn the Nature and Situation of the Ice, as to know where it was, and was not ſafe to venture. Such as were over cautious in venturing among the Ice, frequently came home without any Cargo at all, to the great Loſs of their Owners; and thoſe who boldly followed the Whales into the Openings and Hollows of the Ice, not having had Experience enough to judge where they might, or might not venture, were as often cruſhed to Pieces in the Ice. This ſo diſcouraged the Merchants, who before that carried on the Trade in Companies, not only in *England*, but in *Holland* and other Countries, that they diſſolved their Societies, and ſo the Trade ſeemed to be abandoned for a time, and by the *Engliſh* for ever.

The *Dutch* reſumed it, by their private Merchants, about the Year 1638, and ſoon ſubdued all thoſe Difficulties which had before diſcouraged them, and carried on the Trade with more Ships than heretofore, and with far more Emolument; and in this Manner they have gone on ever ſince.

The Growth and Increaſe of this Trade, and the extraordinary Benefit thereof to the *Hollanders*, were minutely repreſented, ſome Years ſince, by Mr. *Henry Elkin*, a Merchant of *Bremen*, in a Memorial to the late Sir *John Eyles*, when Sub-governor of the *South-Sea* Company, to induce the Company to engage vigorouſly in that Fiſhery; wherein he made it appear, that, from the Year 1675 to the Year 1721, the *Dutch* only, had

Sent to the Whale-fiſhery	-	6,995 Sail of Ships,
Thoſe Ships killed	- -	32,908 Whales,
And brought home of Train-oil		1,250,714 Puncheons,
And of Whale-fins at leaſt	-	40,000,000 of Pounds wt.

The Value of the Oil and Whale-fin, thus brought home by the *Dutch*, amounts to no leſs than 150,000,000 of Guilders, or 14,000,000 *l.* Sterling.

Add to this Account all the Advantages which accrue to the *Dutch* by the building, fitting out, and furniſhing ſo many of their Ships, the Cooperage of ſo many Caſks, and the Employment of ſo great a Number of their Seamen.

A melancholy Article to be added to all this, as it relates to *England*, is, how great a Quantity of this Oil and Fins the *Britiſh* Nation have bought from the *Dutch* with their ready Money, which they might otherwiſe have kept at home to ſo great an Advantage; and, indeed, inſtead thereof, if they had been reſolute in the firſt Eſtabliſhment of this Trade, have ſold Oil and Fins to the *Dutch* themſelves, or at leaſt to thoſe Nations whom the *Dutch* now ſupply with them.

Thus *England* has been obliged, ever ſince about the Year 1638, to ſit down with the Loſs of a Trade, which they were the firſt Beginners of in the World. There was an Attempt, indeed, to recover this Trade in the Year 1694, when a Company of eminent Merchants undertook it, and fitted out two Ships the firſt Year, having an Act of Parliament in their Favour, particularly exempting them from any Duties, and their Men from being preſſed into the King's Service; which, at that time, was a valuable Privilege.

But theſe Gentlemen were ill ſerved, and wanting due Information of the proper Methods for managing the whole Affair, they were impoſed upon by almoſt all the People they employed, both at home and abroad, running them upon irregular Meaſures and needleſs Expences; ſo that it is no Wonder they loſt by every Step they took, and at length annihilated their capital Stock.

The next Attempt was that made by the *South-Sea* Company, in conſequence of Mr. *Elkin*'s Propoſition; but tho' they for ſeveral Years employed 24 Ships therein, the Company were Loſers, by the bad Management of their Agents.

The Laws that have been made in England, *from Time to Time, to encourage this Trade.*

I. Stat. 25 *Car.* II. cap. 7. §. 1. "It ſhall be lawful for all his Majeſty's Subjects, and for every other Perſon reſiding here, to trade to *Greenland*, and thoſe Seas, and there to take Whales, and other Fiſh, and to import Oil, Blubber, and Fins; and it ſhall be lawful for any Perſon to import Train-oil, or Blubber, of *Greenland* and thoſe Seas, or of *Newfoundland*, or of any other his Majeſty's Plantations, made of Fiſh, or other Creature living in the Seas, and Whale-fins, caught in Ships belonging to *England*, and imported in ſuch Ships, without paying any Duty; and for the Ton of ſuch Oil taken by any Shipping belonging to his Majeſty's Plantations, and imported in ſuch Shipping, there ſhall be paid 6 *s.* and for every Ton of Whale-fins taken and imported in ſuch Shipping, 50 *s.* and for the Ton of ſuch Oil taken by the ſaid Shipping, but imported in Shipping belonging to *England*, *&c.* 3 *s.* and for every Ton of Whale-fins taken and imported in ſuch Shipping, 25 *s.* and for the Ton of all ſuch Oil and Blubber of foreign Fiſhing, 9 *l.* and for every Ton of Whale-fins of foreign Fiſhing, 18 *l.*

II. Sect. 2. "No *Engliſh* Ship importing Whale-oil, or Blubber, or other Fiſh-oil, or Whale-fins of *Greenland*, ſhall enjoy any Benefit by this Act, unleſs ſuch Ship did proceed on her Voyage for *Greenland* and thoſe Seas from *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, and was victualled for the ſaid Voyage in ſome of thoſe Places, to be atteſted by the Collector of the Port.

III. Stat. 4 and 5 *Will.* and *Mar.* cap. 17. §. 9. "The Company of *London* Merchants trading to *Greenland* ſhall, during the Continuance of the Joint-ſtock hereby appointed (and ſince expired) enjoy the free Trade of catching of Whales, by Sea or otherwiſe, to and from *Greenland*, and the *Greenland* Seas, and all other Seas and Places, except in the Seas belonging to their Majeſties Plantations in *America*.

IV. Sect. 28. "No Ship belonging to *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, employed in catching Whales in the *Greenland* Seas, and other the Places aforeſaid, and importing Whale-oil or Blubber, or other Fiſh-oil, or Whale-fins, of *Greenland*, *&c.* ſhall enjoy any Benefit by this Act, unleſs ſuch Ship did proceed on her Voyage for *Greenland*, &c. from *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, and was victualled for the ſaid Voyage in ſome of thoſe Places, to be atteſted by the Collector of the Port.

V. Sect. 30. "This Act ſhall be a public Act.

VI. Stat. 10 *Will.* III. cap. 25. §. 17. "Whale-fins, Oil, and Blubber, taken and imported by the Ships of the Company of Merchants of *London* trading to *Greenland*, were not intended to be made liable to the Duty of 12 *d.* for every 20 *s.* Value of Goods imported, charged in the Act 9 *Will.* III. cap. 23. but ſhall be free of the ſaid Duties, as all Fiſh of *Engliſh* taking.

VII. Stat. 1 *Ann.* cap. 16. §. 1. "It ſhall be lawful for any of her Majeſty's Subjects that will adventure to *Greenland* for fiſhing of Whales, to have all the Privileges that were granted to the *Greenland* Company by the Act 4 *Will.* and *Mar.* cap. 17. and ſhall not pay any other Duty than if they had been of the ſaid *Greenland* Company.

VIII. Sect. 2. "No Harpooner ſhall be impreſſed for her Majeſty's Service.

IX. Stat. 5 *Geo.* II. cap. 28. §. 1. "It ſhall be lawful for any Perſons for nine Years, from the 25th of *December*, 1731, to import Whale-fins, Oil, or Blubber, Seal-oil, Seal-ſkins, or any other Product of Seals, or other Creatures taken in the *Greenland Seas*, or *Davis's Streights*, or other Parts adjacent, in *Britiſh* Ships, whereof the Captain, and one Part of the Mariners, are *Britiſh* Subjects, without paying any Duty.

X. Sect. 2. "Nothing in this Act ſhall give Liberty of importing any of the before-mentioned Commodities Duty free, unleſs the Captain of the Ship ſhall make Oath before one of the Commiſſioners, or principal Officer of the Cuſtoms, in the Port of Importation, that all the Whale-fins, *&c.* imported in ſuch Ship, were really and *bona fide* the Fins, *&c.* taken in the *Greenland Seas*, *Davis's Streights*, or other Parts adjacent, by the Crew of ſuch Ships only, whereof the Captain and one-third Part of the Mariners were *Britiſh* Subjects.

"During the Continuance of the Act 5 *Geo.* II. for encouraging the *Greenland* Fiſhery (which by 13 *Geo.* II. cap. 28. §. 3. is continued to 25 *December* 1750, and from thence to the End of the then next Seſſion of Parliament) every *Britiſh* Veſſel of 200 Tons, or upwards, bound to the Whale-fiſhery to the *Greenland Seas*, &c. ſhall be examined by the proper Officers of the Cuſtoms, and, if found to be duly qualified, Certificate thereof to be made to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, and on Oath of the Owners and chief Officers of the ſaid Ship, that it is their Purpoſe that the ſaid Ship ſhall proceed on a fiſhing Voyage to thoſe Seas, and on the Maſter's becoming bound with two Sureties in the Penalties of treble the Bounty, the Commiſſioners are to grant a Licence to proceed on ſuch Voyage.

"On the Ship's Return, the proper Officers of the Cuſtoms are to view her Condition and Lading, and take a Schedule of the Perſons on-board, and to certify the ſame; the Maſter and Mate making Oath that they did directly proceed on ſuch Voyage as above, and no other, and uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to take Whales, and other Creatures in thoſe Seas, and that all the Whale-fins, Oil, and Blubber (if any) imported in their Ship, was taken by their Crew in thoſe Seas; there ſhall be paid by the Receiver-general of the Cuſtoms the Sum of twenty Shillings *per* Ton, according to the Admeaſurement of the Ship, 6 *Geo.* II. cap. 33. §. 1, 2, 3. 13 *Geo.* II. cap. 28. §. 4."

Note, during the late War (with *Spain*) over and above the afore-mentioned 20 *s. per* Ton, the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms may, on Demand, cauſe Payment to be made of a further Allowance of 10 *s. per* Ton.—13 *Geo.* II.

The *Eaſt-India* Company, ſays *Harris*[*], who had hitherto traded with Ships ſet out by particular Stocks or Factories, did, in the Year 1614, make their firſt Voyage by their united Stocks. The Fleet for this Voyage conſiſted of four Ships, the *New-Year's Gift*, of 650 Tons, Admiral, commanded by Captain *Nicholas Downton*, chief Commander in this Expedition; the *Hector*, of 500 Tons, Vice-admiral; the *Merchants Hope*, of 300 Tons; and the *Solomon*, of 200 Tons; and ſet ſail in the Beginning of the Year 1614.

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[*] P. I. p. 143. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 500.

At *Surat*, they found the *Indians* in open War with the *Portugueſe*, and were obliged to take a Part in it, or give over all Thoughts of Trade, tho' the *Portugueſe* Fleet conſiſted of ſix Galleons, three Ships, two Gallies, and 60 Frigates, a very unequal Match for four Ships; however, the *Engliſh* courageouſly reſolved to wait the Event. Nay, they had the Boldneſs to begin the Attack with one Ship, the *Hope*: The *Portugueſe* had the Courage to engage her with their three Ships, two Gallies, and almoſt all the Frigates, to whoſe Aſſiſtance the Galleons were likewiſe haſtning. They boarded the *Hope*; but no ſooner did the other three *Engliſh* Ships come up, than theſe valiant Combatants fairly leaped over-board, truſting to their own Ships to fiſh them up as they could, and their whole Fleet as valiantly gave over the Fight ſoon after. A great Number of their Men were drowned, and a much greater (at leaſt the more conſiderable Part of them for Quality) loſt their Lives in this Encounter, on-board the *Hope*.

The *Portugueſe* ſent for Supplies; but upon their Arrival had not the Courage to attack the *Engliſh*, otherwiſe than at a Diſtance, by ſending down Fire-ſhips upon them, which they did ſeveral times, and, being unſucceſsful in this Attempt likewiſe, ſoon after retreated, having loſt 450 Men at leaſt.

The *Engliſh* finiſhed their Commerce, and ſet ſail from *Surat*, but were hardly got to Sea, on the third of *March*, when they found themſelves purſued by a freſh *Portugueſe* Fleet. They drew them out to Sea, and then halted to offer them Battle; but the *Portugueſe* choſe rather to ſheer off, than to run the Hazard of ſo unequal a Fight, as not more, perhaps, than ten to one [a], and ſuffered the *Engliſh* to purſue their Voyage to *Bantam*, where they arrived in *June* 1615, weighed Mace, and took in Silk to lade the *Solomon* for *Maſulipatan*, which was ſent thither with a conſiderable Number of Merchants. Here likewiſe they had an Account of the violent Proceedings of the *Dutch* againſt ſome of the *Engliſh* Factors at *Macaſſar*; and it was as much as ever they could do to live in any tolerable Peace with them at *Bantam*, they being ſo very prone to quarrel, that, rather than fail, they would contrive Occaſions for Contention. They having finiſhed their Concerns at *Bantam*, ſailed directly for *England*, where they arrived in *October* 1616.

The Trade and Settlement of *New England* had been diſcontinued ever ſince the Year 1611. But the Advantages thereof being enhanſed by the Attempt made by the *French*, whom the *Virginians* had driven out, it was reſolved by Captain *Roydon*, Captain *Langham*, Mr. *Bully*, and Mr. *Shelton*, to ſend two Ships under the Conduct of Captain *Smith*, late Preſident of the S. Colony in *Virginia*, to recover the Trade and Friendſhip of the Natives, which he effectually perform'd: for by a Voyage only of ſix Months out and home, he clear'd near 1500*l.* to himſelf, ſatisfied the Adventurers, and ſurvey'd and took a Plan of the Country and Coaſt; which he preſented to the Managers of the N. *Virginia* Company, under the Name of *New England*, which it has ever ſince retain'd.

The *Muſcovy* Company reſolved to maintain their Privileges, and zealous in their Purſuit of northern Diſcoveries, fitted out a large Fleet of 13 great Ships and two Pinnaces, to fiſh and to ſcour the *Greenland* Coaſt of Foreigners; and ſent one Mr. *Robert Fotherby* to diſcover Seas, Lands, and Iſlands to the Northward, both in the Year 1614 and 1615 [b]. The *Greenland-men* however were not ſtrong enough to repel the *Dutch*, who were before-hand with them, and convoy'd by four Men of War of 30 Guns each. *Thomas Sherwin* and *William Baffin* proceeded as far as 80 Degrees and ſome Minutes Northward of *Greenland*; and Mr. *Fotherby* ſail'd into *Maudlin*'s Sound, and took Poſſeſſion of the adjacent Country in due Form [c].

His Majeſty, informed that the Coaſt of *Scotland* was greatly infeſted by Pirates, and earneſtly intreated by his *Scottiſh* Subjects to guard their Navigation from their Depredations, commanded Sir *William Monſon*, and Sir *Francis Howard*, to ſail with two Men of War in purſuit of theſe Rovers [d].

Sir *William* arrived at *Sinclare* Caſtle, the Seat of the Earl of *Cathneſs*, ſituate on the utmoſt Promontory of *Great-Britain*; and ſeized upon a Pirate, who having been forced into that miſerable Life, had taken the firſt Opportunity to ſurrender himſelf to the ſaid Earl; and then ſailed for the *Orkneys*, and viſited *Shetland*, and the *Hebrides*, in queſt of another, whoſe Name was *Clark*, without any Tidings of him. Therefore Sir *William* ſtretched over for *Broadhaven*, a Harbour in *Ireland*, noted for the Rendezvous of Pirates. Here he came to Anchor, and having found means to decoy on-board one Mr. *Cormat*, the chief Patron of the Pirates, prevailed with him by the Terrors of Death, to promiſe never more to give them any Countenance, and to aſſiſt him in the taking of *Clark*.

Thus the next Day, a Ship coming into the Harbour, which Sir *William* ſuppoſing to be a Pirate, prepared to give her a proper Reception; but ſhe was then too cunning for him, and put out to Sea again. He followed her ſix Days in bad Weather at Sea, in his Boat; but ſhe eſcaped him in a Fog, and got to the Iſland of *Eneſcey*, from whence her Captain found means to convey a Letter to the converted Gentleman, *Cormat*, who honeſtly ſhewed it to Sir *William*. They contrived an Anſwer to it, and pretending the King's Ship was a *Londoner* come from the *Indies*, who put in there in great Diſtreſs, with but few of his Men alive, and thoſe ſick, drew him into the Snare. Sir *William* having, by this means, ſecured the Ship and her Crew, brought her to *Broadhaven*, where he cauſed ſome of the chief and moſt criminal amongſt them to be executed, as a Terror to the reſt, and the whole Country, which had been but too much involved in theſe evil Practices.

The joint Stock of the *Eaſt-India* Company in 1615, employed four Ships in their Service; the *Expedition*, Captain *Payton*, and the *Dragon*, *Lion*, and *Pepper-corn*, under the Direction of Captain *Keeling* [e]. This Fleet carried over Sir *Thomas Roe*, the King's Ambaſſador to the *Great Mogul*; and the Great *Samorin*, or King of *Callicut*, granted Captain *Keeling* a Factory at *Crangalor*, with certain Privileges.

The *New-England* Trade was again revived [f] by the *Virginia* Company, who ſent out four Ships, that returned in ſix Months, well laden with Fiſh, Train-oil, and Furs; and by the *Plymouth* Adventurers, who prevailed with Captain *Smith* to ſail with two Ships in their Service.

Captain *Smith*'s Voyage was firſt overturned by a Storm; for having ſprung the Maſt of his own Ship, he was obliged to put back into *Plymouth*. From whence he ſailed again with all Expedition, in a Bark of only 60 Tons, with 30 Men, in order to overtake the leſſer of his Ships, which had proceeded on the Voyage; but falling in with nine *French* Men of War, or Privateers, was detained all the Summer, till he found means off of *Rochel* to ſeize upon a Boat, in which he alone weathered a great Storm, and got ſafe to *England*.

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[a] Domingo Franciſco, a Portugueſe, who was afterwards taken in Swally Road, gave the following Account of the Force of this Fleet. (1.) The ſix Galleons; the All Saints, 800 Tons, 300 Men, 28 Guns; the St. Bennet, 700 Tons, 150 Men, 20 Guns; the St. Lawrence, 600 Tons, 160 Men, 18 Guns; the St. Chriſtopher, 600 Tons, 159 Men, 18 Guns; the St. Jeronymo, 590 Tons, 180 Men, 16 Guns; the St. Antonia, 400 Tons, 140 Men, 14 Guns: (2.) The three Ships; the St. Peter, 200 Tons, 150 Men, 8 Guns; the Pinnace, 120 Tons, 80 Men, 4 Guns; the St. Paul, 200 Tons, 150 Men, 8 Guns. (3.) The two Gallies 50 Men in each. (4) The 60 Frigates, each 20 Soldiers, and 18 Oars on a Side. The Supply which came afterwards was two Ships, of 200 Tons each, two India Junks, and eight large Boats for Fire-ſhips.

[b] Being 14 Sail of large Ships beſides the Men of War. Purchas, Vol. III. p. 466.

[c] I went (ſays Fotherby) with the Shollop into Maudlin Sound, there to ſet up the King's Arms. I cauſed a Croſs to be ſet up, and the King's Arms to be nailed on it, and under it a Piece of Sheet-lead, with the Muſcovy Company's Mark, the Day of the Month and the Year. Then cutting up a Piece of Earth, I carried it aboard, and, in the Preſence of the Men, ſaid to this Effect. "I take this Piece of Earth as a Sign of lawful Poſſeſſion of King James's New-land, and of this particular Place, "which I name Trinity-harbour, taking on Behalf of the Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Diſcoveries, for the Uſe "of our Sovereign Lord James, by the Grace of God King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, whoſe royal Arms are here ſet up, to the End "that all People, who ſhall here arrive, may take notice of his Majeſty's Right and Title to this Country, and to every Part thereof. God ſave "King James."

[d] Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

[e] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 603. Harris, Part I. p. 149.

[f] A. D. 1615. Smith's Hiſtory of Virginia. Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 28.

The *Danes* [a] obſerving that the *Dutch* laſt Year overpowered the *Engliſh Greenland*-fiſhery, and taking Advantage of the pacific Meaſures of King *James*'s Court, not only ſet up a Claim to the Whale-fiſhery, and by the Aſſiſtance of a runaway *Engliſhman*, made their firſt Voyage to *Greenland*; but ſtationed three Men of War to demand a Toll from the *Engliſh* for fiſhing on that Coaſt, tho' they had not Strength enough to enforce their Demand.

The Ship *Dolphin*, of and from *London* [b], commanded by Mr. *Edward Nichols*, for *Zant*, deſerves a very memorable Mention in the maritime Hiſtory of our Nation; of whoſe Gallantry we have the following Account, related by the Maſter of the ſaid Ship, in this Manner:

" Having (ſays my Author) finiſhed our Buſineſs at *Zant*, we departed thence towards the latter End of the Year 1616, being bound with our Loading for *England*. Our Ship was named the *Dolphin* of *London*, of the Burden of 220 Tons, or thereabouts, having in her about 19 caſt Pieces of Ordnance, and five Murtherers, manned with 36 Men, and two Boys. The Maſter of her was Mr. *Edward Nichols*, a Man of great Skill, Courage, Induſtry, and proved Experience, who making for *England*, we got clear of the Iſland, the 1ſt of *January* 1617. The Wind being North and by Eaſt, with a proſperous Gale, by the 8th in the Morning we had ſight of the Iſland of *Sardinia*.

" The Wind being then come Weſterly, the 9th in the Morning we ſtood in for *Callery*; and at Noon the Wind being Southerly, we came cloſe by two little Watch-towers, who ſhot two Shot at us, to give Warning that they would ſpeak to us; but the approaching Night would not permit. If we could have ſent aſhore to them, their Intention was, as we heard afterwards, to have informed us of the *Turkiſh* Men of War, which we afterwards met withal, to our Coſt and Peril, as well as theirs, for theſe Towers were not above two Leagues from the Place where we made our Fight. This Night, the Wind growing calm, we ſailed towards Cape *Pola*. The 10th we had very little Wind, or none at all, till it was two o'Clock in the Afternoon, which drove us above three Leagues Eaſtward from the Cape; here we eſpied a Fleet of Ships upon the Main of *Sardinia* near unto the Road called *Callery*, belonging to the King of *Spain*.

" The 12th of *January* in the Morning Watch, about four o'Clock, we had ſight of a Sail making from the Shore towards us, which put into our Minds ſome Doubt and Fear, and coming near unto us, we diſcovered her to be a *Sattie*, which is a Ship much like unto an *Argoſey*, of a very great Burthen and Bigneſs. She ſtood in to get between the Shore and us, which perceiving, we imagined ſome more Ships not to be far off, whereupon our Maſter ſent one of our Company up into the Main-top, who diſcovered five Sail of Ships, one after another coming up before the Wind, which was then at W. S. W. With his Perſpective-glaſs he perceived them to be *Turkiſh* Men of War, the firſt of them booming by himſelf, before the Wind, with his Flag in the Main-top, and all his Sails gallantly ſpread abroad; after him came the Admiral and the Vice-admiral, of greater Burden than the firſt, and after him two more, the Rear-admiral, larger than all the reſt, and his Companion.

" They ſeemed all prepared for any deſperate Aſſault; whereupon we immediately made ready our Ordnance and ſmall Shot, and with no little Reſolution prepared ourſelves to withſtand them. This being done, we went to Prayers, and then to Dinner, where our Maſter gave us ſuch noble Encouragement, that our Hearts even thirſted to prove the Succeſs; and being in Readineſs for the Fight, our Maſter went upon the Poop, and ſpake to us in the following Manner:

" Countrymen and Fellows, you ſee into what an Exigency it has pleaſed God to ſuffer us to fall: Let us remember that we are but Men, and muſt of Neceſſity die; when, where, and how, is alone in God's Knowledge and Appointment; but if it be his Pleaſure, that this muſt be the laſt of our Days, his Will be done; and let us for his Glory, our Soul's Welfare, our Country's Honour, and the Credit of ourſelves, fight it valiantly to the laſt Gaſp. Let us prefer a noble Death before a ſlaviſh Life; and if we die, let us die to gain a better Life. For my Part, I will ſee, if we eſcape this Danger, that, if any be hurt and maimed in the Fight, they ſhall be carefully provided for, for their Health and Maintenance, as long as they live. Be therefore reſolute, ſtand to it, here is no ſhrinking. We muſt be either Men or Slaves. Die with me, or if you will not, by God's Grace, I will die with you.

" This done, he waved his Sword three Times, ſhaking it with ſuch dauntleſs Courage, as if he had already won the Victory. Hereupon we ſeconded him with like Forwardneſs, and he cauſing his Trumpets to ſound, gave unto us much more Encouragement than before; and being within Shot of them, our Maſter commanded his Gunner to make his Level, and to ſhoot, which he did, but miſſed them all. At this, the foremoſt of them bore up apace, for he had the Wind of us, and returned us worſe than we ſent, for their firſt Shot killed one of our Men.

" Then enſued, for a great Space, a moſt fierce Encounter betwixt us; and they having the Advantage of us, by reaſon of the Wind, by 11 or 12 o'Clock they had torn our Ship in ſuch manner, that we uſed our Guns clear of the Ports, they having left us no Ports on the Quarters, but all open. We were, however, not in their Debt, for we had not left them one Man alive from their Main-maſt forward: Beſides, we diſmounted their Ordnance, and tore them ſo near the Water, that their chief Commanders were forced, with their Cutlaces to beat their own Men, and to drive them to their Duty. By this time they laid us aboard with one of their Ships, which was of 200 Tons, or thereabouts, and had in her 25 Pieces of Ordnance, and about 250 Men. The Captain thereof was one *Walſingham*, who ſeemed by his Name to be, as we afterwards found he was, an *Engliſhman*, and Admiral of the Fleet; for ſo it ſignified by the Flag in his Main-top. Having, as I ſaid, boarded our Ship, he entered on the Larboard-quarter, his Men armed, ſome with Sabres, which we called Faulchions, ſome with Hatchets, and ſome with Half-pikes, where they ſtaid half an Hour or thereabouts, tearing up our Nail-boards upon the Poop, and the Trap-hatch; but we having a Murtherer in the Round-houſe, kept the Larboard-ſide clear, whilſt our Men, with the other Ordnance and Muſkets, and a Murtherer in our Trap-hatch, play'd upon their Ship; yet, for all this, they plied our Gallery with ſmall Shot in ſuch ſort, that we ſtood in great Danger to yield.

" At the laſt, we ſhot them quite through and through, and they us likewiſe; but they being afraid they ſhould have been ſunk by us, bore a-head of our Ship, and as they paſſed along, we gave them a Broad-ſide, that they were forced to lay by the Lee, and to ſtop their Leaks. This Fight continued two Hours by our Glaſs, and better, and ſo near the Shore, that the Dwellers thereupon ſaw all the Beginning and the Ending, and what Danger we ſtood in: For upon the Shore ſtood a little Houſe, wherein was likewiſe turned a Glaſs all the time during the Fight, which meaſured the Hours as they paſſed: And this was *Walſingham*'s Part of the Fight.

" The next Fight was with one Captain *Kelley*'s Ship, which came likewiſe up with his Flag in the Main-top, and another Ship with his Flag in the Fore-top; which Ships were at leaſt 300 Ton a-piece, and had in each of them 28 or 30 Pieces of Ordnance, and about 250 Men. They laid us aboard, one on the Starboard-quarter, and the other on the Larboard, where entring our Ship thick and threefold with their Scimeters, Hatchets, half Pikes, and other Weapons, put us in great Danger both of the Loſs of our Ship and our Lives; for they performed much Manhood and many dangerous Hazards. Amongſt theſe, there was one of their Company, that deſperately went up into our Main-top

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[a] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 466.

[b] A. D. 1616.

“ to fetch down our Flag, which being ſpied by the Steward of our Ship, he preſently ſhot with his Muſket, that he fell upon our Deck, and was preſently caſt into the Sea, leaving the Flag behind him.

“ Thus theſe two Ships fought with us with great Reſolution, playing upon us with their Ordnance, and ſmall Shot, for the Space of an Hour and a half, of whom we received ſome hurt, and likewiſe they of us; but when they ſaw they could not prevail, nor any way make us to yield, they bore up, and paſſed from us to lay their Ships by the Lee to ſtop their Leaks, for we had grievouſly torn and battered them with our great Ordnance; and this was the ſecond Attempt they made upon us.

“ Now for the third, there came two more of Captain *Kelley*'s Ships, of 250 Tons a-piece, each of them had 22 Pieces of Ordnance, and at leaſt 200 Men, all well provided as might be, which was as we thought too great a Number for us, being ſo few in our Ship; but GOD that was our Friend gave us ſuch Strength and Succeſs, that they little prevailed againſt us; for at their firſt coming up, notwithſtanding all their Multitude of Men, we ſhot one of them quite through and through, and laid him likewiſe by the Lee, as we had done the others before. But the other Ship remaining, laid us aboard on the Starboard-ſide, and in that Quarter they entered our Ship with their Scimitars, Fauchions, Half-pikes and other Weapons, running to and fro upon the Deck, crying ſtill in the *Turkiſh* Tongue, *Yield yourſelves, yield yourſelves*, promiſing we ſhould be well uſed, and have one third Part of our Goods delivered back, with ſuch like fair Promiſes.

“ At this one of our Company told the Maſter of the large Offer the *Turks* made, perſuading him to yield: But the Maſter replied, *Away Villain, I will never give them Part or Quarter, whilſt I have any Quarters to my Body.* Whereupon he, giving no Ear to them, ſtood ſtifly in our Defence, chuſing rather to die, than to yield as it is ſtill the Nature and Condition of all *Engliſhmen*; and being thus reſolved, ſome of our Men played our Ordnance againſt them, ſome played with the ſmall Shot, ſome fought with other Weapons, as Swords, and half Pikes, and ſuch like. In the midſt of this Skirmiſh, it ſo happened, by ill Chance, that our Ship was fired [a], and in great Danger to be loſt and caſt away, had not the Lord in his Mercy preſerved us, and ſent us means happily to quench it; but now mark the Accident. The Fire being perceived by our Enemies to burn outrageouſly, and thinking that our Ship would have ſuddenly conſumed to the Water, they left us to our Fortunes, falling aſtern from us, and ſo we put to the Shore, under the little Houſe, for ſome Succour. Here we let an Anchor fall, thinking to ride there all Night; which we had no ſooner done, but we ſaw another Ship bear upon us, whereupon we were ſore frighted, and ſo forced to let our Anchor ſlip, and ſet ſail to get better Succour; the Enemy, at the ſame time, being weary of our Company, hoiſting out their Boats to ſtop their Leaks. We for our Parts, put into the Road, between the two little Forts, where we lay five Days, mending the Bruiſes and Leaks of our Ship. The Loſſes we received in the aforeſaid Fights were ſix Men and one Boy, which were killed outright, and there were hurt eight Men and one Boy more: But the Lord knows what Damage we put them to, and what Number we ſlew in their Ships.

“ The Maſter of our Ship being at the Helm, was ſhot twice betwixt the Legs; and the Surgeon dreſſing the Wounds of one of our Men, a Ball of Wild-fire fell into his Baſon, which he ſuddenly caſt into the Sea [b], otherwiſe it had greatly endangered us. The *Turks* were aboard and ſounded their Trumpets, notwithſtanding which, our Men aſſaulted them ſo fiercely, that they forced them off, and the Boatſwain (ſeeing them fly) moſt undauntedly, with a Whiſtle, dared them to the Skirmiſh, if ſo they durſt. The Captains of three of their Ships were *Engliſhmen*, who took Part with the *Turks*, thus to rob and ſpoil upon the Ocean, their Names were *Walſingham*, *Kelly* and *Sampſon*.

“ Upon the 13th of *January* there came aboard certain *Spaniards*, in the Morning betimes, to witneſs what Hurts we had received, who ſeeing ſome of our Men dead, went aſhore with us, and ſhewed us where we might bury them: But as we were buſy in making their Graves, and covering the Bodies with Earth, there came ſailing by a *Flemiſh* Ship of 240 Tons, which had in her 5 or 6000 *l.* She had been chaſed by thoſe Men of War, that had fought with us before, and therefore they brought in a Long-boat all the Money to the Shore, and left in the Ship only a few Men and Boys; who afterwards, within two Days, brought the ſaid Ship into the Road, not any thing at all endangered. God be praiſed.

“ Upon the 15th of the ſame Month, when we came from the burying of our Men, and had reſted ourſelves in our Ship, about two or three Hours, as God would have it, the Wind began to blow a ſtrong Gale, and by little and little grew to a terrible Tempeſt, thro' which, from Sunday Night, till Friday in the Evening, we lay in ſuch Extremity of Weather, as Rain, Wind, Lightning and Thunder, that we thought we ſhould never have got clear from the Road where we lay. During this Storm and Tempeſt, there died one of our Men, that had been hurt in the Fight, whoſe Body we caſt overboard, into the Sea, without any other Burial, and ſo when the Wind and Sea was a little calmed, we ſet up ſail and came forward. Within three Days after, we buried three Men more in the Sea, and the ſame Afternoon we arrived in the Road of *Callery*, and lay at Anchor, where again ſearching our Ship, we found it rent and torn in four ſeveral Places; one in the Gun-room, another between the Decks, the third in the Sketeridge, and the fourth in the Maſter's Round-houſe; ſo in *Callery* we mended our Ship, and hired certain Men there to help us to ſtop her Leaks. Having all Things moſt fitting for our Voyage homewards, upon the 30th of *January* we committed our Fortune again unto the Sea, and ſo leaving *Callery*, we came forward with a *Frenchman*, who was bound to a Place called *Oraſone*, about 30 Leagues from *Callery*, where after two Days we left his Company, being the 1ſt of *February*, and after that putting forwards, ſtill towards *England*, we arrived ſafe in the *Thames*.”

The Trade to *New-England* took ſuch an advantageous Turn this Year, that eight Ships, *viz.* four from *London*, and four from *Plymouth*, made a very ſucceſsful Voyage[c]; and ſold their Cargoes of Fiſh and Train-oil, at a good Market in the *Canaries*, and in *Spain*.

The ſame Diligence was uſed to improve the *Greenland* Trade[d], where new Diſcoveries continued to be made to the Eaſtward; and to eſtabliſh the Settlement in *Virginia*[e], which gained additional Strength by the Marriage of Mr. *Rolf*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, with the *Indian* Princeſs *Pocahontas*, as mentioned before; but had like to have been entirely deſtroyed by a *Spaniſh* Plot, to ſeize upon that Colony, which is thus related:

The *Spaniards* had formed a Deſign upon this Colony. A Ship of that Nation beating about, before Cape *Comfort*, ſent at laſt a Boat on-ſhore, deſiring a Pilot; and one being ſent them, he was no ſooner in their Boat, than they carried him off, leaving three of their Companions behind them. This cauſing ſome Diſtruſt, theſe Men were ſtrictly examined. All they would at firſt own was, that having loſt their Admiral, Accident had forced them into thoſe Parts, and that two of them were Captains, and in chief Authority in the Fleet. It appeared, at length, that one of them was an *Engliſhman*, who had been Pilot to the *Spaniſh* Armada in 1688, and had now induced ſome Malcontents in *Virginia*, to join in Confederacy with him, to carry off a ſmall Bark. The Plot being diſcovered, they were apprehended, and ſome executed. Our *Engliſh-Spaniard* expecting the ſame Fate, confeſſed that two or three

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[a] She was fired purpoſely by the Enemy, with Fire-balls, in three Places at once.

[b] Or as another relates it; he thinking to caſt it overboard, it fell upon the Deck, upon which he reſolutely fell upon it himſelf, and ſmothered it with his Body.

[c] Harris, Part I. p. 851. 1ſt Edit. Smith's Virginia, p. 228.

[d] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 467.

[e] Smith, ut ſupra, p. 119.

Spaniſh Ships were at Sea, purpoſely to diſcover the State of the Colony; but their Commiſſion was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, ſo that he could not tell wherein it particularly conſiſted. One of the *Spaniards* died, and the other was ſent to *England*; but the *Engliſhman* was reprieved, till Sir *Thomas Dale* (for what particular Reaſon is not mentioned) hanged him at Sea, in his Voyage homewards.

Sir *Thomas Dale* brought with him to *England* Mr. *Rolf*, and his Wife the Princeſs *Pocahontas*; and left Captain *George Yardley* to execute the Office of Governor in his Abſence. But Captain *Yardly* made but a very ill Governor; he let the Buildings and Forts go to Ruin, not regarding the Security of the People againſt the *Indians*; neglecting the Corn, and applying all Hands to plant Tobacco, which promiſed the moſt immediate Gain. In this Condition they were, when Captain *Samuel Argall* was ſent thither Governor, *Anno* 1617, who found the Number of People reduced to ſomething more than 400, of which not above half were fit for Labour. In the mean while the *Indians* mixing among them, got Experience daily in Fire-arms, and ſome of them were inſtructed therein by the *Engliſh* themſelves, and employed to hunt and kill wild Fowl for them; ſo great was their Security upon this Marriage. But Governor *Argall* not liking thoſe Methods, regulated them on his Arrival, made the Colony flouriſh and increaſe wonderfully, and kept them in great Plenty and Quiet.

The *Eaſt-India* Trade was not neglected. *Purchas* [a] gives a Voyage made to *Surat* and *Perſia* by *Alexander Child*, who was obliged to fight his way thro' a Squadron of *Portugueſe* Guarda-coſtas. The *Dutch* alſo proceeded in their treacherous Schemes to drive us out of that infant Trade, with all the Malice that Jealouſy could invent; which obliged the Company next Year [b] to ſend out a ſtrong Fleet of five Ships, *viz.* the *James-Royal*, of 1000 Tons; the *Ann-Royal*, of 900 Tons; the *New-Year's Gift*, of 800 Tons; the *Bull*, of 400 Tons; and the *Bee*, of 150 Tons; for Account of their Joint-ſtock, under the chief Command of Captain *Martin Pring*.

The moſt remarkable Events of this Voyage, conſiſted in Squabbles, and even Skirmiſhes with the *Dutch*, wherein they generally paid for their Inſolence; but ended in a Peace or Union, ſettled between the two Nations at *Japan*.

In 1617, Sir *Walter Raleigh* obtained his Liberty and the royal Commiſſion to make Diſcoveries, and to eſtabliſh a Colony in *Guiana*; of which, and his Misfortunes, we have already given a particular Relation in the Story of his Life [c].

The *Plymouth* Adventurers ſent two Ships in the Year 1618 to *New-England*, which made their Voyage in five Months to Satisfaction. And the ſame Year the Lord *Delawar* was ſent over again with 200 Men more for the Settlement, with other Neceſſaries ſuitable; but ſailing by the Weſtern Iſlands, they met with contrary Winds, and great Sickneſs; ſo that above 30 of them died, among which the Lord *Delawar* was one. By which means the Government there ſtill continued in the Hands of Captain *Argall*.

Powhatan died in *April* the ſame Year, leaving his ſecond Brother *Itopatin* in Poſſeſſion of his Empire, a Prince far ſhort of the Parts of *Oppechancanough*, who by ſome was ſaid to be his elder Brother, and then King of *Chickahomony*; but he having debauched them from the Allegiance of *Powhatan*, was diſinherited by him. This *Oppechancanough* was a cunning and a brave Prince, who ſoon graſped all the Empire to himſelf: But at firſt they jointly renewed the Peace with the *Engliſh*, upon the Acceſſion of *Itopatin* to the Crown.

Governor *Argall* flouriſhing thus under the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, and having no Occaſion of Fear or Diſturbance from the *Indians*, ſought new Occaſions of encouraging the Plantation. To that end he intended a Coaſting Voyage to the Northward, to view the Places where the *Engliſh* Ships had ſo often laden; and if he miſſed them, to reach the Fiſheries on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and ſo ſettle a Trade and Correſpondence either with the one or the other. In accompliſhing whereof, as he touched at Cape *Codd*, he was informed by the *Indians*, that ſome white People like him were come to inhabit to the Northward of them, upon the Coaſt of their neighbouring Nations. Captain *Argall* not having heard of any *Engliſh* Plantation that way, was jealous that it might be (as it proved) the People of ſome other Nation. And being very zealous for the Honour and Benefit of *England*, he reſolved to make Search according to the Information he had received, and ſee who they were. Accordingly he found the Settlement, and a Ship riding before it. This belonged to ſome *Frenchmen*, who had fortified themſelves upon a ſmall Mount on the North of *New-England*.

His unexpected Arrival ſo confounded the *French*, that they could make no Preparation for Reſiſtance on-board their Ship; which Captain *Argall* drew ſo cloſe to, that with his ſmall Arms he beat all the Men from the Deck, ſo that they could not uſe their Guns, their Ship having only a ſingle Deck. Among others, there were two Jeſuits on-board, one of which being more bold than wiſe, with all that Diſadvantage, endeavoured to fire one of their Cannon, and was ſhot dead for his Pains.

Captain *Argall* having taken the Ship, landed and went before the Fort, ſummoning it to ſurrender. The Garriſon aſked time to adviſe: But that being denied them, they ſtole privately away, and fled into the Woods. Upon this Captain *Argall* entered the Fort, and lodged there that Night; and the next Day the *French* came to him, and ſurrendered themſelves. It ſeems the King of *France* had granted them a Patent for this Settlement, but they gave it up to Captain *Argall* to be cancelled. He uſed them very well, and ſuffered ſuch as had a mind to return to *France*, to ſeek their Paſſage among the Ships of the Fiſhery: But obliged them to deſert this Settlement. And thoſe that were willing to go to *Virginia*, he took with him.

Theſe People were under the Conduct of two Jeſuits, who upon taking a Pique againſt their Governor in *Acadia*, named *Biencourt*, had lately ſeparated from a *French* Settlement at *Port Royal*, lying in the Bay, upon the S. W. Part of *Acadia*.

As Governor *Argall* was about to return to *Virginia*, Father *Biard*, the ſurviving Jeſuit (out of Malice to *Biencourt*) told him of this *French* Settlement at *Port Royal*, and offered to pilot him to it; which Governor *Argall* readily accepted of. With the ſame Eaſe he took that Settlement alſo; where the *French* had ſowed and reaped, built Barns, Mills, and other Conveniencies, which Captain *Argall* did no Damage to: But unſettled them, and obliged them to make a Deſertion from thence. He gave theſe the ſame Leave he had done the others to diſpoſe of themſelves; ſome whereof returned to *France*, and others went to ſettle up the River of *Canada*. After this Governor *Argall* returned ſatisfied with the Proviſion and Plunder he had got in thoſe two Settlements.

The Report of theſe Exploits ſoon reached *England*; and whether they were approved or no, being acted without particular Direction, it does not appear: But certain it is, that in *April* following there arrived a ſmall Veſſel, which did not ſtay for any thing, but took on-board Governor *Argall*, and returned for *England*. He left Captain *Nathaniel Powell* Deputy: And ſoon after Captain *Yardley* being Knighted, was ſent Governor thither again.

The *Dragon* and *Expedition*, two Ships [d] belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, were ſent, under the Command of Mr. *W. Hore*, from *Surat* to *Achen*, *Bantam*, and other Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The *Dragon* going out of the Port of *Tecoo*, with three other Ships, belonging to the Company, which had been there to take in their Lading, were treacherouſly ſet upon by ſix *Dutch* Ships, prepared for Battle; whereas they were ſo encumbered that they were not able to uſe their Guns, and conſequently were in no condition to fight. The *Dutch* took them, after a ſhort

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[a] Vol. I. p. 6c6.

[b] A. D. 1617.

[c] See before, p 349.

[d] Purchas, Vol. I. p. 656. Harris's Collection, Part I. p. 196.

Reſiſtance from the *Dragon* only, and, according to their uſual Method, treated the Men in a moſt barbarous and inhuman Manner.

The *Dutch* having alſo this Year inſulted and roughly treated the *Engliſh* Fiſhers on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, upon the Pretence of an *immemorial Poſſeſſion*, King *James* ordered his Secretary to ſend the following Letter to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, dated *December* 21. 1618.

“As to their claiming an immemorial Poſſeſſion, founded by the Laws of Nations, (ſays the Secretary) his Majeſty will have them told, that the Kings of *Spain* have ſought leave to fiſh there (in the *Britiſh* Seas) by Treaty from this Crown; and that the King of *France* (a nearer Neighbour to our Coaſt than they) to this Day requeſts leave for a few Veſſels to fiſh for Proviſion for his own Houſhold, and that it appears ſo much the more ſtrange to his Majeſty, that they, being a State of ſo late a Date, ſhould be the firſt that would preſume to queſtion his Majeſty's ancient Right, ſo many hundred Years inviolably poſſeſſed by his Progenitors, and acknowledged by all other antient States and Princes. That themſelves, in their publick Letters of the laſt of *June*, ſeemed then to confirm their immemorial Poſſeſſion (as they termed it) with divers Treaties, as are of the Years 1550, and another between his Majeſty's Predeceſſors and *Charles* V, as Prince of thoſe Provinces, and not by the Law of Nations. To which their laſt Plea, his Majeſty would have told them, that he, being an Iſlander Prince, is not ignorant of the Laws and Rights of his own Kingdom, nor does expect to be taught the Laws of Nations by them, nor their *Grotius*; for his Majeſty taking this for a high Point of his Sovereignty, will not have it ſlighted in any faſhion whatſoever, *&c.*—Let them adviſe to ſeek leave from his Majeſty, and to acknowledge his Right, as other Princes have done, and do; or it may well come to paſs that they, who will needs bear all the World before them with their *Mare Liberum*, may ſoon come to have neither *Terram* and *Solum*, nor *Rempublicam Liberam*.”

To which Letter the Ambaſſador, returning an Anſwer, among other Things, ſays:

“I told the Prince of *Orange*, that howſoever his Majeſty, both in Honour of his Crown and Perſon, and Intereſt of his Kingdoms, neither could nor would any longer deſiſt from having his Right acknowledged by this State, as well as by all other Princes and Commonwealths; eſpecially finding the ſame openly oppugn'd, both by their Stateſmen and Men of War, as the Writings of *Grotius*, and the Taking of *John Brown* the laſt Year, may teſtify; yet this Acknowledgment of a Right and Due was no Excluſion of Grace and Favour, and that the People of this Country paying that ſmall Tribute upon every one of their Buſſes, (which is not ſo much as diſputed by any other Nation whatſoever) ſuch was his Majeſty's Well-wiſhing to this State, that I preſumed of his Permiſſion to ſuffer them to continue their Courſe of fiſhing, which they might uſe thereby with more Freedom, and leſs Apprehenſion of Moleſtation and Lett than before, and thereby ſpare the Coſt of ſome of their Men of War, which they yearly ſend out, to maintain that by Force which they might have by Courteſy. The Prince anſwered, he would do his beſt Endeavours to procure his Majeſty Contentment, but he doubted the *Hollanders* would apprehend the ſame Effect in their Payment for fiſhing, as they found in the Paſſage of the *Sound*, where at firſt an eaſy Matter was demanded by the King of *Denmark*, but now more exacted than they can poſſibly bear. And touching their Men of War, he ſaid they muſt ſtill be at the ſame Charge with them, becauſe of the Pirates. He aſked me, whether this Freedom of fiſhing might not be redeemed with a Sum of Money. To which I anſwered, it was a Matter of Royalty more than Utility, tho' Princes were not to neglect their Profit.”

The ſame Ambaſſador wrote home afterwards, “that the States had acknowledged their Commiſſioners in *England* had gone beyond their Inſtructions, in uſing the Term of *immemorial Poſſeſſion*.” But this Diſpute dropped, and nothing came of it in King *James*'s Reign, except a verbal Acknowledgment of his Dominion in the *Britiſh* Seas, with which this King ſatisfied himſelf; and his Eaſineſs encouraged our Neighbours to contemn the Authority of his Succeſſor.

A Voyage for new Diſcoveries was made this Year, at the Riſque of the *Barbary* Merchants, to the River of *Gambra*, upon a Suppoſition that the Gold uſed on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, was the Produce of *Ethiopia* [a]. In *September*, 1718, they ſent one *George Thompſon* in a Ship, to enter into the River *Gambra*, and to ſail up that River with ſuch Shallops as he had. This he did, and in his Abſence the Ship was taken by ſome vagrant *Portugueſe*, who were admitted freely to come on-board, and all the *Engliſhmen* left in her were killed; and *Thompſon* himſelf, having got up the River as far as *Tinda*, and being full of golden Hopes, was kill'd in a Quarrel by one of his own Company.

Thompſon being kill'd in *March* 1619, whereby all his Labours were loſt, the Adventurers on the fifth of *October* 1620, ſent out a Ship of 200 Tons, and a Pinnace of 50 Tons, with Mr. *Jobſon*, who ran in 20 Days from *Dartmouth* to the River *Gambra*, and caſt Anchor four Leagues within the Mouth of it. Here they traded with the Inhabitants for Elephants Teeth, Cotton, and ſome other Commodities; but I do not find they got any Gold, the Commodity they chiefly went in queſt of; nor is any Mention made, when and how they came home again.

The *Plymouth* Adventurers in 1619 ſent one Ship only to *New England*; which Ship [b] made ſo good Work of it in ſix or ſeven Months Time (from the Time they went out to the Time they returned) that every Sailor, who had but a ſingle Share, had, beſides his Charges, 17*l.* clear Money in his Pocket. With this Ship went for *New England* the worthy Captain *Dormer*, who was of very good Service to Trade, as well there as in *Virginia* and *Newfoundland*. He proſecuted a northern Diſcovery with excellent Succeſs, finding out many goodly Rivers, and very pleaſant fruitful Coaſts and Iſlands, for the Space of 80 Leagues, from E. to W. But while he was proſecuting theſe Diſcoveries, with more Zeal for the publick Intereſt, than Care for himſelf, he was betrayed by the Savages, and wounded by them in 14 or 15 Places, of which Wounds he died at his Return to *Virginia*.

Virginia continued to thrive. Very great Supplies of Cattle and other Proviſions were ſent there that Year, and likewiſe 1000 or 1200 Men. They reſettled all their old Plantations that had been deſerted, made Additions to the Number of the Council, and called an Aſſembly of Burgeſſes from all Parts of the Country, which were to be elected by the People in their ſeveral Plantations.

Theſe Burgeſſes met the Governor and Council at *James-Town* in *May* 1620, and ſat in Conſultation in the ſame Houſe with them, as the Method of the *Scots* Parliament is, debating Matters for the Improvement and good Government of the Country.

This was the firſt General Aſſembly that ever was held there. I heartily wiſh, tho' they did not unite their Houſes again, they would however unite their Endeavours and Affections for the Good of the Country.

In *Auguſt* following, a *Dutch* Man of War landed 20 *Negroes* for Sale; which were the firſt of that kind that were carried into the Country.

This Year they bounded the Corporations, as they called them. Then alſo they apportioned and laid out Lands in ſeveral Allotments, *viz.* to the Company in ſeveral Places, to the Governor, to a College, to Glebes, and to ſeveral particular Perſons; many new Settlements were made in *James* and *York* Rivers. The People now knew their own Property, and having the Encouragement of working for their own Advantage, many became very induſtrious, and began to vie one with another, in Planting, Building, and other Improvements. Two Gentlemen went over as Deputies to the Company, for the Management of their Lands, and thoſe of the College. All Thoughts of Danger from the *Indians* were laid aſide. Several great Gifts were made to the Church and College, and for the bringing up young *Indians* at School. Forms were made, and Rules appointed for granting Patents for Land, upon the Condition of importing Goods and Perſons to ſupply and increaſe the Colony. And all there then began to think themſelves the happieſt People in the World.

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[a] Harris, Part I. p. 384. Purchas, Vol. II. p. 921.

[b] Harris's Collection, Part I. p. 851. Smith's Gen. Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 229.

Thus *Virginia* continued to flouriſh and increaſe, great Supplies continually arriving, and new Settlements being made all over the Country. A Salt-work was ſet up at Cape *Charles*, on the Eaſtern Shore; and an Iron-work at *Falling-Creek*, in *James* River, where they made Proof of good Iron-oar, and brought the whole Work ſo near Perfection, that they writ Word to the Company in *London*, that they did not doubt but to finiſh the Work, and have plentiful Proviſion of Iron for them by the next *Eaſter*. At that Time the Fame of the Plenty and Riches in which the *Engliſh* lived there, was very great; and Sir *George Yardly* now had all the Appearance of making Amends for the Errors of his former Government. Nevertheleſs he let them run into the ſame Sleepineſs and Security as before, neglecting all Thoughts of a neceſſary Defence, which laid the Foundation of their following Calamities.

The *African* Trade, into which ſome Adventurers had endeavoured to penetrate, as we have ſhewn in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, had been very indifferently attended to; the Diſcoverers thereof wanting Stock and Power to maintain their Footing, and to carry on Traffic with the Natives. Wherefore it was reſolved to apply for a Charter; which was this Year granted to Sir *Robert Rich*, and other Citizens of *London*, to carry on the *African* Trade with a joint Stock, and excluſive Right of his Majeſty's Subjects, under the Penalty of the Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo, to the uſe of thoſe joint Adventurers, for their Encouragement.

The infant Company of joint Adventurers had ſcarce made the Experiment of two or three Voyages, when other private Merchants would alſo needs try their Fortunes, by interloping upon the ſame Coaſt. Upon the Diſcovery of this, Diſputes aroſe between them and the Company, which proceeded to an open Rupture; one Side inſiſting on their Privileges by Charter, and the other on their natural Right. At length, both Parties growing weary of theſe Debates, as well as their mutual Loſſes, withdrew the ſhattered Remains of their ſeveral and reſpective Stocks; by which means that Trade was again wholly neglected for ſome Years.

We come now to the only naval Expedition of Conſequence fitted out by the Crown in this Reign, which was a romantic Attempt, ſuppoſed to be made by the Inſtigation of Count *Gondomar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in order to humble the Foes of the King of *Spain*; and given to the Command of Sir *Robert Manſel* [a], Vice-admiral of *England*, aſſiſted by Sir *Richard Hawkins*, Sir *Thomas Button*, Sir *Henry Palmer*, *Arthur Manwaring*, Eſq; *Thomas Love*, Eſq; and *Samuel Argall*, Eſq; as a Council of War, and *Edward Clarke*, Eſq; Secretary of the Council of War, to humble the *Algerines*, who very much infeſted the *Spaniſh* Coaſts.

The Ships appointed for this Expedition were ſix of his Majeſty's Navy, and twelve hired from the Merchants, as follows:

His Majeſty's Ships.

Ships.	Tons	Men	Br. G.	Commanders.
The *Lion*, Admiral,	600	250	40	Sir *Robert Manſel*.
Vanguard, Vice-admiral,	660	250	40	Sir *Richard Hawkins*.
Rainbow, Rear-admiral,	660	250	40	Sir *Thomas Button*.
Conſtant Reformation,	660	250	40	Capt. *Arth. Manwaring*.
Antilope,	400	160	34	Sir *Henry Palmer*.
Convertine,	500	220	36	Capt. *Thomas Love*.

Merchant Ships.

Ships.	Tons	Men	Ir. G.	Commanders.
Golden Phœnix,	300	120	24	Capt. *Samuel Argall*.
Samuel,	300	120	22	Capt. *Chr. Harris*.
Marigold,	260	100	21	Sir *John Fearne*.
Zouch Phœnix,	280	120	26	Capt. *John Pennington*.
Barbary,	200	80	18	Capt. *Thomas Porter*.
Centurion,	200	100	22	Sir *Francis Tanfield*.
Primroſe,	180	80	18	Sir *John Hamdon*.
Hercules,	300	120	24	Capt. *Euſaby Cave*.
Neptune,	280	120	21	Capt. *Robert Haughton*.
Merchant Bonaventure,	260	110	23	Capt. *John Chidley*.
Reſtore,	130	50	12	Capt. *George Raymond*.
Marmaduke,	100	50	12	Capt. *Thomas Harbert*.

Some Writers are of Opinion, that this Armament was not ſo much owing to the Influence of *Gondomar*, as to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who, at the Inſtigation of Sir *Robert Manſel*, revived a Scheme propoſed originally by the Earl of *Nottingham*, before he laid down his Charge of Lord High-admiral, and now forwarded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in order to give a Reputation to his Abilities in the Management of Naval Affairs.

The King, however it was, was contrary to his own natural Inclination, and the Advice of Sir *William Monſon* [b], prevailed to fit out this formidable Fleet, which ſet ſail on the 12th of *October*, from *Plymouth*. The 31ſt they entered the Streights of *Gibraltar*, where the Admiral ſent his ſick Men aſhore.

The 6th of *November* the Admiral gave Orders to the Fleet to divide themſelves into three Squadrons. The Admiral's Squadron was to keep ſix Leagues from the Shore, with Pendants in their Main-tops; the Vice-admiral's, three Leagues without him, on his Bow, with Pendants on their Fore-tops; and their Rear-admiral, three Leagues within him, on his Quarter, with Pendants on their Mizzen-tops. The Fleet, being thus divided, ſteered away Eaſt and by South, along the Shore, for *Alicant*.

The 7th, early, it being calm, and all the Fleet together, the Admiral took in all her Sails, and lay ahull, all the Fleet doing the like, upon which the Admiral made a Signal for a general Council. All the Captains and Maſters being repaired aboard the Admiral, it was there concluded, that two Ships of the leaſt Draught of Water, and one Pinnace, ſhould hale the Shore cloſe aboard, to ſee if any Pirates were at Anchor, and to free the Shore. At the ſame time the Word was given, which was *Greenwich*.

The 19th they came to an Anchor in *Alicant* Road, where the Admiral again put his ſick Men aſhore, and ſtaid there till the 25th; and then the whole Fleet being provided with Wine, Water, and other Neceſſaries, ſet ſail for *Algiers*, leaving the *Good-will* behind them, out of which the Admiral took the moſt of the Men, to ſupply the Room of thoſe he was obliged to leave ſick aſhore.

The 27th they caſt Anchor in *Algier* Road, in 27 Fathom Water, out of the Command of the Town or Caſtle. They ſaluted the Town with their Ordnance, but were not anſwered with a ſingle Shot; the Admiral and the Rear-admiral wearing white Ancients, and the other Ships none. The next Day the Admiral ſent a Gentleman on-ſhore with a white Flag, to let the Viceroy know the Cauſe of their coming; and he returned an Anſwer by four Men, with a white Flag, that he had Orders from the Grand Signor to uſe the *Engliſh* with all Reſpect, and that their Men might have the free Liberty of the Shore, to buy what Proviſions they wanted. They likewiſe promiſed, if the Admiral would ſend any Gentleman of Diſtinction on-ſhore, the next Day, with the King's Letters, upon ſhooting off a Piece, the Admiral ſhould, according to his Demands, receive ſufficient Hoſtages on-board for his Safety. This Night, the Pirates brought in three Prizes, a *Fleming*, and two *Engliſhmen*, one of *Plymouth*, and the other of North *Yarmouth*.

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[a] A. D. 1620. Purchas, Vol. II. p. 881. Harris's Col. Part I. p. 369.

[b] Who gave his Advice, That this Expedition was raſh and ill-grounded, and would render the Britiſh Arms ridiculous.

The 29th the Admiral ſent the ſame Gentleman aſhore again with Letters, to give them Notice what Pledges he demanded for ſuch Gentlemen as were then ready to go aſhore with his Majeſty's Letters. About four in the Afternoon, the Admiral ſhot off a Piece of Ordnance, and, according to Promiſe, ſent Captain *John Roper*, in his Barge, accompanied with divers other Perſons of Diſtinction, to carry the King's Letter to the Baſhaw and the Divan; but, before they got aſhore, a Meſſage was brought, that the Chief of the Divan were out of Town, and the Pledges not ready; but that the next Morning they would not fail. They were not, however, ſo good as their Words.

The 2d of *December* the Admiral ſent Captain *Roper* onſhore again, with his Majeſty's Letters, and two of the chief Men of the Town were ſent on-board as Hoſtages. The 3d came in ſix *Spaniſh* Men of War, with an Admiral, who ſaluted the *Engliſh* Admiral, by ſtriking his Flag. He likewiſe went on-board, and told Sir *Robert*, that he came in Purſuit of ſome *Turkiſh* Pirates, who in an Engagement with a *Spaniſh* Ship of 700 Tons off of *Carthagena*, had carried off about 300 *Spaniards*, whoſe Ship being ſet on-fire, had been obliged to ſubmit to Slavery, to ſave their Lives. The *Spaniſh* Admiral ſailing up towards the Town, ſome Shot were exchanged, but no great Damage done on either Side. The 4th the Admiral received an Anſwer from the Town to the King's Letters.

The 6th, after many Debates, in which they found the *Turks* perfidious and fickle, as well in detaining the *Engliſh* Meſſenger, who delivered his Majeſty's Letters, tho' they had ſufficient Hoſtages for them, as in breaking all other Promiſes, it was finally concluded by them, that upon leaving a Conſul with them, they would let the *Engliſh* Meſſenger go on-board. Upon this, the Admiral ſent a common Man well cloathed, with the Name of a Conſul, whom they received with great Reſpect, and ſent a Meſſenger on-board, to receive their own Pledges. This done, they ſent the *Engliſh* 40 Captives on-board, pretending they were all they had, and this was all they could draw from them. The 7th the Admiral ſent a Letter on-ſhore, with Inſtructions to the pretended Conſul, and another to the Baſhaw, to let him know how ill he took his perfidious Dealing. The 8th they ſet ſail, being probably in want of Proviſions, for *Majorca*, with a Deſign to ſtay there till Spring. The 25th towards Night, eight or nine Sail of *Turks* fell into the Fleet, whom they chaſed and made divers Shot at them; but Night coming on, and they ſailing better than the *Engliſh*, they eſcaped, and the next Morning were out of Sight.

The 26th they put into *Alicant* Road, hoping there to receive Advice of a Supply of Proviſions from *England*, but were deceived. The 27th at Night, the Rear-admiral's Squadron put to Sea, and purſued two *Turks*, who had but three Hours before taken two *Flemiſh* Ships, whoſe Men were eſcaped in their Boats: But the 29th he returned without Succeſs. Between this and the 10th of *January* 1621, ſeveral Ships were ſent out at different times, in Purſuit of Pirates, but to no Purpoſe.

The 12th a Packet of Letters came from *Carthagena*, bearing date the 14th of *December*, from *England*, with Advice that there were Proviſions for ſix Months for the whole Fleet ſent out of *England*; and the Meſſenger who brought the Packet, brought at the ſame time Advice that they were arrived at *Malaga*.

The 21ſt there came a *Flemiſh* Boat, with 15 Men, on-board the Admiral, who being chaſed by the *Turks*, off of Cape *Martin*, left their Ship. This Day, as well as ſeveral of the foregoing and enſuing Days, divers Ships were ſent out in queſt of the *Turks*; but all returned without having ſeen any.

The 25th Captain *Roper* was diſpatched with Letters to *England*, and the 27th the Remainder of the Fleet ſet ſail, leaving only the *Marmaduke* behind, whoſe Captain and Maſter were both ſick on-ſhore.

The 28th they met with ſeven Sail of *Flemings*, all Men of War, under Command of the Admiral of *Zealand*, who went on board the *Engliſh* Admiral the next Day, and told him he had 22 Ships of War under his Command, which he had divided into Squadrons, and employed them to cruiſe, ſome without, and ſome within the Streights.

The 16th of *February*, being in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, the Supply of Proviſions from *England* joined them, conſiſting of the *Mercury*, of 240 Tons, 65 Men, and 20 Braſs-guns, under the Command of Captain *Pet*; and the *Spy*, of 160 Tons, 55 Men, and 18 Braſs-guns, commanded by *Edward Giles*, together with two Merchant-ſhips.

From this time to the 29th of *April*, when the Fleet arrived in the Road of *Majorca*, little or nothing remarkable happened, excepting that being ſome time after their Departure from *Gibraltar* at *Alicant*, the Admiral there bought three Brigantines, which rowed with nine Oars on a Side, hired a Polacre of 120 Tons, which was ſaid to be an excellent Sailor, and prepared divers Neceſſaries for firing of the *Turkiſh* Ships, within the Mold of *Algiers*, which was the firſt Attempt they propoſed.

The 21ſt of *May* 1621, after having ſufficiently watered, and refreſhed at *Majorca*, they came to Anchor again at *Algiers*, where the Fleet was ſtationed in the following Manner: The King's Ships, and the *Golden-Phenix*, came to an Anchor, upon a South and North Line, the Admiral riding in the midſt of them, Eaſt of the South-end of the Mold. Next to the Admiral, on the North-ſide, came to an Anchor the *Reformation*, the *Golden-Phenix* on the South, the *Convertine*, on the South-ſide, the *Phenix* and the *Antelope*, on the North-ſide the *Reformation*, the Vice-admiral innermoſt on the South-ſide, the Rear-admiral outermoſt, on the North-ſide.

The King's Ships being thus ſtationed, the reſt of the Fleet came aſtern of the Admirals of their reſpective Squadrons, and there anchored, the Wind being then Weſterly. The next Day, ſix of the Merchant-ſhips were ordered to ply about to the Weſtward near the Shore, to prevent any Pirates coming in, between the Fleet and the Shore. Preparations were likewiſe immediately made, for executing the Deſign which was projected of firing the Ships in the Mold, which was propoſed to be done that Night. Two Ships taken from the *Turks*, one of 100, and the other of 60 Tons, were to be the Inſtruments of this Project. They were filled with dry Wood, Oakham, Pitch, Roſin, Tar, Brimſtone, and all manner of combuſtible Matter, and provided with Chains and Grappling-irons, and Boats to bring the Men off; next them followed the three Brigantines, which the Admiral bought at *Alicant*, with Fire-balls, Buckets of Wild-fire, and Fire-pikes, to faſten their Fireworks to the Enemy's Ships. They had alſo a Gunlod, fitted up with Fire-works, Chains and Grappling-irons: The Gunlod was to be fired in the midſt of the Ships in the Mold, having likewiſe a Boat to bring off her Men. There were alſo ſeven Boats, manned with armed Men, to reſcue the Boats of the Fire-ſhips, if purſued by other Boats and Gallies, at their coming off: Theſe had ſome Fireworks too, to fire the Ships without the Mold.

The Wind not offering, the Attempt was put off till the 24th; the Wind being then at S. S. W. the Ships advanced, with a briſk Gale, towards the Mold, but when they were within leſs than a Muſket-ſhot of the Mold's Head, the Weather grew ſo calm, they could not enter. However, the Boats and Brigantines finding they were diſcovered by the Brightneſs of the Moon, which was then at full, and hearing by a Chriſtian Slave, who ſwam from the Town, that the *Turks* had left their Ships unguarded, with only a Man or two in a Ship, not being apprehenſive of any Attempt; and beſides, hearing the Alarm given to the Town, by the Sentinels on the Walls, went on with a full Reſolution to perform their Part of the Deſign; but wanting Wind to nouriſh and diſperſe the Fire, the Fire-works took no Effect.

In this Service only ſix Men were killed, four or five dangerouſly wounded, who died ſoon after, and about 13 ſlightly hurt. A ſmall Number, conſidering the Attempt was made under the Walls of the Town, from whence both their Ordnance and ſmall Shot played continually upon them. The Damage they did ſuſtain was at their coming off; for they got into the Mold before the Town was alarmed, and while they were in it, the Ships lying between them and the Town, ſcreened them from the Enemy's Shot. And thus this Expedition ended with little Succeſs, and as little Honour.

The 25th the Fleet weighed Anchor, and ſtood off to Sea; and the ſame Day, four Sail of Pirates got into the Harbour by the Weſtermoſt Point of Land, notwithſtanding all their Endeavours to prevent it. The 28th the *Bonaventure* and the *Hercules* ran a Pirate aſhore, who had 130 *Turks* aboard, and 12 Chriſtian Captives. They were all drowned but 12 *Turks*, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming.

The 30th they entered the Bay again, and anchored at three Miles Diſtance from the Town; and the next Day two *Genoeſe* Slaves, who ventured to ſwin from the Town, told them, that the ſame Night they put out to Sea, ſeven of the beſt Ships belonging to *Algiers* came into the Mold, which would neceſſarily have fallen into their Hands. They likewiſe told them, that ſince the laſt Attempt, the *Turks* had boomed up the Mold, ſo that it was impoſſible for either Ship or Boat to get in to fire their Ships, which beſides they had now filled with armed Men, and had placed three Gallies, with 15 Boats, without the Mold, before the Boom, to guard it.

They continued however in the Road till the 4th of *June*, during which time their Cruiſers took and brought in a Ship coming from *Legborn*, and bound for *Algiers*, laden with *Venice* Cloth, *Legborn* Diſhes, and other Commodities, beſides 2 or 3000 *l.* in ready Money.

I omit, for Brevity's Sake, the farther Circumſtances of the Fleet's Departure from *Algiers*, and ſailing for the Coaſts of *Spain*, where they ſeparated, ſome going to *Cadiz*, and ſome returning to *England*.

This ill-concerted Enterpriſe had no other Effect, than that of expoſing our own Commerce to the Inſults of the *Algerines*, who did us a great deal of Miſchief, while we did them little or none; tho' two other Fleets were afterwards ſent againſt them, one under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the other under that of the Earl of *Denbigh*; but both did ſo little, that very few of our Hiſtories take any Notice of them. Sir *William Monſon* has made ſome ſevere, but juſt Obſervations, upon theſe Undertakings, and particularly remarks, that notwithſtanding the whole Nation was grievouſly offended, as they will always be at ſuch Miſcarriages, yet they never had any Satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raiſe that Spirit which vented itſelf afterwards in a Civil War.

Sir *William Monſon* alſo obſerves of this Expedition; that tho' the Deſign of it was to find out and deſtroy the Pirates of *Algiers*, yet the Fleet ſent out for that Purpoſe, beſides their going and coming, did not ſpend 20 Days at Sea whilſt they continued in the Streights, but retired into Harbour, where the Pirates might find them, but not they the Pirates.

This ill-carried Action (continues he) was a ſufficient Subject of Scorn for all Nations to laugh at, conſidering the Reputation this Realm had gained in their former Expeditions by Sea: And yet the chief Actors in that Voyage, like Men naturally given to excuſe their Errors, gave out to juſtify themſelves, and it was afterwards believed by all Men, That the Want of Authority, and their limited Commiſſion, was the Cauſe of their ill Succeſs.

The *Portugueſe*, reſolved to rout the *Engliſh* out of the *Perſian* Trade, did this Year way-lay our *India* Ships [a], at the Eaſtern-end of *Jaques* Road. But the *Engliſh* were not to be intimidated; and upon the firſt Information of their Deſign, ſailed forward to give them Battle [b]; having in Company a *Portugueſe* Ship, taken by them a few Days before, laden with Dates and Raiſins, but principally with *Arabian* Horſes, which they were tranſporting from *Muſcat* to *Chaul*.

They came up with the Guarda-coſtas; and the Engagement, which preſently began, laſted nine Hours, till Night obliged them to part. The *Portugueſe* ſteered off, and permitted the *Engliſh* quietly to land the Company's Money and Goods, not daring to return to Action till they had got a freſh Supply of Men and Ammunition from *Ormus*, four Days after; with which, returning to the Attack, the *Engliſh* received them with ſo much Bravery, that tho' the *Portugueſe*, for a time, ſeemed to be determined to conquer or die, they at laſt made off with the greateſt Precipitation. The *Engliſh* loſt their Admiral in this laſt Engagement; but received very little Loſs beſides, either in their Men or Ships.

The Puritans in this Reign being greatly diſcouraged, ſeveral of them withdrew to *Holland*, where they were permitted to indulge themſelves in their religious Principles; but finding themſelves hampered with many Inconveniences and Hardſhips, which are always incident to Republican Governments, they caſt their Thoughts upon the *American* Plantations, (which now began to gain great Eſteem in *Europe* for their Healthfulneſs, Plenty, and many Advantages) as a Place where they might be permitted to enjoy Liberty of Conſcience, denied them in their native Country, and find more certain Means to provide for their Families.

This Thought was ſo improved by their Miniſter, one Mr. *Robinſon*, who was at the Head of an Independent Congregation at *Leyden*, and Mr. *William Brewſter*, that by the Intereſt of Sir *Robert Naunton*, Secretary of State, they obtained King *James*'s Licence to tranſport a Colony of their own People, and to enjoy Liberty of Conſcience, in ſuch Part of *America* as ſhould be agreed upon for their Settlement.

Mr. *Robinſon* did not live to proceed in the Voyage; but Mr. *Brewſter* having contracted with the Company for a large Tract of Land, in the South-weſt Parts of *New-England*, he and his Companions embarked at *Delft*, ſailed to *Southampton*, and joined another Ship, with ſeveral of the ſame Stamp on-board; and arrived at Cape *Cod*, the moſt remarkable Point of *New-England*, in the Beginning of *November*.

They came to an Anchor in the Bay, and found it very good and commodious, capable of entertaining 1000 Sail, and giving ſufficient Recruits of Wood and Water. Here being arrived on the Coaſt they intended to poſſeſs, they reſolved upon a Form of Government before they landed, and ſigned an Inſtrument, as the Foundation of it, whereby they declared themſelves "to be Subjects of the Crown "of *England*, joining in a Body-politic, and ſolemnly engaging Submiſſion and Obedience to the Laws, *&c.* "that ſhould, from Time to Time, be made for the Good "of the Colony," dated the 11th of *November* 1620; and choſe Mr. *John Carver* to be their Governor.

Having ſurveyed the Coaſt, and ſeveral Miles within Land, on the 23d of *December*, they pitched upon a Spot on the main Land, a high Ground, where there was a great deal of Land cleared, that had been uſed to Corn, and was well watered with Springs and Brooks. Near it was a good Harbour for Shipping, and other Conveniencies. This Harbour was a Bay, larger than Cape *Cod*, and ſo near it, that from a Hill adjacent, where they propoſed to build their Fort, it was to be ſeen. In this Bay were two fine Iſlands, *Rhode* and *Elizabeth* Iſlands. They, dividing themſelves into 19 Families, built Houſes; and in three or four Months Space the Foundations of a Town appeared.

About this Place they found no People; but were told by an *Indian*, who came to them from the next Part which was inhabited, that the Natives there had all died lately of a Plague. This Savage brought ſome of the neighbouring People to them, with whom they concluded Peace and Amity.

They had yet no Authority from *England* to confirm them in their Poſſeſſions, this Place being too far to the Northward of that they had treated for. And till they were empowered to proceed legally, by Charter from the King, they agreed among themſelves to chuſe Rulers, who were, as near as poſſible, to govern them by the Laws of *England*.

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[a] The Eaſt-India Company fitted out four new Ships, the London of 800 Tons, the Hart of 500, the Roebuck of 300, and the Eagle of 280 Tons, and committed them to the Care of Captain Andrew Shilling, as chief Commander. Harris's Collection, Part I. p. 203. Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 723 and 728.

[b] The Portugueſe Fleet conſiſted of four Galleons, two Galliots, and about 10 Frigates more attending with Supplies of Men and Ammunition, and lay at the Eaſtern-end of Jaques Road.

The following Year, this new Colony was reinforced with 35 Men from *England*, and ſupplied with Proviſions and Neceſſaries, and called *New Plymouth* in *New England*.

King *James* afterwards confirmed their Poſſeſſion by a Patent, and (reſerving the Sovereignty to the Crown of *England*) thereby enabled them to chuſe a Governor, Council, and General-court, in manner of a Parliament, who ſhould have full Power of Adminiſtration, Execution, *&c.*

Neither the Influence of *Gondomar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had compaſſed the Death of the brave *Raleigh*, by his Intereſt with the Court, nor the unhappy Exit of that great Man, could deter the *Engliſh* from further Attempts to ſettle in *Guiana*. Captain *Roger North*, Brother to Lord *Dudley North*, who had accompanied Sir *Walter* in his laſt Expedition, applied for a Patent to ſettle a Colony and a Trade on that Continent, near the River of *Amazons*, which he obtained; and tho' *Harcourt*'s Patent was not expired, he erected a ſort of Company for carrying on a Trade with *Guiana*.

He ſailed from *Plymouth* the laſt Day of *April* 1620, accompanied with 120 Gentlemen and others, in one Ship, a Pinnace, and two Shallops. They arrived in ſeven Weeks, and run ſome hundreds of Leagues upon the River, where they found both the Country and People very much to their Satisfaction; and having finiſhed his Trade, the Captain left a good Number of his Company there, and came back himſelf, with ſuch a Quantity of Commodities, as would have made this a profitable Voyage, had not King *James* been again deluded by Count *Gondomar*, and prevailed upon to impriſon this Gentleman twice in the *Tower*, and to detain his Goods till they were ſpoiled. Tho' ſome of his Company ſtaid there ſeveral Years, this put an End to the Project for the preſent.

The *Algerines* at this Time ſo infeſted the Seas, eſpecially about the *Streights* Mouth, that our Trade ſuffered greatly by their Piracies. Amongſt other Ships that were taken by them, were the *Jacob* of *Briſtol*, and the *Nicholas* of *Plymouth*[*], which are worthy of a Place in this Hiſtory. The *Turks* took all the Men out of the *Jacob* but four, and ſent 13 of their own on-board, to bring the Prize to *Algiers*, appointing one of the Number Captain over the reſt. The Captives, who were left on-board of the *Engliſh* Ship, were under diſmal Apprehenſions of what they muſt ſuffer, in caſe they were carried to *Algiers*; and to free themſelves from ſo terrible a Slavery, reſolved upon ſome Attempt. Providence favoured them with an Opportunity, in the following manner: The fifth Night after their being taken, they had a great Storm; the Captain, in the Diſtreſs, lending his Hand to ſtrike the Sails, two of the *Engliſh* gave him a Toſs over-board. He had almoſt got in again, by the Help of a Rope he catched hold of, but was knocked down with the Handle of a Pump. In the Confuſion of the Storm, the reſt of the *Turks* did not mind it. This done, one of them ſtepped to the Maſter's Cabbin, paſſing by ſix or ſeven *Turks*, and fetched two Cutlaſſes, with which, ſurpriſing the Pirates, they drove them from one Part of the Ship to another, killed two, and made a third leap over-board; the other nine they drove betwixt Decks, and forced them under the Hatches. They made uſe of them by two and three at a Time, as needful; and brought the Ship into *St. Lucar* in *Spain*, where they ſold the *Turks* for Slaves.

The *Nicholas* was a ſmall Veſſel of 40 Tons, which was commanded by one *John Rawlins*, and was bound to the *Streights*, in Company with the *Bonaventure* of 70 Tons. The 18th of *November* they came in ſight of *Gibralter*, where they diſcovered five Ships making all the Sail they could towards them, whom they ſoon perceived to be Pirates, and endeavoured to reach *Gibralter*, but in vain. The Admiral of the *Turks* came up with the *Bonaventure*, and took her; and the Vice-admiral, ſoon after, obliged *Rawlins* to ſtrike. The ſame Day the Admiral put on-ſhore 12 of the *Bonaventure*'s Crew, with ſome other *Engliſh* Captives taken before; but the Vice admiral ordered *Rawlins*, and five more, to be brought on-board him, leaving three Men and a Boy, with 13 *Turks*, aboard the Prize. The Night after they had a Storm, in which they loſt ſight of the *Engliſh* Prize, the *Nicholas*. The 22d, the Vice-admiral, with *Rawlins* on-board, arrived at *Algier*, but heard no News of the Bark. The 26th, *Rawlins*'s Bark came into the Road, when the Priſoners were all carried to the Baſhaw, who, having choſen one of them for himſelf, the reſt were all carried to Market and ſold.

Rawlins was bought by the Captain who took him, at a very low Price, becauſe he had a lame Hand; but perceiving this rendered him almoſt unfit for any Work, ſold him again, with two more of his Men, to one *John Goodal*, an *Engliſh* Renegado, who, with his Partners, had bought the *Exchange* of *Briſtol*, a Ship formerly taken by the Pirates, which at that time lay unrigged in the Mold, and for which they wanted ſome ſkilful Sailors.

The 7th of *January* 1622, the Ship was fitted, and the ſame Day hauled out of the Mold. They had 12 caſt Guns in her, 63 *Moors* or *Turks*, nine *Engliſh* Slaves, one *Frenchman* and four *Hollanders*, that were free Men; and for their Gunners, they had two Soldiers, one an *Engliſh*, and the other a *Dutch* Renegado.

Rawlins brooked his Slavery ſo ill, that from the firſt Moment of his going on-board, he began to think of attempting his Liberty. To this end, he privately furniſhed himſelf with Ropes, broad Specks of Iron, and Iron-crows, to tie faſt the Scuttles, Gratings, and Cabbins, and even to ſhut up the Captain himſelf, and all his Company; and ſo to manage the Matter, that upon the Watch-word given, the *Engliſh*, being Maſters of the Gun-room, Ordnance and Powder, might either blow them up, or kill them as they came out of the Cabbins. He diſcovered his Deſign by degrees to the four *Hollanders*, who offered to join with them, and brought over the Renegadoes their Countrymen, while the *Engliſh* engaged the Renegado of their Nation.

All this while, *Rawlins* perſuaded the Captain to bear Northwards, they having already paſſed the *Streights* Mouth. The 16th of *February*, they took a Bark of *Torbay*, laden with Salt. They took out all the Men, the Mate and two more excepted, and put 10 *Turks*, with the two *Dutch* Renegadoes, and the *Engliſh* Renegado, who were in the Plot, on-board the Prize. Before they went on-board, *Rawlins* aſſured them, he would make his Attempt that Night or the next, and gave them a Signal by which they might know when he was about it, adviſing them to acquaint the *Engliſh*, in the Bark, with their Deſign, and to ſteer towards the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

The next Morning, the Prize being out of Sight, put the Captain out of Humour; and *Rawlins*, fearing leſt he might return to *Algiers*, thought it high time to put his Deſign in Execution. Having made the Maſter of the Bark, and the new-made Slaves, acquainted with it, he brought the Captain Word, that there was a great deal of Water below, and that it did not come to the Pumps, becauſe the Ship was too far after the Head; ſo Orders were given for quitting the Cables, and bringing four Guns aſtern: Accordingly, two of them were brought with their Mouths right before the Bittacle; and it was concluded, that they who did belong to the Gun-room, among whom *Rawlins* was one, ſhould be all there, and break up the lower Deck; the *Engliſh* Slaves, in the middle Deck, ſhould do the ſame, and watch the Scuttles. *Rawlins* got as much Powder of the Gunner as would prime the Pieces; and then pretended to the Captain, that to right the Ship, all Hands muſt work at the Pump. While this was doing, two Matches were brought, one between two Spoons, and the other in a Can, for Secrecy; and immediately one of the Guns was diſcharged, which broke the Bittacle in Pieces. This Noiſe gathered all the *Engliſh* together, who cleared the Hold of what *Moors* and *Turks* had been left below. The *Turks* at the Poop were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at it, and endeavoured what they could to break in upon the *Engliſh*; but they, having ſeized the Powder, ſlew many of them thro' the Scout-holes, with their own Muſkets, ſo that they ſoon cried for Mercy. They were ordered to come down, one by one; but the Rage of the *Engliſh* was ſo great, that they killed ſome of them after they came down, which was the Occaſion that ſeveral leaped into the Sea; ſo that of 45, they brought only the Captain and five more into *Plymouth*, where they arrived the 15th of *February* 1622.

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[*] A. D. 1621. Harris, Part I. p. 370. 1ſt Edition.

The *Torbay* bark arrived at *Penzance* in *Cornwall*, having all along perſuaded the *Turks* they were going to *Algiers*, till they came in ſight of *England*, and then, getting them down to trim the Salt, nailed down the Hatches upon them; and being come into Harbour, carried the *Turks* to *Exeter*.

King *James*, in 1622, granted his Letters-patents to Sir *William Alexander*, his Secretary of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for ſettling a Colony on that Tract of Land, called by us *Nova Scotia*, which he named *New Scotland*, to be held of the Crown of *Scotland*, and to be governed by the Laws of that Kingdom [a]; which had been almoſt entirely neglected by the *Engliſh*, from the time of its firſt Diſcovery by *Cabot*, as related at large on p. 151, *&c.* of this Hiſtory.

The *Virginian* Colony had this Year like to have been entirely cut off by the *Indian* Natives. The great Increaſe of People, and the long Quiet they had enjoyed among the *Indians*, ſince the Marriage of *Pocahontas*, and the Acceſſion of *Oppechancanough* to the Imperial Crown, had lulled them into a fatal Security; they were become every where familiar with the *Indians*, eating, drinking, and ſleeping amongſt them; by which means they became perfectly acquainted with all our *Engliſh* Strength, and the Uſe of our Arms; knowing at all times, when and where to find our People; whether at home, or in the Woods; in Bodies, or diſperſt; in condition of Defence, or indefencible. This expoſing of their Weakneſs gave them Occaſion to think more contemptibly of them, than otherwiſe perhaps they would have done; for which Reaſon they became more peeviſh, and more hardy to attempt any thing againſt them.

Thus upon the Loſs of one of their leading Men (a War Captain as they call him) who was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be juſtly killed by two *Engliſh* Boys, *Oppechancanough* [b] took Affront, and in Revenge laid the Plot of a general Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, to be executed on the 22d of *March* 1622, a little before Noon, at a time when our Men were all at work abroad in their Plantations, diſperſt and unarmed. This helliſh Contrivance was to take Effect upon all the ſeveral Settlements at one and the ſame Inſtant, except on the Eaſtern Shore, whither this Plot did not reach. The *Indians* had been made ſo familiar with the *Engliſh*, as to borrow their Boats and Canoes to croſs the Rivers in, when they went to conſult with their neighbouring *Indians* upon this execrable Conſpiracy; and, to colour their Deſign the better, they brought Preſents of Deer, Turkies, Fiſh and Fruits to the *Engliſh*, the Evening before. The very Morning of the Maſſacre, they came freely and unarmed among them, eating with them, and behaving themſelves with the ſame Freedom and Friendſhip as formerly, till the very Minute they were to put their Plot in Execution. Then they fell to work all at once every where, knocking the *Engliſh* unawares on the Head, ſome with their Hatchets, which they call *Tommahauks*, others with the Hows and Axes of the *Engliſh* themſelves, ſhooting at thoſe who eſcaped the Reach of their Hands; ſparing neither Age nor Sex, but deſtroying Man, Woman and Child, according to their cruel Way of leaving none behind to bear Reſentment. But whatever was not done by Surpriſe that Day, was left undone, and many that made early Reſiſtance eſcaped.

By the Account taken of the Chriſtians murdered that Morning, they were found to be 34 , moſt of them falling by their own Inſtruments and Working-tools.

The Maſſacre had been much more general, had not this Plot been providentially diſcovered to the *Engliſh* ſome Hours before the Execution by two *Indians*, that uſed to be employed by the *Engliſh* to hunt for them, who happened to lie together, the Night before the Maſſacre, in an *Engliſhman*'s Houſe, where one of them was employed. The *Indian* that was the Gueſt, fell to perſuading the other to riſe and kill his Maſter, telling him, that he would do the ſame by his own the next Day; whereupon he diſcovered the whole Plot that was deſigned to be executed on the Morrow. But the other, inſtead of entering into the Plot, and murdering his Maſter, got up (under Pretence of going to execute his Comrade's Advice) went into his Maſter's Chamber, and revealed to him the whole Story that he had been told. The Maſter hereupon aroſe, ſecured his own Houſe, and before Day got to *James-town*, which, together with ſuch Plantations as could receive Notice time enough, was ſaved by this means; the reſt, as they happened to be watchful in their Defence, alſo eſcaped; but ſuch as were ſurpriſed, were maſſacred. Captain *Croſhaw* in his Veſſel at *Patowmeck*, had Notice alſo given him by a young *Indian*, by which means he came off untouch'd.

It is ſaid, that this Maſſacre frightened away ſeveral Families, who ſettled themſelves in *Carolina*, at the Head of the River *May*, and Province of *Mallica* [c]. But we can't affirm this to be Truth; for it was many Years after, before there appears the leaſt Attempt to eſtabliſh that Colony, now ſo called.

The *Dutch* in the Year 1619 had concluded a Treaty with *England*, whereby it was agreed, That in regard [d] of the great Blood-ſhed and Coſt, pretended to be beſtowed by the *Dutch*, in winning the Trade of the Iſles of the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch* ſhould enjoy two-thirds of that Trade, and the *Engliſh* the other third.

This encouraged the *Engliſh* to place Factories at the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; the laſt of which is the principal Place in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where Nutmegs, Mace, Cinnamon, and Cloves grow. But the *Engliſh* had not been ſettled here above two Years, before the *Dutch*, in order to deprive them of their Share of the Spice-trade, pretended a Plot was formed between the *Engliſh* and the Natives, to get Poſſeſſion of the *Dutch* Fort, and to expel them the Iſland; tho' they had but 20 Men upon it, and the *Dutch* above 200 Garriſon-ſoldiers in the Caſtle, and eight Ships riding in the Road.

The ſlender (or rather, no) Pretence upon which this Suſpicion of a Plot was founded, was this: A *Japoneſe*, at *Amboyna*, walking in the Night of the 11th of *February*, upon the Wall of that Place, aſked a *Dutch* Sentinel ſome

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[a] Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 1871. Harris, Part I. p. 859.

[b] The Occaſion upon which Oppechancanough took Affront, was this: The War Captain mentioned before to have been killed, was called Nemattanow. He was an active Indian, a great Warrior, and in much Eſteem among them; ſo much, that they believed him to be invulnerable, and immortal, becauſe he had been in very many Conflicts, and eſcaped untouched from them all. He was alſo a very cunning Fellow, and took great Pride in preſerving and increaſing this their Superſtition concerning him, affecting every thing that was odd and prodigious to work upon their Admiration. For which Purpoſe he would often dreſs himſelf up with Feathers after a fantaſtic Manner, and by much Uſe of that Ornament, obtained among the Engliſh the Nick-name of Jack of the Feathers. This Nemattanow coming to a private Settlement of one Morgan, who had ſeveral Toys which he had a mind to, perſuaded him to go to Pamunky, to diſpoſe of them. He gave him Hopes what mighty Bargains he might meet with there, and kindly offered him his Aſſiſtance. At laſt Morgan yielded to his Perſuaſion: But was no more heard of; and it is believed, that Nemattanow killed him by the Way, and took away his Treaſure. For within a few Days, this Nemattanow returned to the ſame Houſe with Morgan's Cap upon his Head; where he found two ſturdy Boys, who aſked for their Maſter. He very frankly told them, he was dead. But they, knowing the Cap again, ſuſpected the Villain had killed their Maſter, and would have had him before a Juſtice of Peace: But he refuſed to go, and very inſolently abuſed them. Whereupon they ſhot him down, and as they were carrying him to the Governor, he died. As he was dying, he earneſtly preſſed the Boys to promiſe him two Things: Firſt, That they would not tell how he was killed; and, Secondly, That they would bury him among the Engliſh. So great was the Pride of this vain Heathen, that he had no other Thoughts at his Death, but the Ambition of being eſteemed after he was dead, as he had endeavoured to make them believe of him while he was alive, viz. that he was invulnerable and immortal; tho' his increaſing Faintneſs convinced himſelf of the Falſity of both. He imagined that being buried among the Engliſh, perhaps, might conceal his Death from his own Nation, who might think him tranſlated to ſome happier Country. Thus he pleaſed himſelf to the laſt Gaſp with the Boys Promiſes to carry on the Deluſion. This was reckoned all the Provocation given to that haughty and revengeful Man Oppechancanough, to act this bloody Tragedy, and to take indefatigable Pains to engage in ſo horrid Villainy all the Kings and Nations bordering upon the Engliſh Settlements, on the Weſtern Shore of Cheſepeak.

[c] Britiſh Empire in America, p. 329. Vol. I.

[d] Purchas, Vol. III. p. 1853. Appendix to Harris's Collection. Stubbe's Juſtification of the Dutch War, &c. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 170.

Queſtions, about the Strength of the Caſtle, and the People who were in it, which he had Reaſon to do, that he might underſtand the Courſe of their Watches, and the Strength of the Aid he might expect, if any ſudden Attempt ſhould happen in his Quarter, where he ſerved the *Dutch*, upon Occaſion, as a Soldier. The *Dutch*, who wanted a Pretence to make a Plot, laid hold of this Opportunity to wreek their Malice upon the *Engliſh*, and having apprehended the *Japoneſe*, put him to the Torture, and extorted from him a Confeſſion, that himſelf and others of his Countrymen, by the Inſtigation of the *Engliſh*, had contrived to take the Caſtle: Whereupon other *Japoneſe* were alſo examined and tortured, as alſo a *Portugueſe*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*, which laſted three or four Days.

During this Examination, the *Engliſh* went freely to the Caſtle, and heard of their Accuſation and Torture; but being conſcious of their own Innocence, never offered to fly. At the ſame time, *Abel Price*, Surgeon to the *Engliſh*, being a Priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering to ſet a *Dutch* Houſe on-fire, in his Drunkenneſs, was told that the *Japoneſe*, whom they ſhewed him moſt grievouſly tortured, had confeſſed that the *Engliſh* had conſpired with them, on New-year's-day, to take the Caſtle, and that if he would not confeſs, they would uſe him as bad, or worſe than the *Japoneſe*. Whereupon having given him the Torture, he quickly confeſſed whatever they aſked him, on *February* the 15th.

The ſame Day they ſent for Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* who were in the Town, who came all but one to the Governor's. He told them they were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and were to remain Priſoners till farther Trial; after this, they preſently ſeized him who was left at home in the Houſe, took the Merchandiſe of the *Engliſh* Company into their Cuſtody, by Inventory, and ſeized all the Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings, and other Things, in the *Engliſh* Houſe. Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers; *Emanuel Tomſon* was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle, and the reſt, being ſeven, *viz. John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were ſent on-board the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour, and were all put in Irons. The ſame Day the Governor ſent to the two leſſer Factories in the ſame Iſland, and apprehended *Colſon*, *Clark*, and *Sharrock*, at *Hitta*; and *Coſlins*, *Webber*, and *Sadler*, at *Larica*; and they were all brought Priſoners to the Caſtle the 16th, which Day three more were apprehended at *Cambello*, and three more at *Lobo*, two little Factories of the *Engliſh*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna*, the 20th.

Having thus extorted by Torture from the *Japoneſe*, and others, a Declaration of what they knew to be falſe, they proceeded in the next Place to torture the *Engliſh* whom they had ſeized, to make them confeſs themſelves, and one another, to be guilty of this pretended Conſpiracy. The Manner of their Torture was as follows: They firſt hoiſed the Perſon to be tortured by the Hands upon a large Door, where they made him faſt upon two Staples of Iron, at the Top of the Door-poſts, with his Hands ſtretched out as wide as they could endure: Then his Feet being raiſed two Foot from the Ground, they ſtretched them out as far as they could, and faſtened them to the Door on each Side. After this, they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face ſo cloſe, that little or no Water could go by, and then poured Water ſoftly upon his Head, until the Cloth was full, up to the Mouth and Noſtrils, and ſomewhat higher, ſo that he could not draw Breath, but he muſt ſuck in the Water, which being ſtill continued to be poured in ſoftly, forced his inward Parts, came out of his Noſe, Ears, and Eyes, and many times ſo ſtifled him, and took away his Breath, that he fell into a ſwooning Fit, which as ſoon as they perceived, they quickly took him down, and made him vomit up the Water. But after he was a little recovered, they drew him up again, and poured in the Water, as before, ſtill taking him down as ſoon as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this manner they handled him, three or four ſeveral times, with Water, till his Body was ſwelled twice or thrice as big as before, he Checks were like great Bladders, and his Eyes ſtared out beyond his Forehead; and if he would not accuſe himſelf and others of the Conſpiracy, after all this Torture, as ſeveral of them did not, then they hoiſed him up again, as before, and burnt him with lighted Candles in the Bottom of his Feet, until the Fat dropping put out the Candles, and then applied freſh Lights to him. They burnt him alſo under the Elbows, on the Palms of the Hands, and under the Arms-pits, until his inward Parts might plainly be ſeen. And after he was thus wearied and over-come with Torments, if he did not make any Confeſſion of himſelf, they propoſed to him leading Queſtions of their own framing, to which he anſwered, Yes; and this was taken for his Confeſſion, and produced as Evidence againſt himſelf and others, tho' he denied it upon Oath before and after the Torture. But to finiſh their Barbarity; the Perſon who had been thus martyred was carried away to a Dungeon, where he lay five or ſix Days, without any Surgeon to dreſs him, until his Fleſh being putrified, great Maggots dropped and crept from him, in a moſt loathſome and nauſeous Manner. Beſides all this, ſome had their Toes ſlit, and their Breaſts lanced, and then Gun-powder being put into the Wounds, was ſet fire to.

Of the *Engliſh* who were examined, ſome endured this Torture by Fire and Water to the laſt Extremity, before they were forced to confeſs what they never knew, as *Tomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Collins*, and *Clark*. Others endured the Torture of Water for an Hour or two, before they could be brought to accuſe themſelves, and others, of this pretended Conſpiracy, as *Brown*, *Collins*, *Wetheral*, *Fardo*, &c. Others being terrified with the Fear of Torture, which produced dreadful Effects in others, choſe rather to confeſs all they were aſked, or to deviſe a Lie to ſave themſelves from Torment.

But moſt of them, at the time of the Examination, before or after the forced Confeſſion of a Deſign to ſeize the Caſtle, declared and proteſted their Innocence, and the Falſhood of all they had ſaid in accuſing others of a Conſpiracy, as *Collins*, *Sharrock*, &c. and ſo *Colſon*, *Grigs*, and *Fardo*, being brought to confront Captain *Towerſon* (who deeply proteſted his Innocence) fell down upon their Knees, and praying God to forgive them, declared that all they had ſaid againſt him was falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid Torment; tho' after that, being threatned with the Torture, they then affirmed their former pretended Confeſſions.

All the *Engliſh* who were condemned to die (ſome being either acquitted or pardoned by the Intereſt of their *Dutch* Friends) did, after Sentence, ſolemnly vow and proteſt, as they hoped for Pardon and Salvation, that themſelves, and all whom they had charged were innocent of the Crime for which they died. So Captain *Towerſon*, at the End of a Schedule, writes: “That he was innocent of what was laid to his Charge, for which he was then to die.” And *Grigs*, who had accuſed him, writes in his Table-book, in the Name of himſelf, *Beaumont*, *Price*, and *Brown*, “That by extreme Torture they were conſtrained to ſay what they never meant, and take it upon their Death, that they died guiltleſs of the Accuſation laid to their Charge.” And *Colſon* writes, “That upon his Salvation, as he hoped for Redemption by the Death of Chriſt, he was clear of that Conſpiracy for which he was to die, neither did he know any *Engliſhman* guilty thereof.” And, in another Writing, he declares, “That he did confeſs what, as he hopes to be ſaved, is not true (particularly againſt Captain *Towerſon*) being forced, for fear of Torment; and that as he hopes for Pardon of his Sins, he knows no more of this Buſineſs than the Child unborn.” Subſcribed with his Name. Theſe Writings were preſerved; but other Writings to the ſame Purpoſe, particularly of Captain *Towerſon*, who was obſerved to write much in Priſon, were ſuppreſſed by the *Dutch*.

On the 26th of *February*, when all the Priſoners were brought into the Hall of the Caſtle (excepting Captain *Towerſon* and Mr. *Tomſon*) to be prepared for Death, all the *Japoneſe* cried out, “O ye *Engliſh*! when did we ever eat or talk with you?” And the *Engliſh* anſwering, “Why have you then accuſed us?” The poor Men then ſhewed them their tortured Bodies, and ſaid, “If a Stone were thus burnt, would it not change its Nature, how

“ much more we, who are Fleſh and Blood?” And when the *Dutch* Miniſters came to the ten *Engliſh*, in the Hall, exhorting them to make a true Confeſſion, becauſe they had but a ſhort time to live, they ſtill profeſſed their Innocence, and prayed they might receive the Sacrament, as a Seal of the Pardon of their Sins, and to confirm this their Profeſſion; and this was denied them. But when the Preacher told them, the clearer they were of any Guilt, the greater would be their Reward. Mr. *Colſon* gave him his Purſe, and prayed him to exhort the Governor (whom he freely forgave) to repent of this bloody Tragedy, acted upon theſe innocent Souls. All the reſt of the *Engliſh* ſignified their Conſent to what he ſaid. And when *Fardo* charged them all, as they would anſwer it at God's Judgment Seat, if any of them were guilty of this Matter, to confeſs the Truth, for the Satisfaction of the World; Mr. *Colſon* anſwered, “ If I be guilty of it, more or leſs, let me never “ be Partaker of the Joys of Heaven;” at which Words every one of the reſt cried out, “ Amen, for me, good “ Lord.” After this, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging Forgiveneſs for their falſe Accuſation, being extorted by the Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one another, for none was falſely accuſed, but himſelf had falſely accuſed another. After this, they ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalms, and comforting one another, while the *Dutch* Guards offered them Wine, and bid them drink merrily, and drive away Sorrow.

The 27th of *February*, being the Day of Execution, the condemned Perſons firſt requeſted *John Powle*, and afterwards all who were acquitted and pardoned, to bear Witneſs to their Friends in *England*, of their Innocency, and that they were merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive, and to have Mercy on their Souls.

Being brought to the Place of Execution (not by the neareſt and common Way, but round about in Proceſſion thro' the Town) they every one of them ſeverally took it upon their Death, that they were utterly guiltleſs, and ſo chearfully ſubmitted to the fatal Stroke. The Perſons who were executed were, Mr. *Towerſon* Agent of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, Mr. *Colſon*, *Tomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Wetheral*, *Clark*, *Grigs*, *Fardo*, *Price*, and *Brown*; The *Portugueſe*, *Perez*, who ſwore upon the Croſs, that he was innocent; and nine *Japoneſe*, who, likewiſe, in their way, profeſſed their Innocence.

The next Day, the new *Dutch* General ſent *Beaumont*, *Sharrock*, *Collins*, and *Webber*, the four who were pardoned, to ſeveral Factories, and diſpatched *Collins*, who was freed by caſting Lots, to *Jaccatra*, whither Captain *Welden*, having ſent three of them to other Places, quickly after carried them all in a Pinnace.

The *Engliſh* have always maintained, that this Crime was purely imaginary, and only made uſe of as a Pretext to ſacrifice their Nation to the Vengeance of a Governor; and therefore they continued to demand Satisfaction for this Loſs from 1623 to 1672, when, thro' the indifferent State of their Affairs, they were glad to depart from it. What the *Dutch* aimed at, was the excluding us from the Spice-trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is ſtrange, that conſidering the Strength of the Nation at Sea at the time we received this Inſult, and the quick Senſe which the *Engliſh* always have of any national Affront, no proper Satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous Meaſures entered into, in order to exact it. But the Wonder will in a great meaſure ceaſe, when we conſider the State of the Crown, and of the People, at that Period. The King had been engaged for many Years in a tedious, diſhonourable, and diſtaſteful Negotiation for the Marriage of his Son Prince *Charles* with the Princeſs of *Spain*; to the chimerical Advantages he propoſed from this, he ſacrificed the Intereſt of his Family, the Glory of his Government, and the Affections of his People; and yet could never bring the thing to bear, but was at laſt forced to break off the Treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a War, to which he had been always averſe, eſpecially at the Cloſe of his Life and Reign. Such was the Situation of Things when this Accident happened at *Amboyna*; and therefore, tho' it made a great Noiſe, and occaſioned much Expoſtulation with that Republic, yet the Attention of the Crown to the propoſed War with *Spain*, and its Concern for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, joined to the Neceſſity there was of managing the *Dutch* at ſo critical a Juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than Remonſtrances, while our Competitors kept excluſively ſo very conſiderable a Branch of Trade; which is a full Proof of a Truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domeſtic Diſſentions are particularly fatal to us as a trading Nation, and that it is impoſſible for us to maintain our Commerce in a flouriſhing Condition, if we do not at leaſt enjoy Peace at home, whatever our Circumſtances may be abroad.

In the Year 1623, a Fleet of eight Men of War and two Pinnaces were ordered, under the Command of the Earl of *Rutland*, to ſail for the Port of *St. Andero* in *Spain*, to bring home Prince *Charles* and his Retinue, who had been duped at *Madrid* a long time by the *Spaniſh* Court, concerning his Marriage with the Infanta, which had been propoſed by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, but was never intended. This Fleet took his Royal Highneſs aboard on the 18th of *September*, and landed him in *Scilly* on the 29th of the ſame Month.

The firſt mention of the Iſland of *Barbadoes* in *Engliſh* Hiſtory, is made on this Occaſion: In 1624, a Ship belonging to Sir *William Courteen*, returning from *Fernambuc* in *Braſil*, was driven by Streſs of Weather on this Coaſt, as the *Portugueſe* had been before, it being “ not, as *Ligon* “ ſays, far out of the way; for it is the moſt windwardly “ Iſland of the *Caribbees*, *Tobago* only excepted.” As indeed it is, *Tobago* lying in 11 Degrees 16 Minutes North Latitude, above a Degree nearer the Line than *Barbadoes*.

The Men on-board this Ship landed, and ſtaid ſome time, to inform themſelves of the Nature of the Place, which they found overgrown with Woods, and without any Beaſts but Hogs; the *Portugueſe*, who had long before touched at this Place, having left ſome to breed there. It is likewiſe probable, that the *Portugueſe* gave it the Name it yet has, and which in their Tongue is *Los Barbados*, or the *Barbadoes*, relating no doubt to the Barbarity of the Country.

When Sir *William Courteen*'s Ship returned to *England*, theſe Men gave Advice to their Friends of the Diſcovery they had made; and upon that, ſeveral Noblemen and others undertook to ſettle a Colony there[a]. Ships were ſent with Men, Proviſions, and Working-tools, to cut down the Woods, and clear the Grounds, and to plant Proviſions for their Subſiſtence.

William, Earl of *Pembroke*, among others, was a great Adventurer, in the firſt ſettling of this Iſland; and he it was ſent over one Captain *Cannon*, who may be called the firſt Governor, the reſt of the Colony having been under his Direction. The firſt Adventurers were, however, ſoon forced to abandon their Settlements, or hold them of the Earl of *Carliſle*, who begged the Property of the Iſland of King *James*, and obtained the Grant of it; but not of this King, for he died in the Interim; and his Son, *Charles* I. granted it to *James*, Earl of *Carliſle*, in the firſt Year of his Reign.

The *New England* Colony proſpered, as may be ſeen in Mr. *Chriſtopher Levett*'s Voyage, publiſhed by himſelf in 1628. And another Company of Adventurers formed a Deſign of making a Settlement on the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*. The Preparations for this new Settlement, were made at the Charge of Mr. *Ralph Marifield*[b] and his Aſſociates, who committed the Management of it to one Captain

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[a] It is difficult to fix the certain Time when the Engliſh firſt came to Barbadoes; however, as it is agreed at all Hands, that it was before the Death of King James, I have thought it propereſt to place it towards the Concluſion of this King's Reign. That it was in his Time, appears by an Act of Aſſembly in Barbadoes. This Act is intitled, “ An Act for the better aſcertaining the Laws of this Iſland,” A. D. 1666. In which it is ſaid, “ That all Acts confirmed by any Governor and Counſellor, Preſident and Councell, by virtue of any Commiſſion from King James or “ Charles I, &c.” which is a plain Proof, that it was diſcovered by the Engliſh before the Year 1625. Br. Emp. in America, Vol. II. p. 2.

[b] Col. of Voy. Vol. II. p. 361.

5 N

tain *Warriner* (or *Warner*) a Man of Worth and Induſtry. He arrived there the 28th of *January* 1624, with 15 Perſons only, *viz. William Teſted, John Rhodes, Robert Bims, William Benifield*, Serjeant *Jones*, Mr. *Wart, William Ryle, Rowland Graſcock*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Weaver, Edward Warriner* the Captain's Son, Serjeant *Aplon*, one Sailor, and a Cook.

On the Iſland they found three *Frenchmen*, who ſought to oppoſe Captain *Warriner*, and ſet the *Indians* on them; but they all ſoon became Friends, and lived with the *Indians* a Month. They then built a Fort and a Houſe, and planted Fruits. By *September* they had a Crop of Tobacco; but the 19th of that Month a Hurricane came and blew it all away. All this while they lived upon Caſſado-bread, Potatoes, Plantans, Pines, Turtles, Guanes, and Fiſh plenty.

The 18th of *March* 1625, arrived Captain *Jefferson*, with three Men Paſſengers, in the *Hopewell* of *London*, with ſome Trade for the *Indians*; and then they had another Crop of Tobacco. In the mean time, the *French* had planted themſelves in the other End of the Iſland. With this Crop Capt. *Warriner* returned to *England*, leaving his Colony here.

The King was ſeized, about the Middle of *March*, with a Tertian-ague, of which he died on the 27th of the ſame Month at *Theobalds*, not without a Suſpicion of Poiſon, in the 59th Year of his Age, after having reigned 22 Years in *England*.

England never flouriſhed leſs, or made leſs Figure among her Neighbours, than under his Reign: And tho' Trade and Navigation did begin to raiſe itſelf in his Time, it was owing more to a Spirit of Induſtry, yet remaining from the Activity of the former Reign, than from any great Encouragement and Support it had from him. In the mean time, the *Engliſh* ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Inſults and Railleries of other Nations; and the only Satisfaction they had was, that the Blame was generally laid at the right Door, and attributed to the Indolence of their King.

The following Epigram, made in *France*, in his Time, is a clear Evidence in what Eſteem he was with his Neighbours.

> Tandis qu' *Elizabeth* fût Roi,
> L' *Anglois* fût d' *Eſpagne* l' Effroi
> Maintenant deviſe et caquette,
> Regi par la Reine *Jaquette*.

Engliſhed,

> While glorious *Beſs* was *England*'s King;
> Her Name in *Spain* did Terror bring:
> How alter'd is the Caſe, G—d ſa' me!
> Since govern'd by the gude Queen *Jammy*.

SHIPS *built by King* JAMES.

Ships.	Men in Harb.	Men at Sea.
The *Reformation*,	9	250
Happy Entrance,	7	160
Garland,	7	160
St. George,	9	250
Mary-Roſe,	6	120
Triumph,	12	300
Swiftſure,	9	250
Bonaventure,	7	160
St. Andrew,	9	250

But that this Liſt is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greateſt Ship built in this King's Reign, and built too by his expreſs Direction; of which we have ſo exact, and at the ſame time ſo authentic an Account, that it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe it.

"This Year 1610, the King built a moſt goodly Ship for War, the Keel whereof was 114 Feet long, and the Croſs-beam was 44 Feet in length; ſhe will carry 64 Pieces of great Ordnance, and is of the Burthen of 1400 Tons. This royal Ship is double-built, and is moſt ſumptuouſly adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious Carving, Painting, and rich Gilding, being in all Reſpects the greateſt and goodlieſt Ship that ever was built in *England*; and this glorious Ship the King gave unto his Son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*. The 24th of *September*, the King, the Queen, the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, with many great Lords, went unto *Woolwich*, to ſee it launched; but becauſe of the Narrowneſs of the Dock, it could not then be launched: Whereupon the Prince came the next Morning by three o'Clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the Prince named it after his own Dignity, and called it, *The Prince*. The great Workmaſter in building this Ship, was Maſter *Phineas Pet*, Gentleman, ſometime Maſter of Arts of *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge* [a]."

In the ſame Author, we have an Account of the King's going on-board the great *Eaſt-India* Ship of 1200 Tons, which was built here, and ſeems to have been the firſt of that Size launched in this Kingdom. The King called it, *The Trade's Increaſe*; and a Pinnace of 250 Tons, which was built at the ſame time, he called, *The Pepper-Corn* [b]. This ſhews that he was a Favourer of Navigation; and though I cannot pretend to ſay exactly, what Additions he made to the *Engliſh* Fleet, yet, from ſome authentic Calculations I have ſeen, I think I may venture to affirm, that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ships of War at the time of her Death, might contain ſomewhat more than 16,000 Tons, and that in the Days of King *James*, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 Tons [c]. The King alſo granted a Commiſſion of Enquiry, for reforming the Abuſes in the Navy, the Proceedings upon which, are ſtill preſerved in the *Cotton* Library [d]. He was liberal likewiſe to Seamen, and naturally inclined to do them Honour; but as in other things, ſo in this, he was too much governed by his Favourites [e].

And there were ſeveral Laws made for the Regulation of Trade, of which the following are ſtill in force.

"Any Perſon bringing in, or that ſhall cauſe to be brought into this Realm any Hops, being deceitfully or corruptly unclean, corrupt or mixt with any Powder, Duſt, Droſs, Sand, or Soil, ſhall forfeit the ſame." 1 *Jac.* I. c. 18.

"No Perſon ſhall bring from beyond the Sea, nor ſhall print, ſell, or buy any Popiſh Primers, Ladies Pſalters, Manuals, Roſaries, Popiſh Catechiſms, Miſſals, Breviaries, Portals, Legends, and Lives of Saints, containing ſuperſtitious Matter, printed or written in any Language whatſoever, nor any other ſuperſtitious Books printed or written in the *Britiſh* Tongue, upon Forfeiture of 40*s.* for every ſuch Book; one third to the King, one third to him that will ſue, and one third to the Poor of the Pariſh where ſuch Book or Books ſhall be found, to be recovered by Action, Debt, *&c.* in any Court of Record, and the Books to be burnt." 3 *Jac.* I. c. 5. Sect. 25.

"No Perſon ſhall ſell any *Britiſh* Horns unwrought to any Stranger, nor ſend any *Britiſh* Horns unwrought over Sea, upon pain of Forfeiture, and double the Value; half to the King, half to the Informer." 7 *Jac.* I. c. 14.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* GEORGE VILLARS, *Duke of* Buckingham, *Lord-admiral of* England.

George Villars, Duke of *Buckingham*, and Lord-high-admiral of *England* in the Reigns of *James* I. and *Charles* I. was deſcended from a Family of great Antiquity in *Leiceſterſhire* [f], and Son of Sir *George Villars*, Bart. by his ſecond Wife *Mary*, Daughter of *Anthony Beaumont* of *Coleorton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, Eſq; [g]. He was born on the 28th of *Auguſt* 1592, at his Father's Seat at *Brokeſby* in that County; and having been at home educated ſuitably to his Genius, in the courtly Arts of Fencing, Dancing, and the like Ornaments of Youth, he at the Age of 18 Years travelled into *France*, where having improved himſelf in thoſe Accompliſhments, he returned to *England*, after three Years Reſidence in that Kingdom [h]. It was about this time that *Car*, Earl of *Somerſet*, began to decline in the Favour of *James* I. a Prince, who of all others was moſt delighted with Beauty of Perſon and Elegance of Dreſs; ſo that Mr. *Villars* no ſooner appeared at Court, than thoſe Advantages recommended him to the King's Favour [a]. He firſt entertained him in 1613 as his Cup-bearer at large; and the following Summer admitted him in ordinary [b], by which he was of courſe to be much in his Majeſty's Preſence, and ſo admitted to that Converſation and Diſcourſe, with which that Prince always abounded at his Meals [c]. He continued but very few Weeks in that Station, before he was preferred; and in one Day, the 23d of *April* 1615, was both knighted and made one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, with an annual Penſion of 1000 *l.* payable out of the Court of Wards [d]. Soon after this, the Earl of *Somerſet* being convicted of the Murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, Sir *George Villars* began to reign unrivalled in the King's Favour, and was advanced to new Honours. For in 1616 he was made Maſter of the Horſe, Knight of the Garter, and a Baron and Viſcount of the Realm; and on the 5th of *January* 1616-17, created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the ſucceeding New-year's Day raiſed to the Title of Marquis. On the 30th of *January* 1617-18, he was conſtituted Lord-admiral of *England*, and ſhortly after Chief-juſtice in Eyre of all the Parks and Foreſts South of *Trent*, Maſter of the King's-bench Office, High-ſteward of *Weſtminſter*, Conſtable of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* [e]. With theſe great Honours and Employments, he was likewiſe the ſole Diſpenſer of the King's Favours, in the Diſtribution of which he was guided more by the Rules of Appetite than of Judgment, and ſo exalted almoſt all his own numerous Family and Dependants [f]. In the mean time he ſo failed in his Duty to Prince *Charles*, that he was once very near ſtriking his Highneſs, who had therefore conceived the greateſt Indignation againſt him; but he had the Art thoroughly to remove this, and intirely fixed himſelf in his Favour, by being the ſole Contriver of that moſt extraordinary Journey, which they took into *Spain* in 1623. While they continued in that Kingdom, the *Spaniards* diſreliſhed him for the great Familiarity that he uſed towards the Prince; which, together with his perſonal Animoſity againſt the Duke of *Olivarez*, the ſole Favourite of the *Spaniſh* Court, was the Reaſon, that this Journey had no other Effect, than intirely to diſſolve the *Spaniſh* Match ſo many Years in agitation [g]. During his Abode in *Spain*, he added to his other Titles thoſe of Earl of *Coventry* and Duke of *Buckingham*; and on his Return from thence, he was made Lord-warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Steward of the Manor of *Hampton-Court* [h]. The Prince's ſafe Return into *England*, brought not only infinite Delight to the King, but was accompanied with the moſt univerſal Rejoicing over the Kingdom, that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the Duke had ſo full a Share, that the Imprudence and Preſumption in carrying the Prince into *Spain* were totally forgotten, or not remembered with any Reference to him; and the Merit and Obligation in bringing him home highly magnified every where. However the undertaking of this Journey had been ſo contrary to the King's Inclination, that afterwards he never really affected the Duke, but retained as ſharp a Memory of it, as his Nature was capable of [i]. His Majeſty's Indiſpoſition towards him was exceedingly increaſed during the Sitting of the Parliament ſoon after the Prince's Return from *Spain*, in which the Duke endeavoured to appear very popular; and having gained the leading Men of both Houſes to eſpouſe his Intereſts, engaged the King in a War with *Spain*, and totally ruined the Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord High-treaſurer of *England*, who preſuming on his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure againſt him, had dared to diſpute his Commands [k].

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[a] Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996.
[b] Ibid. p. 994.
[c] From ſome Notes on Hackluit, MS.
[d] Vitellius E. 8. and Rapin.
[e] Wilſon, Baker, Kennet, Echard.
[f] Sir Henry Wotton's Life of the Duke of Buckingham, in his Remains, p. 208. 3d Edit. and Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 428.
[g] Wotton, ubi ſupra.
[h] Id. ibid.

After the Death of that King, the Duke continued in the ſame degree of Favour with *Charles* I, which he had enjoyed for many Years under his Father; and in *May* 1625 was ſent to *France* to conduct into *England* the Queen *Henrietta-Maria*; in which Embaſſy he had the Ambition to fix his Eyes upon, and dedicate his moſt violent Affection to *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the Queen of *France*, and to purſue it with moſt importunate Addreſſes. But being diſappointed in that Affair, he took all Opportunities to incenſe the King againſt *France*, and to diſpoſe him to aſſiſt the Proteſtants of that Nation againſt their Prince, and at the ſame time to alienate his Majeſty's Heart from his young Queen [l]. After his Return from *France* he was employed, in conjunction with the Earl of *Holland*, at the *Hague*, for entering into a League with the States of the United Provinces againſt the Emperor and the King of *Spain* [m]. But the ſame Year finding himſelf attacked in Parliament as the public Grievance of the Nation, he perſuaded his Majeſty to an abrupt Diſſolution of that Aſſembly. At the Coronation of the King on the ſecond of *February*, 1625-26, he was Lord High-conſtable for the Occaſion; but being impeached in the Parliament, which met four Days after, of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors in 13 Articles, the King, impatient of all Proceedings againſt him, immediately diſſolved it, though at a Criſis, when he was actually engaged in a War with *Spain*, and though within a Month after the Diſſolution a new War was entered into againſt *France*, in which the Duke being employed, both as Admiral and General, proved very unſucceſsful in the Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Rhee* in *Auguſt* 1627. To repair the Diſgrace of this he reſolved upon a ſecond Expedition againſt the *French*; and accordingly in *Auguſt* the Year following came to *Portſmouth*, intending to embark there for the Relief of *Rochel*, then beſieged by the *French* King. But while he was preparing for this Purpoſe, he was aſſaſſinated on the 23d of that month by one *John Felton*, who committed that Fact without any other Inducement or Encouragement, than what the Melancholy of his Nature, and the Belief, that he ſhould do God and his Country good Service by deſtroying an Enemy to both, might ſuggeſt to him [n]. The Duke was but thirty-ſix Years and three Days old at his Death. His Body was interred in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. He married the Lady *Catharine Manners*, Daughter and ſole Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, by whom he had Iſſue three Sons, and one Daughter [o].

He was of a noble Nature and generous Diſpoſition, and of ſuch other Endowments, as made him very capable of being a great Favourite to a great King; and he underſtood the Arts of a Court, and all the Learning, that is profeſſed there, exactly well. He had obtained a quick Conception and Apprehenſion of Buſineſs, and had the Habit of ſpeaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a moſt flowing Courteſy and Affability to all Men, who made any Addreſs to him; and ſo deſirous to oblige them, that he did not enough conſider the Value of the Obligation, or the Merit of the Perſon, whom he choſe to oblige; from which much of his Misfortune reſulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifeſted in all his Actions, and in his Conteſts with particular Perſons of the greateſt Reputation, and eſpecially in his whole Demeanour at the Iſle of *Rhee*, both at Landing, and in the Retreat; in both which no Man was more fearleſs, and more ready to expoſe himſelf to the moſt imminent Dangers. His Zeal for his Friends was very vehement, and his Enmities equally ſtrong. His ſingle Misfortune was, (which indeed was productive of many greater) that he never made a noble and a worthy Friendſhip with any one Man ſo near his equal, that he would frankly adviſe him, for his Honour and true Intereſts, againſt the Torrent of his impetuous Paſſions [p]. Such is the Character of him by our noble Hiſtorian; but another eminent Writer [q] is ſtill more ſevere in his Character of the Duke, whom he repreſents as a Mad-man, without Senſe to diſtinguiſh right Meaſures, or Integrity to purſue them, if he had ſeen them.

[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 4. Edit. Oxon. 1732. fol. [b] Wotton, p. 210. [c] Clarendon, ubi ſupra. [d] Wotton, p. 210, and Dugdale, p. 429. [e] Wotton, p, 210, 211, and Dugdale, p. 429. [f] Clarendon, p. 4. [g] Id. p. 4—9. [h] Dugdale, p. 430. [i] Clarendon, p. 7. [k] Id. p. 7, 8. [l] Clarendon, p. 13. [m] Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 195. 1ſt Edit. [n] Clarendon, p. 9, 10, and Wotton, p. 224—232. [o] Dugdale, p. 431. [p] Clarendon, p. 11, 12. [q] Remarks on the Hiſtory of England, p. 306. Edit. London, 1743.

CHAP. II.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE and COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN *in the Reign of King* CHARLES I. *to the Year* 1642.

KING *Charles* I. aſcended the Throne of his deceaſed Father with great Demonſtrations of Joy. But the diſadvantageous Circumſtances of a War lately begun by his Father to recover the *Palatinate* for his Son-in-law, without Money to carry it on, the Crown having run 300,000 *l.* in Debt; and his continuing the Duke of *Buckingham* at the Head of public Affairs, preſently reduced him to great Diſtreſſes, and laid the Foundation of thoſe Misfortunes, which brought him to the Block, and forced his Family into Exile for many Years.

The firſt Account we read of this King's maritime Affairs, was his ſending, in Purſuance of an Agreement between King *James* and the *French* King, the *Vanguard*, a Man of War, and ſix hired Merchant-ſhips, under the Command of Captain *John Pennington*, to the Coaſt of *France*, to be employed only againſt the King of *Spain*, or his Allies in *Italy*. But the *French* King being hotly engaged in a War with his Proteſtant Subjects, now intended to make uſe of them for the Reduction of *Rochelle*; which *Pennington* becoming ſenſible of, immediately wrote Advice thereof to the Duke of *Buckingham*, then Lord High-admiral, and deſired to decline ſo odious a Service, and that he might have leave to return to *England*; whereupon his Orders were more ſtrongly enforced, and leſt the Lord High-admiral's ſhould not be thought ſufficient, the King himſelf ſigned an Order to him to employ the Ships on ſuch Service as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould direct; from whom at the ſame time he received a Letter, requiring him to take on-board a Number of *French* Soldiers, with his Admiral the Duke *de Montmorency*, and repair before *Rochelle*.

This Captain *Pennington*, with a true *Engliſh* Heart, bravely refuſed to do; whereupon the *French* Officer who had conveyed the Orders to him, came on-board the *Vanguard* to proteſt againſt him as a Rebel to his King and Country; and not contented with having once done it, returned a ſecond time to enforce his Proteſtation with Threats and Menaces; at which the Seamen were ſo enraged, that in a violent Fury and Tumult, they weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail, crying, *They would rather be hanged at home, than be Slaves to the* French, *and fight againſt their own Religion*; and accordingly returned to the *Downs*. The Captain ſending an Expreſs to Court with Advice of his Proceedings, immediately received a poſitive Order under the King's Sign Manual to return and deliver up the Ships into the Hands of a *French* Officer at *Dieppe*; which he was at length forced to comply with, but quitted the Command himſelf, as all the *Engliſhmen*, both Officers and Seamen, except one, did their Ships, and returned to *England*.

The delivering up of the Ships under Captain *Pennington* to the *French*, was ſo highly diſtaſteful to the People of *England*, and made them ſo jealous of the Court, that it was thought fit, when it was publicly known they had been employed againſt the *Rochellers*, to exclaim againſt that Proceeding as a Colluſion of the Treaty whereby they were lent, and to demand the immediate Reſtitution of them; which the *French* King excuſing himſelf from complying with at preſent, on pretence that his Subjects, by whom they were manned, would not now quit them, when they were on immediate Service, the Lord High-admiral iſſued out Commiſſions of Reprizal, whereby the *St. Peter* of *Havre de Grace* was taken, with other *French* Merchant-ſhips: Whereupon the *French* King not only abſolutely refuſed to reſtore the ſeven Ships, but ſeized on all the *Engliſh* Merchants Effects throughout his Dominions. However, for ſome Reaſons of State, theſe Breaches were patched up for a while, and mutual Reſtitution made on both Sides, till ſoon after, upon the Diſmiſſion of the Queen's *French* Servants, an open Rupture enſued, by the *French* King's ſeizing 120 *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips in the ſeveral Ports and Rivers of his Kingdom, which was immediately followed by a Declaration of War on our Side. The Grounds thereof, among others, were the *French* King's Breach of his Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, and his blocking up their Towns, Garriſons, and Forts.

The ſcandalous Treatment the late King had received from the *Spaniards*, relating to the Match and the *Palatinate*, had, notwithſtanding all his Inclinations to Peace, enforced him, a little before his Death, to reſolve on a War with *Spain*. In proſecution whereof, King *Charles*, upon his coming to the Crown, fitted out a Fleet for an Expedition againſt that Kingdom. The Command thereof, inſtead of being beſtowed on Sir *Robert Manſel*, an old and experienced Seaman, and Vice-admiral of *England*, was given to Sir *Edward Cecil*, a Soldier trained in the *Low-Country* Wars, who, for the Honour of the Enterpriſe, was created Viſcount *Wimbeldon*; and agreeable to the Choice of the General was the Succeſs of this Expedition.

But before we enter upon a particular Relation of this Expedition, it will be proper to mention that memorable Sea-fight between four *Engliſh* Ships, under the Command of Captain *John Weddel*, and four *Dutch* Ships, in the Gulph of *Perſia*, near *Ormus*, and eight *Portugueſe* Galleons, and 32 Frigates [a]. The Account thereof was wrote by one preſent in the Action, in the following Words:

The 30th of *January* 1625, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships being in the Road of *Gombrean*, there arrived a ſmall Frigate, belonging to a Place called *Chowle* (which is in War with the *Portugueſe*). She came in between the Main and *Ormus*, to whom the General of the *Engliſh*, Captain *John Weddel*, ſent Mr. *Andrew Evans*, in a ſmall Boat, to know from whence ſhe came, and whether ſhe could give us any Intelligence of the *Portugueſe* Armada. Her Anſwer was, that ſhe came from a Place about eight or ten Leagues to the Southward of *Chowle*, laden with Pepper, and other Merchandiſes, and withal ſhe ſaid, that on the 24th ſhe was off of the Cape, called Cape *Cordell*, half way betwixt the Coaſt of *India* and Cape *Jacques*, where, to Leeward of her, ſhe ſaw eight great Galleons, and certain Frigates, which Frigates gave her Chace, but ſhe kept herſelf ſo near the Shore that they could not fetch her up; and this was the firſt Information of the near Approach of the Enemy.

The 31ſt of *January*, in the Morning, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets heard three Pieces of Ordnance, ſhot off from *Kiſhme* Caſtle (a ſtrong Hold, and in War with the *Portugueſe*) the Captain of the ſaid Caſtle having before promiſed the General, Captain *Weddel*, that if he deſcried any Sails, or Ships, in ſight of the Caſtle, that then he would diſcharge thoſe Pieces, as a Warning to him, which accordingly he did.

Hereupon a Man was ſent up to the Top-maſt-head, in the *Engliſh* Admiral, to look abroad, who being up, preſently cried a Sail, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, with many Frigates in their Company. Then the General commanded the Gunner to ſhoot off a Piece of Ordnance, to give Warning to all the Fleet, to put themſelves in a Readineſs, for the Entertainment of the Enemy, putting alſo the bloody Colours out. The *Dutch* Admiral did the like, with all Speed, getting their Men and Boats from the Shore, weighing their Anchors on all Hands, and getting under ſail with all poſſible Celerity, Courage and Reſolution. They ſtood towards the Enemy, whoſe Drift was to have taken the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* at Anchor, unprepared; but their Expectations were fruſtrated.

Towards eight of the Clock at Night, it fell calm, ſo that our Ships came to an Anchor, when the Commander of the *Dutch* Fleet ſent the Maſter of his Ship, accompanied by ſome other Merchants and Maſters, aboard the *Royal-James*, to inform Captain *Weddel*, that their Commander had ſent them to ſee how he did, and what he thought the Ships and Frigates to be, which he had deſcried. The Commander *Weddel* anſwered, that they could be no other than the *Portugueſe* Armada, which had been two Years preparing to meet with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and that now they were come in ſearch of them, from *Goa*, unto this Place, hoping firſt to conquer both ours and their Nation, and afterwards to fall to work upon *Ormus*, *Kiſhme*, and *Gombroon*, to deſtroy our ſettled Trade, and to extirpate and root us out, with all Hoſtility and Diſhonour. Then the *Dutch* demanded Captain *Weddel*'s Reſolution, concerning ſo common and open an Enemy. He told them, that his Reſolution was, that, to the Glory of God, the Honour of his Nation, the Profit of the worthy Employers, and the Safeguard of their Lives, Ships, and Goods, he would fight it out, as long as a Man was living in his Ship to bear a Sword; and that he doubted not but the other three Ships, under his Command, were all of the ſame Mind and Courage; to whom the *Dutchmen* anſwered, that they were of the like Reſolution, and would ſtick as cloſe to the *Engliſh* as their Shirts to their Backs; and ſo in friendly Manner each took Leave of one another for that Night.

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[a] Four Engliſh Ships; the Royal-James, Admiral; the Jonas, Vice-admiral; the Star, Rear-admiral; the Eagle, fourth Ship; John Weddel, chief Commander of the Engliſh Fleet. Four Dutch Ships; the South-Holland, Admiral; the Bantam, Vice-admiral; the Maud, of Dort, Rear-admiral; the Weaſope, fourth Ship; Albert Becker, chief Commander of the Dutch Fleet.

The 1ſt of *February*, the *Dutch* Admiral weighed Anchor, an Hour before Day-light, and the *Engliſh* preſently after him; but the *Dutch* got the Start of us all, tho' we made all the Sail we could; at laſt, the *Engliſh* came up to him, with their whole Fleet, but he diſcharged the firſt Shot at the *Portugueſe* Admiral, who preſently anſwered him with three for one.

Friends and Foes being now within Muſket-ſhot of each other, it fell calm, whereby our Ships would not work, but as the Tide ſet them; ſo that when the *Portugueſe* were board and board they had a great Advantage of us with their Frigates, that often towed them clear one of another, which Help we wanted. Thus we lay four or five Hours, pelting and beating one another with our Ordnance; whilſt the Frigates plyed us with their ſmall Shot, as faſt as they could; the *Royal-James* being forced to keep the Barge ahead, to pull the Ships Head too and fro. Towards the Afternoon there aroſe a fine Gale; but the Enemy had the Wind of us; whereupon the Admiral and Vice-admiral of the *Portugueſe* bore up room upon us, making account to lay the *Royal-James* aboard, one on the Starboard, the other on the Larboard-ſide, which Captain *Weddel* perceiving, ſcarce being able to ſhun it, he called to the Maſter, and told him the Purpoſe of the Enemy, to avoid which Danger, he commanded the Maſter to bear a little laſking, to ſeparate them farther from each other, that he might have more room to go between them. The Vice-admiral of the Enemy, ſeeing the *James* bear up ſo laſking, ſhe likewiſe bore up with her, when ſuddenly Captain *Weddel* perceiving there was hopes to weather him, cauſed his Mizzen and Mizzen-top-ſail to be ſet, and ſo preſently got the Wind of him, edging cloſe up with the Admiral, being within Muſket-ſhot of them both. The *Portugueſe* Admiral put to ſtay, by which means the *James* got the Wind of him alſo, having much to do to get out a Weather of him, coming ſo cloſe under his Stern, that his Boats were cloſe at our Ship's Side, as ſhe ſheered by. Preſently we gave him a whole Broad-ſide (every Shot raking him fore and aft) and tacking forthwith ſtood after him. Thus the firſt Day's Fight laſted till five at Night, wherein the *Royal-James* loſt eight Men killed, and ſome others had ſome ſmall Hurt. Alſo this Day the *Dutch* loſt their chief Commander, a brave and valiant Man, who lived and died nobly, in the Bed of Honour; this Fight was terrible and fierce for the time; for the *Royal-James* alone ſpent near 700 great Shot, and all the other Ships, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, did proportionably do the like. The Sun being ſet, the Enemy fell off, and came to an Anchor at the Eaſt-end of *Kiſhme*; the *Engliſh* being N.N.W. from them two Leagues; and thus was concluded the firſt Day's Fight.

The 2d of *February*, the Wind was very little, which blew off from *Kiſhme*, ſo that the Enemy had the Advantage of it, but never offered to make uſe of it, to make room towards us; the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being employed buſily, to ſet up their torn Rigging and Tackling, and to ſtop ſuch dangerous Shot as they had received from the Enemy, in the Fight, betwixt Wind and Water.

Alſo, the ſame Day, in the Afternoon, there was a Meeting aboard the *Royal James*, where both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* concluded, that they would give the Enemy Fight the next Morning, and that the *Royal James* ſhould be the leading Ship, and the Admiral of the *Dutch* ſhould ſecond her; and that they ſhould go directly to the Enemy's Admiral, not ſtriking higher or lower, till the *James* came Side by Side by her. So, the 3d of *February*, both the Fleets weighed Anchor, at Break of Day; the great *James* having the Weather-gage of the Enemy, ſtood right with the Admiral of the *Portugueſe*, which was headmoſt but one; but coming near them, they waved to Leeward, with their bright arming Swords, and we the like to them. They ſaluted us with a whole Broadſide; but Captain *Weddel* commanded his Men not to anſwer them, till they were brought nearer within Danger, which Charge was obeyed; but being come nearer the Admiral, with another of their Ships, the great *James* beſtowed upon each of them a whole Broadſide, making them both to bear up, one a Port, and the other a Starboard, by which means one of their Ships was cut off and ſundred from them, and was chaſed three or four Hours by the *Eagle* and the *Weaſope*; the Hope of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being, that ſhe ſhould no more return to her Fleet's Company. The *James*, following ſtill the Admiral and the Vice-admiral, got upon the Admiral's Side, having the Vice-admiral on his Starboard-bow, inſomuch that this Day's Fight grew very hot; for often the *James* was in the thickeſt of the Enemy, being at one time all round about us; but our Men ſo plied their Ordnance upon them, that they all refuſed to ſtand by us, and fled before us like Chaff, Duſt or Smoke before the Wind. In this Fight, the *James* got between one of their Fleet, and ſingled her out, lying by her Sides with Fore-ſail, and Fore-top-ſail, a Back-ſtays, ſo near as a Man might quoit a Biſket into her, when ſtreight Mr. *Johnſon* came up in the Stern of the *James*, ſo near as he could hardly keep clear, to whom Captain *Weddell* called, willing him to clap the *Portugueſe* aboard on the Larboard-quarter, while the *James* lay thundring upon him with her great Ordnance, which he promiſed to do, but after refuſed it. This Veſſel had not ſo few as 500 Shot thro' her Hull, Maſts, Sails, and Yards, before ſhe got clear.

The ſame Morning, Captain *Weddell* had fitted a *Portugueſe* Veſſel, (which had been formerly taken with ſome Cocoa-nuts) and purpoſed to have fired her thwart the Admiral's Hawſe, ſhe being appointed to come between the *Dutch* Admiral and the *Jonas*; but thro' Diſaſter, or rather Negligence, in *Darby* the Maſter, who came not up, according to the appointed Place, ſhe was chaſed by the Frigates; and ſhe having but 10 Men in her, being of no Defence, they were forced to ſet her on fire, far from the Fleet, and ſo the Men betook themſelves to a Barge, which was left for their Safety, by which means the General's Project was diſappointed.

All this third Day and Night this Veſſel burnt, and two Hours before Day-light; whether ſhe was towed by ſome of the Enemy's Boats or no is unknown, but ſhe came burning, amongſt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets, and forced them from their Anchors, by ſlipping their Cables, which Anchors they took up about three Days after.

The 4th of *February* in the Morning, both Fleets made towards the Enemy, who were under Sail, and made all the haſte they could to get under the Iſland of *Lowrack*, which lies about eight or nine Miles from *Ormus*, unto which Iſland their Frigates when a-head, conducting them in over a Bar, whom the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* followed as far as with Safety they durſt, having neither the Help of Pilots, to ſhun the Dangers of the Place, nor Frigates to go a-head, as Conductors, as the Enemy had; beſides, there might have been Ordnance planted aſhore, by the Enemy, which would have been greatly to their Advantage; or otherwiſe, in the dark Night, they might have chained two or three Frigates together, and turning them upon them, upon the Ebb, thwart their Hawſe, might much have endangered them, they knowing the Enemy to be implacable, malicious, and politick. Theſe Reaſons cauſed them to follow them no farther at this time, but to come to an Anchor a League from them; when Captain *Weddell* ſent for the chief of the *Dutch*, whoſe Reſolution was to go back again to *Gombroon*, there to diſpatch our Merchants Affairs. So Anchors were weighed, the *James* giving them a Shot for Farewel, and they anſwered her with the like, they all getting into *Gombroon* Road that Night, where they ſpeedily fell to work to repair the Ruins of War, in fitting out Maſts, Yards, Sails, Rigging, and ſtopping Breaches, all which in three Days was accompliſhed, leaving the *Portugueſe*, like a Thief in his Mill, or a Fox in his Hole, not minding to try as yet the Hazard of another Bout.

In this Fight, their Rear-admiral's Main-maſt was ſhot by the Board; their Vice-admiral's Main-top-maſt was likewiſe ſhot by the Board; their Admiral's Mizzen-maſt, Flag, and Flag-ſtaff, was ſhot by the Board, and her Hull much rent and torn; their fourth Ship had the Head of her Main-maſt ſhot by the Board. Another of their Ships had all her Top-maſts ſhot by the Board. In ſhort, all their eight Ships were ſo torn and battered, that they had neither good Maſts, Sails nor Yards to help themſelves with, nor tight Sides to bear Sail upon.

The 13th of *February*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets ſet ſail at Day-light from the Road of *Gombroon*, having alſo with them four Junks and other Veſſels of Lading, under the Conduct and Charge of the *Dutch*, which as ſoon as the Enemy perceived, they let ſlip their Cables, and ſlipped from their Harbour, at the Iſland of *Lawrack*, which is four or five Leagues from the Road of *Gombroon*. The Enemy made all the Sail he could to Seabord of the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, all the Day till Sun-ſet, when they were got within Saker-ſhot of each other, and, with a good bearing Gale, they kept Company together all Night.

This 13th, at Night, it blew ſo hard at Weſt-ſouth-weſt, that one of their great Galleons bore over-board the Head of her Main-maſt, cloſe under the Hounds. Not being able to hoiſt up her Main-ſail, ſhe was forced to ſteer along with her Fore-ſail, Fore-top-ſail, her Sprit-ſail and Mizzen, the Wind being at Weſt-ſouth-weſt, they ſteered away South and by Eaſt.

The 14th, in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet ſtaying, and bearing up unto the Junks, which the Night paſt was aſtern ſo far, that the *Engliſh* Fleet could hardly deſcry them, the *James* laid her Fore-ſails a-back-ſtays, and ſtaid for them, the *Portugueſe* never offering to alter his Courſe, but kept on ſtill.

The ſame Day, about Noon, the *Dutch* being come up with the *Engliſh*, it was agreed between them, that the *Royal James* ſhould give the firſt Onſet, upon their Admiral, and the reſt of the Fleet to ſecond her; ſo about two of the Clock that Afternoon, the two Fleets came to weather of the Enemy's Admiral, receiving the firſt Shot from their Vice-admiral, and preſently a whole Broad-ſide from their Admiral; both Sides coming as near each other as they could but well keep clean of each other; and thus they fell to it, on all hands, pell-mell, the Ordnance going off as faſt as Small-ſhot. The *James*, for her Part, giving them two Broad-ſides, ſhe then edged up in the Wind, laying her Fore-ſail, and Fore-top-ſails a-back-ſtays, as well to give leave to the *Jonas* (who was ſecond to the *James*), as alſo to ſuffer the *Portugueſe* Admiral to ſhoot a-head, which he ſuddenly did. Then the *James* filling her Top-ſails a ſecond time, bore up right with the Enemy's Admiral, plying her whole Broad-ſide ſo faſt upon her, that ſhe had ſcarce any leiſure to return any Shot back; while the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* Admirals were ſo near each other, that they could hardly clear themſelves: In this Time, whilſt our Ships plied the Enemy's Admiral, (not ſo much looking after or heeding the other Ships) the Vice-admiral, with the reſt of their Fleet, were left aſtern, their Admiral plying very hard upon the *James*, giving and receiving many dangerous Shot, the *James* being ſhot between Wind and Water, and had more Spoil in her Sails and Rigging, than he had done any of the two Days Fight before: Then, the third Time, coming Side by Side with each other's Fleet, they let drive at one another like Thunder in the Air, the *James* coming up with the Admiral, the great Ship of *Damon*, who the firſt Day's Fight loſt her Main-maſt, crept in betwixt the *James* and the *Portugueſe* Admiral, lying as a Bulwark to weather of her, to receive all that might be put upon her; and, indeed, all that was meant to have been beſtowed upon the Admiral, was ſtill plyed upon that great Hulk. The *Jonas* and the *Dutch* did likewiſe continue this third Day's Fight till Day-light was ſhut in, the *Portugueſe* edging up to get near the *Arabian* Shore; inſomuch that at eight at Night, both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were fair by it, chaſing them in.

This Night the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſteered away their Courſe for *Surat*, the *Portugueſe* ſteering for *Swar*, a Place where they have a Caſtle.

The *Royal James*, with the reſt, were forced to give over the Chaſe for theſe Reaſons:

Firſt, for that the Time of the Year was ſo far ſpent, that they ſhould not have Time enough to deliver their Goods at *Surat*, and ſo to go clear off the Coaſt, before the weſterly Monſoon (which is a Wind that blows at Weſt ſix Months together, beginning in *April*) would be come, and ſo endanger the Ships in getting off again.

A ſecond Reaſon was, that the *Royal James* had but 31 Barrels, and about 500 Cartridges of Powder, and about 600 Shot, all which was not above three Quarters of a Day's Fight; for in her former Day's Work, the third of *February*, ſhe alone ſpent 1000 great Shot upon the Enemy, ſo that now, through Want of Powder, ſhe was not able to maintain ſuch another Day's Fight, according to that rate. And this laſt Day's Fight ſhe loſt but one Man, having ſpent upon the Enemy more then 300 great Shot.

In theſe three ſeveral Fights, with the *Portugueſe*, were ſlain in the *Engliſh* Fleet, Officers and Men, 29.

The *Dutch* loſt near the ſame Number, amongſt which was their chief Commander *Albert Becker*, ſlain the firſt Day's Fight.

A Relation by Peter Hillion *a* Frenchman, *of the Force of the eight* Portugueſe *Galleons, which fought with the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *Fleets in the Gulph of* Perſia, *as alſo the Spoil they received by them, with their Number of Men ſlain, on the 13th and 14th of* February 1625, *himſelf being then in the Admiral, which afterwards riding, with three more of her Fleet, at the River's Mouth at* Surat, *he eſcaped from her, and run to the* Engliſh, *who were then riding in the Bar of* Surat.

Their Admiral named *S. Francisco*, wherein was General Don *Aliud Botellia*, had 48 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, of whole Cannon, Demy-cannon, Cannon-pethrow, whole Culvering, and Demy-culvering, 350 Men, of which were ſlain 38, whereof three were chief Captains, under the aforeſaid General, named *Lorenzo Luis*, *Jeronimo Botelia*, and *Braſſa Coze*, who all three were killed with one Shot. The Ship's Fore-maſt, Bowſprit, and Main-maſt, were ſo torn with Shot, that they were unſerviceable; her Mizzen-maſt, Flag and Flag-ſtaff, ſhot by the Board, with the Head of her Main-top-maſt, and her Rigging much rent and torn.

Their Vice-admiral, named likewiſe *S. Franciſco*, wherein was Commander *Franciſco Burge*, had 32 Pieces of Ordnance, as the former, and 250 Men, of which were ſlain 31, the aforeſaid Commander being one of the Number; her Main-top-maſt ſhot by the Board; her Main-maſt, Fore-maſt and Bowſprit, ſo torn, that they were unſerviceable.

Their Rear-admiral, named *S. Sebaſtian* (their biggeſt Ship) wherein was Commander Don *Antonio Telo*, who was lamed of an Arm, had 40 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, as the former, and 400 Men, whereof 20 were ſlain; her Main-maſt, Fore-top-maſt, Fore-yard, and Sprit-ſail Top-maſt, ſhot by the Board; and her Fore-maſt ſo unſerviceable, that ſhe could bear no more Sail, but her Sprit-ſail.

Their fourth Ship, named *S. Salvador*, where was Commander Don *Franciſco de Suar*, had 24 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and 250 Men, 41 of which were ſlain, the aforeſaid Commander being one of the Number; her Maſts were ſo rent and torn, that they were all unſerviceable.

Their fifth Ship, named *S. Jago*, wherein was Commander *Simon de Kintall*, had 22 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, 200 Men, whereof 83 were ſlain; her Maſts were all ſtanding, but ſhe ſo leaked between Wind and Water, by Shot received, that they had much to do to free her, ſo that ſhe was caſt away upon the Coaſt of *India*, ſeven Days after.

Their ſixth Ship, named *Trinidada*, wherein was Commander *Pedro Alva Botelia*, had 22 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and 250 Men, whereof 243 were ſlain; her Top-maſts were all ſhot by the Board, and her other ſo torn, that ſhe could bear no Sail thereon, but was towed by the great Hulk Rear-admiral, from *Muſcat* to *Goa*.

Their ſeventh Ship, named *S. Antonio*, wherein was Commander *Antonio Burallia*, had 22 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and 200 Men, whereof 22 were ſlain; her Maſts were all ſtanding, but having Leaks by Shot received betwixt Wind and Water, the ſeventh Day after ſhe was caſt away upon the Coaſt of *India*.

The eighth Ship, named *Miſerere Cordium*, wherein was Commander *Samuel Rodreges Chava*, had 22 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and 200 Men, whereof three were ſlain; her Fore top-maſt, Main-yard, Fore-yard, and Main-top-ſail-yard, ſhot by the Board, and her Fore-maſt ſo torn, that it was unſerviceable.

A TABLE, *containing the former Numbers.*

	Ordnance.	Men.	Men ſlain.
The Admiral	48	350	38
The Vice admiral	32	250	31
The Rear-admiral	40	400	20
The fourth Ship	24	250	41
The fifth Ship	22	200	83
The ſixth Ship	22	250	243
The ſeventh Ship,	22	200	22
The eighth Ship	22	200	3
The Sum	232	2100	481

The Fleet fitted out for the national Expedition againſt *Spain*, conſiſted of 80 Sail; ſome of them were *Dutch*. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Denbigh* were appointed Vice and Rear-admirals; and they took on-board 10 Regiments of Land-forces.

The firſt Intention of this Armament, was to intercept the Plate-fleet, which was expected from the *Indies* in *November*; but as Time permitted, the Admiral ſailed with a Reſolution to ſtorm and plunder *Cadiz*. However, Matters were ſo ill conducted, that the whole Expedition proved very inglorious to *England*; of which there are various Accounts, but none ſo much to be relied on as that by Sir *Richard Granville* [a], in whoſe Journal is contained "The Charge delivered by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and nine "other Colonels, at the Council-table, againſt the Viſcount "*Wimbledon*, General of the *Cadiz* Voyage: With his "Anſwer, containing a full Relation of the Defeat of that "Voyage."

The Charge delivered by the Earl of Eſſex, *and nine other Colonels, at the Council-table, againſt the Viſcount* Wimbledon, *General of the laſt* Cadiz *Expedition.*

Firſt, We humbly preſent to your Lordſhip's Conſideration, my Lord Marſhal (*Wimbledon*) never acquainted the Council of War with any Part of thoſe Inſtructions he ſhewed at the Council-table, tho' ſome of them were ſuch as the meaneſt Soldier ought to have been acquainted with; nor did we underſtand, that we were ſuch a Council of War, by which he ſhould govern his Actions, otherwiſe than to come when his Lordſhip ſhould call for us; and then to give our Advice to what he ſhould propoſe, and no more. And therefore we think ourſelves no farther anſwerable than for thoſe Advices, which were all he aſked: Tho' in Duty to his Majeſty's Service, we gave him the beſt Counſels we were able, on all Occaſions [b].

The 3d of *October* 1625, my Lord of *Eſſex* put out of *Plymouth* Sound, with part of the Fleet; the 4th the Lord Marſhal followed with the reſt; but the 6th was obliged by contrary Winds to return with that part.

The 7th Colonel *Burgh*, and Colonel *Harwood*, having found when they were out at Sea, that the Captains of their Ships had no Inſtructions for Government of the Fleet, nor any Order for Rendezvous, if they ſhould be ſeparated, went to the Lord Marſhal, and obtained Inſtructions, dated the 3d of *October*, naming the Place of Rendezvous. My Lord of *Eſſex*, being then at Sea, did not receive his till the 9th, under ſail, together with Orders to diſtribute them to all his Squadrons, being 29 Ships: But my Lord had them firſt to copy, which, being of more than four Sheets, would require ſome time. This his Lordſhip's late [c] diſtributing of them, and but in ſingle Copies, to the Admirals of the Squadrons (for the Rear-admiral received his no ſooner) was Cauſe that many could not have them, before we came to the South Cape, and after the Storm; ſo that many might have been ſevered from the Fleet, and never come to them again, for want of Inſtructions; as was near being the Caſe of Captain *Roſkinner*, in the *Matthew*, and Captain *White*, in another Ship, with two Ships more, who together had 600 Landmen on-board [d]; all which came not into the Bay of *Cadiz*, till we were ready to come away. In the ſaid Articles no Enemy was particularly named [e]; for Default whereof, the Captains, *Oſborn*, *Bainthon*, and *Squill*, when they met three *Spaniſh* Ships, near the Rock, about the 17th of *October*, did not fight with them.

The 11th of *October*, at a Council, Sir *Michael Gore* moved to have the Enemy named; but my Lord Marſhal perſiſted it was enough to ſay, *The common Enemy*. Being urged by Sir *John Burgh* and Mr. *Glanvil*, he, at length, named the *Spaniard*, which was alſo inſerted in the next Inſtructions; but they being delivered, as before, only ſingly to the Admirals, to write them out, many Ships did not know their Enemy, till they came to *Cadiz* [f].

The 19th of *October*, the Fleet was off the South Cape. The 20th, a Council was called, where it appeared, that the Lord Marſhal underſtood we were only to give our Advice to what he propoſed: We were then in a proper Height, and hoped his Lordſhip would name ſome Place, in particular, to attack; not believing my Lord Marſhal came from *Plymouth*, without having reſolved [g]. His Lordſhip named *St. Lucas*; but anſwered himſelf, that it was a barred Haven [h], where no great Ships could go in; condemning the Seamen (but naming none) who, at *Plymouth*, adviſed moſt for that Place, and made no Difficulty of the Entrance then, tho' now they found it barred. It was there propoſed to go into the Bay of *Cadiz*, to attempt *St. Mary*'s Port [i], and divers were of this Opinion. Sir *Henry Bruce* propoſed and urged *Gibraltar*; but his Lordſhip ſlighted his Propoſal, and would not allow it a full Debating [k]; as appears by his manner of putting the Queſtion: Whether to *Cadiz* Bay or *Gibraltar*? adding, he believed Sir *Henry* would ſtand alone. This ſlighting of Colonel *Bruce*, a Gentleman of great Experience, and good Reputation, did not only diſcourage him, who, beſides this, adviſed to have gone into the Streights[a], there to have farther attempted; but hindered divers Propoſals of others, and eſpecially of one of the Council, who had the Plan of a Place in *Spain*, which elſe had been propoſed.

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[a] See Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, p. 482.

[b] Viſcount Wimbledon's Anſwer, to the above Charge. May it pleaſe your Lordſhips. I had no Order to communicate my Inſtructions to the Council of War. They were given me for my own Guidance; but if I have tranſgreſſed in any of them, I find enough ready to take Advantage of me for them.

[c] Thoſe who would take Advantage of this, do not know, or elſe have forgotten; for my Lord of Eſſex coming to me at Plymouth, I ſhewed him my Inſtructions, lying on the Table; but when he was commanded to depart for Falmouth, he forgot to call for them; yet I ſent them after him (before I ſailed) by Land, and aſked him the firſt time I met him at Sea, if he had received them; but he told me, no; and then I gave him new ones.

[d] It was their own Neglect that they came not for Inſtructions; and the Cauſe muſt have been, that they were not ready to ſail with the Fleet.

[e] The Inſtructions ſhewed where the Rendezvous was to be, and no Man could think we went upon the Coaſt of Spain to traffic, having no other Merchandiſe than Powder and Shot.

[f] I ſhould think that the Vice-admiral, (the Earl of Eſſex), and the Rear-admiral (the Earl of Denbigh), might have cauſed them to be writ out as well as I; for I cauſed theirs to be written, and ſome for their Squadrons, and all for my own. I had them written moſt at Sea, being commanded by my Lord Duke to let ſlip no Opportunity of a Wind. Beſides, I gave one to Sir Francis Steward; ſo that I had more writing than others, but no more Allowance for Secretaries.

[g] Can any of the Council of War aſk ſuch a Queſtion, that had the Honour to hear his Majeſty, after a long Debate, condeſcend that we ſhould go directly for St. Lucas?

[h] All the World knew it was a barred Haven, before we came from Plymouth; but the Difficulty was, that it was a dangerous Haven, and more dangerous in Winter, as the Act of Council doth more plainly declare; therefore, I wonder, that ten ſufficient Counſellors ſhould lengthen their Journal with that Doubt; and I am ſure, that no Seamen made that Difficulty before his Majeſty at Plymouth.

[i] No one refuſed Sir Samuel Argall's Propoſal for Port St. Mary's.

[k] I muſt place this among other Slanders which cannot be proved: For this is a worthy Gentleman, and one I have known longer in the Wars, than any of the Colonels in the Troops. Had the Knowledge come from himſelf, I ſhould have readily embraced it; yet I could not have done it without the liking of the reſt of the Colonels, nor could I change his Majeſty's Directions,

There it was concluded to go into the Bay of *Cadiz*, my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Squadron to go in firſt, and to anchor as near *St. Mary*'s Port as he could. My Lord of *Eſſex* and Lord *Cromwel* then moved, that if they found any *Spaniſh* Shipping in the Bay (which it is ſeldom without) to know if they ſhould attempt them, and deſired a full and clear Direction in that Point. My Lord *Marſhal*, without referring it to the Council, of himſelf anſwered; that when we ſhould be upon the Place, then he would adviſe thereon, and reſolve, when our Eyes might be our Directors, and ſo gave my Lord of *Eſſex* plain Orders to come to Anchor, and to leave Breadth betwixt *St. Mary*'s Port and him, for the reſt of the Fleet[b]. This Reſolution was a new ſeconded, by an expreſs Letter from my Lord *Marſhal*, to my Lord of *Eſſex*, when he was entering into the Mouth of the Bay, and had the Ships in Sight[c].

The 22d of *October*, in the Afternoon, my Lord of *Eſſex* ſailed into the Bay, where he found 17 good Ships riding under the Town, and 10 or 12 Gallies which came from *St. Mary*'s Port. When they diſcovered us to be *Engliſh*, they made what haſte they could to get under the *Port Puntal*, and ſo up the Creek to *Port Royal*; my Lord of *Eſſex* went ſomething beyond *St. Mary*'s Port, and exchanged ſome Shot, both with the Gallies and Galleons; he brailed his Fore-ſail, and hovered ſome time, to ſee if my Lord *Marſhal* would ſend him any Order[d]; but receiving none, he fell down near the Place aſſigned him, and came to anchor. If my Lord *Marſhal* had, upon my Lord of *Eſſex* and Lord *Cromwel*'s Motion, given Orders for attempting the Shipping, before they came in, if they found any; or, at his coming in, a Quarter of an Hour after, when he firſt ſaw Shipping there, and when his Eyes might have been his Directors (for he could ſee them cut their Cables) had then put himſelf into a Barge, or Long-boat, and given Orders; or but ſent a Ketch, with Orders to my Lord of *Eſſex* to attempt them, theſe Ships had been the King's; but his Lordſhip came preſently to an Anchor, with the reſt of the Fleet.

Soon after, the Lord of *Eſſex*, the *Dutch* Admiral, and ſome few other Chiefs, went of themſelves on-board the Admiral, to offer their Services and receive Orders. After their being ſome Time aboard, the Flag of Council was hung out; but it was then ſo late it could not be far diſcerned. My Lord of *Eſſex*, Colonel *Burgh*, and Sir *John Prowd*, then preſſed him to ſet immediately upon the Shipping, giving him Reaſons why, if he did not, he might endanger the loſing them: as alſo, if he intended any Thing to *Cadiz*, he ſhould do well to give them no Time[e], but preſently land his Army, which he might have done, between the Town and the Fort. His Lordſhip ordered no more for that Night, but that twenty Colliers, with five of the *Dutch* Squadron, ſhould batter the Fort. For this, he ſent Sir *Thomas Love*, and Sir *Michael Gore*, to give Order, which, how they executed, we leave them to anſwer, only ſaying, Sir *Michael Gore* was but ſecond in that Commiſſion, and Sir *Thomas Love*, being Captain of his Lordſhip's own Ship, did, or might, at his Return, have given him an Account. How it came we know not, but only five of the *Dutch* Squadron battered upon the Fort that Night; yet, this Evening, my Lord of *Eſſex* had twice Orders to batter the Fort with his Squadron, and twice countermanded[f].

The 23d of *October*, early in the Morning, my Lord of *Eſſex* had Orders, with his Squadron, to go up, and ſhoot upon the Fort, which was likewiſe done by many of the other Squadrons, to little Effect. That Morning, my Lord Marſhal came on-board my Lord of *Eſſex*, whither, among others who came of themſelves (for there was no Council called[g]) came Sir *John Burgh*, to whom my Lord Marſhal ſaid he had a Reſolution to land ſome Men, and that he ſhould have the Command of about 800 or 1000 that ſhould land firſt; and willed him to prepare, that the Ship he was in ſhould fall up as near my Lord of *Eſſex* as he could.

When Colonel *Burgh* came on-board him again, my Lord Marſhal told him, he was to command thoſe Men that ſhould land, and try if they could take the Fort by Scalado; becauſe we had fired ſo long upon it to no Effect: Colonel *Burgh* went to land, with thoſe Men his Lordſhip ſent him; but, before he went, required of his Lordſhip particular Directions, both for diſpoſing his Men in Landing, and for governing himſelf after he was landed; but could draw little from him, all being referred to his Direction[h].

Colonel *Burgh* required to have with him ſuch things as were fit for ſuch an Enterpriſe, as Ladders and Granadoes, which his Lordſhip promiſed preſently to ſend him: The Ladders came to him, but ſo late and unſeaſonably, as they could not conveniently be diſtributed; but the Granadoes came not at all[i], tho' there was a great Quantity provided in the *Low-Countries*, and Conductors with them, which put the King to great Charge, and were in the Fleet, but not then to be found. Our Men were landed near the Fort, without Hindrance from the Place they landed at; though from the Fort we received ſome ſmall Hurt, as likewiſe when we advanced into the *Downs*, from ſome ſcattered Shot, who covered themſelves in the Sand-hills. When our Men were put in Order, Colonel *Burgh* going to view the Fort, found it of that Strength, that it was not likely to be eaſily gained by Force; yet conceiving, by the Countenance of thoſe in it, that if they were ſummoned, they would perhaps hearken to it, preſently ſent a Drum to tell them, if they would give it over, the Soldiers ſhould have ſafe and honourable Conditions, which they hearkened to; and, after Interchange of Hoſtages, Sir

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rections. Knowing him not to be a Seaman, I believed the Propoſal came from the Maſter of his Ship; yet I did not wholly neglect it; but called ſome Captains and Maſters who knew the Place, that it was very ſtrong, and but one way to approach it; well provided with Ordnance, and we not able to land any, having loſt our Long-boats; and beſides there was no Anchoring, but in the Power of the Caſtle.

[a] If we had gone into the Streights, we might have been locked in, and be long before we could come out, and clean out of Hope of the Plate-fleet.

[b] I muſt ſay here, as I told my Lord of Eſſex, the other Day, ſpeaking of it, that "I never heard any ſuch thing:" Then my Lord ſaid, "If I did not ſpeak it to you, I ſpoke it to Sir Thomas Love:" For if I had been aſked that Queſtion, I ſhould not have given any other Council, than what I had written in the Inſtructions I gave my Lord for Fighting; witneſs the ſeventh and tenth Articles. And I did forbear to preſs, till that I am urged to it. Therefore, if Officers of that Quality, will not read and mark their Inſtructions, but pick Faults in their Commander, and join with ſo many to do ill Offices, I refer it and appeal to higher Powers.

[c] This Letter was only to deſire his Lordſhip to perform the Reſolution of the Council, that was, to make haſte in, and anchor before St. Mary's Port; but not to forbid him to fight with any Ship that ſhould give him Occaſion, as my Inſtructions will anſwer for me to the contrary.

[d] This plainly ſhews, that my Lord had time enough to have entertained a Fight with the Ships, but that ſtill he had forgot to read his Inſtructions.

[e] I wonder why they in Council gave Order to go to Puntal, to take that in firſt: However, I am aſſured, I loſt no Minute of Time; but did my utmoſt to batter Puntal, and to have undertaken the Spaniſh Ships likewiſe; witneſs my Inſtructions to the Ships appointed to go up. But how could this be done, when Sir Michael Gore deceived me, and his Majeſty's Service, in not warning thoſe 20 Ships, which were to have done the Buſineſs that Night, as the five Dutch Ships did, to the Diſhonour of our Nation? which if he had performed, we had, in the Morning, ſent the Ships towards Port-Royal.

[f] The Reaſon was, that then my Lord of Eſſex was at Anchor, and that other Ships were floating, and coming in, and therefore fitter to go to Puntal; wherefore I changed that Reſolution, and ſent Sir Michael Gore to thoſe Ships, to let them know that they ſhould go up to my Lord of Eſſex's Ships, to whom I would ſend Orders to give thoſe Ships Directions, which I ſent by Sir Thomas York.

[g] It is true: Neither was there any need of a Council; for I was executing the Reſolution of the Council, and in Fight and Action. If I ſhould ever and anon aſk Council, it had been a great Shame, having profeſs'd the War, ſo long as I had done.

[h] I gave him direct Orders to land his Men as ſafely as poſſible he could, and withal directed with my Hand to the Place; whereupon he told me, that, in his Opinion, directly to the Sconce was the beſt; ſo then I told him, I held him diſcreet enough, and that he was to act it; therefore, after I had told him my Opinion, I left it to his Diſcretion. Upon this he ſent the Boat in which Captain Bremigem commanded, and Lieutenant Prowd, and other Soldiers, to the Sconce, and finding they went not ſo ſafe, went himſelf that way which I had directed; but Bremigem and Prowd, following his former Directions, were ſlain.

[i] Sir John Burgh cannot deny, but that I ſent divers Meſſengers for him, but he could not be found; and ſince every thing muſt be my Fault, and every one muſt accuſe me, I hope it ſhall be a Precedent to thoſe that come after me.

Sir *William St. Leger* came on Land, and with him the Governor of the Fort agreed, ſo as that Evening the Fort was rendered.

This Day my Lord Marſhal continuing aboard my Lord of *Eſſex*; he was preſſed by the ſaid Earl, Colonel *Harwood*, Sir *John Prowd*, and others who came uncalled onboard him, to ſet upon the Shipping: His general Anſwer was, *He would not hunt two Hares at once*, meaning the Fort and the Shipping [a]; to which was replied, he had Shipping enough to ſet on them, and batter the Fort too [b]; and that, tho' his Lordſhip conceived, and ſaid, he had the Shipping ſure, yet the longer he deferred, they would be ſo much leſs worth the having; but all prevailed not. This Day, ſome time after Sir *John Burgh* was landed, his Lordſhip gave Leave, to all that deſired it, to land, without naming what Colonels, or chief Officers, to go with them; and then about 2 or 3000 Men more landed [c].

The 24th my Lord Marſhal gave Orders for the Landing the reſt of the Army, which was effected, ſave about 10 or 11 Companies of the Rear-admiral's Squadron, which could not conveniently land, they being ſo far off. This Order was given, without calling Council in general, or Advice of any of us in particular [d]. Neither thoſe who were landed this Day, nor the Night before, had any Order to take Victuals with them, which was neceſſary, the Victuals being in the Power of Purſers of Ships, over whom the Land-officers had no Command [e].

The Army being landed, and the Regiments drawn together, my Lord Marſhal called a Council of War, within the Fort of *Puntal*, at which time, before any thing was propoſed, one of the Seamen of the Council came, and ſaid, the Enemy was drawn down, and was in Skirmiſh with Colonel *Burgh*, who had drawn ſome Troops nearer the Town, to view certain Gardens, where he thought ſome of the Enemy were, and to place a Guard upon the Seaſide, towards *Gibraltar*, in which Places ſome ſcattering Men of the Enemy were, who gave the Occaſion of that Alarm. My Lord Marſhal, and the reſt of the Colonels, ſuſpecting the worſt, went out every one to his Charge. His Lordſhip having his Horſes ready, rode up into the *Downs*, to ſee what the Alarm was; and ſoon after, by whoſe Advice we know not, but we proteſt by none of ours, he gave Orders by the Serjeant Major-general, that the whole Amy ſhould march, and ſo marched to the Neck of the Land, which is the Way towards the Bridge [f]. At this time, Victuals for the Army were ſome in landing, and ſome landed at the Fort; but by reaſon of my Lord Marſhal's expreſs Commands to march away, Men had not time to take them, nor did his Lordſhip take care thereof, when he was told of it; for there Sir *Charles Rich* acquainted him, that divers Captains of his had no Victuals, ſome of them having their Victuals come to *Puntal*, others their Boats were gone for them to their Ships [g]. To which his Lordſhip anſwered, that however he muſt march, and that Victuals ſhould follow him; alſo the Serjeant-major of Colonel *Harwood*, upon the firſt of the Order, went unto my Lord Marſhal, and told him, that three or four of the Companies of his Colonel's Regiment, who landed the Day before, had no Victuals, nor had they had any from the time they came from Ship-board. To whom his Lordſhip ſharply anſwered, "That now was not time to ſpeak "for Victuals, when we were to march towards our Enemy; "and that want of Victuals muſt not make Men Cowards." With which Anſwer the Serjeant-major was much offended, but replying not, came back and acquainted his Colonel, and Lieutenant-colonel therewith [h].

The Army marched, and being come to the Neck of Land, there my Lord of *Eſſex* and Sir *John Prowd* came to my Lord Marſhal, and acquainted him with the Want of Victuals in the Army, and preſſed him to take Order for it, before he went any farther [i]; my Lord of *Eſſex* declaring alſo, that he approved not his going to break the

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[a] I do not remember I was preſs'd for any ſuch thing; for the Service of the Fort, and the Difficulties made me have but little Leiſure to diſcourſe with any; I was ſo troubled to ſee the Ships ſo untoward to come up, that I had enough to do to try them, and to ſend to them. It may be there was much talking; but I ſaw but few to help me, excepting Sir Thomas Love.

[b] They that ſay ſo are much miſtaken; for I was fain to take my Barge, to draw up more Ships to batter the Fort, and could not get enough: And many of the King's Ships were a-ground, which was the Cauſe we were ſo long upon Puntal.

[c] The Serjeant Major-general can witneſs the contrary; for I gave Order to Sir John Burgh, to command in Chief, and to Sir John Gibſon, and Serjeant-major Fryar, as good Officers as were in the whole Army, and ſufficient for the Troops that were landed, till I came myſelf, which was not long after.

[d] I thought it not very needful, both becauſe haſte was required to empty the Ships of the Landmen, to be the readier to undertake the Enemy's Shipping, and becauſe, for want of Long-boats, we ſpent much Time, and had much Trouble, to land our Men; ſo that, if one ſhould do nothing but call unneceſſary Councils, when a Man is in Action, one would hinder another. But what I did, I ſpoke openly, and gave my Reaſons; and if I could have heard any Man to have given a better Reaſon, or oppoſed it, then would I have called a Council: For I did imagine he that was a good Subject would ſpeak for the Service of his Majeſty, and not ſtudy to ſpy out Errors in a Chief, and ſo neglect his Majeſty's Service, to betray him when he came home: It is a Sign he went out with no good Intent to do his Majeſty Service; for he that deſires to do his beſt, will not think of his own particular Ends, but of God, his King, and his Country.

[e] And for the Want of Victuals, I believe, there was never ſo good a Commodity, and, I think, a more particular and general Order, than was for thoſe Troops. Firſt, as the Acts of Council will ſhew; then, that there was ſo much landed, that much of it was brought back again, as Captain Bruce, Captain Skipworth, and many other Sea-captains can witneſs; although one would have thought that Men who had Victuals by them, and ſuch means of Knapſacks as they had, for no other Purpoſe; that very Nature would have taught them, not to depart out of their Ships, without taking Victuals with them. And Sir John Burgh did deliver before your Lordſhips (if I miſtake not) that his Soldiers would have taken ſome Victuals with them, but he told them, that if they died, they were provided for; if they lived, they ſhould not be ſo far from their Ships: If Soldiers deſire it, what Fault is there in the Officers that would not provide for them? I am ſure, I ſaw many Officers provide for themſelves, who, if they will be negligent, and think of nothing, but lay all Trouble and Blame upon their Chief; and when they have Meat in their Hands, they will not put it into their Mouths, without Order, what ſhould one do in ſuch a Caſe? I dare ſay, that moſt of the Officers, who were careful, had Victuals, as my Lord Duke's Regiment, and my own, and ſome others; and if I ſhall take a general Care, and a particular Care, and yet be complained of, I muſt think, that they who did neglect providing for their Soldiers, did it on purpoſe to ſlander me; whereas I had given a general Order, that all Soldiers ſhould carry Meat in their Knapſacks, when they ſhould land in any Place whatſoever. Thoſe voluntary Gentlemen, who went with me on-land, can witneſs, as likewiſe all my Servants, yea, my very Chaplain himſelf carried his Knapſack; ſo that I not only gave Order, but obſerved my own Order, and performed it by Example. And I, who have lived theſe 30 Years in the Wars, did never know, that upon a Guard for 24 Hours, or more, that the General gave Orders for Victuals, or did ever provide Knapſacks, which I would not have done, nor never did, but among raw Soldiers, and upon the Coaſt of Spain. But when it has been for four or five Days, where there has been no Poſſibility of getting Victuals, then there has been Order given; but never where Victuals were to be got; and if Captains do not take care for any thing, nor the Colonels for ſuch things as are neceſſary, muſt the General be ſuch a Slave to do all, and others nothing but conſult how to ſlander him? And becauſe they daily and hourly ſit in Council againſt one, is therefore the Cauſe or Manner good? I am bold to ſpeak now more plainly, than I did in my former; which made me aſk your Lordſhip's Leave, to break looſe from the Stake; for I had been baited long enough; and when I heard of a Journal, compounded of Landmen and Seamen together, againſt their Chief, I ſaw it was particular Malice, they no ways proving, that I had done them any Wrong; but making a Catalogue of my Errors, which I confeſs are many: But God has not given any of them the Grace to find them out.

[f] They are miſtaken in this Fact; for when I went out; it was only to diſcover the beſt Way for the Troops to march; for I did not underſtand that any Enemy could give us an Alarm, by coming out of the Town into the Gardens that were hard by us; neither do I think him any Soldier, who put that Point into the Journal; for the Alarm was delivered to me, to come from the Continent, otherwiſe I had not ſtirred; and for calling a Council of War for ſuch a Matter, would have been frivolous, except that the Army had been commanded by a Commiſſion, as I find, by the Petition, they could have wiſhed it.

[g] It was not my Fault; for coming the laſt, he might have brought ſome with him from Ship-board, and if he made not haſte to come ſooner, it was not my Fault; yet I am aſſured, that after he had landed, he ſtaid by the Water-ſide about half an Hour. And for the other Troops which were landed, they had above an Hour's time to their Victuals, and I ſaw, that moſt of them had received Victuals, and had ſtaved ſome Barrels to drink, which, if he had not commanded to their Companies, would never have given over; ſo that there was time enough for careful Officers to have provided for themſelves.

[h] Was this ſo ſharp an Anſwer? It will be rather proved, I told him more ſharply, "that it was a Shame for him, and other Officers, to be ſo "careleſs as to ſuffer their Soldiers to come on-land without Victuals, having the Proviſions nigh them, and ſuch Means to carry it." And is it not as neceſſary for a Colonel to have care of his Regiment, as I had over the whole Army and Fleet? For there was not one in either that I did not my beſt to relieve, in all kinds, having ſtood upon the Half-deck of my Ship whole Days, without eating or drinking; and yet the World ſees what Thanks I have, and how little they have proved againſt me.

[i] I can remember no ſuch thing; for if any did, it muſt be only the Companies that landed the Day before, with Sir John Burgh, which was the Reaſon that he went back; for if I had heard that thoſe Troops which were to march had wanted any, I ſhould never have marched forwards, without calling a Council.

Bridge. Whereupon he ſaid that he would call a Council [a], and ſo made a Halt near *Hercules Pillars*, and ſent to the Colonels to come to the Vanguard of the Troops. Then alſo he was put in mind, by my Lord *Delaware*, that he had left no Troops as a Guard upon the Town, to ſecure our Return, our Mens coming on-land, or following the Troops upon any Occaſion. Upon which Conſideration, before all the Colonels were come together, he ſent back Colonel *Burgh*, and Colonel *Bruce*, with their Regiments, and then marched forwards with the reſt of the Troops, without ſtaying till the Council were all aſſembled, and againſt the Advice of my Lord of *Eſſex*, or any of us who make this Relation; nor did we conceive what Reaſon his Lordſhip had for it; ſure we are, he travelled the Army much, without Victuals, and loſt time, giving the Enemy time to prepare for us, in all Places thereabouts, which chiefly made our Journey ſo fruitleſs. Whereas my Lord Marſhal excuſes his not ſtaying for the Advice of a Council of War, for his going towards the Bridge, upon ſome Words my Lord of *Valentia* uſed to him there, *viz.* ſeeing many of the Enemy ſtanding on a Hill, near him, "that "his Lordſhip ſhould not do well, when he came near the "Enemy, to ſtand ſtill; for it would both encourage the "Enemy, and diſhearten his own Men." At which time, the Lord of *Valentia* did not know he had called a Council, which was the Cauſe of his Stay. Beſides, it was but his particular Advice, and my Lord Marſhal needed not have followed it [b], if he had not approved it. And farther, in effect he might have done both; for he might then have ſent out the Forlorn Hope, or more little Troops, to put the Enemy the farther off [c], which would eaſily have been done, and have ſtaid with the Body of the Army until the Council had been aſſembled, and had debated the Buſineſs, and given their Opinions.

The Night the Army quartered in the Fields, ſome Leagues ſhort of the Bridge, and near ſome ſtraggling Houſes, in many of which there was Wine; but principally there was great ſtore where my Lord Marſhal quartered himſelf, which was the Houſe of Don *Lewis de Soto*; by the way, the Soldiers complained for want of Victuals; thoſe who were landed with Colonel *Burgh* moſt, who had not had any in two Days. My Lord Marſhal, as the Army paſt by, told the Soldiers they ſhould have to every Regiment a Butt of Wine, which was given; and which the Colonels and chief Officers gave ſparingly to their Soldiers; yet how it came, particularly to ſay, we know not, whether there, or in other ſtraggling Houſes near Quarter, certain it is, the Soldiers got more Wine than was delivered them from their Officers, and ſo much, as within a very few Hours, moſt of the whole Army, except the Officers, were drunk, ſome more, ſome leſs, yet all diſorderly. Inſomuch, as we verily believe, if the Enemy had that Night ſet upon us, but with 4 or 500 Men, they might eaſily have defeated the whole Army. That this Drunkenneſs and Diſorder was not occaſioned by the Wine the Soldiers had delivered them by their Officers, appears; becauſe ſome Regiments, *viz.* Sir *Charles Rich*'s, and Sir *Edward Conway*'s, had none; their Butts, by rowling to the Quarter, being ſtaved by the way, and yet their Men were as drunk as the reſt. We think my Lord Marſhal, who rode before, with the foremoſt Troops [d], and came firſt into the Quarter, and found ſo much Wine in his own Houſe, and ſtore of Vineyards thereabouts, might imagine there was Wine in the other Houſes alſo; and if he had ſent ſome of his general Officers to have ſearched the Houſes near the Quarter, and there either to have ſtaved [e] all the Wine he found, or elſe ſet ſuch Guards upon it, as the Soldiers might not have come at it; as alſo to have ſet ſuch Guards about his own Houſe, and taken ſuch Order there, as none could have come by any Wine, but by his Order, and ſo have taken away all Means from the Soldiers to be drunk, he had done much better, than neglecting that, after to caſt a Blemiſh upon the Colonels and chief Officers, as if they had not done their Duties, in keeping their Men from Drunkenneſs.

At this Quarter, and within Night, my Lord of *Eſſex* finding no Guards ſet out on the Avenues, nor any Order for it [f], tho' it did not ſo properly concern him, but ſhould have been my Lord Marſhal's own Care, or the Serjeant Major-general's, yet came and acquainted his Lordſhip therewith; who, without ever viſiting the Avenues in Perſon [g], gave his Lordſhip Order, in general, to advance ſome ſmall Guards before the Troops; but left the Particulars to his Diſcretion. This Night alſo, we had no Word given out till one or two o'Clock in the Night [h]; whoſe Fault it was we know not; but we wondered that we ſhould have one at *Plymouth*, where we had no Enemy nor Army, but in the Land, diſperſed in the Villages, and none in an Army in *Spain*: At laſt we had one in three Words, which was, ***Heaven bleſs us.***

This Night, the Soldiers being for the moſt Part much diſtempered, full of Wine, and in want of Victuals, came in Troops to my Lord Marſhal's Houſe, preſſed to come in on all Sides; and thoſe ſmall Guards he had there were not ſufficient to keep them out, nor remained there then any Reſpect to the chief Officers. The Extremity of this was about one o'Clock in the Night, when there were moſt of the Lords and Colonels with his Lordſhip, who all aſſiſted him in reſtraining thoſe Inſolencies, and were contented, together with my Lord Marſhal, to endure inſolent and contemptuous Language from the Soldiers, who ſaid, "GOD ſave King CHARLES, *&c.* He allowed us

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[a] The Cauſe of my calling a Council was to know every Man's Opinion, whether they thought it fit to march to the Bridge, or no; but the Alarm of my Lord of Valentia, of the Enemy, which we did purſue, hindered that Council, when they were met.

[b] I fear he who put in that Clauſe, has not been ſo long at the Wars as my Lord of Valentia has been; for if I ſhould not believe the Report of a Soldier of that Experience, and a chief Officer of the Army, from whom ſhould I take a Report?

[c] He who put in that Advice, was no better a Soldier than the other; for to diſcover Horſe with Foot was never heard of, but to diſcover Foot with Horſe is ordinary. To ſend out a Forlorn Hope, and to have it cut off before our Faces (which Horſe might have done) and we no way able to relieve them, was not wholſome Advice, and a Man fit to judge of the Errors of his Chief; but Time may make him know better; for no Man is born a Soldier, tho' a Man may be too ſoon, after he is born, a Colonel.

[d] Here they charge the Diſorders of the Soldiers to my want of Care; and that I, going before, ſhould have known of the Store of Wine. This ſheweth, that he who was the Cauſe of this Conceit, doth think that he could have commanded the Army better than the Marſhal: But I ſee, though he gives me Directions, yet he did not know why I rode before; for, at my going before, I knew of no Wine; but went to quarter the Troops, which I did myſelf, tho' it was not my Place; neither is there any Notice, in all the Journal, of that, or any other Pains and Care I took; neither of my watching the three Nights we were on Land; which, becauſe you ſhould be ſenſible of, I came often in the Night to you. I take it, this Relation was to ſome other Purpoſe; but all this while, I knew of no Wine in all the whole Village, which I took to be a barren Place. But after I had quartered the Troops, I returned to the Houſe of Don Lewis de Soto, to ſee the Army march into their Quarters: Then I was told, that there was a Cellar of Wine in it; and that if it might be delivered to every Regiment, it would much refreſh them, as they had no Drink. The Diſorders which come of Wine, is one of the moſt dangerous Miſchiefs which can befal any Army; and I could never hear of any Army that could avoid the Danger, if they fell into the Inconvenience. Soldiers are ſo addicted to Wine, that they will run into all Dangers to come at it. Set a Guard of common Solders upon Wine, and they will be the firſt to be drunk, as they were in this Houſe, where they broke in at four Places that I had ſet Guards upon. When I went to viſit one Guard, the other would be drunk before I came back again. If any of theſe Gentlemen can tell me of an Army kept in Order, where Wine was, I will confeſs my Ignorance. Have not we had the Examples of Armies under Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, my Lord of Cumberland, my Lord Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford, and many others, which have been liable to this Miſchance? Theſe are more than ſufficient to prove how dangerous Wine is to an Army: But if theſe great Commanders (whoſe Sword I am not worthy to carry after them) could not avoid this Inconvenience, I may be excuſed. I can ſay no more, but that I did never imagine ſo barren an Iſland, as that was, could have made ſo much Wine.

[e] He that put in this, does not know that the Serjeant Major-general ſpent almoſt a whole Night in ſtaving the Wine; I am afraid he was aſleep, when he ſhould have been waking.

[f] This I fear is miſtaken on Purpoſe; for to ſome of the Colonels I ſhewed it myſelf, to Sir John Prowd, and gave Order to the Serjeant Major-general to ſee that all the reſt did the like, which no Colonel of Underſtanding would have omitted, being for his own Safety, and ſo ordinary a thing; and in my Abſence it belonged to my Lord of Eſſex.

[g] I did viſit all the Avenues, the Serjeant Major-general being with me; for I made the Quarter, which was not for me to do, neither to ſet out Guards. But by this Diſcourſe I find, that he who preſſes this was not by when it was acted.

[h] I would know whether that Colonel ſent his Serjeant-major for the Word, to the Serjeant Major-general: And if it was demanded of him, and he gave it not, let him anſwer for it, for I was no Serjeant-major. But I would have this marked, that if theſe things ſhould have been neglected, (as I aſſure myſelf they were not) yet none of theſe Fault-finders ever complained to me, as they ſhould have done, if they had regarded his Majeſty's Service, as well as they did to find out Errors: His Majeſty, and my Lord Duke (of Buckingham) marked how their ill Humours diſcovered themſelves at Plymouth. They could not hide it; for ſuch Men are like Foxes, who are the craftieſt of all Beaſts; but there are more of their Skins ſold than of any other.

“ Victuals; but for the Lord Marſhal, and the reſt, they “ cared not; Victuals they would have, or they would pull “ them out of the Houſe.”

The whole Army was in Diſorder, which troubled the Lord Marſhal, and all of us; and for the preſent we knew not how to help it. The Soldiers were enraged like ſo many Beaſts; but we had Patience, and kept them out of the Houſe as well as we could. The reſt of the Night, neither my Lord Marſhal, nor any of us, took much Reſt. We were all much caſt down, and the more, becauſe we knew our Soldiers had Reaſon to complain of the Want of Victuals. My Lord Marſhal having brought the Army to this Extremity, then demanded Advice what to do, of us that were preſent about him. We adviſed him to call a Council; and, becauſe ſome of the Council were gone back, and that there were beſides the general Officers, but three Colonels there, to call the Lieutenant-colonels to Council; but not until the Morning; becauſe it was not well, in the Night, to call both the firſt and ſecond chief Officers ſo far from the Troops as his Houſe was.

So, early in the Morning, the 25th of *October*, the Colonels and the Lieutenant-colonels aſſembled there. My Lord Marſhal opened the great Diſorder the Army was in, and demanded Advice what to do[a]. It was largely debated, whether to go forwards or return, and generally concluded, that whether my Lord Marſhal intended to beſiege *Cadiz*, or not, it was not material to go to the Bridge; both becauſe we had no Materials ſufficient to break it down; and if we had, and could break it, yet that would be no Advantage to us, for beſieging of *Cadiz*; for we might, by poſſeſſing the Streight of Land, be more ſecured from any Danger from the Continent, than by breaking the Bridge. More Reaſons were declared againſt the going to the Bridge; as that, if we could break it, which was not probable, yet that was to ſmall Purpoſe, unleſs we left two or three thouſand Men to guard it, after it was broken; which if we ſhould, we knew no Means how to victual them there, neither were they ſecure, it being poſſible that the Enemy might, with Gallies, land greater Troops than they, betwixt them and us, and coming on the Back of them defeat them; and we far off could not know it, or aſſiſt them; beſides, thereby we ſhould much leſſen our Army: But beſides all this, if it had been for the Advantage of the Service to have gone to the Bridge, yet our Army being then in ſuch Diſorder, for Want of Victuals, and not any to be had but from our Ships, nor any from thence but by going back, it was agreed by all to return, but Sir *William St. Leger*, who would not vote at all. This we did immediately, with Loſs, as we think, of about 60 Men, who were ſtray'd out of the Quarter, and lay ſomewhere drunk. This Day we came back, and quartered by the two Regiments of Colonels *Burgh* and *Bruce*, which were a Guard upon the Town of *Cadiz*. This Evening, when the Troops were quartered in the Field, the Council was aſſembled, on Horſeback, where what has been ſaid of the laſt Night's Diſorder was mentioned[b], and that the Enemy drew together, and followed us in great Troops, both Horſe and Foot. Some affirm'd thoſe they ſaw could be no leſs than two or three thouſand; and it was aſſured, that thoſe who had the Guard towards the Town, had ſeen near 1000 Men at one time without the Town; and that the Gallies came continually to the Town without hindrance. So it was then debated, and moſt Men inclined, to ſhip the next Morning, and after to think what to attempt in ſome other Place: Becauſe *Cadiz* was then thought by us all to be too ſtrong to do any good on; and ſo that Council broke up, referring a Reſolution till next Morning.

The 26th, my Lord Marſhal, leaving Colonel *Harwood* with his Regiment, to ſtay with the other two of Colonel *Burgh*, and Colonel *Bruce*, marched with the reſt of the Army back to the Streight of Land, to recover certain Long-boats, which we had ſeen thereabout before, when we paſſed that Way, and returned that Night to our former Quarter.

The 27th, early in the Morning, a Council was called, and we all met at the Fort *Puntal*, where my Lord Marſhal demanded our Opinions, whether we thought his Army ſufficient to beſiege the Town of *Cadiz*, and whether we would adviſe him to it or not[c]. It was conſidered, our Army conſiſted of new Men, little exerciſed; that many things neceſſary for a Siege were wanting; and the Town had gotten in, both Men and other Neceſſaries, ſince we came into the Bay, having had from *Saturday* Night to *Wedneſday* for that Purpoſe. It was therefore generally agreed, not to beſiege the Town, but to ſhip our Army; and my Lord Marſhal ordered the eldeſt Regiments to ſhip firſt.

In theſe three Days, my Lord Marſhal having left Order for it with my Lord *Denbigh*, there was a Council called of the Seamen, to adviſe how to attack the Enemy's Shipping at *Port Real*. Sir *Samuel Argall* was ordered for this Service, with the Vice-admiral's Squadron; but it ſucceeded not, by reaſon the Enemy, having ſo much Time, had ſunk Ships in the Channel, that ours could not paſs up to them. As yet Sir *Samuel Argall*, with that Squadron, was not returned to the reſt of the Fleet, of which Squadron were the Ships that received my Lord of *Eſſex*'s, my Lord *Valentia*'s, and Colonel *Harwood*'s Regiments; which, becauſe their Shipping was not ready, had Orders to ſhip laſt, and Colonel *Harwood* to be laſt of all.

Preſently, my Lord of *Eſſex*, Sir *William St. Leger*, and Colonel *Harwood*, conſidered of the fitteſt Ground for theſe three Regiments to ſtand in, whilſt the others were in ſhipping. Colonel *Harwood*, with the Approbation of the reſt, pitched upon ſome Hills to place Muſketters on, and behind them, towards the Fort, the reſt of the Regiments in order; my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Regiment, which was firſt to be ſhipped, next the Fort; and Colonel *Harwood*, who was to make the Retreat, next the Enemy; the other Regiments ſhipped in Order, one after another.

When my Lord of *Eſſex* was to draw away, the Enemy, which before had not ſhewn themſelves near to us, but ſcattering only to look upon us, began to come down in Troops; whereupon, my Lord of *Eſſex* ſtaid his Regiment, and ſent to Colonel *Harwood* (who was with the Muſketeers next the Enemy) to know whether it was neceſſary he ſhould ſtay with his Regiment, in regard the Enemy began to come down. Colonel *Harwood* adviſed his Lordſhip to draw away with his Pikes, but to ſend him ſome of his Muſketeers, which he did, and ſo did my Lord of *Valentia*. The Enemy came cloſe up, about 2 or 300 Shot, to the Hills, where he had placed his Muſketeers; they had alſo a Body of Pikes, but they came not up. Colonel *Harwood* put all his Muſketeers to work; ſent to my Lord of *Eſſex* for more, and had them. He entertained the Enemy, as well as he could, with ſuch kind of Men; who being new-raiſed Men, unacquainted with Danger, and the Uſe of their Arms, hurt one another, and, coming to fill their Bandeleers, blew up the Powder twice or thrice; yet he made a ſhift to maintain the Ground he made choice of, for an Hour or more, that the other Regiments might have time to ſhip: In this time he had two or three Meſſages from my Lord Marſhal to come off[d], which if he had done at firſt, before he had emboldened his Men, and put ſome Aſſurance into them, and given

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[a] It was not my Propoſition, to know what to do when I called a Council. For that is untruly miſtaken, as much as the reſt was; for my Propoſition was, that ſeeing this Diſorder of the Troops, which had been that Night, to go to the Bridge was of no great Conſequence, and whether it was not better to return [b] I remember no ſuch thing. [c] There was no ſuch thing; for it was aſked on Horſeback, and the Night before; ſo that I ſee theſe things come from one, who I think did ſo little, and underſtood not much, but what was told him.

[d] I cannot find that this Diſcourſe ſounds as if it came from a Soldier, but a made Diſcourſe; for no Man can make me believe, that it was well done to ſtick upon a Retreat, when the Enemy was no ſtronger; for my Order was, that the Retreat ſhould be made fighting, and retiring; and that one Regiment ſhould ſecond the other; which might have been done, if the Enemy had been three Times as ſtrong as he was, eſpecially, when there was no Horſe to charge them: So that when I ſaid, they were longer engaged than I ſaw any Reaſon for, it is true; for they were above an Hour and a half longer, than I made account of; and ſtanding without the Fort, as far advanced as I could, with my Lord of Eſſex by me, I told him, that I wondered at this Retreat, the Enemy being no ſtronger; and that I gave them Order to fight and retire; and that what they did was no Retreat, but a plain Skirmiſh, and it very much hindered our embarking; which, we wanting our Long-boats, would be very troubleſome, as it was Night before we had done. Upon this, Colonel Bruce flung off his Coat, and run to ſee what it was, and gave him his beſt Aſſiſtance. At laſt Colonel Harwood came off in good Order; and the Enemy followed him with ſcattered Shot, ſome of which came into the Puntal. He retreated

Teſtimony to the Enemy that he went not off for fear of them, but becauſe he was to go a Ship-board, he had been ſure to be beaten.

Having now ſtaid a ſufficient Time for thoſe Ends, he began to make his Retreat; and then miſſed one Diviſion of the Pikes of his Regiment, which my Lord Marſhal had ſent for away without his Knowledge, which troubled him. Firſt he commanded his Lieutenant-colonel to advance his Pikes and Colours about ten Paces towards the Enemy, to countenance his Muſketeers in coming off, which put the Enemy to a ſtand, and which Time he made uſe of to begin to retire. But when he commanded his Men to turn their Faces, and march off, they began to break and run away, and much ado he had to keep them together: But by the Help of his Lieutenant-colonel, and other Officers, who all ſtood firm, and helped, with much Difficulty, by degrees, he came off in reaſonable good Order, and with little Loſs. The Enemy followed him cloſe to the Fort, where he having the Advantage of an old Houſe, and placing Muſketeers ſafely in it, and about it, and at either End a Drake, which, after he was come under the Fort with his Pikes, my Lord Marſhal ſent him, and charging them with Muſket-bullets, after four or five Times diſcharging, the Enemy, by little and little, went clear away, and he ſhipped his Men without any Trouble.

In all this Time, neither my Lord Marſhal, nor Sir *William St. Leger*, ever came to Colonel *Harwood*, till he was, with his Pikes, come cloſe under the Fort [a]. My Lords of *Eſſex* and *Valentia*, and Colonel *Bruce*, came ſeveral Times to ſee him [b]; yet none of them do aſſume the making of the Retreat themſelves, as my Lord Marſhal did, ſaying before this Table, he and Sir *William St. Leger* made the Retreat [c].

My Lord Marſhal propoſed, this Day, to keep the Fort, with 120 Men [d]; in which Caſe he was oppoſed by them who ſaid, "If he left theſe Men in the Fort, it was needful to leave a third Part of the Shipping there to keep the Harbour," which the Fort could not do alone; for ſo ſoon as we were gone with our Shipping, they would have their Fort back again, and it would be ſo many Men certainly loſt, which every one was againſt; and my Lord Marſhal would not hear of leaving Shipping to keep the Harbour.

The 28th of *October*, our Men were drawn out of the Fort on Ship-board; and the whole Fleet fell down that Night towards the Entrance into the Sea.

The 29th, a Council of War was called, to conſult what was to be done. Opinions were various; ſome were for going into the *Streights*, to attempt ſome Harbours there; others were for the Southern Iſlands, to try our Fortune there. *St. Mary's Port* was not thought a feaſible thing, becauſe we had been long in the Bay, and it was likely they were too well provided for us. Others again were chiefly for reguarding what my Lord Marſhal had expreſly in his Inſtructions, which, as he had declared to us, was chiefly to intercept the *Weſt-Indian* Fleet; and theſe two Places are both out of the way for that Deſign. In this Conſideration, it was propoſed and concluded to ſet ſail, and ply to the Southward Cape, and ſtand our Courſe Weſtward, 60 Leagues from the Land, in the Latitude of 37, and 37 and a half, and 36, and 36 and a half, to look for the *Weſt-Indian* Fleet, with Inſtructions, if forced by Weſterly Winds, our Rendezvous at *Buggerow*, if by Southerly Winds, at the Iſles of *Bayon* in *Galicia*, where it was propoſed to water.

At a Council of War held the firſt of *November*, it was concluded, that we ſhould yet lie 20 Days at the aforeſaid Streights, to attend the Fleet; in which time there came many Complaints of the Defect of our Fleet; as Want of Drink, and a general Want of Water, great Sickneſſes and Infections among our Men; many Ships growing leaky, with beating it out in Storms and high Seas; inſomuch that it was thought fit to ſend home the unableſt and moſt uſeleſs Veſſels, as the *Horſe*, and ſome Prizes we had taken, and ſome other Merchant-ſhips that had Defects, and with them Sir *John Chidley*'s Ship, the *Rainbow*, of the King's, which was likewiſe held defective. When 17 Days of our 20 were paſt, the Complaints of theſe former Defects increaſed, ſo as, by a Council of War, it was generally thought beſt to bear for *England*, which we did.

In our going out, the *Long Robert* of *Ipſwich*, foundered in the Sea, with two Land-companies in her, and not a Man ſaved.

In our coming home, the *Mary Conſtance* periſhed with two Land-companies in her, the Captains and ſome others ſaved by a Ship that was near them.

Our greateſt Wants were Drink and Water; we took a Ship laden with Wine. It was moved to my Lord *Marſhal*, by Sir *Michael Gore*, and others, to diſtribute the Wine among the Fleet [e]. It would have much eaſed our Wants of that kind, and have given much Comfort to weak and feeble Men; and the worſt had been but his Majeſty's paying for it, if the Ship had not been proved good Prize; but his Lordſhip would give no Ear to it, by reaſon on-board the *Anne Royal*, Sir *William St. Leger* told

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treated ſome old Houſes, whither I ſent him two ſmall Pieces called Drakes, with 60 Pikes to guard them. Theſe Drakes ſhoot ſome 40, ſome 60 Bullets, and I ſaw the Effect of them; for after they had ſhot twice, I could not perceive any advance more. After this, I went to Sir Edward Harwood, and met him coming off from the Houſe. I deſired him to tell me, why they ſtuck ſo long upon the Retreat, and made me keep ſuch Troops as were to be ſhipped. His Anſwer was, that the Men were raw, and that the Officers had engaged themſelves farther than he would have had them.

[a] This argues, that he, or thoſe, who wrote that Part ſhew, they do not underſtand what belongs, either to the War, or how every one ought, in his Place, to perform his Duty. For if a Colonel or two are not ſufficient to make a Retreat againſt an Enemy, that was no more in Number, (not ſo much as half thoſe Troops that were ordained to make the Retreat againſt them) ſheweth, that they deſpaired of their Sufficiency, that made their Retreat, tho' I held them ſufficient to have performed a greater Buſineſs; but had I thought they had not been ſo, then would not I have ſhipped my Horſe as I did; but would have made my Retreat myſelf, which was not my Place to have done; for my Place was rather to have looked to have given Order, to have ſeconded him with new Troops, if either he had needed, or had ſent to me for Order, which he never did.

[b] That cannot be; for my Lord of Eſſex was with me, when Sir Henry Bruce caſt off his Coat, and went to ſee the Reaſon why Colonel Harwood did ſo long ſtick upon the Retreat.

[c] I muſt anſwer him who urges this Point. I ſhould be ſorry to deliver any thing before this Table, that was not true, eſpecially of myſelf; my Anſwer is, That he who has contradicted that Point is no Soldier, and does not know what a Retreat is for part of the Army, and a Retreat of the whole Army, and its Appurtenances, as Cannon, Horſes and Baggage, and to ſee the Army embarked, with all belonging to it. So that, as Colonel Harwood made the Retreat of part of the Army, till he came to me to the Sconce (under which Protection) and to which Place he was to make his Retreat; and that when I ſent him the ſmall Pieces, then it could not be properly ſaid, that he made any more Retreat. Then, to ſpeak properly, I made the Retreat; for I ſtaid there ſo long, to ſee all things ſhipped, that moſt of the Officers, except the Serjeant Major-general, and Colonel Burgh, left me, without taking their Leave. This Charge was ignorantly, and for Want of Judgment, as many of the others are; for altho' there be ſufficient Soldiers among the ten who have ſubſcribed, and therefore I cannot think it came from their Pen; yet I know they are of the leſſer Number by many, that are profeſſed Soldiers, and not many, and yet thoſe may be content to let ſuch Errors paſs, for their Advantages, and to ſee whether I would take Exceptions at it.

[d] It is true, I did propoſe it, and would we had kept it; for then we had now been Maſters of the Plate-Fleet, which came into that Bay, within four Days after our Departure. It was a Fort that might have been well defended, or, at leaſt, ſo well diſputed, as thoſe that had been in it, might have made as good a Compoſition for themſelves, as the Enemy we put out of it did; for I meant to have left 200 Men, and about 20 Ships for about 14 Days, with a ſufficient Number of Ordnance, and well victualled, and furniſhed with Ammunition; but there was none who would condeſcend to it, doubting of the Danger. Then my Anſwer was, that without their Conſent, I would not do it. It had, however, been a good Service, eſpecially to have given us the Aſſurance of a good Harbour, which we had no where elſe, upon any Occaſion. When I ſaw no one would venture the Danger to hold it, my Anſwer was, It is true, there is no going to the Wars without Danger, and that he who will undertake any thing of Worth, muſt venture more than 200 Men.

[e] The laſt Article preſented me is, That I would not break Bulk, and command Wine to be delivered, in the Name of ſick Men. My Anſwer is, That if I had, the ſick Men would have had the leaſt Share of it; and that the moſt Part of our ſick Men had the Calenture, for which Wine was held improper; for we found our Beer did not do them that good we wiſhed, by reaſon of the Strength of the Hop; and beſides, there was no Ship wholly laden with Wine, nor no Quantity to have ſatiſfied the whole Fleet; and to ſatiſfy ſome, and leave the greater Part unſatiſfied, would have been but Labour loſt; ſo that this may go among the other forced Articles, that may ſerve for Number, but not for Subſtance. Thus hoping that this Relation is fully ſatiſfied and anſwered, tho' by one Defendant, and in two Days, tho' the Plaintiffs had fourteen Days to compoſe theirs, and ten Perſons to contrive it. But a good Cauſe needs not ſo much Help before judicious Hearers. But this Courſe of Bill and Anſwer was never uſed, I think, in our Profeſſion before; for it would better have become Pen-men than Pike-men; but Defendants may be beſt excuſed.

WIMBLEDON.

told him, “That if he broke Bulk, and gave any thing out, he could not anſwer it, and would pay for it out of his Purſe, at his Return.”

We underwritten, amongſt us, ſome one Part, ſome another, are ready to verify this Relation.

Rob. Eſſex,
Charles Rich,
Edw. Harwood,
Hen. Valentia,
Edw. Conway,
Jo. Burgh,
Tho. Cromwell,
Michael Gore,
Jo. Watts,
Jo. Chudleigh.

To this we ſhall add what others have ſaid of this Expedition.

Ruſhworth ſays[a], “It gave no ſmall Occaſion of Clamour, that a Fleet, ſo well provided and manned, ſhould land their Men in an Enemy's Country, and return without ſome honourable Action. But *where the Fault lay,* hath not been *yet adjudged*; neither was any yet *puniſhed* for failing in that Duty. The General, for ſome time, was not admitted into the King's Preſence, and ſome of the Colonels of the Army accuſed him, and ſome Seamen aggravated the Accuſation: The General was examined before the Council, and laid the Fault on others in the Fleet, who let the King of *Spain*'s Ships paſs without fighting them, according to Order: They, on the other hand, ſaid, *They had no Order from their General to fight.* Thus were there *fending* and *proving*, which contributed little to ſalve the Diſhonour, which the Nation ſuſtained by this unprofitable, and ill-managed Deſign[b].”

Sir *William Monſon*, ſpeaking of the Miſconduct of ſome Expeditions of theſe Times, concludes in the following remarkable Manner: “I can ſay no more than join with others, who deſire, that the Subject may have Satiſfaction what the Defects, Ignorance and Errors were, that upon Examination all may appear, and every Man receive his Reward, as he juſtly deſerves.

“His Majeſty and State could not have been more honoured, nor all in general better pleaſed; for People are perſuaded, that the Realm never enjoyed braver and more warlike Ships than now; Commanders of greater Integrity and Valour; Seamen of greater Experience and Skill; more Abundance and Choice of Ammunition and Arms; greater Quantity of Victuals, and all Things elſe to furniſh ſuch an Action.

“Then would have appeared the Weakneſs of a great Perſon in Authority, when being ſpoken to by one of greater Blood than himſelf, who friendly told him, he did not ſee a Man of Experience employed in the Fleet to *Cadiz*, which made him doubt of the good Succeſs thereof; he anſwered, not like one who thinks Example of more Weight than Conceit, but rudely, raſhly and diſreſpectfully; *That they were all Fools who commanded in the Queen's Time, in compariſon of thoſe now employed.* But it might have been more truly told him, *That Men in Authority, who govern more by Will and Chance, than by Reaſon and Advice, are dangerous in a State; for nothing is ſo great a Weakneſs, as for a Man to think he knows much, when in effect he knows nothing at all.*”

In another Place, Sir *William* ſays, “Spleen, Paſſion, and Envy to ſome they have not, and the Want of Knowledge in themſelves, are the Bane and Deſtroyers of all warlike Actions, either by Sea or Land, which could not be better verified than in the laſt unfortunate Expedition to *Cadiz*: For I muſt ſay, that in many Ages (or rather in no Age) we ſhall have the like Opportunity again to annoy the State of *Spain*, as was then offered us, if the Enterprize had been as well projected and directed, as it was raſhly begun and proſecuted, as may appear by what follows.

“If our Land-forces had been diſcharged at the Beginning of Summer, when they were firſt raiſed, and the Fleet employed upon Sea-action only; for take it for a Maxim, that Sea and Land-enterprizes are the Bane of one another, as Experience has made it appear.

“At this Time that the Expedition was undertaken, we well knew the *Spaniſh* Fleet had diſpoſſeſſed the *Hollanders* of the Town of *Baya* in *Braſil*, a little before taken by them: We likewiſe knew they were to return to *Spain*, with a Million of Pounds in Wealth; which after proved true.

“And yet this was not all, and the worſt that *Spain* was to receive from us. This happened when they had no Suſpicion of us, as Enemies, nor any Shew of Hoſtility made, to give them Warning or Diſtruſt.

“If therefore we had employed our Fleet, then in Readineſs, to the *Tercera* Iſlands, where we aſſuredly knew the *Spaniards* would touch in their Return, as indeed they did, all ſcattered and ill provided, we had, without all Doubt or Queſtion, intercepted them, and poſſeſſed ſo much Wealth of theirs, as would have maintained a royal War againſt them, till his Majeſty had been revenged of the Affronts offered him, as was conceived, at his being in *Spain*.

“Beſides this Wealth, we had cut off his Fleet, which conſiſted of fifty or ſixty of his beſt Galleons, which, in an Age, could not be reſtored, whereby he would have been unable to undertake any Action againſt us. This was diſcovered to ſome, before the Fleet's going out; but either neglected or not believed.”

The Year 1625 is alſo memorable for a Battle fought between the *Lion*, *Dolphin* and *Palſgrave*, three *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Men, and the *Portugueſe* Guarda Coſtas, near *Ormus* in the *Eaſt-Indies*: In which the *Lion*, after ſeveral Hours Fight in cloſe Quarters, being boarded both by the Admiral and Vice-admiral, was dreadfully ſhatter'd, and torn in pieces in the Stern from the middle Deck upwards, by blowing up the Poop, and 50 or 60 of the Enemy thereon.

In this Condition the *Portugueſe* left the *Lion*, expecting ſhe would ſink or burn down to the Water-edge, and purſued the *Palſgrave* and *Dolphin*, which had ſteer'd away for Sea and crowded all their Sail to avoid the Enemy. However, the *Lion* being clear'd of the Fire, and as well defended againſt the Seas, as it was poſſible for the Men on-board to mend her, took the Advantage of the Enemy's Abſence, and ſail'd for *Ormus*, the Place of Rendezvous agreed on by the *Indiamen* before they parted; and on the fourth of *November* arrived at *Gombroon*, “where (ſays my Author, who was on-board) we had Intelligence by our Merchants, there reſident, that *Rufero* was riding under *Ormus* Iſlands, with 18 or 20 Frigates, which when our Maſter underſtood, the Merchants being then aboard, it was concluded by Conſultation, that, to prevent any enſuing Danger that might happen, and alſo for the Clearing of our Ship, whereby to mount our lower Tier, all the Cloth and Coral, and four Cheſts of Money, ſhould be ſent aſhore with as much ſpeed as poſſible; the others our Maſter refuſed to ſend out of the Ship, alledging, that if it ſhould pleaſe GOD they were forced to leave the Port, by any Diſaſter, there was no Stock to buy any Refreſhing for our Men, which then did want it, the reſt of our Carriages and Goods lying low in the Hold, could not then be come by, without much time, which then we wanted; it was alſo appointed, that we ſhould, with all Speed, take in Water, and ſtand for *Ormus*, which was aſſayed to do, and partly effected; for upon the fifth Day, the Merchants and our Purſer rode with all ſpeed to the Sultan, (who was then out of Town) to entreat for Boats to land the Goods, and to water our Ships, which he granted, and gave us alſo a Boat, to make us a Long-boat of, by reaſon we had loſt both our Skiff and Long-boat in the laſt Fight.

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[a] Ruſhw. Coll. Vol. I. p. 196.

[b] In anſwer to this, it has been ſaid, in Juſtification of my Lord Wimbledon, that “whoever examines his Anſwer to the Charge exhibited againſt him, will find every Particular, in the above-mentioned Paragraph, to be falſe. For, where the Fault lay, may eaſily be perceived, now theſe original Papers appear together. But why no Puniſhment was inflicted upon the Offenders, muſt only be ſubmitted to the Will of the Prince. Who deſerved it, I dare ſay, will no longer now be a Secret; and the Pretence of the Complainants, in not having Orders from their General to fight, and what Mr. Ruſhworth is pleaſed to call fending and proving, will alſo be found to be very clear on the Side of the General, and quite the Reverſe on that of his Adverſaries.”

“ The ſixth there came Boat-haylers aboard, and took all the Goods aforeſaid, and carried them aſhore, and alſo took in Caſks to fill with Water.

“ The ſeventh of *November* there came 12 Tons of Water aboard, which was preſently taken in, and more Caſks ſent aſhore; alſo in this ſhort Time, our lower Orlope was made priddie, and our two Chaſe-pieces were mounted, and we were in good hopes the next Day to take in Water enough to ſerve until the Fleet came to ſtand over for *Ormus*, but GOD having otherwiſe appointed, it fell out to the contrary.

“ The eighth Day, about ſeven in the Morning, *Ruſero*, with his Frigates, came rowing towards the Ship. And being then calm, that the Ship could not work, he came in ſuch ſort, that ſhe could have none but her Chaſe-pieces to bear upon them, which lay ſo well to paſs that they ſunk two of their Frigates before they could board her, and two more after they were by her Sides; but after they were aboard, they plied their ſmall Shot in ſuch wiſe, that they were not able to open a Port in the Ship, but were forced to ſhoot away Ports and all.

“ They alſo maintained ſuch abundance of Fireworks round about her, that, in a Minute, all her Maſts and Sails were on fire, her upper Deck was alſo on fire, which for all their heaving much Water upon it, in leſs then half an Hour fell down upon their Heads, and put them from their Ordnance, who ſeeing Death on each Side, ſome leaped over-board, and put themſelves to the Mercy of their Enemy, the reſt gave fire to the Powder-room, and blew up the Ship. Thoſe Men which leaped over-board, were all received into the Frigates, and carried unto *Ormus* Iſland, and the next Morning *Ruſero* gave Orders to cut off all their Heads but one, namely, *Thomas Winterbrune*, whom he ſent with a Letter to the Merchants at *Gombroon*, the reſt, being 26 Perſons, were immediately beheaded.”

The Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* at the *French* King's employing the Ships ſent him by King *Charles* againſt the *Rochellers*; and the Pique of the *French* Miniſtry at the Diſmiſſion of the Queen's *French* Servants, made both Nations ripe for Hoſtilities. The Lord High-admiral iſſued out Commiſſions of Reprizal; whereby the *St. Peter* of *Havre de Grace*, was taken, with other *French* Merchant-ſhips: Whereupon, the *French* King not only abſolutely refuſed to reſtore the ſeven Ships, but ſeized on all the *Engliſh* Merchants Effects, throughout his Dominions; yet for ſome Reaſons of State, theſe Breaches were patched up for a while, and mutual Reſtitution made on both Sides; till ſoon after, upon the Diſmiſſion of the Queen's *French* Servants, an open Rupture enſued, by the *French* King's ſeizing 120 *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips, in the ſeveral Ports and Rivers of his Kingdom, which was immediately followed by a Declaration of War on our Side. The Grounds thereof, among others, were the *French* King's Breach of his Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, and his blocking up their Towns, Garriſons and Forts. In order therefore to relieve them, a Fleet of 30 Ships was immediately fitted out under the Earl of *Denbigh*, with Orders to proceed to *Rochelle*; but the Ships, when they were gotten a few Leagues into Sea, ſuffered ſo much by bad Weather, that they were forced to return into Harbour, and the Seaſon was ſo late (being the latter End of *October*) that they could not be ſent out again till next Year.

In 1626, King *Charles*, in the midſt of a great Scarcity of Money, raiſed the Sailors Wages from 14 to 20*s.* a Month. And the new Rates for Seamens Wages were confirmed by the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, according to his Majeſty's ſeveral Rates of Ships, and Degrees of Officers. Of which, the following Table gives an exact Account, *per* Month.

RANKS.	I.				II.				III.				IV.				V.				VI.			
Number of Men		500	400			300	250			200	160			120	100			70	60			50	40	
		l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Captain Ordinary		14				11	4			9	6	8						6	12			4	6	8
Lieutenant		3	10			3	10			2	16													
Maſter		4	13	9		4	10			3	15	0		3	7	6		3				2	6	8
Pilot		2	5			2				1	17	6		1	13	9		1	10			1	3	4
Maſter's Mate	3	2	5		2	2				1	17	6		1	13	9		1	10			1	3	4
Boatſwain		2	5			2				1	17	6		1	13	9		1	10			1	3	4
Boatſwain's Mate		1	6	3		1	5			1		8		1		8		1		8		1		8
Quarter-Maſters	4	1	10		4	1	5		4	1	5		4	1	5		2	1	5		2	1		
Quarter-Maſters Mates	4	1	5		4	1		8	2	1		8	2	1		8	2	1		8	2		17	6
Yeomen {Halyards Sheets Tacks Jacks}	4	1	5		4	1	1		2	1	1		2	1	1		2	1	1					
Corporal		1	10			1	8			1	5	8		1	3	4		1					18	8
Maſter Carpenter		1	17	6		1	17	6		1	10			1	6	8		1	3	4		1	1	
Carpenter's Mate		1	5			1	4	3		1	3	4		1	1	6			19	2			18	8
Other Carpenters or Caulkers	9	1		8	6	1			4	1			3	1										
Purſer		2				1	16	8		1	10			1	6	8		1	3	4		1	3	4
Steward and Cook		1	5			1	5			1	5			1	3	4		1	3	4			17	6
Surgeon		1	10			1	10			1	10			1	10			1	10			1	10	
Surgeon's Mate		1				1				1														
Maſter Trumpeter		1	1			1	6	8		1	5			1	5			1	5			1	1	
Other Trumpeters	4	1		4		1	3	4																
Drum and Fife		1				1				1				1				1				1		
Coxſwain		1	5			1	5			1	3	4		1				1				1		
Coxſwain's Mate		1		8		1		8			19	2												
Skiffſwain		1																						
Skiffſwain's Mate			17	6																				
Two Swabbers		1	8	8	3	1	8				18	6			17	6			17	6			17	6
Swabbers Mate							17	6			16	8												
Armourer		1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	
Maſter Gunner		2				1	16	8		1	10			1	6	8		1	3	4		1	3	4
Gunner's Mate		1	2	6		1	1			1	1			1		8		1					18	8
Quarter-Gunners	4	1			4		18	8			18	8			18				17	6			17	6
Quarter-Gunners Mates	4		18	8	4		17	6																
Yeoman of the Powder-room		1					18	8			18	8			18	8			18	8			18	8
Maſter-Cooper			16	8			16	8			16	8			16	8			16	8			16	8
Grumets	6		11	3	5		11	3	4		11	5	3		11	3			11	5			11	3
Common Men 360, four out of each Hundred are the Captain's Retinue			15		204		15		146		15		65		15		41		15		23		15	
Boys	5		7	6	4		7	6	3		7	6	3		7	6			7	6			7	6
Gun-maker		1	1			1	1																	

The War in which the King was engaged, in order to have procured the Reſtitution of the Palatinate to his Brother-in-law, had drawn him into a League with *Denmark*, which obliged him to ſend a Squadron of Ships to that King's Aſſiſtance; and this being attended with little Succeſs, he was called upon for further Supplies. His Parliament all this time were little inclined to aſſiſt him, becauſe he would not part with *Buckingham*; and this obliged him to have recourſe to ſuch Methods for Supply, as his Lawyers told him were juſtifiable. Amongſt the reſt, he obliged the Sea-ports to furniſh him with Ships: Of the City of *London* he demanded 20, and of other Places in Proportion. The Inhabitants thought this ſo hard, that many who had no immediate Dependance on Trade, were for quitting their Reſidence in maritime Places, and retiring up into the Country. This Conduct of theirs made the Burthen ſtill more intolerable upon thoſe who ſtaid behind, and the Conſequence of their Remonſtrances was a Proclamation, requiring ſuch as had quitted the Sea-coaſt, to return immediately to their former Dwellings: And this was what gave riſe to the firſt Diſturbances in this unfortunate Reign [a].

The 24th of *Auguſt* 1627, Captain *Warriner*, who left *St. Chriſtopher*'s in *September* 1625, to carry their firſt Crop of Tobacco into *England*, returned thither with near 100 People.

They then fell to planting, as before; but, on the 4th of *September*, a Hurricane blew down all their Houſes and Tobacco, drove two Ships aſhore, and did other conſiderable Damages. All their Proviſions being thus loſt, they lived very miſerably, upon what they could get in the wild Woods, till the Turtles came in, about *June*, of the Year following.

The 13th of *May* 1627, Captain *Warriner*, the *Engliſh* Governor, and the *French* Governor, ſigned Articles of Diviſion. They then ſet thoſe Boundaries to their ſeveral Diviſions, which remained ever after, with this particular Proviſo, that fiſhing and hunting ſhould be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; that the Salt-ponds, and moſt valuable Timber, ſhould alſo be in common, together with the Mines and Havens. Alſo, a League offenſive and defenſive was concluded between them, againſt all their Enemies.

After which they ſet themſelves to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement. They forced the *Indians*, who had been very miſchievous, all out of the Iſland; and from that time we may date the peaceable and flouriſhing Settlement of that Colony, excepting that this ſame Year the *Spaniards* endeavoured to root them out, and being too powerful for them, carried off 600 Men; but after their Departure, thoſe who remained rallied, and carried on their Settlement, which became ſo numerous, that when their firſt Governor died, in 1637, there were between 12 and 13000 *Engliſh* on the Iſland.

Several Complaints having been made of the Mal-adminiſtration of the *Virginia* Company, and the Conſequences which attended them, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Subjects, the King this Year diſſolved that Company, and reduced the Country and Government into his own immediate Direction, appointed the Governor and Council himſelf, and ordered all Patents and Proceſſes to iſſue in his own Name, reſerving to himſelf a Quit-rent of 2 *s.* for every 100 Acres of Land.

About this time it was that the King granted the Iſland of *Barbadoes* to *James* Earl of *Carliſle*; upon which all who tranſported themſelves thither to ſettle, were obliged to purchaſe their Lands of him; and the Rates being eaſy, and the Country pleaſant, the Colony ſoon began to grow populous, no other Settlement thriving ſo faſt.

The firſt Comers made Choice of the Bottom of the Bay, where the Bridge-town now ſtands, to inhabit, and thereabouts, and all along the Leeward Shore, were the firſt Settlements.

This Year likewiſe, the Earl of *Warwick*, with three Frigates only, attacking a Fleet of *Spaniards* of 40 Sail, bound for *Dunkirk*, with 2000 Soldiers on-board, ſunk five, and diſperſed and drove back the reſt, whereof few arrived in *Spain*, moſt of them periſhing by Storm.

The *French* War continuing, it was reſolved to make a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*, with a powerful Fleet and Army [b], under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*. He ſailed from *Portſmouth* the 27th of *June*, and landed on the Iſle of *Rhee*; though at firſt he intended to have made a Deſcent on *Oleron*, and actually promiſed ſo much to the Duke of *Soubize*, whom he ſent to *Rochelle*, to acquaint the Inhabitants of his coming to their Relief. They received this Meſſage coldly; for the *French* King having corrupted ſome by his Gold, and terrifying many more by his Power, the *Rochellers* were now afraid to receive the very Succours they had demanded.

The general Expectation (ſays Sir *Richard Granville*) of our mighty Fleet [c], was, at length, delivered of a hopeful Birth, tho' thro' wilful Ignorance, or over-careful Fear, in the after Carriage of Affairs, it proved illegitimate. For after about a Fortnight's Time ſpent in chaſe of certain *Dunkirkers* (on *Wedneſday* the 11th of *July*) we ſafely arrived before the Iſle of *Rhee*; where, a Council being immediately called, the Colonels received Orders for the manner of Landing.

That Night nothing of Conſequence was done, only ſome Shot made by the Battery-ſhips at the Fort called the *Fort de la Pree*; but to little Purpoſe.

The 12th of *July*. The next Morning, Monſieur *Soubize* went to *Rochel*, to procure ſome Aid from them, and Sir *William Beecher* was likewiſe ſent by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, to know their Intentions; but they of the Town would ſcarce admit them, but by a Poſtern-door, being jealous of the Succeſs of our Affairs. About four o'Clock the ſame Day, we began to unſhip our Soldiers [d]; but by that time we had landed about 12 or 1500 of our Men, with three or four Drakes, the Enemy (who lay undiſcovered, by the Advantage of a Bottom) charged us with 200 Horſe, and 1000 Foot. In their Horſe-charge they ſhewed themſelves true *Frenchmen*, deſperately valiant, and put our Men, being unranked, and ſcarce ſtept onſhore, to rout, and drowned many of the Rear; but, at length, by the brave Example of the Colonels and General, they reaſſumed their Courage, and in Gratitude laid above 100 of their Cavalry on the Ground. The Foot ſeeing the ill Entertainment of their Horſe, came on very unwillingly, (their Captains waving their Hats to them) and were glad to quit us; for after two or three Vollies of Shot and Stones, finding our Pikes too long for them, they betook themſelves to Flight, and left us Maſters of the Field, an Honour dearly purchaſed, it being by the Death of many of our braveſt Commanders [e]. That Night, we began to land our Horſe, and make good the Place by Intrenchment, expecting another Charge from the Enemy that Night; but they left us quietly to enjoy our Victory, wherein, if they had been as provident as valiant, we had never prevailed ; for, if they had firſt charged us with their Foot, to have received our firſt and hotteſt Volley, and then flanked us with their Horſe, they had ſcarce left us any for a ſecond Defeat. But it happened otherwiſe, by a Diſſention among themſelves, ariſing from this Cauſe. Monſieur *Thoiras*, Governor of the Iſland, had promiſed Baron *St. Andrew (St. Andre)* the Honour of the firſt Charge, which he afterwards gave in Command to his Brother ; whereat he being diſcontented, would not charge at all, nor ſuffer the Troops to ſecond the Van-guard : Yet we muſt not attribute our Victory, or rather Safety, wholly to this Cauſe, but the eſpecial Favour of God, who after our Soldiers took themſelves for loſt, and ran away, gave them Courage to reſiſt, and then beat the braveſt Soldiers of all *France*, the Regiment of *Champaign*, never before beaten ; and to defeat their prime Calvalry, conſiſting all of Gentlemen of Quality, a thing miraculous for Infantry to do.

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[a] Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England.

[b] 7000 Men.

[c] Sir Richard Granville's Journal, p. 5.

[d] The Order of Landing them was thus: The Rainbow, and the Vanguard, with two other Ships, to be choſen by the Earl of Lindſey, to lie near the Shore, on the higher Side of the Point. The Globe, Lion, and Camelion, to draw near the Shore of the Iſland of St. Martin's, on the Right-hand of the Point. All the Ships to be well manned with Muſketeers, to ſcour the Shore at the Landing, as well with their ſmall as great Shot, if the Enemy offer'd to hinder their Landing. The whole Army to be divided into three Squadrons, each Squadron conſiſting of five Companies: And being landed, each Regiment to be immediately drawn into Batalia apart, and diſtant from each other a hundred Yards. And each Soldier to be ſufficiently furniſhed with Munition and Victuals for two Days: And a Quarter-maſter to follow every Regiment, in a Boat alone, with Munition. For Want of Boats, this Order could not, however, be punctually obſerved. And they landed in ſome Diſorder.

[e] The Number of the French Horſemen ſlain in this firſt Action were 120, 23 of which were Barons, and the reſt all Gentlemen. Of Foot they loſt 100. We loſt about 120 Soldiers drowned, and about 20 ſlain: Beſides about 30 Officers killed and wounded. Names of the Officers killed. Sir William Heydon, General of the Ordnance; Sir Thomas York, Quarter-maſter-general; Sir Thomas Thornhurſt, Lieutenant-colonel; Captains, Goring, Heitly, Country, Glyn, Blundel, Babington, Morgan Powel; Woodhouſe, Corporal of the Field; Johnſon, Engineer; Quarter Netherton; Lieutenants, Anderſon, Greenſaw, Sidnam; Enſigns, Fordain, Champernoon; Serjeant Greenwood, and ſome others. Names of the Officers wounded. Sir George Blundel, Serjeant-major-general; Sir Charles Rich, Colonel; Sir Edward Conway, Colonel; Sir Edward Hawley, Lieutenant-colonel; Sir Richard Greenvil, Serjeant-major; Captains, Rainsford, and John Powel; Lieutenants, Anderſon, Thorp, Welcome, and ſome others.

Friday, the 13th. The next Morning *Thoiras*, in a *French* Bravado, ſent a Page, with a Trumpet, to tell my Lord Duke, he meant to give him a Breakfaſt : My Lord, to ſhew he would conquer them, as well with Courteſy as the Sword, ſtood complimenting with the Page, with his Hat in his Hand, and returned him with 20 Pieces for his Meſſage, and the Trumpet with five. The ſame Day, Sir *William Beecher* returned from *Rochel*, with no other Anſwer but Delays ; for they being only Friends to themſelves, would ſhew no Countenance or Approbation to our Actions, till we were poſſeſſed of the Iſland, and till they had got in their Wine and Corn.

The ſame Day, the Governor ſent another Parley to my Lord Duke, concerning the Burial of the Dead, and offered 1000*l.* for one Nobleman's Body ; but my Lord very honourably gave him Leave to bury them, without any ſuch Conſideration. All this while, we ſtirred not from our Landing-place. Thoſe that judge moſt favourably of our wary, or rather fearful Proceeding, (not daring, or not knowing how to purſue our Victory) attribute the Cauſe thereof to Monſieur *Soubize*'s Stay in *Rochel*, for levying of Forces there.

The 14th. The Day following, Baron *Ambellombe* came to bury the Dead, of whom the better Sort were carried to *St. Martin*'s, to be interred ; for the reſt, the Baron gave our Soldiers Money to bury them. Between three and four o'Clock that Day, Monſieur *Soubize* returned from *Rochel*, with ſome few Gentlemen, and 500 Soldiers. Then our Troops, being put in Battalia, we marched out of our Trenches, about three or four Bow-ſhot ; and being late, our Army, both Horſe and Foot, quartered there that Night.

The 15th. The next Morning, the Duke and *Soubize* went to view the Paſſage, and to find the ſafeſt Way for the Army to march in ; and ſome ſay, *Soubize* perſuaded my Lord Duke to march out of Shot of the little Fort, which was the direct Way, and to turn up among the Vines, which (the Weather being very hot) ſo tired our Soldiers (marching five or ſix Miles out of the Way upon ſuch Ground) that if the Enemy had charged us, they would have put us to great Extremity ; whereas, if we had paſſed by the Fort, (which had neither Ordnance mounted, nor any body to reſiſt us, but an old Woman, as we afterwards heard) and ſent the Summons which Sir *William Beecher* had wrote, and my Lord Duke ſigned, and delivered to Sir *John Burrows (Burgh* or *Burroughs)* we might have eaſily had it, (the Enemy having formerly quitted it, as a Place not tenable) and might have kept it for a Retreat, and ſaved that unneceſſary Circuit, to avoid that, which with equal Fear ſhunned us, and which afterwards proved the Loſs of the Iſland. About one o'Clock, our Army began to march, together with the *French* (who to be known from the Enemy wore green Boughs in their Hats.) My Lord Duke, with *Soubize*, marched in the Head of the Troops ; and the Villages we paſſed by, came and rendered themſelves to my Lord. A little before Night, ſome of the Enemy's Horſe ſhewed themſelves upon a Hill far off, but durſt not charge us, ſeeing in what good Order we marched. We came that Night before a Town called *La Flotta*, about the Midway between the Point and *St. Martin*'s, where the Army quartered ; my Lord himſelf lying in the Field, in Sir *John Burrows* Quarter. In the Night-time, we had two Alarms, one from the General, the other from the Enemy's Horſe.

The 16th. The next Day, in the Morning, we marched into the Town, where we ſtayed the beſt Part of the Day, being entertained with a Compliment from *Thoiras*, a Challenge of 40 of their Horſe to as many of ours ; but it was not accepted of, in regard we ought not to loſe the Advantage we had gotten of them : But indeed, it was only a Delay to gain Time, that they might thereby victual the Citadel, whereof they had been careleſly negligent, (having a prejudicate Opinion of their own Valours) tho' they were before advertiſed of our coming, as well by Intelligence out of *England*, as alſo by a baſe treacherous *Dutchman*, who ſailed from *Portſmouth* at the ſame time we did, being laden with all warlike Munition, Powder, Bullet, Match, Pikes, Muſkets, *&c.* but when our Fleet was diſperſed, in chaſe of thoſe *Dunkirkers*, he got into *St. Martin*'s before us, five or ſix Days, where he ſold his Loading for Salt ; and alſo gave an exact Account of our Forces, both by Sea and Land, with a Catalogue of our Commanders Names, to the Governor *Thoiras*. The ſame Day, one Mr. *Crane* a Trooper, in a Bravado, would needs diſcharge his Piſtols into the Fort, where he was ſlain ; but his Horſe was returned to my Lord Duke, by the Governor's Appointment. That Afternoon, the Body of Sir *William Heyden* was buried at *La Flotta*, in the Proteſtant Church-yard, with a Soldier's Peal, three or four brave Vollies of Shot. The ſame Night, we marched towards *St. Martin*'s, but lay in the Field, it being very tempeſtuous Weather, for Thunder, Lightning, and Rain.

The 17th, on *Tueſday*, we marched into the Town ; but as we began to approach, about 20 or 30 of the Enemy's Horſe made a Stand, to brave us, of whom we killed two with the Shot of a Drake, and the reſt vaniſhed. Some of the Chief of the Town came, with a white Flag, to my Lord Duke, deſiring him to take them, and the Town, into his Protection ; all that done, the Enemy play'd their great Shot into the Town, but did little harm.

A Council of War being called, Sir *John Burrows*, who had well viewed the Citadel, aſſured the Duke that it was impoſſible to take it by Aſſault, and that now to ſtarve them was equally difficult ; for they had Opportunities of conveying conſiderable Quantities of Proviſions thereinto, between *Wedneſday*, the Time of our coming to the Iſland, and *Tueſday* following, when we arrived at *St. Martin*'s: Wherefore he adviſed his Grace to pillage the Iſland, and to go to *Oleron*, or ſome other Place, where they might have a better Proſpect of Succeſs ; but his Advice was not adhered to ; for the Duke, beſides the Engagement of his Honour, as he pretended, rely'd too much on thoſe who flattered him, and promiſed effectually to prevent the Enemy's conveying any Succours into the Fort.

The 18th Sir *William Beecher* and Mr. *Grahme* were diſpatched to *England*, to haſten the *Iriſh* Troops which were deſigned for this Service, together with Money and Proviſions ; and on the 21ſt Sir *Peregrine Bertie*'s Regiment was ſent to *la Flotte*, to join with Sir *Henry Sprye*'s, which, together with the Horſe, were to maintain that Place ; and our People having landed ſome Ordnance, and erected a Battery, there was almoſt a continual Fire between the Army and the Citadel, for two or three Days, wherein we had the worſt ; for as our Men lay much expoſed, ſo was it not in our Power to do the Enemy any conſiderable Damage.

The 24th there was little more done than the burning ſome Windmills, in one of which were 30 Muſketeers, who ſurrender'd ; and on the 27th, notwithſtanding all our Precautions, three or four Barks loaden with Proviſions got in to the Relief of the Citadel, from whence there came a Perſon three Days after, who pretended to be a Deſerter, and deſired to be admitted to the Duke. His confident Behaviour render'd him ſuſpected, and being ſearch'd by ſome of the Duke's Favourites, there was found about him, as they ſaid, a poiſoned Dagger, whereupon being threatened with the Torture, he confeſſed that he was ſent by the Governor to kill the *Engliſh* General ; but however the Fact itſelf was, Monſieur *Thoiras* ſent to his Grace, and aſſured him that he was altogether ignorant of any ſuch Deſign.

Notwithſtanding it had been concluded at a Council of War that it was impoſſible to take the Citadel, otherwiſe than by ſtarving the Garriſon in it, yet in all the time our Troops lay before it, there were not any Meaſures taken to block them up by a Line of Circumvallation; but, inſtead thereof, Batteries were raiſed before we made our Approaches, ſo that the Paſſage was open for carrying what Proviſions they had into the Fort, and to give Intelligence of the Circumſtances of our Army.

At length, when Neceſſity compelled thereunto, our Troops began to entrench the 3d of *Auguſt*; and two Days after, ſome of the Pioneers and Soldiers being at work, between 30 and 40 of the Enemy's Horſe ſallied out of the Fort upon them, but were repulſed with little Loſs on our Side.

On the 9th, the Duke cauſed 500 Seamen to be brought on-ſhore, and gave the Command of them to Captain *Weedal*, with a Commiſſion to be Colonel; but they having but little Experience in Land-affairs, and being but ill provided for annoying the Enemy, or even to defend themſelves, it was no marvel they did but little Service. On the 12th, the *French* which came with Monſieur *Soubize*, together with Captain *Shugborow*, and Captain *Padon*, following the Directions of the Duke, contrary to the Advice of Sir *John Burroughs*, fell upon the Enemy's Works, but were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs.

The 2d of *September*, the *Iriſh* Supplies arrived, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Bingly*, and Sir *Peter Croſby*; and this Day thoſe in the Citadel deſired a Parley. The Gentleman who came with the Meſſage ſaid, that thoſe in the Fort knew of the Arrival of the additional Troops as ſoon as we did in the Camp; but the Subject of his Errand was not known to any one beſides the Duke himſelf. It was pretended, indeed, that he came to ſee a Brother of his, who had been taken Priſoner; and, beſides this, there were divers other Meſſages paſt between the Governor and his Grace, with Preſents of Melons and other things, inſomuch that the Duke grew very diſtaſtful to the Officers of the Army, ſince he did not think fit to impart any thing to them, or to permit them to the Speech of any of the Meſſengers. However, the Governor being alarmed at the Arrival of our Supplies, ſent an Account thereof to the *French* King his Maſter, who drew his Army towards *Rochelle*, and by forming, as it were, a Blockade, made a Shew as if he deſigned to take the Town, though his real Intentions were to land Men on the Iſland, which was ſoon after effected.

At laſt the *Rochellers* declared for the *Engliſh*; and the Duke of *Rohan* gave Commiſſions to raiſe Forces for Preſervation of the Edict of Peace lately granted, but violated by the *French* King, who on the other hand declared he would obſerve the ſaid Edict; and proclaiming the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize* Traitors, offered Rewards for killing them.

By this time the *French* had got a conſiderable Supply of Shipping from the *Spaniards*, which with their own Navy made up above 100, a Force ſuperior to that of ours; for although the *Engliſh* Fleet at firſt ſetting out conſiſted of more than 100 Sail, yet were there not above 10 of the King's own Ships among them. But though the Enemy were thus ſuperior in Naval Strength, they declined engaging, and propoſed nothing more to themſelves than the getting neceſſary Supplies into the Citadel, and to tire out the Beſiegers. To carry on which Deſign, the Governor pretended to enter into a Treaty to ſurrender on honourable Terms; and prevailed with the Duke to give Safe-conduct for a Meſſenger he was ſending to the *French* King, on condition that an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſhould accompany him, and be ſuffered to paſs through *France* into *England*; but on their Arrival in the *French* Camp, the *Engliſh* Gentleman, contrary to Faith given, was detained in Cuſtody, while the *Frenchman* effectually performed his Errand, and returned to *St. Martin*'s, upon whoſe Arrival Monſieur *Toiras* put an End to the ſham Treaty. Some Days after Preparations were making for the Aſſault of the Fort *de la Prée* (which by our Neglect, as hath been already obſerved, the Enemy had re-poſſeſſed and ſtrengthened) and in order thereto ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance were landed at *la Flotte*. Sir *Alexander Brett* had undertaken this Service; but it was afterwards thought not convenient to divide the Forces for a Matter judged of ſo ſmall Conſequence, tho' in effect it proved otherwiſe, for what was thus ſo much ſet at nought, proved a ſevere Thorn in our Sides before the Troops left the Iſland.

On the 11th a Bark of 40 or 50 Tons arrived at the Citadel with Proviſions, at which Veſſel about 500 Shot were to no purpoſe fired from the Ships; and ſoon after Sir *John Burroughs* (a valiant and experienced Commander) was ſlain, while he was viewing our Works, with whom ended all reaſonable Hopes of Succeſs.

The 17th Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who had been ſent in Company with *Toiras*'s Meſſenger to the *French* King (as aforeſaid) returning to the Camp, was preſently diſpatched for *England*; and two Days after Monſieur *St. Serin* came to the Army, with whom the Duke at firſt denied to ſpeak, and ſent him a Priſoner on-board of the Ship commanded by Captain *Porter*, but there he did not long remain, for returning to the Army again, he was entertained by his Grace with great Reſpect

The 20th, about Break of Day, a great Number of Boats were diſcovered making towards the Citadel, but the Alarm being given, they put back again, and our ſmalleſt Ships chaſing them, took five loaden with Victuals and warlike Stores. On the 24th Sir *Henry Palmer* arrived from *England*, with 13 Ships loaden with Proviſions and Neceſſaries for the Army; and two or three Days after that there came to the Citadel 15 or 16 Boats from the Main, with at leaſt two Months Proviſions, Powder and Shot, which they ſtood in great need of, for they had not for 15 Days before fired ſo much as one Shot; and our Soldiers marched to their Guards in open View of them, without running the Hazard even of a Muſket-ball; inſomuch that had not this Supply arrived as it did, they would have been obliged to ſurrender. And now, to add to our Misfortunes, the Soldiers began to fall ſick, and the Proviſions which came from *England* were quickly ſpent, or rendered unfit for Men to eat, not but that the *Rochellers* aſſiſted them with what they were able.

On the 13th great Preparations were made for an Aſſault, after the Enemy had had but too many Opportunities of ſtrengthening themſelves; nor would the Duke have been perſuaded from it, if foul Weather had not happened; and this, although the Generals and Field-officers had given it under their Hands that it was a thing altogether impracticable, and withal perſuaded him to depart before the Enemy had landed too many Men on the Iſland; but this their wholeſome Advice was anſwered with Contempt.

The 21ſt his Grace, upon Advice that a Reinforcement for the Enemy was landed near the Fort *de la Prée*, ordered the Troops to quit the Trenches, and march to oppoſe them; which was no ſooner done, but thoſe in the Citadel ſallied out, and poſſeſſed themſelves of them, ſo that after our People had had tolerable Succeſs, and forced the *French* Recruits to retire under the Cover of the Guns of the Fort *de la Prée*, when they returned to the Camp they were obliged to diſpute for the Recovery of the Trenches, and many Men were loſt before they could gain them. About the middle of *October*, the Duke held a Council of War, and had Thoughts of returning to *England*, which the Officers alſo adviſed; but *Soubize* diſſuaded him from it, alledging that the Enemy's Recruits were not conſiderable; that the Earl of *Holland* was coming from *England* with a Reinforcement; that a Retreat would occaſion the Loſs of *Rochelle*, and bring great Diſhonour to the King, by undertaking ſuch an Enterpriſe to ſo little Purpoſe; whereupon the Duke reſolved to continue the Siege, and to ſtorm the Citadel and Works, which was accordingly done in few Days, wherein after we had loſt a conſiderable Number of Men, it was found inacceſſible.

Altho' the Enemy were daily reinforced, yet would not the Duke be perſuaded to be gone, even tho' Sir *Edward Hawley*, and Major *Brett* came to him, in the Name of the Council of War, to entreat him to march away; but ſome of Sir *William Cunningham*'s Horſe coming to his Grace, and informing him that they heard great firing on the Main, he commanded the Troops to march, which they did, but left ſeveral ſick Men behind, whoſe Throats were inhumanly cut by the Enemy, and their Bodies ſent off in a Bark from the Shore two or three Days after.

The great Overſight of not having taken Poſſeſſion of the Fort *de la Prée*, to cover and ſecure the Embarkation of the Troops in caſe of a Retreat, now too viſibly appeared; for the Enemy being by this time grown ſo ſtrong in that Place, and the adjacent Parts of the Iſland where the Duke had landed, that he durſt not venture thither, to have an Enemy both before and behind him, there was now no Place left where the Troops could embark, but the Iſle *de l'Oye*, ſeparated from the reſt of the Iſland by Salt-pits, and a ſmall Channel, the Paſſage to which lay over a long and narrow Cauſeway. Thither the Duke taking his March, was immediately followed at the Heels by the Enemy, that were equal in Foot, but much ſuperior in Horſe, who well knowing the Advantage they ſhould ſoon have of the *Engliſh* when they came to the Cauſeway, forbore to attack them, tho' they faced about ſeveral times, and offered them Battle. But no ſooner had the Troops entered the Cauſeway, than they charged them in the Rear with great Fury, when the Horſe giving way preſſed in upon the Foot, and made the Croud ſo tumultuous, that great Numbers fell into the Salt-pits, or periſhed in the Channel, beſides thoſe whom the Enemy killed, which were very many. When they had paſſed the Cauſeway they drew up, and made a brave Stand againſt the purſuing Enemy, who, after a ſhort Diſpute, thought fit to repaſs it; and the *Engliſh* having guarded it with ſome choſen Troops all Day, burnt it down at Night, and without any farther Attempts from the Enemy, were the next Day put on-board the Fleet; with which the Duke having juſt appeared before *Rochelle* to ſend in a Meſſage, made the beſt of his way to *England*, having loſt ſince his firſt landing on the Iſland about 50 Officers, near 2000 common Soldiers, 35 Priſoners of Note, and 44 Colours, which were carried to *Paris*, and hung up as Trophies in the Cathedral there. And thus ended this Expedition with great Diſhonour to the *Engliſh*, and equal Glory to the *French*; but in particular to Monſieur *Toiras*, who, for having ſo bravely, with a Handful of Men, defended a ſmall Fort (for no other is it, tho' our Journals and Accounts dignify it with the Title of a Citadel) againſt a numerous Fleet and Army, was not long after advanced to the high Dignity of a Mareſchal of *France*.

Nothing but a Concurrence of ſeveral Miſcarriages could have rendered this Attempt in all Points ſo ineffectual on our Side; and one who was employed in the Expedition ſums them up in the following Particulars.

1. The Want of timely Supplies of Money.

2. The not adhering to the Reſolutions at firſt taken; for altho' all the Ships had their ſealed Rendezvous for *St. Martin*'s, yet was it determined, when the Fleet was at Sea, to go to *Bourdeaux*; and altho' the chiefeſt Hopes of Succeſs depended on Expedition, yet were many Ships ordered to chaſe ſome which belonged to *Dunkirk*, until it was within an Hour of Night, inſomuch that the Fleet was thereby divided, and thoſe which gave chaſe wandered to and fro at leaſt eight Days, not daring to go either to *St. Martin*'s or *Bourdeaux*, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered, nay even thoſe 40 which remained in a Body were upon the Point of returning, for want of ſufficient Proviſions for the Soldiers.

3. That before *Soubize* was ſent to *Rochelle*, the Duke acquainted him with his Thoughts of landing the Troops on the Iſle of *Oleron*, which he well approved of, the Forces there being but few, and the Forts weakly mann'd and victualled, diſſuading him at the ſame time from going to the Iſle of *Rhee*, becauſe there was on that Iſland a conſiderable Force of Horſe and Foot, and a Citadel well fortified; but the Duke not ſtaying for the Return of *Soubize*, altered his Reſolution, and ſhaped his Courſe for the Iſle of *Rhee*.

4. When the Troops were landed, and had, by the Aſſiſtance of Providence, put to flight the Enemy's Troops that oppoſed them, the taking Advantage of the Fear and Confuſion they were in was wholly neglected; for four Days time was given them to gather into the Citadel moſt of the Proviſions of the Town and Country.

5. The leaving the Fort *de la Prée* behind them near the Place where they landed, without ſo much as ſummoning it, which gave the Enemy an Opportunity of landing 3 or 4000 Men, and 200 Horſe in the Month of *October*, by which our Troops were defeated, as hath been related.

6. That altho' our Fleet was of ſufficient Strength to engage all they might have met with, yet for want of ſmall, and proper Veſſels, the Enemy's Barks very often carried Supplies to the Citadel which lay open to the Sea.

7. The General's not being governed by the Opinion of the Officers at a Council of War, who were (as hath been already obſerved) not only againſt attacking the Citadel, but gave their Reaſons for the ſame under their Hands, notwithſtanding which, the Duke ordered an Aſſault to be given to it, wherein we loſt near 500 Men, without doing the Enemy any conſiderable Damage.

Our Fleet and Troops being gone, the *French* King cloſely blocked up the *Rochellers*. who yet had ſome Dependance on the Duke of *Buckingham*, for he promiſed them to return to their Aſſiſtance; and tho' he did not go in Perſon, a Fleet of about 50 Sail were fitted out, under Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*, who ſet ſail therewith from *Plymouth*, the 17th of *April*, and came to an Anchor in the Road of *Rochelle* the 1ſt of *May*. Before the Harbour's Mouth he found 20 of the *French* King's Ships, to which he was ſuperior in Strength, and ſent Word into the Town that he would ſink them as ſoon as the Winds and Tide would permit; but being on the 8th of *May* favoured both by one and the other, and the *Rochellers* expecting he would do what he had promiſed, he, without attempting it, returned to *Plymouth* the 26th, which cauſed no ſmall Murmurings and Jealouſies in *England*.

The following Account is given of the Retreat from the Iſland of Rhee, *by an eminent Colonel, employed in that ſucceſsleſs Expedition, and one of the Council of War.*

“ The Night before the Retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there ſhewed them the Neceſſity of their Retreat, the next Day; and that himſelf being wholly unexperienced in martial Diſcipline, he left the Management of the next Day's Action to the ordering of the Council of War, offering the Service of his own Perſon to any Hazard whatever, as far as any private Soldier. The Council committed the Management of their Retreat, by a free Conſent, unto old Sir *William Courtney*, a heavy, dull, covetous old Man, who, having been 20 or 30 Years a private Captain in *Holland*, was, by Sir *John Burrows*'s Means, made Colonel in that Expedition; and *Burrows* being now dead, and *Courtney* the oldeſt Colonel, it was referred to him how to bring off our Men in Safety: But he, either thro' want of Judgment or Forgetfulneſs, having not ſufficiently provided for Security of our Rear, many of our Men were moſt unfortunately cut in Pieces; and had not Sir *Pierce Croſby*, with 800 *Iriſh*, made good the Retreat, all our Men had been loſt. *Courtney* himſelf fell into a Salt pan, in the Defeat, and was ſaved by means of his Man *Anthony*'s crying, *O ſave my Captain*; but the poor Fellow loſt his own Life, and ſaved his Maſter's.”

I ſhall add the Errors obſerved by Sir *William Monſon* to have been committed in this Expedition.

“ In my Examination of the Voyages in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, I make often Reflection, without Fear or Flattery, upon the Errors then committed, as well by us, as by the *Spaniards* our Enemies, which kind of proceeding, I follow in theſe two laſt Expeditions, the one to *Cadiz* in 1625, which I have treated of, the other to *St. Martin*'s in 1627, which I am to treat of, as well in Number as Goodneſs of Ships, as in Proportion and Quantity of Men.

“ Tho' I was no Actor myſelf in the two laſt Expeditions, there being no Relation that can give a more true Account of them, than thoſe publiſhed by the Authority of State, I have upon view of thoſe Pamphlets, collected ſuch Errors, as the Actions themſelves, have given juſt Cauſe to except againſt.

“ Let it not be imputed to me, that I do it out of a carping or detracting Humour, or a malignant Diſpoſition, or an evil or conteſting Nature, or out of a vain or phantaſtical Curioſity, or Pride, or Arrogance, to make ſmall Errors ſeem greater than they are; for I have no other End than what I have often expreſſed, *viz.* by diſcovering the Faults and Overſights paſt, to make them ſerve as a Warning for time to come.

“ I would not be ſo bold and preſumptuous, as to examine the Grounds of this laſt Deſign upon the Iſland of *St. Martin*'s, or the Carriage of it upon their arriving and landing; for I never doubted, but that a Matter of ſuch great Conſequence, as the Breach of Peace between Princes, and wherein his Majeſty's Honour was to be engaged, and the Reputation of the chief Commander conſidered, was not only diſcuſſed and argued by the grave and wiſe Senators of the State; but Advice taken of the moſt experienced Captains, both by Land and Sea, this Kingdom could afford; which being ſo, the Succeſs muſt be referred to him who is the Giver of all Victories; for I am like the *Carthaginian* who did not eſteem the leſs of a General that loſt a Battle, but of ſuch as fought againſt Reaſon; for Succeſs is the Meaſure of Fools; whereas Conduct proceeds from Judgment.

“ This Expedition to the Iſland of *St. Martin*'s, was begun on the 17th of *June* 1627, that Place being deſigned for the Rendezvous; and to that end, the Ships of Proviſions, that attended the Reſort of the Army to *Plymouth*, were drawn together at *Portſmouth*, tho' with ill Succeſs. Firſt, In reſpect one of thoſe Ships miſcarried, and others were in Danger to have done the like. Secondly, I muſt make the Rendezvous at *Portſmouth*, the Ground of my Argument, to except againſt the Carriage of the Action, and the chief Cauſe of the Miſchief that enſued.

“ You muſt underſtand that *Stokes*'s Bay, where our Ships rode, is 40 Leagues from *Plymouth*, by the way of *St. Helen*'s Point, and the Courſe of the Channel is E. N. E. and W. S. W. *Uſhant*, which is the Headland of *France*, and by which you muſt paſs either from *Plymouth* or *Portſmouth*, if you will ſail to *St. Martin*'s, is 26 Leagues from *Plymouth*, South-weſterly; ſo that there was 40 Leagues run, to fetch theſe Ships, which would have brought themſelves; and a Ship loſt, which had not ſo happened but by their going to fetch them.

“ Now ſhould they have held a grave Conſultation, if they had done well, how to proceed afterwards, which ſhould have conſiſted of three Propoſitions. The one, Whether to keep the Sea with that Eaſterly Wind, or no; which in little Space would bring them to Leeward of all? The ſecond, Whether to land in *Conquet* Road, or ſome Part of *France?* The third and laſt was, Whether to return to *Plymouth* or *Falmouth*, there to attend a better Opportunity of Wind; but to be ſhort, unadviſed they took the worſt of all the three, and kept the Sea, till they were to Leeward of all *French* Shores; in which Space, they had Purſuit of certain *Dunkirkers*, whom indiſcreetly they chaſed a whole Day, when in two Hours they might have diſcerned whether they could fetch them up or no.

“ If they had anchored in *France*, or any Part of that Coaſt, Notice would have been taken of it by the *French*, and it would have given a ſudden Alarm, and been a Cauſe to arm all Places they might ſuſpect we would attempt.

“ If they had repaired to *Plymouth* or *Falmouth*, it would have put a Doubtfulneſs of the *French*, whether our Deſign had been againſt them or no; and they would have made the leſs Preparations to reſiſt us. *Spain* would alſo have taken the Alarm, being in as great a Doubt and Danger of us as *France*; but drawing the Ships from *Plymouth* to *Portſmouth*, *Spain* could not conceive that it was intended againſt them, and *France* was in as great Aſſurance it was deſigned upon them.

“ Thus you ſee, from *Portſmouth* they were to attend the Uncertainty of two Winds, and give Warning to *France*, to provide for themſelves; whereas from either of the two Ports of *Falmouth* and *Plymouth*, one Wind would have carried them directly to *St. Martin*'s, which might have been run in two or three Days, without fear of ſcattering, or other Diſaſter. Theſe Inconveniencies ſhould not only have been foreſeen, but prevented, if Experience and Diſcretion had guided the Action.

“ Now follows the Miſchief which enſued upon keeping the Sea. The firſt is, That they were brought ſo far to Leeward, that if they would, yet they could not recover either *Plymouth* or *Falmouth*. Secondly, They were ſubject to foul Weather, which they afterwards found. Thirdly, Their Men being not accuſtomed to Sea, and peſtered in Ships, brought a very great Inconveniency among them; but the greateſt was the foul Weather, which parted them, and was the chief Cauſe of the Misfortune that followed: For above 60 of the Ships being ſcattered, came to the Iſland of *St. Martin*'s, the 10th of *July*, and the reſt the Day following.

“ The 60 Ships firſt arriving, put the *French* out of Doubt, but that was the Place we intended, and gave them Opportunity, to do as much as the time would permit.

“ And here you may obſerve the true Overthrow of the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*; whereas if our Fleet had come all together from *Plymouth* or *Falmouth*, and landed together, they had ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Iſland, and poſſeſſed all the Victuals in it, which in that ſhort time we gave them, they carried into the Caſtle, being before but ill-provided either of Victuals, or any thing elſe.

“ Thus have I run over ſuch Errors as I have briefly collected out of the ill-carried Action to the Iſland of *St. Martin*'s, wiſhing that Generals may not only ſee but foreſee, that they may with Judgment determine what they ſhall put in Execution, before they attempt it with Force and Courage; for great Actions ought to be reſolved on by Leiſure, and performed with Speed; they ſhould not ſtay and ſtay, but ſay and do; they muſt conſider, that the firſt Enterpriſe in War, gets the beſt Reputation; and a thing well begun is half ended.”

This Expedition was highly prejudicial to the Crown; and entirely ruin'd the Duke. The Merchants were diſcouraged from carrying on Trade by impreſſing their Ships; and the Sailors not being paid, nor certain when they ſhould receive their Wages, aſſembled in great Crowds about *Whitehall*, demanding Payment from the King himſelf *.

By Sir *Peter Wyche*'s Diſpatches we are informed, “ that Sir *Kenelm Digby* was authorized by his Majeſty's ſpecial Commiſſion, under the great Seal of *England*, for a Deſign againſt the *French*, then his Majeſty's Enemies, (the Period of which Deſign pointed at thoſe Parts) with ſix Ships, of which his own went Admiral, after many Encounters by the Way, upon the 10th of *June*, he came before Cape *Congure*, about 10 Miles from *Scanderoon*; whence, on the Morrow in the Afternoon, he ſent his Boat well-armed to deſcry the Road, and to bring him ſome Intelligence. This they did the next Morning, having met with ſome *Venetian* Boats that were fiſhing, with which *Venetians* they paſſed for *Malteſe*; for there were in Sir *Kenelm*'s Boat *Malteſe* and *Greeks*. They brought Word, that there were at Anchor in the Road two *Venetian* Galeaſſes, two other Galleons, two *Engliſh* Ships, and four *French* Veſſels, one of which came in but the Day before, being very rich, and having as yet unladed nothing. Sir *Kenelm* ſpent all the Night following in overſeeing the Preparations for Fight and Firing in his ſeveral Ships, for that he expected a fierce Onſet, the next Day, from the *Venetians*, who had declared themſelves the Guarders of that Road, and were reported to have given out, they would ſink all the *Engliſh* Men of War they ſhould meet, either in their own, or in the Grand Signior's Seas. Which Peremptorineſs, if true, including an Intent of Diſhonour to the Nation, could not but exaſperate any true *Engliſh* Spirit, eſpecially of the nobler Sort. This moved not yet Sir *Kenelm* to any Violence of Paſſion, but that with a careful Temper, and diſcreet Judgment, he prepared himſelf, and fitted his Ships at all Points, for all Occaſions.

“ The Admiral ſent his Settie in to the *Venetian* General (the Galeaſſes having weighed Anchor, and being come within half a League of his Ships) with Letters;

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* Whitlock's Memoirs. Warwick's Memoirs.

“ which Letters declared to the *Venetians*, that his Voyage of Warſare was by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, and gave them Aſſurance of all Reſpect and Friendſhip, and that the *French* were the only Objects of his Attempts, for which he had ſufficient Warrant. To the two *Engliſh* Ships, he likewiſe ſent Letters, to ſettle the Diſquiet he conceived their Fears had put them in, and to give them Satisfaction, that his Buſineſs was no way to diſturb their Negotiations.

“ But before the Settie's Boat could come on-board, to deliver the Anſwer, the Admiral-galeaſs of the *Venetians* diſcharged ſeven or eight Shots, the firſt of which lighting ſhort, was received as a Salute, and returned with a Piece from themwards: But ſome of the reſt hitting his Ship, and one Shot at his Flag, together with the Settie's Arrival and Information, their Intenes were known; and Sir *Kenelm* to let them know, that his long Forbearance was no Apprehenſion of Fear he had of their Strength and Advantage, but a ſtrengthening of his Cauſe's Juſtice, gave them three or four Broadſides in a very ſhort Space, which did ſo much ſpoil, both to the *French* and the *Venetians*, (who found Pretence by this time, that their Quarrel was the Protection of the *French*, which they had undertaken) that they were enforced to retire, and fight at a more wary Diſtance. In the mean time, Sir *Kenelm* played ſo well upon their Galleons, that the Men ſtowed themſelves under the Hold, and left the Veſſels to their Fortune, without any Guidance. The Galeaſſes, then coming up to their Succour, received ſuch a rude Welcome, that they rowed away to ſhelter themſelves under the *Engliſh* Ships that lay in the Road. Which Policy was a ſure Defence for them; for Sir *Kenelm* was ſo cautious, that he would rather loſe an Opportunity of offending his Enemies, than take hold of it to his Countrymens Offence. The Galeaſſes thus leaving Action to be Witneſſes of it only at that ſafe Diſtance, the Galleons were in great Danger, their Men being ſtowed under Hatches; but that Sir *Kenelm* directing all his Endeavours againſt the *French*, from whom he had received the moſt Damage, gave way to their Quiet without much Diſturbance, more than what proceeded from their own Fears, and perceiving the *French* to come up cloſe, their Ships being burly Veſſels, ſome having 26 Pieces of Ordnance, he firſt directed his two leſſer Ships to deal with them, but quickly taking notice of the Advantage, ſent the Rear-admiral to their Succour, by which means the three Ships boarded, and took each of them a ſeveral Prize, the fourth *French* Ship being run a-ground at the Beginning of the Fight, to which this Succeſs gave an End after three Hours.

“ It is remarkable, that in this Fight not one of Sir *Kenelm*'s Men received a Hurt to Death; and of the *Venetians* and *French*, there were ſlain 99 Perſons, of whom one was Commander of the *Venetian* Land-ſoldiers, a brave and generous Man, whoſe Loſs was much lamented by them, and pitied by Sir *Kenelm*. The Admiral Galeaſs of the *Venetians* was the only one of thoſe four, which the *Venetians* lent to the King of *Spain*, that returned from the Battle of 1588, where he fought with Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, in the *Triumph* of the Queen's, whilſt the other three were ſunk or fired.

“ This Action and Succeſs of Sir *Kenelm*'s, tho' perhaps clear in itſelf, became queſtionable by the Grand Signior's Miniſters, thro' the Complaints of the *French* and *Venetians*; ſo that the Baſhaw of *Aleppo*, and the Cadi of *Scanderoon*, took hold of the Occaſion to practiſe, and exact an Avanea upon the *Engliſh* Merchants, taking from the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Aleppo* a large Sum, which he, thro' fear of any Ship's Retention, delivered without much Reſiſtance.”

A third [a] Fleet was prepared for the Relief of *Rochelle*, to be commanded by the Duke himſelf, the Town being then reduced to the laſt Extremities. He was come to *Portſmouth* for that Purpoſe; but when he was going to embark, he was, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, ſtabbed with a Knife [b], by one *John Felton*, a diſcontented Officer, and died on the Spot, crying only, *the Villain has ſlain me*. This Murder was committed, as the Duke was going out of his Chamber, and ſpeaking to Sir *Thomas Fryar*. The Aſſaſſin did it out of an Exceſs of Zeal, looking upon him to be an Enemy to his Country. In the mean time, as the Relief of *Rochelle* could not be delayed, the King ſent away the Fleet, under Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, who ſet ſail the 8th of *September*. The Ships were but ill ſupplied with Stores and Proviſions [c]; and coming before *Rochelle*, they found no *French* Navy to oppoſe them, but a very ſtrong Barricado acroſs the Entry of the Port, to force which many brave Attempts were made, but in vain; ſo that the *Rochellers*, being thus diſtreſſed [d], and in Deſpair, implored the *French* King's Mercy, and ſurrendered, on the 18th of *October*.

A Peace alſo enſued between the two Crowns [e]; and the Proteſtants were glad to ſubmit to any Terms, with the bare Toleration of their Religion.

The Colony at *Plymouth* in *New-England* turned out ſo advantageouſly, that ſeveral Perſons, encouraged by the Proſpect of Advantage, and others animated by a Zeal for the Propagation of Religion, reſolved to make Settlements in other Parts of the Country. The chief of theſe was Mr. *White*, Miniſter of *Dorcheſter*, who having engaged ſeveral Gentlemen in the Deſign, procured a Patent, and purchaſed of the *North-Virginia* Company, called the Council of *Plymouth*, that Part of *New-England* which lies between the River *Merimack* and *Charles* River, in the Bottom of *Maſſachuſets* Bay. The chief of theſe were Sir *Henry Roſwell*, Sir *John Young*, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Iſaac Johnſon* Eſq; *Matthew Craddock* Eſq; *Theophilus Eaton* Merchant, *Thomas Southcot* Eſq; and Mr. *John Ven*.

They bought all the Company's Right and Intereſt, and obtained a Grant of the King, bearing Date this Year, to hold their Lands in common Soccage, as of the Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich*, and an Aſſurance of Protection, in their Liberty of Conſcience, and for all ſuch as ſhould remove thither. Several of them accordingly went over with their Families, and carried with them as many as they could engage to accompany them. Of theſe *Matthew Craddock* Eſq; was appointed Governor, who ſeated himſelf at a Place called *Nabemeik*, by the *Indians*, to which theſe Nonconformiſts gave the Name of *Salem*, about eight Miles Northward of *Boſton*, in the County of *Eſſex*.

The Company of Adventurers in *England*, finding their *Maſſachuſet* Colony thrived, and was likely to turn to a good Account, reſolved to give it due Encouragement; they made *John Winthrop* Eſq; of *Groton* in *Suffolk*, Governor; and *Thomas Dudley* Eſq; of *Northampton*, Deputy-governor of the new Colony. With theſe Gentlemen they ſent large Supplies of Neceſſaries; and about 1000 Perſons tranſported themſelves thither at this time, among whom were Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *John Ven* Eſq; *Iſaac Johnſon* Eſq; and his Wife, the Lady *Arabella Johnſon*. Theſe arrived in *New-England* in the Year 1630.

Captain *Warriner*, who made the firſt Settlement in *St. Chriſtopher's*, made alſo the firſt at *Mevis* (firſt called *Nevis*) in 1628. But the Year following Don *Frederick de Toledo*, who drove the moſt of the *Engliſh* and *French* out of the former Iſland, ſeized all the Ships (to the Number of 15) which were at *Mevis*.

However, the Settlement went on ſo proſperouſly, that in 20 Years Time, there were between 3 or 4000 Men there, who ſubſiſted and lived handſomely by the Trade they drove in Sugar.

The Meeting of the Parliament, appointed to be the 20th of *October*, was by Proclamation prorogued to the 10th of *January*, and then met, but was diſſolved the 10th of *March*, without having done any thing. The ſeveral Speeches, Remonſtrances, Petitions, Anſwers, and other Proceedings of theſe three Parliaments, are at Length, copied from the Originals, in *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of *Rapin*.

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[a] Rapin. Burchett.

[b] Whitlock.

[c] Tindal's Notes on Rapin. Whitlock.

[d] Of 15000 Men, only 4000 remained alive; the reſt periſhed with Hunger.

[e] Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIX. p. 66—86—88, and 101.

About a Month after the Diſſolution of this Parliament, *viz.* the 14th of *April*, it was, that the Peace was concluded with *France*, and it was ſworn to in *September* following.

The *Spaniſh* War having in a manner lain dead on both Sides, ſince the War with *France* was begun, the King was thoughtful of putting an End to it by a Peace. A Treaty being therefore ſet on Foot, it was concluded in *November*[a].

It was about the Middle of *Auguſt* this Year[b], that eight Men were ſent aſhore by their Captain (who was a Whale-fiſhing upon the Coaſt of *Greenland*) to hunt for ſome Veniſon for the Ship's Proviſion. Having very good Succeſs, they killed, in two Days Time, above 20 Deer; and the third, embarking themſelves and their Game in their Shallop, they found that their Ship had been obliged to put to Sea, to get clear of the great Shoals of Ice, which were already driven upon the Coaſt. Upon this, they threw their Veniſon over-board, and made all the Haſte they could to *Bell-ſound*, which was the Rendezvous of all the *Engliſh* Ships then in *Greenland*. Having unhappily miſs'd their Point, by the Obſtinacy of one of their Number, who affirmed it to be more to the Southward than it was, and diſcovering too late their Error, at their Arrival there, they found all the Ships were ſailed to *England*.

They were now left in a Country deſtitute of all Things neceſſary for human Life, without Cloaths, to protect them from the Rigour of that moſt frigid Climate; having no Food of any Sort to ſubſiſt on, or if they had any, no Fuel to dreſs it. In this Diſtreſs, they immediately took a Reſolution, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, at leaſt, for their own Preſervation, and not to give themſelves up to Deſpair. They therefore agreed to take the next Opportunity of fair Weather, to go to *Green Harbour* (which affords great Store of Deer) to kill what Veniſon they could for their Winter Proviſion. Accordingly, arriving there the 25th of *Auguſt*, they went the next Day to a Place called *Cole's Park*, about two Leagues diſtant from *Green Harbour*, and returned that Night with ſeven Deer and four Bears.

That Day's Succeſs encouraging them to make a ſecond Voyage to *Cole's Park*, ſpying ſome Deer upon the Side of a Hill, in their Way thither, they there went aſhore, and killed 12 Deer, beſides ſeveral Bears, with all which they returned to *Green Harbour*. There they loaded another Shallop, which had been left there by the Ship's Company, with the Greaves of the Whales, that had been boiled that Year, and two Days after, ſet out for *Bell-Sound*; to which Place the Convenience of a vaſt Tent, or Shed of Boards, erected for the Lodging and Accommodation of the Coopers, *&c.* invited them to take up their Abode for the approaching Winter. In their Way thither, they were benighted, and having haled up their Boats, and fixed them as well as they could, they got aſhore to ſeek ſome Shelter againſt the Rigour of the Cold; but the next Morning, they found their Boats driven from their Places, and a great Part of their Veniſon waſhed over-board, and caſt aſhore.

The 3d of *September*, being a clear Day, they pick'd up their Veniſon, and launching their Boats, got ſafe to *Bell-Sound*, where being arrived, they applied themſelves, with all poſſible Diligence, to make as good Proviſion as they could for their Subſiſtence, during the Winter Seaſon, in that Place.

The great Shed, I mentioned above, was 80 Foot in Length, and 50 in Breadth; and not far from it, there being another of a more narrow Compaſs, they pulled down the latter, to get Materials for building a little Habitation for themſelves, within the great Shed, which having finiſhed, and made a very warm Sort of a Chamber, of 20 Foot long, 16 broad, and 10 high, by the means of about 1000 Bricks, five Caſks of Lime, which they mix'd with Sand, and ſo made Mortar, and good Store of Boards and Rafters, which they found in the little Tent they had pull'd down. They afterwards made four little Cabbins to lie in. Their Beds were the Deer-ſkins dried, which they found to be very warm and uſeful to them in their great Diſtreſs; and, as for Firing, they made bold with ſome Hundreds of empty Caſks, which they found in the Tents, beſides ſeveral old Shallops, which had been left there by the Fleet.

Their Caſe was very lamentable for ſeveral Months, they being in continual Fear of Starving for want of Food; becauſe they found, that what they had, was not near ſufficient for their Maintenance, till the Arrival of the Fleet, and had no Hopes of getting any more in that Country. They were, therefore, forced to reduce themſelves to three Meals a Week, on Bear and Veniſon; and the other four Days to feed on the unſavoury and mouldy Frittars and Greaves of Whales, which had been ſpoiled too by the Wet they got: And, for an Addition to their Misfortunes, they began at the ſame time to loſe a Sight of the Sun, which did not appear to them, from the 14th of *October*, till the 3d of *February*, all their Day being a glimmering Sort of Light, which laſted but a few Hours, and from the 1ſt to the 20th of *December*, did not appear at all.

With the New-year, the Cold began to be ſo very exceſſive, that there being no Poſſibility of finding any Water below the Ice, as before they had done, all the Drink they had, from the 10th of *January*, till the 20th of *May*, was melted Snow; the Extremity of the Cold likewiſe raiſed Bliſters upon their Bodies, as if they had been burnt.

By the laſt of *January*, the Days being prolonged to ſeven or eight Hours, (by a ſort of glimmering Light, as I have mentioned above) they began to take a little Heart; but viewing their Proviſions, and finding, that even at the miſerable Rate they then lived, they could not laſt above ſix Weeks, it put them once more upon very melancholy Reflections. At length, the Weather beginning to be tolerably fair, and the Wild-beaſts now appearing, beſides a Sea-horſe or two which they killed, and ſeven or eight Bears, they caught above 50 Foxes in Traps, 30 Fowls as big as Ducks, and about 60 of another Sort, as big as Pigeons. By this means they lived much better than they had done before, taking ſometimes two or three Meals a Day.

The 25th of *May*, two Ships arriving in the Sound from *Hull*, the Maſter of one, having heard that ſome Men had been left, ſent aſhore ſome of his Crew, with Order to hale up their Boat, and walk over the Snow to the great Shed, to ſee whether they were yet alive. They were juſt about to go to Prayers, in the inward Hut, and only waiting for one of their Number, who was doing ſomething in the outward Shed; the *Hull* Men, upon their Approach, cried *Hey*, and were immediately anſwered by the Man in the large Shed, *Ho*. The other ſeven hearing this ran out, and after welcoming their New-comers, carried them into their Hut, and entertained them the beſt they could, that is, with a Piece of Veniſon, roaſted four Months before, and a Cup of cold Water.

They then went on-board one of the *Hull* Ships, where they ſtayed till the *London* Fleet arrived, with whom returning home, they were gratified and rewarded by the *Muſcovy* Company, in whoſe Service they had endured ſo many Hardſhips.

The Names of theſe eight Men were ***William Fakely***, Gunner; ***Edward Pelham***, Gunner's Mate; ***John Wiſe*** and ***Robert Goodfellow***, Seamen; ***Thomas Ayres***, Whale-cutter; ***Henry Bett***, Cooper; ***John Dawes*** and ***Richard Kellet***, Landmen.

The Mal-adminiſtration of the Governors and Agents appointed by the *Virginian* Company, obliged the King to diſſolve them[c]; and having taken the Government of *Virginia* under the Royal Protection, his[d] Majeſty was pleaſed to eſtabliſh the Conſtitution to be by a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, and to confirm the former Methods and Juriſdictions of the ſeveral Courts, as they had been appointed in the Year 1620, and placed the laſt Reſort in the Aſſembly. He likewiſe confirmed the Rules and Orders made by the firſt Aſſembly for apportioning the Land, and granting Patents to particular Adventurers.

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[a] A. D. 1630.

[b] A. D. 1628. Col. of Voy. Vol. IV. p. 752. Harris's Col. App. p. 33.

[c] A. D. 1626.

[d] Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 47.

This was a Conſtitution according to their Hearts Deſire; and Things ſeemed now to go on in a happy Courſe for Encouragement of the Colony. People flock'd over thither apace; every one took up Land by Patent to his Liking; and not minding any thing but to be Maſters of great Tracts of Land, they planted themſelves ſeparately on their ſeveral Plantations. Nor did they fear the *Indians*, but kept them at a greater Diſtance than formerly; and they, for their Parts, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ſo ſenſibly increaſe in Number, were glad to keep their Diſtance, and be peaceable.

Several Gentlemen of Condition went over with their whole Families; ſome for bettering their Eſtates, others for Religion, and other Reaſons beſt known to themſelves. Among thoſe, the noble *Cæcilius Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, a *Roman* Catholick, thought for the more quiet Exerciſe of his Religion to retire, with his Family, into that new World. For this Purpoſe he went to *Virginia*, to try how he liked the Place; but the People there looked upon him with an evil Eye, on account of his Religion, for which alone he ſought this Retreat, and by their ill Treatment diſcouraged him from ſettling in that Country.

Upon that Provocation, his Lordſhip reſolved upon a further Adventure. And finding Land enough up the Bay of *Cheſapeak*, which was likewiſe bleſs'd with many brave Rivers, and as yet altogether uninhabited by the *Engliſh*, he began to think of making a new Plantation of his own. And for his more certain Direction in obtaining a Grant of it, he undertook a Journey Northward, to diſcover the Land up the Bay, and obſerve what might moſt conveniently ſquare with his Intent.

His Lordſhip finding all Things in this Diſcovery according to his Wiſh, returned to *England*. And becauſe the *Virginia* Settlements at that time reached no further than the South-ſide of *Patowmeck* River, his Lordſhip got a Grant of the Propriety of *Maryland*, bounding it to the South by *Patowmeck* River, on the Weſtern Shore; and by an Eaſt-line from Point *Look-out*, on the Eaſtern Shore; but died himſelf before he could embark for the promiſed Land.

Maryland had the Honour to receive its Name from Queen *Mary*, Royal Conſort to King *Charles* the Firſt.

The old Lord *Baltimore* being thus taken off, and leaving his Deſigns unfiniſhed, his Son and Heir, in the Year 1632, obtained a Confirmation of the Patent to himſelf, and went over in Perſon to plant his new Colony.

The Bounds of this Country cannot be better aſcertained than by uſing the Words of the Patent. "It is all that Part of a Peninſula, lying between the Ocean on the Eaſt, and the Bay of *Cheſepeak* on the Weſt, and divided from the other Part by a right Line drawn from the Cape called *Watkin*'s *Point* (ſituate in the aforeſaid Bay, near the River of *Wighoo*) on the Weſt, unto the main Ocean on the Eaſt, and between that Bound on the South, unto that Part of *Delaware* Bay on the North, which lies under the 40th Degree of northern Latitude, *&c.* And all that Tract of Land from the aforeſaid Bay of *Delaware*, in a right Line, by the Degree aforeſaid, to the true Meridian of the firſt Fountain of the River *Patowmeck*, and from thence tending towards the South, to the farther Bank of the aforeſaid River, and following the Weſt and South-ſide of it to a certain Place called *Cinquack*, ſituate near the Mouth of the ſaid River, where it falls into the Bay of *Cheſepeak*, and from thence, by a ſtrait Line, to the aforeſaid Cape, called *Watkin*'s *Point*."

The Lord *Baltimore* held it of the Crown of *England*, in common Soccage, as of his Majeſty's Manor of *Windſor*, holding and paying yearly, for ever, two *Indian* Arrows of thoſe Parts, at the Caſtle of *Windſor*.

The Lord *Baltimore* having obtained this Grant, reſolved to go thither in Perſon; but afterwards changing his Mind, he appointed his Brother *Leonard Calvert*, Eſq; to go Governor in his Stead, with whom he joined in Commiſſion *Jeremy Hawley*, Eſq; and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Eſq; The firſt Colony was ſent thither in 1633, and conſiſted of about 200 People. The Chief of the Adventurers were Gentlemen of good Families, but *Roman Catholicks*, who went thither in hopes of enjoying a Liberty of Conſcience, under a Proprietary of their own Profeſſion, as was the Lord *Baltimore*.

Theſe Adventurers ſailed from *Cowes*, in the Iſle of *Wight*, the 22d of *November*, and having ſtopped at *Barbadoes*, and *St. Chriſtopher*'s, where they ſtaid ſome time, arrived at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia* the 24th of *February* following. The third of *March* they left *Point Comfort*, and came to *Patowmeck* River, the South-point of which the Governor called *St. Gregory*'s, and the North-point *St. Michael*'s.

After having viewed the River near 50 Leagues up it, in Pinnaces, and conferred with ſeveral of the *Indian* Chiefs, the Governor returned and viewed a River on the North-ſide of *Patowmeck*, within four or five Leagues of its Mouth, which he called *George*'s River, and, about four Leagues up it, came to an *Indian* Town called *Yoamaco*, where he reſolved to make his firſt Settlement, which the *Indian* Inhabitants not only conſented to, but willingly abandoned it, allowing the Governor to take Poſſeſſion of it the 27th of *March*, who gave it the Name of *St. Mary*'s.

The taking Poſſeſſion of this Town was a great Advantage to the firſt Colony, becauſe the Ground round about was cleared to their Hands, which gave them an eaſy Opportunity of planting Corn, and making Gardens. They found indeed only Huts in it; but they ſoon converted them into Houſes, and erected a Fort: And, the Colony increaſing, the Country was afterwards divided into Shires, and ſeveral Towns built.

The Project of diſcovering a N. W. Paſſage was again aſſumed in the Year 1631, by the Merchants of *Briſtol*; who fitted out the *Henrietta Maria*[*], under the Command of Captain *Thomas James*. He ſailed, according to his own Account, from *Briſtol*, on the 2d of *May* 1631; on the 4th of *June* made the Land of *Groynland*; and was next Day encompaſſed with Ice; but with great Labour and Ingenuity the Ship was forced through into an open Sea, tho' not quite clear of Ice.

On the 22d he went aſhore at a Place, where he built a Beacon with Stones, placed a Croſs upon it, and named it the Harbour of *God's Providence*, in remembrance of the Almighty's Protection of his Ship, in the midſt of many and great Dangers, which increaſed daily by the Quantity of Ice, that continually threatened to ſtave it to Pieces. He alſo gave the Name of *Price*'s Cove, to a little Wood near adjoining, in Lat. 61° 24′; nor does it appear that he was able to do any great Matters in the Scheme upon which he was ſent out. But after giving theſe and ſome other Names to Places he diſcovered, he returned *re infecta*, without his Errand, to *Briſtol*, where he arrived on the 22d of *October* 1632.

For a more particular Account of this Voyage, we refer the Reader to the following Letter, wrote by Captain *James* himſelf.

The Copy of the Letter left at Charleton, *faſtened to the Croſs the 1ſt of* July 1632.

"Be it known to any that ſhall happily arrive here, on this Iſland of *Charleton*, That whereas our Sovereign Lord *Charles* the Firſt, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* having a Deſire to be certified, whether there were any Paſſage, or not, by the North-weſt, or North-weſtward, thorough theſe Territories, into the South-Sea: Some of the better-minded Merchants, of the Worſhipful Company of Merchant-adventurers of the City of *Briſtol*, to ſatisfy his Majeſty therein, did voluntarily offer to ſet forth a convenient Ship for that Purpoſe, well mann'd, victualled, and furniſhed with all other Neceſſaries. This free Offer of theirs was not only commended, but graciouſly accepted of his Majeſty. Whereupon they fitted and furniſhed forth a Ship, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the Burthen of 70 Tons, victualled for 18 Months. A Number thought convenient to manage ſuch a Buſineſs was 22, whereof 19 were choice able Men, two Yonkers, and my unworthy ſelf their Commander. All which, the *Briſtol* Merchants did moſt judiciouſly and bounti-

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[*] Of 70 Tons, and 22 Men.

“ fully accommodate, and had in a Readineſs the 1ſt of *May* 1631.

“ The 3d of *May* we began our Voyage out of the Road of *Briſtol*, commonly called *King*'s Road; paſſing about the Cape *Clear* of *Ireland*, upon many Courſes, but reduced to a W. N. W. we ſailed along; and upon the 4th of *June* we made the Land of *Groynland*, to the Northward of Cape *Farewel*; where, for the Space of two Days, we were dangerouſly engaged amongſt the Ice. Being clear of it, we doubled Cape *Farewel* to the Southward, and ſo continued our Courſe to the Weſtward, continually ſailing and thruſting the Ship thorough much Ice.

“ The 19th of *June* we made the Iſland of *Reſolution*, and endeavouring to compaſs about it to the Southward, we were taken with a ſtrong Weſterly Wind, which drove the Ice, and it us, upon the Shore. In that Diſtreſs (ſeeing it was broken Grounds and main Inlets into it) I ſent the Shallop to ſeek and ſound a Place, for our Refuge; but when ſhe was departed, ſhe was in as great Danger as we; and could not return to us, by reaſon of the Ice. We being now driven very near the Rocks, were fain to ſet our Sails, and force the Ship into an unknown Opening, adventuring her amongſt unknown Dangers, to avoid apparent, before we could moor her in a Place (as we thought) ſafe from Danger. The 22d of *June* (this Inlet being full of Ice) that Ice upon the Ebb, ſo jammed one Piece into another, that it altered the ordinary Courſe of it, and it came upon the Ship, and put her againſt the Rocks, notwithſtanding our utmoſt Reſiſtance. As the Water ebbed away, the Ship hung by the Keel upon a Rock, and held to the Offing. As ſoon as we perceived this, we made faſt ſome Hawſers to her Maſts, and to the Rocks, to hold her upright; but all in vain; ſhe ſunk ſtill, as the Water ebbed away; ſo that ſhe was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Hereupon, we got all upon a Piece of Ice, looking upon her, and praying God to be merciful to us. The Rock that ſhe hung upon, was a little abaft the Main-maſt, which made her hang after the Head; and ſhe ſunk over ſo much, that the Portlaſs of the Fore-caſtle was in the Water. At length, it pleaſed God, the Flood came, before it had ebbed ſo low as the Tide before and after, by a Foot; and the Ship roſe and was ſafe and ſound; and thus were we miraculouſly delivered. With the firſt Wind, we proceeded to the Weſtward, continually being peſtered with ſo much Ice, that it was about the Middle of *July*, before we could attain to Sir *Dudley Diggs*'s Iſland. And here I was put to my Conſideration: For whereas by my Directions, I was to ſearch eſpecially two Places; one from *Diggs*'s Iſland to the Northward; and failing there, to go to the *Checks*, and *Hubbert's Hope*, and ſo to ſearch it to the Southward; I now finding the Sea much peſtered with Ice in the Latitude of 64° 00', and as far as we could ſee to the Northward; and that the time was ſo far ſpent, as that before I could do any thing that way, it would be *Auguſt*, and then as much Trouble to return again to *Diggs*'s Iſland; and that by that time, the Year would be ſo far ſpent, the Nights ſo long and cold, that I feared I ſhould be forced with Shame to return into *England* again that Year. Wherefore I took my way to the Weſtward, by *Manſfield*'s Iſland; on which I landed twice, ſtill hindered and incumbered with Ice. Thence I proceeded to the Weſtward, hoping for an open Sea in the Bay. We were there more troubled with Ice, than in any Place before; ſo that it was the 11th Day of *Auguſt*, before we had ſight of the Weſtern-land, which we made in Latitude 59° 30', ſomething to the Southward of the *Checks*. We were not able to attain thither, by reaſon of the contrary Winds and Ice; but were obſervant of the current of the Tides; which after, by Experience, we found to come from the Northward. We coaſted along the Shore, in ſight of Land, and in 10 Fathom Water, to the Southward; and entered that Inlet, which heretofore was called *Hubbert's Hope*; which was the very Place, where the Paſſage ſhould be, as it was thought by the underſtandingeſt and learnedeſt Intelligencer of this Buſineſs in *England*. We ſailed to the very Bottom of it, into three Fathom Water; and found it to be a Bay of ſome 18 or 19 Leagues deep. From thence we proceeded to the Southward, in ſight of Land, for the moſt part; and altho' I was as careful to keep the Lead always going (it blowing a freſh Gale of Wind, and a pretty big Sea) our Depth eight, nine, ten Fathoms; yet before the Lead was up, the Ship ſtruck upon a flat Rock (ſhe then being under Fore-ſail, Fore-top-ſail, Main-top-ſail, and Sprit-ſail) and gave three ſore Knocks, and got over it. Being paſt this Danger, we proceeded, and paſt by Port *Nelſon*. Finding the Land trend to the Eaſtward, we began our Diſcovery of it more carefully, becauſe that no Man (that ever I could hear or read of) did ever ſee this Land before. We ſtood into ſix and five Fathom; for it is very low Land, and trends for the moſt part E. S. E. and E. by S.

“ The 27th of *Auguſt* I entered upon it, and in the Name of the Merchants Adventurers of *Briſtol*, took Poſſeſſion of it to his Majeſty's Uſe, naming it *the new South-weſt Principality of Wales*. I brought from the Land ſome ſmall Trees and Herbs, and killed divers ſorts of Fowl, in Sign of Seiſure, which I brought aboard. Not long after, (being put back to the Weſtward with contrary Winds) we ſpake with Captain *Fox*, in a Ship of his Majeſty's, ſet forth for the ſame Purpoſe that we were: I invited him aboard, and entertained him with ſuch Fare as we had taken in this new-diſcovered Land, and made him Relation of all our Endeavours: The like did he to us, and withal told us, that he had been in *Port Nelſon*, where he had put up a Shallop, and found there many things which Sir *Thomas Button* had left there. The next Day he departed from us, and ſtood to the Weſtward, and we never ſaw him ſince. His Ship, he, and all his Company, were very well. We continued our Diſcovery to the Eaſtward, and came to the Eaſt-point, which is in Latitude 55.06, which we named it *Cape Henrietta Maria*. There the Land trends to the Southward, and we followed it in Sight, but were put off with foul Weather; which being over-blown, we ſtood in again for the Weſt-ſhore, (that we might leave no Part unſeen) and followed it again to Latitude 54.40. The ſecond time we alſo put off with like foul Weather, which made us ſtand to the Eaſtward. In this way we paſt by ſome Iſlands, and happened amongſt broken Grounds and Rocks, in Latitude 53.30, where we came to an Anchor, and ſheltred ourſelves ſome few Days, ſhifting Roads. Now the Winter began to come on, and the Nights to be long and cold, that amongſt theſe dangerous Places we were fain to ſpend the Day to look for Security for the Night. Here, by Miſfortune, our Ship came aground, and that amongſt great Stones, as big as a Man's Head, where ſhe did beat for the Space of five Hours moſt fearfully. In this time we lightened her, and carried ſome of our Things aſhore; ſo that by the great Favour of God, we got her off again, whereupon we named this Iſland, *the Iſland of God's Favour*. After that again, amongſt thoſe Rocks, we were put to many Extremities. At length, (having a gentle ſoutherly Wind) we ſtood along the Eaſt-ſhore to the Northward; now looking for a convenient Place to winter in. And here again, were we aſſaulted with a violent Storm, in which we loſt our Shallop, and were driven amongſt divers Dangers; and ſeeing an Opening betwixt two Iſlands, we ventured to go in, in very foul Weather. We found it to be a very good Sound, and there we came to an anchor. We landed on one of them, which we named the *Lord Weſton's Iſland*, and mann'd out our old Ship-boat upon it. The other Iſland we named *My Lord of Briſtol's Iſland*. Parting from hence, we ſtood to the Southward, to look for a wintering Place, becauſe the Time for Diſcovery was paſt for this Year. Many were our Troubles amongſt theſe Iſlands, Shoals, and broken Grounds; which made us ſtrain our Ground-tackle for Life, many a time.

“ The ſixth of *October* we arrived in this Bay, it ſeeming a very likely Place to find a Harbour in; but ſearching the likelieſt Places, we found it all ſo ſhoal'd Flats and Rocks, and ſtony by the Shore-ſide, that we

“ could by no means bring our Ship near the Shore, but were forced to ride a League off, in three Fathom and a half Water.

“ The Winter came on apace, the Weather proved tempeſtuous, and the cold ſo multiplied, that our Sails froze in Lumps to the Yards, unmanable. Neither could our only Boat go from the Ship, by reaſon of the Weather. About the Middle of *October*, I cauſed a Houſe to be made aſhore, where our ſick Men might the better recover; but always with an Intent to take it down, if we found other-where a Place for our Ship. I ſent likewiſe Men afoot (ſeeing the Boat could not go) to diſcover the Iſland, and to ſee if they could find ſome Creek or Cove, but all in vain; we ſpent the Time with hope of fairer Weather, till now the Cables began to freeze in the Houſe, and the Ship to be frozen over with the Sprew of the Sea; ſo that we were fain to ſhovel the Snow off our Decks. Moreover, the Water began ſo to congeal by the Shore-ſide, that the Boat could hardly get aſhore. Yet for all that, if the Wind blew N. W. there went a very great Surf on the Shore, and ſuch a great Sea in the Bay, that there was no bringing of our Ship aground. Beſides this, ſhe would have then lain open to the E. and S. E. and S. and indeed the neareſt Land, all about that way was two Leagues off. Hereupon we continued out the Extremity at an anchor.

“ The 29th of *November* the Ice came about us on all ſides, and put us from our Ground-tackle, and would have driven us out of the Bay upon Rocks and Shoals, (where undoubtedly we had periſhed) but that by God's great Goodneſs it proved ſo warm a Day, (the Wind at S.) that ſuddenly we brought up ſome Sail, and hoiſt it up with Ropes, and ſo forc'd her aſhore, where ſhe beat all that Night very ſorely. The Ship being now grounded and quiet, we conſidered what was beſt to do with her, and reſolved to ſink her; but the next Tide, before we had any of our Proviſions aſhore, the Wind came N. W. ſo that the Ship beat moſt fearfully. We got all our dry Proviſions up to the upper Deck, and made a Hole to ſink her: but before ſhe was ſunk, ſhe beat ſo extraordinarily, that we all thought ſhe had been foundered. Being ſunk down ſo low, that the Water came on the upper Deck, we took our Boat and went all aſhore, in ſuch pitiful cold Weather, that we were all ſo white frozen, that ſome ſick Men that were aſhore before, did not know us one from another.

“ The next Day we fell to land our Proviſions, firſt our Bread, Fiſh, and dry Things, the Men driven to wade in the Water up to the Middles, moſt lamentable to behold. Within two Days, what with great flat Pieces that ſtuck about us, and that which froze, it was become firm Ice, betwixt the Ship and the Shore; ſo that then we were fain to carry all Things on our Backs a Mile from the Ship to the Houſe. Within few Days the Hold became ſo frozen, that we could not get all our Things out of it, but were fain there to leave it frozen till the next Year. Then we made us two other Houſes; our firſt Houſe was our Manſion-houſe, wherein we did all lie together; our other was to dreſs our Victuals; and the third for a Store-houſe, which we built a pretty Diſtance off, for fear of Fire. And now we conſidered of the Eſtate we were in, we all doubted that the Ship was foundered, eſpecially our Carpenter. But ſuppoſe ſhe were ſound, yet was it a queſtion, whether we could get her off in the Summer, when the Tides are low. Moreover, ſhe might be ſpoiled lying in the Tides way, when the Ice brake up, and then we ſhould be deſtitute of any Veſſel to bring us home. The Carpenter undertook to build a Pinnace, of the Burthen of 12 or 14 Tons, that ſhould be ready by the Spring, that if we found the Ship unſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks. Upon this we reſolved, and by *May* brought it to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be joined together, to receive the Plank. But God mercifully provided otherwiſe for us: We indured a bitter cold Winter, in which it pleaſed God to viſit us with Sickneſs, ſo that in the Beginning of *May* 1632, there was but myſelf, and the Maſter and Surgeon perfectly ſound, and he began to find ſome Defect alſo. About the Beginning of *April* we began to dig the Ice out of our Ship, which by the Middle of *May* we had effected.

“ The 24th of *May* the Ice began to break up betwixt the Ship and the Shore; and about the Middle of *June* we had off our Ship, and found her to be ſtanch and ſound, contrary to all our Expectations. Before this time, about the Middle of *May*, our Carpenter died; and with him the Hope of our Pinnace: Maſter *Wardon* died the ſixth of *May*; our Gunner *Richard Edwards* had his Leg broken (which was cut off) at the Capſtang in *Auguſt* 1631, and languiſhed till the 22d of *November*, on which Day he died. Theſe three Men lie buried here under theſe Tombs of Stones. We loſt another Man, one *John Barton*, our Quarter-Maſter, who miſcarried in the little Bay that is due Weſt from this Croſs three Miles; the Ice breaking under him, ſo that he ſunk down, and we never ſaw him more. The two Pictures which are wrapt in Lead, and faſtened uppermoſt on this Croſs, are the lively Pictures of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *Charles* the Firſt, and Queen *Mary* his Wife, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. The next under that is his Majeſty's royal Arms, the lowermoſt is the Arms of the City of *Briſtol*.

“ And now we are in a Readineſs to depart this Day, and I intend to proſecute our Diſcovery to the Weſtward, in this Latitude of 52-03, and to the Southward alſo, although with little Hope. Failing there, I mean to haſte to *Digg's Iſland*, and endeavour to diſcover to the Northward. Thus having had ſome Experience of the Dangers of the Ice, Shoals, and Rocks of unknown Places, thought it neceſſary to leave this Teſtimony of us and our Endeavours, if God ſhould take us into his heavenly Kingdom, and fruſtrate our Return into our native Country. Wherefore I deſire any noble-minded Traveller, that ſhall take this down, or come to the Knowledge of it, that he will make Relation of it to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majeſty, and to certify his Grace, that we cannot as yet find any Hope of a Paſſage this Way; and that I do faithfully perſevere in my Service, accounting it but my Duty to ſpend my Life to give his Majeſty Contentment, whom I beſeech God to bleſs with all Happineſs. And that they would likewiſe advertiſe our worſhipful Adventurers of all our Fortunes; and that, if as aforeſaid, we periſh, it was not by any Want or Defect in Ship or Victual, or other Neceſſaries; all which we have in abundance for four Months and above, which if Occaſion be, we can prolong to ſix Months. Thus being at preſent unable to expreſs a grateful Mind otherwiſe but in my Prayers to God, I heartily beſeech him to pour out his bountiful Bleſſing upon all their honeſt Endeavours, and to continue their noble Diſpoſitions in Actions of this kind. And I faithfully promiſe, that if I ſhall come where the like Letters and Tokens ſhall be left, to make a true Relation of it, as it ſhall be deſired. So deſiring the Happineſs of all Mankind, in our general Saviour Chriſt Jeſus; I end.”

Charleton,
July 2. 1632.

THOMAS JAMES.

The King [*], ſeeing the ambitious Enterpriſes of the *French* King, aſſiſted by *Holland*, to diſturb the chriſtian and peaceable Commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjuſtly to ſeize upon her neighbouring Territories, without Cauſe given. For Inſtance: The ancient State of *Lorrain*, which lay in his way, to hinder his unlawful Deſigns: Theſe were ſufficient Motives for the King to behold his own Caſe with an Eye of Prevention. But eſpecially, finding a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to divide and devour the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to poſſeſs the maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others oppoſite to *England*: This made his Majeſty think how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own Houſe. And having Intelligence that they were both of them to join in one Fleet; a thing not uſually done by the *French*; and they making no public Declaration of the Deſign of their Ships, his Majeſty could not but be apprehenſive, that their Intent was to deprive him of his ancient and allowed Right of the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, which it behoved him to defend as much as his Kingdom. His Majeſty therefore armed the following Ships to Sea, to enquire Reaſon at their Hands; not intending to injure any Nation, but to keep himſelf and his Subjects from being injured, and to curb the Inſolency and Pride of any People, who ſhould go about to infringe his Royal Prerogative.

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[*] A. D. 1635.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
The *Mary-Honora*,	*Robert* Earl of *Lindſey*, Admiral.
James,	Sir *William Monſon*, Vice-admiral.
Swiftſure,	Sir *John Pennington*, Rear-admiral.
George,	Capt. *James Montague*.
St. Andrew,	*Walter Stewart*.
Henrietta Maria,	*Thomas Porter*.
Vanguard,	Sir *Francis Sydenham*.
Rainbow,	Capt. *Thomas Povey*.
Lion,	*John Menns*.
Reformation,	Lord *Pawlett*.
Leopard,	Capt. *Lewis Kirke*.
Mary-Roſe,	*George Cartwright*.
Adventure,	——*Parramour*.
Swallow,	*Henry Stradling*.
Antelope,	*Richard Fogge*.
Lion's Second Whelp,	*Anthony Penruddock*.
Lion's Third Whelp,	*Peter Lindſey*.
Lion's Eighth Whelp,	*Thomas Price*.
Lion's Tenth Whelp,	*William Smith*.
MERCHANT-SHIPS.	
Sampſon,	Capt. *Thomas Kirk*.
Royal-Exchange,	*John Hide*.
Freeman,	*Richard Fielding*.
Pleiades,	*David Purrey*.
William and Thomas,	*John Fletcher*.
Minikin Ketch,	*John Barton*, Maſter.

This Fleet ſet ſail from *Tilbury Hope* the 26th of *May*, with Direction, and Reſolution (as it was ſaid) to give no Occaſion of Hoſtility, or to make any Nation Enemy to his Majeſty; only to defend his own and his Kingdom's Honour, which had been lately called in Queſtion by a Fleet of *French* and *Dutch*, off of *Portland*. This united Fleet no ſooner heard of the *Engliſh* Fleet being put to Sea, than they quitted our Coaſts, where they appeared no more this Year; and as they were ſuppoſed to be retired to the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, a Bark was ſent thither to get Information of their Force and Condition; which, upon her Return, appeared to be ſuch, as removed all Suppoſition of ſeeing them any more this Year. But the Lord Admiral thought it proper to keep the Sea till the 1ſt of *October*; during which time he made good our Seas and Shores, gave Laws to our Neighbours, and reſtored to his Majeſty the ancient Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, which was ever due to his Predeceſſors.

However, the Reputation of the *Engliſh* had ſuffered ſo much at Sea, by the Neglect of the late Miniſtry, that it became neceſſary for the Crown to put the Navy into a more reſpectable Condition, in order to clear the Coaſts, and to protect the Navigation of the Merchants, from the Inſults and Depredations of their Neighbours, and of the *Turks* and *Algerines*, who, with Impunity, had lately made ſeveral Captures within the Narrow Seas. The *Dutch* went ſo far as to claim a Title to their Sovereignty, or at leaſt to the Fiſhery on our Coaſts, upon the Authority of thoſe Arguments uſed by *Grotius*, in his *Mare Liberum*, to prove the Freedom of Navigation, and Community of the Sea.

The Court of *Great-Britain* appointed the learned *Selden* to anſwer that Civilian, who wrote the excellent Treatiſe called *Mare Clauſum*, wherein he having, with great Induſtry, Learning, and Judgment, aſſerted the Right of the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, the King paid ſuch Honour to the Performance, that, ſhortly after the Publication, he made an Order in Council, that one of thoſe Books ſhould be kept in the Council-cheſt, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty, as a faithful and ſtrong Evidence to the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas. But not ſatiſfied alone with Arguments drawn from Hiſtory, or ancient Treaties between the two Nations, he more effectually aſſerted the ſame, by fitting out a Fleet of 60 ſtout Ships of War the ſame Year, under the Command of *Algernoon* Earl of *Northumberland*, now made Lord High-admiral. At the ſame time he publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring the Reaſons of his making this Armament; wherein having ſhewn what Outrage had been done to his Father's, and his own Prerogative, by ſeveral People fiſhing in their Seas, without Licence, he ſays: "We being very ſenſible of the Premiſes, and well knowing how far we are obliged in Honour to maintain the Rights of our Crown, eſpecially of ſo great Conſequence, have thought it neceſſary, by the Advice of our Privy-council, to renew the aforeſaid Reſtraint of fiſhing upon our aforeſaid Coaſts and Seas, without Licence firſt obtained from us, and by theſe Preſents to make publick Declaration, that our Reſolution is (at Times convenient) to keep ſuch a competent Strength of Shipping upon our Seas, as may (by GOD's Bleſſing) be ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther Encroachments upon our Regalities, and aſſiſt and protect thoſe our good Friends and Allies, who ſhall henceforth, by Virtue of our Licences (to be firſt obtained) endeavour to take the Benefit of fiſhing upon our Coaſts and Seas, in the Places accuſtomed."

The *Dutch* expreſſing their Apprehenſions of theſe naval Preparations to Sir *William Boſwell*, then Reſident at the *Hague*, he acquainted the Miniſters in *England* with it; and Sir *John Cook*, then Secretary of State, wrote him a Letter, wherein, after he had ſet forth the ſeveral Encroachments made by the *Hollanders* on the Fiſhings in the *Britiſh* Seas, and other marine Offences, he writes thus: "Conſidering that Peace and War muſt be maintained by the Arm of Power, which only keeps down War by keeping up Dominion, his Majeſty, thus provoked, finds it neceſſary, even for his own Defence and Safety, to reaſſume and keep his ancient and undoubted Right in the Dominion of the Seas, and to ſuffer no other Prince or State to encroach upon him, thereby aſſuming to themſelves, or their Admirals, any ſovereign Command; but to enforce them to perform due Homage to his Admirals Ships, and to pay them Acknowledgments, as in former Time they did. He will alſo ſet open and protect the free Trade of his Subjects and Allies, and give them ſuch Safe-conduct and Convoy, as they ſhall reaſonably require: He will ſuffer no other Fleets, or Men of War, to keep any Guard upon theſe Seas, *&c.*"

In the ſame Letter, the Secretary ſays: "We hold it a Principle not to be denied, that the King of *Great-Britain* is a Monarch at Land and Sea, and that it concerns him as much to maintain his Sovereignty in all the *Britiſh* Seas, as within his three Kingdoms; becauſe, without that, theſe cannot be kept ſafe, nor he preſerve his Honour, and due Reſpect with other Nations."

This Fleet being ſafely arrived in the *Downs*, all but the Vice-admiral, which was by Negligence caſt away and loſt, in her Paſſage between *Chatham* and *Tilbury Hope*, his Lordſhip ſet ſail with it to the Weſtward; from whence ſeveral of his Ships were detach'd upon ſundry particular Services, as Occaſion required. The *Victory*, one of the Chief of the Fleet, was ſent into *Spain*, to carry home a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

Having ſcoured the Coaſts of *France*, and meeting with no Fleet to oppoſe him, his Lordſhip returned to the *Sound* of *Plymouth*, where having Information of ſome *Turkiſh* Rovers, hovering on the Coaſts, who had committed ſome Depredations on his Majeſty's Subjects, he put to Sea again in queſt of them; but they were too nimble for him. At Sea, his Lordſhip met with an *Iriſhman* from *France*, who deceived him with a falſe Report of a *French* Fleet being ſail'd to the Eaſtward of the Channel, in order, as was believed, to beſiege *Dunkirk*, upon which he bore up, and took the Opportunity of a Wind to follow them: But arriving at the *Downs* a few Days after, he found himſelf impoſed upon in his Information: And, the Wind ſetting in Weſterly and Southerly, it was long before he could recover the Weſtern Parts again, by which means the Pirates committed great Spoils and Inſolencies on the Coaſts.

While his Lordſhip was waiting in the *Downs* for a North-eaſt Wind, to carry him Weſtward again, his Majeſty reſolved upon an Employment for him of greater Importance, *viz.* to ſend him to the Northward among the Fiſhermen, to make good his Proclamation to prohibit any ſuch Fiſhing upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, by all foreign Nations who would not acknowledge his Majeſty's Prerogative on thoſe Seas.

His Lordſhip ſailing therefore to the Northward, where the *Dutch* Buſſes were fiſhing on our Coaſts, required them to deſiſt, which they not readily doing, he fired at them, took and ſunk ſome, and diſperſed the reſt; whereupon the *Dutch* ſolicited the Admiral to mediate with the King, that they might have Leave to go on with their Fiſhing this Summer, for which they would pay to his Majeſty 3000 *l.* and they accordingly did ſo, and ſignified their Inclination to have a Grant from the King to do the like for the future, upon paying a yearly Tribute.

In 1636, Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Miniſter of *Cambridge*, in the new Colony of the *Maſſachuſet*'s *Bay*, ſeparated with a few of his Congregation, and founded a new Town by the Name of *Hertford*, on the River *Connecticut*. This firſt Tranſmigration was countenanced by the Proprietors of *Maſſachuſet*. But meeting with Encouragement, and join'd by greater Numbers of *Engliſh* than expected, they ſoon extended their Diſcoveries far beyond the Limits of their Mother-colony, ſet up an independent Government of their own [a], and founding it on a League or Agreement among themſelves, became a Body-politick, made neceſſary Laws and Orders, choſe proper Officers to execute them, and *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; to be their firſt Governor.

This Settlement was ſcarce well fixed, before *George Fenwich*, Eſq; was ſent to *New England* on account of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who had bought of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, ſome Lands on the River which runs through *Connecticut* Colony. Mr. *Fenwick* ſeated himſelf at the Mouth of the River; and built the Town called *Saybrook*. The Lords *Say* and *Brook*'s Title to that Territory was by a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom the King had given it. The *Connecticut* Colony thinking, that by purchaſing this Ground, their Right to the Land they had ſeized without any Grant, would be the ſtronger, bought it of Mr. *Fenwick*, by Conſent of the Proprietors, that Gentleman having but begun his Plantation, and not finding ſufficient Encouragement to finiſh it. With this Shadow of a Conſtitution they continued till after the Reſtoration, and then they procured a Charter from the Crown.

Two Years after the ſettling the Colony at *Connecticut*, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, and Mr. *Davenport*, Miniſter, hearing of another Bay to the South-weſt of *Connecticut*, purchaſed of the Proprietors all the Land which lay between them and *Hudſon*'s River, which divides the Southern Parts of *New England* from *New York*; and removed thither in the Year 1637, where they ſeated themſelves in a pleaſant Bay, and built *Newhaven*, which gave Name to the Colony, as alſo *Guildford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Brainford*. Though they had a Right to the Lands by Purchaſe, they had none to a particular Government; yet they formed themſelves, by mutual Agreement, into a Body-politick, and choſe Mr. *Eaton* for their Governor.

From 1636, to 1639, was chiefly taken up with the King's Diſſentions with the *Scots*: He, on his Side, endeavouring to force Epiſcopacy upon them, and they exerting themſelves as ſtrenuouſly in the Defence of their Kirk. But this Year, his Majeſty finding nothing was to be done by fair Means, reſolved upon a War to reduce the *Scots* to his Obedience; and from this time we may properly date the Beginning of this unhappy Monarch's Troubles.

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Memoirs of the *Hamilton* Family, has given us a very plauſible Account of this Matter. He ſays, the Duke embarked at *Yarmouth* about the Middle of *April* 1639; that he had with him about 5000 Men, among whom there were not above 200 that knew how to fire a Gun: But he does not ſay what Number of Ships he had, or of what Burden; only that the Troops were tranſported in Colliers, and arrived in the *Frith* of *Forth* the 1ſt of *May*. There he continued for ſome time, treating with the *Scots* to little or no Purpoſe, till the Seaſon being loſt, he returned without effecting any thing [b]. Another Gentleman who lived in thoſe times, and ſeems to have known much of them, gives a quite different Detail; which, as it is very ſhort, may not be unworthy of the Reader's Notice. "*Hamilton* was to be a diſtinct General both by Sea and Land, and with a good Fleet was to block up the *Scots* Seas; nay, to my Knowledge, he promiſed ſo to viſit his Countrymen on their Coaſts, as that they ſhould find little Eaſe or Security in their Habitations. For he had three good *Engliſh* Regiments on-board him: But the very Choice of his Ships ſhewed he had more mind to make War upon the King's Treaſure, than on his own Country or Countrymen: For he had choſen ſome of the ſecond and third Rate; whereas the leaſt Frigates would have done the greateſt Service: Thus by the very Bulk of his Ships obliging himſelf to an Inactivity. One might well have expected, that he who had ſo prodigally, as a Commiſſioner, laviſhed his Majeſty's Honour, and unhinged the Government, would have vigorouſly employed thoſe Forces under his Command to have reſtored both, and that a Man of his Importance, would have found ſome Party ready to have countenanced and aſſiſted him: But inſtead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the *Frith*, his Mother (a violent ſpirited Lady, and a deep Preſbytereſs) comes on-board him; and ſurely ſhe had no hard Taſk to charm him. Afterwards the great Ships (like the great formidable Log let down to be a King) lying ſtill, he had ſeveral Viſits from many of the great Men, who were moſt active againſt the King; as if he had been rather returned from an *Eaſt-India* Voyage, than come as a powerful Enemy."

A Pacification enſued before the Concluſion of this Year [c]; but the War broke out anew the Year following, and the Council of *England* declared with one Voice, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce the *Scots* to their Duty by Force of Arms.

"In 1639 (ſays my Author [d]) the *Spaniards* fitted out a conſiderable Fleet, under the Command of *Antonio de Oquendo*, conſiſting of 67 large Ships and Galleons, manned with 25000 Seamen, and having on-board 12000 Landmen, deſigned, as was believed, to diſlodge the *Dutch* Ships from before *Dunkirk*, and land the Troops there, for the Relief of *Flanders*, and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Provinces. The *Dutch* having two or three Squadrons at Sea, the *Spaniſh* Fleet coming up the Channel, was met near the Streights of *Dover* by one of them, conſiſting of 17 Sail, under the Command of *Herbert van Tromp*. And notwithſtanding the Enemy's great Superiority, *Tromp* ventured to attack them. Finding himſelf, however, too weak, he got to the Windward, ſailing along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing Guns, as a Signal to the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, who lay off that Place, to come to his Aſſiſtance, who accordingly joined him the next Morning, between *Dover* and *Calais*, where engaging the *Spaniards*, a very ſharp Fight enſued between them, which laſted ſeveral Hours. The *Dutch* had greatly the Advantage, and having taken one Galleon, ſunk another, and much ſhattered the reſt, at length forced them upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, near *Dover*. This done, *Tromp* being in want of Ball and Powder, ſtood away for *Calais*, to borrow ſome of the Governor of that Place, who readily ſupplying him, he returned again to *Dover*. Upon his Approach, the *Spaniards* got within the South Foreland, and put themſelves under the Protection of the neighbouring Caſtles.

"The two Fleets continuing in this Poſture for many Days, obſerving each other, the Miniſters of both Nations

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[a] A. D. 1636. Br. Emp. in America, Vol. I. p. 37.

[b] Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton, p. 121—139.

[c] Rapin. Clarendon.

[d] Burchett.

“tions were not leſs employed, in watching each other's Motions at *Whitehall*, and encountering one another with Memorials. The *Spaniſh* Reſident importuned the King, that he would keep the *Hollanders* in Subjection two Tides, to give the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of making away for *Spain*. But the King, being in Amity with them both, was reſolved to ſtand Neuter; and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired ſome *Engliſh* Ships to tranſport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, upon Complaint made thereof, by the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, ſtrict Orders were given, that no Ships or Veſſels belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, ſhould take any *Spaniard* on-board, or paſs below *Graveſend*, without Licence. However, after much plotting and counterplotting on both Sides, the *Spaniard* at length outwitted his Enemy, and found means, by a Stratagem, in the Night, to convey away thro' the *Downs*, round by the North Sand-head, and the Back of the *Goodwin*, 12 large Ships to *Dunkirk*, and in them 4000 Men. In Excuſe of this groſs Neglect of the *Dutch* Admirals, in leaving that Avenue from the *Downs* unguarded, they ſay, they were aſſured by the *Engliſh*, that no Ships, of any conſiderable Burden, could venture by Night to ſail that way.

“The two Fleets had now continued in their Stations near three Weeks, when King *Charles* ſent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, to deſire him to retreat upon the firſt fair Wind: But, by this time, the *Dutch* Fleet was, by continual Reinforcements from *Zealand* and *Holland*, increaſed to 100 Sail; and ſeeming diſpoſed to attack their Enemies, Sir *John Pennington*, Admiral of his Majeſty's Fleet, who lay in the *Downs*, with 34 Men of War, acquainted the *Dutch* Admiral, that he had received Orders to act in Defence of either of the two Parties, which ſhould be firſt attacked. The *Spaniards*, however, growing too preſumptuous on the Protection they enjoyed, a Day or two after fired ſome Shot at *Van Tromp*'s Barge, when he was himſelf in her, and killed a Man with a Cannon-ball, on-board one of the *Dutch* Ships, whoſe dead Body was preſently ſent on-board Sir *John Pennington*, as a Proof, that the *Spaniards* were the firſt Aggreſſors, and had violated the Neutrality of the King of *England*'s Harbour. Soon after this, the *Dutch* Admiral came to a Reſolution of attacking the *Spaniards*; but before he put it in Execution, he thought fit to write to Admiral *Pennington*, telling him, that the *Spaniards* having infringed the Liberties of the King of *England*'s Harbour, and become the Aggreſſors, he found himſelf obliged to retaliate Force with Force, and attack them, in which, purſuant to the Declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his Aſſiſtance. Which, however, if he ſhould not pleaſe to grant, he prayed the Favour, that he would, at leaſt, give him Leave to engage the Enemy, otherwiſe he ſhould have juſt Cauſe of Complaint, to all the World, of ſo manifeſt an Injury.

“This Letter being delivered to the *Engliſh* Admiral, *Van Tromp* bore up to the *Spaniards*, in ſix Diviſions, and charged them ſo furiouſly with his Broad-ſides, and his Fire-ſhips, as forced them all to cut their Cables, and being 53 in Number, 23 run aſhore, and ſtranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the Shore; one of which was a great Galleon (the Vice-admiral of *Galicia*) commanded by *Antonio de Caſtro*, and mounted with 52 Braſs-guns. The Remainder of the 23, which were ſtranded, and deſerted by the *Spaniards*, were manned by the *Engliſh*, to ſave them from the *Dutch*. The other 30 *Spaniſh* Ships, with Don *Antonio de Oquendo* the Commander in Chief, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal*, got out to Sea, and kept in good Order, till a thick Fog ariſing, the *Dutch* took Advantage thereof, interpoſed between the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the Fog cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired by two *Dutch* Ships fitted for that Purpoſe, which *d'Oquendo* perceiving, preſently ſtood away for *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that Place, and ſome few Ships more: For, of theſe 30, five were ſunk in the Fight, 11 taken and ſent into *Holland*, three periſhed upon the Coaſt of *France*, one near *Dover*, and only 10 eſcaped.

“The firſt Hoſtility committed by the *Spaniards* was a Plea the *Dutch* made Uſe of in their Juſtification to us, and, at the ſame time, a ſufficient Argument to defend the Conduct of the *Engliſh* Government, which otherwiſe would have appeared oppugnant to the Laws of Nations, in ſuffering one Friend to deſtroy another, within its Chambers.”

The *Scots* being highly diſguſted with the King for his Attempt to alter the Conſtitution of their national Church, and to introduce Epiſcopacy, reſolved to protect their religious Rights by Force; and his Majeſty, to reduce them to his Obedience, raiſed an Army of near 6000 Horſe [a], and about that Number in Foot, all very well diſciplined Men, under good and experienced Officers. With this Army, abundantly ſupplied with a Train of Artillery, and all other Proviſions neceſſary, the King advanced towards the Borders of *Scotland*. The King had likewiſe provided a good Fleet, and had cauſed a Body of 3000 Foot to be embarked on thoſe Ships, all which were put under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was to infeſt the Country by Sea, to hinder their Trade, and to make a Deſcent upon the Land.

Money was wanting to carry on the War, which obliged the King to call a Parliament. But as the new Parliament refuſed to grant the Supplies demanded, before the national Grievances were redreſſed, they were diſſolved in leſs than a Month. The King publiſhed a Declaration, to ſhew the Cauſes of this Proceeding, and then continued levying of Money by extraordinary Methods as before. The War with the *Scots* continued; and the Year following they defeated the *Engliſh* on the *Tyne*, and took *Newcaſtle*. The King, being now reduced to the greateſt Streights, the *Scots* advancing upon him daily, without Money to ſubſiſt his Troops, and all his Projects to raiſe any failing him, ſummoned the Great Council of the Peers to meet at *York*; but before their Aſſembly, upon a Petition from the City of *London*, and another from ſome Lords, he ſummoned a fifth Parliament to meet on the 3d of *November*.

The Proceedings of the fifth Parliament, tending chiefly to invalidate whatever the King had been doing on his own Authority for 15 Years paſt; the Diſputes concerning the Rights of the Biſhops to ſit in Parliament; the Accuſation of Archbiſhop *Laud* of High-treaſon; the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, which laſted 17 Days; the Bill of Attainder againſt him, to which the King with great Reluctance gave his Conſent, as well as to another at the ſame time, for the Continuance of the Parliament, and that it ſhould not be diſſolved without the Conſent of both Houſes; the Earl of *Strafford*'s Death, on the 12th of *May*; the *Scotch* Affairs, and the King's Journey thither; the Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament; the *Iriſh* Project of throwing off the *Engliſh* Yoke; and the Proceeding of the Parliament thereupon; the King's Return from *Scotland*, and the Continuation of the Differences between his Majeſty and the Parliament; the famous Remonſtrance of the 1ſt of *December*, with the King's Anſwer, and Declaration thereupon; the Biſhops Petition and Proteſtation; the Commons accuſing them of High-treaſon; the committing of ten of them to the *Tower*; were the principal Occurances of this Year [b], all conducive to the Troubles which enſued.

The next Year began with the King's accuſing a Peer and five Commoners of High-treaſon; the King's ordering Seals to be put on their Papers, *&c.* and the Commons ordering them to be torn off again; the Violation of the Privileges of Parliament by the King voted; the King's Retirement from *London*; the ſeizing of *Hull* by the Parliament, and their ſetting a Guard about the *Tower*; the Differences between the King and Parliament, concerning the Militia, the Command of the Forts and Fleet; the Queen's Departure for *Holland*; the King's going before *Hull*, and being refuſed Entrance; the King and Parliament both preparing for a War, and endeavouring to gain the People; the Declaration or Remonſtrance of the Parliament, of the

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[a] Clarendon.

[b] A. D. 1641.

19th of *May*, with the King's Anſwer to it; the 19 Propoſitions, with the King's Anſwer; the Refuſal of the Officers of the Fleet to obey the King's Orders; the Siege of *Hull* by the King; and laſtly the King's declaring both Houſes of Parliament guilty of High-treaſon, and ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, on the 25th of *Auguſt*; were the moſt remarkable Occurences which enſued, and were, in a manner, ſo many Introductions to the War, which now broke into a full Flame.

The Commerce of this Iſland increaſed very much under the firſt 15 Years of this King's Reign, as may be reaſonably collated from the Navigation in the Port of *London*, which was able to ſupply 100 Sail of ſtout Ships, capable of being converted into Men of War[a]. The Power of the *Eaſt-India* Company was augmented ſo greatly, that their Ships were in a Capacity to give Law to moſt other Nations in the Eaſtern Seas. The new Settlements on *St. Chriſtopher*'s, *Nevis*, and *Barbadoes*, but moſt of all the Eſtabliſhment of Colonies on the Northern Continent of *America*, increaſed our Shipping, and filled our Cuſtoms much beyond whatever had been known in former Times. And the Royal Navy in this Reign received the Addition of the following Ships:

Ships[b].	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea.
Ten Whelps	3	60, ſome 70
The Henrietta Pinnace	3	25
The Mary Pinnace	3	25
The Charles	9	250
The Henrietta-Maria	9	250
The James	9	260
The Victory	9	250
The Leopard	7	170
The Swallow	6	150
The Sovereign		

The eminent Seamen taken notice of in this Period, and not hitherto particularly mentioned, are Sir *Robert Manſel*, Sir *William Monſon*, *Robert Bertie* Earl of *Lindſey*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and *Algernoon Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* ROBERT MANSEL.

Sir *Robert Manſel* was deſcended from a very ancient, and now noble Family in *Glamorganſhire*, being the third Son of Sir *Edward Manſel*, Knt. by his Wife the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Worceſter*[c]. He addicted himſelf early to the Sea, and under the Patronage of the famous Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord High-admiral of *England*, came to be a conſiderable Officer in the Fleet, and in the *Cadiz* Expedition, received the Honour of Knighthood from the Earl of *Eſſex*[d], who thence forward received him into his ſpecial Favour; and in the *Iſland-voyage* he was Captain of the Admiral's own Ship[e]. Upon his Return, he adhered to his old Patron the Earl of *Nottingham*, and ſo remained in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour during all her Reign, in which he was often employed at Sea, eſpecially in the Defence of the Coaſt, and in this Service he was remarkably ſucceſsful[f]. On the Acceſſion of King *James* he was continued in his Poſt of Vice-admiral, to which he had been raiſed by the Intereſt of the Earl of *Nottingham*, and remained in Favour for ſeveral Years. When the Lord High-admiral's Enemies had ſo far alienated his Majeſty's Affections as to procure a Commiſſion for reforming Abuſes in the Navy, Sir *Robert Manſel* choſe rather to adhere to his Friend, than to make Court at his Expence, and with this View adviſed his Lordſhip not to ſubmit to this Commiſſion; for which Sir *Robert* was committed Priſoner to the *Marſhalſea*, and continued there ſome Months, in the Year 1613[g]. In conſequence of this Enquiry, many Abuſes were really diſcovered and corrected, ſo that 25,000 *l.* a Year were ſoon after ſaved to the Crown[h]; from a juſt Senſe of which, Sir *Robert* adviſed his Patron to reſign his high Office; and applied himſelf to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he adviſed to obtain that Office. When the Duke excuſed himſelf on account of his Youth and want of Experience, he told him plainly, why he thought him fitteſt for the Place. He obſerved, that in Time of Peace the beſt Service that could be done was to repair the Navy, and to rebuild ſuch Ships as wanted it; and that by applying himſelf aſſiduouſly to the Duty of his Office, he might acquire all the Knowledge that was neceſſary, before any War ſhould call him into Action. Thus the Duke was brought into the Office of High-admiral by the Perſuaſion of Sir *Robert Manſel*. The Earl of *Nottingham* had a Penſion of 1000 *l.* a Year, and the Duke made a Preſent to the Counteſs of *Nottingham* of 3000 *l.* This Tranſaction happened in 1616, and in conſequence thereof, Sir *Robert Manſel* was made Vice-admiral for Life. The Duke by Advice did another thing, which was very commendable. He procured a Commiſſion to be granted to ſeveral able and experienced Perſons for the Management of the Navy, which had very good Effects; nay, there is ſtrong Reaſon to believe, conſidering the great Confuſion into which Things afterwards fell, that the Fleet, if it had not been for this Commiſſion, would have been abſolutely ruined.

In 1620, Sir *Robert Manſel* commanded the Fleet fitted out againſt the Pirates of *Algiers*; he adviſed it from a generous and public-ſpirited Motive, the Deſire of raiſing the *Engliſh* Reputation at Sea, and freeing our Trade from the Inſults of theſe Rovers; but it ſeems he was ſent abroad with ſo limited a Commiſſion, and had ſo many raw and unexperienced Officers employed in the Fleet, through the Favour of eminent Courtiers, that from theſe and other croſs Accidents, he was diſabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his Power. This unlucky Affair hindered him from being employed in the Reign of King *Charles*; he continued, notwithſtanding, in Poſſeſſion of his Office of Vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil Wars, when he died with the Reputation of being a great Seamen, and a Perſon of unblemiſhed Integrity.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* WILLIAM MONSON.

Sir *William Monſon* was the fourth Son of *John Monſon*, Eſq; by *Mary*, Daughter of Sir *Robert Huſſey*, and was born about the Year 1569[i] in *Lincolnſhire*. He went very early to Sea, as himſelf informs us, about the Beginning of the *Spaniſh* Wars, and in the Condition only of a private Man; his Wages, according to the Frugality of that Time, being no more than 10 *s.* a Month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great Commands he afterwards bore. His firſt Voyage was in the Year 1585, in a Privateer, in which he engaged without the Knowledge either of his Father or Mother, and wherein he ſaw the ſharpeſt Service he met with throughout his Life.

They ſailed from the *Iſle of Wight* in the Month of *September*, in Conſort with another, and ſoon after came up with a ſtout *Spaniſh* Ship of 300 Tons, well manned. The Crew of the two Privateers boarded her, towards Evening; but the Wind growing high, and the Night dark, their Veſſels fell off, and they were left on-board the *Spaniards*. The Fight continued all Night, with Variety of Succeſs; but at laſt, about ſeven in the Morning, the *Spaniards*[k] yielded.

In 1587, he had the Command of a Ship, and in the Year 1589, he ſerved as Vice-admiral in the Earl of *Cumberland*'s Fleet, and did excellent Service. In 1591, he ſerved again under the Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*, when he had the Miſfortune to be taken by the *Spaniards*, and remained a Priſoner near two Years[l]. As ſoon almoſt as he had recovered his Liberty, he ſerved again under the Earl, in the Year 1593[m]; and in the famous Expedition to *Cadiz*, in the Year 1596, he was Captain of the *Repulſe*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Ship, to whom he did great Service, by his wiſe and moderate Counſel, and was, therefore, very deſervedly knighted[n].

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[a] Naval Tracts.
[b] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 277.
[c] Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 269.
[d] Camden's Annals, p. 726.
[e] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p 189.
[f] See Stowe's Annals, Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, &c.
[g] Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 460.
[h] This is affirmed by King James in his Speech to his Parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's Annals, p. 49.
[i] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 505.
[k] Ibid. p. 246.
[l] Ibid. p. 179, & 504.
[m] Ibid. p. 181.
[n] Ibid. p. 184.

In the *Iſland* Voyage he commanded the *Rainbow*. In 1599 he had the Command of the *Defiance* in the *Downs*; and in 1602, being Vice-admiral, he had the good Luck to take a great Carrack of 1600 Tons, worth a Million of Pieces of Eight [a].

In 1602 he had the Command of a Squadron.

We have not gone into the Particulars of theſe Services, becauſe they have been all of them treated at large in the Courſe of this Work.

At the Acceſſion of King *James*, the Lords of the Privy-council placed an extraordinary Confidence in his Management of the Fleet; and he had the Charge of the Narrow Seas for 12 Years, that is, from the Beginning of the Year 1604, to the Year 1616, in which time he did remarkable Service [b], in ſupporting the Honour of the *Engliſh* Flag againſt the Encroachments of the *Dutch* and *French*, and in his remarkable Voyage round *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, to ſcoure the Seas of Pirates.

After ſo many and ſo great Services rendered to the Crown, and ſo many Years ſpent in Duty to his Country, Sir *William* had the Misfortune to fall into Diſgrace, for honeſtly labouring to redreſs the Grievances of the Navy; which gave riſe to a Commiſſion for that Purpoſe: but that Commiſſion gave great Diſtaſte to the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Lord High-admiral, and to thoſe who under him had the chief Management of the Fleet. A great Reformation was thereby made, and the King ſaved abundance of Money in this Article; however, this did not leſſen the Spleen conceived againſt Sir *William Monſon*, for having ſet this Deſign on-foot [c]. Another Accident which hurt him with the People, was his ſeizing the Lady *Arabella*, eſcaping in a Bark bound for *Calais*, within four Miles of that Place [d]. This was the ſame Lady concerning whom ſo much Noiſe had been made in the Buſineſs of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Plot; and as ſhe was a great Object of popular Pity, ſo upon this Occaſion many ſtrange Stories were circulated, which ſerved to raiſe the Odium for retaking her; though it was his Duty. The *Dutch* alſo, angry with him for his Conduct in the Narrow Seas, found means to do him ill Offices; ſo that upon ſome very ſlight Pretences he was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower* in 1616 [e]; but after he had been examined by the Chief-juſtice *Coke* and Secretary *Winwood*, he was diſcharged; and he wrote ſo good a Vindication of his Conduct, while Admiral in the Narrow Seas, that in 1617, we find him called to Council, in order to give his Opinion, how the *Algerines* might be beſt reduced [f].

In the ſucceeding Reign of King *Charles* I. he had likewiſe a great Intereſt, and his Advice was aſked in all maritime Affairs; but, as he differed in Opinion from thoſe who were then in Poſſeſſion of Power and Favour, and cenſured the Expeditions to *Rhee*, and againſt *Cadiz*, he was not employed [g].

However, in 1635, when the King came to have better Notions of Things, and to be truly concerned for his Sovereignty of the Seas, Sir *William Monſon* was appointed Vice-admiral of the Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Lindſey*; which effectually vindicated the King's Honour, and the Rights of the Nation [h]. After this, he ſpent his Days in Privacy and Peace, and about the Year 1640 [i], compoſed his Naval Tracts, of which we have made ſo great Uſe.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ROBERT BERTIE, *Earl of* LINDSEY, *Lord High-admiral of* England.

Robert Bertie was born at *London*, *December* the 16th 1582 [k]; her Majeſty Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Leiceſter*, were his Sponſors. This Nobleman, when he was very young, ſhewed an unuſual Forwardneſs and Inclination to Arms and military Exerciſes; was preſent at ſeveral Sieges, at that of *Amiens*, under Sir *John Baſkerville*, and Sir *Arthur Savage* [l]; that of *Cadiz*, under the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Nottingham*, in 1596, where he was knighted for his valiant Behaviour; at the famous Battle of *Newport*, fought between Prince *Maurice* and the Archduke, in the Year 1600, when he was three times unhorſed, but ſtill undaunted, and where 800 *Engliſhmen* loſt their Lives [m]. He was alſo with the Earl of *Cumberland*, when he took the Carracks at *Porto Rico*; and alſo with Sir *Richard Leviſon*, and Sir *William Monſon*, in 1602 [n], when they took the great *Spaniſh* Carrack, worth a Million of Crowns, and diſperſed 11 Gallies that guarded her [o]. Having ſeen moſt of the Courts and Countries in *Europe*, his Lordſhip, in the firſt Year of King *James* I. ſet up his Claim to the Earldom of *Oxford*, as alſo to the Title of *Bulbeck*, *Sandford*, and *Badleſmere*, and to the Office of Lord High-chamberlain of *England*, as Son and Heir to *Mary*, the ſole Daughter of that great Family [p]; and after much Diſpute had Judgment in his Behalf, for the Office of Lord High-chamberlain [q]; and the ſame Year took his Seat above all the Barons [r]. His Lordſhip was afterwards created a Knight of the *Bath*, at the Inſtallation of Prince *Charles*, afterwards King of *England* [s]. During the peaceable Reign of King *James*, he lived quietly at his Seat in *Lincolnſhire* [t]; but in the next Reign, which found Employment enough for the moſt active Mind, he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In the ſecond Year of King *Charles* I. he was advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Lindſey* [u]. In 1628, he was made Admiral, in the room of the Duke of *Buckingham*, murdered by *Felton* at *Portſmouth*; in a few Days after which, he ſailed with a large Fleet to the Relief of *Rochelle*, where he made many brave Attempts, to break through the great Barricado acroſs the Entry of that Port, but all in vain [w]. And four Years after, he was elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council [x]. The next Year, the ſeventh of King *Charles* I. he was made Lord High-conſtable of *England*, for the Trial of Lord *Rea* and *David Ramſey*, in the Court Military [y]; which Patent was revoked the 20th of *May* [z]. In the 9th of *Charles* I. he commanded a Fleet of 40 Sail of Men of War, for ſecuring the Narrow Seas, and the Trade of *England* [a]. In the 11th of *Charles* I. he was conſtituted Lord High-admiral of *England* [b], having, according to the Hiſtorian [c], been Admiral at Sea in ſeveral Expeditions; and in 1639, on the *Scots* taking Arms, he was made Governor of *Berwick*. In 1640, he was made Lord High-conſtable of *England*, for the Trial of Lord *Strafford*, of which he had the Management [d]; being alſo, at that time, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers. This ſame Year his Majeſty declared him General of his Forces [e], and he was ever near his Majeſty's Perſon, aſſiſting him to the very utmoſt of his Power and Abilities, with his Advice in Council, and his Experience and Valour in the Field, as we ſhall, but too ſoon, ſee. He, and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, afterwards Earl of *Lindſey*, were, to their Honour be it ſpoken, among thoſe Lords who left the Houſe of Peers, and followed their King to *York*, in 1642 [f], where they entered into, and ſigned a ſolemn Engagement, to ſtand by his Majeſty, in defence of his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, and the Maintenance of the eſtabliſhed Laws and Religion, with their Lives and Fortunes [g]: And accordingly, the Earl of *Lindſey* and his Son, raiſed the Counties of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, for the King's Defence [a]. They afterwards joined with the other Lords, then with the King at *York*, in a Declaration or Teſtimony, in vindication of his Majeſty, proteſting, they were fully perſuaded he had no Intention of making War upon the Parliament, as was then reported; but that all his Endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant Settlement of the Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of his Kingdom [b]. Both which Declarations were printed and publiſhed, with the Lords Names thereto, remaining as Monuments of their Loyalty and Zeal, for the Honour of their much-injured Sovereign. The brave Earl of *Lindſey*, this ſame Year, gave the laſt Proof of his Affection for his Majeſty, and of his own perſonal Bravery, in the Battle of *Edgehill*, fought on the 23d of *October* 1642, in which his Lordſhip was killed, receiving a Shot in his Thigh, at the Head of his own Regiment, and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, taken Priſoner [c]. After his Lordſhip was wounded, and taken away by the Rebels, he continued, even with his dying Breath, his Endeavours to ſerve his Royal Maſter, by ſeriouſly exhorting the Rebel-officers to return to their Obedience and Duty to the King, as we learn from the Lord *Clarendon* [d], in his Character of this Nobleman, which is as follows: "The Earl of *Lindſey*, ſays he, was a Man of very noble Extraction, and inherited a great Fortune from his Anceſtors, which, tho' he did not manage with ſo great Care, as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the Increaſe of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and ſpent his Youth and Vigour of his Age, in military Actions and Commands abroad: And albeit he indulged to himſelf great Liberties of Life, yet he ſtill preſerved a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Intereſt in his Country, as appeared by the Supplies he and his Son brought to the King's Army; the ſeveral Companies of his own Regiment of Foot being commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnſhire*, who engaged themſelves in the Service, principally out of their perſonal Affection to him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that Reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the Commiſſion granted to Prince *Rupert*; and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all Matters relating to the War, before his; nor did he conceal his Reſentment; the Day before the Battle, he ſaid to ſome Friends with whom he uſed Freedom, that he did not look upon himſelf as General, and therefore he was reſolved, when the Day of Battle ſhould come, that he would be at the Head of his Regiment, as a private Colonel, where he would die." (Which Words of his proved truly prophetical, as did alſo the other, when, going into the Battle, he caſt his Eye upon young Prince *Charles*, and ſaid [e], *There is the Child that will end the War we now begin.*) "He was carried out of the Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it is thought his Wound would not have proved mortal. And as ſoon as the other Army was compoſed, by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Eſſex*, about Midnight, ſent Sir *William Balfour*, and ſome other Officers, to ſee him, and to offer him all Offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon a little Straw, in a poor Houſe, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great Vivacity in his Looks, and told them he was ſorry to ſee ſo many Gentlemen, ſome of whom were his old Friends, engaged in ſo foul a Rebellion; and principally directed his Diſcourſe to Sir *William Balfour*, whom he put in mind of the great Obligations he had to the King; how much his Majeſty had diſobliged the whole Nation by putting him into the Command of the *Tower*; and that it was the moſt odious Ingratitude in him to make him that Return. He wiſhed them to tell the Lord *Eſſex*, that he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's Feet to beg his Pardon, which if he did not ſpeedily do, his Memory would be odious to the Nation; and continued this kind of Diſcourſe with ſo much Vehemence, that the Officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the Viſit the Earl of *Eſſex* intended him, who only ſent the beſt Surgeons to him. But, in the very opening of his Wounds, he died before the Morning, only upon the Loſs of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies, and died generally lamented." The Lord *Lindſey*'s Wound not being thought mortal, nor even dangerous, his Death was imputed to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or forbid the performing of any neceſſary Offices to him, out of the Inſolence of his Nature, and in revenge of ſome former Unkindneſſes that had paſſed between them. But the above Account clears him from ſuch Imputation; and the Lord *Clarendon*, in another part of his Work [f], acquits his Lordſhip, attributing the unfortunate Lord *Lindſey*'s want of Aſſiſtance, to the Hurry and Diſtraction the Rebels were in at that time. This great Nobleman married *Elizabeth*, the only Child of *Edward* the firſt Lord *Montague* of *Boughton* in *Northamptonſhire*, by whom he had five Daughters and nine Sons [g]; *Montague*, his Succeſſor; *Roger*, Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *Charles* I; *Robert*, *Peregrine*, *Francis*, who was Captain of Horſe, and killed in the King's Service in *Ireland*, in 1641; *Robert*, ſixth Son; *Henry*, who was alſo Captain of Horſe, and loſt his Life in the King's Service at the Battle of *Newbury*; *Vere*, and *Edward*. His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Montague Bertie*.

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[a] See the Naval Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 424.

[b] Ibid, p. 9—14.

[c] Ruſhworth's Collections. Frankland's Annals. Lediard's Naval Hiſtory.

[d] Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 280. This Lady is in moſt of our Hiſtorians called the Lady Arabella, but in the Proclamation publiſhed upon her Flight, and which is extant in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 710. ſhe is ſtiled the Lady Arbella, and ſo ſhe wrote her Name.

[e] Camden's Annals of King James, in Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 646.

[f] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 250.

[g] Ibid. p. 258—277.

[h] Ibid. p. 290.

[i] Ibid. p. 295.

[k] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 301.

[l] Ibid. p. 309.

[m] Rapin, Vol. IX. p. 195.

[n] Lloyd, ut ſupra.

[o] Rapin, p. 217.

[p] Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 409.

[q] Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 265. Journal of Parliament. Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, &c. p. 157.

[r] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 540.

[s] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 310.

[t] Lloyd, ibid.

[u] Pat. 2. Car. I.

[w] Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 49. Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, p. 188.

[x] Peerage, ut ſupra. Lloyd, ut ſupra. Inſtitution of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

[y] Pat. 7 Car. I. p. 20.

[z] Pat. 8 Car. I. p. 21.

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 23. Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 81.

[b] Pat. 11 Car. I. p. 5.

[c] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8vo Edit. Vol. I. p. 673.

[d] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41.

[e] Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 54. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 62. Peerage of England, ut ſupra. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 496. Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 565. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 673.

[f] Monteth's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great-Britain, p. 101.

[g] Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 379. Monteth, p. 107. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 654. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 60.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* KENELM DIGBY, *Knt. and Admiral.*

Sir *Kenelm Digby* was deſcended of a good Family, and Son and Heir of Sir *Everard Digby*, of *Dryſtoke* in *Rutlandſhire*, who was executed for the Gun-powder Treaſon; by *Mary*, Daughter and ſole Heir of *William Mulſho*, of *Gothurſt* in *Buckinghamſhire*. He was born at *Gothurſt* on the 11th of *July* 1603, and about the Year 1618 was ſent to *Glouceſter-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, after he had been educated in the Proteſtant Religion, and was committed to the Care of Mr. *Thomas Allen*, though placed under another Tutor [h]. He continued there in the Quality of a Gentleman-commoner for more than two Years, and afterwards travelled into foreign Countries for ſome time. On the 28th of *October* 1623, he received, at *Hinchingbrook*, the Honour of Knighthood from King *James* I. who had before reſtored to him the Eſtate forfeited by his Father. In 1628, he was Admiral of a Fleet going into the *Levant*, and gained great Honour by his brave Conduct at *Algiers*, in reſcuing many *Engliſh* Slaves, and by attacking the *Venetian* Fleet in the Bay of *Scanderoon*, in *June* that Year. In the Years 1638 and 1639, he had a Correſpondence, by Letters, with the Lord *George Digby*, afterwards Earl of *Briſtol*, relating to the Authority of the ancient Fathers, and other Diſputes between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Religions, the former of which Sir *Kenelm* had, about two Years before, embraced; and theſe Letters were afterwards publiſh'd. In *April* 1639, he, with Mr. *Walter Montagu*, ſecond Son of *Henry* Earl of *Manceſter*, and afterwards Abbot of *Pontoiſe*, was employed by the Queen to engage the Papiſts to a liberal Contribution to the King, which they effected; and thereupon ſome ſtiled the Forces, then raiſ'd for his Majeſty, the *Popiſh Army* [i]; and the Letter, which they wrote upon that Subject to the Papiſts, repreſented to them, that it was "ſufficiently known to every one, what extraordinary Graces and Protection they ow'd to the Queen's Majeſty, to whoſe favourable Interceſſion they muſt aſcribe the happy Moderation they lived under; and that it imported every one of them to ſtrain himſelf, even his beſt Abilities, in this Propoſition, in order to give good Characters of their Devotion

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[a] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 372.

[b] Ruſhworth, ut ſupra. Monteth, p. 108. Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 655.

[c] Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon. Ruſhworth. Rapin. Whitlock. Complete Hiſtory, &c.

[d] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

[e] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 548.

[f] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 51.

[g] J, 8. in Officio Arm. f. 74. Ibid f. 13. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 410.

[h] Wood, Hiſt. Antiq. Univerſit. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 383. and Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 354.

[i] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 32. Edit. London, 1732.

“ to the King and State, of whoſe Benignity they had all “ Reaſon to give Teſtimonies, and to endeavour to produce Arguments for the Proſecution and Increaſe of it.” This Letter, with ſome others, particularly one from the Queen upon the ſame Subject, being afterwards produced in the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Kenelm* and Mr. *Montagu* were, on the 28th of *January* 1640, brought on their Knees there, on that Account[a]. In the Beginning of the Civil-wars he exerted himſelf very vigorouſly in the King's Cauſe; and was afterwards impriſoned, by the Parliament's Order, in *Wincheſter-Houſe*, but had Leave to depart in *July* 1643, at the Deſire of the Queen of *France*, and to travel into that Country. He went therefore to *Paris*, where in 1644 he had frequent Converſations with the celebrated Monſ. *Des Cartes* upon philoſophical Subjects, eſpecially the Nature of the Soul, upon which Sir *Kenelm* had written a Treatiſe[b]. He was employed the Year following by the Queen of *England*, then at *Paris*, to whom he was Chancellor, to Pope *Innocent* X. in order to ſolicit his Aſſiſtance for the King her Huſband, ſoon after ſhe heard of that Pope's having ſent *John Battiſta Rinuccini*, Archbiſhop of *Fermo*, Nuncio to the Rebels in *Ireland*[c]. Sir *Kenelm* having concerted a Treaty with the Pope, by which very favourable Terms were ſtipulated for the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* and *Ireland*, and having received from him 20,000 Crowns for the Queen, left *Rome* in *December* 1645[d], and returned to *Paris*. He went, in the Summer following, a ſecond Time to *Rome*, in order to put the laſt Hand to the Treaty with the Pope in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks[e]. But, whatever Zeal he might ſhew for the royal Cauſe, as well as for his own Religion, he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the Opinion of *Oliver Cromwell*, when he took the Title of Protector, that the Sequeſtration of his Eſtate was taken off[f]; and, upon his Return to *Paris* in *March* 1655-6, he wrote to Secretary *Thurloe*[g], that his Obligations to the Protector were ſo great, that it would be a Crime in him to behave himſelf ſo negligently, as to give Cauſe for any Shadow of the leaſt Suſpicion, or to do any thing that might require an Excuſe or Apology; that he made it his Buſineſs, every where, to have all the World take Notice how highly he eſteemed himſelf oblig'd to his Highneſs, and how paſſionate he was for his Service, and for his Honour and Intereſts, even to the expoſing of his Life for them. But Col. *Bamfylde*, who was one of *Thurloe*'s private Correſpondents in *France*, wrote to that Secretary[h], that tho' Sir *Kenelm* was thought to be employed by him to diſcover Secrets, yet his Intereſt was oppoſite to what he had undertaken in that Reſpect, ſince he and Mr. *Walter Montagu* were the principal Inſtruments for the Pope.

He reſided chiefly in *France* till the Reſtoration, and in 1657 read a Diſcourſe in *French* to a Society at *Montpellier*, *upon the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy*, which was afterwards tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed at *London*. Upon the Reſtoration he returned to *England*, enjoying ſtill his Office of Chancellor to the Queen; and, in the Charter granted by King *Charles* II. for founding and eſtabliſhing the Royal Society of *London*, was nominated one of the Council of 21.

He had long been troubled with the Stone, and, perceiving his Kidneys ulcerated, he reſolved to go over to *France*; for which Purpoſe he cauſed himſelf to be carried towards the Sea in a Litter, but, his Illneſs increaſing upon him, he was conveyed back to *London*[i], where he died at his Houſe in *Covent-Garden* on the 11th of *June* 1665, and was interred in a Vault built at his own Charge, in the Choir of *Chriſt-Church* within *Newgate*.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ALGERNON PERCY, *Earl of Northumberland*, and Lord High-admiral of *England*.

Algernon Percy, Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord High-admiral of *England* in the Reign of King *Charles* I. was deſcended from a very ancient and noble Family, and was Son of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, by *Dorothy* Daughter of *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*[k]. In his Father's Life-time he was created Knight of the *Bath*, and upon his Death, on the fifth of *November* 1632, ſucceeded to his Titles and Eſtate[l]. *May* 13th, 1635, he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter[m]; and ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-council[n]. In *March* 1635-6[o], he was appointed Admiral of a Fleet, which was much greater than the Crown had put to Sea ſince the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and by which the King intended, that his Neighbour Princes ſhould diſcern his Reſolution of maintaining his Sovereignty at Sea. The Year following the Earl was advanced to the Poſt of Lord High admiral of *England*[p]; and in 1640 was made General of the Army levied againſt the *Scots*[q]; but falling ſick ſoon after, the Command of it was given to the Earl of *Strafford*, as Lieutenant-general under him[r]. Upon the Meeting of the Long-parliament in *November* 1640, he joined the Party oppoſite to the Court; upon which the King, in 1642, revoked his Commiſſion as Admiral[s]. In *January* 1642-3, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament in the Treaty at *Oxford*[t], where he behaved with much Courage, Civility, and Wiſdom[u]; but the ſame Year he, together with the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Saliſbury*, and divers Members of the Houſe of Commons, was indicted of High-treaſon at *Saliſbury*, for aſſiſting the Parliament, before Judge *Heath*, *Bankes*, *Forreſter*, and *Glanville*; though the Jury could not be induced to find the Bill[w]. The Year following an Aſſociation being paſt for *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, the Earl, with ſeveral other Lords and Commiſſioners, had Power to appoint Colonels and other Officers, to raiſe Monies, *&c.*[x] The ſame Year he went to *Petworth*, with a Purpoſe of going over to the King at *Oxford*, if by the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Reception there, he had found Encouragement; but being deterred by the Uſage, which that Earl met with, he returned to the Parliament, where he was received with great Reſpect, every Body concluding, that he never intended to do what he had actually not done[y].

In *January* 1644-5, he was one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament in the Treaty of *Uxbridge*[z]; in which he ſhewed himſelf very firm againſt any Compliance with the King: for though, ſays Lord *Clarendon*[a], he, who was the proudeſt Man alive, could not look upon the Deſtruction of Monarchy, and the Contempt, which the Nobility was already reduced to, and which muſt then be increaſed, with any Pleaſure; yet the Repulſe he had formerly received at *Oxford* upon his Addreſſes thither, and the fair Eſcape he had made afterwards from the Jealouſies of the Parliament, had wrought ſo far upon him, that he reſolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other; and was willing to ſee the King's Power and Authority ſo much reſtrained, that he might not be able to do him any Harm. In *April* 1645, he was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty[b], and in *May* following had the Care of the King's Children committed to him by the Houſe of Lords[c]; and in *December* the ſame Year, among other Propoſitions for Peace, it was voted in Parliament, that he, together with the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, and *Pembroke*, ſhould be made Dukes[d]. In *September* 1648, he was one of the Commiſſioners for the Treaty with the King in the *Iſle of Wight*[e].

After his Majeſty's Death, he lived a private Life, till juſt before the Reſtoration, when General *Monck* had a Conference for that Purpoſe at the Earl's Houſe with ſeveral Lords and Commoners, who were eſteemed the Heads of the moderate Preſbyterian Party, and were willing, upon a proper Proviſion for their own Security, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts, that his Majeſty might be reſtored to his full Rights, and the Church to its Poſſeſſions[f]. His Lordſhip ſurvived the Reſtoration ſeveral Years, and dying *October* 13. 1668, was interred at *Petworth* in *Suſſex* [a].

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[a] Diurnal Occurrences, p. 22—25. Edit. London, 1641, 4to.

[b] Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, Vol. II. Lib. VII. Ch. iii. p. 244.

[c] Inquiry into the Share which King Charles I. had in the Tranſactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 49. Edit. London, 1747.

[d] Ibid. p. 143—153.

[e] Ibid. p. 232, 234, 235.

[f] Mr. Samuel Hartlib's Letter to Mr. Boyle, May 8, 1654, printed in Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 236.

[g] Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591, 592.

[h] Ibid. p. 195.

[i] General Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 595, 596.

[k] Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 284.

[l] Id. ibid.

[m] Letters of Thomas Earl of Strafforde, Vol. I. p. 427. Edit. London. 1739. fol.

[n] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 304. Edit. Oxon. 1732. fol.

[o] Letters of Thomas Earl of Strafforde, Vol. I. p. 524.

[p] Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

[q] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 35. Edit. London, 1732.

[r] Clarendon, p. 48.

[s] Id. p. 222.

[t] Whitelocke, ubi ſupra, p. 67, 68.

[u] Id. p. 69.

[w] Id. p. 78.

[x] Id. p. 100.

[y] Clarendon, p. 357.

[z] Whitelocke, p. 125.

[a] P. 432.

[b] Whitelocke, p. 142.

[c] Id. p. 146.

[d] Id. p. 181, 182.

[e] Id. p. 334.

[f] Clarendon, p. 724.

Mr. *Greaves*, in the Dedication to him of his *Thoughts upon the Improvement of Navigation* [b], while he was Lord High-admiral, repreſents the Excellency of his Adminiſtration in that important Poſt; and obſerves, that his Lordſhip's Judgment was deſervedly applauded, in having made Choice for marine Employments, not of ſuch as could ſhew the faireſt Pedigree and ancienteſt Houſe, but thoſe of the moſt eminent Abilities, reflecting more upon the Merits of the Man, than on the Quality of the Perſon; by which Election, as his Lordſhip had gained Honour and Reputation to the Seamen, ſo alſo a Love and Admiration, not only from them, but from all ſuch as pretended to Virtue and Worth. He was remarkable even in his Youth for the Sobriety and Regularity of his Behaviour, as well as the Graceſulneſs of his Perſon [c]. And he was undoubtedly a great Man in his whole Deportment; what looked like Formality in him, being only a Punctuality in preſerving his Dignity from the Invaſion and Intruſion of bold Men, from which no Man of that Age ſo well preſerved himſelf. His Notions indeed were not large nor deep; yet his Temper and Reſervedneſs in Diſcourſe gained him the Reputation of an able and a wiſe Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more abſolutely obeyed, and no Man had ever fewer idle Words to anſwer for; and in Debates of Importance he always expreſſed himſelf very pertinently. And if, continues Lord *Clarendon* [d], he had thought the King as much above him, as he thought himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he would have been a good Subject: but the extreme undervaluing of thoſe, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the Impreſſions, which they, who approached him by thoſe Addreſſes of Reverence and Eſteem, that uſually inſinuate into ſuch Natures, made in him. So that after he was firſt prevailed upon, not to do that, which in Honour and Gratitude he was obliged to, (which is a very peſtilent Corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at firſt he never intended to have done. And ſo he concurred in all the Counſels, which produced the Rebellion, and ſtayed with the Party to ſupport it.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE and COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Year* 1642, *to the* RESTORATION *of King* CHARLES II.

THE unhappy Breach between the King and his Parliament having grown ſo wide, that nothing on both Sides could prevent the Determination of their Difference by the Sword; the Parliament, knowing that without the Fleet their Reſolutions would bear very little Sway with foreign Princes, who conſider the maritime, the ſupreme Power of the Nation, were reſolved to wreſt the Navy by any means out of the Hands of the King; and what facilitated their Scheme was, the Affection which the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been promoted to the Poſt of Lord High-admiral, at the Requeſt of the Commons, bore to their Proceedings.

The Lord High-admiral therefore was eaſily gained; Sir *Robert Manſel*, the Vice-admiral, was far advanced in Years; but the Difficulty lay how to biaſs Sir *John Pennington*, and Sir *John Mennes*, the former Vice-admiral, and the latter Rear-admiral, of the Fleet, then in the *Downs*, and ſtaunch to the Intereſt of his Majeſty; beſides, it was well known that the King, by raiſing the Sailors Wages, and by other Circumſtances, had gained much upon their Affections.

In order to carry their Point, we read that the Parliament, as early as in the Spring of the Year 1641, deſired, or rather directed, the Earl of *Northumberland* to provide a ſufficient Fleet for the Security of the Nation, and appropriated a Fund for that Purpoſe; and as the Earl was ſo infirm as not to be able to command in Perſon, he was deſired to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral of the Fleet, in prejudice to the Seniority of Sir *John Pennington*, which the King highly reſented in favour of Sir *John*. But the Lord High-admiral knowing the Intention of the Parliament, granted his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Warwick*, as he had a Right to do by his high Office. The Parliament proceeded to remove Sir *John Pennington*, and made one *Batten* Vice-admiral in his Stead, who was chiefly recommended to their Notice by his Diſaffection to the King.

By theſe Removals, the Fleet became ſubſervient to Parliamentary Orders. The King, in the mean time, looking on, under a vain Notion that it would be always in his Power to alter the Property, by revoking the Commiſſions of the Naval Officers. But he was ſoon convinced of his bad Policy, in not removing the Earl of *Northumberland*, on his firſt Oppoſition to the Royal Will. For the Ships in the *Downs* chaſed the *Providence*, the only Ship the King had left, into the *Humber*, bringing a ſmall Supply from the Queen in *Holland*, to his Majeſty, and forced it to run aſhore. And the failure in the Attempt afterwards to ſeize the Fleet by Sir *John Pennington*, furniſhed the Earl of *Warwick* with an Opportunity to remove all his Majeſty's Friends [e].

The Parliament, now ſecure of the Fleet, ſhewed great Wiſdom in its Conduct; kept it in good Order, and well paid. But the only Service we have handed down for ſeveral Years, was the chaſing of a *Dutch* Man of War into *Burlington* Bay, on-board of which was the Queen. This was performed by Vice-admiral *Batten*, who did all he could to take her; and being informed of her Majeſty's Lodgings on-ſhore, he fired a Ball thro' her Chamber, and obliged her to decamp, tho' greatly indiſpoſed [f]. And the other was the Earl of *Warwick*'s Attempt to relieve *Exeter* [g]: On which Occaſion his Zeal having carried him too far up the River *Ex*, and prevailed with him to ſtay too long, in hopes of conveying Succours into the City, he, by the Fall of the Tide, was forced to leave three Ships behind him, of which two were taken, and a third burnt by the King's Forces [h].

Warwick was a ſtaunch Preſbyterian; and while that Party prevail'd in Parliament, he did them great Service on the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*, and other Places, and kept the Fleet under their Direction, and in good Repair. But when the Independants got uppermoſt, they ſupplanted the Earl to make way for Colonel *Rainſborough* to be Admiral.

This Alteration in the Parliament not only diſobliged *Warwick* and *Batten*; but ſo affected the whole Fleet in the *Downs*, that they ſeized upon *Rainſborough*, and the Officers in his Intereſt; and having ſet them aſhore, proceeded to the Coaſt of *Holland* under the Command of *Batten*, and took on-board the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*.

The Prince of *Wales* upon this Occaſion took a very wiſe Reſolution: he knighted *Batten*, and made him Rear-admiral, his Brother the Duke of *York* having before made the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who was alſo a new Convert from the Parliament-party, Vice-admiral [i]. As the Fleet conſiſted now of about 20 Sail, it was judged proper to enter upon Action, and two Schemes were propoſed: the firſt was, to ſail to the *Iſle of Wight*, to reſcue the King, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the River *Thames*, in order to awe the City of *London*, by interrupting their Trade; and to enfeeble the Parliament, by hindering their Supplies of Seamen from the outward-bound Ships: which Scheme was thought the moſt practicable, or perhaps the moſt profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into Execution [a].

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[a] Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 285.

[b] Miſcellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves, Vol. II. p. 382. Edit. London 1737. in 8vo.

[c] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 117. Edit. London 1701.

[d] P. 304.

[e] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 220. Kennet. Echard.

[f] A. D. 1643. in the Month of February.

[g] In September 1643.

[h] Clarendon, p. 346.

[i] Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

The Succeſs of this Enterprize was in the Beginning very favourable; and on their coming into the Mouth of the River, the Prince's Fleet took abundance of rich Prizes, particularly a Ship laden with Cloth, bound for *Rotterdam*, worth 40,000 *l.* Soon after he entered into a Treaty with the City, which ended at laſt in a Compoſition for his Prizes [b].

The Parliament recovering themſelves from the Conſternation, occaſioned by this Revolt, reſtored the Earl of *Warwick* to his Title and Command, and ordered him to draw together the beſt Fleet he was able with all Expedition [c]; which he did at *Portſmouth*. With this Fleet he came into the *Downs*, and anchored within ſight of the Prince. Great Endeavours were uſed on both Sides to draw over each other's Seamen, but to no great Purpoſe; at laſt, the Prince reſolved to engage the Enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the ſhifting of the Wind; and then Proviſions falling ſhort, it was judged expedient to ſail for the Coaſt of *Holland*, where the Fleet arrived ſafely; but thoſe who ſhould have commanded them were divided in Opinion, and in ſuch Confuſion among themſelves, that no new Courſe could be reſolved on [d]. The Earl of *Warwick*, who ſuſpected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no Supplies of Money to enable them to pay the Fleet, followed them in their Retreat, and ſent to the States of *Holland*, requiring them to oblige certain Ships, which had revolted from the Parliament of *England*, to put to Sea.

The States were very much embaraſſed what to do in this critical Juncture [e]; they were unwilling to break with the Parliament's Admiral; but, on the other hand, it would have been a Reproach to them, to have ſuffered the Prince of *Wales* to be inſulted on their Coaſts, and in their Harbours. In the mean time, both Parties being excited by Hatred, as well as Neceſſity, to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: Both Sides, at firſt, flattered themſelves with the Hopes of a Victory, becauſe both Sides were perſuaded the Ships of their Antagoniſt would deſert and come over to them. The firſt Step the States took was to give Orders to the Admiralty of *Rotterdam*, to fit out all the Ships they had, with all poſſible Expedition, and to fall down the River, to prevent the two Fleets coming to an Engagement. In the mean time, they ſent four Deputies on-board the two Admirals, to beg of them in the Name of the States, not to undertake any Thing on their Coaſts, and in the very Sight of their Harbours, which might affect the Sovereignty of their Republick.

The Prince of *Wales* was the moſt tractable, becauſe his Sailors, being badly paid, deſerted, and even ſome of his Ships and Officers, which had ſo lately left the Parliament, to go over to him, left him, and took Part with their old Maſters again. He had only 14 Ships left, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the Canon of *Helvoet*, to avoid an Engagement or Inſult, inſtead of offering any.

The Earl of *Warwick* inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that they were obliged to put him in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Veſſels, which had deſerted his Maſters: That he had Orders to puniſh thoſe Deſerters, and even to pardon them, if they ſubmitted; and that the Matter in Debate being concerning Veſſels not belonging to King *Charles*, but to the Parliament, the States could not, without violating ancient Treaties, give them Shelter in their Harbours. The Conteſt was very hot, though they kept within the Bounds of Decency; and the Admiral promiſed not to do any Thing that could give the States Cauſe of Complaint.

A new Difficulty aroſe concerning the Retreat: The Prince inſiſted that the Earl ſhould remain 24 Hours at Anchor, after his little Fleet had quitted the Road, that he might not be obliged to give Battle at ſo great a Diſadvantage, as 14 Ships to 26: But the Earl, inſtead of complying, ſet ſail, and took to the open Sea, to let the Prince ſee he did not fear him; but gave him the Opportunity of following and attacking him upon the Main, where he might do it, without deviating from the Regard due to their High Mightineſſes, not to engage within Sight of their Harbours. The Prince of *Wales* left the Fleet, and went to the *Hague*: And the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, after having viſited the Prince of *Orange*, returned to the Fleet. Prince *Maurice* periſhed in a Storm, and it was not without Difficulty that Prince *Rupert* eſcaped, as related hereafter.

This Advantage was ſoon follow'd by the Murder of the King; and the ſovereign Power was then uſurped by a Set of Men, who called themſelves a Houſe of a Commons; for they had refuſed to acknowledge the negative Voice of the Houſe of Peers, and ſoon after voted it uſeleſs. The Members of this Houſe of Commons, which were but about eighty, were Independants, Anabaptiſts or Sectaries; and propoſed to maintain a Republican Government, by publiſhing an Act to forbid the proclaiming of *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt Son of the late King, or any other Perſon whatever, under Pain of High-treaſon. The Common-wealth was afterwards eſtabliſhed by ſeveral other Acts and Ordinances.

The Republicans remov'd the Earl of *Warwick* from the Command of the Fleet; and put it into the Hands of *Blake* and *Popham*, originally Land-officers, who were ordered to block up the Remains of the royal Fleet in *Kingſale* Harbour, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, who continued making many Prizes on the *Britiſh* Coaſt. But the Prince expecting no favourable Terms from a Capitulation, forced a Paſſage through the Enemy's Fleet on the 24th of *October* 1649, and eſcaped to the Coaſt of *France* with the Loſs of only three Ships: from thence he ſail'd for *Liſbon*; but Captain *Allen*, with a Squadron of four or five Ships, being ſevered from the Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Carthagena*, where the People of the Country treated them very rudely, and ſeized both the Ships and Men. Soon after, a ſtronger Fleet, ſet out by the Parliament, appeared upon thoſe Coaſts likewiſe, and coming into the Road of *S. Andero*, the Commander demanded, in a haughty Manner, that none of the Ships under the Command of Prince of *Rupert*, which were in Rebellion againſt the Parliament, might be received into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that the Ships and Effects, which were at *Carthagena*, might be delivered up to the Orders of the Commonwealth of *England*; adding Threats in caſe of a Refuſal.

Blake purſued Prince *Rupert* to the Port of *Carthagena*, where he had put in with five Ships; *Blande* ſent to the Governor, that an Enemy of the State of *England* was come thither; that he had Orders from the Parliament to purſue him, *&c.* and the King of *Spain* being in Amity with the Parliament, he deſired Leave to take all Advantages there againſt an Enemy.

To this the Governor returned Anſwer: "That he "could not take any Notice of the Differences of any "Nations or Perſons among themſelves, only ſuch as "were declared Enemies to the King his Maſter: That "they came thither for Safety, and therefore he could not "but give them Protection; and that he would do the "like to them, aſſuring them of all Safety, if they alſo "did come in, whilſt they ſhould ſtay there."

Blake ſent a Reply, preſſing the Governor for Leave to fall upon the Prince, and thanking him for his Offer to himſelf: But the Governor ſent to the King of *Spain*, to know his Pleaſure herein, and, in the mean time, *Blake* waited without the Harbour. He received a favourable Anſwer; and then ſailed for *Liſbon*, where he came to Anchor, at a very ſmall Diſtance from Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, threatening the King of *Portugal* with a War, if thoſe Ships were not immediately delivered up into his Hands. The *Portugueſe* however were not ſo much intimidated, but they ſuffered Prince *Rupert* to depart, after having bought all his Prizes, and furniſhed him with all Neceſſaries, and would not ſuffer the Parliament's Fleet to attack or purſue him, till they thought he was out of their Reach.

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 531. Warwick's Memoirs, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. [b] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 536. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Columna Roſtrata, p. 86. Whitlock, Rapin. [c] Id. p. 531. [d] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 537. [e] Baſnage Anales des Prov. Unies, Tom. I. p. 139.

Prince *Rupert* came to *Malaga*, and other Ports, and fired and ſunk divers *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips. *Blake* fell upon Prince *Rupert* in *Malaga* Road, ſunk two or three of his Ships, run the reſt aſhore, and expoſed them to Shipwreck, only two of them eſcaping, the *Reformation* and the *Swallow*. With theſe, and two or three more Ships, which joined him afterwards, he ſailed for the *Azores* Iſlands, where, at *Tercera*, he narrowly eſcaped drowning; three of his Ships being caſt away in a violent Storm. The *Swallow*, a Ship which carried 54 Braſs-guns, ſprung a Leak near the Keel, and was ſuddenly ſunk, and 340 Perſons in her drowned[b]. The Prince, the Maſter, the Boatſwain, and three more, being only ſaved. It was either on the Coaſt of *Spain*, or in this Voyage to the Iſlands, that Prince loſt his Vice-admiral Ship, with his Brother, Prince *Maurice*.

Whitlock mentions in this Year[a], that in *July*, Advice came from the Parliament's Fleet before *Liſbon*, that the *Braſil* Fleet, conſiſting of nine *Engliſh* Ships, and as many *Portugueſe* and *French*, coming out, the Parliament's Generals ſtopped all the *Engliſh* Ships, and their Lading, with the Paſſengers and Soldiers, and ſent a Meſſage to the King of *Portugal* to demand the *Engliſh* Ships under Prince *Rupert*, which he refuſed as an unreaſonable Demand. And in *October*, of the ſame Year, he ſays, a Confirmation was come, that the Parliament's Fleet, near *Liſbon*, had ſunk the Admiral of the *Portugal Braſil* Fleet, and taken the Vice-admiral, and ſeveral other Ships, of a great Value.

From the Streights Prince *Rupert* ſailed to the *Weſt-Indies*, to join his Brother Prince *Maurice*, who was gone before with a ſmall Squadron. In which Seas theſe two Princes did a great deal of Miſchief, till Prince *Maurice* was caſt away[c]; which, and the bad Condition of the Ships, determined Prince *Rupert* to return for *Europe*; and arriving at *Nantes* in *France*[d], he was obliged to ſell a Man of War, and three or four other Ships (the miſerable Remains of 25 good Ships, well manned, which had deſerted the Parliament's Service from time to time) to pay his Seamens Wages[e].

On the 2d of *May* 1649, was publiſhed in the Newspaper, called *The Modern Intelligencer*, an account of a Governor in readineſs to be ſent into *Carolina* in *America*, now called *South Carolinia*, with the following Deſcription:

“This Place is of a temperate Climate, not ſo hot as *Barbadoes*, nor ſo cold as *Virginia*; the Winter much like our *March* here in *England*. The Northern Latitude begins where *Virginia* ends, at 37, near Cape *Henry*, and takes in ſix Degrees Southerly; no Bounds to the Eaſt and Weſt, but the Seas. At Point *Comfort*, near Cape *Henry*, you enter into a fair navigable River, called *James* River, about two Leagues over; on both Sides that River, are the chief Plantations in *Virginia*, and their chief Town *James-town*. On the South Side of this River, are two Rivers, *Elizabeth* and *Nanſamond*, which convey you into *Carolina*; ſo that this River is a Haven to both Colonies. This *Carolina*, beſides the Temperature of the Climate, hath many native Commodities to feed and cloathe the Body: Deer in abundance, bigger and better Meat than ours in *England*, having two young ones at a time; their Skins good cloathing, being better dreſſed by the *Indians* than ours: Elks of a large Size, admirable Meat, having three young at a time; their Hides make good Buff: Beſides Hares and Conies, and many other that are good Meat: Beaſts of Prey, that are profitable for their Furs, as Bevers, Otters, Foxes, Martins, Minches, and Muſk-cats, their Cods better ſcented than thoſe of *Eaſt-India*, and more laſting: Fowl of all ſorts, Partridges and wild Turkies, 100 in a Flock, ſome of the Turkies weighing 40 Pound. Fiſh there are in great abundance, of all ſorts. In the Woods are ſundry kinds of Fruits, as Strawberries, Raſpices, Gooſeberries, Plumbs, and Cherries; three ſeveral kinds of Grapes, large, and of a delicious Taſte. In theſe Woods are Herbs and Flowers of fragrant Smells, many kinds of ſinging Birds, which have variety of ſweet Notes. Tho' this Country be for the moſt part woody, but where the *Indians* have cleared for their Corn and Tobacco, or where the freſh Marſhes and Meadows are, yet they are pleaſant and profitable; pleaſant, in reſpect of the ſtately Growth and Diſtance of the Trees one from the other, that you may travel and ſee a Deer at a great Diſtance; profitable, being of divers kinds, both for Shipping, Pot-aſhes, Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, Walnut-trees, and ſtately Cedars; ſo that when of neceſſity you muſt cut down for Building, and other Uſes, you are recompenſed for your Labour. You have alſo many pleaſant Aſcents, Hills and Valleys, Springs of wholeſome Waters, Rivers, and Rivulets. Now you ſee you are plentifully fed and cloathed with the natural Commodities of the Country, which fall into your Hands without Labour or Toil, for in the obtaining of them you have a delightful Recreation. Now fearing you ſhould out of this abundance, in the Exceſs take a Surfeit, you have many phyſical Herbs and Drugs, Allom, Nitrum, Terra Sigillata, Tar, Roſin, Turpentine, Oil of Olives, Oil of Walnuts, and other Berries; Honey from wild Bees, Sugar-canes, Mulberries, divers ſorts of Gums and Dyes, which the *Indians* uſe for Paint. Within the Ground, Mines of Copper, Lead, Tin, Pearl, and Emroyds. Having the Profit and Pleaſure of the natural Commodities, you ſhall ſee what Art and Induſtry may produce. The Soil is for the moſt part of a black Mould, about two Foot deep; you may truſt it with any thing. The *Indian* Corn yields 200 for one; they have two Crops in ſix Months; *Engliſh* Wheat, Barley, and Peaſe, yield 30 for one; Hemp, Flax, Rice, and Rape-ſeed, have a large Increaſe; what *Engliſh* Fruits are planted there, improve in Quantity and Quality. Beſides all this is ſaid, we ſhall ſhake Hands with *Virginia*, a flouriſhing Plantation, which is not only able to ſtrengthen and aſſiſt us, but furniſh us with all *Engliſh* Proviſion, Cows and Oxen, Horſes and Mares, Sheep and Hogs, which they abound in now, which they and other Plantations were enforced to bring out of other Countries with great Difficulty and Charge; theſe are ready to our Hands.”

The Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as well as the other Parts of the national Commerce by Sea, had ſuffered greatly by the military Interruptions, during the Troubles; but the Company got home ſafe ſix Ships this Year, richly laden.

Blake being returned proſperous from the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the Parliament reſolved to diſpatch him and Sir *George Ayſcue*, with a Fleet, to reduce the Iſlands of *Scilly*, *Jerſey*, and *Guernſey*, to their Obedience; which held out for the King, and by their Privateers greatly interrupted the Navigation of the Channel. Beſides, they were alarmed at the Arrival of 12 *Dutch* Men of War, under the Command of Admiral *Van Tromp*, on the Coaſt of *Scilly*, under a Pretence of demanding Satisfaction of Sir *John Greenville*, the Governor of thoſe Iſles, under the King, for about 20 Prizes carried in by the Privateers of *Scilly*; but were ſhrewdly ſuſpected of an Intention either to drive a Bargain with him for their ſurrender to the *Dutch*, or to ſeize upon them for their own Uſe.

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[a] 1650.

[b] Prince Rupert was purſued to Malaga by Admiral Blake, where his little Fleet, reduced to five Ships only, being attacked, one was drove aſhore, two were burnt, and the Prince obliged to ſeek a Retreat for his own Perſon by Land, thro' Spain. But this did not prevent his Highneſs from further Attempts by Sea; for it was not long before he appeared again with the Remains of his little Fleet, in the Streights, where he took a rich Spaniſh Ship, valued at 100,000 Crowns; in Juſtification of which, he publiſhed a Declaration, alledging, The King of Spain's giving Protection and free Port to the King's Rebels, and owning them; and denying the like to his Majeſty's Ships, contrary to the Treaty between both Crowns; his obliging the Mariners, which were put on-ſhore by Blake, on-board that Admiral, and forcing them to ſerve the Rebels, againſt their Wills, &c. The like he declared againſt the Genoeſe, from whom he had taken another Veſſel; the Objections againſt them being their Entertainment of Captain Hall, ſent into thoſe Seas by the Parliament. Columna Roſtrata, p. 88. Life of Blake, &c.

[c] Bates's Hiſtory of the Troubles. Columna Roſtrata, p. 88.

[d] A. D. 1652.

[e] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 652. Heath's Chron. p. 337.

This Fleet totally reduced thoſe Iſlands, and thereby having ſecured the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas for the Parliament, Sir *George Ayſcue* was reinforced with more Ships, and order'd to ſail for the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to oblige the Iſlands of *Barbadoes*, *Bermudus*, *Antegua*, &c. and the Province of *Virginia*, to ſubmit to the Republic of *England*; the Parliament having already [*] paſt the following Act to prohibit Trade with thoſe Settlements.

“ Whereas in *Virginia*, and in the Iſlands of *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *St. Chriſtophers*, *Mevis*, *Montſerrat*, *Bermudas*, and divers other Iſlands and Places in *America*, there hath been and are Colonies and Plantations, which were planted at the Coſt, and ſettled by the People, and by Authority of this Nation, which are and ought to be ſubordinate to, and dependant upon *England*, and hath ever ſince the Planting thereof been, and ought to be ſubject to ſuch Laws, Orders and Regulations as are or ſhall be made by the Parliament of *England*: And whereas divers Acts of Rebellion have been committed by many Perſons inhabiting in *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Bermudas* and *Virginia*, whereby they have moſt traiterouſly, by Force and Subtility, uſurped a Power of Government, and ſeized the Eſtates of many well-affected Perſons into their Hands, and baniſhed others, and have ſet up themſelves in oppoſition to, and diſtinct from this State and Commonwealth, many of the chief Actors in, and Promoters of theſe Rebellions, having been tranſported and carried over to the ſaid Plantations in foreign Ships, without Leave, Licence or Conſent of the Parliament of *England*: The Parliament of *England* taking the Premiſes into Conſideration, and finding themſelves obliged to uſe all ſpeedy, lawful and juſt Means for the Suppreſſion of the ſaid Rebellion in the ſaid Plantations, and reducing the ſame to Fidelity and due Obedience, ſo as all peaceable and well-affected People, who have been robbed, ſpoiled, impriſoned or baniſhed through the ſaid treaſonable Practices, may be reſtored to the Freedom of their Perſons, and Poſſeſſion of their own Lands and Goods, and due Puniſhment inflicted upon the ſaid Delinquents, do declare all and every the ſaid Perſons in *Barbadoes*, *Antegua*, *Bermudas* and *Virginia*, that have contrived, abetted, aided or aſſiſted thoſe horrid Rebellions, or have ſince willingly joined with them, to be notorious Robbers and Traitors, and ſuch as by the Law of Nations are not to be permitted any Manner of Commerce or Traffick with any People whatſoever; and do forbid all manner of Perſons, Foreigners and others, all Manner of Commerce, Traffick and Correſpondency whatſoever, to be uſed or held with the ſaid Rebels in *Barbadoes*, *Bermudas*, *Virginia* and *Antegua*, or either of them. And be it enacted by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, that after due Publication of this Act made, to the End that none may juſtly pretend Ignorance, it ſhall and may be lawful to any the Fleet or Ships ſent forth or employed by the Parliament, or any private Men of War or Ships, to be allowed or approved in that Behalf by the immediate Power of Parliament, or the Council of State eſtabliſhed by Parliament, to ſeize, ſurpriſe and take all and all Manner of Ships, Veſſels and Goods, of what Nature or Kind ſoever, belonging to all Perſons whatſoever, whether Foreigners or others, or of what Nation ſoever, that ſhall be found or met withal trading, or going to Trade, or coming from trading with the ſaid Rebels, or in or at the ſaid Iſland of *Barbadoes*, *Bermudas*, *Virginia* or *Antegua* aforeſaid, or any Part or Parts thereof; or that ſhall hold any Correſpondency with the ſaid Rebels, or yield them any Aſſiſtance or Relief for the ſupporting their ſaid Rebellions: And the ſame Ships and Goods ſo ſurpriſed, to ſend in to be proceeded againſt in the Court of Admiralty, by virtue of this Act; and the Judges of that Court finding the ſame to be within the Tenour and true Meaning of this Act, to adjudge the ſame to be well taken, and to be good and lawful Prize. And for the better Information of the ſaid Court, and to the end the Proceedings therein may be acted and done according to the Rules of Law and Juſtice, and that nothing irregular may therein, or by the Takers, be acted and committed, be it further enacted, that none of the Goods nor Tackle, Apparel or Furniture of the ſaid Ships, ſo to be ſurpriſed by virtue of this Act, ſhall be imbezzled or purloined, but ſhall be preſerved ſafe and entire, till Judgment be firſt given in the ſaid Court of Admiralty, or other Order or Decree there made thereupon: And that all the Commiſſions, Conſignments, Bills of Lading, Cocquets, Letters, and all other Inſtruments and Writings whatſoever, that ſhall be found on-board the ſaid Ships and Veſſels, ſhall be duly ſent up to the ſaid Court of Admiralty: And that alſo two or three of the Officers or principal Perſons of, or found in every ſuch Ship or Veſſel, ſhall either be brought up to be examined upon Oath in the ſaid Court, as well touching the ſaid Writings found in the ſaid Ship, and the Proprietors, Owners and Maſters of the ſame Ships, and the Goods therein, and the Places from whence they come, and to whom conſigned, and whither bound, and ſuch other Queſtions and Interrogatories as in each particular Caſe ſhall be found meet; or otherwiſe, in caſe they cannot with Conveniency be ſent up, That then they be ſo examined duly upon Oath, before the chief Officer of ſome Port in *England*, or the next Juſtice of the Peace, concerning the Premiſes before recited; and their Examinations, together with all the Writings found on-board the ſaid Ships or Veſſels, to be duly tranſmitted to the ſaid Court; and the Judges of the ſaid Court thereupon, and upon ſuch other Proofs and Evidences as ſhall be duly made, or exhibted before them, ſhall procced to Judgment, and give definitive Sentence by virtue of this Act, according as the Nature of the Fact ſhall be proved before them, and according to the Rules and Grounds of Juſtice: And if Judgment ſhall be given for the ſame to be lawful Prize, Then it ſhall be diſpoſed in ſuch ſort and manner as is in this preſent Act afterwards limited and appointed: And to prevent for the time to come, and to hinder the carrying over of any ſuch Perſons as are Enemies to this Commonwealth, or that may prove dangerous to any of the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, The Parliament doth forbid and prohibit all Ships of any foreign Nation whatſoever to come to, or trade in, or traffic with any of the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, or any Iſlands, Ports or Places thereof, which are planted by, and in Poſſeſſion of the People of this Commonwealth, without Licence firſt had and obtained from the Parliament or Council of State. And be it further enacted, ordained and declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That from and after the 20th Day of *November*, 1650, It ſhall and may be lawful for any Ship or Ships ſet forth by the Parliament, or allowed of by the Parliament or Council of State, to ſeize, take and ſurpriſe any Ship or Ships of any foreign Nation whatſoever, that ſhall be outward-bound to any of the ſaid Plantations, Ports or Places, without ſuch Licence as aforeſaid; and from and after the 1ſt of *January*, 1650, It ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch Ships ſet forth and allowed as aforeſaid, to ſeize, take and ſurpriſe, any foreign Ships that ſhall be found trading at any of the Plantations, Iſlands and Places aforeſaid, without ſuch Licence as aforeſaid; and from and after the 20th Day of *March*, 1650, It ſhall and may be lawful for any of the Parliaments Ships, or private Men of War, allowed of by the Parliament or Council of State for the time being, to ſeize, take and ſurpriſe, any Ship or Ships that are coming from, or have traded at any of the Plantations as aforeſaid, without ſuch Licence as aforeſaid: And all ſuch Ships ſo taken, with all Goods, Tackle, Apparel and Furniture, to ſend into ſome Port of this Commonwealth, to be proceeded againſt in the Court of Admiralty, as in this Act is ordered, limited and appointed, in caſe of trading to *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Bermudas*, and *Virginia*, or any of them; all which Prizes ſo to be taken and adjudged, by virtue of this Act, ſhall be diſpoſed of as followeth; that is to ſay, Of what ſhall be taken by the Ships ſet forth by the Parliament, two thirds thereof to be to the Uſe of the

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[*] 3d Oct. 1650. Scobell, chap. 28.

"Commonwealth, for the Service of the Navy, as the Parliament ſhall direct; and one other third Part to be to the Commanders, Officers and Company of thoſe Ships by whom the ſame ſhall be taken reſpectively, according to the uſual Rates of diviſion amongſt them: And for what ſhall be taken by private Men of War, allowed as aforeſaid, to be to the Uſe of the Owners or Setters forth of the ſaid Ships, as they themſelves ſhall agree, one tenth Part of the whole, heretofore allowable to the Lord Admiral, being firſt taken out, to be diſpoſed by the Council of State, for ſuch Uſes as the Parliament ſhall direct and appoint. Provided always, That if any Prize or Prizes ſo taken, or any Part thereof, ſhall appear, and be proved in the ſaid Court of Admiralty to be any Ship or Goods belonging to any of the well-affected and good People of this Commonwealth, remaining and continuing under the Obedience and Protection of the Parliament, and before taken or ſurpriſed from them by any Enemy or Rebel, or diſaffected Perſon, and afterwards again ſurpriſed and retaken by any of the Fleet or Ships employed in the Service of the Parliament, or any private Man of War, allowed as aforeſaid, That then ſuch Ships and Goods, and every ſuch Part and Parts belonging to the ſaid good People aforeſaid, ſhall be adjudged to be reſtored, and ſhall be by Decree of the ſaid Court of Admiralty accordingly reſtored to ſuch former Owner or Owners, paying for and in lieu of Salvage, only one eighth Part of the true Value thereof; unleſs ſuch Ships ſo retaken ſhall appear to have been after their taking by the Enemy, or Rebels, or diſaffected, furniſhed and ſet forth by them as Men of War on their Behalf: In which Caſe, the true and firſt Owners to whom the ſame ſhall be reſtored, ſhall be adjudged to pay, and ſhall pay for Salvage the full Moiety of the true Value of the ſaid Ships ſo taken and reſtored. Provided nevertheleſs, and it is further enacted, That the Council of State for the time being, have hereby Power to grant Licence and Leave to any of the Ships of this Nation to go to, and trade at *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, or any of them, without Prejudice or Damage, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. And it is further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Council of State have hereby Power and Authority to ſend Ships to any of the Plantations aforeſaid, and to grant Commiſſion or Commiſſions to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as they ſhall think fit, with Power to enforce all ſuch to Obedience as do or ſhall ſtand in Oppoſition to the Parliament or their Authority; and to grant Pardons, and to ſettle Governors in all or any the ſaid Iſlands, Plantations and Places, and to do all juſt Things, and uſe all lawful Means to ſettle and preſerve them in Peace and Safety, until the Parliament ſhall take further or other Order therein, any Letters Patents, or other Authority formerly granted or given to the contrary notwithſtanding. And to the end that due Intimation and Publication of this Act may be made, and public Notice thereof be taken, ſo that none may juſtly plead excuſe thro' Ignorance of the ſame, be it ordered and enacted, That this preſent Act ſhall be publiſhed by the Serjeant at Arms attending the Parliament, three ſeveral Days upon the Exchange, *London*, at the time of the Concourſe of Merchants thither.

"*Die Jovis*, 3° *Oct.* 1650.

"Ordered by the Parliament, that this Act be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

"HEN. SCOBELL, *Cleric. Parliamenti.*"

Sir *George Ayſcue*, provided with a ſtout Squadron, and a conſiderable Body of Land-troops, and with Orders to put this Act in full Force, ſailed for *Barbadoes*, and arrived in *Carliſle* Bay on the 16th of *October* 1651, and ſurpriſed 13 *Dutch* Ships, and one *Engliſhman* [a], in the Port. He immediately ordered the Maſters of thoſe Ships on-board, and made all thoſe Veſſels Prize, for trading with the Enemies of the Commonwealth, in that Iſland. He alſo took three more *Dutch* Ships, in their Paſſage to the other Iſlands.

The Governor, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, commiſſion'd by the King, made as if he would defend the Iſland to the laſt Extremity; the Alarm was given, and 4000 Horſe and Foot appeared in Arms, to diſpute the Parliamentarians Landing. The Forts in *Carliſle* Bay defended that Harbour; ſo Sir *George* plied up and down the Iſland ſeeking for a Landing-place. The Inhabitants ſaw him; and the Sight of ſuch a Fleet, coming in a hoſtile Manner, was far from being pleaſant.

Sir *George* ſent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*, demanding the Surrender of the Iſland; but his Anſwer was, *He would keep the Place for the King*. There were, likewiſe, Commiſſioners from the Parliament on-board the Fleet, who ſent a Declaration to the Inhabitants, to perſuade them to ſubmit to the Parliament of *England*, and to deſert the Lord *Willoughby* and his Party, offering them Indemnity for ſo doing.

The Loſs of the Ships in the Harbour, the Impoſſibility of their being relieved, and their certain Expectation of Wants, ſtaggered the Reſolutions of the moſt brave: However, their Loyalty remained firm for ſome Time, eſpecially among the meaner Sort, who had little to loſe; but the Men of Subſtance conſidered they were about a very raſh Buſineſs, and that they endangered their Perſons and Eſtates, without hoping to be ſerviceable to the King, it being very eaſy for the Enemy to ſtarve them, tho' they did not attempt to land.

Sir *George*, at laſt, anchored in *Speight*'s Bay, and ſtaid there till *December*; when the *Virginia* Merchants Fleet arriving, tho' very weak, and their Men ſick, he reſolved to take that Opportunity to land with the greater Advantage, for he made as if it was a Reinforcement which had been ſent him, and he had only waited for them till then; whereas the Truth was, he had not above 2000 Men, and the Sight of the little Army on-ſhore made him cautious of venturing his Men, till he thought the Inhabitants had conceived a greater Idea of his Strength, than they had done before.

The *Virginia* Ships were welcomed as a Supply of Men of War; and he preſently ordered his Men to prepare for Landing.

Then Sir *George* having ſent a third Summons to the *Barbadians* to ſubmit to the Parliament of *England*, but to no Purpoſe, formed a Regiment out of the Ships, of 600 Men, whereof 170 were *Scots*. The Enemy, having Notice of their coming four Hours before, made ſome Oppoſition at their Landing, with nine Companies of Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, who made a gallant Charge; but the Parliament's Forces having received the Onſet, immediately fell in upon the Lord *Willoughby*'s Forces, and wholly routed them, their Commanders running away and leaving the Foot engaged; after which the Parliament's Forces purſued their Enemy to their *Fort Royal*, and ſtormed it, with the Loſs of nine Men, and ſome wounded, Colonel *Morrice*, his Major, and others.

The Enemy had 50 Men killed, and 100 taken Priſoners, all their Ordnance diſmounted, and many of their Houſes burnt by the Parliament's Forces, the Place being not tenable.

The Sailors returned to their Ships, which cruiſed up and down, to prevent any Succours coming to the Iſlanders, or any Merchants trading with them. The Soldiers poſted themſelves in the Fort, and from thence made Incurſions into the Country; upon which the chief Inhabitants grew weary of the War; which Sir *George Ayſcue* underſtanding, by the Correſpondence he had in the Iſland, he, by the ſame Means, procured Colonel *Modiford*, who was the moſt leading Man on the Place, to enter into a Treaty with him, and this Negotiation ſucceeded ſo well, that *Modiford* declared publickly for a Peace, and joined with Sir *George*, to bring the Lord *Willoughby*, the Governor, to Reaſon.

A Parley [b] being admitted, both Parties, to avoid the Effuſion of Blood, appointed Commiſſioners to treat. Sir *George* named Captain *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, Colonel *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton* Eſq; And the Lord *Willoughby*,

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[a] Whitlock.

[b] Whitlock's Memorials.

by, on his Side, Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym* Eſq; Colonel *Ellice*, and Major *Byham*, who, on the 17th of *January*, agreed on Articles of Surrender, which were both comprehenſive and honourable. The Lord *Willoughby* had what he moſt deſired, Indemnity and Freedom of Eſtate and Perſon.

From hence Sir *George* ſailed for *St. Kits*, whoſe Governor, Colonel *Pointz*, finding the Iſlanders were willing to ſubmit, after the Example of the *Barbadians*, to the Commonwealth of *England*, made the beſt of his way for *Virginia*. Sir *George*, upon Notice thereof, diſpatched Captain *Dennis* with a few Ships after him, who with little Trouble reduced the *Virginians* to Obedience alſo.

At Sir *George*'s Return to *Europe*, he found the Parliament engaged in a War with *Holland*. The two Republicks began to be jealous of each other. The *Engliſh* Commonwealth demanded all the Reſpect and Marks of Sovereignty, which had ever been paid to the ruling Power of this Nation, inſiſted upon the Sovereignty of the Sea, the Right of the Flag, and of Fiſhing, and licenſing to fiſh; and looked upon the Murder of Dr. *Doriſlaus*, and the Reception that the reſt of their Agents and Ambaſſadors met with, to be Indignities deſerving their juſt and ſevere Reſentment. It is true, a Treaty was ſet on foot by the *Dutch*, with the Appearance of their Intention to ſettle Matters amicably; but as they had little Reaſon to expect any Remedy by a Treaty, ſo long as the famous *Act of Navigation*, paſs'd by the Parliament, ſoon after the Battle of *Worceſter*, (which was afterwards confirmed, with very little Alteration, by King *Charles* II.) exiſted; the chief Clauſes of which, that affected the *Dutch*, were, that no foreign Ships ſhould bring any Goods to *England*, excepting ſuch as ſhould be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country to which the ſaid Ships belonged, and that no foreign Goods ſhould be imported to *England*, but what were laden at the Places where they grew, or were manufactured, or, at leaſt, at the neareſt Ports to ſuch Places, or thoſe from whence they muſt neceſſarily be imported, or were uſually bought at the firſt Hand. Now the *Dutch* having little or nothing of their own Growth or Manufacture that was importable to *England*, they were hereby, in effect, debarred all Navigation and Trade to the *Engliſh* Dominions, both in *Europe* and *America* (from which they had reaped great Advantages) and their Ships were made liable to continual Searches and Confiſcations. And *ſecondly*, The great Arrears, and Reparations of Injuries in Trade, demanded by the *Engliſh*; in which they found them ſo little inclined to relax, that Letters of Mart and Repriſal were actually iſſued: they were more inclinable to try their Fortune by a War, to obtain what they had little Proſpect of doing by a Treaty; or, at leaſt, by one Attempt on the *Engliſh*, to ſee how high their Pulſe beat. They could not, however, with any tolerable Grace, proceed to Hoſtilities upon theſe Articles, which were too ſufficiently grounded upon the Laws of Nature and Nations, to be fairly and openly canvaſſed. They therefore choſe rather to begin by refuſing to ſtrike the Flag, or acknowledge the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Seas. This they imagined would appear more plauſible, it being, as they pretended, the reſiſting of a Tyranny, which other Nations were equally concerned to oppoſe.

While they were amuſing the Parliament with a Treaty, the *Hollanders* with great Care and Expence got together a Fleet of 150 Sail [a]; whereas the *Engliſh* Parliament equipped no more than the uſual Squadron for guarding the Narrow Seas, which was under the Command of Admiral *Blake*, and conſiſted of 25 Ships only [b].

The firſt Blood that was drawn in this Quarrel, was occaſioned by Commodore *Young*'s firing upon a *Dutch* Man of War, for refuſing him the Honour of the Flag. This was on the 14th of *May* 1652, and proved very honourable for our Nation. Commodore *Young* acted with great Caution, and gave the *Dutch* all the Opportunity of avoiding a Diſpute that they could deſire. He ſent his Boat onboard the *Dutchman* to perſuade him to ſtrike; but the Captain anſwered plainly and honeſtly, that the States had threatened to take off his Head, if he ſtruck: And upon this the Fight began, in which the Enemy was ſo roughly handled, as to be obliged to ſtrike. There were two other Ships of War, and about 12 Merchant-men, none of which interfered; and on the other Side, after the *Dutch* Ships had taken in their Flags, Commodore *Young* retired without making any Prizes.

Martin Van Tromp, one of their Admirals, and braveſt, as well as moſt experienced, Sea-commanders, with a Fleet of 42 Sail (ſaid by the *Dutch* to be deſigned only for the Protection of their Trade) came, on the 18th of *May* 1652, into *Dover* Road [c], probably with a Deſign to give the *Engliſh* a Provocation to begin Hoſtilities; tho' they pretended, by a Meſſage they ſent to Major *Bourne*, who was riding there, with a Squadron of the Parliament's Fleet, that they were driven by a ſtrong Wind from the *Flanders* Coaſt, and had no Deſign to prejudice the Commonwealth of *England*.

The Narrative of this whole Affair was publiſhed by Order of the Parliament in theſe Words:

“ Upon *Tueſday* the 18th of *May* 1652, in the Morn-
“ ing, General *Blake* being gone to the Weſtward as far
“ as *Rye* Bay, eight Days before, with 12 or 13 Ships,
“ leaving Major *Bourne* in the *Downs* with eight Ships
“ only, there appeared upon the Backſide of the *Goodwin*
“ a *Holland* Fleet of Men of War, conſiſting of 42 Ships,
“ one whereof had a Flag on the Main-top maſt-head, the
“ reſt Jacks and Ancients; and being come unto the South
“ Sand's-head, two of them bore up towards the *Engliſh*
“ Ships in the *Downs*; whereupon Major *Bourne* ſent out
“ the *Greyhound* to examine them, and to know the Reaſon
“ of their ſo near Approach; who anſwering, That they
“ had a Meſſage to the Commander in Chief in the *Downs*,
“ were permitted to come in; and having ſaluted the Flag,
“ the two Captains, named *Tyſon* and *Aldred*, came aboard
“ the ſaid Major *Bourne*, and acquainted him that they
“ were ſent by *Van Tromp* to let him know that he had
“ been riding about *Dunkirk* with his Fleet, where by rea-
“ ſon of foul Weather they had loſt many of their Cables
“ and Anchors, and the Wind being Northerly, were
“ driven further to the Southward than they intended,
“ which *Van Tromp* thought fit to ſignify to prevent any
“ Miſapprehenſions or Jealouſies. And having ſaid this,
“ and received for anſwer, That the Reality of what they
“ ſaid would beſt appear by their ſpeedy drawing off from
“ this Coaſt, they departed to their Fleet; and imme-
“ diately upon their Arrival with them, the whole Fleet
“ ſtood up to *Dover*, and came to an Anchor within little
“ more than Shot of the Caſtle the ſame Day in the After-
“ noon. Upon their coming before *Dover* Caſtle, and
“ riding there with Flag in the Main-top, without ſalu-
“ ting the Caſtle, the Caſtle made three Shot at them;
“ notwithſtanding which, the *Dutch* Admiral kept up his
“ Flag, and rode there at Anchor until the next Day-noon,
“ and exerciſed his Muſketeers, by diſcharging Volleys of
“ ſmall Shot many Hours together. Upon *Wedneſday* a-
“ bout 12 o'Clock, the *Dutch* Fleet weighed Anchor, and
“ ſtood off towards *Calais*, ſome four Leagues into the
“ S.E. about the ſame time, the *Engliſh* Fleet under Ge-
“ neral *Blake* coming from the Weſt towards the *Downs*
“ diſcovered them, and ſuppoſed by their Courſe they had
“ been going back; Major *Bourne* likewiſe was in ſight,
“ coming from the *Downs* to join with General *Blake*.
“ About an Hour or two after, the *Holland* Fleet altered
“ their Courſe, came back again, made all the ſail they
“ could, and bore directly with General *Blake*, *Van Tromp*
“ the Headmoſt, with his Flag in the Main-top; and being
“ come within ſhot, the General ſhot a Gun at his Main-
“ top, and then two ſingle ſhot more: Whereupon *Tromp*
“ ſhot a ſingle Shot thro' the General's Flag, and then
“ immediately gave the firſt Broad-ſide, and took in his
“ Pendants, and hung out his Red-flag under the *Holland*
“ Colours, which was the Signal on their Part for the
“ whole Fleet to engage, and ſo the Fight began.”

Whitlock ſays, that *Blake*, as ſoon as he perceived the *Dutch* Admiral's Intent of fighting, ſingled out himſelf from the reſt of the Fleet, to treat with *Van Tromp* about the Point of Honour, and to endeavour to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, and a national Quarrel. But that, when our Admiral came near *Van Tromp*, he, and the reſt of his Fleet, contrary to the Laws of Nations, as he came upon a Treaty, fired upon him with many hundred Shot: Upon which the Admiral was obliged, for ſome time, to fight againſt the whole *Dutch* Fleet.

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[a] Id. ibid. Clarendon. Leven den Zee Helden.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 314. Clarendon's Columna Roſtrata.

[c] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter. Leven van Cornelius Van Tromp.

At the third Shot, Major *Bourne* coming into *Blake*'s Aſſiſtance, with eight ſtout Ships, and attacking *Van Tromp* in the Rear, it came to a general Engagement, which laſted from four in the Afternoon till Night, when they ſeparated, after much Blood ſhed on both Sides. The *Dutch* took to Flight; and the Night would not permit the *Engliſh* to follow them. The *Engliſh* had not ſo much as one Ship quite diſabled, and but few Men killed, in proportion to what the Enemy had: But the *Dutch* loſt two Ships, the one ſunk, and the other taken, with both their Captains, and about 200 Priſoners.

The greateſt Damage ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* was in *Blake*'s own Ship, the *James*, of 80 Guns, and between 5 and 600 Men, in which the Maſter and ſeveral Men were wounded, ſhe having received above 1000 Shot, her Main-maſt ſhot away, her Rigging torn, and her Hull ſhot between Wind and Water; and yet ſhe came off triumphantly, after ſhe had received 70 Shot in her Hull, and Maſts; and in her Sails and Rigging, without Number. The next Morning the *Dutch* Fleet was ſeen four Leagues from ours, towards the Coaſt.

The *Dutch* Miniſters, who were then at *Chelſea*, with a Guard ſet upon them, to ſcreen them from the Mob, diſallowed this Proceeding of their Admiral; and the States, finding the Succeſs of this Engagement had ſo little anſwered their Expectations, diſpatched away a Letter, to the *Engliſh* Council of State, to excuſe it, proteſting, that what had happened was without their Knowledge or Conſent; and this Letter producing no Effect, they ſent another Ambaſſador extraordinary, (*Clarendon* ſays two) on purpoſe to excuſe it; many were the Arguments they made uſe of to prove they were not the Aggreſſors.

The Lord PAUW'*s Speech at his Audience before the Parliament, the 11th of June 1652.*

“ *Right Honourable*,

“ The public Teſtimonies, and manifeſt Tokens of a ſincere Benevolence, pure Love, and true Friendſhip, which the univerſal State and Subjects of the United Provinces have always ſhewed to the *Engliſh* People, and principally to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, now proſperouſly and happily governing, are ſo notorious and known to the whole Chriſtian World, that no-body can doubt of it, much leſs of a true Faith and long-uſed Obſervation of Friendſhip, of the States General of the United Provinces.

“ But, foraſmuch as by reaſon of the Variety and Inconſtancy of worldly Things, ſometime happen thoſe things which do dark the exterior Face with Clouds, and are like to ſhew a Diſtraction of Minds: But when theſe things are prevented by time, and all Contrarieties taken away, they will ſerve more to conſerve and confirm, than to diſſolve the Bonds of mutual Friendſhip: Therefore it hath pleaſed the States General of the United Provinces, my Superiors; notwithſtanding they doubt not of the ſingular Wiſdom and Diligence of their extraordinary Ambaſſadors here, ſtaying about great and weighty Buſineſs, to ſend me in an extraordinary Embuſſage to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, To preſent clearly and ſincerely their Wiſhes for the public Safety and happy Government thereof; with Proffer of all their good Offices, as I, being ſo lately come from their Honourable Aſſembly, can teſtify out of my certain Knowledge, that nothing is more in their Hearts and Wiſhes, than that not only a firm and conſtant Friendſhip be religiouſly kept between both States; but that it may daily grow, and by all means be conſolidated, and nothing may happen which may break or any way diſturb the Bars of mutual Safety, Profit and Friendſhip, between ſo neighbour Nations: And that therefore they have received with great Aſtoniſhment and Sorrow of Heart the News, of what, contrary to all Expectation, hath lately happened between the Admirals of both Commonwealths. But foraſmuch as this unlooked for and unexpected Caſe might not only raiſe new Troubles, but alſo give Occaſion of Suſpicion, as if the preſent Treaty for a mutual Alliance, and a ſtraiter Corroboration of the old Friendſhip, was not earneſtly proſecuted, and therefore we ſhould labour in vain to come to a happy End, my Superiors have not thought amiſs, but rather convenient, even neceſſary, that at this time, and upon this unhappy Caſe fallen out, I ſhould above the ordinary Uſe and Cuſtom, and therefore ſuperabundantly (ſeeing that by reaſon of my Office I have been in all their Counſels) repreſent openly and ſincerely to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, all the Particulars which have happened, as well before as after the Fact, as they are come to their Knowledge, to remove all things out of the way which might breed any Grudge or Breach of Friendſhip between both States, or cauſe the leaſt Diſturbance or Delay to the Treaty.

“ Therefore, by virtue of the credential Letters of the ſaid General States, and in their Name, I do proteſt and declare to the Paliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, That they have never entertained in their Thoughts, never acted, much leſs commanded any thing which might offend the Dignity of this Commonwealth, leſſen the common Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which hath endured for ſo many Years, or under any Pretence whatſoever ſow any Seed of Miſunderſtanding; but rather that the ſaid States have intended with all their Hearts, and endeavoured by all their Power, that the ſaid Friendſhip and Alliance might be perfected in the beſt way, and ſpeedily, and might be ſolemnly eſtabliſhed for ever for the Safety and Advantage of both Commonwealths. It is very true that a great Fleet hath been prepared in the Low-Countries, but that the States General have by the continual Complaints of their Subjects been forced to conſent to it, is alſo a thing moſt certain and known; as alſo, that they have ordered, that Notice thereof ſhould be given to the ſaid Parliament; which was done and ſignified to no other Intent, than that the Subjects of the United Provinces, which had ſuffered great Damages at Sea, and loſt ſeveral Ships, ſhould be ſecured and protected by juſt and ordinary Means; and that no Wrong or Offence ſhould be offered to any, much leſs to undertake any Diſpute againſt the Fleet and Ships of the ſame Parliament upon the Controverſies and Differences of the Sea. All which being done and performed in that manner, and nevertheleſs being accidentally happened of both Sides a great Debate and Controverſy between both Fleets, the States General have thought fit to acquaint the Parliament of *England*, with the Relation ſent to them in writing by their Admiral, and approved and witneſſed by their Captains, and other faithful Perſons, That the Admiral *Tromp*, more by Neceſſity than other Reaſons, is come nigh the Fleet of this Commonwealth, and hath firſt ſent his civil Salutation to the Commander *Bourne*; and having afterwards met accidentally with the Admiral *Blake*, put out his Boat to ſend ſome Deputies unto him, and to declare the Reaſons of his coming, and beſides that, commanded to take down his Flag; but when he ſaw, that he againſt all Expectation was unhappily ſaluted by him with a Broad-ſide, and thereupon he diſcharged his Guns, not to offend but to defend himſelf; and that from thence by meer Accident, rather than purpoſely, was ariſed a Fight amongſt thoſe Fleets, which by the Lord's Bleſſing ſhortly after was ended: Which, foraſmuch as it was begun by an unexpected Salutation, and not continued with Earneſtneſs by ours, nor done or committed by alienated Minds, or any Reaſons known before, but by Chance; therefore the States General do friendly deſire, That the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* will be pleaſed to believe and be perſuaded, That nothing was done with a conſulted Purpoſe or foregoing Command, but merely by a caſual Chance, and perhaps by reaſon of the Fragility and Inconſtance of the wordly Things; and ſo much the more direct their Counſels and Commiſſions thither, That all Obſtacles, Offences, and further Wrongs may with all ſpeed be removed out of the way and prohibited, as the States General on their Part are prompt and ready to apply convenient Remedies. They judge that it concerneth much the whole Chriſtian World, and principally the Sates of the reformed Churches abroad, That thoſe Miſunderſtandings do not grow greater between theſe Commonwealths, and that between Neighbours, Partakers of the ſame Faith, ſhould ariſe any Diſſention which ſhould diſturb, interrupt the common and neceſſary Commerce, and give Occaſion, as well to their known as to their ſecret Enemies, to lay Waits, or to draw into diverſe Parts thoſe Commonwealths ready to be united in a common Alliance; and by ſuch means removing from themſelves the Seat of Calamities and War, to bring (which God forbid) it to their own Deſtruction. To prevent ſo great a Danger, and that the Evil may not ſpread further, I am commanded by times to propound, and do all my beſt, That by convenient means there may be a ſpeedy Compoſure made of what is paſt; and that there may be Order taken, That hereaſter ſuch unlucky and unhappy Caſes happen no more between the Fleets of both Commonwealths, wherein they deſire, the Dignity and the Honour of the Parliament of the Commmonwealth of *England* may be conſerved.

“Whereas then the States General do herewith openly declare to the ſaid Parliament, that they deſire entirely, That all Offices of Friendſhip and Benevolence may be continued, the contrary may be prevented; and that the Councils of all Sides may be directed to the deſired End and Concluſion of the mutual Confederacy; therefore, I do earneſtly intreat, That it may pleaſe the ſaid Parliament to hear and underſtand me without any Delay, by their Deputies or Counſel of State, and proceed without Intermiſſion in the juſt and amicable former Tranſactions, to bring the principal Buſineſs to an End and Concluſion, as the extraordinary Ambaſſadors of the States have Charge, and are ready to do.”

The Lord PAUW's *Speech at his Audience in the Council of State.*

“*Right Honourable,*

“Whereas it hath pleaſed my Lords the States-General of the *United Provinces* to ſend me, beſides their Extraordinary Ambaſſadors, in the ſame Quality, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; and having Yeſterday had the Honour to declare in their full Aſſembly the true Subject of my coming, and the ſincere Intentions of my Superiors: Therefore I think it to be my Duty to appear likewiſe before this honourable Council to preſent my Credential Letters, and wiſh your Honours all Felicity and good Succeſs in the Direction and managing of ſo great Affairs as are to them committed by this great Commonwealth. And as I have declared unto the ſaid Parliament, ſo do I likewiſe declare again with Truth and certain Knowledge, that my Lord the States-General have always had, and have at this preſent more than at any time before, a very great Deſire to maintain, increaſe, and keep faithful the good Friendſhip, ſtreight Alliance, and perfect Correſpondence, which hath ſo long endured between both Nations and States, whereof there hath been heretofore many notorious and manifeſt Teſtimonies: It is moſt conſtant, that my Superiors have nothing more in their Hearts, than to ſee a Finiſhing and Concluſion of the Treaty of Alliance between both Commonwealths, to the end, that thereby a ſtreighter Union and brotherly Concord may be eſtabliſhed, to ſubvert and deſtroy all Plots and Diviſions, which would trouble and much endanger the one and the other, as alſo make them leſs conſiderable to the Chriſtian World. This is (my Lords) the very Aim of the Enemies of the Reformed and Orthodox Religion, making a certain account, that they will be able by ſuch a Diſagreement and Diviſion, not only to weaken both States, but to bring them alſo to the utmoſt Extremities. But both People being bleſſed by the Lord with that precious Gift of the true Religion, and wonderfully provided, beſides the Spiritual, with Temporal Benedictions, by the Benefit of Navigation and Commerce in all Parts of the World; and my Lords the States-General, judging that the firſt ought neceſſarily to be conſerved, and the other to be looked to, the Religion maintained, and the State ſecured, did believe, that all thoſe Inconveniences can be no better prevented, than by joining the Souls and Goods of both Commonwealths, and by this means make them able, with God's Aſſiſtance, to ſhun all Machinations to the contrary. Therefore, the unexpected News of the meeting of the two Fleets, and the Offences given of both Sides, hath brought no ſmall Trouble amongſt the General-States, who have thereupon judged moſt neceſſary to diſpatch extraordinariſy and ſpeedily to inform the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, and this honourable Council, and to perform ſuch Endeavours, made choice of me, that have been admitted in both Aſſemblies of the States-General and of thoſe of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frizland*, and acquainted with their moſt important and moſt ſecret Councils and Deliberations, to witneſs here with moſt certain Knowledge of the Matter, and no leſs Truth and Faithfulneſs, that no Deliberation was made, no Reſolution taken, no Commiſſion directly or indirectly given to diſpleaſe in any ways the Commonwealth of *England* to offend them, and much leſs to ſet upon their Fleet or Ships; but that on the contrary, there was Command given to deal with them in all Places as with the beſt Friends, and to ſhew them all kind of Favour and Courteſy. And as in the ſaid unhappy Meeting Things have been on both Sides otherwiſe, and very unwarily acted, whereof I made Yeſterday a large Relation, which I do not intend to mention again at this preſent, nor to revive that which ought to be buried and entirely forgotten: Notwithſtanding, having underſtood out of the laſt Anſwer delivered to our Ambaſſadors, that there is a Satisfaction demanded for what is paſt, and Security for the future; and my Lords the States conceive it to be neceſſary, that all Miſunderſtanding and Miſconſtruction of what is lately paſſed in the ſaid Encounter may be taken away, and both States ſecured from the like Inconvenients hereaſter; as alſo, that it be proceeded without Delay in the continuating and perfecting the Treaty of Alliance ſo far advanced already: And moreover, that it be conſidered of the moſt convenient and reaſonable Means which may remove the Shadows of all Suſpicion and Miſtruſt; and that ſuch Orders be made which the Fleets ſhall be bound to follow hereafter; to which Purpoſe I have ſufficient Inſtructions from my Superiors. I deſire therefore that it may pleaſe your Honours to commit ſome of the Members of this honourable Council, with whom I may, as ſoon as is poſſible, begin, continue, and finiſh that which may ſerve to the Satisfaction of both States, and removing of all Differences: To which I muſt add here, that my Superiors did never pretend, nor ſhall pretend to diſpute the Honour and Dignity of this Commonwealth, which they repute the firſt and moſt conſiderable in *Europe*; and wiſh that by an Union of theſe two formidable States, they might ſecure them both, preſerve them from the Conſpirations of their Enemies, and ſettle by a perfect Intelligence and Confidence their common Peace and Safety. In the mean time I pray your Honours, that it may pleaſe you, by your wiſe Direction, to order as ſpeedily as is poſſible, that the Evil may not, by reaſon of this unhappy Accident, proceed any further, by committing new Offences, Purſuits, or taking of Ships, but that all Attempts and ſuch Actions may be interdicted and ſtopped, and not by making the Wound wider, even uncurable, to expoſe ourſelves to the Will and Pleaſure of our Enemies; being confident, that we ſhall be able to find convenient Remedies to remove friendly and happily the preſent Differences, to the Confuſion of thoſe who wiſh and expect it otherwiſe. I ſhall be exceedingly beholden to this honourable Council, if your Honours grant me a ſpeedy Anſwer upon theſe, that I may without Intermiſſion begin ſo worthy, profitable, and neceſſary Work; commending myſelf in the mean time with all Reſpects to your Honours Favour.”

A Summary of what the Lord Adrian Pauw, *Extraordinary Ambaſſador of the States-General of the United Provinces of the* Low-Countries, *hath propounded to the Deputies of the honourable Council of State of the Parliament of* England, *the* $\frac{24}{14}$ *of* June 1652.

“ The ſaid Lord Ambaſſador having heretofore abundantly declared, That the States-General (as it will be found and always appear) have no ways deliberated, neither in publick nor in private, much leſs given any Charge, Order, or Commiſſion, for committing the leaſt Offence againſt the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, their Fleets, Ships, Officers or Subjects, but rather they ſhould be met with the uſual Civilities and Kindneſſes, and with the ordinary Expreſſions of Friendſhip; therefore none can any wiſe call into queſtion their ſincere Intentions, for the maintaining and increaſing the ancient and common Amity.

“ For the ſame Reaſon, that cannot be imputed to the ſaid States-General which happened lately between both Fleets, nor ſhould thence ariſe any Diſcontent or Offence, nor any Cauſe of attempting againſt their Subjects, being a thing directly contrary to the ancient Friendſhip and Correſpondence between both Nations: And the ſaid Encounter having happened by mere Chance, and without any Deſign, the ſaid Lord Ambaſſador hath propounded, whether it were not better to lay aſide that which is paſſed, inſomuch that it ſhould be taken of both Sides as a thing not done, and ſo all be left as before; and that there might a ſpeedy Order be taken for the Redreſs of what hath been done ſince, in ſuch ſort, as no external nor internal Mark may remain of the ſame.

“ Nevertheleſs, if the Pleaſure of this honourable Council is otherwiſe, altho' the ſaid Ambaſſador hath plainly and ſincerely related all which is come to the Knowledge of his Superiors concerning what is paſſed, having received (as alſo the other Ambaſſadors) beſides the former Informations, before his departing, ſeveral remarkable and conſiderable Atteſtations *in probanti forma*, and hath heard that there are here quite other and contrary Informations, whence it doth appear, that the Parties are diſagreeing in their Evidences, and ſo it is a hard Matter to judge clearly of the Fact.

“ The ſaid Ambaſſador therefore hath thought fit to propound, that the things paſſed ſhould be more exactly examined, and neceſſary Informations made by either of the Parties, or conjunctim by both; that after certain Knowledge gotten, the Truth may be diſcovered by Commiſſioners ſpecially deputed of both Sides upon this Matter, to know which of the two hath made the firſt Attempt, and given Cauſe to the following Diſorders.

“ The ſaid Ambaſſador doth declare, that if it may appear that the Admiral of the States-General hath made the firſt Aſſault, he ſhall not only be diſowned in the like Caſe, and his Fact diſapproved of by the ſaid States General, as having tranſgreſſed their Orders and Commiſſion, but they ſhall alſo cauſe him to be puniſhed for the ſame, according to the Importance of his Attempt, for having diſobeyed their Commands, and chiefly for having given juſt Cauſe of Offence to their good Friends and Neighbours; deſiring alſo of this honourable Council, that if on the contrary it be found true by the Informations, that the Admiral of the Commonwealth of *England* hath given Occaſion to the ſaid Encounter, and hath the firſt aſſaulted, it be likewiſe declared, that the Parliament will in that Caſe diſown the ſaid Admiral, and command the ſame Puniſhment to be put upon him.

“ It is to be believed, that the ſincere Intentions of the States-General will not only appear, and all Suſpicions be taken away, but that the Means of a juſt Reparation and neceſſary Satisfaction will be eaſily found, other States and Commonwealths having taken the ſame Courſe, and followed the ſame Method with good Succeſs, whereof the Lord Ambaſſador hath produced divers Examples.

“ And to the end that the like Inconveniencies may no more happen hereafter, the Lord Ambaſſador hath declared, That the States General have never had the leaſt Intention, nor have yet any at this time, to leſſen in no ways the Honour and Dignity of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; but that they have given Command heretofore, as alſo ſince the late unhappy Accident, new Order, That upon Meetings and Salutings of the Fleets or Ships of War, concerning the ſtriking down of the Flag, and what belong to it, there ſhould be the ſame Honour done to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, as formerly done during the other Government, hoping by this means to give and receive Content reciprocally.

“ And as it is moſt neceſſary to confirm the mutual Friendſhip between both Nations, that the Negotiation of the Treaty between both Commonwealths be advanced and brought to an End as ſoon as can be, the ſaid Lord Ambaſſador hath repreſented and earneſtly deſired, That ſince the Lords extraordinary Ambaſſadors have after divers Conferences, by their laſt Remonſtrance, manifeſted their Superiors Intention concerning the ſaid Treaty, it ſhould alſo pleaſe the Honourable Council to expreſs and ſignify theirs clearly, that it may appear what Differences are fit to be reconciled, that all Difficulties may be removed, to come the ſooner to a good, firm and laſting Concluſion, by which the Minds may be on both Sides pacified, and an everlaſting and indiſſoluble good Intelligence eſtabliſhed. Moreover, the ſaid Ambaſſador hath inſtantly deſired, That all ways of Fact and Offences be inhibited and ſtopped by Order of the Honourable Council, and chiefly, That the Perſons, Ships and Goods of the Subjects of the United Provinces, as well Military as others, be indifferently freed and releaſed from their Reſtraint and Detention, and all that have been or are by Force detained, be ſet at Liberty; and that the Innocents may receive no more Hurt or Trouble, as we are ready and reſolved to do the ſame on our Part.

“ The ſaid Lord Ambaſſador hath alſo deſired it may pleaſe the ſaid Honourable Council to make known to him, without Loſs of Time, their good Intentions and Reſolution upon what is aboveſaid; and chiefly upon the Continuation of the Treaty begun, the Ceſſation of all ways of Fact upon the Relaxation of the Ships detained and arreſted, Perſons and Goods of the Subjects of the United Provinces, ſeeing he hath loſt no time to declare ſincerely from his Superiors, and aſſure the ſaid Honourable Council of the Continuation of their good Affection and perfect Friendſhip.”

Another Paper of the Lord Pauw *of the 21ſt of June* 1652.

“ *To the Honourable Council of State*,

“ The extraordinary Ambaſſador of the United Provinces having the $\frac{20}{10}$th of *June* in the Evening ſomething late, received by the Hands of Sir *Oliver Fleming*, the Anſwer which the Honourable Counſel hath been pleaſed to give him upon the Summary of the Things propounded the $\frac{24}{14}$th of the ſame Month.

“ He hath thought himſelf bound for the better Performance of the Duty of his Employment, to aſſert again here ingenuouſly as he hath done before, according to the Notice and Knowledge he hath of the moſt intimate Deliberations and Conſultations of the States General his Superiors, That they having no ways propounded, deliberated nor reſolved to give any Suſpicion, or the leaſt Occaſion of Offence againſt the Fleet or Ships of this Commonwealth; he did believe, That it would have been ſufficient to take away all Conceits of the contrary. He hath alſo truly repreſented the Accident happened between the two Fleets by *Dover* or the *Downs*, as it came to the Knowledge of his Superiors by ſincere Atteſtations of truſty and blameleſs Perſons: And hath, to avoid all further Conteſtations, inſtead of inſiſting upon thoſe Proofs, opened a way by which the true and infallible Knowledge of the ſame might have been found out, and by that means the Satisfaction done that could be lawfully pretended.

“ Therefore that Miſchance cannot be any ways imputed to his Superiors, who never had the leaſt Thought, nor in any ſort contributed towards the Infraction of the Friendſhip, which hath always been moſt dear to them, and leſs towards the Interruption of the Treaty of Confederation; for the perfecting of which they have had, and have ſtill here their extraordinary Ambaſſadors.

“ That may ſufficiently appear by the firm and conſtant Reſolution of his Superiors, that have never been willing to grant any Letters of Mart or Reprizal upon the continual Complaints and reiterated Petitions, even the Importunities of the Perſons intereſted in the Ships taken, arreſted and confiſcated here, for fear of giving any Occaſion of Diſcontent to this Commonwealth.

“ The ſame is clearly ſeen by the Protection granted to the *Engliſh* Company ſettled at *Rotterdam* (tho' *ex ſuperabundanti*, and they had no need of the ſame) to expreſs more ſpecially their good Intentions, the which may be alſo juſtified by all their Actions; none of this State having yet to this preſent received the leaſt Damage, Offence or Injury for all the ſaid Proceedings; even our Ships of War having rather ſuffered themſelves to be brought into the Ports of *England*, and there to be detained, than endeavoured to defend themſelves againſt thoſe whom they have always made account to be their good Friends, as having never heard of any Publication to the contrary.

“ And to make that Teſtimony of Friendſhip the more authentical to this Commonwealth, his Superiors have ſent a ſecond extraordinary Embaſſage, to diſabuſe all thoſe that might be pre-occupated or miſ-informed, and to help the furthering and perfecting of the ſaid Treaty.

“ But in caſe all thoſe Overtures and Means of Reconciliation be rejected, and it be reſolved here to make uſe of thoſe ways, which inſtead of aſſuaging ſhall increaſe the Evil, and which being againſt all Maxims of all States and Commonwealths (who never give their Judgment upon Signs, Preſumptions and Suſpicions, but upon infallible and unreproachable Proofs, and as clear as the Sun is at Noon, and who, during a Treaty, do always command moſt ſtrictly a Ceſſation of all ways of Fact) ſhall the more ſurpriſe my Superiors, and cauſe ſtrange Alarms to their People, by making thoſe ſuffer which are guiltleſs and come from far, who never had the leaſt Suſpicion or heard the leaſt Rumor, of a falling out between both States.

“ Whereupon, the ſaid Ambaſſador muſt needs be very much ſurprized and ſorry, deſiring, That the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners be pleaſed (that no way for a happy Agreement may be neglected) to propound for on their Part ſome other Expedients (ſeeing they have expreſſed in their laſt Anſwer given to the other extraordinary Ambaſſadors, *That the moſt ſweet Ways will be always the moſt pleaſing to them*) which may be fit, ſatisfactory and convenient to compoſe as ſoon as can be that unhappy Buſineſs, and reſtore all Things in their firſt Temper.

“ And that in the mean time they be alſo pleaſed to inhibit all ways of Fact, and to give Order, That the Ships detained may be ſpeedily ſet at Liberty, praying very earneſtly the Honourable Council to explain their Mind thereupon, as alſo to give an Anſwer upon the laſt Articles of the Paper exhibited the $\frac{27}{17}$th of *June*, to make him the more able to contribute his beſt Offices for the good and ſtrengthning of the two Commonwealths.”

The Parliament, however, would hear of no Propoſals, without being firſt ſatisfied for the extraordinary Expences they had been at, this Summer, on account of the States Preparations.

The Anſwer of the Council of State to the Summary of the Lord ADRIAN PAUW, *Extraordinary Ambaſſador of the States General of the United Provinces, preſented to the Council the* $\frac{24}{14}$*th of this inſtant* June.

“ What the Thoughts and Judgment of the Parliament have been concerning the late Intentions of the Lords your Superiors, and the late actings of your Fleet within the very Roads of *England*, your Excellency hath underſtood by the Parliament's Anſwer given unto the three Papers of the Extraordinary Ambaſſadors of your State before your Excellency's Arrival here; which Anſwer, together with the State of the Fact, and the Examinations thereupon had, and then given in, your Lordſhip takes Notice of in your Papers now before the Council; neither doth any Cauſe appear to vary from that Judgment upon any thing ſince offered by your Excellency. And ſince the Attempt made by the Fleet of the United Provinces, with the Preparations thereunto (all projected and acted by way of Surpriſe and in a time of Treaty) had the ſame prevailed, would have highly hazarded the Safety of *England*: It cannot ſtand with Reaſon, That this Commonwealth after ſuch a Warning, and great Preſervation (which they owe only to God) ſhould leave itſelf naked and expoſed to the like Danger for the future, or ſuffer itſelf in a Caſe ſo evident and notorious, under pretence of more ſolemn Examinations, or from Examples of other States which ſuit not with this Caſe, to be diverted from applying Remedies agreeable to the Nature of this Evil. And therefore the Council cannot admit of what is propounded by your Excellency, either as to the paſſing by what is done, or attending the way of Examinations mentioned in your Papers, which to them ſeem needleſs, dilatory, and impracticable.

“ Touching the Overture of re-admitting the late Treaty begun by the other Lords Ambaſſadors Extraordinary of your Nation, after ſo high a Breach thereof, we conceive it cannot be ſeaſonable until the Wound now under Cure be thoroughly cloſed and healed.

“ And whereas your Excellency hath thought fit frequently to aſſert the amicable Mind and Intentions of the Lords your Superiors towards this Commonwealth, and hath given Inſtances of ſome late Orders and Acts tending to the Expreſſion of the ſame; ſpecially concerning the Honour and Reſpect to be paid unto this Commonwealth at Sea (being the ancient and undoubted Right of this Nation) and granting of the Protection deſired by the *Engliſh* Merchants now at *Rotterdam*: The Parliament hath not been wanting on their Part from time to time to manifeſt their Deſires of Amity with the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, nor to afford unto the People thereof reſiding here all neceſſary Protection, though undeſired; nevertheleſs, in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, it cannot reaſonably be expected, that this State ſhould forbear the Proſecution mentioned in the Parliament's ſaid Anſwer for the Ends therein expreſſed.”

Whitehall, 19th June, 1652.

The Anſwer of the Parliament to that Part of the Paper given in by the Lord PAUW, *whereby he deſires the Commiſſioners of the Council to propound what they ſhall think reaſonable and juſt to compoſe ſpeedily the preſent Differences between this Commonwealth and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces.*

Friday, the 25th of *June*, 1652.

“ That the Lords the States General of the United Provinces do pay and ſatisfy unto this Commonwealth the Charges and Damages this State hath ſuſtained and been put unto, by the Preparations of the ſaid States General, and their Attempts this Summer; the Particulars whereof ſhall be in due time produced.

“ 2. That upon the Payment of the Sum to be agreed upon as aforeſaid, for Charges and Damages, or ſecuring the ſame to the Satisfaction of the Parliament, there ſhall follow immediately thereupon a Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility, and the Ships and Goods taken ſince the late Differences ſhall be releaſed.

“ 3. The two former Propoſitions being aſſented unto, and put in Execution, the Security for the time to come, which the Parliament does expect, is by both States contracting a firm Alliance, and Conſiſtency of Intereſt for the good of both; which the Parliament of *England* is willing on their Part by all juſt Ways and Means to endeavour.”

Hereupon the Ambaſſadors were recalled [*], Manifeſtos were publiſhed, and Reſolutions taken, on both Sides, for vigorouſly purſuing the War.

War was not declared in *Holland* till the 8th of *July* 1652. But, in the mean time, the *Engliſh*, by virtue of the Act of Navigation, and by way of Repriſal and Requital for the late Damages, Affronts and Hoſtilities, received from the States General and their Subjects, took many *Dutch* Ships. *June* 11, *Blake* brought in 11 Merchant-ſhips with their Convoy coming from *Nants*. *June* 12, the Captains *Taylor* and *Peacock*, in two *Engliſh* Frigates, engaged two *Dutch* Men of War, on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, for refuſing to ſtrike; of which one was taken, and the other ſtranded: And on the 13th of the ſame Month, *Blake* took 26 Merchant-ſhips, with three Convoys homeward-bound from *France*. *July* 4, Vice-admiral *Ayſcue* (who, in his Return from the Reduction of *Barbadoes* had taken 10 Merchant-ſhips, and four Men of War) attacked the *St. Ubes* Fleet of about 40 Sail, of which near 30 were taken, burnt, or ſtranded, and plundered, on the *French* Coaſt. After this, while the States with the utmoſt Diligence were getting ready a Fleet of 70 Men of War, under the Command of *Tromp*, *Blake* with about 60, received Orders to ſail to the North to diſturb the *Dutch* Fiſhery; and had the good Fortune to meet with the whole Herring Fleet, of which he took about 100, with 12 of the 13 Frigates, which were their Convoy, and ſunk the 13th. He plundered the Buſſes, and then ſuffered them and their Crews to return home.

In his Return, ſome of his Frigates took two *Zealand* Men of War. He alſo looked out for five *Eaſt-India* Ships of that Nation, then expected home by the North of *Scotland*.

Whitlock mentions, in the Month of *March* of this Year, a gallant Action of an *Engliſh* Ship, which meeting with three *Dutch* Men of War, on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, that refuſed to ſtrike Sail to her, ſaluted them with a Broadſide, and compelled them all to ſtrike to her.

Some time after, a Squadron of the Parliament's Ships meeting with three *Dutch* Men of War, and ſeven Merchants,

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[*] A Paper of the Lord Pauw, the 26th of June, 1652.

" To the Honourable Council of State,

" The Extraordinary Ambaſſador of the United Provinces hath propounded at a Conference held the 26th of June (6th of July) 1652, with the Lords Commiſſioners of the Council of State, the following Articles: That the States General having been forced for the Reaſons already alledged, to make extraordinary Preparations at Sea, have been put to exceeding great Charges, which do continue yet at this preſent. That their Subjects, beſides the extreme great Loſſes they have had heretofore at Sea, have received very great ones by the Letters of Mart granted as well againſt the French, as againſt the ſaid Subjects of the United Provinces, and upon ſome other Pretences. That the State and their Subjects have ſuffered much, and received great Damages of late, by the taking and ſpoiling of ſeveral Ships of War, and by the arreſting of all the Merchant-ſhips. And that if it ſhould be thought of a reimburſing of the Charges and Damages, they ſhould be weighed of both Sides one againſt the other; and that it ſhould be conſidered, whether they have not been greater on the United Povinces Side. However, there muſt a reaſonable Eſtimation be made, and the Buſineſs not referred to a Production of Accounts, which requireth a long Examination. And if the ſaid Commiſſioners be pleaſed to cauſe that Eſtimation to be made in moderate Terms on their Part, it will appear from thence, whether there is at this Side any Willingneſs or Intent to compound the Things paſſed according to Reaſon and friendly, or whether there is a Deſign to propound Things impoſſible and unfeaſable. As concerning the Confederacy between both Commonwealths, and the mutual Help aſſiſting one another againſt thoſe that ſhall offend or aſſault them, the other Extraordinary Ambaſſadors have made the true Intentions of their Superiors known thereupon, and are ready to go on in the ſame Negotiation, and to bring it to an End without Loſs of Time. If the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners do think fit that the ſaid Confederacy ſhould be more ample and more ſtrict, that will not only be more pleaſing to the ſaid Ambaſſador, but he alſo entreateth very earneſtly, that he may be clearly informed thereupon. Putting at the ſame time into Conſideration, whether it will not be moſt convenient, even moſt neceſſary to give Order, That the Fleets do not come near nor engage any more one with the other; the ſaid Ambaſſador fearing much it ſhould ſoon be commanded otherways at the other Side, chiefly if the abovesaid Order be not ſpeedily given here. And deſiring moreover, That the Ships which are arreſted may be ſpeedily releaſed, and that no Prize may be longer detained, to the end that the Minds being ſomething pacified, they may be rather invited by mutual Friendſhip and Love, and of their own Accord, than brought by Conſtraint to unite again by an indiſſoluble Confederacy. As alſo, That the ſaid Ambaſſador may receive upon theſe ſo ſpeedy and ſo favourable a Declaration, that he may with more Hope of Succeſs uſe his Endeavours with his Superiors, and effect what in this Conjuncture of Time and Affairs, is moſt expedient and neceſſary, and that he may do it without Delay, according to the expreſs Order he hath from his ſaid Superiors, which he is bound to follow exactly. The Council of State having conſidered of the Paper this Evening delivered in by their Commiſſioners from the Lord Pauw Extraordinary Ambaſſador of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, and finding therein no clear or direct Anſwer to the laſt Paper of Demands tendered unto his Excellency in the Name of the Parliament, They do deſire a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer thereunto, at leaſt unto the firſt Article thereof, eſpecially, becauſe that being aſſented unto, the Council might ſpeedily apply themſelves to a reaſonable and moderate aſcertaining the Sum; to the end, That immediately upon Performance of the ſecond Article, all Acts of Hoſtility might be forborn, and Reſtitution made of the Ships and Goods detained. The third Article in the Nature thereof not requiring ſo preſent a Tranſaction.

" Whitehall, 26th of June, 1652.

Ex Jo. Thurloe, Clerk of the Council."

The Lord Pauw's Speech in Parliament, at his taking Leave, the 30th of June, 1652.

" Right Honourable,

" The States General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, have firſt ſent their Extraordinary Ambaſſadors to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to do their earneſt Endeavours for the ſtrengthning and confirming of the ancient Amity and Friendſhip between both Nations, and for the eſtabliſhing of an everlaſting Alliance between both States, and to bring thoſe Things to a happy Concluſion for the common Utility and Security; and afterwards the Lord William Newport, a Member of the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, to take away ſome Doubts, and to witneſs more fully of the good Intentions of our Superiors concerning the Treaty of Confederacy. At laſt it hath pleaſed the ſaid Lords States to prepare, ſome few Days ago, a new extraordinary Embaſſage to the ſaid Parliament, and to give me that Employment, with an expreſs Command to bear again over and above, witneſs of their faithful Dealing, and of their moſt ſincere Intention towards this Commonwealth; and to diſſolve and remove all the ſtrange and unthought of Accidents, and all the Stoppings and Hinderances thereby cauſed and oppoſed to their good Intent; by which means, I might by all my Endeavours promote to a happy Concluſion, the Treaty of Alliance already begun. To what end it hath been propounded amongſt other Things, That there ſhould be an Enquiry and Examination made by fit Perſons of both Commonwealths, of all what lately paſſed, as was done between the two Fleets without any Deſign, but by meer Chance, and a juſt and lawful Satisfaction ſtated: For we do witneſs and proteſt before God and all the Chriſtian World, as well as in the Preſence of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, That the States have not had the leaſt Mind of offending or troubling this Commonwealth, much leſs of committing any Hoſtility againſt them; but rather that they have had nothing more in their Hearts than to entertain and maintain with this State all true Friendſhip and firm Peace, even to come to a ſtricter Union and Confederacy with them. But as it hath unhappily happened, That after extraordinary Pains taken, and all the beſt Endeavours done of all Sides to conſerve the common Quiet, and remove all Hinderances, both Embaſſages have not only miſſed their Ends, but that to the contrary, not only great Troubles have been given, extraordinary Loſſes have been cauſed, but huge Dangers; as alſo Acts of Hoſtility not looked for, neither at any time before declared, are threatned from the Engliſh Fleet to the States of the United Provinces. Both Embaſſage hath thought fit to prevent the enſuing Evils, and upon a Buſineſs ſo unuſual, to return into their own Country to give an Account of their Negotiation to their Superiors, and to be acquainted with their further Commands. To that end we do preſent ourſelves together to the ſupreme Authority of this Commonwealth, declare that we have a Command to return back, and that we are ready to take our Journey. We have given Notice to the Honourable Council of State of this Commonwealth, of thoſe Things that are neceſſary to us for our Tranſport, according to our Quality, and the Seaſon, and do look and wait for an Anſwer thereupon, hoping that the neceſſary Expeditions ſhall be done. In the mean time we cannot be wanting to our Duty, but are forced again to deſire moſt earneſtly, That all our Ships that have been brought into the Ports of England, and there detained of late againſt our Thoughts, and before any Declaration of Hoſtility iſſued out, and whereof the Commanders are unawares and guiltleſs, having not given the leaſt, nor to no-body Occaſion of Diſpute, may be releaſed and ſuffered to go freely, with their Officers, Mariners, Merchandiſes, Packs and Loads, and the whole Company, and to perform their Journey without any Wrong or Injury; which we do pretend to be due to our old Friendſhip, to the Right of Nations, and have been obſerved between Chriſtian Peoples, as well as we hope to have it granted by the Juſtice and Equity of this great and moſt Honourable Aſſembly. Furthermore, we do intreat with all our Hearts the great God of Heaven, who is the Author and Promoter of Peace and Concordance, That he will be pleaſed to afford ſuch Thought and Counſel to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, as may tend to the mutual Peace of both States, to the Conſervation of the chriſtian reformed and orthodox Religion, which hath no better Foundations than upon Peace, and can never better thrive and flouriſh than by Peace, and will without any doubt be afflicted and deſtroyed by our Troubles and falling out; as alſo that he will in his Mercy prevent the Deſtructions and Miſeries of Wars, and beſtow abundantly his heavenly Bleſſings upon both Commonwealths; we ſhall end upon theſe Wiſhes. And being commanded to repair in haſte into our Country, we ſhall with all thankful Acknowledgment for all Favours done to us, as well as with all due Reſpects, take our Leave of this moſt honourable and ſupreme Aſſembly of the Commonwealth of England, with Confidence that they will not deny us thoſe Things which we have already expreſſed, and are granted every where to the Ambaſſadors for their Quality and Security."

chants, the *Dutch* Admiral came under the Lee of the Parliament's Ships, and kept his Flag up; whereupon the *Engliſh* Commodore ſent a Boat on-board, to acquaint him, that they had received Orders from their General to cauſe thoſe Ships they met to take down their Flags; upon which the *Dutch* Admiral readily complied, but the Vice-admiral ſtood out, and would not take down his Flag, till the perſuaſive Argument of a few Broadſides forced him to it.

In the mean time Sir *George Ayſcue* being arrived in the *Downs* from *Barbadoes*, (after having ſtopp'd at *Plymouth*, where he left ſome Ships) with a Squadron of 10 Men of War, and ſeveral *Dutch* Prizes, which he had taken by the Way, received Order to remain there, till he ſhould be reinforced by ſome Ships fitting out from the River. *Van Tromp*, having received Intelligence of this, came with the main Body of his Fleet, and lay between the *North Foreland* and the *North Sand-Head*, in order, as well to prevent Sir *George*'s Retreat that Way, as to intercept the Ships coming from the River to his Aſſiſtance. The *Dutch* likewiſe detached a ſtrong Squadron to lie off the *South Foreland*, to hinder his eſcaping that Way. But upon Notice of this Situation of the Enemy, the Ships in the River were countermanded; and *Van Tromp* being wearied out with expecting them, and with the bad Weather, which made the Coaſt dangerous, reſolved to attack Sir *George Ayſcue* in the *Downs*. With this Reſolution he ſent a Squadron of 40 Ships within a League of him; but he found ſuch Preparations made for his Reception, the Militia being drawn down to the Coaſts, and a Platform (*Whitlock* ſays two Platforms) ſuddenly raiſed, between *Deal* and *Sandown* Caſtles, that he thought fit to abandon his Deſign, and ſail Northward in queſt of *Blake*; but firſt, purſuant to the Orders ſent him, convoyed the *Dutch Baltic* Fleet, which was ready to ſail, into Safety.

This done, and receiving Advice that *Blake*, having diſperſed the Herring-buſſes, and taken their Convoy, was now ſailed towards the *Orkney* Iſlands, he ſteered his Courſe that Way, and was ſo lucky as to fall in with the five *Eaſt-India* Ships, which *Blake* was in queſt of. This good Fortune was, however, ſoon allayed, by his meeting with ſo furious a Storm, as forced him to get out to Sea, and diſperſed his Fleet in ſuch a Manner, that he returned to *Holland*, leaving two of the *Eaſt-India* Men, and half his own Ships behind. At length, however, they all came in, except ſix Frigates, which fell into the Hands of *Blake*, who ſoon after arrived in *Yarmouth* Road [a].

The *Dutch* were ſo diſguſted with *Tromp*, that notwithſtanding he fully juſtified his Conduct before the States, it was neceſſary for him to give way for a more able Seaman; and accordingly, upon his Reſignation, *De Ruyter* was commiſſioned to command their Fleet, and ordered immediately to the Coaſt of *England*.

The Parliament were no leſs careful to ſtrengthen Sir *George Ayſcue*, whoſe Fleet by this time was augmented to 38 Sail; and tho' only two were large Ships, the reſt being Frigates and Fireſhips, he put to Sea in ſearch of the *Dutch*; and at his very going out, he met with 30 Sail of the *Dutch* Merchants, and four Men of War, between *Dover* and *Calais*, a good Part whereof he took or ſunk, and forced the reſt to run on-ſhore upon the *French* Coaſt. From thence he ſtood Weſtward, and cruiſing off of *Plymouth*, for the Protection of our homeward-bound Trades, was met, the 16th of *Auguſt*, by the *Dutch* Admiral *De Ruyter*, with a Fleet of Men of War [b], with which he was convoying a Fleet of Merchant-ſhips, outward-bound, towards the Eaſt. Both Admirals immediately prepared to engage; and the Engagement proved very ſmart, from four in the Afternoon, till Night parted them.

Sir *George* behaved himſelf very bravely, and with nine of his head-moſt Ships charged thro' the *Dutch* Fleet, and got the Weather-gage. Having this Advantage, he renewed the Attack, and continued it warmly for ſome Hours; but ſome of the reſt of his Ships not ſeconding him, as they ought to have done, and the Night coming on, he thought fit to retire to *Plymouth*. The *Dutch* having likewiſe enough of it, made the beſt of their way up the Channel, having had two Captains killed, two Ships ſunk, and moſt of the Men loſt, beſides a conſiderable Number of Men killed in other Ships. The Loſs, on our Side, was pretty equal to theirs, but we loſt only one ſingle Fireſhip in this Engagement [c]. The *Dutch* applied themſelves moſt to ſpoil the Tackling and Sails of the *Engliſh*, in which they had ſo good Succeſs, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther Chaſe, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired.

According to *Whitlock*'s Journal, this Fight muſt have laſted ſeveral Days; I ſhall therefore give my Readers his Account, in his own Words: "*Mem. Aug.* the 20th. "Letters, that Sir *George Ayſcue* was engaged with 80 "Sail of the *Dutch* near *Plymouth*; that the *Dutch* loſt "two Ships, one ſunk and the other burnt. That the "Fight was very hot, and continued for four Hours, till "Night parted them; that Sir *George Ayſcue* loſt 12 "Men, and received 60 Shot in the Hull. The 21ſt. "That Sir *George Ayſcue* continued three Days fighting "with the *Dutch*; that 100 of his wounded Men were "ſent into *Plymouth*, and 500 Men went from thence to "recruit his Fleet. The 24th. Letters, that Sir *George* "*Ayſcue*, by Advice of his Council of War, went after "the *Dutch* Fleet to the Coaſt of *France*, and there engaged them, they being 90 Sail of Ships, 30 of them "Merchantmen, who left their Fleet at the Beginning of "the Engagement.

"That Sir *George* had but 38 Sail, four Fireſhips, and "four Scouts; that he, and four others, charged thro' "the whole Body of the Enemy's Fleet, and received "many Shots in their Hulls, Maſts, Sails and Rigging, "the Enemy's Deſign being to ſpoil them; but Sir *George* "tacked about and weathered them, and charged them all "again, and ſo continued engaged till dark Night.

"That he loſt but one Fireſhip, which ſet herſelf on "fire, being ready to ſink, and ſaved her Men, and turned "her among the Enemy. That the *Dutch* Admiral was "ſunk. That the next Day, the *Engliſh* Fleet kept ſight "of the *Dutch* Fleet, but would not engage upon the "*French* Coaſt, but went to the Northward, to repair "their Ships."

Sir *George*'s Conduct and Courage were certainly blameleſs in this Action, and yet the Parliament never employed him afterwards, but diſcharged him with a Reward of 300 *l.* in Money, and 300 *l.* a Year. The true Reaſon of this was, his granting ſo good Terms to the Lord *Willoughby*, which they, however, performed very punctually [d]; tho' ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, he was in the two enſuing Engagements, and after that laid down his Commiſſion.

There now hardly paſſed a Day, without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*, which having begun their Voyages before any Notice given them of the War, were making haſte home, without any Fear. And the *Engliſh* were at this time ſo formidable at Sea, that though they daily took the *French* Ships, as well as the *Dutch*, and made them Prize, and had now ſeized upon their whole Fleet that was going to the Relief of *Dunkirk* [e] (which was then cloſely beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and by the taking that Fleet was delivered into their Hands) yet the *French* would not be provoked to be angry with them; but, on the contrary, deſired their Friendſhip upon what Terms they pleaſed.

The *Dutch* ſeeing their Trade thus ruined, and apprehenſive of ſtill worſe Conſequences, fitted out another Fleet under the Command of *de Wit*, and ſent it to join *de Ruyter*, who was appointed to bring home a large Number of Merchantmen. After the Junction of theſe Fleets, and the ſending the Ships, they were to convoy, into *Holland*, the

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[a] Whitlock.

[b] Authors differ as to the Force of the Dutch Fleet. Rapin ſays they were only 34 Men of War. Clarendon makes them 60 Men of War, and 30 Merchants; but he ſeems to go too far. Dutch Authors, who, to do Honour to their Admiral, make our Fleet far ſuperior to theirs in Force, ſay, our Fleet conſiſted of 40 Men of War, of which 12 were firſt Rates, and eight ſeconds (an apparent Miſtake) and that theirs conſiſted only of 33 Men of War, or rather Frigates, from 40 to 24 Guns, (others ſay 30 ſmall Men of War, and ſix Fire-ſhips) and 60 Merchant-ſhips. Of the latter De Ruyter took 20 into the Line of Battle, and this might occaſion the Miſtake of Clarendon, and ſome others of our Hiſtorians.

[c] Clarendon.

[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

[e] On Advice that the French had committed Hoſtilities on the Coaſt of Newfoundland.

Admirals ſhewed a Deſign of attacking the *Engliſh* Navy, and *Blake* gave them a fair Opportunity of executing their Intention. But when it came to the Point, the *Dutch* Fleet covered themſelves behind a Sand-bank; which, however, did not hinder *Blake* from engaging them on the 28th of *September*. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by Vice-admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear-admiral *Bourne*.

The moſt particular Account I find of this Action, being in a Journal in *Whitlock*, I ſhall give it in his own Words.

“ Since the Return of our Fleet out of the Weſt, upon the 14th of *September*, Sir *George Ayſcue*, with his *Barbadoes* Fleet, ſet ſail out of the *Downs*, himſelf for *Chatham*, and the reſt for *London*.

“ *September* the 25th, the *Holland*'s Fleet appeared on the Back of the *Goodwin*, but that Night were driven back by a Storm.

“ The 26th they appeared again, but were forced away by another Storm.

“ The 27th they appeared the third Time.

“ Upon their firſt Appearance, it was agreed, by a Council of War that Afternoon, to ſet ſail the next Morning.

“ But, in the Interim, the Weather proved ſo tedious, that we could not with Safety weigh till the 28th, and then the General with the Fleet got under ſail, having a freſh Gale at W. by N.

“ At Noon we diſcovered the *Dutch*, and about three in the Afternoon, the General having not above three of his Squadron up with him (the reſt of our Fleet being a League or two aſtern) only Vice-admiral *Penn*, with moſt of his Squadron, was near him.

“ Who demanded, whether he ſhould leave the General, and bear up among the Enemy: It was anſwered, *that we ſhould bear in all together, as ſoon as ſome more of our Fleet ſhould come up*.

“ In this time *de Wit*, who commanded the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of about 59 Sail, all Men of War [*], and ſome ſingle Veſſels, left his own Ship of 40 Guns, and went aboard the biggeſt of the *India* Ships, of 56 Guns.

“ About four o' th' Clock, moſt of our Fleet being come near, they gave ſome ſingle Shot, in a Bravado, to our General, who bore in among them; and the Vice-admiral fil'd, to bear after him.

“ But it pleaſed God to diſappoint us, being grounded upon a Sand, called the *Kentiſh Knock*, under which they placed themſelves, that we might be neceſſitated to Miſchief, in caſe we endeavoured the Weather-gage; and heaving the Lead over-board, we found we had not three Fathom of Water.

“ Our General, ſailing to Windward of their Admiral, was on Ground; the *Sovereign* was near Muſket-ſhot without us, and ſtruck ſeveral Times; ſo did the *Reſolution*, as alſo the Vice-admiral, even as they were engaged, and the *Andrew*.

“ But it pleaſed God to deliver them, that they got off immediately, without any Harm, and he turned it to our Advantage; becauſe, being forced thereby to tack our Ship, to clear ourſelves of the Sands, it fell out better to do Execution upon the Enemy, than we could have caſt it ourſelves.

“ For as the *Dutch* Fleet cleared themſelves of our General, he ſtanding to the Northward, and they to the Southward, we fell pat to receive them, and ſo ſtaid by them, till Night parted us.

“ What Damage we did them, cannot be exactly known; and what they did us (bleſſed be God) was not much.

“ Three of their Ships were wholly diſabled at the firſt Brunt, having loſt all their Maſts, and another as ſhe was towing off. The Rear-admiral was taken by Captain *Mildmay*; and the ſecond Day they were many leſs in Number than the firſt.

“ The Rear-admiral and two other Captains are Priſoners, who ſay, *they conceive by the Striking of* de Wit'*s Antient, and the putting out of another of a blue Colour, that he is ſlain*.

“ We have not above 40 ſlain in all our Fleet, whereof one Officer, Captain *Jervis*, and not many wounded; we loſt not one Ship or Frigate, nor did any Veſſel ſhrink from their Work. The Merchant Men of War fell to it to the Purpoſe, and a great Spirit of Reſolution and Gallantry poſſeſſed our whole Fleet.

“ Our Tackle and Maſts were ſomewhat ſhattered, as is uſual in ſuch Diſputes. At firſt our Enemy appeared very reſolute, having placed themſelves in a Fighting-poſture, before our Ships came up, divided into three Squadrons, and behaved themſelves very ſtoutly; but ſeemed to flag towards the latter End; and, I believe, if Providence had allowed us one Hour more, we had made a total End of them.

“ After this they abode all Night (as we perceived by their Lights) at a ſmall Diſtance to Leeward of us, which made us ſuppoſe they would have fought us the next Morning; but then, as the Day broke, we ſaw them North-eaſt, more than two Leagues off us. We bore up to them; but the Wind coming contrary, ſo that they had the Wind of us, we could not get up to them.

“ Our General commanded our Frigates to ply up to them, as near as they could, and keep firing at them, while the reſt of us did our beſt to get near them. Some Shot was ſpent, but they hoiſed all their Sails, and ran for it.

“ *September* the 30th, by Day-light they were as far as we could diſcern them at Top-maſt-head; we purſued them as far as in ſight of *Weſt Gabel* in *Zealand*, and ſaw them run into *Goree*. Whereupon it was concluded by a Council of War, ſeeing we were ſo near their Shallows, and ſome of our Frigates wanting Victuals, to return to the *Downs*.

“ We were commanded not to fire, till we came cloſe to them, and our Artillery did great Execution.

“ Captain *Mildmay* took the *Dutch* Rear-admiral, and another Veſſel, in ſight of their Fleet. The Rear-admiral himſelf, with two Captains, and 80 Men, were made Priſoners; and he left the Ship, with the Dead in her, ſinking in the Sea.

“ Three or four more of their Ships were ſeen to ſink. The whole Fleet was the choiceſt of all their Ships.”

The War was not long confined to the Narrow Seas; but ſoon ſpread itſelf far and near. Captain *Bodley*, who commanded three ſmall Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, returning with three or four Merchant-ſhips from *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*, was attacked by 11 *Dutch* Men of War (one of which was commanded by the famous *Cornelius Van Tromp*, the Son of *Martin*, who was then but Captain) under the Command of their Admiral *Van Galen*, and gallantly fought them, for two Days together.

The firſt Day's Fight began in the Afternoon, off of the Iſland of *Elba*, and laſted till Night, without any great Advantage on either Side. Four of the beſt of the *Dutch* Ships ſurrounded Captain *Bodley*'s Ship, and fought him four Hours together; but were forced, at laſt, to fall off, and leave her, many being killed and wounded, on both Sides.

Three of the *Dutch* Men of War being ſeparated in the Night, and becalmed, could not come up to the ſecond Day's Engagement; and the *Engliſh* Merchant-men, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the beſt of their way to the neareſt Harbour. The next Morning, the eight remaining *Dutchmen* attacked the four *Engliſh*, with great Fury, and were received with equal Reſolution. *Van Galen* laid the *Engliſh* Commodore on-board, but being diſabled in his Rigging, and having received three Shot under Water, and been three times on-fire, he was forced to leave him. Another of their largeſt Ships, renewing the Attack, met with the ſame Fate, and loſt her Main-maſt. The *Phœnix*, an *Engliſh* Frigate, taking this Opportunity, boarded the diſabled *Dutchman*; but while her Men were plundering her, having left their own Ship almoſt empty, another *Dutch* Ship boarded and took her, after a ſharp Fight

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[*] They ſay themſelves they were 64.

of an Hour, in which the Men left on-board her were almoſt all killed and wounded.

Bodley being, in the mean time, again boarded, by two of the *Dutch* Ships at once, defended himſelf with ſo much Bravery, that they were both beaten off, with a terrible Slaughter of their Men, and the Loſs of both their Captains. *Bodley* being now left by the Enemy, and having near 100 Men killed and wounded, followed the Merchant-ſhips to *Porto-Longone*, in *Tuſcany*, and left the *Dutch* to make their own Reckoning of the Honour or Advantage they had gained; eſpecially as the *Phœnix* was ſhortly after retaken.

We have the following Account of the retaking of that Ship, in *Dutch* Authors.

> “The *Phœnix*, ſay they, being given to Captain *Van Tromp*, whoſe Ship had been quite diſabled, in the late Action, lay at Anchor in *Leghorn* Road, where thinking themſelves ſecure, they ſpent their time in Jollity and Merriment. Captain *Cox*, who had been formerly Lieutenant in her, being informed of it, manned out three Boats, with 30 armed Seamen each, who were furniſhed with Bags of Meal, to throw into the *Dutchmens* Eyes. Being thus provided, they ſet out in the Evening of *St. Andrew*'s Day, and tho' the Darkneſs for a while made them loſe one anothers Company, yet they got together again at Break of Day, and clap'd the Frigate on-board. As they were divided into three Companies, ſo each Company had its appointed Work. The firſt was to cut the Cables, the ſecond to govern the Sails, and the third to ſhut down the Seamen under Deck, and to kill all they met with in their way. Captain *Tromp*, hearing the Alarm, got out of Bed (or as ſome Accounts ſay, roſe from Table, being drinking with ſome Friends) and diſcharged his Piſtols two or three times at the *Engliſh*, who were already Maſters of the Frigate; but finding it was too late to ſave her, leaped out of the Cabbin-window into the Sea, and ſwam till a *Dutch* Ship took him up. Thus the *Engliſh* regained their Ship, and carried her ſafe to *Naples*.”

Almoſt all the Ports in *England* being filled with the Riches of the *Dutch*, by the numerous Prizes of that Nation, daily brought into them, the States began to think ſeriouſly of retrieving the Loſſes and Diſgraces they had ſuſtained, by ſome Action equally bold and advantageous. For the Execution of this their Deſign, they began to caſt their Eyes again upon *Van Tromp*; and the King of *Denmark*, at the ſame time, recommending him ſtrenuouſly to their Favour, they reſtored him to the Command.

Van Tromp, on his Side, being eager to blot out the Imputations which had been lately laid upon him, ſoon got together a Fleet of 80, or 85 Men of War, and 10 Fire-ſhips.

It being now the Beginning of *November*, a Seaſon of the Year in which no farther Action was thought of, *Blake* had, for the moſt Part, ſeparated his Fleet; 20 of his Ships were detached to convoy a Fleet of Colliers from *Newcaſtle*; 12 were ſailed to *Plymouth*, and 15 more were ſailed up the *Thames*.

Van Tromp put to Sea, with a Deſign of convoying a large Fleet of 300 Merchant-men thro' the Channel, as far as Cape *St. Lazard*; but having Advice of the Weakneſs of *Blake*'s Fleet, repaired off of the *Goodwin* Sands, not far from the Place where the laſt Battle was fought. *Blake* lying in the *Downs*, with 40 Men of War, and a few Tenders, of which hardly 20 had their full Complement of Men on-board; but it was reſolved, in a Council of War, notwithſtanding this great Superiority of the Enemy, to give him Battle.

Blake got immediately under ſail, and ſent ſeven of his Ships a-head on Diſcovery. Theſe Ships meeting, on the 29th of *November*, with nine *Dutch* Ships, who were ſent out by their Admiral, on the ſame Service, began the Fight about Noon, and were ſoon ſeconded by more Ships on both Sides, which drew on a general Engagement about three. This Battle was fought with great Fury on both Sides, from one in the Afternoon, till it was dark Night.

Blake, in the *Triumph*, with his Seconds, the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, was long engaged with near 20 of the Enemy, and was very near borne down with ſo ſuperior a Force. But being, at length, relieved by ſome other Ships, the Fight continued as furious, and notwithſtanding the great Superiority of the Enemy, as doubtful too, as if they had been equal, for ſome time; but their Number, in the end, in ſome meaſure prevailing, they took the *Garland*[a] and the *Bonaventure*, and ſunk three other Ships.

Akſon and *Baltin*, which were the Names of theſe two bold Commanders, had formed the Deſign of boarding and taking *Van Tromp*. The former Part of their Project they performed with an unparellelled Intrepidity; but Succeſs did not attend their Expectations in the latter. They found *Van Tromp* ſo well ſeconded by *Evertzen* the Vice-admiral of *Zealand*, and others, that after having grappled him, killed his Secretary and his Purſer by his Side, loſt almoſt all their Men, and made great Havock among the *Dutch*, they found themſelves too weak to complete their noble and well-laid Deſign; the former being taken by *Tromp*, and the latter by *Evertzen*.

Blake ſeeing the Danger the *Garland* and the *Bonaventure* were expoſed to, forced his way into a Throng of the Enemy's Ships, to relieve them; but being himſelf attacked and boarded, by ſeveral of the Enemy's ſtouteſt Ships, could not come at them. He, however, beat the Ships which boarded him, ſeveral times off, and, in the end, found an Opportunity of rejoining his Fleet.

At laſt, Night having parted the two Fleets, *Blake* ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the Nation's Honour, as well as his own, by engaging with ſo ſuperior an Enemy, and coming off with ſo little Loſs; and beſides, ſeeing no Proſpect of Advantage, by renewing the Fight, retired to the River. This inconſiderable Succeſs was Matter of great Triumph to the *Dutch*; and it is ſaid, that *Van Tromp* was led away by ſo ſilly a Pride and Vanity, to paſs thro' the Channel, with a Broom at his Main-top-maſt-head, as it were to ſweep the Seas of the *Engliſh*[b].

The *Dutch* purchaſed this ſmall Advantage at a dear Rate, one of their Flag-ſhips being blown up, and the other two very much ſhattered, beſides the Loſs of a great Number of Men[c].

The People were greatly alarmed at the News of the late Advantage gained over our Fleet by the *Dutch*. But the Parliament declared their Approbation of *Blake*'s Conduct by continuing him in his Poſt; and, in order to enable him to revenge the national Cauſe effectually, iſſued out a Proclamation with ſuch large Promiſes to the Seamen, that in ſix Weeks time they had a Fleet of 60 Sail, ready to put to Sea.

The Parliament[d] paſſed ſeveral Reſolutions for the Encouragement of Seamen; as,

1. That ſome Pay ſhould be advanced them beforehand.
2. That ſome Subſiſtence ſhould be paid their Families, during their Abſence.
3. That for every Ship taken, which ſhould be adjudged good Prize, they ſhould have 40 *s. per* Ton; and 6 *l.* for every Piece of Cannon taken or found in the Prize Ships, to be equally diſtributed according to their Qualities; and that they ſhould have 10 *l.* for every Cannon, which ſhould be on-board any Ship, which they ſhould ſink or fire.
4. That whoſoever ſhould inroll themſelves, within 40 Days, in the Parliament's Service, ſhould as a Gratuity, receive a Month's Pay, not to be placed to Account.
5. That Hoſpitals ſhould be erected at *Dover*, *Deal*, and *Sandwich*, for ſick and wounded Seamen brought on-ſhore, and a Stock ſettled for Maintenance of them, and of other ſick and wounded Men, who, by reaſon of their Diſeaſes and Wounds, could not be brought on-ſhore.

Theſe and other Encouragements cauſed Seamen to come flocking into the Service of the Parliament.

With *Blake* were joined *Monk* and *Dean*, the former having been ſent for out of *Scotland* for that Purpoſe; and their Orders were to ſail to the Weſtward, to intercept the *Dutch* Fleet coming from the Iſland of *Rhee*. Upon Advice

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[a] Van Tromp, in his Letter to the States, calls this Ship the Roſen-Crantz (or Garland of Roſes) which the Engliſh Tranſlator calls the Roſe and Crown.

[b] Heath's Chron.

[c] Whitlock. Clarendon.

[d] Whitlock.

vice of the great Preparations which were made in *England*, the States ſent an Expreſs to *Van Tromp* [a], who was then at the Iſle of *Rhee*, to return with all Expedition, and endeavour to prevent the *Engliſh* from coming out, by blocking up the River.

Tromp, to his great Aſtoniſhment, when he was got to the Height of *Portland*, fell in with the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of between 60 and 70 Sail. The *Dutch* Fleet conſiſted of 76, or 73 Men of War, having 300 Merchant-ſhips under their Convoy. The four Squadrons, into which this Fleet was divided, were commanded by *Van Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and the Admiral of the Northern Quarter.

The 8th of *February*, about eight in the Morning, the *Dutch* following their Courſe up the Channel, with the Advantage of the Wind, began the Fight, when but one Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet was come up. And conformable to this, our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Triumph*, in which were the Admirals *Blake* and *Dean*, with 12 Ships more, the reſt of the Fleet being not yet come up, engaged Board on Board, with the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, for near ſix Hours. The *Triumph* had received a great Number of Shot in her Hull, and began to be ſorely preſſed by the Enemy, when ſhe was gallantly ſupported and relieved by Captain *Lawſon*, in the *Fairfax*. Theſe two Ships being ſurrounded by ſeveral of the Enemy's largeſt Ships, ſuffered much, and had each of them near 100 Men killed and wounded. *Blake* himſelf was wounded in his Thigh, and his Captain *Ball*, and Secretary *Sparrow*, were both ſlain by his Side; and his Ship the *Triumph* was ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was debarred from partaking of the Victories of the following Days.

The *Engliſh* Fleet being now entirely come up, there enſued the moſt furious Fight that had been during the Courſe of this ſhort but bloody War. The *Dutch* were ſo hotly attacked on all Sides, that about four o'Clock, 26 of their beſt Ships forſook the Battle, and left the reſt to the Fury of the *Engliſh*. During this time, on our Side, the *Proſperous*, a Ship of 44 Guns, was boarded and taken by *De Ruyter*, but while he himſelf was near incurring the ſame Fate, ſhe was retaken by the *Merlin*. The Captain of the *Vanguard*, *Mildmay*, was killed, and ſeveral of the Ships much diſabled; but not one taken; nor one loſt, but the *Sampſon*, which being rendered unfit for Service, they ſunk themſelves.

As for the Enemy, they had ſix or ſeven Men of War either ſunk or taken, one of which carried a Flag; and, beſides theſe, their own Hiſtorians mention another Ship commanded by one *Wichman*, or *Wincklem*, which blew up, and another that was burnt. Great Slaughter was made among the Officers and Seamen, on-board of *Van Tromp*'s own Ship; which was, in the Beginning, for a conſiderable time, cloſely engaged with *Blake*, till ſhe was ſeaſonably relieved by a Ship which interpoſed between the two Admirals; and having been roughly handled, he made the beſt of his way up the Channel. *De Ruyter*, having loſt his Main-maſt and Fore-top-maſt, was in great Danger of being taken (as I have obſerved above) but was bravely relieved by *Evertzen*.

The following Night was chiefly ſpent in repairing the Damages, and making the neceſſary Preparations for renewing the Fight the next Morning. When the *Engliſh* Admirals having ſent into *Portſmouth* thoſe Ships which had ſuffered moſt in the firſt Fight, followed the Enemy, and coming up with them off of *Dungeneſſe*, tho' many of their Ships were yet behind, began a ſecond Engagement.

Van Tromp having rallied his Fleet, and put his Merchant-ſhips before him, which were incloſed in the Form of a Half-moon, bravely ſtood the firſt Charge; but then made a running Fight of it, retreating towards the *French* Coaſt.

The *Engliſh* made ſeveral bold and hazardous Attempts, to break thro' to the Merchant-men, in one of which *De Ruyter*'s Ship was again ſo hard put to it, that he was obliged to ſuffer her to be towed out of the Fleet; and, about the ſame time, Captain *Lawſon* boarded one of the *Dutch* Men of War, and brought her off. At length, the Merchant-men perceiving their Convoy was no longer in a Condition to protect them, ſhifted for themſelves, and, for the greater Expedition, threw a good Part of their Loading over-board. This Day eight Men of War, and 14 or 16 Merchant-ſhips, were taken.

The third Day, the *Dutch* purſuing their Courſe towards their own Coaſts, and the *Engliſh* continuing to follow them, the Fight was renewed, and laſted with great Fury and Bravery on both Sides, till four in the Afternoon, when the *Dutch* retreated to the Sands before *Calais*, and from thence tided it into the *Wielings*. In this Purſuit, three *Dutch* Men of War were taken by *Lawſon*, *Marten* and *Graver*, and ſeveral Merchant-ſhips by *Penn* and others; but Ammunition beginning to fall ſhort, and the *Dutch* being almoſt got within Protection of their own Flats, the *Engliſh* gave over the Chaſe.

The *Dutch* loſt, in theſe three Days Actions, 11 Ships of War, and 30 (*Clarendon* ſays 50) Merchant-ſhips, 1500 Men killed (according to *Clarendon* 2000, which were thrown over-board) and a great Number of Priſoners. On the Side of the *Engliſh*, there was but one Ship ſunk by themſelves, tho' the Number of our ſlain was perhaps not much inferior to that of the Enemy's.

It is remarkable, that in this Fight *Blake*, who had been long a Land-officer, made uſe of a good Body of Soldiers, and with all the Succeſs he could wiſh; yet this is no Precedent in any but ſuch a War as this was; ſince theſe Troops had no time to languiſh or grow ſick, but were engaged almoſt as ſoon as they were put on-board. The People contributed readily and plentifully to the Relief of our wounded Seamen; and the *Dutch*, on their Side, complimented *Tromp* on his Conduct, which was certainly no more than he deſerved [b].

The King, believing that he had a great many Friends amongſt the Commanders of the *Engliſh* Fleet, made an Offer to the States of putting himſelf aboard their Fleet, if he might have the Command of the *Engliſh* Ships, which ſhould come over to him. But the States did not think fit to accept his Offer, for fear of keeping open a Wound they began to wiſh healed. Peace is what they now wanted, and under-hand ſued for; and *Cromwell*, who ſtood in as great Need of it as they, to ſecure his own Intereſt, privately laboured with them for an Accommodation; for having by his Artifices induced the Officers of the Army to petition the Parliament for their Arrears, and a more exact Payment for the future; the Parliament complained of it as an Inſolence, and ordered the Officers to be reprimanded for their Preſumption. This drew a ſecond Petition from them, deſiring the Parliament to think of reſigning the Power they had ſo long exerciſed; and, in order to this, beſought them, that they would ſettle a Council of War, for the Adminiſtration of the Government, during the Interval, and then diſſolve themſelves, and ſummon a new Parliament.

This Advice was not very well reliſhed: the Petition was rejected by a Majority, and a Bill was preparing to make it High-treaſon in all Perſons who ſhould attempt the like for the future. But while they were in the Heat of their Debate, *Cromwell*, having concerted Matters with the principal Officers, came to the Houſe, on the 20th of *April*, with a ſmall Retinue of Officers and Soldiers, and without any Ceremony told the Members, that he came to put an End to their Power, of which they had made ſo ill Uſe; and that therefore, without more Deliberation, they were to depart immediately. He bid the Speaker, in a furious Tone, leave the Chair; told the Houſe they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more Good. Then, having reviled ſome of the Members in particular, as they went out, for their immoral Lives, and all being gone, he ordered one of his Soldiers to take away that Fool's Bawble (the Speaker's Mace), and locked the Door [c].

Cromwell, ſoon after, publiſhed a Declaration, ſigned by the Colonels of the Army, and all the Sea Captains, to juſtify his Conduct; and with them he choſe a new Council of 144 Perſons, moſt of obſcure Birth, and without Merit or Experience, with whom the ſupreme Authority was intruſted. This hopeful Council ſoon aſſumed the Name of a Parliament, and choſe one *Rouſe* to be their Speaker.

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[a] Clarendon. Whitlock. Rapin. Columna Roſtrata. Baſnage, Annales des Provinces Unies. La Vie de Michel de Ruyter. Leven van Cornelius Van Tromp. Leven der Zee-Helden.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 335. Columna Roſtrata, p. 115, 116.

[c] 20th of April, 1653.

The Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* pretending that the Neutrality of his Port of *Legborn* was violated by the retaking of the *Phœnix*, as mentioned before [*], on the 26th of *November* 1652, ordered the *Engliſh* either to reſtore the *Phœnix*, or to depart.

The latter was very dangerous; for the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Galen* lay before the Harbour to intercept them, with 16 Men of War, a Fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout Merchant-ſhips, equipp'd for Battle; and yet they choſe to run this Hazard, rather than deliver the Ship.

Commodore *Bodley* lay at the Iſland of *Elba*, with two Men of War, a Fire-ſhip, and the four Merchant-ſhips, which were at the former Engagement with *Van Galen*. To him *Appleton* ſent an Expreſs, deſiring him to appear, about the time fixed, with all his Ships within ſight of *Legborn*, to amuſe the *Dutch*, and thereby, if poſſible, to draw them off from before the Harbour, and ſo to open a Paſſage for *Appleton* to eſcape. Accordingly *Bodley* came[a] within ſight of the Place, and on the 3d he ordered three or four of his beſt Sailors to advance towards the *Dutch* Squadron; which thereupon ſtood out to Sea, and gave them Chaſe. *Appleton* embraced this Opportunity to get out of the Harbour, but too ſoon; for the *Dutch* perceiving the Stratagem, tacked about, and fell upon *Appleton*'s Squadron, with nine of their Men of War, leaving the reſt to obſerve *Bodley*.

An unfortunate Shot from *Van Galen*'s Ship ſet fire to the *Bonaventure*, at the Beginning of the Engagement, and ſoon after ſhe blew up. At the ſame time a Shot from that Ship broke *Van Galen*'s Leg, of which he died, the 23d, at *Legborn*. In the mean while *Appleton* was attack'd by two of the *Dutch* at once, againſt whom he maintained a cloſe Fight four or five Hours, with ſuch Bravery, that both the *Dutch* Ships were ſo diſabled, as to be ſcarce capable to fire a Shot.

Van Galen ſeeing the Reſolution of the *Engliſh* Commodore, and going, tho' ſo deſperately wounded, to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, was in great Danger from a Fire-ſhip ſent off from *Bodley*'s Squadron; but another Ship, coming to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, who were engaged with *Appleton*, they renewed the Attack with greater Vigour, and obliged him to yield. Young *Van Tromp*, attacking the *Sampſon*, was beaten off, after a deſperate Fight; but the *Sampſon* was ſoon after burnt by a Fire-ſhip. The *Levant-Merchant* being encounter'd by one of the Enemy's Ships, beat her off, and ſtranded her; but being at laſt taken, together with the *Pilgrim* (which had loſt her Main and Mizzen-maſts in the Fight) the *Mary*, being left alone, made her Eſcape, and joined the neareſt Ships of *Bodley*'s Squadron; which put an End to the Engagement.

Oliver having ſeized upon the Reins of Government, did not ſeem ſo readily diſpoſed to Peace as the *Dutch* had expected: And by the great Preparations carried on for the Continuance of the maritime War, it was reſolved to omit nothing to put their Marine in a Condition to counter-act the *Engliſh*, who had got together a Fleet of near 100 Sail of ſtout Ships, under the Command of the Admirals *Monk* and *Dean*, in joint Commiſſion, aſſiſted by Vice-admiral *Penn*, and Mr. *Lawſon*, now made a Rear-admiral.

They were ſent over to look out for the Enemy on their own Coaſts; and as the *Dutch* were not yet ready, but lay diſperſed in their ſeveral Harbours, the *Engliſh* ravaged their Coaſts, took a great Number of Prizes, and returned.

Van Tromp, in the mean time, getting out of the *Texel*, convoyed a great Fleet of Merchant-ſhips North about; whither he was purſued by the *Engliſh* Fleet, as far as the Height of *Aberdeen*. He eſcaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an Opportunity of coming into the *Downs*, making ſome Prizes, and battering *Dover* Caſtle. This Scene of Triumph laſted but a bare Week; for *Tromp* came thither on the 26th of *May*, and on the laſt of that Month he had Intelligence, that *Monk* and *Dean*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet, were approaching[b], and that their whole Fleet conſiſted of 95 Sail of Men of War, and five Fire-ſhips. The *Dutch* had 98 Men of War, and ſix Fire-ſhips; and both Fleets were commanded by Men the moſt remarkable for Courage and Conduct in either Nation.

The 1ſt of *June*, while the *Engliſh* Fleet was lying at Anchor in *Yarmouth* Road, Advice was brought, that the *Dutch* Fleet had been ſeen upon the Coaſt; upon which Orders were immediately given for weighing, and going in ſearch of the Enemy. On the 3d they met, and being on both Sides eager for an Engagement, the Fight began about 11 o'Clock, off the South Point of the *Gober*[c]. The *Engliſh* Blue Squadron charging thro' the Enemy, *de Ruyter*'s Diviſion ſuffered much, and himſelf was in the greateſt Danger of being taken or ſunk by *Lawſon*, till re-relieved by *Tromp*; but *Lawſon* ſoon after ſunk one of their Men of War, of 42 Guns, commanded by Captain *Bulter*.

In the Beginning of the Action, the *Engliſh* Admiral *Dean* was unfortunately killed by a Cannon-ball, which took him off in the Middle; but *Monk*, who was in the ſame Ship, covered his Body with his Cloak, and encouraged his Men. And here appeared the Wiſdom of both Admirals being on-board the ſame Ship; for as no Flag was taken in, the Fleet had no Notice of this Accident, but the Fight continued with the ſame Warmth as if it had not happened. The Battle continued very hot till three o'Clock, when the *Dutch* fell into great Confuſion, and *Tromp* ſaw himſelf obliged to make a kind of running Fight till nine in the Evening, when a ſtout Ship, commanded by *Cornelius Van Velſen*, blew up. This increaſed the Confuſion in which they were before; and tho' *Tromp* did all that was in his Power to oblige the Officers to do their Duty, and even fired upon ſuch Ships as drew out of the Line, yet it was to no Purpoſe, but rather ſerved to increaſe their Misfortune. In the Night *Blake* arrived in the *Engliſh* Fleet, with a Squadron of 18 Ships, and ſo had his Share in the ſecond Day's Engagement[d].

Tromp did all that was conſiſtent with his Honour, to avoid fighting the next Day, but he would not do more, ſo that the *Engliſh* Fleet came up with them again by eight in the Morning, and engaged with the utmoſt Fury; the Battle continued very hot for about four Hours, and Vice-admiral *Penn* boarded *Tromp* twice, and had taken him, if he had not been ſeaſonably relieved by *de Wit* and *de Ruyter*.

The Enemy was, at length, ſo hotly preſs'd on every Side, that they fell into the utmoſt Diſorder, and being entirely routed, were glad to ſave themſelves by Flight among the Flats near *Newport*, from whence they afterwards got into *Zealand*.

Six of the Enemy's beſt Ships were ſunk, two blown up, and 11 Ships and two Hoys taken, with 13 (ſome ſay 15) hundred and 50 Priſoners taken, ſix of them Captains of Note.

Notwithſtanding all the Pains the *Dutch* were at, to conceal or extenuate their Loſſes (as among other Inſtances, the allowing of the Loſs of but ſeven or eight Ships, in theſe two Actions, is one) yet they appeared evidently enough to the Eye of the whole World, even by the Complaints and Remonſtrances of their own Admirals. *Van Tromp* made no Scruple of declaring, before the States of *Fluſhing*, "That without a conſiderable Reinforcement of "large Men of War, they could do no farther Service." And *de Wit* is reported to have gone yet farther, and with his accuſtomed Heat to have ſaid, in the Preſence of the States: "Why ſhould I hold my Tongue? I am in the "Preſence of my Lords and Maſters; I may ſure, nay, "I muſt ſay it, the *Engliſh* are our Maſters, and of courſe "are Maſters of the Sea."

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[*] P. 457.

[a] 2d of March 1653.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 344.

[c] Mr. Secretary Burchet, in his Relation of theſe two Days Engagements, miſtakes the Place of the firſt Day's Action, placing it off of Newport.

[d] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 644. Heath's Chronicle, p. 344. I have likewiſe conſulted Monk's Letter, printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament called by Authority of General Cromwell in 1653, p. 27.

The Loſs of the *Engliſh* was greateſt in their General *Deane*, there was beſides him but one Captain, and about 200 (*Whitlock* ſays but 126) Seamen killed: The Number of the Wounded was not much greater, nor did they loſe one Ship, nor were ſo diſabled, but that they followed the *Dutch* to the Coaſt of *Holland*, blocked them up in their own Harbours, and took all ſuch Ships as came bound for thoſe Parts.

Whitlock ſays, that the 7th of *June* Intelligence came, that about 20 of the *Dutch* Fleet were taken, burnt and ſunk, three Fireſhips taken, one Vice-admiral and two Rear-admirals, one Rear-admiral towed by the *Entrance*, though far bigger than herſelf, having 14 Guns on a Tier, and being of 1200 Tons.

The ſame Author, in his Memorandum of the 11th of *June*, ſays, that Captain *Williams*, Commander of a Privateer, had brought three Prizes into *Pendennis*, whereof one had Store of Money; but (continues he) the Mariners took care it ſhould not be known how much; and of the 13th, that eight Men of War, of the *Engliſh* Fleet, had brought into *Leith* Road 20 ſmall *Dutch* Veſſels, Buſſes and other Prizes.

The Enemy's Ships were now blocked up in their Ports, and the Sight of a foreign Fleet at their Doors, had this farther bad Conſequence, that it excited domeſtic Tumults. We need not wonder then, that the *Dutch* ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* to negotiate a Peace almoſt on any Terms. Theſe *Cromwell* received with Haughtineſs enough, talked high, and aſſumed to himſelf the Credit of former Victories, in which he could have little Share [a].

The States, however, were far from truſting entirely to Negotiations, but laboured with the utmoſt Diligence to repair their paſt Loſſes, and to fit out a new Fleet. This was a very difficult Taſk; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raiſe the Seamens Wages, tho' their Trade was at a full Stop: they came down in Perſon to their Ports, and ſaw their Men embarked, advanced them Wages beforehand, and promiſed them if they would fight once again, they would never aſk them more [b].

Amongſt other Advantages, it was promiſed, that they would give for boarding and taking a Chief-admiral of the *Engliſh*, the Ship and all her Equipage, and 10,000 Guilders; for other Admirals, the Ship, *&c.* and 6000 Guilders; and for private Ships, the Ship, *&c.* and 4000 Guilders; for a Flag taken down from a chief Admiral's Main-maſt, 1000 Guilders; for thoſe of other Admirals 500 each; a Flag of a Foremaſt or Poop, 150; and for one of leſs Conſideration 50 Guilders.

A few Days after, they publiſhed another Ordnance, by which they granted certain Recompences, for ſuch as ſhould be maimed in the Service of their Country, which were:

		Guild.	Stiv.	Doits.
For the Loſs of	both Eyes	1069	13	3
	one Eye	840		
	both Arms	1066	13	3
	Right-arm	333	6	6
	Left-arm	266	13	3
	both Hands	933	6	6
	Right-hand	266	13	3
	Left-hand	240		
	both Legs	533	6	6
	one Leg	240		
	both Feet	333	6	6
	one Foot	160		

A Guilder is Twenty-pence *Dutch* Money, or about two and twenty *Engliſh*, a Stiver the twentieth Part of a Guilder, and a Doit the eighth Part of a Stiver.

Perſons only lamed were left to the Diſcretion of the Colleges of the Admiralty; and Incurables allowed a Crown a Week.

By ſuch Means the *Dutch* fitted out a Fleet of 90 Ships and upwards, before the End of *July*, under *Van Tromp*. Theſe were victualled for five Months; and the Scheme laid down by the States was this, that to force the *Engliſh* Fleet to leave their Ports, this Navy of theirs ſhould come and block up ours. But firſt it was reſolved, that *Van Tromp* ſhould ſail to the Mouth of the *Texel*, where *de Ruyter*, with 25 Sail of ſtout Ships, was kept in by the *Engliſh* Fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their Station, and thereby give the *Dutch* Squadron an Opportunity of coming out [c].

On the 29th of *July* [d], about nine in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet was diſcovered by our Scouts ahead, coming from the *Wielings*, conſiſting of 97 Ships, or thereabouts, whereof 90 were Men of War; whereupon the *Engliſh* made ſail after them, fitting their Ships, in the mean time, for an Engagement. The Enemy tacked about, and ſtood off from the *Engliſh*, as ſoon as they perceived what they were; ſo that it was five o'Clock in the Evening before any of our Frigates could come up with them, to engage them, which they then did.

This forced the *Dutch* to make a Halt, upon which, about ſeven in the Evening, the *Reſolution*, (on-board of which was Admiral *Monk*) with as many Ships and Frigates, as made up 30 Sail, engaged them, the reſt being a-ſtern could not get up; however, they fell to work, and continued fighting till Night parted them, which was about nine o'Clock. In this Fight, the Mizzen-ſhrouds of the *Reſolution* were fired, but were quickly put out again by the Courage and Activity of Captain *Joſeph Taylor*.

After which, it being dark, all Hands were at work to bring ſome new Sails to the Yards, and mend the Rigging, in which the *Engliſh* had ſuffered very much in ſo ſhort a Time. Sixteen were killed out-right, and 25 wounded, of whom 14 dangerouſly.

The next Day little was done, as to any Engagement, both Fleets finding work enough to get off from a Lee-ſhore, the Wind blowing hard, with thick and dirty Weather.

The next Morning being fair, and little Wind, both Fleets prepared for a new Engagement. The *Dutch* bore in upon the *Engliſh*, having the Wind of them. About ſeven in the Morning their great Ships from the *Texel*, being 25 in Number, joined them, and then the Fight began to be very hot, and continued ſo till one in the Afternoon; the Enemy having the Wind all the while, whereby they had the Opportunity of taking all Advantages.

Yet, by this time, they began to bear away, making all the Sail they could, with the Remainder of the Fleet, being not above 60 left of all their Fleet.

The Battle laſted at leaſt eight Hours, and was the moſt hard fought of any that had happened throughout the War. The *Dutch* Fire-ſhips were managed with great Dexterity, and many of the large Veſſels in the *Engliſh* Fleet were in the utmoſt Danger, and the *Triumph* was ſo effectually fired, that moſt of her Crew threw themſelves into the Sea, and yet thoſe who ſtaid behind, were ſo lucky as to put it out [e]. *Lawſon* engaged *de Ruyter* briſkly, killed and wounded above half his Men, and ſo diſabled his Ship, that it was towed out of the Fleet; yet the Admiral did not leave the Battle ſo, but returned in a Galliot, and went on board another Ship. About Noon, *Van Tromp* was ſhot thro' the Body by a Muſket-ball, as he was giving Orders [f]. This miſerably diſcouraged his Countrymen, ſo that by two, they began to fly in great Confuſion, having but one Flag ſtanding amongſt them. The lighteſt Frigates in the *Engliſh* Fleet purſued them cloſely, till the *Dutch* Admiral, perceiving they were but ſmall, and of no great Strength, turned his Helm, and reſolved to engage them; but ſome bigger Ships coming in to their Aſſiſtance, the *Dutchman* was taken [g]. It was Night by that time their ſcattered Fleet recovered the *Texel*. The *Engliſh* fearing their Flats, rode about ſix Leagues off. This was a terrible Blow to the *Dutch*, of whom, according to *Monk*'s Letter, no leſs than 30 Ships were loſt; but from better Intelligence, it appeared, that four of theſe had eſcaped, two into *Zealand*, and two into *Hamburgh* [h]. Their Loſs, however, was very great: Five Captains were taken Priſoners, and between 4 and 5000 Men killed, 26 Ships of War either burnt or ſunk. On the Side of the *Engliſh*, there were two Ships only, *viz.* the *Oak* and the *Hunter* Frigate burnt, ſix Captains killed, and about 500 Seamen. There were alſo ſix Captains wounded, and about 800 private Men [a].

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[a] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 311.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 346.

[c] Baſnage, de Neufville, le Clerc, Rapin.

[d] Whitlock.

[e] Heath's Chronicle, p. 347.

[f] Leven Van Tromp, p. 111.

[g] Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

[h] Monk's Letter, which is printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament I have cited, was written the very Evening of the Fight, viz. July 31, 1653.

During the Fight, the *Victory*, commanded by Captain *Lane*, was hard beſet, by one of the *Dutch* Vice admirals, and two other Men of War, but made her Party good. Another *Dutch* Vice-admiral, miſtaking the Condition of the *Engliſh* Ship, as well as the Reſolution of her Captain, officiouſly came up, and offered him Quarter, if he would yield; but he, not taking the Compliment as the *Dutchman* meant it, returned it with a Broad-ſide, which immediately ſunk him.

The above Circumſtances were confirmed in a few Days, with the particular Advice, that the *Dutch* had 30 (ſome Accounts ſay 33, and my Lord *Clarendon* ſays between 20 and 30) Men of War ſunk, and 1000 Priſoners taken, among whom was Vice-admiral *Evertzen*, one of their moſt valiant and beſt Seamen.

Some very ſingular Circumſtances attended this extraordinary Victory, and deſerve therefore to be mentioned. There were ſeveral Merchant-men in the Fleet, and *Monk*, finding Occaſion to employ them, thought proper to ſend their Captains to each others Ships, in order to take off their Concern for their Owners Veſſels and Cargoes; a Scheme which anſwered his Purpoſe perfectly well, no Ships in the Fleet behaving better [b]. He had likewiſe obſerved, that in moſt Engagements, much Time, and many Opportunities were loſt, by taking Ships, and ſending them into Harbour; and conſidering that ſtill greater Inconveniencies muſt ariſe from their Nearneſs to the Enemy's Coaſt, and Diſtance from their own, he iſſued his Orders in the Beginning of the Fight, that they ſhould not either give or take Quarter; which, however, were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that 1200 *Dutchmen* were taken out of the Sea, while the Ships were ſinking [c].

The Parliament then [d] ſitting, by *Oliver*'s Appointment, ordered Gold-chains to be ſent to the Generals and Admirals, *Blake* and *Monk*, as alſo to the Vice-admiral *Penn*, Rear-admiral *Lawſon*, and to the reſt of the Flag-officers; and Medals to the Captains of the Fleet [e]. As for the *Dutch*, they ordered three of their States to repair aboard their Fleet, to aſſiſt the Officers with their Advice; and buried the brave *Tromp* at the public Expence, with great Magnificence. And tho' the beſt Meaſures were reſolved upon to reſtore their marine Affairs, this Loſs, and the Captures made ſoon after by Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, who drove their Fiſhing-veſſels from our Coaſts, and by others, obliged them to enter into a ſincere Treaty for a Peace.

Cromwell, about this time taking upon him the Title of Protector, and therewith the ſupreme Power, greatly facilitated their Wiſhes; for he quickly admitted the *Dutch* to a Treaty upon ſofter Conditions, tho' he affected to make uſe of high Terms, and to behave towards their Ambaſſadors with a great deal of Haughtineſs, which, for the Sake of their Country's Intereſt, they knew well enough how to bear. This Treaty ended in a Peace, which was made the 4th of *April* 1654. In this Negotiation the Coalition, upon which the Parliament had inſiſted, was entirely dropped. No Mention at all was made of our ſole Right to fiſhing on our own Coaſt, or any annual Tribute ſecured to us for the *Dutch* fiſhing in our Seas: which had been actually paid to King *Charles*, and was offered to the Parliament; tho' *Cromwell*, becauſe his Adminiſtration ſtood in need of a Peace, thought fit to part with it. He likewiſe gave up all Claim to the ſearching *Dutch* Ships, which the Parliament had rigorouſly inſiſted on. The Right of limiting the Number of their Ships of War, was another of their Articles that he dropt; neither did he oblige them to grant the *Engliſh* a free Navigation on the River *Scheld* [f].

It was only ſtipulated, That ſuch as could be found of the Perſons concerned in the Maſſacre at *Amboyna*, ſhould be delivered up to Juſtice. This was very ſpecious, and calculated to give the People a high Idea of the Protector's Patriotiſm, who thus compelled the *Dutch* to make Satisfaction for an Offence, which the two former Kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But as this Article was never executed, ſo we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Dutch* knew the Protector's Mind before they made this Conceſſion. They acknowledged the Dominion of the *Engliſh* at Sea, by conſenting to ſtrike the Flag, ſubmitted to the Act of Navigation, undertook to give the *Eaſt-India* Company Satisfaction for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by a private Article, bound themſelves never to elect any of the Houſe of *Orange* to the Dignity of Stadtholder [g]. Thus taking all things together, this ought rather to be conſidered as a cloſe Conjunction between the new Protector of *England*, and the *Louveſtein* Faction in *Holland*, than an Alliance between the two Nations.

"Thus (ſays the Author of the *Columna Roſtrata*) ended "the moſt vigorous War, that ever was maintained at Sea. "It was begun and finiſhed in the ſhort Space of one Year "and 11 Months; yet, in that time, the *Engliſh* took no "leſs than 1700 Prizes, valued by the *Dutch* themſelves "at 62,000,000 of Guilders, or near 6,000,000 Sterling. "On the contrary, thoſe taken by the *Dutch* did not "amount to the fourth Part, either in Number or Value. "Within that time, the *Engliſh* were victorious in no leſs "than five general Fights, ſome of which laſted ſeveral "Days; whereas the *Dutch* cannot juſtly boaſt of having "gained one: For the Action between *De Ruyter* and "*Ayſcue*, in which they pretended to ſome Advantage, "was no general Fight: And the Advantage gained by "*Van Tromp* in the *Downs*, is owned to have been gained "but over a Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet. This ſhort War "reduced the *Dutch* to greater Extremities, than the long "War of 80 Years had done, againſt the Crown of *Spain*. "And one of their own Authors allows, that in this ſhort "War, and in the time of the Northern Troubles, which "followed, between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, "his Countrymen loſt more than they had gained in 20 "Years before."

The Rupture between *France* and *England* ſtill continued, our Ships of War taking, ſinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them, and the *French* Privateers diſturbing our Commerce as much as they were able [h].

In *October* Captain *Hayton*, in the *Sapphire*, came up to eight *French* Men of War, and ſhot twice at their Admiral's Flag, who in return gave him a Broadſide. He endeavoured to board the Admiral, but ſhe got away; and then *Hayton*, being between their Admiral and Vice-admiral, he fired both Sides at them: the Vice-admiral called for Quarter, and the Admiral ran for it. He took the Vice admiral, and afterwards another of them in Chaſe; in the Concluſion, he took the Rear-admiral likewiſe, and killed many of their Men, with the Loſs only of four of his Men killed, and a few wounded. This Action was followed by the taking of ſeveral more *French* Prizes.

The Protector was ſo ſenſible of the Reſpect which foreign States pay to the naval Power of this Nation, when it is kept in a reſpectable Condition, that he was ſo far from reducing his Fleets at the Concluſion of the *Dutch* War, that he ordered all the Ships of his Navy to be repaired, and put into a good Condition. He ordered new ones to be built; and filled his Store-houſes and Magazines with all Neceſſaries for a Fleet, as if it had been a Time of the greateſt Danger.

All *Europe* were alarmed at this Meaſure; but he covered the Intention of this Armament ſo judiciouſly, that none of them could find out its Reality, tho' afterwards it was ſeverely felt by the *Spaniards*, with whom *Oliver* broke partly by the Inſtigation of *Mazarine*, and partly with Hopes of an Opportunity to ſeize upon ſome rich Settlement in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. But tho' on this Account he obtained a very advantageous Treaty of Commerce with *France*, he contributed ſo much to the aggrandizing of that Power, as to make it terrible to all *Europe* ever ſince.

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[a] Proceedings of the Parliament, p. 34. Heath's Chronicle, p. 348. Columna Roſtrata, p. 132. Bates's Hiſtory, p. 175.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

[c] Columna Roſtrata, p. 130, 131.

[d] A. D. 1653. Auguſt the 8th.

[e] Parliamentary Proceedings.

[f] Columna Roſtrata, p. 137. Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Flagellum; or the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 147.

[g] See this Treaty at large in the Collection of Treaties in four Volumes.

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 356, 357.

In the Summer of the Year 1654, he ordered two great Fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by Admiral *Blake*, and the other by Vice-admiral *Penn*. Neither of theſe had any Knowledge of what the other was to attempt; ſo far from it, they knew not perfectly what themſelves were to perform [a]. Their Orders were to be opened at Sea, and they had no further Lights given them, than were abſolutely requiſite for making the neceſſary Preparations.

The Fleet under Vice-admiral *Penn* took on-board a conſiderable Body of Land-forces, commanded by General *Venables*, whoſe Inſtructions were as follow:

“Whereas [b] we have, by our Commiſſion, conſtituted and appointed you Commander in Chief of the Land-army and Troops raiſed, and to be raiſed, as well in *England*, as in the Parts of *America*, for the Ends and Purpoſes in the ſaid Commiſſion, you ſhall therefore,

“I. Immediately, upon the Receipt of theſe Inſtructions, repair, with the Forces aforeſaid, unto *Portſmouth*, where we have appointed the Fleet, deſigned for the aforeſaid Service, under the Command of General *William Penn*, to take you, with the ſaid Army and Land-forces on-board, and to tranſport you unto the Parts aforeſaid.

“II. Whereas ſome additional Forces, as the Service ſhall require, are to be raiſed in the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, and other the *Engliſh* Iſlands and Plantations, you ſhall, upon your Arrival there, and upon Conſideration had with the Commiſſioners appointed to attend this Service, or any two of them, (wherein alſo, if you think fit, you may adviſe with ſome of the moſt experienced Men in thoſe Parts) concerning the preſent Deſign, and the Nature thereof, to uſe your beſt Endeavours, by ſuch Means and Meaſures, as you, with the Advice of the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall judge moſt convenient and expeditious, to levy and raiſe ſuch Numbers of Soldiers, as ſhall be found neceſſary for the better carrying on of this Deſign, the ſaid Soldiers to be either taken with you, upon your firſt Attempt, or to follow you, as ſhall be, by the Advice aforeſaid, agreed and directed. And we have thought fit to leave unto your Diſcretion, by the Advice aforeſaid, what Numbers of Men ſhall be raiſed, as alſo the Manner and Means of doing thereof; becauſe you may not, at that Diſtance, be tied up by any Inſtructions, which may not ſuit with, and be agreeable to ſuch Accidents, as may happen and fall out upon that Place, but may be at liberty to proceed upon the Deſign, either without any Addition of Forces, in the Iſlands and Plantations aforeſaid, or with a leſs or greater Addition, as you ſhall find the Nature of the Service to require. And you have alſo Power and Authority, from time to time, by your Warrant, to cauſe ſuch other Supplies of Men to be levied, in any of the ſaid Iſlands, for the aforeſaid Service, as you, with the Advice aforeſaid, ſhall find neceſſary.

“III. The Deſign in general is to gain an Intereſt in that Part of the *Weſt-Indies*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*; for the effecting whereof, we ſhall not tie you up to a Method, by any particular Inſtructions, but only communicate what hath been under our Conſideration. Two or three Ways have been thought of to that Purpoſe.

“1. The firſt is, to land on ſome of the Iſlands, and particularly *Hiſpaniola*, and *St. John*'s Iſland, one or both; but the firſt, if that hath no conſiderable Place in the South Part thereof, but the City of *St. Domingo*, and that not being conſiderably fortified, may probably be poſſeſſed without much Difficulty; which being done and fortified, that whole Iſland will be brought under Obedience. The chief Place of *St. John*'s Iſland is *Puerto Ricco*, and the gaining of theſe Iſlands, or either of them, will, as we conceive, amongſt many others, have theſe Advantages.

“(1.) Many *Engliſh* will come thither from other Parts, and ſo thoſe Parts become Magazines of Men and Proviſions, for carrying on the Deſign upon the main Land.

“(2.) They will be ſure Retreats upon all Occaſions.

“(3.) They lie much to Windward of the reſt of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, and, being in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, will enable him to ſupply any Part which is diſtreſſed on the Main; and, being in our Hands, will be of the ſame Uſe to us.

“(4.) From thence you may poſſibly, after your Landing there, ſend Forces for the taking of the *Havannah*, on the Iſland of *Cuba*, which is the Back-door of the *Weſt-Indies*, and will obſtruct the paſſing of the *Spaniards* Plate-fleet into *Europe*; and the taking of the *Havannah* is ſo conſiderable, that we have had Thoughts of beginning the firſt Attempt upon that Fort, and the Iſland of *Cuba*, and do ſtill judge it worthy of Conſideration.

“2. Another Way we have had Conſideration of, is, for the preſent, to leave the Iſlands, and to make the firſt Attempt upon the main Land, in one or more Places between the River *Oronoque* and *Porto Bello*, aiming therein chiefly at *Carthagena*, which we would make the Seat of the intended Deſign, ſecuring ſome Places by the Way thereto, that the *Spaniards* might not be to the Windward of us, upon the main Land; wherein, if you have Succeſs, you will probably,

“(1.) Be Maſters of all the *Spaniſh* Treaſure, which comes from *Peru*, by the Way of *Panama*, in the South Sea, to *Porto Bello*, or *Nombre de Dios*, in the North Sea.

“(2.) You will have Houſes ready built, a Country ready planted, and moſt of the People *Indians*, who will ſubmit to you, there being but few *Spaniards* there, as is informed.

“(3.) You will be able to put the Country round about under Contribution, for the Maintenance of the Army, and therewith, by the Spoil and otherwiſe, probably make a great preſent Return of Profit to the Commonwealth.

“3. There is a third Conſideration, and that is mixed, relating both to the Iſlands, and alſo to the main Land, which is, to make the firſt Attempt upon *St. Domingo*, or *Puerto Ricco*, one or both, and having ſecured them, to go immediately to *Carthagena*, leaving that which is to the Windward of it to a farther Opportunity, after you have ſecured and ſettled that City, with what does relate thereto, if GOD doth pleaſe to give that Place into your Hands.

“Theſe are the Things which have been in Debate here, and having let you know them, we leave it to you, and the Commiſſioners appointed, to be weighed upon the Place, that after due Conſideration had among yourſelves, and ſuch others as you ſhall think fit to adviſe with, who have a particular Knowledge of thoſe Parts, you may take ſuch Reſolutions concerning the making the Attempts, in the managing and carrying on the whole Deſign, as to you, and the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall ſeem moſt effectual, either by the Ways aforeſaid, or ſuch others as ſhall be judged more reaſonable. And for the better enabling you to execute ſuch Reſolutions as ſhall be taken in the Premiſes, you are hereby authorized and required, to uſe your beſt Endeavours, wherein General *Penn*, Commander in Chief of the Fleet, is by us required to join with, and aſſiſt you, with the Fleet and Sea-forces, as often as there ſhall be occaſion, to land your Men upon any of the Territories, Dominions, and Places belonging unto, or in the Poſſeſſions of the *Spaniards* in *America*; and to ſurprize their Forts, take, or beat down their Caſtles, and Places of Strength, and to purſue, kill and deſtroy, by all means whatſoever, all thoſe who ſhall oppoſe or reſiſt you therein; and alſo to ſeize upon all Ships and Veſſels which you find in any of their Harbours, and alſo upon all ſuch Goods as you ſhall find upon the Land.

“IV. Such Reſolutions as ſhall be taken by you, and the other Commiſſioners, concerning the Way and Man-

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 673. Whitlock. Rapin.

[b] Burchett.

"ner of making your firſt Attempt, and what you do deſign thereupon, you ſhall certify unto us by Expreſs, and as many other Ways as you can, to the end we may know whither to ſend unto you upon all Occaſions which may fall out.

"V. In Caſe it ſhall pleaſe God to give you Succeſs, ſuch Places as you ſhall take, and ſhall judge fit to keep, you ſhall keep for the Uſe of us, and this Commonwealth; and ſhall alſo cauſe ſuch Goods and Prizes as may be taken, to be delivered into the Hands of the ſaid Commiſſioners, that ſo they may be brought to a juſt and true Account, for the public Advantage.

"VI. You have hereby Power, with the Advice of the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any two of them, to place Garriſons in any ſuch Places as ſhall be taken in, and to appoint fit Governors thereof, and to give them Commiſſions under your Hand and Seal accordingly, and to ſlight the ſaid Garriſons, and remove the ſaid Governors, as you, by Advice aforeſaid, ſhall think neceſſary, and for our Service.

"VII. You have hereby Power and Authority, by the Advice aforeſaid, to give reaſonable Conditions to ſuch Perſons as will ſubmit to our Government, and willingly come under our Obedience, and alſo to treat and conclude, for the ſurrendering any Fort, Caſtle, or Place into our Hands, having, in all your Tranſactions, Care of preſerving the Intereſt of this Commonwealth. And you are to uſe your beſt Endeavours, as far as it is practicable, that no dangerous Perſons be ſuffered to abide long in any Place poſſeſſed by you, unleſs they be in Cuſtody; and ſuch as ſhall be taken as Priſoners, you ſhall uſe your beſt Endeavours, either by ſending them into *Europe*, or otherwiſe, as you ſhall find moſt expedient, that they may not be again ſerviceable to the Enemy in thoſe Parts.

"VIII. You ſhall have Power, by the Advice aforeſaid, to raiſe ſuch Forces as ſhall be judged neceſſary, in any of the Parts which you ſhall gain the Poſſeſſion of, as aforeſaid, and to appoint Officers and Commanders over them, and to arm, lead, conduct, and diſpoſe of them for the Purpoſes aforeſaid.

"IX. You ſhall give unto us as frequent Accounts as may be of all your Proceedings, that ſo you may receive our farther Directions thereupon, as ſhall be neceſſary.

"X. Whereas all Particulars cannot be foreſeen, nor poſitive Inſtructions for ſuch Emergencies ſo before-hand given, but moſt Things muſt be left to your prudent and diſcreet Management, as Occurrences may ariſe upon the Place, or, from time to time, fall out. You are therefore, upon all ſuch Accidents, relating to your Charge, to uſe your beſt Circumſpection, and by Advice, either by the ſaid Commiſſioners, or your Council of War, as Occaſion may be, to order and diſpoſe of the Forces, under your Command, as may be moſt advantageous for the Public, and for obtaining the Ends for which theſe Forces were raiſed; making it your eſpecial Care, in Diſcharge of that great Truſt committed to you, that the Commonwealth may receive no Detriment."

By the Circumſtances of theſe Inſtructions, it is manifeſt they were drawn up by Perſons who had a perfect Knowledge of the Country. *Burnet* ſays, "It was reported that *Thomas Gage*, who had been a Prieſt, and was come from the *Weſt-Indies*, engaged *Oliver* in this Deſign, by giving him an Account of the Weakneſs, as well as Riches, of the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts." This Intimation the Biſhop had probably from *Whitlock*, who ſays the ſame thing: But the Biſhop adds, "By this, he reckoned, he would be ſupplied with ſuch a Treaſure, that his Government would be eſtabliſhed before he ſhould need to have any Recourſe to a Parliament for Money. *Spain* would never admit of a Peace with *England* between the Tropicks; ſo he was in a State of War with them, as to thoſe Parts, even before he declared War in *Europe*. He therefore equipped this Fleet, which, he thought, was of Force ſufficient to have ſeized *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*; and *Gage* had aſſured him, that Succeſs in that Expedition would make all the reſt fall into his Hands."

But it was full four Months before he was permitted to ſail. In the mean time, *Blake* carried Terror into the *Mediterranean*, and alarmed even the Pope himſelf, ſome imagining his Inſtructions were to rob the Church of *Loretto*. But the firſt Place he went to was *Legborn*, where he had two Accounts to make up with the Grand Duke. The firſt was for his Subjects purchaſing the Prizes made by Prince *Rupert*; the other for the Damage done by *Van Galen*, when *Appleton* was forced out of *Legborn* Road. Theſe Demands ſurpriſed the Prince on whom they were made; eſpecially, when he underſtood how large a Sum was expected from him, not leſs in the whole than 150,000 *l.* which, however, was moderated to 60,000 *l.* and this Sum there is Reaſon to believe was actually paid[a]. Thence ſailing to the Coaſt of *Africa*, he repaired before *Tunis*, and demanded Satisfaction of that Government, for the Ravages they had committed on the *Engliſh*, together with the Releaſe of the *Engliſh* Captives, taken by their Corſairs, during the civil War. But meeting with the inſolent Anſwer from the Dey, that he might ſeek Redreſs from their Caſtles of *Golletta* and *Porto Farino*, which ſhould give him a proper Anſwer, he called a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved, to attempt the deſtroying of nine *Mooriſh* Frigates, which then lay in the Bay of *Porto Farino*. This appeared to be a Work of great Difficulty; for Batteries were raiſed along the Shore, which were planted with 120 Pieces of Cannon, and the Harbour was beſides defended by a Caſtle, which mounted 20 Pieces more, and ſeveral other ſmaller Forts, well provided, as well with ſmall Arms as Ordnance. But all this was ſo far from diſcouraging our *Engliſh* Heroes, that it did but animate them more to the Purſuit of the Reſolution taken[b].

The Admiral, Vice and Rear-admirals, caſt Anchor within Muſket-ſhot of the main Fort, and fired whole Broad-ſides on their Forts and Batteries, with great Fury, while the reſt of the Men of War brought on the Fire-ſhips. By that time, all their Forts and Batteries being rendered defenceleſs, the Guns all diſmounted, and a good Part of their Works quite beaten down, the *Engliſh* ſent their Long-boats and Shallops well manned, which, with the Fire-ſhips, entered the Harbour, with great Reſolution, ſet fire to the nine Ships that lay there, and burnt them down to the very Water, with the Loſs only of 25 Men killed, and 48 hurt; which done, they came off with great Honour.

The Fleet then ſet ſail for *Tripoli* and *Algiers*, and having made advantageous Treaties with thoſe Governments, returned before *Tunis*, where they now found the Inhabitants very ready to ſubmit to whatever Terms they thought fit to impoſe upon them; and they not only releaſed all the *Engliſh* Slaves they had, but ſeveral *Dutch* likewiſe.

Under Admiral *Penn* were Vice-admiral *Goodſon* and Rear-admiral *Blagge*. The Squadron under their Command conſiſted of about 30 Men of War, ordered to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*, to take in the Land-forces. But when the Time came, Complaints were made to *Venables* of Diſorders and Diſcontents among the People, and more particularly about the Badneſs of the Proviſions. This being, by this Means, made known to General *Deſborow*, he, by very harſh Expreſſions ſignified his Diſcontent thereat, and particularly charged *Venables* with a Deſign of fruſtrating the intending Expedition, by being the Author of Reports which were falſe. *Penn*, on the other-hand, endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, and to ſhew that he intended no otherwiſe than for the publick Good: And there was a ſhrewd Suſpicion, that *Deſborow*'s Diſſatisfaction herein aroſe from his being concerned with thoſe who had the Management of victualling the Navy.

Before he came to *Portſmouth* many of the Troops were embarked, and the reſt ſhipping off with the utmoſt haſte; ſo that he had no Opportunity of viewing, much leſs of exerciſing them on-ſhore, and thereby informing himſelf of their Condition, with reſpect to their Abilities, or otherwiſe. And though he was promiſed that the Store-ſhips, with Arms and other Neceſſaries, ſhould join him at *Spithead*, he was at laſt told, that no Delay muſt be made in ſtaying for them, but that he might expect their coming to him at *Barbadoes*.

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[a] Heath's Chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, Vol. II. p. 345. Life of Blake. Bates's Hiſtory.

[b] While he was in Cadiz Road, he received great Civilities from the Spaniards and the Dutch. The Dutch Admiral would not wear his Flag, while Blake was in the Road. De Witte, with other Dutch Ships, ſtruck ſail to him in the Streights.

He was likewiſe aſſured, that he ſhould carry out with him ten Months Proviſions for 10,000 Men; but the moſt Part thereof was ſent back to *London*, to be ſhipped off there, under Pretence that there was not ſufficient Room for them in the Ships at *Portſmouth*; though the Officers of the Fleet found Paſſage in them for no inconſiderable Quantities of Goods, which they deſigned to traffick with, when they arrived at the Iſlands.

The Forces being embarked, and the Wind preſenting fair, the Squadron ſailed from *Portſmouth* the 24th of *December*, and arrived at *Barbadoes* the 30th of *January* 1655. Soon after General *Venables* wrote to the Protector, the Lord-preſident of the Council, *Lawrence*, the Lord *Lambert*, and ſeveral others, to let them know in what a miſerable Condition the Army was, and how deſtitute they were, not only of Proviſions, but of Arms and other Neceſſaries, proper for carrying on the intended Deſign; inſomuch that they were conſtrain'd to make the hardeſt Shifts to ſupply themſelves with the ſmall Quantities, either of one or the other, that could be had in thoſe Parts.

The firſt Thing that was done after the Fleet's Arrival at *Barbadoes*, was the ſeizing ſuch *Dutch* Ships and Veſſels as were found there, being 18 in Number, which, in Defiance of the late Act of Navigation, had preſumed to trade in thoſe Parts; and General *Penn* appointed a Nephew of his to take an Account of their Cargoes, and all Things belonging to them, without admitting any Check on him, as General *Venables* deſired and inſiſted on, that ſo no Embezzlements might be made.

At *Barbadoes*, *Venables* thought it neceſſary to hold a Council of War of the Land-officers, to conſider of the State of the Army; and it was there reſolved to make the following Propoſals to *Penn*, among ſeveral others, *viz.*

“ 1. That as the Officers of the Army had reſolved not to deſert the Fleet, he, with his Officers, would reciprocally reſolve not to leave the Army, at leaſt, not till ſuch Time as their expected Supplies arrived from *England*.

“ 2. That it ſhould be propoſed to the Commiſſioners, that a fitting Quantity of Shipping might be taken up for tranſporting the Forces.

“ 3. That they might not proceed on Service with leſs than 20 Tons of Ball, and that they might likewiſe be furniſhed from the Fleet with 200 Fires-arms, 600 Pikes, beſides Piſtols, Carbines, and 200 half Pikes.”

To this *Venables* received no ſatisfactory Anſwer from *Penn*: and the Stores not arriving from *England*, he again deſired to know from him what Arms, Shot, Match, and other Neceſſaries he could furniſh from the Fleet; General *Deſborow* having aſſured him, when in *England*, that the Commiſſioners had Power to diſpoſe of what might be on-board the Ships, to the neceſſary Uſe of the Army; but to this *Penn* returned him an Anſwer, that 15 Shot a Man, and a few Tons of Match, was all he could ſpare; to theſe, he, at length, prevailed with him to add a few half and quarter Pikes, which gave Occaſion to one of the Commiſſioners to let fall ſome Words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.

Beſides all theſe Diſappointments, and the Badneſs of the Proviſions ſent from *England*, yet even of that, the Soldiers were put to ſhort Allowance, while the Seamen were at whole, which occaſioned no little Diſcontent, and rendered them very ſickly and weak. And as the Commiſſioners were empowered and required to diſpoſe of all Prizes and Booty taken, towards defraying the Charge of the Expedition, and only a Fortnight's Pay was offered to the Officers and Soldiers, in lieu of whatever Booty ſhould be taken at *St. Domingo* (whither they were firſt deſigned from *Barbadoes*) it very much increaſed the Diſſatisfaction of the Army; for moſt of the Officers, when they ſet out on this Expedition, were in hopes of bettering their Fortunes very conſiderably.

At length, General *Venables* prevailed with the Officers and Men to accept of ſix Week's Pay, inſtead of their Plunder, and thereupon himſelf and *Penn* iſſued out Orders, to reſtrain all Perſons from pillaging without Licence, or from concealing any thing, on Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of their Pay; But although the Officers were willing to ſubmit to this, yet the Commiſſioners refuſed to ſign to it; inſomuch that the Soldiers publickly declared they would return to *England*, and never more ſtrike Stroke where there were Commiſſioners who ſhould have Power to controul the Army.

The Fleet being now in a Readineſs to ſail, General *Venables*, with ſome of the Officers of the Army, propoſed, that they might proceed directly into the Harbour of *St. Domingo*; but (for what Reaſon it doth not appear, unleſs it was for Want of experienced Pilots) that was refuſed, and a Reſolution taken to land the Troops at the River *Hine*, that ſo they might endeavour to force the Fort and Trench.

They ſail'd from *Barbadoes* the 31ſt of *March*, and the 13th of *April* the Fleet made the Land of *Hiſpaniola*, and diſcovered the Town of *St. Domingo*, upon which a Council of War was held.

At that Council it was reſolved, among the Land-officers:

“ 1. That the Regiments ſhould caſt Lots which of them ſhould go on Shore firſt.

“ 2. That two or three Regiments ſhould be landed at once.

“ 3. That the Seconds to each Regiment ſhould be appointed.

“ That the Ships, wherein the Regiments were, ſhould keep near each other, for their more regular Landing.

“ And it was farther determined, that if the Surge of the Sea ran high, and that the Enemy were prepared to defend the Fort and Trench, the Army ſhould be landed behind the ſecond Point, to Leeward, and that, when on Shore, one Regiment ſhould be ordered to march Eaſtward of the City, provided General *Penn* would engage to furniſh the Armies with all Neceſſaries.”

Lots having been caſt, purſuant to the Reſolution there taken, it fell to Col. *Buller*'s Regiment to land firſt; and there was one *Cox*, who had lived in thoſe Parts many Years, was to have been their Guide; but he had been ſent on ſome Errand by *Penn*, ſo that he was, at this time, abſent; and Vice-admiral *Goodſon* declaring, that he neither had Orders to go into *Hine* River, nor Pilots to conduct the Ships into it, the Army was conſtrained to land at the Weſt Point, (which *Venables* proteſted againſt) and by that Means were expoſed to a tedious March of 40 Miles, through a thick woody Country, and deep Sand, without any Guide; inſomuch that both Horſe and Men, by the Fatigue and Extremity of Heat, fell down with Thirſt, and were miſerably afflicted with the Flux, by their eating Oranges, and other green Fruit, having no Water to moiſten their Mouths with, ſo that many of them died outright; and the reſt were ſo faint and fatigued, that they were not in a Condition to reſiſt, much leſs to attack the Enemy.

After four Days March, the Army came to the Place where they might have at firſt been landed; but, by that time, the Enemy had ſummoned in the whole Country to their Aſſiſtance, and even now many of the Soldiers had no more than one Day's bare Proviſions of the three that had been promiſed them from the Ships.

Colonel *Buller* being ſent with his Regiment to a particular Station, near *Hine* River, and ordered not to ſtir from thence till the reſt of the Army had joined him, he was ſo far from complying with thoſe Commands from the General, that he marched away under the Guidance of *Cox*, who was now arrived from the Fleet; inſomuch that for want of the ſaid Guide, the General, miſtaking the Way, marched 10 or 20 Miles about; and *Buller* having ſuffered his Men to ſtraggle, they fell into, and ſuffered much by Ambuſcades, laid by the Enemy.

The Hardſhips the Forces had undergone, for want of Proviſions, and their being deny'd what Plunder they might happen to take at *St. Domingo*, ſo exaſperated them, that the Seamen firſt, who had been ſet on-ſhore, and ſoon after thoſe of the Land, were in a general Mutiny. However, in this Condition they forced the River *Hine*, with a Reſolution to march to the Harbour, that ſo they might be furniſhed with Proviſions and Ammunition from the Ships; but they were altogether Strangers to the Way, neither had they any Water to drink.

At length, Colonel *Butler*, and *Cox* the Guide, joined them, and promiſed to conduct them to a Place, where they might be ſupplied with Water; but ſome of the Colonel's Men, having rambled about for Pillage, encouraged the Enemy to lay Ambuſcades for them in their March, who, falling upon the Forlorn, routed them, and killed ſeveral Officers. They were, however, ſoon after driven back with Loſs, and purſued within Cannon-ſhot of the Town; not but that, when the Action was over, many Men, as well as Horſes, periſhed with Thirſt.

A Council of War being called, to conſider the Condition of the Army, it was found, that many of the Men had eat nothing, for four Days together, unleſs it were ſome Fruit they gathered in the Woods, and that they were without Water, the *Spaniards* having ſtopp'd up all their Wells within ſeveral Miles of the Town; neither knew they the Country, nor how to get at their Ships, for *Cox* their Guide was ſlain in the late Skirmiſh. However, after mature Conſideration, it was reſolved to march to the Harbour, in the beſt Manner they could; and, at length, arriving there they ſtay'd three or four Days, to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, and then advanced with a Mortar-piece, in order to reduce the Fort; but the Enemy having laid an Ambuſcade, they charged the Van, (which was to have been led by Adjutant-general *Jackſon*) very vigorouſly, and were anſwered in like Manner; whereas *Jackſon*'s Party running away, and the Paſſage through the Woods being very narrow, they fell upon the General's own Regiment, who, to no Purpoſe, endeavoured to ſtop them with their Pikes, for they firſt diſordered that Regiment, and ſoon after Major-general *Haynes*'s. In the mean time the Enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no Quarter, the Major-general, and the beſt of the Officers, who preferred Death before Flight, fell in the Action.

At length the General's own Regiment making Head againſt them, as alſo that of the Seamen, commanded by Vice-admiral *Goodſon*, they, with their Swords, forced the Runaways into the Woods, rather chuſing to kill them, then they ſhould diſorder the reſt, which the Enemy perceiving, they retreated, and our Men kept their Ground, though the Shot from the Fort killed many of them.

The Troops, nevertheleſs, were ſo very weak and diſheartened, that not any of them could be brought to play the Mortar againſt the Fort; and though the General was reduced to a very low Condition, by Reaſon of the Flux, he cauſed himſelf to be led from Place to Place, to encourage them; but fainting at laſt, was forced to leave the Care to Major-general *Forteſcue*, who ſoon found that he could prevail no more than the General himſelf.

It was reſolved ſoon after, at a Council of War, that ſince the Enemy had guarded every Paſs, and that the Army was under very great Neceſſities for want of Water, they ſhould march to a Place where they had been informed a Supply of that, and other Neceſſaries, had been put on Shore for them, from the Ships: But, in that March, the Soldiers accompanied their Officers no farther than till they found them in Danger, and then left them; inſomuch that the Commiſſioners owned, by a Letter they wrote to the Governor of *Barbadoes*, that had not the Enemy been as fearful as our Men were, they might, in a few Days, have deſtroyed the whole Army; and withal, they let him know, that thoſe who had occaſioned the greateſt Diſorder, were thoſe of *Barbadoes* and *St. Chriſtopher*'s [a]; inſomuch that the Commiſſioners, who were *Penn*, *Winſlow* and *Butler*, had reſolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done againſt the Iſland of *Jamaica*.

The Army was accordingly, in a little time, embarked; but the ſick and wounded Men were left on the bare Decks for 48 Hours, without either Meat, or Drink, or Dreſſing, inſomuch that Worms bred in their Sores; and even while they were on Shore, the Proviſions ſent to them were not watered, but candied with Salt, notwithſtanding they had not Water ſufficient to quench their Thirſt; nay, after their Miſfortunes on-ſhore, *Venables* averred, that *Penn* gave Rear-admiral *Blagge* Orders, not to furniſh them with any more Proviſions of what Kind ſoever, ſo that they eat up all the Dogs, Aſſes and Horſes in the Camp, and ſome of them ſuch Things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about 40 died. Before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant-general *Jackſon* was try'd at a Court-martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhier'd, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hoſpital-ſhip, a Puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious Cowardiſe.

The Fleet and Troops arriving at *Jamaica* the third of *May*, General *Venables*, who was reſolved to prevent the ſame Fate they met with at *Hiſpaniola*, iſſued Orders, that where it ſhould be found any Man attempted to run away, the next Man to him ſhould put him to Death; or that if he failed ſo to do, he ſhould be liable to be try'd for his Life.

The Troops being landed [b], marched directly to *St. Jago*, Capital of the Iſland, which the Generals had reſolved to ſtorm immediately.

"The *Spaniards* had received no Information of the Defeat of the *Engliſh* at *Hiſpaniola*, and were in no Condition to oppoſe an Army of 10,000 Men (for ſo many they ſtill were), ſo they made uſe of Policy more than Arms to ſave themſelves, and their Effects: And when General *Venables* advanced near the City, they deſired to capitulate; which being granted, they ſpun out the Treaty as long as they could, that they might, in the mean time, ſend away their Treaſures into the Woods. To amuſe the *Engliſh*, they furniſhed the Army with freſh Proviſions, and preſented Mrs. *Venables* with ſome of the choiceſt Fruits and Delicacies of the Iſland; which had a good Effect on her Huſband, and put him in a good Humour, till the *Spaniards* had done their Buſineſs: Otherwiſe his Patience might have been worn out, before all their beſt Moveables were ſafe in the Mountains and Coverts up the Country; to which they fled themſelves, and left the *Engliſh* a naked Town to poſſeſs, where they found fine Houſes without Inhabitants or Goods; which was a terrible Diſappointment to an Army who expected Plunder, and had been balked already.

"They removed all they had, their Wives and Children, to the Woods and Fortreſſes, from whence they ſallied out in Parties, and ſurprized the *Engliſh*, of whom they cut off ſeveral Bands, before they could tell how to come at them. They came down upon *Venables*'s Men in the Night, and attacked them, when they were in no Manner of Expectation of an Enemy; and for want of the Knowledge of the Country could not purſue them.

"At laſt the *Spaniards* grew weary of their hard Quarters in the Mountains, which did not at all agree with their riotous Way of living at *St. Jago*'s. And deſpairing to be able to diſlodge the *Engliſh*, who began alſo to find them out in their Lurking-places, they retired to *Cuba*, leaving the Molattoes and Negroes in the Woods, to harraſs the Enemy, and keep Poſſeſſion of the Iſland till they ſhould return.

"The Viceroy of *Mexico* commanded them to return to *Jamaica*, and ordered the Government of *Cuba* not to let them ſtay there, ſending them Word, that he would ſupply them with Men and Ammunition to recover what they had loſt. Accordingly they came back, and ſcattered themſelves up and down in ſingle Families, that they might be able to ſubſiſt the better, and prevent being diſcovered by the *Engliſh*. But this

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[a] The Author of the Britiſh Empire in America ſays, that while they were at Barbadoes, two Men of War were ſent to St. Chriſtopher's and Mevis to raiſe Volunteers; and that they were ſupplied with ſeveral Neceſſaries at Barbadoes, where ſome Hundreds of Volunteers joined them, and no leſs than 1300 at the Leeward Iſlands. Venables formed a new Regiment of Seamen, to ſerve upon Occaſion on Land, theſe were put under the Conduct of Vice-admiral Goodſon, the reſt of the Regiments brought out of England were eaſily compleated to a full Number, a Troop of gallant Horſe was raiſed.

[b] Br. Emp. in America.

“miſerable Courſe of Life killed ſeveral of them, and there came no more than 500 Soldiers to their Aſſiſtance, who alſo refuſed to join with them, when they ſaw the weak Condition they were in, and retreated to the North of the Iſland, fortifying themſelves in a Place called *St. Chereras*, waiting for a Re-inforcement.

“In the mean time, the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed themſelves of all the South and South-eaſt Parts of the Iſland. A Regiment was ſeated about *Port Morant*, to plant and ſettle there, and others in other Places, over whom Colonel *D'Oyly* was left Governor, with between 2 and 3000 Men, Land-forces, and about 20 Men of War, commanded by Vice-admiral *Goodwin*.”

Soon after the following Articles were agreed on; *viz.*

“1. That all Forts, Arms, Ammunitions and Neceſſaries for War, and all kind of Shipping, in any of the Harbours in the Iſland, with their Furniture, *&c.* as alſo all Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, *&c.* ſhould be delivered up to General *Venables*, or whom he ſhould appoint, for the Uſe of the Protector, and the Commonwealth of *England*.

“2. That all and every of the Inhabitants of the Iſland (except ſome that were particularly named) ſhould have their Lives granted: and as thoſe who inclined to ſtay, had leave ſo to do, ſo was it agreed to tranſport the others to *New Spain*, or ſome of the Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain*, in *America*, together with their Apparel, Books, and Papers, they providing themſelves with Victuals and Neceſſaries.

“3. That all Commiſſion-officers, and none others, ſhould be permitted to wear their Rapiers and Poinards.

“4. All Artificers, and meaner Sorts of People, were permitted to remain on the Iſland, and to enjoy their Goods, provided they conformed themſelves to the Laws which ſhould be eſtabliſhed.”

Thus was the Iſland of *Jamaica* reduced, which the Crown of *England* has ever ſince been poſſeſſed of; but General *Venables* being, at length, ſo much weakened by the Flux, that the Phyſicians deſpaired of his Life, and the Officers of the Army having unanimouſly pitched upon him, in caſe he recovered, as the only fitting Perſon to repair to *England*, to acquaint the Protector with their miſerable Condition, being in great Want of all Things, as well for Support of Life, as otherwiſe, he deſired General *Penn* and Colonel *Butler*, one of the Commiſſioners, to come to him, in order to the Opening the ſealed and ultimate Inſtructions, which two Days afterwards they conſented to do; when, with their Concurrence, he reſigned his Command to Major-general *Forteſcue*, as he had Power from the Protector by the aforeſaid ſealed Orders to do, in caſe of any Inability; and *Penn* ſoon after thought it convenient, either upon the Score of Sickneſs, or otherwiſe, to reſign, in like manner, the Command of the Fleet to Vice-admiral *Goodſon*: ſo that both of them came home, where, when they arrived, they were committed to the *Tower*. However, before their Commitment, they were called before *Oliver*, and his Council, and both of them, (and more eſpecially *Venables*) were ſeverely reprimanded, for leaving the Services committed to their Charge, without Authority ſo to do, as was then alledged. *Venables*, notwithſtanding his very bad State of Health, was not permitted to abide, for ſome time, in his own Lodgings, but was very ſeverely dealt with; for, as the Protector inſiſted on it, that he ſhould own his Fault in leaving the Army, and throw himſelf on his Clemency, ſo he, judging he had committed no Crime, but that being render'd incapable by Sickneſs, to continue in thoſe Parts longer, without an inevitable Hazard of his Life, and the Protector having, in ſuch Caſe, impower'd the Commiſſioners to commit his Charge to ſome other fitting Perſon, was not willing to be his own Accuſer; and though even *Penn* himſelf aſſured him, that he would not, in the Manner that was expected, own himſelf guilty of a Fault, yet, (for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, and through the Perſuaſions of others near the Protector's Perſon) he made his Submiſſion, before *Venables* could be prevailed with to do it, and thereupon was diſcharged of his Impriſonment ſome time before the other was. The Part of the Fleet which remained abroad, together with ſuch of the Land-forces as were not thought neceſſary to remain at *Jamaica*, was brought home by Vice-admiral *Goodſon*.

The War being, by this Expedition, declared againſt *Spain*, all the Effects belonging to the *Engliſh* Merchants in that Kingdom were ſeized, by Order of the King, as well there, as in all his other Dominions, to the very great Loſs of the Nation: But a yet more conſiderable Loſs was that of the *Spaniſh* Trade, which by this inconſiderate War was laid open to the *Dutch*.

All this time *Blake* had continued cruiſing in the *Mediterranean*, the Streights, and on the Coaſt of *Spain*, without being the leaſt ſuſpected of any hoſtile Intention againſt that Kingdom; and was on all Occaſions received in the *Spaniſh* Ports with the greateſt Civilities; for till the Blow was ſtruck at *Jamaica*, *Cromwell* carefully concealed his Deſign to break with *Spain*. But when this was known, the *Spaniards* declared War againſt *England*, and (as above) ſeized upon the Effects of all the *Engliſh* Merchants in their Dominions, to an immenſe Value. *Oliver*, on his Part, ſent Mr. *Montague* with a ſmall Squadron of Men of War into the *Mediterranean* to join *Blake*, and to carry him freſh Inſtructions; the principal of which was to block up the Port of *Cadiz*, in which there was a Fleet of 40 Sail, intended to ſecure the Flota; and, at the ſame time the ſailing of this Fleet was prevented, the *Engliſh* were to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to hinder the Flota from coming in without ſharing in the Riches on-board [*]. *Blake* and *Montague* executed their Orders with equal Skill and Induſtry, taking care to obtain a Supply of freſh Proviſions and Water, as often as they had Occaſion, from the *Portugal* Coaſt. Thither for that Purpoſe they had ſailed with the greateſt Part of the Fleet, when the Squadron from the *Indies* approached *Cadiz*. Rear-admiral *Stayner*, with ſeven Frigates plied to and fro, till eight large Ships were in view, which he preſently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his Veſſels, becauſe they lay very low in the Water, for Fiſhermen. He attacked them with ſo much Fury, that in a few Hours Engagement one was ſunk, another burnt, two were forced aſhore, and as many taken, on-board of which was found, in Money and Plate, to the Value of 600,000 *l.* and only two eſcaped into *Cadiz*.

In the Ship which was burnt, was the Marquis of *Badajox*, Vice-roy of *Mexico*, with his Wife, Sons and Daughters. The poor Gentleman, with his Wife, and eldeſt Daughter periſhed, but his other Daughters, with his two Sons, and near 100 other Peſons, were ſaved by the *Engliſh*.

The Preſervation of *Jamaica* became a principal Care of the Protector's Council; who, ſoon after the Return of *Penn* and *Venables*, diſpatched a conſiderable Squadron and Land-forces to maintain that important Situation, and to drive the *Spaniards* entirely out of the Iſland; which was in great Part effected before the Arrival of thoſe Supplies, by the Management of Governor *D'Oyly*; who, by being a Cavalier, was hated by the Protector, and had his Commiſſion ſeveral times ſuperceded; but by various Accidents continued in the chief Poſt in *Jamaica*, and managed ſo well, that at the Reſtoration it was the moſt populous and conſiderable Plantation belonging to the *Britiſh* Crown.

Oliver, early in the Spring of the Year 1657, diſpatched *Blake* and *Montague* to intercept the *Plate* Fleet from *Pe*
They ſailed for the Bay of *Cadiz*; but receiving Intelligence that the ſaid Fleet was arrived at *Teneriff*, they made the beſt of their way to that Port, and arrived before the Port of *Santa Cruz*, where the Flota lay in Security, about the Middle of *April*. This Flota conſiſted of ſix Galleons, richly laden, and 10 other Veſſels of leſs Burden. The 10 ſmall Ships were drawn up in the Form of a Half moon, with a ſtrong Barricado before them; and the ſix Galleons, which could not come ſo near the Shore, lay with their Broad-ſides towards the Offing. The Bay itſelf was defended by ſix or ſeven Forts, with ſeveral Batteries all round it, and two Caſtles at the Entrance, all which were ſufficiently furniſhed with Ordnance. In this Poſture, the *Spaniſh* Admiral vainly thought himſelf ſo ſecure, that a *Dutch* Merchant-ſhip going out of the Harbour, he ſent a Meſſage,

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[*] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 676. Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

Meſſage by him to *Blake, that he might now come if he durſt.*

The Admiral having taken a View of the Enemy's Situation, ſaw it would be impoſſible to bring off the Galleons; however, he reſolved to burn them, and to that end, ſent in Captain *Stayner*, with a Squadron to attack them. He ſoon forced his Paſſage into the Bay, whilſt other Frigates entertained the Forts, and leſſer Breaſt-works, with continual Broad-ſides, to prevent their firing. Theſe were preſently ſupported by *Blake* himſelf, with the whole Fleet, who placing ſome of his Ships in ſuch manner that they might fire continually their Broad-ſides into the Caſtles and Forts, he with *Stayner* continued to engage the *Spaniſh* Galleons, received their Fire, then boarded them, and in a few Hours obtaining a complete Victory, drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and poſſeſſed himſelf of every one of them. It being impoſſible to bring them off, he ſet them on-fire, and they were burnt, every one of them, down to the Water. They had no ſooner done this, than the Wind luckily turned, and carried the whole Fleet, without the Loſs of one Ship, out of the Bay, and put them ſafe to Sea again.

“ The whole Action (ſays *Clarendon*) was ſo miraculous, “ that all Men, who knew the Place, wondered that any “ ſober Men, with what Courage ſoever endued, would “ ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſuade “ themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the “ *Spaniards* comforted themſelves with the Belief, that “ they were Devils, and not Men, who had deſtroyed “ them in ſuch manner. So much a ſtrong Reſolution of “ bold and courageous Men can bring to paſs, that no Reſiſtance and Advantage of Ground can diſappoint them: “ And it can hardly be imagined how ſmall a Loſs the “ *Engliſh* ſuſtained, in this unparalleled Action; not one “ Ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not “ exceeding 200 Men, when the Slaughter on-board the “ *Spaniſh* Ships and on-ſhore was incredible.”

Blake returned, after this glorious Action, to the Coaſts of *Spain*, and having cruiſed there a ſhort time, was returning triumphantly home with the Fleet to *England*, when he was taken with a ſort of Sea-diſeaſe, a ſcorbutic Fever, of which he died juſt as he was entering *Plymouth* Sound.

Cromwell now aſſuming the regal Power, under the Stile of Protector, ſeemed determin'd to ſecure the Government by any means to himſelf and Family. For which End he patched up a League immediately with *France*, the moſt powerful Obſtructor of his Exaltation, and thereby deprived the baniſh'd King of the Protection and Aſſiſtance, which he naturally might have expected from that Court. On his Part, the Protector engaged to aſſiſt the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*; and did it ſo effectually, that in 1658, on the 26th of *June*, the Fortreſs and Port of *Dunkirk* was taken by the united Forces of *England* and *France*, and put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* General *Lockhart*, according to Agreement; though not without ſome Reluctance of the *French* Miniſtry. But *Cromwell* did not long enjoy this good Fortune; for he departed this Life on the 3d of *September* following, aged 58, of whom we have the following Character.

The Lord *Clarendon*, who excels in Characters, and who cannot be ſuſpected of ſpeaking too favourably of him, ſays, “ He was one of thoſe Men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem poſſent, niſi ut ſimul laudent*, (whom his very “ Enemies could not condemn, without commending him “ at the ſame time.) Without Doubt (continues he) no “ Man, with more Wickedneſs, ever attempted any thing, “ or brought to paſs what he deſired more wickedly, more “ in the Face and Contempt of Religion and moral Honeſty. Yet Wickedneſs, great as his, could never have “ accompliſhed thoſe Deſigns, without the Aſſiſtance of “ a great Spirit, an admirable Circumſpection and Sagacity, and a moſt magnanimous Reſolution. In a Word, “ (concludes he) as he was guilty of many Crimes, againſt “ which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire “ is prepared, ſo he had ſome good Qualities, which have “ cauſed the Memory of ſome Men in all Ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by Poſterity as a “ brave wicked Man.” What this illuſtrious Author meant by Wickedneſs and Crimes, is, without Doubt, his Uſurpation of the Government, and the too great Hand he had in the Murder of the King. “ If we conſider him “ as a private Man (ſays *Rapin*) it may with Aſſurance be “ ſaid, that his Morals and Conduct were very regular. “ He had none of the Vices to which Men are commonly “ addicted. Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Gaming, Luxury, “ Avarice, were Vices with which he was never reproached.” And in his publick Capacity, “ If we compare “ him with the two laſt Kings, the Diſparity will be evident, with regard to the Glory and Reputation of the “ *Engliſh* Nation. *James* I. and *Charles* I. ſeemed to have “ ſtudied how to debaſe the *Engliſh* Name; whereas “ *Cromwell*, in the Space of four or five Years, carried it “ as high as it was capable to be raiſed, and in this Reſpect was not at all inferior to Queen *Elizabeth*.” Burnet's *Hiſtory of his Own Times*.

The Death of the Protector made no Alteration in the Admiralty. It had been reſolved before his Death, to aſſiſt the *Swedes* againſt the *Danes*, who were aided by the *Dutch*, in order to monopolize the Trade to the *Baltick*. But the Scheme was prevented by the Intervention of the Froſt, which made it impracticable for a *Britiſh* Fleet to weather thoſe Seas in Winter. However, early in the Spring this Meaſure was purſued by the Protector *Richard*'s Council, as the beſt means to counter-mine the *Dutch*; and a ſtout Fleet was fitted out, and ſent to the *Baltick*, under the Command of Admiral *Montague*, who had acquired a great Reputation by ſerving in conjunction with *Blake*. He had, beſides his Commiſſion of Admiral, another, whereby he was joined with the Ambaſſadors *Sidney* and *Honeywood*[a]. He arrived at *Copenhagen*, and managed his Affairs with great Dexterity; for he avoided coming to Blows, that he might not begin a new *Dutch* War; compelled the King of *Sweden*, by talking to him in a proper Stile, to think of Peace, to which he was otherwiſe very little inclined; and while he did all this, and executed effectually the Duties of thoſe high Offices with which he was entruſted, he entertained a ſecret Correſpondence with King *Charles* II. and diſpoſed all things on-board the Fleet for his Service[b].

When Meaſures were concerted for Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing, which was the laſt Attempt made in favour of the King before his Reſtoration, Notice of it was given to Admiral *Montague* at *Copenhagen*, who inſtantly reſolved to return to *England*. His Fellow-ambaſſadors, who were hearty Republicans, had by this time gained ſome Intelligence of his Intercourſe with the King, and therefore intended to have ſeized him in caſe he came aſhore[c]. He was wiſe enough to put it out of their Power, and took care alſo to run no Riſk in returning without Orders; for having called a Council of War, he complained to them that Proviſions grew ſhort, and that it would be a very difficult thing to ſupply themſelves in that Part of the World, there being a *Dutch* Fleet there at the ſame time. Upon this, it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail home immediately; and this Reſolution was no ſooner taken, than the Admiral weighed Anchor, and returned to *England*[d]; where he found things in quite another Situation than he expected. Sir *George Booth* had been defeated and taken Priſoner, and the old Parliament was again reſtored; ſo that Admiral *Montague*, though he had 40 Sail of ſtout Ships under his Command, and the Seamen much at his Devotion, yet thought it ſafeſt to leave the Fleet, and to come up freely and give an Account of his Conduct to the Parliament, which he did in *September* 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his Houſe in the Country[e].

The Command of the Fleet was then entruſted with Admiral *Lawſon*, who continued in the Channel with a larger Squadron of Ships than ordinary, till General *Monk* came out of *Scotland*. As ſoon as the Deſigns of that great Man began to ripen, he propoſed that *Montague* ſhould be recalled, and reſtored to the Command of the Navy; which was accordingly done, and the ſupreme Power in maritime Affairs veſted in him and *Monk*[f].

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[a] Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.
[b] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 723.
[c] Idem, ibid.
[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.
[e] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet, Rapin, &c.
[f] Heath's Chronicle, p. 439. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow's Memoirs, &c.

Admiral *Montague* went inſtantly to the Command, and was ſurprized to find that *Lawſon* and the reſt of the Officers were much better inclined to the intended Change than he expected; and therefore he did not much diſſemble either his Inclinations or Intentions.

On the 4th of *April* 1660, he received his Majeſty's Letter, and cauſed it to be read publickly in the Fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the Parliament's Orders, he ſailed for *Holland*, and ſent an Officer to the *Hague*, to inform the King that he was ready to receive him [a].

Theſe are the principal naval Tranſactions of this memorable Period; in which it is obſervable, that while Faction and Violence expelled Royalty, and preyed upon the Property of the Nation within, the Seamen, jealous of their national Honours, and fired with the Glory acquired by their Predeceſſors in the Sovereignty of the Seas, maintained the Dignity of the *Britiſh* Flag, and chaſtiſed the Inſolence of thoſe who attempted to encroach upon their Diſcoveries, and the national Trade and naval Power.

The Parliament were ſo ſenſible of the Neceſſity to protect the Trade of the Nation, as the principal Source of thoſe Riches, whereby they were to be ſupplied with the Sinews of War, and the Means to ſupport their Authority in the Government of the State, that they encouraged every Complaint, and intereſted themſelves in the Defence of the meaneſt Navigator, that could make good his Allegations againſt the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, *&c.* of which the Caſe of *Mainwaring*, *Hawes*, *Payne*, and others, concerning a Depredation made by the *Spaniards*, will give a ſufficient Proof.

The Sufferers petition'd the Parliament, and ſat forth, “ That the Ship *Elizabeth*, her Tackle, Furniture, and Lading, valued at 12,000 *l.* belonging to *Joſeph Hawes* Merchant, and Company, going on a trading Voyage for *Virginia*, was, about 250 Leagues ſhort thereof, ſurprized and taken by 11 Sail of the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, all under the Command of one General, in the Year 1637, whereof four were Galleons of the King's, the reſt Merchants Ships, who ſhared the Goods among them, barbarouſly abuſed the Mariners and Paſſengers, and carried the ſaid Ship into *Spain*, and there detain her unto this Day. That the ſaid *Hawes* proved his Loſs in *Spain*, and in the Admiralty of *England*, and had certificate thereof to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Privy-council; was favoured with Letters to the Lord *Aſton*, and afterwards to Sir *Arthur Hopton*, when they were reſpectively Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, who endeavoured his Satisfaction with that State, but could procure no real Retribution, as by the Copies of the ſaid Certificate and Letters, may more at large appear. Since which time, *Joſeph Hawes* (formerly of good Eſtate) by the ſaid Loſs utterly undone, died in Priſon; and *Randal Mainwaring*, *Nathaniel Hawes*, and *George Payne*, now Petitioners to your Honours (left engaged in ſeveral great Sums of Money for him) as next of Kindred, have taken out Letters of Adminiſtration, and in *December* 1642, arreſted (by Warrant out of the Admiralty) certain Plate, Monies, and Merchandiſe, arriving at *Southampton*, in the Ship the *St. Clare*, which were laden into her out of the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet; in which were divers Ships and Men that were in the Fleet that robbed the *Elizabeth*, and made the aforeſaid Depredation, and both which Fleets were ſet out by the ſame Authority, and for the ſame Uſe and Purpoſe. After which Arreſt made by your Petitioners and ſome others, (by the Order of the honourable Houſe of Commons hereunto annexed) 50,000 *l.* was depoſited in the Hands of the Parliament, inſtead of Bail, to anſwer thoſe Actions, by the Claimers of the aforeſaid Goods, and the Goods in their Property were releaſed. And in purſuance of the ſaid Arreſt your Petitioners have made ſo clear Proof, that not only the Judge of the Admiralty, but they who took the Defence of the Suit upon them againſt your Petitioners, do acknowledge, that the taking of the ſaid Ship *Elizabeth*, was a manifeſt and moſt ſhameful Depredation, and that your Petitioners ought to have Repair for the ſame, which the ſaid Judge muſt needs affirm, if he be thereunto required: Notwithſtanding all which, the ſaid Judge (foraſmuch as the Monies aforeſaid remain depoſited in the Hands of the Parliament, and for that the Satisfaction of your Petitioners out of this Money is conceived to be Matter of State) doth defer to give Sentence, for that the ſupreme Power hath not hitherto declared, That the Goods arreſted are in Point of State liable to make your Petitioners Satisfaction.

“ In tender Conſideration of all which, foraſmuch as your Petitioners have uſed in *Spain* all Means requiſite by Law, and poſſible, againſt the Perſons of thoſe that made the Depredation, and cannot obtain Juſtice, and have no Poſſibility of being repaired, but by that ſupreme Power to which they are ſubject: And foraſmuch as that Power, not only by the Laws of this Realm, but by the Law of Nations, may relieve oppreſſed Subjects by Letters of Repriſal, being the only and uſual Remedy afforded in Caſes of this Nature;

> “ Your Petitioners moſt humbly pray, and beſeech this honourable Aſſembly, to take their Caſe into your ſerious Commiſeration, and to grant Letters of Repriſal to your Petitioners, to be repaired of their ſaid Loſſes and Damages out of the Money depoſited in the Parliament, that ſo your oppreſſed Petitioners, who have been moſt unjuſtly ſpoiled by the *Spaniard*, and as unjuſtly denied Reſtitution, may, by the Juſtice of this honourable Aſſembly, receive ſuch Recompence as the Law will give them, when the ſupreme Power of this Kingdom ſhall have decreed the Letters of Repriſal to your Petitioners.
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> “ *And your Petitioners, as in Duty, ſhall continue to pray for your Honours.*”

Upon which the Houſe of Commons, on the 2d of *January* 1642, iſſued this Order.

“ The Merchants, *Spaniards*, and Owners of the Ship the *Clare*, having this Day, in obedience to an Order of this Houſe of 29th *December* laſt paſt, paid in the Sum of 20,000 *l.* which with the 30,000 *l.* formerly delivered into the *Tower*, is to ſtand liable inſtead of Bail to all Suits, Arreſts, and Claims, according to Law, as the Goods ſhould have been, if they had ſtill continued in Cuſtody, made either by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, or any other whomſoever concerning the Premiſes; this Houſe doth therefore order, that all thoſe Perſon, Sir *John Nulls*, or whomſoever elſe here, or at *Southampton*, in whoſe Cuſtody the Cochineal, Ginger, Hides, and other Goods brought in the Ship the *Clare* do remain, do forthwith deliver up the ſaid Goods unto *Ignatio Landabola*, *Diego Deſcarey*, *Benedict Stafford*, and *John Mayo*, for the Uſe of themſelves, and the reſt of the Merchants and Owners, free from any preſent or future Reſtraint or Trouble whatſoever, they paying Freight, Cuſtom, and all other Charges duly diſburſed by the ſaid Maſters and Owners, any ways concerning the ſaid Goods; and this Houſe doth further order, that the Judge of the Admiralty, and others whom it may concern, take due Notice of this Order, and do nothing in Prejudice of the real Execution thereof.

HEN. ELSYNGE, *Cler. Par. Dom. Com.*

In purſuance of this Order, we find the following Proceedings.

Sir Henry Martin*'s Certificate to the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council.*

“ *Right Honourable*,

“ According to your Lordſhips Order, ſignified under the Petition annexed, the Petitioners have examined Witneſſes in the Admiralty-court, to prove the Points deduced in the Petition, which I conceive to be theſe four. Firſt, That 11 Sail of *Spaniſh* Ships, Part of the Plate-fleet, ſurprized and took the Ship *Elizabeth* from the Petitioners in 1637, in her Courſe upon a trading Voyage for *Virginia*, about 250 Leagues ſhort of *Virginia*, and carried her, and all that was in her, into

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 735.

“*Spain*, and there detaineth her. Secondly, That the whole Value thereof, with the Damage, doth amount to above 12,000 *l.* Thirdly, That the Company in the *Spaniſh* Fleet, robbed and ſpoiled the Company in the *Elizabeth* of all they had, and impriſoned ſome of the Mariners in *Spain*. Fourthly and laſtly, That the Petitioners uſed all good Endeavours to recover their Goods, but all in vain. All which four Points, I take to be ſufficiently teſtified with this, That the Lord *Aſton*, then Lord Ambaſſador for his Majeſty in *Spain*, was then made privy to all the Premiſes, and interpoſed his utmoſt Endeavour in the Behalf of the Petitioners; whoſe Lordſhip is beſt able to inform your Honours upon what Grounds the *Spaniſh* Fleet did ſurprize the Petitioners, and the State there avow the Proceeding, and deny any Reſtitution to the *Engliſh*.

March 15, 1538. “H. MARTIN.”

Their Lordſhips Letter into Spain.

“After our very hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, we ſend you incloſed a Petition preſented to this Board in the Name of the Merchants and Paſſengers of the Ship called the *Elizabeth* of *London*, together with two Certificates concerning the ſame; the one from the Lord *Aſton*, his Majeſty's late Ambaſſador reſident there; the other from Sir *Henry Martin* Knight, Judge of the Admiralty; whereby you will perceive with what Violence and Outrage the ſaid Ship, the *Elizabeth*, was heretofore taken from the Petitioners by 11 Sail of the *Spaniſh* Plate-fleet, and what Proceedings have been ſince had for the Recovery of the ſame; whereof we have taken Conſideration, and being deſirous to protect his Majeſty's Subjects from Wrongs and Injuries, have thought good thereby in eſpecial Manner to recommend it to your Care to employ your beſt Means and Endeavours on the Petitioners Behalf, in repreſenting the great Damage and Loſs which they have ſuſtained thereby, and preſſing the ſame with all ſuch Arguments and Reaſons, as you, in your Diſcretion, ſhall think fit, according to the Nature of the Caſe, to the End a ſpeedy and full Reſtitution may be made unto the Petitioners, and ſuch Satisfaction given them for the Damage and Charge which they have hitherto ſuſtained, as to Juſtice doth appertain, and as may be expected towards his Majeſty's Subjects from his Friends and Allies. Whereupon, in caſe ſuch juſt Reſtitution as aforeſaid be either denied to the Petitioners, or that ſuch Delays be uſed therein as may be conſtrued and deemed a Denial, you are forthwith to repreſent the ſame to this Board in expreſs Terms, that ſuch further Courſe may be taken for the Petitioners Reparation and Relief, as to his Majeſty and this Board ſhall be found juſt. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip very heartily farewell.

From *Whitehall*, the laſt Day
of *April* 1639.

“*Your loving Friends*,

“Signed by the

“*Lo. Arch B. of Cant.* *Lo. Treaſurer*,
“*Lo. Cottington*, *Mr. Comptroller*,
“*Lo. Keeper*, *Lo. Privy-ſeal*,
“*Lo. Newburge*, *Mr. Sec. Windebank.*”

The Engliſh *Ambaſſador's Anſwer out of Spain.*

Right Honourable,

“The Bearer hereof, *Benjamin Woolnot*, was Maſter of the Ship called the *Elizabeth*, which in his Voyaye towards *Virginia* was, on the 11th of *October* 1637, ſeized on by the Squadra of *Nova Eſpania*, and brought to *Cadiz*, with all her Lading and Paſſengers. For Reſtitution of which Ship, and for Satisfaction for the Loſſes and Damages, it ſeems my Lord *Aſton*, in the Time of his Service in this Court, uſed all fit Deligences; the Effect whereof was, a Promiſe that the Ship and Goods depoſited at *Cadiz* ſhould be forthwith reſtored. But in the Execution thereof were interpoſed ſome Delays, which continued until the Maſter and his Company reſolved on returning to their Country; and ſo nothing was executed at that Time, nor before my Lord *Aſton* returned for *England*.

“Whereupon the Maſter and the Parties, intereſſed in the ſaid Ship and Goods, petitioned his Majeſty and the Board, for ſome Courſe to be taken for their Satisfaction; and accordingly the Lords having conſulted with my Lord *Aſton*, and with Sir *Henry Martin*, Judge of the Admiralty, were pleaſed to direct unto me their Lordſhips Letter, bearing Date the laſt Day of *April* 1639, which came to my Hands on the $\frac{10}{20}$ of *Auguſt* of the ſame Year, commanding me to uſe all due Means for the obtaining full and ſpeedy Satisfaction for the ſaid Loſs: And in caſe the ſame ſhould be detained, or that ſuch Delays ſhould be uſed therein, as might be conſtrued or deemed a Denial, then to repreſent the ſame in expreſs Terms to the Board.

“In humble Obedience to which Order, I have from the ſaid $\frac{10}{20}$ of *Auguſt* ſpared no Diligence to the Effect above mentioned, having ſpoken to the King, and delivered him a Paper containing the whole Matter, as well in Manifeſtation of the Diſorder, as in Demand of due Satisfaction according to Reaſon and Juſtice. And I have ſeveral times ſpoken to, and ſolicited a Reſolution therein with the *Conde Duque*, as a Miniſter of general Care and Power; and with the *Conde de Caſtrillo*, Preſident of the Council of the Judges, to whoſe Charge the Diſpatch of this Buſineſs doth particularly belong.

“And although I have received many fair Hopes and Promiſes from all Sides, and from time to time, yet until the Day of the Date hereof, being the $\frac{20}{30}$ of *May*, in the Year 1640, I have been able to get no Reſolution, nor are the Likelihoods thereof greater now than they were the firſt Day. And the Bearer hereof, *Benjamin Woolnot*, being no longer able to ſuffer the Charge of this expenſive Place, hath deſired me to give my Certificate according to the preſent State of this Buſineſs, which I have done as above ſaid; leaving a Conſtruction upon the Delay and Want of Anſwer hitherto, to your Honours and their Lordſhips better Judgments, to whom your Honours may pleaſe to give an Account hereof, as you ſhall think fit, and I do humbly deſire: Humbly repreſenting herewithal, that if any other Buſineſs remitted to me by their Lordſhips or your Honours, concerning his Majeſty's Subjects, I have failed to give either you or them the Anſwer that may be expected, it is becauſe I can get none; which is the ordinary Courſe of this Court, where the doing Juſtice is prejudicial to the King's Revenues; though in other Matters their Diſpatch be not to be complained of.

“I ſhall trouble your Honours no more, but humbly reſt,

“*Your Honours moſt humble Servant*,

Madritt $\frac{20}{30}$. ARTH. HOPTON.

Articles of the Treaty, 18*th* Aug. 1604.

“Firſt, It is concluded and accorded, that from this Day forward, there ſhall be a good, ſincere, true, firm, and perfect Amity, League and Peace to endure for ever, and inviolably to be obſerved and kept, as well by Land as Sea, and freſh Waters, betwixt the moſt renowned King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and the moſt renowned King of *Spain*, &c. and the moſt renowned Archdukes of *Auſtrice*, Dukes of *Burgundy*, &c. and their Heirs and Succeſſors whomſoever, their Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions, Lands, Peoples, Liegemen, and Subjects now being, or which hereafter ſhall be, of whatſoever Condition, State, or Degree they are or may be, ſo as the ſaid Vaſſals and Subjects from henceforth are each of them to favour other, and to uſe one another with all kind and friendly Offices.

“II. And each Party ſhall hereafter abſtain from all Depredations, Offences and Spoils, as well by Sea as Land, and freſh Waters, in whatſoever the Kingdoms, Dominions, Places, or Governments of the other; neither ſhall the aforeſaid Princes conſent, that any of the Grievances before-mentioned, be done by any of their Vaſſals, Inhabitants, or Subjects; and they ſhall alſo cauſe Reſtitution to be made of all Depredations and Spoils which hereafter ſhall be committed, and of the Damages growing by means thereof.

“ III. And whoſoever ſhall do any thing to the contrary, he ſhall be puniſhed, not only criminally, according to the Merit of his Offence, but ſhall alſo be compelled to make Reſtitution and Satisfaction for the Loſſes to the Parties damnified, requiring the ſame.”

Branches of Statutes.

Anno 27. *Edw.* III. cap. 17. “ *Item*, That no Merchant-ſtranger be impeached for another's Treſpaſs, or another's Debt, whereof he is not Debtor, Pledge, nor Mainpernor. Provided always, That if our liege People, Merchants or other, be endamaged by any Lords of ſtrange Lands, or their Subjects, and the ſaid Lords, (duly required) fail of Right to our ſaid Subjects, we ſhall have the Law of Marque, and of taking them again, as hath been uſed in time paſt, without Fraud or Male-engine.”

Anno 2. *Hen.* V. cap. 7. “ The King willing as well in this Caſe, as in other, to provide the Indemnity of his liege and faithful Subjects, hath declared in this preſent Parliament, that of all the Attempts made by his Enemies, upon any of his faithful liege People, againſt the Tenor of any Truce taken before this time, wherein is no expreſs Mention made, that all Marques and Repriſals ſhall ceaſe; the ſame our ſovereign Lord the King will grant Marque, to all them that feel themſelves in this Caſe grieved, in due Form. And our ſaid ſovereign Lord the King ſhall make Reparail to all his liege People that feel them grieved againſt the Tenor of any Truce, which betwixt him and any of his Enemies ſhall be newly taken hereafter. And to the greater Comfort of his ſaid faithful liege People, to the Intent that they may the more readily and without long Delay have Remade in this Caſe; the ſame our ſovereign Lord the King will, that if he, or they, that feel them grieved againſt the Tenor and Form of ſuch Truce within the Realm of *England*, out of the ſaid Marches of *Scotland*, or upon the Sea, or in the Parts beyond the Sea, ſhall complain to the Keeper of the Privy-ſeal, which for the time ſhall be, who after ſuch Complaint heard and perceived, thereof ſhall make the Party complainant (if he the ſame require) Letters of Requeſt under the Privy-ſeal in a due Form; and if after ſuch Requeſt made, the Party required do not make within a convenient time due Reſtitution and Satisfaction to the Party grieved, then the Chancellor of *England* for the time being, ſhall do to be made to ſuch Party grieved (if he that demand) Letters of Marque under the Great-ſeal in a due Form, *&c.*”

Proclamation 1 Car. *for Encouragement of Trade to* Virginia.

“ That the Territories of *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Summer* Iſlands, *&c.* are part of his royal Empire, deſcended upon him, and that he holds himſelf bound, by his regal Office, to protect, maintain, and ſupport the ſame (and ſo is reſolved to do) as well as any other his Dominions, *&c.*”

Precedents of foreign Practice towards the Engliſh.

“ Give us leave therefore to mind your Honours of the Practice of other Kingdoms and States in Amity with the Crown of *England*, who make it matter of State to relieve their Subjects, pretending Injuries done them by any of the *Engliſh* out of any of their Goods which come within their Juriſdiction, as will appear by theſe enſuing Precedents, of which we could have cited many more, but that we fear to offend your Patience.

“ Captain *Jones*, Captain of one of the Parliaments Ships, in the Month of *April* 1644, ſeized upon a *French* Ship belonging to one *Peter le Duke* of *St. Malos* (called the *St. Julian) Peter Michelot* Maſter, the Ship was laden with Corn, Gun-powder, and other Goods. Captain *Jones* takes out the Gun-powder, and ſome ſmall Trifles more, and ſends up the Ship and her Lading to *London* as a Prize, where within four Months after ſhe was freed in the Admiralty. Immediately upon her firſt taking, about the 21ſt of *April* 1644, *Peter le Duke* obtained a Decree from the Council of State to arreſt the Goods or Ships of any of the *Engliſh* Subjects, in obedience to the Parliament, by virtue whereof he obtained from the Judge of the Admiralty in *St. Malos*, a Warrant to break open the Compting-houſe of *Daniel Searles*, Factor to *Engliſh* Merchants, and by Letters and Books there found that in the *Anne* of *London* (of which *Giles Symms* was Maſter) there was Goods to the Value of 1100*l.* belonging to Maſter *William Barkley* of *London* and Company, Merchants; the ſaid Officers unladed all her Goods, as well Maſter *Barkley*'s, as others, and kept them in their Cuſtody until the Ship was releaſed here, and until full Satisfaction was made to *Le Duke* for the Gun-powder and other Goods taken forth of the *St. Julian*, and to the Maſter for Sailors Wages, Freight of the Ship, and other Charges for the time they were ſtayed, which coſt Maſter *Barkley* and Company 350 *l.* here, and about 400 *l.* in *France*, in Suits of Law, and other Charges there. Theſe Goods thus freed from *Le Duke*'s Arreſt, and reladen into another Ship for the Merchants of *London*, had been again arreſted upon a ſecond Pretence, by another Party, for Damages pretended to be done him by the *Engliſh*, had not the Maſter (in which they were re-laden) defended himſelf, and by Force carried them away. Whereupon the ſecond Pretenders met with another Bark in which was 600 *l.* worth of Goods of the ſaid Maſter *Barkley*'s, arreſted them by a Warrant from the Judge, and the greateſt Part of them are there to this Day, and no Satisfaction can be obtained.

“ There are divers other Preſidents of Seizures made both by Land and Sea, frequently by the *French*, of the Goods of *Engliſhmen*, for Injuries pretended to be done to them, which is done by virtue of Warrants from the immediate Judges, and not by Letters of Repriſal, for no other Cauſe but upon a Pretence that ſome other *Engliſhman* had done them an Injury, as in the Caſe of *Martin de Lawney*, which hath been in Agitation above 20 Years, for Goods pretended to be taken formerly by a Pirate.”

“ WILLIAM BERKLEY.”

The Treaty 1644, *between the King of* Denmark, *and the Parliaments Commiſſioners, was upon this Cauſe.*

“ In the Beginning of *Auguſt* 1643, the Parliaments Ships took the Ship called *Chriſtian Ark*, belonging to the King of *Denmark*, laden with Arms and Ammunition, entring *Tinmouth* Bay, and bound for *Newcaſtle*; brought her up to *London*, and, by Order of the Houſe of Commons, diſpoſed of the Arms and Ammunition, returning only the Ship. Hereupon his Majeſty of *Denmark*, the 23d of the ſame Month, ſeized a Ship belonging to the Merchants-adventurers paſſing *Gluckſtadt*, upon the River *Elve*, and bound for *Hamburgh*; as alſo four other Ships belonging to the Eaſt-land Company paſſing the *Sound*, and confiſcated both Ships and Goods, without any Proceſs in his Admiralty, but only by Act under his own Hand and Seal. After three ſeveral Treaties, his Majeſty of *Denmark* did at laſt agree in *April* 1645, to reſtore ſo much on his Part as exceeded the Value of his Arms here confiſcated, which was alſo done by the extraordinary Way of Treaty, and not by any Proceſs of Law.

“ THO. SKINNER, *Societ. Advent.* Sec.”

“ Many Precedents might be alledged in this kind of the Practice of the *Spaniards* towards the *Engliſh*, who ſeize and condemn their Goods in Port, or otherwiſe on-ſhore, upon pretence of Injuries done them, and that ſo notoriouſly known, that the Plaintiff need give no Inſtances thereon. And further, the Judges in *Spain*, in the way of a civil Action, by Arreſt condemn the Ships and Goods of ſuch as are in Company, having no Relation to the Perſons, or Ships, whereof the Perſons are that did the pretended Damage, as will appear by the particular Precedents of Captain *Davis* and *Tyddyman*, lately acted in *Spain*, hereafter enſuing:

“ Theſe are to certify unto all thoſe whom theſe Preſents may concern, that in the Year 1642, I *Thomas Davis*, Commander of the good Ship called the *Golden Fleece* of *London*, being in the Bay of *Cadiz*, it happened that certain Mariners belonging to the Port of *Dover*, took out of the ſaid Bay a certain Veſſel belonging to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with the Lading and Mariners therein; for which ſaid Act, apprehending an Injury to themſelves, as in reſpect the ſaid Ship was taken, being under their Protection, ſeized upon me the ſaid *Thomas Davis*, committed me to Priſon, and have ſince condemned me and my ſaid Ship, in certain thouſands of Pounds, for Satisfaction for the ſaid Ship and Goods; although I, the ſaid *Thomas Davis*, had never any Conſortſhip or Intereſt with the ſaid *Dover* Mariners, nor to this Day know any of them, or ought proved againſt me to that Effect. In Teſtimony whereof I have hereunto put my Hand this preſent 11th of *July* 1646.

"THOMAS DAVIS."

"Theſe things thus premiſed, your Honours may be pleaſed to obſerve, that it is evident.

"*Firſt*, That the King of *Spain* hath covenanted a Peace with the King of *England*, in the Behalf of himſelf and Subjects; whereby it is agreed, that Reſtitution ſhall be made of all Spoils, with the Damages as aforeſaid.

"*Secondly*, That there hath been a ſhameful Depredation done upon the Ship *Elizabeth*, belonging to *Joſeph Hawes* and Company; and that they have ſought Satisfaction in *Spain*, but without the deſired Effect; and the Offenders, inſtead of Puniſhment, continued in their former Commands and Employments.

"*Thirdly*, That Juſtice being denied by a Prince that hath ſworn a League, *&c.* as aforeſaid, it is accounted juſt, and the Practice of all Nations, to ſatisfy the Perſons ſuffering, out of the next Goods of that Nation offending, coming within the Power or Juriſdiction of that Crown, under whoſe Protection the Party that is ſpoiled inhabiteth; and that the Equity hereof may more clearly appear, may it pleaſe your Honours to conſider.

"That ſuch is the conſtant Uſage of the *Spaniſh* Nation towards the *Engliſh*. Our Laws intend the ſame, for it is enacted, *Anno* 5. *Hen.* IV. That Merchants-ſtrangers ſhall be intreated in this Realm, as Merchants-denizons are beyond the Seas. In order whereunto, there was an Act of Parliament in a particular Caſe, relating to the Subjects of the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Anno* 4. *Edw.* IV. and an Act of State, *Anno* 11 *Eliz.* concerning the *Flemings* and *Spaniards*, whereby other Nations in League with the *Engliſh*, were kept to an equal Obſervation of the Articles of Peace; and Experience teacheth, that there is no better means of making a Peace durable, than by being ſenſible of the firſt and leaſt Violation. This ſtrict keeping of the *Spaniard* to a mutual maintaining of Amity, made him, even againſt his Will (ſaith *Camden*) bear a more favourable Mind towards the *Engliſh*, and produced the renewing that Peace which from the Year 1568 to 1573, was ſomewhat interrupted by the *Spaniards* ſhuffling with this Nation. Queen *Elizabeth*, to her exceeding great Honour (ſaith the ſaid Author) ſatisfying to the full the Damages of the *Engliſh* Merchants, out of the *Netherlanders* Goods, then within her Juriſdiction. And it was the Speech of an Ambaſſador of *Spain* to the King of *France* at *Blois*, *Anno* 1599, That if the public Faith did not maintain reciprocal Bonds, the Peace would be more injurious than War, being impoſſible to avoid the Deceits of him that was a Friend in ſhew, but in effect an Enemy; and by this it is, that Articles of Peace, which are principally made for the Defence of the Innocent, become Snares to them, and Advantages to the Injurious; *& infirmatis violatiſque pactis tollitur inter homines commerciorum uſus.* And in this Caſe, wherein there is no other Remedy, the Law of Nations ordains, that by equal Wrong, Princes and People that keep not Faith, ſhould be enforced to do equal Right. For, is it reaſonable that the Nation ſhould have the Benefit of thoſe Articles of Peace, by which themſelves will not be bound? It is therefore enacted, by the Laws of this Kingdom, 10 *Hen.* VI. That any Subject of the Crown of *England*, that is ſpoiled by a foreign People, ſhall have Letters of Requeſt, under the Privy-ſeal, for his Satisfaction; which if not had in convenient time, the King, by Advice of his Council, ſhall provide Remedy for the Party grieved, which is further explained, *Anno* 4. *Hen.* V. and it was accuſtomed to be done by the Rules of natural Equity, for by tedious and chargeable Suits, the Burden of the Oppreſſed is made heavier, which at the beſt is pitiful, and where they have Relation to the *Spaniard*, moſt miſerable. My Lords and Gentlemen, you are his Majeſty's greateſt Council now opportunely ſitting; theſe honourable Houſes have ever been the Fountains of Juſtice; hence we draw the Waters of our Livelihoods and Liberties: You are thoſe from whom we expect Shelter againſt the Storms of foreign Winds, and the Droppings of unjuſt Judgments: You are the Refuge and Sanctuary of the diſtreſſed Members of this Kingdom; nor is there any thing will be a more acceptable Service unto God, nor render you more honourable to Men, than to relieve the Oppreſſed. Actions of Juſtice and Mercy are equivalent to the Majeſty and Greatneſs of this Aſſembly; with you is Power, if there be any Balm in *Gilead*; with you is Wiſdom, to diſcern the high Inconveniencies that enſue upon Connivance at Injuries of this Nature, and to perceive, that thro' our Sides the Nation is wounded, when unto other former Attempts to diſcourage the Navigation of the *Engliſh* to the Weſtern Plantations, this Depredation is added in a purpoſed hoſtile Manner, aggravated by the affronting Speech of the Marquis *Cardenoza*, General of the Fleet, *That he would carry us into* Spain, *to know if the King his Maſter would give Leave to the King of* England *that his Subjects might plant and trade in* Virginia; as if we had begged a *Gibeonitiſh* Peace; and muſt be content with our Lives, and enjoy the Benefit of the Articles, as they pleaſe to interpret them.

"Sure the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation is not come to this; nor are thoſe Plantations with ſo great Charge brought to ſome Perfection, to have ſo ſhort an End as the Will of the *Spaniard* would meaſure them out. The Deſign was higher, and had a further Intent, and may hereafter have a more ſeaſonable Thought; which is left to the Wiſdom of this State. It only remains, that *ex abundanti*, we ſhew your Honours the Equity of our Pretenſions; that tho' by the Laws of this Kingdom, and the Practices of other Nations, we ought to have Reparations (out of the Goods of any of that Nation that hath done us the Injury) yet more eſpecially againſt theſe Goods and Perſons entitling themſelves Owners; and firſt for the Goods.

"They are our moſt certain Hold, proved to be taken out of the Vice-admiral of the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet; [See the Proofs made in the Admiralty-court, fol. 19—29—32, and fol. 24—34.] and then we alledge, That the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet that robbed the *Elizabeth* in 1637, and this in *Anno* 1640, were one and the ſame; ſet out by the ſame Power and Authority, and to the ſame End, *viz.* under the Authority of the Contractation-houſe, Perſons deputed to manage that particular Trade, and the Fleet thereon depending. The End, to appropriate the Profit of that Trade to the King of *Spain*, and ſome others, that by Licence he encorporates to himſelf, taking an Average of all the Plate and Merchandiſe that comes thence; *viz.* a third or fourth of the Return for the Maintenance of the Men of War that execute the Orders of that Houſe, in the Spoil of thoſe that trade thither without Licence. That in this Fleet were ſeveral Ships, Commanders, and Soldiers, that were in the Fleet 1637 [fol. 27, 28.] that took the *Elizabeth*; that theſe Goods came to *Southampton*, not in a way of Merchandiſe and Commerce, but caſually and by Accident brought in, otherwiſe bound for *Spain*.

"And for the Perſons pretended Owners. It is by themſelves confeſſed upon Oath, that they are all uſual Traders to the *Weſt Indies*. In particular *Hieronimo Favian Loretto*, that he hath uſed to ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*, and traded for theſe 12 Years, [fol. 94.] *Ignatius Landabola* hath uſed to trade by the Space of 11 Years, and that he hath been ſeven Voyages in the *Weſt-Indies*, [fol. 105.] *Marcus de la Rombida*, that he hath traded

“ about 12 Years, and been in the *Indies* eight ſeveral Voyages [fol. 107.] That in this Voyage 1640, they were about two Years before they returned; that the Ships that go forth in one Year, return not until the next; whereby of neceſſity it muſt follow, that thoſe very Perſons were in the Fleet that robbed the *Elizabeth*, being in all the Voyages for the Space of 11 or 12 Years, and therefore moſt juſt, in all Reſpects, that the Monies in the Parliaments Hands, being the Proceed of theſe Goods, ſhould be the Satisfaction of your preſent Petitioners, the Adminiſtrators of *Joſeph Hawes*, in the Behalf of themſelves and others, the rather for that upon their firſt Arrival, the ſaid Ship and Goods were arreſted by them by an Action out of the Admiralty. We ſhall now with *Brutus* to the Senate of *Rome*, only ſhew our Wounds, and wait the ſtirring Opportunity of your Healings; our Wounds yet bleeding are too apparent.

“ *Joſeph Hawes* and Company, by the firſt Spoil endamaged above 12000 *l.* The Advantage that was like to have accrued to them by that Voyage is proved to be about 5000 *l.* more.

“ The Want of that Stock for nine Years in their Trades may he eaſily valued, the Parties having paid eight *per Cent.* themſelves. The Prejudice that *Joſeph Hawes* had in the Loſs of a known fair Eſtate; his Impriſonment and Death with Grief followed. The Conſequences of this Depredation in the Loſs his Friends ſuſtained, who were in natural Affection bound to his Support, which they were the rather encouraged to do by the Hope they had of his Relief out of Silver and Merchandiſe by him arreſted, belonging to the *Spaniards*, brought hither in an *Engliſh* Bottom from the *Sommer* Iſlands.

“ The Ruin of his natural Brother *Nathaniel Hawes*, engaged for him in divers great Sums of Money, part of which he paid, and had Execution ſerved upon his Eſtate for more, to his Damage above 6000 *l.* beſides Loſs of his Trade, which he is ready upon Oath to teſtify, being the Proof the Law in this Caſe requires.

“ *Randall Mainwaring*, and *George Payne*, that married his two Siſters, have likewiſe paid ſeveral great Sums of Money for him, and reſt engaged for more.

“ There hath been ſpent 14 or 1500 *l.* in purſuance of Satisfaction; theſe Damages we humbly conceive Juſtice will make good, beſides the Sufferances of the Sailors and Paſſengers.

“ We might further move your Pity, by putting you in mind of the Neceſſities of the ſaid Ship's Company; ſome Widows and Children, Relicts of thoſe deceaſed, wanting Bread, whom the Charity of others ſupports.

“ We are therefore bold to caſt ourſelves into the ſimpathizing Arms of this Commonwealth, by your Honours repreſented. It was the Saying of the wiſe *Solon*, *That that Commonwealth was only well governed, wherein every Man took the Injuries done to another as done to himſelf and to Juſtice.*

“ The Lord direct the Judgment to be ſuch, that it may be for the public Good of the Nation, the vindicating the Honour thereof, the preventing future Injuries, and Manifeſtation of that Juſtice which is God's own Work, and you the faithful Diſpenſers.

“ In aſſured Confidence whereof, we your humble Petitioners ſhall bleſs God for you, and the happy Effects of Juſtice and Protection that flow from theſe honourable Houſes.

“ *Hoc uno reges olim ſunt fine Creati*
“ *Dicere jus populis, injuſtaque tollere facta.*”

Laws *of* War, *and* Ordinances *of the* Sea, *ordained and eſtabliſhed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *for the regulating and better Government of the Navies, Fleets, and Ships of War, and Armies by Sea of the Commonwealth of* England; *and all and ſingular Perſons, Ships and Veſſels thereunto belonging, to be put in Execution according to an Act of this preſent Parliament, entitled,* An Act for conſtituting Commiſſioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy; *and to be obſerved and duly obeyed by the Vice-admirals, Rear-admirals, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Maſters, Maſters Mates, and all other Officers, Mariners, Seamen and Soldiers, and all other whomſoever theſe Laws and Ordinances may concern, under the Pains and Penalties therein contained and expreſſed.*

“ I. All Commanders ſhall endeavour, that almighty God be ſolemnly and reverently ſerved in the reſpective Ships, all Prophaneneſs and Irreligiouſneſs avoided, Preaching and Praying, and other religious Duties be exerciſed and duly frequented, and the Lord's Day religiouſly obſerved.

“ II. Unlawful and raſh Oaths, Curſings, Execrations, Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, and other ſcandalous Acts in Derogation of God's Honour, and Corruption of Good-manners, ſhall be puniſhed as the Council of War ſhall think fit.

“ III. All ſuch as ſhall give, practice, hold or entertain Intelligence, to or with any State, Prince or other, being Enemy or Rebel to this Commonwealth, by any manner of Means or Slights, or have any Communication with them, without Direction or Leave of the Parliament, Council of State, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, Generals at Sea, or Commander in Chief of the Squadron, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ IV. If any Letter or Meſſage from the Enemy, or on their Behalf, be conveyed to any inferior Officer, Mariner, Soldier or other in the Fleet, and the ſaid Officer, Mariner, Soldier or other as aforeſaid, do not inſtantly acquaint the ſuperior Commander with it; or if a ſuperior Officer, being acquainted therewith by an inferior Officer, Mariner or other, or himſelf in his own Perſon receiving a Letter or Meſſage from the Enemy, reveal not the ſame forthwith to the Generals, Admirals, or the Chief of his Squadron; all ſuch Mariners, Officers, Soldiers and others, ſhall be puniſhed as Traitors with Pains of Death.

“ V. No Perſon or Perſons of the Fleet ſhall relieve the Enemy with Money, Victuals, Powder, Shot, Arms or Ammunition, directly or indirectly, upon Pain of Death.

“ VI. None ſhall harbour or conceal any Enemy, or known Delinquent or Rebel on Ship-board, nor carry, or endeavour to tranſport any ſuch beyond Sea without Licence, upon Pain of Death, or other Puniſhment, as a Council of War ſhall adjudge.

“ VII. None ſhall preſume wilfully and wittingly to injure or wrong at Sea the known Friends or Allies of this State, either Members of this Commonwealth or Strangers not in Enmity, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as the Nature and Circumſtances of the Offence ſhall require; nor in viſiting any Ships or Veſſels, either take Goods forcibly, or by Force or Terror extort them, upon Pain of Death, or other Puniſhment, according to the Nature and Circumſtances of the Offence.

“ VIII. All the Papers, Charter-parties, Bills of Lading, Paſſports and other Writings whatſoever, that ſhall be taken, ſeized, or found aboard any Ship or Ships which ſhall be ſurprized or ſeized as Prize, ſhall be duly preſerved, and not torn nor made away, but the very Originals ſent up entirely and without Fraud to the Admiralty-court, there to be viewed, made uſe of, and proceeded upon according to Law, upon Pain of Loſs of all the Shares of the Takers, and ſuch further Puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Offenders therein, as the Quality of their Offence and Miſdemeanors ſhall be found to deſerve.

“ IX. None ſhall take out of any Prize, or Ship, or Goods ſeized on for Prize, any Money, Plate, Goods, Lading or Tackle, before Judgment firſt thereof paſs in the Admiralty-court; but that the full and entire Account of the Whole, without Embezzlement, ſhall be brought in, and Judgment paſs entirely upon the Whole without Fraud, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as ſhall be found by a Council of War, or the Court of Admiralty (as the Caſe may happen) to be juſt; excepting, that it ſhall be lawful for all Captains, Seamen, Soldiers, and others, ſerving as aforeſaid, to take, and to have to themſelves as Pillage, without further or other Account to be given for the ſame, all ſuch Goods and

“ Merchandizes (other than Arms, Ammunition, Tackle, Furniture or Stores of ſuch Ship) as ſhall be found by them, or any of them, in any Ship (they ſhall take in in Fight as Prize) upon or above the Gun-deck of the ſaid Ship, and not otherwiſe.

“ X. None ſhall imbezil, ſteal, or take away any Cables, Anchors, Sails, or any of the Ship's Furniture, or any of the Powder, or Arms, or Ammunition of the Ship, upon Pain of Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Quality of the Offence ſhall be found by a Council of War to deſerve.

“ XI. If any foreign Ship or Veſſel ſhall be taken as Prize that ſhall not Fight or make Reſiſtance, that in that caſe none of the Captains, Maſters, or Mariners, being Foreigners, ſhall be ſtripped of their Cloaths, or in any ſort pillaged, beaten or evil entreated, upon Pain to pay and make good double the Damages; but the ſaid foreign Ships, and all the Goods ſo taken, ſhall be preſerved entire, to receive Judgment in the Admiralty-court, according to Right and Juſtice.

“ XII. Every Captain and Commander, upon Signal or Order of Fight, or View or Sight of any Ships of the Enemy, or Likelihood of Engagement, ſhall put all Things in his Ship in a fit Poſture for fight; and cauſe the Lieutenant, and Gunner, and Quarter-maſter, and other Officers to fit themſelves, and quarter the Men according to the Number and Quality of Men and Ordnance, with a competent Number to ply the ſmall Shot, and likewiſe to manage and trim the Sails; and every Captain and Officer ſhall in his own Perſon, and according to his Place, hearten and encourage the Seamen and common Men to fight courageouſly, and not to behave themſelves faintly, nor to yield to the Enemy, or to cry for Quarter, upon Pain of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Offence ſhall deſerve.

“ XIII. Every Captain and Commander of any Ship, Frigate or Veſſel of War, ſhall duly obſerve the Commands of the General at Sea, or his Superior or Commander of any Squadron, for the aſſailing or ſetting upon any Fleet, Squadron or Ships of the Enemy, or joining Battle with them, or making Defence againſt them, upon Pain to ſuffer Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Quality of his Neglect or Offence ſhall deſerve.

“ XIV. Every Captain, and all other Officers, Mariners and Soldiers of every Ship, Frigate or Veſſel of War, that ſhall in Time of any Fight or Engagement withdraw, or keep back, or not come in to the Fight, and engage, and do his utmoſt to take, fire, kill and endamage the Enemy, and aſſiſt and relieve all and every the Ships of this Commonwealth, ſhall for ſuch Offence of Cowardiſe or Diſaffection be tried, and ſuffer Pains of Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Circumſtances of the Offence ſhall deſerve, and the Council of War ſhall judge fit.

“ XV. Whoſoever, either through Cowardiſe, Negligence or Diſaffection, ſhall forbear to purſue the Chaſe of any Enemy, or Rebel, beaten or flying, or ſhall not relieve or aſſiſt a Friend in View to the utmoſt of his Power, ſhall be puniſhed with Death or otherwiſe, as a Council of War ſhall find juſt.

“ XVI. When at any time Service or Action ſhall be commanded, no Man ſhall preſume to ſtop or put backward, or diſcourage the ſaid Service and Action by pretence of Arrears of Wages, or upon any other Pretence whatſoever, upon Pain of Death.

“ XVII. All Captains, Officers, and Seamen, that either have, or ſhall betray their Truſt, and turn to the Enemy, and either run away with their Ship, or any Ordnance, or Ammunition, or Proviſion, to the Weakening of the Service, or yield the ſame up to the Enemy, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ XVIII. All Captains, Officers or Mariners that ſhall deſert the Service or their Employment in the Ships, or ſhall run away, or intice any others ſo to do, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ XIX. All Captains of Ships, having once taken any Commiſſion for taking of Prizes, according to any Act, Ordinance or Order of Parliament, or ſerved as any private Man of War, or received any Pay or Impreſs, or been otherwiſe employed from or under the Parliament, that ſhall either turn to the Enemy, or declare themſelves againſt the Parliament, or wilfully ſet upon, fight with, ſurprize, or take any Ship or Veſſel ſtanding in Obedience to the Parliament, or any of their Adherents, or ſhall turn Robber, and uſe to exerciſe Piracy, either upon or againſt any Merchants or other Ships, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ XX. All Perſons whatſoever that ſhall come or be found in the Nature of Spies, to bring any ſeducing Letters or Meſſages from the Enemy, or ſhall attempt or endeavour to corrupt any Captain, Officer, Mariner or others of the Navy or Fleet, to betray his or their Truſt, and yield up any Ship, or Ammunition, or turn to the Enemy, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ XXI. None ſhall utter any Words of Sedition and Uproar, nor make or endeavour to make any mutinous Aſſemblies upon any Pretence whatſoever, upon Pain of Death.

“ XXII. No Perſon ſhall conceal any mutinous Words, or any Words ſpoken by any to the Prejudice of the preſent State or Government, or any Words tending to the Hindrance of the Service, but ſhall reveal them to his Superior, that a meet Proceeding may be had thereupon, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as a Council of War ſhall find to be juſt.

“ XXIII. None ſhall preſume to quarrel with his ſuperior Officer upon Pain of ſevere Puniſhment, nor to ſtrike any ſuch upon Pain of Death, or otherwiſe as a Council of War ſhall find the Matter to deſerve.

“ XXIV. If any find Cauſe of Complaint of the Unwholeſomeneſs of his Victuals, or upon other juſt Ground, he ſhall quietly make the ſame known to his Superior, or Captain, or Commander in Chief, as the Occaſion may deſerve, that ſuch preſent Remedy may be had as the Matter may require: And the ſaid Superior or Commander is to cauſe the ſame to be preſently remedied accordingly; but no Perſon upon any ſuch or other Pretence ſhall privately attempt to ſtir up any Diſturbance, upon Pain of ſuch ſevere Puniſhment as a Council of War ſhall find meet to inflict.

“ XXV. None ſhall quarrel or fight in the Ship, nor uſe reproachful or provoking Speeches, tending to make any Quarrel or Diſturbance upon Pain of Impriſonment, and ſuch other Puniſhment as the Offence ſhall deſerve.

“ XXVI. None ſhall uſe any Words tending to the Death of the Admirals or Generals, upon Pain of Death.

“ XXVII. Every Captain ſhall keep the Number and Complement of Men allowed to his Ship full and compleat, and take care to have a full Proportion of Mariners and Seamen, and to get and keep ſuch as are able and healthful, and fit for Service, and not Boys nor infirm Perſons, that ſo the Ship may be well mann'd for fight, and not be peſtred with Idlers and Boys, upon Pain to be puniſhed as the Quality of the Offence may deſerve.

“ XXVIII. That there be no waſteful Expence of any Powder, Shot, Ammunition, or other Stores, nor any Imbezzlement thereof, but that the Stores and Proviſions be carefully preſerved, upon ſuch Penalties, by Death, Fine, or otherwiſe upon the Offenders, Abettors, Buyers and Receivers, as ſhall be by a Council of War found juſt in that Behalf.

“ XXIX. That Care be taken in the conducting and ſteering of the Ships, that through Wilfulneſs, Negligence, or other Defaults, none of the Ships be ſtranded or run upon any Rocks or Sands, or ſplit or hazarded, upon Pain that ſuch as ſhall be found guilty therein, be puniſhed by Death or otherwiſe, as the Offence may deſerve.

“ XXX. None ſhall imbezil any Part of the Ship's Tackle or Furniture, or of the Arms and Ammunition, upon Pain of Death.

“ XXXI. All Perſons that ſhall wilfully burn or ſet fire on any Ship, or Magazine, or Store of Powder, or Ship-boat, Ketch, Hoy or Veſſel, or Tackle or Furniture thereto belonging, not appertaining to an Enemy, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ XXXII. No Man ſhall ſleep upon his Watch, or negligently perform the Duty impoſed on him, or for-

" ſake his Station, upon Pain of Death or leſſer Puniſhment, as the Circumſtances of the Caſe ſhall require.

" XXXIII. All Murders, and wilful killing of any Perſons in the Ship, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

" XXXIV. All Robbery and Theſt ſhall be puniſhed with Death or otherwiſe, as the Council of War (upon Conſideration of Circumſtances) ſhall find meet.

" XXXV. The Captains, Officers and Seamen of all Ships appointed for Convoy and Guard of Merchant-ſhips, or any other, ſhall diligently attend upon that Charge without Delay, according to their Inſtructions in that Behalf; and whoſoever ſhall be faulty therein, and ſhall not faithfully perform the ſame, and defend the Ships and Goods in their Convoy, without either diverting to other Parts or Occaſions, or refuſing or neglecting to fight in their Defence, if they be ſet upon or aſſailed, or running away cowardly, and ſubmitting thoſe in their Convoy to Peril and Hazard, ſhall be condemned to make Reparation of the Damage to the Merchants, and Owners, and others, as the Court of Admiralty ſhall adjudge; and alſo be puniſhed criminally, according to the Quality and Quantity of their Offences, be it by Pains of Death or leſſer Puniſhment: And that no Captain, Maſter, or other Officer of any Ship belonging to the State, or in their Service, ſhall demand, receive, or take from any Merchant or other, whoſe Ship or Goods he is appointed to Convoy, any Fee, Gratuity or Reward in reſpect thereof, upon Pain that ſuch Captain, Maſter and Officer ſhall for ſuch Offence be caſhiered.

" XXXVI. No Provoſt-marſhal belonging to the Fleet ſhall refuſe to receive or to keep any Priſoner committed to his Charge, nor diſmiſs him, nor ſuffer him to eſcape, being once in his Cuſtody, upon Pain of being liable to the ſame Puniſhment which ſhould have been inflicted upon the Party diſmiſſed, or permitted to eſcape, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Council of War ſhall think fit.

" XXXVII. No Man ſhall preſume to uſe any braving or menacing Words, Signs or Geſtures, while the Court-martial is ſitting, upon Pain of Fine and Impriſonment.

" XXXVIII. All Captains, Officers and Seamen ſhall do their Endeavour to detect, apprehend, and bring to Puniſhment all Offenders, and ſhall aſſiſt the Officers appointed for that Purpoſe therein, upon Pain to be proceeded againſt and puniſhed in the Court-marſhal at Diſcretion.

" XXXIX. All other Faults, Diſorders and Offences not mentioned in theſe Articles, ſhall be puniſhed according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Sea, and according to the general Cuſtoms and Laws of War."

Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

Theſe Regulations, and the Punctuality in their Obſervation under the Command of the republican Admirals, who, diſregarding domeſtic Broils, kept to their particular Province, and by their Courage ſpread Terror abroad, contributed greatly to preſerve the whole Nation from falling a Prey to the *Gallic* Councils; which, could they have gained the ſame Influence over the marine, as they too viſibly had got over the military Part of *Britain*, could not have failed of reducing this Iſland of Liberty under their Yoke of Slavery; and, at laſt, the Navy facilitated the grand Scheme of the Reſtoration, planned out by General *Monk*.

The eminent Seamen within this Period, and worthy our Notice, for their Courage and Conduct, are the Earl of *Warwick*, Admiral *Blake*, Sir *George Ayſcue*, and Admiral *Montague*; of whom, the two former only ſhall be mentioned in this Place; *Ayſcue* and *Montague* having done many things that entitle them to a Place more honourable at the End of King *Charles* the Second's Reign.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ROBERT RICH, *Earl of* Warwick, *Lord High-admiral.*

Robert Rich, Earl of *Warwick*, was born in 1587, and was eldeſt Son of *Robert*, firſt Earl of *Warwick*, by *Penelope*, Daughter of *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and, upon his Father's Death in 1618, ſucceeded him in his Title and Eſtate [a]. In 1625, upon the breaking out of the War with *Spain*, while the *Engliſh* Fleet was preparing for the Voyage to *Cadiz*, and Reports were ſpread that the *Spaniards* would land Forces upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, his Lordſhip was commanded, with 3000 of the Train'd-bands of that County, to ſecure the Port of *Harwich* and *Langer Point*, which Service he performed with much Readineſs; but, upon the blocking up of *Dunkirk* with Ships belonging to the *Engliſh* and to the States of the *United Provinces*, he was ordered to diſmiſs his Men [b].

In the Year 1640, he was one of the Lords who ſigned a Petition ſent to the King then at *York*, repreſenting the Grievances of the Nation, and beſeeching his Majeſty to ſummon a Parliament for the Redreſs of thoſe Grievances, and the Puniſhment of the Authors and Counſellors of them [c]. And indeed the Earl had very particular Reaſons to diſlike the Conduct of the Court; for, after the Diſſolution of the Short-parliament, which met on the 13th of *April* that Year, his Pockets, Cabinet, and Study, and thoſe of the Lord *Brooke*, had been ſearched by Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks of the Council, by Order of the Secretaries of State; which Breach of Privilege being complained of in the Houſe of Peers, upon the meeting of the next Parliament in *November* following, Sir *William* was committed to the Fleet [d].

During the Courſe of Proceedings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, he was one of the popular Lords, who were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-council [e]; and, in the latter End of *March* 1641-2, upon the Indiſpoſition of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord High-admiral, he was recommended by the Parliament to the King to have the Command of the Fleet; which his Majeſty refuſed, and appointed Sir *John Pennington* to that Service [f]. But the Parliament, having ſeveral Exceptions to Sir *John*'s former Conduct, deſired the Earl of *Northumberland* to grant his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet; which was done, and the two Houſes prepared Reaſons to ſatisfy the King with relation to their own Proceeding in the Appointment of the Earl of *Warwick* againſt the Conſent of his Majeſty [g], who had written Letters to the Earl with ſtrict Orders to give Place to Sir *John Pennington*.

His Lordſhip was in ſome Perplexity between ſuch high and oppoſite Commands, being gone down to take Poſſeſſion of the Fleet; and therefore called a Council of War, acquainting them all with the Ordinance of Parliament appointing him to the Command, and the King's Letters forbidding him to accept it; but he thought himſelf obliged to comply with the former, upon Conſideration of the Care which he had ſeen in the Parliaments of this Kingdom, for the Good and Safety both of King and Kingdom, and every Man's Particular in them; and that they are the great Council, by whoſe Authority the Kings of *England* have ever ſpoken to their Subjects; for which Reaſon he was reſolved to continue in that Employment, till it ſhould be revoked by that Authority, which had intruſted him with it. Moſt of the Captains took up unanimouſly the ſame Reſolution with the Earl, except five, who were the Rear-admiral, Capt. *Fogge*, Capt. *Baily*, Cap. *Slingſby*, and Capt. *Ware*, and who alledged that they had the King's Command to obey Sir *John Pennington*, whom his Majeſty had appointed Admiral inſtead of the Earl of *Northumberland*. But three of theſe Captains ſoon ſubmitted to his Lordſhip, who had ſurrounded them; and the two others, *Slingſby* and *Ware*, were ſeized by their own Crew, and brought Priſoners to him [h].

In the latter End of the Year 1643, the Earl was made Governor in Chief of all the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, with a Committee to aſſiſt him [i]; and, ſoon after, voted by Parliament to be Lord High-admiral of *England* [k]. In *June* 1644 he relieved the Town of *Lyme* with Proviſions and Ammunition, when it was beſieged by Prince *Maurice*, for which Service his Lordſhip had a Letter of Thanks ſent him by both Houſes[a]; and the Tenths of all Prizes were allotted to him towards a Satisfaction of his great Diſburſements on the Parliament's Account[b]. But, notwithſtanding the Importance of his Services, he was obliged to lay down his Commiſſion of Lord High-admiral in 1645, in compliance with the Ordinance for diſcharging the Members of both Houſes from all Employments, military and civil, which he did in a Paper preſented to the Houſe of Peers on the 10th of that Month; in which he declared, that "his higheſt Ambition was to contribute his beſt Endeavours for the Service of the Parliament; and that he was reſolved to ſtand and fall with them in the upholding of God's Truth and the public Liberty; knowing well, by many Years Experience, that the Welfare of the Kingdom could not ſubſiſt without God's Bleſſing in the Preſervation and Safety of the Parliament[c]." In the ſame Month he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty[d]; and, in *December* following, in the Debate about the Propoſitions for Peace, it was voted, that he ſhould be made a Duke[e].

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[a] Collins, Peerage of England, Vol II. p. 187. 2d Edit.

[b] Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 195. Edit. 1659.

[c] Clarendon, B. III. p. 64. Edit. Oxford, 1732, fol.

[d] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 36. 2d Edit.

[e] Ibid. p. 38.

[f] Whitlock, p. 57. and Clarendon, p 157.

[g] Clarendon, p. 157, 158.

[h] May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, B. II. Ch. 5. p. 94, 95. Edit. London 1647, fol.

[i] Whitlock, p. 77.

[k] Ibid. p. 78.

In *April* 1647, he was employed as one of the Parliament-Commiſſioners to perſuade the Army to undertake the Service of going over to reduce *Ireland*[f]; and, in the End of the next Month, was one of the Commiſſioners appointed to aſſiſt the General in diſbanding the Army[g]. In *July*, upon occaſion of the Force put upon the Parliament by the Apprentices of *London*, his Lordſhip with other Peers left *London*, and put themſelves under the Protection of the General and Army[h].

In *May* 1648, Part of the Fleet having revolted from the Parliament, and ſailed to *Holland*, where they received the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* on board, the Earl of *Warwick* was again voted to be Lord High-admiral, and that he ſhould immediately go to take Care of the reſt of the Fleet[i], which he ſoon aſſembled, and anchored in ſight of the Prince, who upon that retired to *Helvoetſluys.* Whilſt the two Fleets lay in ſight, and ſeemed to prepare for Battle, the Prince ſent Mr. *Henry Seymour* to the Earl, with a Letter to invite him to return to his Allegiance. The Earl anſwered, that he adviſed his Highneſs to put himſelf into the Hands of the Parliament. Notwithſtanding this diſcouraging Anſwer, the Prince ſent Mr. *Crofts* to his Lordſhip, who had married his Aunt, imagining that he durſt not venture to diſcover his Sentiments to *Seymour*. But Mr. *Crofts* returned with much the ſame Anſwer[k]. This might probably expoſe the Earl to ſome Suſpicions, that he would prove falſe to the Parliament[l]; which occaſioned him to draw up, in *November* 1648, a Declaration in vindication of himſelf[m].

On the 21ſt of *February* 1648-9, his Commiſſion of Lord High-admiral was repealed, and Commiſſioners appointed in his Room to command the Fleet[n]. When *Cromwell* had diſſolved the Long-parliament, and aſſumed the Protectorſhip, the Earl was admitted into a great Share of his Friendſhip and Confidence[o], and held the Sword at his Inauguration, in *June* 1657[p]. He was likewiſe one of the Lords of his *other Houſe* of Parliament[q], and married his Grandſon *Robert* to *Frances*, the Protector's youngeſt Daughter, and ſettled his whole entailed Eſtate upon that Marriage, which was ſolemnized *November* 17, 1657[r].

His Lordſhip died *April* 19, 1658, aged 70 Years and 11 Months, and was interred at *Felſtede* in *Eſſex*[s]. He is ſtiled by Mr. *Thomas May*[t], the Parliament Hiſtorian, *a Man of Courage, of religious Life, and known Fidelity to his Country*; and Mr. *Calamy*, in his Funeral Sermon upon him, repreſents him as one of the *beſt-natur'd Noblemen in* England, *of exemplary Piety, and eminent Integrity and Charity.* But Lord *Clarendon*[u], who has committed a groſs Miſtake in ſuppoſing him to have ſurviv'd, and exceedingly lamented the Protector, who died near five Months after him, is much leſs favourable to his Lordſhip's Character.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ROBERT BLAKE, *Eſq; and Admiral.*

Robert Blake was deſcended from the ancient Family of the *Blakes*, of *Planſfield*, in the Pariſh of *Spaxton*, in the County of *Somerſet*[w]. His Father *Humphry* was a Merchant, ſettled at *Bridgwater*, in the Neighbourhood of which he had purchaſed an Eſtate, having by the *Spaniſh* Trade raiſed a conſiderable Fortune for thoſe Times[x]. He had ſeveral Children, of whom the eldeſt, *Robert*, was born in the Month of *Auguſt* 1589, and educated, during his Father's Life-time, at a Free-ſchool in *Bridgwater*. He removed himſelf to *Oxford*, where he was matriculated in *Lent* Term 1615, as a Member of *St. Alban's Hall*[y]. Some time after he ſtood for a Scholarſhip of *Chriſt Church*, but loſt it. From *Alban-Hall* he tranſlated himſelf to *Wadham-College*, and on the 10th of *February* 1617, he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts[z].

In 1619, being then about 21 Years of Age, he was Candidate for a Fellowſhip in *Merton-College*, but miſſed again of his Hopes, as ſome thought, on account of his low Stature, for Sir *Henry Savile*, who was then Warden of that College, had great Reſpect to the Comelineſs of Students Perſons[a]. A ſtrange Foible in ſo great a Man! In 1623, Mr. *Blake* wrote a Copy of Verſes on the Death of Mr. *Camden*[b], and ſome time after left the Univerſity. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early Riſer, and a very ſtudious young Man, yet he was not ſo much given up to his Books, but that he took a great Deal of Exerciſe, delighted in Fiſhing and Fowling, with other ſuch like Sports, and if the Scandal of thoſe Times might be credited, would now and then ſteal Swans[c].

He could not be leſs than 25 when he left *Oxford*, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by ſeveral Authors, that he was Maſter of Arts, if *Wood* did not poſitively aſſert the contrary[d]. Mr. *Blake* lived at *Bridgwater* in a private Manner, and was diſtinguiſhed among the good Fellows in the Neighbourhood, as a Plain-dealer. He was naturally of a grave, ſevere Temper, but would readily unbend in an Evening, when he diſcovered a humourous Bluntneſs in his Converſation, which was very agreeable and entertaining[e]. He was tinctured pretty early with Republican Principles, and diſliking that Severity with which Dr. *Laud*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, preſſed Uniformity in his Dioceſe, he began to fall into thoſe Opinions which were ſtiled *puritannical*. His innate Roughneſs and Sincerity led him to ſpeak freely upon all Occaſions, inſomuch that his Sentiments were generally known, which inclined the Puritan Party to procure his being elected Member for *Bridgwater*, in that Parliament which ſat in *April* 1640[f]. It was diſſolved too early for him to make any Figure, and in the next, which was the Long-parliament, he loſt his Election.

When the War broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his Principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their Service, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what Quality; but he was ſoon made Captain of Dragoons[g]. In 1643, we find him at *Briſtol*, under the Command of Col. *Fiennes*, who intruſted him with a little Fort on the Line, in which he firſt gave the World a Proof of his military Virtues, for on the 26th of *July*, when Prince *Rupert* attacked that important Place, and the Governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon Articles, Mr. *Blake* ſtill held out his Fort, and killed ſeveral of the King's Forces; which exaſperated Prince *Rupert* to ſuch a Degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome Friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of Experience in War, at whoſe Requeſt, though not without much Difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the Fort [a].

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[a] Ibid: p. 90.
[b] Ibid. p. 93.
[c] Earl of Warwick's Surrender of the Ordinance and Authority, p. 4. Edit. London 1645, 4to.
[d] Whitlock, p. 142, 144.
[e] Ibid. 182.
[f] Ibid. 243.
[g] Ibid. p. 249.
[h] Ibid. p. 262.
[i] Ibid. p. 308.
[k] Clarendon, p. 537.
[l] Whitlock, p. 346.
[m] Ibid. p. 348.
[n] Ibid. p. 383.
[o] Clarendon, p. 305.
[p] Whitlock, p. 662.
[q] Ibid. p. 666.
[r] Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VI. p. 573.
[s] Calamy's Sermon preach'd at his Funeral. London 1658, in 4to.
[t] Ubi ſupra, p. 94.
[u] P. 305.
[w] Lives Britiſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75. Lond. 1704, 8vo.
[x] Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.
[y] Wood, ubi ſupra.
[z] Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.
[a] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75.
[b] Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.
[c] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 75. Wood, ubi ſupra.
[d] Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Oxford 1717, 8vo. Vol. III. P. II. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Faſti Oxon. Vol I col. 203.
[e] Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 602.
[f] Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 76.
[g] Wood, ubi ſupra.

After this he ſerved in *Somerſetſhire*, under the Command of *Popham*, who was Governor of *Lyme*, to whoſe Regiment *Blake* was Lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his Country, and as the greateſt Part of the Regiment were *Somerſetſhire* Men, he had ſo good an Intelligence in thoſe Parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir *Robert Pye*, ſurprized *Taunton* for the Parliament [b], where he found 10 Pieces of Cannon, and a great Deal of Ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted Governor of that Place, which was of the utmoſt Importance, being the only Garriſon the Parliament had in the Weſt. The Works about it were far from being ſtrong, he had no very numerous Garriſon, yet by keeping a ſtrict Diſcipline, and treating the Townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great Care was taken to furniſh him with Supplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the King's Forces.

Colonel *Windham*, Governor of *Bridgwater* for the King, was then in the royal Army, and knowing Colonel *Blake*, he undertook to manage the Buſineſs with him; he firſt ſent a threatening Summons to ſurrender on Pain of Fire and Sword; and by a ſecond Trumpeter he mildly endeavoured to perſuade him to it, for that the Works were inconſiderable, the Place indefenſible, and to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. *Blake* returned this Anſwer: "Theſe are to let you know, that as we neither fear your "Menaces, nor accept your Proffers, ſo we wiſh you for "Time to come to deſiſt from all Overtures of the like "Nature to us, who are reſolved to the laſt Drop of our "Blood to maintain the Quarrel we have undertaken, and "doubt not but the ſame God, who has hitherto protect"ed us, will, e'er long, bleſs us with an Iſſue anſwerable "to the Juſtice of our Cauſe: However, to him alone "we ſhall ſtand or fall." Soon after the Receipt of this Letter the Beſiegers were charged by a Body of the Parliament's Forces, who broke through the King's, and ſupplied the Town with Proviſions, and what other Neceſſaries they wanted. However, the Parliament's main Army could not advance ſo faſt as Colonel *Blake*'s Neceſſities required; the ſelf-denying Ordinance had newly paſt, *Eſſex* was out, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* made General, all Colonels and other Officers, who were Members of Parliament, were obliged to lay down their Commiſſions, and attend the Service of the Houſe. The Army was modelled, and all this took up ſo much time, that *Blake* was hard put to it to defend the Caſtle of *Taunton*. The Beſiegers had deſtroyed the Suburbs and half the Town; Sir *Richard Greenvill* had taken Col. *Popham*'s Houſe at *Wellington*, which was ſome ſmall Help to *Blake* while it was in the Parliament's Hands. Theſe things being repreſented to the Houſe, they ordered Major-general *Skippon* to join Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and haſten to the Relief of *Taunton* with 8000 Men, Horſe and Foot; Money, Proviſions, and a Train of Artillery, were ſent after them. In the mean while Colonel *Blake* was in great Streights, and the Beſiegers knowing his Diſtreſs, ſummoned him again to ſurrender; but he anſwered, *he would eat his Boots firſt*; and though the Royaliſts had poſted themſelves in Part of the Town, he hindered their penetrating farther. He barricaded that Part of it, which he ſtill held, with all ſorts of Lumber, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every Inch of Ground they got of him. Prince *Rupert* and *Goring* having left the Siege with a conſiderable Body of Troops, General *Fairfax* thought that Colonel *Weldon* and Colonel *Greaves*, with 3000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, might be able to relieve *Taunton*. They accordingly performed it on the 11th of *May*, 1645, ſo much to the Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, that they appointed a kind of anniverſary Thankſgiving for this Deliverance, which is ſtill kept up [c]. The Royaliſts loſt 1000 Men before the Place, beſides which they carried off 12 Waggons full of the Wounded. This however did not hinder a ſecond Siege of that Place, wherein not only *Blake*, but *Weldon* was now beſieged. The latter being at the Head of 5000 Men, ſcorned to be cooped up, and therefore attempted to break through the Royaliſts, which however he could not effect. *Blake* being informed of his Diſtreſs, and that he was retiring precipitately towards *Taunton*, ſallied from thence at the Head of two Troops of Horſe; vigorouſly charged the Purſuers, and thereby gave Colonel *Weldon*'s Men time to retire into the Town; after which he made good his own Retreat, but was cloſely preſſed by the Beſiegers. The Common-council, and many eminent Citizens of *London*, on News of the ſecond Diſtreſs of *Taunton*, voluntarily raiſed 4000 *l.* to mount 1000 Horſe to join Major-general *Maſſey*, whom the Houſe ordered to attempt the Relief of the Place. The Committee of *Kent* raiſed two Troops of Horſe and Dragoons for the ſame Service; and all was not enough, conſidering the Danger *Blake* and *Weldon* were in. The Governor wrote to the Parliament, that he ſhould be put to great Streights if Succour came not ſpeedily; he aſſured them he would never hear of a Parley with the Enemy; that the Garriſon had ſome Ammunition, and reſolved to feed upon their Horſes. He deſired the Houſe to take their State into Conſideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament anſwered, that he ſhould be ſpeedily relieved; that they would pay what Money he took up. They deſired him and his Men to go on in their Vigilance and Valour, and they ſhould never want Encouragement. Accordingly a Regiment of Dragoons was ordered to be raiſed, and to march with *Maſſey* towards *Taunton*. In the mean while their Affairs went ill in the Weſt; Colonel *Blake* could get no Intelligence of the Progreſs made by the two Houſes for his Relief, at laſt Colonel *Ciely*, Governor of *Lyme*, found a way to inform him of *Maſſey*'s advancing Weſtward, and at the ſame time conveyed a ſmall Supply of Powder into the Town. On this, *Blake* commanded a Party of the Garriſon to ſally out on the Beſiegers; theſe, with the Loſs of 100 Men, killed 400 of *Goring*'s, drove the Enemy back, and enlarged their Quarters five or ſix Miles in Compaſs. In another Skirmiſh he had yet greater Succeſs, and ſoon after he was entirely relieved, the King's Affairs being totally ruined [d]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve for the Sake of Truth, that *Blake*'s obſtinate Defence of this Town was one great Cauſe, if not the principal Cauſe, of the Parliament's Succeſs in this War. It was upon a Report of the great Diſtreſs of the Place, and the moral Certainty there was that it could not hold out above a few Days, that his Majeſty detached a conſiderable Body of Troops into *Somerſetſhire*, which proved the Loſs of the deciſive Battle of *Naiſby*, which in all Probability Sir *Thomas Fairfax* would never have hazarded, if the King's Army had been entire [e]. The Parliament therefore had Reaſon to ſtile this Gentleman, as *Wood* ſays they did, their *ineſtimable Commander* [f]; and the Parliament gave the Garriſon a Bounty of 2000 *l.* and Colonel *Blake* a Preſent of 500.

In *April* 1646, Colonel *Blake*, with Part of his Garriſon, reduced *Dunſter Caſtle*, an ancient Seat belonging to the Family of *Lutterel*, which was one of the laſt Actions in the War [g].

Some time after this, when the Parliament had voted no farther Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, Colonel *Blake* joined in an Addreſs from the Borough of *Taunton*, expreſſing their Gratefulneſs for this Step taken by the Houſe of Commons [h]. Yet when the King came to be tried, *Blake* diſapproved that Meaſure as illegal; and was frequently heard to ſay, that he would as freely venture his Life to ſave the King's, as ever he did to ſerve the Parliament [i]. But after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican Party, and indeed, next to *Cromwell*, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful Officer the Parliament had. He ſatisfied himſelf in all the Changes of thoſe Times, with adhering, as far as he was able, to his Country's Intereſt, and doing all he could to exalt her Glory, of which he was paſſionately fond. *February* 12, 1648-9, he was appointed, in conjunction with Col. *Dean* and Col. *Popham*[a], to command the Fleet[b]. Soon after, he was ordered to ſail, with a Squadron of Men of War, in Purſuit of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, who were in the *Iriſh* Seas to aſſiſt the Marquis of *Ormond*, then in Arms for King *Charles* II. in *Ireland*[c]. *Blake* arrived, in *June* 1649, before *Kingſale*, where the two Princes lay in Harbour; *Dean* cruiſed off *Plymouth*, *Popham* between the *Downs* and *Portſmouth*, and Sir *George Ayſcue* lay in *Dublin* Road: thus were the Parliament Maſters of the Sea, and their Enemies Ships either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince *Rupert*'s Men deſerted daily, and came over to Admiral *Blake*. The Prince, to hinder their Deſertion, hung up 10 of his Men for offering to run away. *Blake* kept him in the Harbour till the Beginning of *October*, when deſpairing of Relief by Sea, and *Cromwell* being ready to take the Town by Land, Proviſions of all Sorts falling ſhort, he reſolved to force his way thro' *Blake*'s Squadron; *Blake* ſunk three of his Ships as he bore out of the Harbour, but the Prince's little Fleet, making all the Sail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and ſteered their Courſe to *Liſbon*, where his Highneſs was protected and careſſed by the King of *Portugal*[d]. The Parliament declared War with that King for receiving their Enemies, and *Blake* followed the two Princes to *Portugal*. From before the River of *Liſbon*, he ſent to the King for Leave to enter, and coming near with his Ships, the Caſtle ſhot at him. *Blake* dropped Anchor, and ſent a Boat to know the Reaſon of this Hoſtility; the Captain of the Caſtle anſwered, he had no Orders from the King to let his Ships paſs. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to compliment *Blake*: the *Portugueſe* Lord deſired him not to come in except the Weather proved bad; for he ſaid, his Maſter feared, leſt ſome Quarrel might happen between him and Prince *Rupert* in his Harbour; the King ſent him, at the ſame time, a large Preſent of freſh Proviſions. The Weather proving bad, *Blake* went up the River into the Bay of *Wyers*, but two Miles from the Place where Prince *Rupert*'s Ships lay, and thence he ſent Capt. *Moulton*, to inform the King of the Falſities in the Prince's Declaration. The King refuſing ſtill to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince *Rupert*'s Ships, *Blake* took five of the *Brazil* Fleet richly laden, and gave the King to underſtand, that unleſs he would command the Prince's Ships out from his River, he would endeavour to ſeize the reſt of the *Portugueſe* Fleet from *America*[e]. In *September* 1650, the Prince endeavoured to get out of the Harbour, but was ſoon driven in again by *Blake*, who ſent home nine Ships outward bound to *Brazil*, which he had taken; and in *October* following, *Blake* and *Popham* met with a Fleet of 23 Sail from *Brazil*, bound for *Liſbon*, of whom they ſunk the Admiral, took the Vice-admiral, and 11 other Ships, having 10,000 Cheſts of Sugar aboard, and burnt three more, the reſt were ſmall Ships, and during the Action got into the River[f].

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 602.
[b] Ruſhworth's hiſtorical Collections, Vol. V. p. 685.
[c] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 81, 82.
[d] Ibid. p. 84. 85. Ruſhworth's hiſtorical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 28.
[e] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.
[f] Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.
[g] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 85.
[h] Ibid. p. 87.
[i] Ibid.

In his Return home, he met with two Ships laden with Proviſions for his Fleet, which determined him to ſail back in ſearch of the Prince, whom he followed up the *Streights*. In this Cruize, he, in his own Ship the *Phœnix*, took a *French* Man of War, the Captain of which had committed Hoſtilities, and this Prize was reputed of immenſe Value[g]. He proceeded next to *Carthagena*, where the Prince lay; and as ſoon as he came to an Anchor before the Fort, he acquainted the *Spaniſh* Governor by a Meſſage, that an Enemy to the State of *England* was in his Port, that the Parliament commanded him to purſue him, and the King of *Spain* being in Amity with the Parliament, he deſired Leave to take all Advantages againſt their Enemy. The Governor replied, he could not take any Notice of the Difference of any Nations or Perſons amongſt themſelves, only ſuch as were declared Enemies to the King his Maſter; that they came in thither for Safety, and therefore he could not refuſe them Protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. *Blake* ſtill preſſed the Governor to permit him to attack the Prince, and the *Spaniard* put him off till he could have Orders from *Madrid*[h]. While the Admiral was cruizing in the *Mediterranean*, Prince *Rupert* got out of *Carthagena*, and ſailed to *Malaga*. General *Blake* having Notice of his deſtroying many *Engliſh* Ships there, followed him with all the Expedition poſſible, and finding him in the Port, attacked him, without the Ceremony of aſking Leave of the *Spaniſh* Governor, and burnt and deſtroyed his whole Fleet, two Ships only excepted; the *Reformation*, in which Prince *Rupert* himſelf was, and the *Swallow*, commanded by his Brother Prince *Maurice*[i]. This was in *January* 1651. In *February*, General *Blake* took a *French* Man of War of 40 Guns, and ſent it, with four other Prizes, before him into *England*.

Not long after, he came with his Squadron to *Plymouth*, where he received the Thanks of the Parliament, and was by them made Warden of the *Cinque Ports*[k]. On the fourth of *March* following, the Act was renew'd, whereby Col. *Blake*, Col. *Popham*, and Col. *Deane*, or any two of them, were appointed Admirals and Generals of the Fleet for the Year enſuing[l]. The firſt Service he was put upon was the reducing the Iſles of *Scilly*, which he performed, as related before on Page 446. The General then ſailed for *Guernſey*, which was held for the King by Sir *George Carteret*. He arrived there in the Month of *October*; and though the Sea was very rough, landed what Forces he had on-board the very next Day, and did all that could be expected of him, in order to make a ſpeedy Conqueſt of the Iſland, which, however, could not be compleated that Year. In the Beginning of the next, the brave Governor, finding all Hopes of Relief vain, thought proper to make the beſt Terms he could; and to the Honour of *Blake* we may affirm, that though no Man proceeded more briſkly while the Sword was drawn, yet in all Treaties he was remarkably condeſcending, deteſting to be made an Inſtrument of Oppreſſion, though ready to hazard his Life at any time to do his Country Juſtice[m].

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[a] An Act for authorizing Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Dean, or any two of them, to be Admiral and General of the Fleet now at Sea.

"Whereas by an Act of this preſent Parliament, entitled, An Act for the Settling of the Power of the Admiralty of England and Ireland, all "and every the Powers appertaining to the Office of Lord High-admiral of England are committed unto, and ſettled in the Council of State, ap"pointed by Authority of Parliament; and whereas Col. Robert Blake, Col. Edward Popham, and Col. Richard Dean, have been and are nomi"nated and appointed by this Parliament to be Commiſſioners for the immediate ordering and commanding of the Fleet now at Sea, and which "ſhall be ſet forth for the Year enſuing 1649, Be it enacted, and it is enacted by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, that "the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any two of them, have and ſhall have full Power and Authority as Admiral and General of the ſaid Fleet, to order, "manage and command the ſame, for the Service and Safety of this Commonwealth; and for that Purpoſe to give Commiſſion with the Seal of the "Anchor unto the Vice-admiral of the ſaid Fleet, Admiral of the Iriſh Sea, and all other Officers of the ſaid Fleet for the Service aforeſaid; and "themſelves from time to time ſhall obſerve ſuch Orders and Directions as they ſhall receive from the Parliament, or from the ſaid Council of State; "and this Power to commence from the 22d Day of February, and to continue unto the firſt Day of March 1649. And that the ſaid Commiſſi"oners, or any two of them, during the Space aforeſaid, have and ſhall have the Power of martial Law over all Perſons belonging to the ſaid "Fleet under their Command; and ſhall be authorized to exerciſe and execute the ſame, for the better Ordering and Government of the ſaid Fleet, "according to ſuch Rules and Articles as ſhall be given, allowed or approved for that Purpoſe by the Parliament, and according to the general Cuſ"toms and Laws of the Sea; and by Warrant under their or any two of their Hands and Seals, to grant the ſame Power to any Officer of the ſaid "Fleet, commanding in Chief any Squadron or Part of the Fleet divided from the reſt, in Abſence of them the ſaid Commiſſioners: And that any "one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, being appointed and empowered thereunto by the other two, ſhall and may command in Chief the ſaid Fleet, or "any Part thereof, and exerciſe therein the Powers aforeſaid, or any of them, upon ſuch Coaſt or North-ſea, and in ſuch Service, and for ſuch "Time, for which he ſhall be ſo empowered. And the ſaid Council of State are to give a Commiſſion unto the ſaid Commiſſioners under the Seal of "the ſaid Council, according to the Tenor and Effect premiſed, with ſuch farther Inſtructions and Directions for the Proſecution of the Service afore"ſaid, as to the ſaid Council ſhall from time to time ſeem meet." Hen Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

[b] Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 87.

[c] Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 246.

[d] Bates, Elenchus Motuum, P. II. p. 72.

[e] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 89.

[f] Bates, ubi ſupra.

[g] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 91.

[h] Bates, ubi ſupra.

[i] Life of Prince Rupert. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 275.

[k] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 92. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 204.

[l] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 93.

[m] Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 465. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 306.

For this ſignal and important Service he had, as he well deſerved, Thanks from the Parliament; he was alſo elected one of the Council of State, and much courted by *Cromwell*, who began now to think of ſetting up for himſelf [a]. *March* 25, 1652, *Blake* was conſtituted ſole Admiral for nine Months, on a Proſpect of a *Dutch* War. In which Station we have already ſhewn both his eminent Skill, Conduct, Courage, and Succeſs, on Page 455, 456, 457, 458.

In the Month of *April*, *Cromwell* turned out the Parliament, and ſhortly after aſſumed the ſupreme Power. The States hoped great Advantages from this, which, however, they did not immediately receive, *Blake* and his Colleagues wiſely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not ſuffer their Country to endure either Injuries or Inſults from abroad; and in this they were as good as their Words [b].

Blake, *Dean*, and *Monk*, and the reſt of the Admirals and Sea-officers, publiſhed a Declaration of their Reſolution, notwithſtanding the late Change, to proceed in the Performance of their Duties, and the Truſt repoſed in them, againſt the Enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of Opinion, on the Revolution which happened afterwards, that it was his and his Mens Duty, to act faithfully abroad in their Stations, ſo as might conduce moſt to the public Peace and Welfare, whatever Irregularity there was in the Councils at home; ſaying to his Officers, *It is not for us to mind State Affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us* [c]. This Conduct induced even *Anthony Wood* to ſay, That ever after *Blake* continued a fortunate Vindicator of his Country's Privileges, from the Encroachments of inſulting Neighbours; a victorious Enemy of the *Spaniards*, and was highly valued by all, even the Royaliſts [d].

Cromwell called, or rather appointed, a ſort of Parliament, called the Little Parliament, in which Mr. *Blake* had a Seat, as one of the Commiſſioners from *Somerſetſhire* [e], and was by the ſame Parliament continued one of the Generals of the Fleet; however, his Health was ſo impaired, that he could not poſſibly go to Sea, and therefore had no Share, but by his Advice, in the laſt great Victory gained over the *Dutch*, on the 29th of *July*; for which, however, the Parliament ordered him a Gold-chain, as well as the reſt of the Admirals who actually ſerved there [f]. On the 10th of *October* he came to *London*, and took his Seat in the Houſe, where he received their ſolemn Thanks for his many and faithful Services [g].

The Protector, *Oliver*, having called a new Parliament, conſiſting of 400, Mr. *Blake* ſat therein as Member for his native Town of *Bridgwater* [h]. On the 6th of *December*, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for ſix Months; and as he was treated with great Reſpect by *Cromwell*, ſo he behaved towards him with much Fidelity, tho' perhaps no great Affection, ſince he was naturally inclined to a Commonwealth [i]. In the Month of *November* 1634, *Cromwell* thought fit to ſend him, with a ſtrong Fleet, into the *Mediterranean*, with Inſtructions which he knew would pleaſe him, *viz.* to ſupport the Honour of the *Engliſh* Flag, and to procure Satisfaction for any Injuries that might have been done to our Merchants [k]. In the Beginning of *December*, *Blake* came into the Road of *Cadiz*, where he was treated with all imaginable Reſpect. A *Dutch* Admiral would not hoiſt his Flag while he was there. A *French* Squadron having ſtopped one of his Tenders, which had been ſeparated from *Blake* in a Storm, the Admiral, as ſoon as he knew to whom he belonged, ſent for the Captain on-board, drank the General's Health before him with great Ceremony, under a Diſcharge of five Guns, and then diſmiſſed him [l]. The *Algerines* were ſo much afraid of him, that they ſtopped the *Sallee* Rovers, obliged them to deliver up what *Engliſh* Priſoners they had on-board, and then ſent them freely to *Blake* in order to merit his Favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming on the 10th of *March* before *Algiers*, ſending an Officer on-ſhore to the Dey, with a Meſſage, importing, that he had Orders to demand Satisfaction for the Piracies committed on the *Engliſh*, as alſo the Releaſe of all ſuch *Engliſh* Captives as were then in the Place. To this the Dey anſwered, that the Ships and Captives taken belonged to particular Men, and therefore he could not reſtore them without diſcontenting all his Subjects; yet he might if he pleaſed redeem what *Engliſh* Captives were there, at a reaſonable Price ſet on their Heads, and, if he thought good, they would conclude a Peace with him, and, for the future, offer no Acts of Hoſtility to thoſe of his Nation. He accompanied this Anſwer with a very large Preſent of freſh Proviſions, and it ſeems at that time to have ſatisfied *Blake*, who, leaving *Algiers*, ſailed to *Tunis* on the ſame Errand [m]. The Dey of *Tunis*, who was a very brave Man, but a little obſtinate, refuſed to give him any Anſwer, or even to ſuffer him to take in freſh Water, ſuppoſing that the extraordinary Pains he had taken to fortify the Place were ſufficient to defend it; but he was extremely miſtaken, for *Blake* forced him to an humble Submiſſion, and to a Peace extremely advantageous for his Country, after he had demoliſhed the Caſtles, and burnt all the Shipping in the Haven of *Tunis* [n]. He in like manner terrified the piratical State of *Tripoli* into making Peace with *England*, and alſo brought the Knights of *Malta* to a Compoſition for the Injuries they had done to this Nation [o]. Theſe laſt Exploits were performed in the Spring of the Year 1655, and raiſed the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name ſo high, that moſt of the Princes and States in *Italy*, thought fit to pay their Compliments to the Protector, particularly the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the free State of *Venice*, who ſent magnificent Embaſſies for that Purpoſe [p].

The War in the mean time was grown pretty hot with *Spain*; and *Blake*, in purſuance of the Protector's Orders, did all that in his Power lay to ruin their maritime Force in *Europe*, as *Penn* had done in the *Weſt-Indies* [q]. But theſe extraordinary and continual Cares, falling on a Conſtitution already not a little impaired, brought General *Blake* into ſo bad a State of Health, that fearing the ill Conſequences that might happen, in caſe he ſhould die without having any Colleague, who in ſuch a Caſe might take Charge of the Fleet, he wrote Letters into *England*, ſuggeſting the Expediency of joining ſome proper Perſon in Commiſſion with him; upon which General *Montague* was ſent with a ſtrong Squadron to aſſiſt him, and was made joint Admiral with him, according to his Deſire [r]. Soon after his Arrival in the *Mediterranean*, *Blake* and he ſailed with their whole Fleet to block up a *Spaniſh* Squadron in the Bay of *Cadiz*, which they accordingly did for ſeveral Months. At laſt, in *September*, finding they were in want of Water, *Blake* and *Montague* ſtood away for the Coaſt of *Portugal*, leaving Captain *Stayner*, with ſeven Ships under his Command, to look after the Enemy; of whoſe Succeſs we have given an Account on Page 466. Being water'd, and informed of another *Plate* Fleet, put into *Santa Cruz* (ſee Page 466) he proceeded to *Teneriff*; and after a bloody Engagement, took them all. In this Battle he removed his Brother *Benjamin*, for bad Conduct; his Regard for his Country obliging him to prefer ſtrict Juſtice to any Ties of natural Affection [s]. As ſoon as the News arrived in *England* of this extraordinary Action, the Protector ſent his Secretary to acquaint his ſecond Parliament, then ſitting, therewith; whereupon they ordered a public Thankſgiving, and directed a Diamond-ring, worth 500 *l.* to be ſent to *Blake*; 100 *l.* was given to the Captain who brought the News; and the Thanks of the Houſe was ordered to all the Officers and Seamen, and to be given them by their General [t].

Theſe, as they were the laſt Honours, ſo the Receipt of them was the laſt News this brave Officer received from his dearly-beloved Country. For, returning into the *Mediterranean*, and cruizing ſome time before *Cadiz*, he found his End draw on ſo faſt, that it determined him, if poſſible, to return home. Accordingly he ſailed for *England*; and in his laſt Sickneſs often enquired for Land, which, however, he never lived to ſee, dying as the Fleet was entering *Plymouth* Sound, on-board his Ship the *St. George*, the 17th of *Auguſt* 1657, being about 59 Years of Age[a]. His Body was the next Day embalmed and wrapped up in Lead; his Bowels were buried in the great Church at *Plymouth*, and his Corps conveyed by Sea to *Greenwich-houſe*, where it lay in State for ſome time; from thence, on the 4th of *September*, it was carried by Water in a Barge of State, covered with Velvet, adorned with Eſcutcheons and Pencils, accompanied by his Brother, Relations, and Servants, in Mourning; by *Oliver*'s Privy-council, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Field-officers of the Army, and many other Perſons of Honour and Quality, in a great Number of Barges and Wherries covered with Mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the Solemnity. Thus they paſſed to *Weſtminſter-bridge*, and at their Landing, proceeded in the ſame Manner thro' a Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Foot to the Abbey; his dear Friend General *Lambert*[b], tho' then in Diſgrace with the Protector, attending on his Horſe. The Proceſſion over, the Body was interred in a Vault, built on Purpoſe, in the Chapel of King *Henry* VII[c], whence it was removed on the 12th of *September* 1661, and re-interred in *St. Margaret*'s Church-yard[d].

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[a] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p 98.

[b] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

[c] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 109.

[d] Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 204.

[e] Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

[f] Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 505. Heath's Chron. p. 349.

[g] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 112.

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 463. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 113.

[i] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 487.

[k] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Mot. Part II. p. 205.

[l] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 114.

[m] Heath's Chronicle, p. 360.

[n] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III p. 580.

[o] Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

[p] Le Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. II. p. 347.

[q] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 580.

[r] Ibid. Vol. III. p. 586.

[s] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p 121.

[t] Heath's Chronicle, p. 392.

He was a Man but of a low Stature, however of a quick lively Eye, and of a good ſoldier-like Countenance. He was, in his Perſon, brave beyond Example, yet cool in Action, and ſhewed a great deal of military Conduct in the Diſpoſition of thoſe deſperate Attacks, which Men of a cooler Compoſition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his Country with extraordinary Ardour, and as he never meddled with Intrigues of State, ſo whatever Government he ſerved, he was ſolicitous to do his Duty. He was upright to a ſupreme Degree; for notwithſtanding the vaſt Sums which paſſed thro' his Hands, he ſcarce left 500*l.* behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether diſintereſted and unambitious, expoſing himſelf on all Occaſions for the Benefit of the Public, and the Glory of the Nation, and not with any View to his own private Profit or Fame. In reſpect to his perſonal Character, he was pious without Affectation, ſtrictly juſt, and liberal to the utmoſt Extent of his Fortune. His Officers he treated with the Familiarity of Friends, and to his Sailors he was truly a Parent. The State buried him as it was fit; at the public Expence they gave him a Grave, but no Tomb; and tho' he ſtill wants an Epitaph, Writers of all Parties have ſhewn an Eagerneſs to do his Memory Juſtice.

Dr. *Bates*, who was Phyſician to King *Charles* I. the Protector *Oliver*, and to King *Charles* II. ſpeaks thus of *Blake*. He became famous by many Actions abroad, for he humbled the Pride of *France*, reduced the *Portugueſe* to Submiſſion, broke the Strength of the *Dutch*, and drove their Fleets out of the Sea, ſubdued the Pirates in the *Mediterranean*, and twice triumphed over the *Spaniards*, blameable only in this, that he joined himſelf with the Parricides. At the Beginning of this Character, he tells us *Blake* was a Man *ab hoſte laudandus*, deſerving Praiſe tho' an Enemy, which makes it the more remarkable[e]. *Clarendon* having run thro' the Series of *Blake*'s Employments, to the time of his firſt going on-board the Fleet, concludes thus: "He then betook himſelf wholly to the Sea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt Man that declined the old Track, and made it manifeſt that the Science might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in Practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of Danger; which had been held in former times a Point of great Ability and Circumſpection, as if the principal Art requiſite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man who brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on-ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a Noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them ſee by Experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water; and tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the Example of that kind of naval Courage, and bold and reſolute Atchievements[f]." Biſhop *Burnet* hath preſerved a Paſſage very honourable to his Memory, which I inſert here, becauſe I do not exactly know where it ought to have been placed in order of time. "While *Blake* lay in the Road of *Malaga*, before the War broke out with *Spain*, ſome of his Seamen going aſhore, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no Reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. One of the *Spaniſh* Prieſts put the People upon reſenting this Indignity, and they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their Ships, they complained of this Uſage; upon which *Blake* ſent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Prieſt, who was the chief Inſtrument in that ill Uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, that he had no Authority over the Prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of them. General *Blake* upon that ſent him Word, that he would not enquire who had the Power to ſend the Prieſt to him; but if he were not ſent within three Hours, he would burn their Town. The *Spaniards* hearing this, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the Prieſt to *Blake*, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant Behaviour of the Seamen. *Blake* anſwered, that if he had ſent a Complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his Men to affront the eſtabliſhed Religion of any Place, at which he touched; but he took it ill that he had ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it, for he would have all the World to know, that an *Engliſhman* was only to be puniſhed by an *Engliſhman*; ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his Power. *Cromwell* was much delighted with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction, ſaying, that he hoped he ſhould make the Name of an *Engliſhman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been[g]." An Author, who was contemporary with *Blake*, wrote the following Verſes upon his Death.

Here lies a Man made Spain *and* Holland *ſhake,*
Made France *to tremble, and the* Turks *to quake:*
Thus he tam'd Men, but if a Lady ſtood
In's Sight, it rais'd a Palſy in his Blood;
Cupid'*s Antagoniſt, who in his Life*
Had Fortune as familiar as a Wife.
A ſtiff, hard, iron Soldier; for he
It ſeems had more of Mars *than* Mercury;
At Sea he thundered, calm'd each raging Wave,
And now he's dead, ſent thund'ring to his Grave[h].

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[a] Mercurius Politicus, N° 375. Whitlock's Memorial, p. 664. Heath's Chronicle, p. 402.

[b] Wood's Faſti Oxon, Vol. I. col 205. Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 578. Heath's Chronicle, p. 402.

[c] Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 536. Perfect Politician, or Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247.

[d] Kennet's Regiſter, ubi ſupra. Wood's Faſti Oxon, Vol. I. col. 205. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

[e] Elenchus Motuum, Lond. 1676, p. 323. In the Engliſh Edition, Part II. p. 228.

[f] Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 602.

[g] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Lond. 1724, fol. Vol. I. p. 80, 81.

[h] Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 571.

BOOK IV.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to the BRITISH *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to the Acceſſion of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in 1688.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *to the Concluſion of the firſt* DUTCH *War in this Reign.*

ADMIRAL *Montague*, ſoon after he had brought over the King, was created Earl of *Sandwich*, Knight of the Garter, and appointed Vice-admiral of *England*, under the Duke of *York*, Lord High-admiral. The other Admirals, *Lawſon* and *Stayner*, and ſome other Officers, were knighted; and all the Seamen were promiſed the Royal Favour by the King in Perſon [a].

Immediate Care was taken to put the Navy upon a better Footing, than hitherto had been done; of which we have already given a Specimen in the Introduction to this Hiſtory [b]. In *September* [c], the Earl of *Sandwich*, with nine Men of War, brought the Princeſs of *Orange*, the King's Siſter, from *Helvoetſluys* to *England*; on whoſe Arrival his Majeſty, and his Brother the Duke of *York*, went on-board the Admiral's Ship, the *Reſolution*, laid on-board one Night, and examined the Squadron [d].

In *June* 1661, the ſame Earl was ordered to ſail with a numerous Fleet, under a Pretence of convoying the Infanta *Catherine* of *Portugal*, betrothed to King *Charles*, and to take Poſſeſſion of *Tangier* [e], which, with the Iſland of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, was given in part of her Portion. But, as ſuch an Armament far exceeded the Circumſtance for which it was publicly appointed, its Service againſt the *Algerines* ſhewed, that it was intended principally to reduce thoſe Pirates to Reaſon, who had broken thro' the Treaty concluded with *Blake*, and greatly interrupted the Trade of *England*.

This Fleet ſailed on the 19th of *June* 1661 from the *Downs*, after having been firſt viſited by the Duke of *York* [f]. His Lordſhip ſailed firſt to *Liſbon*, and from thence to *Tangier*, which Place was put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* on the 30th of *January* 1662, when the Earl of *Peterborough* marched into it with an *Engliſh* Garriſon, and had the Keys delivered to him by the *Portugueſe* Governor [g].

He came before *Algiers* the 29th of *July* 1661; and ſent Captain *Spragge* with the King's Letter to the principal Perſon in the Government, and a Letter of his own, with Orders alſo to bring off Mr. *Brown* the Conſul; which was accordingly done. That Evening a Council of War was held, and the next Morning certain Propoſitions were made to the Regency by Captain *Spragge* and Conſul *Brown*. About 11 o'Clock theſe Gentlemen returned on-board the Admiral, with an Anſwer, that the Government of *Algiers* would conſent to no Peace, whereby they were deprived of their Right of ſearching our Ships. In the mean time, to ſhew they were in Earneſt, they wrought very hard at a Boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the Mole-head, to the oppoſite Corner of their Port; that by the Help of this, and many other new Works which they had raiſed, they might be able to defend themſelves from any Attempts that could be made by Sea. The Earl of *Sandwich*, however, reſolved to make a bold Trial to burn the Ships in the Harbour; but the Wind prevented him: So that after a good deal of firing on both Sides, wherein more Hurt was done to the City than the Ships, the Admiral thought fit to ſail for *Liſbon* [h] on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, leaving Sir *John Lawſon*, with a ſtrong Squadron to protect the *Engliſh* Trade, and harraſs the Enemy.

The Admiral returned to *Liſbon*, received the Queen's Portion, conſiſting in Money, in Jewels, Sugars, and other Commodities, and in Bills of Exchange, and then ſailed with her Majeſty for *England*, and arrived at *Spithead* the 14th of *May* 1662 [i].

Admiral *Lawſon* coming before *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, obliged thoſe Governments to renew their Treaties with *England*; and, purſuant to his Negotiation with the former of thoſe Places, above 150 *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Slaves were redeemed from Captivity, by a generous Contribution of the dignified Clergy of *England*: and the Ships which had been taken were reſtored by the ſame Treaty; but when the Article of reſtoring the Goods came upon the Carpet, the Treaty broke off, and ended in a formal Declaration of War.

Before Matters came to this Length, Admiral *Lawſon* had ſent home 17 Ships, with between 2 and 300 of the redeemed Captives, and (ſome Accounts ſay) great Store of Goods in them, which the *Corſairs* had made Prize of; and immediately after the Declaration of War, he took one of their *Corſairs* of 34 Guns, and 260 Men, which he ſent into *Majorca*; and Part of the Priſoners being *Turks* and *Moors*, he ſold them to the Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, then in thoſe Seas. Soon after, Admiral *Lawſon* being called home, Captain *Allen*, who was left Commander in Chief, with 12 of his Majeſty's Ships, in thoſe Seas, in his Room, reduced the *Algerines* to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they were glad to accept of Peace on any Terms.

It is certain that the Miniſtry join'd heartily in promoting, as well as in the protecting national Commerce. By a Treaty with *Spain*, the King ſecured the Poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, acquired by *Cromwell*. He alſo reſtored to the Nation the Advantages they drew from the *Spaniſh* Trade, and the Affection of this People to the *Engliſh*, preferable to any other Nation appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the *Dutch*, and even forbad their Ships of War to enter their Ports. A Treaty with *Holland* carried Things alſo to a great Height; for it not only ſecured the Reſpect due to the Flag, but likewiſe procured ſome other Conceſſions very honourable for the Nation.

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[a] Kennet's complete Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 241. Heath's Chronicle, p. 451. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

[b] Page xlviii.

[c] A. D. 1660.

[d] Earl of Sandwich's Journal.

[e] The King made this a free Port, and granted it many Privileges, in order to make it a trading City. The Situation of it was very advantageous for that Purpoſe, as well as for the Security of our Trade to the Mediterranean.

[f] Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. Lord Sandwich's Journal.

[g] Kennet's Chronicle, p. 617.

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 500. But moſt of the Facts above mentioned are taken from the Earl of Sandwich's Journal.

[i] Lord Sandwich's Journal. Heath's Chronicle. Kennet's complete Hiſtory.

Theſe Advantages, and the great Attention paid by the Court towards the Support of Trade, alarm'd the *Dutch*; who notwithſtanding their late Treaty, apprehending that the *Engliſh* would ſoon become their Superiors in Trade, began to conceive ſtrong Prejudices againſt the King's Government, and eſpecially engaged their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, which then carried on the greateſt Part of their Commerce, to take various Steps in thoſe Parts of the World where their Power prevailed, to the Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Trade. The *Eaſt-India* Company particularly delayed the Liquidation of the Damages the *Engliſh* were to receive; refuſed to deliver up the Iſland of *Poleron*; and pretended to preſcribe the Places where, and the Terms on which the *Engliſh* ſhould trade in the *Indies*. The other Company trod exactly in their Steps, and proceeded ſo far as to get Cape *Corſe*-caſtle into their Hands, which belonged to the *Engliſh* Company [a] trading to *Africa*, under the Direction of the Duke of *York*.

The Diſpute continued for ſome time purely between the commercial States of the two Nations. Sir *Robert Holmes*, on the Part of the *Engliſh African* Company, was ſent by their Governor, the Duke of *York*, to make Repriſals on the Coaſt of *Guinea* [b]; who diſlodged the *Dutch* from a Fort at Cape *Verd*, which he named *James* Fort; and from the River *Gambia*, where he built a Fort; but could not recover Cape *Corſe* till his ſecond Expedition in 1663. In which Voyage he, by Papers taken in a *Dutch* Ship, finding private Orders from the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company to their Governor to ſeize the *Engliſh* Fort at *Cormantin*, he attacked and took the Forts on the Iſland *Goeree*, together with a Ship called the *Crocodile*, lying under their Protection; after having, the Evening before, taken two other *Dutch* Ships, called the *Viſch-korf* and the *Viſober*. In the Forts, he found a great Quantity of Goods ready to be ſhipped off for *Holland*, and among the reſt, 20,000 Hides. Theſe he loaded on his own and the *Dutch* Ships, and tranſported them to *Sierra Leona* [c]. He then proceeded to attack *St. George del Mina*, the chief of all the *Dutch* Forts; but tho' himſelf and his Seamen acted with great Bravery, yet the Deſign miſcarried, and he was obliged to ſheer off with ſome Loſs.

He then reſolved to attack Cape *Corſe*-caſtle, which, tho' it was ſo ſtrong by Situation, that 100 Men might have kept it againſt 1000; yet he ſoon took it, and ſome other Places; after which, he ſailed from the Coaſt of *Guinea* to North *America*, where he reduced a *Dutch* Settlement, called the *New-Netherlands*, in the Month of *Auguſt* 1664, changing the Name into that of *New-York*, in honour of the Duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of Reprizal, but partly by virtue of a Claim of Right. For the *New-Netherlands* being firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of *Sebaſtian Cabot* (who took Poſſeſſion of all that Northern Coaſt in the Name of King *Henry* VII. of *England*) had been always deemed a Part of the *Engliſh American* Dominions, till the Year 1637, when it was firſt ſeized and planted by the *Dutch* [d].

When the News of Captain *Holmes*'s Succeſs arrived in *Holland*, the *de Wit* Faction no longer ſcrupled to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Weſt-India* Company; and the War that had been carried on by the trading Companies, without Commiſſions from the two Nations, became ſuddenly a national Quarrel. However, it was judged proper to diſſemble their real Intentions; and therefore the *Hollanders* ſent private Orders to their Admiral *de Ruyter*, at that time acting in concert with the *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *John Lawſon*, againſt the piratical States of *Barbury*, to ſail for the Coaſt of *Guinea*, with all Expedition and Secreſy, to commit Hoſtilities there, and in the *Weſt-Indies*, upon the *Engliſh*.

This Order, which was obtained by a Faction, and in an inſidious and clandeſtine Manner [e], was very acceptable to *de Ruyter*, who had already differed with Sir *John Lawſon*, for not returning his Salute at Sea; ſo that without communicating this Order to his Officers, he, under Pretence of ſailing in queſt of certain Pirates cruiſing near the *Canaries*, took in a Year's Proviſions in the Road of *Cadiz*, and on the 15th of *October* made the beſt of his way for *Guinea*. Having attacked our Ships on that Coaſt, which were under the Command of Rear-admiral *Holmes*, and deſtroyed ſome of our Factories there, he ſailed from thence to *Barbadoes*, where he attempted to land; but found as well the Forts, as the Ships which lay in the Bay, ready to receive him. After a ſharp Fight, on the laſt of *April*, in which, not to mention the Damage received by the other Ships, *de Ruyter*'s own Ship had her Standard ſhot down, and her Sails, ſtanding and running Rigging, Maſts and Yards, ſo ſhattered, that it was not without great Difficulty he got out to Sea again. He proceeded to *New York* and *Newfoundland*, and committed ſome Depredations in thoſe Parts.

Theſe Actions on both Sides ſerved to exaſperate the two Nations, and to haſten the Preparations for War; which was proclaimed by the *Dutch* in *January*, and by the *Engliſh* in *February* 1665. But before it came to that, the *Heer Van Goch* was ſent by the States to importune the King with Memorials and Complaints. To which the King's Anſwer was, that he had received no particular Information of the Affair of *Guinea*; and that the two Companies muſt decide the Diſpute. Theſe Complaints of the Ambaſſadors being likewiſe retaliated by the *Engliſh* Merchants, whoſe inceſſant Repreſentations of their Wrongs obliged the King to repeat his Demands of Satisfaction, as the conſtant Refuſal of the Satisfaction demanded was the Cauſe of an open Rupture [f].

The King, with all Expedition, fitted out a Fleet, which he put under the Command of the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Sandwich*. This Fleet, ſailing over to the Coaſts of *Holland*, threw the *Dutch* into terrible Apprehenſions; for tho' they had likewiſe aſſembled a great Fleet, under the Command of Baron *Opdam*, yet they durſt not venture out with it to Sea. While their Ships were thus blocked up, their *Bourdeaux* Fleet, being homeward-bound, in the Month of *November*, fell moſt of them into the way of the *Engliſh*; and they took 113 of them, beſides other Veſſels.

The Parliament meeting on the 24th of *November*, after two Prorogations, voted the King a Supply of 2,500,000 *l.* towards the Maintenance of a War ſo neceſſary to the State. On the 16th of *December* the King publiſhed a Declaration, by which he empowered his Subjects to make Repriſals upon all Ships belonging to the *Dutch* Companies and others, the Subjects of the States-General; and declaring all thoſe which were already taken lawful Prizes. Upon this the *Engliſh* took all the *Dutch* Ships which came in their way.

Vice-admiral *Allen*, cruiſing with a Squadron of eight or nine Men of War and Frigates off the Streights Mouth, fell in with the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and other Streights Ships, to the Number of 40, under Convoy of four Men of War. He attacked and routed them, notwithſtanding the ſtouteſt of the Merchant-ſhips engaged, ſunk ſome of them, killed *Braebel* the Commander in Chief, and poſſeſſed himſelf of four of the richeſt Ships; one of which, having ſuffered greatly in the Engagement, foundered at Sea, in her way to *England*.

Dutch Writers [g] allow of our having taken but two of their *Smyrna* Fleet, and ſunk one, of which *Brandt*, in his Life of *de Ruyter*, gives us the following remarkable Account, which he ſays has been omitted by other Hiſtorians:
“ *John Reyloffs* of *Horn*, Maſter of the Merchant-ſhip
“ called the *King Solomon*, being ſurrounded by four of
“ the *Engliſh* Men of War, who plied him with their
“ Broadſides on every Quarter, defended his Ship a long
“ while, with an unheard-of Courage, hoping ſome of his
“ Comrades would come to his Relief: But, at length,
“ none of them having that Courage, his Ship was en-
“ tirely diſabled for continuing the Fight; whereupon an
“ *Engliſh* Frigate, having grappled, boarded them, and

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[a] Columna Roſtrata, p. 152. See King Charles II's Letter to the States General, on the Cauſes of this War; and Baſnage Annales de Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 682, 683. See alſo Page 183, of this Hiſtory.

[b] A. D. 1661.

[c] Columna Roſtrata, p. 153. Account of Captain Holmes's Proceedings on the Coaſt of Africa. Heath's Chronicle continued by Philips, p. 535.

[d] Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 217.

[e] Baſnage Annales de Provinces Unies, p. 714.

[f] Columna Roſtrata, p. 156, 157.

[g] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter

“after a ſtout Reſiſtance cut down all before them. The *Engliſh* being Maſters of the Upper-deck, *Reyloffs* retired to his cloſe Quarters, where he defended himſelf with an uncommon Valour, till his Ship, having received ſeveral Shot under Water, and being ready to ſink, he was about to ſurrender; when the Ship being ſunk to her lower Port-holes, and her Ports being ſo ſhattered, that they could not reſiſt the Water, ſhe ſunk in a Moment, with near 100 *Engliſh* in her, moſt of whom were drowned. This brave Commander, with ſome few of his Men, had the good Fortune to get into his Yawl; the Main-yard lying acroſs the Shallop, ſo that he could not get it clear; and thus he was, though with great Difficulty, ſaved.”

The War being declared, the Duke of *York* repaired, about the latter End of *March*, to the Fleet which he was to command. This Fleet, conſiſting of 109 Men of War, and 28 Fire-ſhips and Ketches, and 21,000 Seamen and Soldiers, not being, however, quite ready, could not ſail till the Month of *May*; but that was before the *Dutch* were able to put to Sea, and therefore cauſed the greater Conſternation when it arrived on the Coaſts of *Holland*. The Duke continued cruiſing near the *Texel*, for 15 Days together, to prevent the Fleet of *Holland* from coming out to join that of *Zealand*, during which time he took ſeveral homeward-bound Ships.

Not being able, however, to draw the Enemy out, he ſailed away, with a Deſign to fall upon *de Ruyter*, who was returning to *Holland* by an Order from the States: But Proviſions falling ſhort, he was obliged to drop that Deſign, and returned to the *Engliſh* Coaſts.

He had no ſooner done this, but the united *Dutch* Fleet, under the chief Command of Baron *Opdam de Waſſenaer*, who had under him *Cortenaer*, Vice-admiral of the *Maeſe*; *Evertzen*, Vice-admiral of *Zealand*; and *Cornelius Van Tromp*, Son of the famous *Martin Van Tromp*, and other Flag-officers, put to Sea. This Fleet, conſiſting of 121 Men of War, beſides Fire-ſhips [a], came over to the *Dogger-Bank*, from whence they detached a Squadron to their own Coaſts, to lie in wait for the *Engliſh Hamburgh* Fleet, conſiſting of nine Merchant-ſhips, which, with their Convoy, a Frigate of 34 Guns, ſuppoſing the Duke to have been ſtill on the Coaſt, fell into the Enemy's Hands. And the Loſs our Merchants ſuſtained thereby, was computed to amount to between 2 and 300,000 *l.*

The Duke of *York*, who was highly incenſed at this Loſs, having with the utmoſt Expedition got his Fleet in a Readineſs, weighed Anchor from *Solebay* the 1ſt of *June*. The *Engliſh* Fleet was divided into three Squadrons; the firſt, under the Red-flag, was commanded by the Duke himſelf, aſſiſted by *Penn* and *Lawſon*; the ſecond, being the White-ſquadron, was under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert*, aſſiſted by *Minns* and *Sampſon*; and the third, which was the Blue-ſquadron, was under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had with him *Cuttins* and Sir *George Ayſcue*.

They got ſight of the *Dutch* Fleet the ſame Day, not far from *Harwich*; but the Wind being Southerly, and the next Morning South-weſt, they retired before our Fleet to the Mouth of the *Maeſe*. From thence *Opdam* ſent an Expreſs to the States, with the Reaſon of his Retreat, and to inform them that he did not judge it proper to fall upon the *Engliſh*, while they had the Advantage of the Wind: But his Anſwer was poſitively to engage, let the Wind be as it would, on Peril of anſwering the contrary with his Head.

Opdam reſolved to obey, though contrary to the Advice of moſt of his Officers, and his own Opinion, as appeared by his ſending aſhore his Plate before the Engagement. *I am*, ſaid he, on hearing the Judgment of a Council of War, *entirely in your Sentiments; but here are my Orders. To-morrow my Head ſhall be bound with Laurel or with Cypreſs*: and in this Diſpoſition he ſailed to find out the *Engliſh* Navy [b]. That did not require much time; for the Duke of *York* was now eager to revenge the Loſs of the *Hamburgh* Fleet. On the 3d of *June* the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Navies engaged about three in the Morning off *Leoſtoff*, when by an Overſight of the *Dutch* (as their Writers ſay) the *Engliſh* had the Weather-gage, an Advantage they knew how to uſe as well as keep [c].

Things went at firſt very equally on both Sides, charging through and through, without any remarkable Advantage. But about Noon, the Earl of *Sandwich* with the Blue-ſquadron, fell into the Center of the *Dutch* Fleet, divided it into two Parts, and began that Confuſion which ended in a total Defeat [d].

The Duke of *York*, who was in the *Royal Charles*, a Ship of 80 Guns, was in cloſe Fight with the *Dutch* Admiral *Opdam*, in the *Endracht* of 84 Guns: In which Engagement the Duke was in great Danger, the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muſkerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Burlington*, being all three, together with ſome of his Footmen, killed by his Side, with one Cannon-ball, or rather Chain-ſhot. They were ſo near his Grace, that he was ſprinkled with their Blood and Brains; and the *Dutch* Writers ſay, the Prince himſelf was wounded in the Hand, by a Splinter of Mr. *Boyle*'s Skull. But, in the Heat of Action, the *Dutch* Admiral blew up, and of 500 Men, among which were a great Number of Volunteers, of the beſt Families in *Holland*, only five were ſaved.

This Accident increaſed the Confuſion and Conſternation of the Enemy; inſomuch that four of their Ships [e], falling foul of each other, were burnt by one Fire-ſhip. Soon after, three other of their beſt Ships [f], falling into the ſame Confuſion, ſuffered the ſame Fate. The Ship *Orange*, of *Zealand*, of 75 Guns, and 400 Men, being diſabled by the *Mary*, commanded by Captain *Smith*, was likewiſe burnt; and the Captain of her, who was taken, died ſoon after of his Wounds.

The whole *Dutch* Fleet ſeemed now to be but one Blaze, and the Cries of ſo many miſerable Wretches, who were periſhing, either by Fire or Water, was more frightful than the Noiſe of the Cannon. The *Engliſh* gave their vanquiſhed Enemy all the Aſſiſtance they could, while with continued Fury they aſſailed the reſt. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Stellingwerf* was ſhot by a Cannon-ball thro' the Middle; and their Vice-admiral *Cortenaer*, received a Shot in his Thigh, of which he immediately died, almoſt in the Beginning of the Fight, being engaged with the *Royal Katherine*.

In ſhort, the Victory on the Side of the *Engliſh* was complete; moſt Accounts agreeing that they took 18 of the largeſt *Dutch* Ships, ſunk or burnt about 14 more, blew up their Admiral *Opdam* in his own Ship, took above 2000 Priſoners, which were brought into *Colcheſter*, among which 16 were Captains, and killed above 4000 Men in the Action.

The *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, the *Charity*, of 46 Guns, taken in the Beginning of the Fight, by a *Dutch* Ship of 60, after having loſt moſt of her Men, in a hot Fight, with *Van Tromp*, *Hiddes*, and *Swart*. They had about 250 Men killed, and about 340 wounded; but their greateſt Loſs was in the Death of the Earls of *Rutland* and *Marlborough*, Rear-admiral *Sampſon*, Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, who died, after the Fight, of a Wound in his Knee, and the three noble Gentlemen, who were killed by the Duke's Side. But what renders this Victory the moſt extraordinary was, that the whole Burden of the Fight lay chiefly upon 12 of the King's own Ships [g]. This Fight laſted, without Interruption, from three in the Morning, till ſeven in the

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[a] Other Accounts ſay, 112 Men of War, and 30 Fire-ſhips, Yatchs, &c. manned with 22,365 Sailors and Soldiers. Some Authors have divided the Dutch Fleet into ſeven Squadrons, and ſay, they were commanded as follows: Under Opdam, 14 Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips; under John Evertzen, 14 Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips; under Cortenaer, 15 Men of War, and one Fire-ſhip; under Stillingwerf, 14 Men of War, and one Fire-ſhip; under Van Tromp, 16 Men of War, and one Fire-ſhip; under Cornelius Evertzen, 14 Men of War, and one Fireſhip; and under Schram, 16 Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips; beſides Yatchs and Galliots, belonging to each Diviſion, carrying together 4869 Guns, and near 22,000 Men.

[b] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 741.

[c] Columna Roſtrata, p. 160. Baſnage, de Neuville.

[d] Earl of Sandwich's Journal MS.

[e] The Coeverden of 60 Guns; the Prince Morrice of 50; the Utrecht of 44; and another of 40 Guns.

[f] The Marſeveen, the Tergoe, and the Swanenburg.

[g] Three Medals were ſtruck about this time in England. They had all the King's Buſto, with his Titles, on the Face; but on the Reverſe, were repreſented, (1.) The Iſland of Great-Britain, with the Inſcription, QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO. (2.) A Man of War under ſail, with the Inſcription, NOS PENES IMPERIUM. (3.) The King, in a triumphal Chair, drawn by four Sea-horſes, with the Inſcription, ET PONTUS SERVIET.

Evening, 16 Hours; and to the Honour of *Cornelius Van Tromp*, he held it to the laſt, when all the Fleet had left him but 12 Ships.

The Remains of the *Dutch* Fleet retired towards the *Maeſe*, the *Texel*, and the *Vly*; and were purſued all the next Day, being *Sunday*; tho' ſome Hiſtorians will have it, that the Duke of *York* did not ſhew ſo much Ardor, in this Purſuit, as he had done the Day before, in the Engagement. *Dutch* Writers cannot forbear expreſſing their Aſtoniſhment, that the *Engliſh* did not purſue their good Fortune; and do as good as allow, that if they had, the whole *Dutch* Fleet muſt have been a Prey to their victorious Arms.

But the Duke finding [a] that it would be to no Purpoſe to continue the Purſuit of the Enemy's Fleet, retired to the Coaſts of *England*, and rid Poſt to *Whitehall*, to receive the Acclamations of the Court and the City. Glorious as this firſt Action upon the Sea had been to the Duke of *York*, the King and Council did not think it proper to expoſe him to the Dangers of a ſecond Engagement [b].

The *Engliſh* Fleet having therefore been refitted with wonderful Diſpatch, in few Weeks after, weighed Anchor from *Southwold*, or *Solebay*, to the Number of about 60 Sail, and was now put under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who carried the Standard, having under him, in the Red-ſquadron, Sir *George Ayſcue* Vice, and Sir *Thomas Tyddeman* Rear-admiral; in the White-ſquadron were Sir *William Penn* Admiral, Sir *William Berkley* Vice, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan* Rear-admiral; and the Blue-ſquadron was commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen* Admiral, Sir *Chriſtopher Myngs* being his Vice, and Sir *John Herman* his Rear-admiral.

The States, in the mean time, were as aſſiduous in repairing their Fleet; and having given the Command of it to *De Ruyter*, in the Place of *Opdam*, ordered him to return immediately with the Fleet he had with him, conſiſting of 17 Men of War, with a Deſign to ſecure their Merchant-men, homeward-bound from *Smyrna*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*. On the other hand, the *Engliſh* were likewiſe leſs deſirous of fighting, than of ſeizing the Riches, which thoſe Ships contained.

The Earl of *Sandwich*, upon Advice that the *Dutch* were not yet ready to put to Sea, ſet ſail with his Fleet for the North Seas, where, according to the Advices he had received, their *Turkey* Fleet, together with ſome of their *Eaſt-India* Ships, were got North about, and for Security were put into *Bergen* in *Norway*.

During this, the King of *Denmark*, diſcourſing one Day with Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Engliſh* Envoy, made great Complaints of the *Dutch*, who, he ſaid, had drawn the *Swediſh* War on him, that he might be forced to depend on them for Supplies, and to get the Cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their Hands for Security. Sir *Gilbert* upon this told him, that a fair Opportunity now offered of taking his Revenge, by ſeizing their Ships at *Berghen*, which were valued at ſeveral Millions. The King of *Denmark* not thinking himſelf in a Condition to execute this Deſign himſelf, the Envoy told him, he believed the King his Maſter would lend him his Ships, if he would engage to let him have half the Spoil, to which his *Daniſh* Majeſty conſented. King *Charles* liking this Project, ſent immediate Orders to the Earl of *Sandwich* to put it in Execution; and upon theſe Orders it was he ſet ſail for thoſe Parts. Of which Affair we have the following Account from Biſhop *Burnet*.

“ In *June* 1665, the King of *Denmark* opened himſelf very freely to *Talbot*, then his Majeſty's Envoy at that Court, complaining of the States, who, as he ſaid, had drawn the *Swediſh* War on him, on deſign that he might be forced to depend on them for Supplies of Money and Shipping, and ſo to get the Cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their Hands for their Security. *Talbot* upon that told him, that the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet was now in *Berghen*, beſides many rich *Weſt-India* Ships; and that they ſtaid there, in expectation of a double *Eaſt-India* Fleet, and of *De Ruyter*, who was returning with the Spoils of the Coaſt of *Guinea*. So he ſaid, the King of *Denmark* might ſeize theſe Ships, before the Convoy they expected came. The King of *Denmark* anſwered, he had not Force enough to execute ſuch a Deſign; and *Talbot* replied, the King his Maſter would ſend a Force to effect it; but it was reaſonable he ſhould have half of the Spoil. To this the King of *Denmark* readily agreed, and ordered him to propoſe it to his Maſter.

“ This Conference being immediately tranſmitted to *England*, the King approved of it, and promiſed to ſend a Fleet to put it in Execution. The Miniſters of *Denmark* were appointed to concert the Matter with *Talbot*; but nothing was put in Writing; for the King of *Denmark* was aſhamed to treat of ſuch an Affair, otherwiſe than by Word of Mouth. Before the End of *July*, News came that *De Ruyter*, with the *Eaſt-India* Fleet, was on the Coaſt of *Norway*; ſoon after he came into *Berghen*. The Riches then in that Port were reckoned at many Millions.

“ The Earl of *Sandwich* was then in thoſe Seas; ſo *Talbot* ſent a Veſſel expreſs to him with the News; but that Veſſel fell into the Hands of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was ſent to *Holland*. The King of *Denmark* wrote to the Vice-roy of *Norway*, and to the Governor of *Berghen*, ordering them to uſe all fair Means to keep the *Dutch* ſtill in their Harbour, promiſing to ſend them particular Inſtructions, in a few Days, how to proceed. *Talbot* ſent Letters with theſe, to be delivered ſecretly to the Commanders of the *Engliſh* Frigates, to let them know, that they might boldly aſſault the *Dutch* in Port; for the *Danes* would make no Reſiſtance, pretending a Fear that the *Engliſh* might deſtroy their Town; but that an Account was to be kept of their Prizes, that the King of *Denmark* might have a juſt Half of all. They were not to be ſurpriſed if the *Danes* ſeemed at firſt to talk high; that was to be done for Shew only;

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[a] After the Fight (ſays Burnet) a Council of War was called, to concert the Method of Action, when they ſhould come up with them. In that Council Penn, who commanded under the Duke, happened to ſay, that they muſt prepare for better Work the next Engagement. He knew well the Courage of the Dutch was never ſo high, as when they were deſperate. The Earl of Montague, who was then a Volunteer, and one of the Duke's Court, told me, it was very viſible that made an Impreſſion upon him: And all the Duke's Domeſticks ſaid, he had got Honour enough; why ſhould he venture a ſecond Time? The Ducheſs had alſo given a ſtrict Charge to all the Duke's Servants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When Matters were ſettled, they went to ſleep; and the Duke ordered a Call to be given him when they ſhould get up with the Dutch Fleet. It is not known what paſſed between the Duke and Brounker, who was of his Bed-chamber, and then in waiting; but he came to Penn, as from the Duke, and ſaid, the Duke ordered the Sail to be ſlackened. Penn was ſtruck with the Orders, but did not go about to argue the Matter with the Duke himſelf, as he ought to have done, but obeyed it. When the Duke had ſlept, he, upon his waking, went out upon the Quarter-deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee the Sails ſlackened, and that thereby all Hopes of overtaking the Dutch was loſt. He queſtioned Penn upon it; Penn put it upon Brounker, who ſaid nothing. The Duke denied he had given any ſuch Order; but he neither puniſhed Brounker for carrying it, nor Penn for obeying it. He indeed put Brounker out of his Service, and it was ſaid that he durſt do no more, Brounker was ſo much in the King's Favour, and in the Miſtreſs's. Penn was more in his Favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his Son after him, tho' a Quaker; and it was thought, that all that Favour was to oblige him to keep the Secret. Lord Montague did believe, that the Duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the Earl of Falmouth, the King's Favourite, and two other Perſons of Quality, killed very near him, and that he had no mind to engage again, and that Penn was privately with him. If Brounker was ſo much in Fault as he ſeemed to be, it was thought the Duke, in the Paſſion that this muſt have raiſed in him, would have proceeded to greater Extremities, and not have acted with ſo much Phlegm.

[b] Rapin would have it thought, that the ill Succeſs which attended them in this Day's Action, was not ſo much owing to the Valour and Dexterity of the Engliſh, as to the Misfortune of moſt of their Ships being commanded by raw and unexperienced Officers, who were put into Command by Favour of the Penſioner and his Friends; to the ill Conduct of many of theſe Officers, who were wanting in their Duty; to the Death of Opdam, who was blown up, and to that of Cortenaer, who was killed upon the Deck, after he had hoiſted the Admiral's Flag; and to many other Cauſes, which are ſcarce intelligible to any but thoſe who are verſed in Sea-affairs. He will not allow the Dutch to have loſt in all more than 19 (tho' Baſnage allows 22) Ships; and ſays, the Engliſh, (in which he follows ſome of the Dutch Writers, tho' others are more modeſt) loſt four, with 1500 Men. To convince the incenſed Populace (who had attempted to aſſaſſinate John Evertzen at the Briel) that the Fault lay very much in their Officers, they ſacrificed ſeveral of them to their Rage. Four (ſome ſay three) of them were publicly ſhot at the Helder; four were ordered to have their Swords broken over their Heads, by the common Hangman; and the Maſter of the Vice-admiral Cortenaer, to ſtand upon a Scaffold, with a Halter about his Neck, under the Gallows, while the others were executed, and afterwards ſent into perpetual Baniſhment. Two more were degraded, and rendered incapable of ſerving the State more.

“ but they would grow calmer, when they came to engage.

“ The Earl of *Sandwich* ſent his Secretary to *Talbot*, to know the Particulars of the Agreement with the King of *Denmark*; but the Veſſel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the Fleet; ſo that it was impoſſible to ſend by that Veſſel what was deſired; and no other Ship could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of *Sandwich* went to attack the *Dutch* Fleet without ſtaying for an Anſwer from *Talbot*, or knowing what Orders the Governor of *Berghen* had yet received: For tho' the Orders were ſent, yet it was ſo great a Way (10 or 12 Days Journey) that it could not reach the Place, till after the *Engliſh* Fleet had made the Attack.

“ The Vice-roy of *Norway*, who reſided at *Chriſtiana*, had his Orders ſooner, and ſent out two Gallies to communicate the Agreement to the Earl of *Sandwich*, but miſſed him; for he was then before *Berghen*. The Governor of *Berghen*, not having yet the Orders, that the former Expreſs promiſed him, ſent a Gentleman to the *Engliſh* Fleet, deſiring they would make no Attack for two or three Days, for by that time he expected his Orders. *Clifford* was ſent to the Governor, who inſiſted, that till he had Orders, he muſt defend the Port; but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon *Clifford*'s going back to the Fleet, a Council of War was called, in which the Officers, animated with the Hope of a rich Booty, reſolved without farther Delay, to attack the Port, either doubting the Sincerity of the *Daniſh* Court, or unwilling to give them ſo large a Share of what they reckoned already their Prize.

“ Upon this *Tiddyman* began the Attack, which ended fatally. Divers Frigates were diſabled, and many Officers and Seamen were killed. The Squadron was thus ruined, and *Tiddyman* was ready to ſink; ſo he was forced to ſlip his Cables, and retire to the Fleet, which lay without the Rocks. This Action was on the 3d of *Auguſt*; and on the 4th the Governor received his Orders; ſo he ſent for *Clifford*, and ſhewed him his Orders: But as the *Engliſh* Fleet had, by their Precipitation, forced him to do what they had done, ſo he could not, upon what had happened the Day before, execute thoſe Orders, till he ſent an Account of what had paſſed, to the Court of *Denmark*, and had the King's ſecond Orders upon it. And, if the whole *Engliſh* Fleet would not ſtay in thoſe Seas ſo long, he deſired they would leave ſix Frigates before the Harbour, and he would engage the *Dutch* ſhould not go out to Sea in the mean time. But the *Engliſh* were ſullen upon their Diſappointment, and ſailed away. The King of *Denmark* was unſpeakably troubled at the Loſs of the greateſt Treaſure he was ever like to have in his Hands. This was a Deſign well laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*, as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*; and was, by the impatient Ravenouſneſs of the *Engliſh*, loſt without poſſibility of Recovery.”

The *French*, who had fomented this War, in order to ruin both the Navies of the maritime Powers, or, at leaſt, to render them incapable of obſtructing her naval Force, which at this time was reſolved to be increaſed, as the only Means to carry her grand Scheme of Trade into Execution, finding that, ſhould the *Dutch* be permitted to ſink under this Loſs, *England* would be more able to maintain the Dominion of the Seas, and to give Laws to the Navigation and Commerce of her Neighbours, pulled off the Maſk, and openly declared in favour of the *Hollanders*.

The firſt Step taken by the *French* King, was to try what Diſturbance might be given us at home. For this end, his Emiſſaries ingratiated themſelves with the republican Faction, and endeavoured to engage General *Ludlow* to leave his Retreat, and to accept of a Commiſſion to raiſe a Rebellion againſt his natural Prince. He prevailed with the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* alſo to declare for the *Dutch*; and, on his own Part, engaged to ſupply the States with 36 Ships of War, of which 12 were to be built in *Holland*, 12 made out of large *India* Ships in the ſame Country, and 12 to be bought of the King of *Denmark*, at the ſole Charge of *France*.

Theſe Treaties, Confederacies, and Preparations, were not kept ſo ſecret, but they were ſoon known at the *Britiſh* Court. However *France* would have coloured theſe Proceedings with the Maſk of Friendſhip; and propoſed to ſettle the Differences between *England* and *Holland* by Negotiation. King *Charles*, who had not yet given up his Affairs to the Direction of *French* Council, rejected a Propoſal of Peace, till the *Dutch* had made Satisfaction for 2,000,000 *l.* the Expence of the late Armament; and added, That if he granted Peace to the *Dutch*, it ſhould be on condition that their Allies ſhould be left out of it. He proceeded further, recalled Lord *Holles* from the *French* Court, and ſent the Earl of *Sandwich* to *Spain*.

By this wiſe Meaſure King *Charles*, tho' he had not one Ally but the Biſhop of *Munſter*, has left us an Example of true *Britiſh* Policy, to deſpiſe the moſt powerful Force on the Continent, while *Britain* maintains the Dominion of the Seas, and is governed by a Prince, whoſe Strength is in the Arms and Affections of his *Britiſh* Subjects.

The Embaſſy into *Spain* produced the moſt advantageous Treaty of Commerce, that was ever made for this Nation[a]. And the recalling of the Ambaſſador from *France*, ſhewed an utter Contempt of that perfidious Court. In the mean time our Fleet was put into a reſpectable Condition, and placed under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*. The Prince was commiſſioned to watch the *French*; and the Duke to act againſt the *Dutch*[b]. And when all things were in Readineſs for Action, War was declared againſt *France* in *February* 1666.

The *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of 78 Ships of the Line, rendezvouſed in the *Downs* on the 29th of *May*; and upon an Alarm that the *French* Fleet (from the *Mediterranean*) was ſailed to join the *Dutch*, Prince *Rupert* received Orders to ſail with the whole White-ſquadron, except the Admirals, and to wait for the *French* off the *Iſle of Wight*.

The ſame Wind that carried the Prince Weſtward, brought the *Dutch* to Sea, which conſiſted of 71 Ships of the Line, 12 Frigates, 13 Fire ſhips, and eight Yachts, carrying 4716 Guns, and 22,000 Men and upwards, under the Command of *de Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and *Van Tromp*.

This powerful Fleet came to an Anchor between *Dunkirk* and the *North Foreland*, where it lay when the Duke of *Albemarle* with the Blue and Red-ſquadrons, conſiſting of 65 Sail only, came with ſuch Reſolution, and a ſtrong Wind at S. W. that the *Dutch* were forced to cut their Cables, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, for a Battle that continued four Days ſucceſſively.

The Battle began on the firſt of *June*, with ſuch a ſtrong Wind, that the *Engliſh* could not uſe their lower Tire of Guns. At the Beginning of this Day's Engagement, which was very fierce on both Sides, *Van Tromp*'s Ship being diſabled, he was obliged to move to another; and *de Ruyter*, coming to his Aſſiſtance, met with the ſame Fate; and the Powder of another *Dutch* Ship taking Fire, blew her up into the Air, and Admiral *Stagbouwer* was killed. This is what the *Dutch* themſelves allow, but the *Engliſh* mention another Ship burnt.

Towards the latter End of the Day, Sir *John Harman*, Rear-admiral of the White, being ſurrounded by a Throng of *Dutch*, ſignalized himſelf by the Death of the *Zealand* Admiral *Evertzen*, and the Deſtruction of three of the Enemy's Fire-ſhips: After which, being left by the Enemy, he retired with his diſabled Ship to *Harwich*. Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-admiral of the White, and almoſt all his Men, being killed, his Ship, with two more, which were cut off from the Line, and diſabled, were taken.

The Night (having put an End to the firſt Day's Fight, about 10 o'Clock) was ſpent in repairing Damages. The Engagement was renewed the next Morning by Break of Day, and was continued for ſome Hours, till a Calm obliged both Fleets to lie by till Noon. A Breeze coming up in the Afternoon, the Battle began again, and was fought with equal Bravery. *Van Tromp* having once more been obliged to leave his Ship (or, as others ſay, having voluntarily ſhifted from Ship to Ship, and fought in variety

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[a] Columna Roſtrata, p. 167. Echard.

[b] Kennet, Burchet.

riety of Shapes) at length was ſo hard beſet by the *Engliſh* Ships, (together with the Vice-admiral *Vander Hulſt*, who was killed with a Muſket-ſhot) that had not *de Ruyter*, with an unparallelled Bravery, brought him off, he had infallibly been taken or ſunk. The *Dutch* had this Day [a] three Ships fired. The greateſt Loſs of the *Engliſh* were three diſabled Ships, which they burnt themſelves.

The Duke of *Albemarle*, ſeeing towards Evening that the *Dutch* were reinforced, took the Opportunity of the Night to retreat; but was obliged to make a running Fight of it all the next Day, in hourly Expectation of joining the White-ſquadron. This Retreat was made in excellent Order, and without any Loſs, the *Dutch* following them at a Diſtance; till the *Royal Prince*, with Sir *George Ayſcue*, Admiral of the White-ſquadron, unfortunately ſtriking upon the Sand called the *Galloper*, was burnt by the Enemy, and himſelf and his Men made Priſoners.

In the Evening of the third Day, the Duke diſcovered Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron haſtening to his Aſſiſtance; and being joined, the two Admirals, immediately ſetting their Courſe towards the Enemy, with Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding, charged thro' and thro' the *Dutch* Squadrons; but Night ſoon parted them.

The next Morning, by Break of Day, the Fight was renewed with equal Fury and Reſolution. The *Engliſh* charged through the *Dutch* Fleet [b] five ſeveral Times, with good Advantage, and ſo broke them, that they had not above 25 Ships remaining in a Body, which only maintained a running Fight, and retreated to their own Coaſts, having loſt above 15 Ships, with 21 Captains, and above 5000 common Men.

The Author of the *Columna Roſtrata* gives us the following Account of this Day's Action: "On the 4th Day, (ſays he) the *Dutch*, who were ſtill conſiderably ſtronger than the *Engliſh*, were (according to Prince *Rupert*'s Letter) almoſt out of Sight; but being purſued, were overtaken about eight o'Clock, and the Fight begun anew in a terrible Manner. Both Parties, impatient to bring this long Diſpute to a Deciſion, gave the utmoſt Proofs of Courage and Conduct. The Ship of the *Dutch* Captain *Uytenhoff* was burnt. Thoſe of *Van Tromp* and *Sweers*, being quite diſabled, were obliged to leave the Fight. The Ship *Dom van Uytrecht* yielded to the Duke, but was afterwards relieved. Several of the *Engliſh* ſuffered conſiderable Damage, and two or three, much diſabled, were taken. The Fight laſted till about ſeven in the Evening, when a ſudden Miſt drew a Curtain before the bloody Scene; and ſo this Tragedy, though one of the longeſt that ever was acted on the Sea, concluded with the fourth Act."

Rapin (ſpeaking of the ſame Engagement in favour of the *Dutch*) ſays, the *Engliſh* in this fourth Engagement loſt four of their beſt Ships, and were obliged to retreat with Precipitation. A Miſt happily conveyed them from the Purſuit of *de Ruyter*. In theſe four Days (ſays the ſame Author) the *Engliſh* loſt 23 great Ships, beſides ſeveral others of leſs Note, (tho' the *Dutch* themſelves, who at firſt made them 35, afterwards pretended to no more than 16) 6000 Men killed, and 2600 made Priſoners, (which, by the bye, were as many or more than were actually engaged.) Among the Slain, were Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-admiral of the White-ſquadron, and Sir *Chriſtopher Mings*. The *Dutch* (ſays he) loſt ſix Ships, (*Burchett* ſays 20) 2800 Soldiers, (according to *Burchett* 5000) beſides the Admirals *Evertzen*, *Vander Hulſt*, and *Staghouwer*, with ſome other Officers. Tho' the Victory (continues he) was ſo evidently on the Side of the *Dutch*, Bonfires and Rejoicings were made at *London*, as if the *Engliſh* had been victorious. Such is *Rapin*'s Partiality for the *Dutch*, upon all Occaſions!

Biſhop *Burnet* (who was likewiſe no great Enemy to the *Dutch*, no more than *Rapin*) ſays, "*De Wit* was on-board " of the *Dutch* Fleet, who is ſaid to have invented Chain- " ſhot on this Occaſion, which did incredible Damage to " the Rigging of the *Engliſh*, and was a great Means of " the *Dutch* getting the Advantage. And, it is thought, " if Prince *Rupert* had not come up when he did, the " *Engliſh* Fleet was ſo unrigged, that they would all have " been taken and ſunk, or burnt: And yet a Day of " Thankſgiving was appointed."

Highly probable it is, that neither Side had any great Reaſon to brag of Advantage; and perhaps no Action might more properly be called a Drawn-battle; but, in Point of Valour and Conduct, it is moſt certain (and the *Dutch* themſelves allow it in a great meaſure) the *Engliſh* had vaſtly the Advantage; and this is proved, in general, by their being ſo greatly inferior in Force to the *Dutch*, and yet coming off with ſo much Honour. Beſides, the *Dutch*, when they attribute to themſelves the Honour of the Victory, are obliged to own, at the ſame time, it was the hardeſt won of any they ever obtained, and the Action the moſt cruel and deſperate they ever were engaged in. But we'll deſcend to a Particular or two, which, that I may not be ſuſpected of Partiality, I will take from the *Dutch* Writers.

To be admired, ſay they [c], was the Reſolution of Vice-admiral *Berkley*, who, though cut off from the Line, ſurrounded by his Enemies, great Numbers of his Men killed, his Ship diſabled and boarded on all Sides, yet continued fighting almoſt alone, killed ſeveral with his own Hand, and would accept of no Quarter, till, at length, being ſhot in the Throat with a Muſket-ball, he retired into the Captain's Cabbin, where he was found dead, extended at his full Length, on a Table, and almoſt covered with his own Blood.

Rear-admiral *Mings* [d], having received a Muſket-ball in his Throat, would not be perſuaded to be bound, or to leave the Quarter-deck, but held his Fingers in the Wound, to ſtop the flowing Blood, for above half an Hour; till another Muſket-ball taking him in the Neck, he died, after having given the moſt ſignal Proofs of his Courage, to the very laſt Gaſp.

I muſt not omit the gallant Behaviour of Sir *John Harman* [e], who being diſabled amidſt a Number of the Enemy's Ships, was grappled by a Fire ſhip, but freed again by the deſperate Reſolution of the Boatſwain, who ſwung on board the Fire-ſhip, and having ungrappled, got on-board again; for which valiant Deed, he was afterwards made Captain of the *Ruby*. The Enemy finding this Fire-ſhip ſpent without Effect, ſent off a ſecond, which, having grappled, ſet Sir *John*'s Ship on fire. His Men, upon this, began to jump over-board, to avoid the Flames; but Sir *John*, with his Sword drawn, run among them, and threatned thoſe with immediate Death, who ſhould refuſe their Aſſiſtance to free the Ship, and quench the Flames. This had its Effect, and worked up ſuch a Reſolution in the Men to uſe their joint Endeavours, that at length they got the Fire under; but the Cordage being burnt, a Yard fell upon Sir *John*, and broke his Leg. The Enemy, ſeeing this, ſent off a third Fire-ſhip; but four of Sir *John*'s Lower-tire Guns ſunk her, before ſhe got on-board: The *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Evertzen*, upon this, offered him Quarter; but Sir *John* told him, it was not come to that yet: And the laſt Broadſide he gave, killed the *Dutch* Vice-admiral; upon which, the Enemy leaving him, he got into *Harwich*. Here he repaired his Ship, as well as the ſhort Time he had would allow; and having ſet up Jury-maſts, notwithſtanding his broken Leg, put to Sea again, thinking to ſhare in the Honour of the laſt Day's Engagement; but it was ended before he could reach the Fleet.

I ſhall conclude theſe Remarks in the Words of a profeſſed Enemy of the *Engliſh*, the famous Penſionary *de Wit*, as related by a Gentleman [f], whoſe Credit and Authority will hardly be called in Queſtion. "The *Engliſh* (ſaid *de Wit* " to Sir *William Temple*) got more Glory to their Nation, " and the invincible Courage of their Seamen, by thoſe " Engagements, than by the two Victories of this War." To which he added, "he was ſure their own People (the " *Dutch*) could never have been brought on the following " Days, after the Diſadvantages of the firſt; and he believed " no other Nation was capable of it but the *Engliſh*."

This Teſtimony from a profeſſed Enemy, not only by national, but by perſonal Intereſt, is a noble Trophy erected to the everlaſting Honour of our *Engliſh* Seamen.

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[a] Burchett,
[b] Burchett.
[c] Leven van Corn. Van Tromp.
[d] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter.
[e] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter.
[f] Sir William Temple's Obſerv. &c.

The *Dutch*, not only fluſhed with an imaginary Advantage in the late Sea-fight, but ſtill buoy'd up with Expectations of being joined by a conſiderable *French* Fleet from the *Mediterranean*, under the Duke of *Beaufort*, were very expeditious in their Return to the *Engliſh* Coaſt, affecting there to brave us, and to go in queſt of their *French* Allies, who, by the Iſſue, appear not to have intended to afford them any real Aſſiſtance. And not imagining it poſſible for the *Engliſh* Fleet to be in Condition to face ſo powerful an Enemy at Sea, in that ſhort Space of Time, the *Dutch* Fleet ventured up to the very Mouth of the *Thames*. But they had not long caſt Anchor, before they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet bearing down upon them, to engage them upon more equal Terms than in the laſt Fight, upon which they immediately retired towards the Coaſt of *Holland*.

The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of about 80 Men of War and Frigates, and 18 or 19 Fire-ſhips, divided as uſual into the Red, White, and Blue-Squadrons, the firſt of which was commanded in Chief by Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, who were both in one Ship; the ſecond by Sir *Thomas Allen*; and the third by Sir *Jeremy Smith*; under whom Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Robert Holms*, Sir *Thomas Tiddeman*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, Captain *Utburt*, and Captain *Kempthorn*, commanded as Flag-officers.

The *Dutch* were (according to their own Accounts) 88 Men of War, and about 20 Fire-ſhips, divided likewiſe into three main Squadrons, which were commanded by *de Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and *Van Tromp*.

The *Engliſh* being come up, on the 25th of *July*, with the *Dutch* Fleet, North-eaſt and by Eaſt of the *North Foreland*, Sir *Thomas Allen*, with the White-ſquadron, began the Fight about Noon, by attacking the *Dutch* Admiral *Evertzen*. About one o'Clock Prince *Rupert* and the Duke made a furious Attack upon *de Ruyter*, and after a Fight of about three Hours, in which they were very roughly handled, they were obliged to leave their Ship, and go aboard another. In the mean time the *Frieſland* and *Zealand* Squadrons, under *Evertzen*, were put to flight by *Allen*; and this Admiral, with his Vice-admiral *de Vries*, and his Rear-admiral *Koenders*, killed. In this Action the *Zealand* Vice-admiral *Blankert* being left, was taken and burnt by the *Engliſh*, as was likewiſe the *Sneck* (or *Snail*) a Ship of 50 Guns.

Prince *Rupert* and the Duke ſeeing the Succeſs of the White-ſquadron, redoubled their Fury with the Red againſt *de Ruyter*, whom they engaged Ship to Ship. In this Fight a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip was ſunk; and the Ship *Guelderland* of 66 Guns, one of *de Ruyter's* Seconds, rendered uncapable of Action; but the Captain of an *Engliſh* Fire-ſhip, attempting to grapple her, miſcarried, and was forced to ſet Fire to his Ship too ſoon. Another *Dutch* Fire-ſhip was burnt by the *Engliſh*, and moſt of the Men drowned. Captain *Ruth Maximilian*, another of *de Ruyter's* Seconds, was kill'd; and the two others, *Nyhof* and *Hogenhoeck*, mortally wounded. After theſe Loſſes, ſeveral of *de Ruyter's* Squadron began to take to their Flight, his Vice-admiral *Van Nes* only ſtood bravely by him, and was very much diſabled; but being at length deſerted by all but eight or nine Ships, and bore down with Numbers, this brave Admiral found himſelf obliged to yield to Neceſſity, and follow the reſt.

Van Tromp was all this while hotly engaged with the Blue-ſquadron, under Sir *Jeremy Smith*, where having gained ſome ſmall Advantage, he indiſcreetly ſuffered himſelf by Degrees to be drawn away to ſo great a Diſtance from the reſt of the Fleet, that it was not in his Power to aſſiſt his Friends, when they were in Diſtreſs. As this was an inexcuſable Error on his Side, ſo it appears to have been a Maſter-piece of Policy (and ſo ſome *Dutch* Writers take it) on the Side of the *Engliſh*; *Smith's* Squadron being the weakeſt on our Side, and *Van Tromp's* the ſtrongeſt on the other. In this Part of the Fight, *Van Tromp's* Rear-admiral *Hoen* was killed; and *Van Meppel's*, the Vice-admiral's Ship, terribly ſhattered, having alone 100 Men killed and wounded. On the *Engliſh* Side the *Reſolution*, a Man of War, commanded by Captain *Haiman*, was burnt by a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip.

There being but very little Wind all that Night and the next Day, *de Ruyter's* Retreat was very ſlow, and continually expoſed to the Enemy's Shot, Prince *Rupert* and the Duke, with Part of the Red-ſquadron, being always at his Heels; but not being able to board, by reaſon of the Calm, they endeavoured to ruin him by a Fire-ſhip; and that miſcarrying, they ply'd him with ſo continual and furious a Firing of their Ordnance, that tho' he was remarkable for his intrepid Courage, the Author of his Life in *French* ſays, he was heard to ſay: *O Dieu! faut il que je ſois ſi malheureux! Entre tant de Milliers de Boulets n'y en aura-t-il point un qui m'emporte?* Or Words to that effect in *Dutch*, "O God! muſt I then be ſo unfortunate! Among ſo many "Thouſands of Balls, will not one be ſo favourable to "take me off?"

By this time it was evident, and the *Dutch* are obliged to own, that the *Engliſh* had obtained a compleat Victory, having ſunk or burnt above 20 of their Ships, and killed, beſides *Evertzen* Admiral of *Zealand*, *Tirrick Hiddes de Vries* Admiral of *Frieſland*, and Rear-admiral *Van Saen*, above 4000 common Seamen, and wounded near 3000. The Remainder of the Enemy's Fleet got, at length, in the utmoſt Confuſion, into the *Weilings*, over the Flats and Banks, whither our great Ships could not follow them; and our Fleet ſailed triumphantly along the Coaſts of *Holland*.

The *Dutch* were now ſoon awakened out of the pleaſing Dream they had been infatuated with, of their former Victory. They ſaw their Fleet routed, and their Coaſts inſulted, by an Enemy, who they were but juſt before made to believe were rendered uncapable of doing them farther Miſchief. Complaints without Number were laid before the States, and freſh Enquiries into the Conduct of the Officers were ſet on Foot, ſeveral of whom were puniſhed, and *Van Tromp* himſelf diſplaced. This Diſgrace of *Van Tromp* was chiefly owing to a Hatred conceived againſt him by *de Wit*, and to the Repreſentations of *de Ruyter*, who in his Letter to the States, as well as by Word of Mouth, laid the whole Misfortune upon him, and charges him pretty plainly not with Indiſcretion alone, but with Cowardiſe or Treachery. "I was ſurprized (ſays he) to "ſee Lieutenant-admiral *Van Tromp*, who commanded the "Rear, lag behind, inſtead of advancing with his Squa-"dron; which gave the Enemy an Opportunity of ſepa-"rating us. - - - I muſt likewiſe inform you, that I did "not ſee *Van Tromp* in any Action with the Enemy, till "towards Evening, when he was engaged, for a ſhort "Time only, with ſome Ships of the Enemy's Blue-Squa-"dron." And in another Place, "As *Van Tromp* had the "Weather-gage, it had been eaſy for him to have veered "back towards us, but it was impoſſible for us to go to "him; and I know not what obliged him to deſert us "thus."

This was the cleareſt Victory gained in the whole War; the *Dutch* were miſerably beaten, and their two great Admirals *de Ruyter* and *Tromp*, had nothing to do but to lay the Blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating Circumſtances they could deviſe. In this Battle the *Dutch* loſt 20 Ships; four Admirals killed, and a great many Captains: as to private Men, there might be about 4000 ſlain, and 3000 wounded. The *Engliſh* had only the *Reſolution* burnt, three Captains killed, and about 300 private Men. Upon this Occaſion it appeared, of how little Service it is to ſpread falſe Rumours amongſt the Populace. The *Dutch* People had been aſſured, that the laſt Battle had entirely ruined the naval Strength of *England*, and that their Fleet when it ſailed out, was gone to deſtroy the Coaſting-trade, and to inſult the Sea-ports of our Iſland. When therefore in the Space of ſix Weeks they ſaw the Reverſe of this, their own Countrymen flying, the *Engliſh* Navy ſtationed on their Shore, and their whole Commerce at a Stand, their Fury is not to be expreſſed. They reproached their Governors, not only with Want of Courage and Fortune, but alſo with being deficient in Point of Probity, and with endeavouring to impoſe on a Nation they could not protect. Their Rage, great as it was, received no ſmall Increaſe from a new Misfortune, heavier in itſelf, and more ſhameful in its Nature, than any they had yet ſuſtained.

As the *Engliſh* lay off the *Vly*, they got Intelligence by one *Heemſkerk*, a caſhiered *Dutch* Captain, that upon that Iſland and the *Schelling* were conſiderable Magazines, belonging partly to the States, and partly to the *Eaſt-India* Company; and at Anchor, within the Iſlands, a great Number of Merchant-ſhips, lately arrived from *Muſcovy*, *Guinea*, and other Parts, with ſome outward-bound Ships, all richly laden. Upon this Information, the *Engliſh* Admirals ſent in a Squadron, conſiſting of nine fourth and fifth Rate Men of War, five Fire-ſhips, and ſeven Ketches, to deſtroy them, under the Command of Sir *Robert Holms*, aſſiſted by Sir *Philip Howard*, Sir *William Jennings*, and other Officers; and the next Day, being the 8th of *Auguſt*, Sir *Robert* came to Anchor at eight in the Morning, before the *Vly*; where, the Wind not favouring their Deſign, they with ſome Difficulty turned into *Schelling* Road. The 9th, they had the good Fortune to deſtroy about 160 rich *Dutch* Merchant-ſhips, the leaſt of which was of 200 Tons, with two Men of War, their Convoy, in the following Manner. The *Pembroke*, which drew the leaſt Water, was ordered, with the five Fire-ſhips, to fall in amongſt the Fleet with what Speed they could. Captain *Brown*, with his Fire-ſhip, choſe very bravely to lay the biggeſt Man of War on-board, which he did, and burnt her down-right. Another Fire-ſhip running up, at the ſame time, to the other Man of War, ſhe backing her Sails, eſcaped the preſent Execution of the Fire-ſhip; but ſhe thereby run herſelf on-ground, where ſhe was preſently taken by ſome of the Long-boats, and fired. The other three Fire-ſhips clapped the three largeſt Merchant-men on-board, which carried Flags in their Main-tops, and burnt them. This put all their Fleet in a great Confuſion, which Sir *Robert Holms* perceiving, made Sign for all the Officers to come on-board again, and preſently gave Orders, that Sir *William Jennings*, with all the Boats that could be ſpared, ſhould take the Advantage to fall in and deſtroy all they could; but with ſtrict Command they ſhould not plunder. This Order was ſo well executed, each Captain effecting his Share, ſome 12, ſome 15 each, that of the whole Fleet of 170 Ships, not above eight or nine eſcaped, and they very much damaged; the reſt were all burnt.

The 10th they landed with a Body of Men, conſiſting of 11 Companies, on the Iſland of *Shelling*, where they fired the Town of *Brandaris*, conſiſting of 6 or 700 (ſome Accounts ſay 1000) Houſes, upon that Iſland, and brought off a conſiderable Booty; which was all performed, without any other Loſs on our Side, than of ſix Men killed, and as many wounded, with four or five Fire-ſhips conſumed, and a few Pinnaces ſunk. As a Mark of their Triumph, beſides the Booty the Soldiers and Sailors made, they brought off a fine Pleaſure-boat, belonging to the States, of 12 Guns. The Loſs the *Dutch* ſuſtained in Ships, Goods, Houſes, and other Effects, was computed to amount to, at leaſt, 1,200,000 *l.* Sterling.

There appeared no way to retrieve their Credit and Loſs, but by a vigorous Reparation of their Fleet, ſtill in hopes of Succour from *France*; and the *Engliſh* being returned to their own Coaſts, the *Dutch* Fleet under *de Ruyter*, (*Van Tromp* being caſhiered) conſiſting of 79 Men of War and Frigates, and 27 Fire-ſhips, put to Sea again in leſs than a Month's Time, and paſſed by *Dover* on the 1ſt of *September*, in their way to *Rochelle*, where they expected to join the Duke of *Beaufort*'s Squadron.

Prince *Rupert* with the *Engliſh* Fleet, which had been reinforced ſince the laſt Battle, and was ſuperior to the *Dutch*, ſtood after them to the Road of *Boulogne*, being very eager to engage them; but the *Dutch*, to avoid fighting, hauled cloſe in with the Shore, and had been there burnt, or run aground by the Prince, if a violent Storm, ſuddenly coming on, had not forced him to retire to *St. Helens*. In the mean while, the *French* Fleet put to Sea from the Weſtward, but three or four of their Ships, which ſeparated from the reſt, falling in with Sir *Thomas Allen*'s Squadron in the Soundings, he took one of them, called the *Ruby*, of 1000 Tons, 70 Guns, and 500 Men; with which Loſs the Duke *de Beaufort* was (or pretended to be) ſo diſcouraged, that he immediately returned into Port, as the *Dutch* did to their own Coaſts.

Rapin ſays, that the Duke *de Beaufort*, who knew nothing of the Retreat of the *Dutch*, had left *Belle Iſle*, where he arrived on the 20th, and entering the Channel, ſafely ſailed by the Iſle of *Wight* (tho' the *Engliſh* Fleet lay there) and got into the Road of *Dieppe*. He ſtaid there a whole Day for *de Ruyter*; but being at laſt informed, that the *Dutch* Fleet was retired, he ſailed once more by the Iſle of *Wight*, without being attacked by the *Engliſh*, and got into the Ports of *Bretagne*. From which Circumſtances, added to the Remiſsneſs of the *French* in not joining the *Dutch* Fleet the whole Summer, *Rapin* argues, that the *French* had never the Intention of taking any Part in this War, and only entered into it to buoy up the *Dutch*, leſt they ſhould make Peace.

In the mean time, tho' the *French* did not like Fighting, they had recourſe to a Stratagem, or, to call the thing by its proper Name, they ſet on-foot a dirty Conſpiracy for ſeizing the Iſland of *Guernſey*. They ſent a Gentleman, who was Governor of the principal Fortreſſes upon their own Coaſts, to negotiate with Major-general *Lambert*, an old Republican, who was Priſoner in the Iſland. But the General, it ſeems, preferred any Government to a *French* one, and therefore having made a free Diſcovery of theſe Politicians, they were taken and hanged for Spies [a].

All Parties began now to be weary of ſuch an expenſive and bloody War; and even the *French* were convinced, that the carrying of it on would ſerve only to raiſe the Reputation of *England*, and to obſcure its own, as well as to ruin the *Dutch*. In theſe Circumſtances, the Mediation of *Sweden* was accepted on both Sides, and a Treaty ſet on-foot at *Breda*. But as this was originally rather a miniſterial, than a popular War, on the Part of *Holland*, *de Wit*, the Penſioner and Creature of *France*, and the inveterate Enemy of the *Engliſh* Court, on account of its Attachment and Relation to the Houſe of *Orange*, formed a Scheme to invade *England*, to burn the Royal Navy in Port, and to ſeize the Capital; while King *Charles*, relying on the pacific Iſſue of the Treaty at *Breda*, had laid his Fleets up, and left his Coaſts unguarded.

He at firſt opened himſelf to Count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who communicated the Deſign to his Court, where it met with the utmoſt Approbation, and where Meaſures were taken for rendering it effectual in its Execution [b]. To this end it was neceſſary King *Charles* ſhould be perſuaded, that there was no neceſſity of fitting out a Fleet for this Year; ſince this would have rendered the Deſign of the *Dutch* Stateſman, not only difficult and dangerous, but abſolutely impracticable. With a View to this, the Queen Mother (whoſe Advices were always fatal to this Nation) was perſuaded to write her Son a Letter, wherein ſhe informed him, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the States-general, had turned their Thoughts entirely towards Peace; and that it might have ill Effects, if his Majeſty, by fitting out a great Fleet, ſhould alarm them on their Coaſts, as in the preceding Year. This Advice agreeing with the King's Temper and Circumſtances, whoſe Courtiers plundered him, and againſt whoſe Meaſures a Party was formed, many of whom, notwithſtanding their Profeſſions of Patriotiſm, in reality meant little more than Places and Preferments; we need not wonder he fell ſo readily into it; for covetous and needy Princes, are alike liable to the greateſt Foible in governing; the preferring of preſent Gain to any future Proſpect whatever. Notwithſtanding, therefore, his naval Magazines were never better provided, King *Charles* ordered only two ſmall Squadrons for the Summer Service, in 1667 [c].

Things being thus in a Readineſs, the laſt Reſolution was taken in *Holland*, for the immediate Execution of *de Wit*'s Project; and this Reſolution was ſigned by the *French* Miniſter, as well as by the Deputies of the States. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had promiſed that a Squadron of his Ships, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*, ſhould aſſiſt therein. But, that the Iſſue of the thing might irritate the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch* only, the *French* waved the Performance of their Promiſe, after the *Dutch* found it impoſſible to go back.

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[a] Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Kennet. Echard. Burchett.

[b] For theſe Particulars we are indebted to the Letters of Count d'Eſtrades the French Miniſter, to the States, which ſhew very clearly the whole Courſe of this Intrigue.

[c] Kennet. Columna Roſtrata. Burchett.

The Pretence made uſe of by *de Wit*, for fitting out a Fleet in the Spring, was the Miſchief which had been done to their Navigation, by the Privateers from *Scotland*. In order to check theſe, Admiral *Van Ghendt* was ſent with a conſiderable Fleet into the *Frith*, with Orders to burn the Coaſts, and recover ſuch Ships as were in thoſe Ports.

He came into the *Frith* on the 1ſt of *May*. If he had, at firſt, hung out *Engliſh* Colours, and attacked *Leith* Harbour immediately, which was then full of Ships, he might have done what Miſchief he pleaſed; for all were ſecure, and were in expectation of Sir *Jeremy Smith*, with ſome Frigates, for the Defence of the Coaſt. *Van Ghendt* did nothing in the *Frith* for ſome Hours: He ſhot againſt *Burnt* Iſland, without doing any Miſchief; for this was all a Feint to amuſe the King, that he might not dive into the real Deſign of the *Dutch*. All being ready, *Van Ghendt* with his Squadron returned, and joined *De Ruyter*, who, with 70 Sail of Ships, appeared in the *Thames* Mouth, the 7th of *June*, and on the 10th, ſending in a Squadron, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Fort at *Sheerneſs*, and burnt or plundered the Magazine of Stores; tho' as bravely defended by Sir *Edward Spragge*, as a Place then unfiniſhed, and of no Defence, could poſſibly be. The Duke of *Albemarle*, who was Lord General, with all Expedition haſtened down thither, with ſome Land-forces, and to oppoſe the Enemy's Progreſs, ſunk ſome Veſſels in the Entrance of the *Medway*, and laid a ſtrong Chain acroſs it: But the *Dutch*, with a high Tide, and a ſtrong eaſterly Wind, on the 12th, broke their way thro', and burnt three Ships, the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles* V. (all taken from them this War) which lay to defend the Chain.

The Advantage of Wind and Tide continuing, they advanced, the 13th, with ſix Men of War, and five Fire-ſhips, as far as *Upnore* Caſtle; but were ſo warmly received by Major *Scott* from the Caſtle, and Sir *Edward Spragge* from the oppoſite Shore, that they received no ſmall Damage in their Ships, but more in the Loſs of a great Number of their Men. However, in their Return they burnt the *Royal Oak*, and having much damaged the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*, fell down the River again on the 14th, carrying off with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which the *Engliſh* twice fired, to prevent that Diſhonour, but the Enemy as often quenched again. In this Action, one Captain *Dowglaſs* (who was ordered to defend the *Royal Oak*, which was burnt) when the Enemy had ſet fire to it, receiving no Commands to retire, ſaid, *It ſhould never be told that a* Dowglaſs *had quitted his Poſt without Orders*, and reſolutely continued on-board, and was burnt with the Ship, falling a glorious Sacrifice to Diſcipline, and Obedience to Command, and an Example of ſo uncommon a Bravery, as, had it happened among the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*, had been tranſmitted down to Immortality with the illuſtrious Name of *Codrus*, *Cynægyrus*, *Curtius*, and the *Decii*.

The *Dutch* got out to Sea again, with the Loſs of two Ships, which ran aground in the *Medway*, and were burnt by themſelves, and eight Fire-ſhips ſpent in the Action, with no more than 150 Men (according to their Accounts) but probably with a far greater Number was loſt.

Part of the Fleet being left to block up the Mouth of the *Thames*, under the Command of Lieutenant-admiral *Van Nes*, *de Ruyter* with the reſt proceeded to *Portſmouth*, with a Deſign on the Shipping in that Harbour; but the Earl of *Macclesfield* and Captain *Elliot* had ſo well provided for their Reception, that they thought fit to deſiſt from any Attempt; and ſailing to the Weſtward, entered *Torbay*, with Intent to land there; but being repulſed, returned to the *Thames* Mouth; and, tho' they knew the Peace was now actually concluded, they came up with 25 Sail as far as the *Hope*, where lay all the Ships of Force we had then fitted out (which were about 18) under the Command of Sir *Edward Spragge*. Sir *Edward* happening not to be on-board, the Enemy did conſiderable Damage with their Fire-ſhips; but he immediately repairing to his Command, and being preſently joined with ſome ſmall Veſſels, under Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, the *Dutch* were forced to retire with Loſs.

They then appeared off *Harwich*, where they made an Attempt on *Land-guard* Fort, with 1600 Land-forces, under the Command of Colonel *Doleman*, a Republican; but they were repulſed with great Loſs; and *Van Nes* ſailed away again for the *Thames*; and venturing up as far as the *Hope*, attacked Sir *Edward Spragge*'s Squadron, of five Frigates, and 17 Fire-ſhips, which proved a ſharp Engagement. One of the *Engliſh* Fire-ſhips grappling with a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip, they both burnt down together, but ſo cloſe to another of the *Dutch* Ships, that ſhe likewiſe took fire and blew up. Soon after, another of their Ships took fire and burnt down; and after that, another of our Fire-ſhips, and one of theirs, being grappled together, were both burnt. All the time of this Fight, the *Engliſh* made good their Place; inſomuch that another of their Men of War run aground, and fired herſelf; and another of their Fire-ſhips was burnt, with the Loſs of one of ours. When they were about to draw off, they ſent one Man of War, and four Fire-ſhips towards the *Engliſh*, but with bad Succeſs; for the foremoſt of their Fire-ſhips, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ready with their Ketches to cut off their Long-boats, forſook the Veſſel, which was preſently ſeized. And the other three Fire-ſhips, fearing to meet the ſame Fate, burnt themſelves; which, when the *Dutch* Man of War ſaw, ſhe retired, and joined the Fleet. The *Engliſh* Admiral then bore up with his own Ship to the whole Fleet of the Enemy, and ſent off a Fire-ſhip, which got up very near one of the Enemy's largeſt Men of War, being ſtoutly ſeconded by our Man of War; but being galled by the Shot of the whole Fleet, they thought it convenient to come off.

The *Engliſh* now thought it moſt proper to withdraw to *Graveſend*, and leave the Enemy at Anchor in the *Hope*; but the next Day they, with the Help of their Fire-ſhips, attacked the *Dutch* in their Turn, and after a ſharp Diſpute, in which they themſelves ſet fire to the only Fire-ſhip they had left, to prevent her being taken, obliged them to retreat. They then ſailed down the Channel to the Weſtern Coaſts (after having been attacked again at the Mouth of the River, and ſuffered ſome Damage) and having alarmed the Country, with ſeveral Offers of landing, as firſt at *Wenbury* in *Devonſhire*, and then near *Cowland* in *Cornwall*; at length, when they could diſſemble the Knowledge of the Peace no longer, *de Ruyter* invited ſome of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen on-board him, gave them a liberal Entertainment, and excuſing ſome of his latter Acts of Hoſtility, he diſmiſſed them civilly, and then with his Fleet made ſail to their own Coaſts.

While the *Dutch* loitered before the River, and at *Torbay*, without effecting any thing remarkable[a], the *Engliſh* found means by their Privateers, and a Squadron of Frigates, commanded by Sir *Jeremy Smith*, in the North Sea, abundantly to repair the Damage ſuſtained at *Chatham*, by taking great Numbers of their Merchant-ſhips, bound from the *Baltic* and *Norway*, as alſo from and to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the Streights: And ſome *Engliſh* Frigates took a Man of War, called *Het Raedt-huis van Haerlem*, which was going with ſome others to rejoin their Fleet.

Among others, a gallant Action of Captain *Dawes* muſt not be omitted. This brave Officer, who commanded the *Elizabeth* Frigate, meeting with 15 Sail of *Rotterdam* Men of War, fought with their Rear-admiral, of 64 Guns, and five others, of 48 and 50 Guns, and preſently after with the Admiral of 70 Guns, and two of his Seconds; yet got clear of them all, forcing the Enemy to lie by the Lee.

Not long after, the ſame Frigate engaged with two *Daniſh* Men of War, of 40 Guns each, in which Action, after four Hours Fight, the brave Captain *Dawes* was ſlain with a Cannon-ball; but was heard with his laſt Breath to cry, *For God's Sake do not yield the Frigate to theſe Fellows.* Soon after, the Lieutenant being deſperately wounded, and the Maſter who ſucceeded him ſlain, the Gunner took Place, who ſo plied the two *Danes*, that they were glad to ſteer to their own Coaſt. The *Engliſh* anchored within a Mile of them all Night to repair Damages. The next Morning they expected the *Danes* again; but tho' they were to the Windward, and had the Advantage of the Current, yet they would not venture; upon which, the *Engliſh*, after having

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[a] Columna Roſtrata.

having ſaluted them with a Shot of Defiance, bore away for *England*.

Thus it may be truly ſaid, that the Nations at this time changed Characters [a]: The *Dutch* preferred the Inſult at *Chatham*, which, all thing conſidered, was of little or no Conſequence to them, to the Preſervation of their Trade; and the *Engliſh* endeavoured to make themſelves Amends for this unexpected Loſs of a few Men of War, by taking Numbers of Merchant-men. Such are the Effects which private Paſſions produce in public Affairs! The Indolence and Credulity of King *Charles* expoſed his Subjects and himſelf to this Stain on their Reputation; and the Fury and Self-intereſt of the *de Wit* Faction expoſed, for the Sake of furthering their own Purpoſes, the Trade of their Country at preſent, and its future Welfare, to extreme Hazard.

During theſe Troubles in *Europe*, the War was not neglected by either Party in the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Engliſh* took the Iſlands of *St. Euſtace*, *Salia*, *St. Martin*, *Bonaira*, the Iſland of *Tobago*, and other Places from the *Dutch*. On the contraty, the *Dutch*, under the Conduct of the *Zealand* Commodore, *Kruyſen*, made themſelves Maſters of *Surinam*: And the *French*, aſſiſted by the *Dutch*, almoſt deprived the *Engliſh* of half the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, after ſeveral obſtinate Diſputes, and the Death of their Commander, *Les Salles*. Six Frigates, and ſome other ſmall Veſſels, from *Barbadoes*, ſailing [b] to repair this Loſs, were ſo ill treated by a violent Storm, that they were put out of a Condition to execute their Deſign, and two or three of the moſt diſabled Ships fell into the Hands of the Enemy; tho' before their Miſfortune they had burnt two *Dutch* Ships, richly laden, in the Harbour of *Los Santos*.

In the Neighbourhood of *Surinam*, the *Engliſh* were more ſucceſsful; where having deſtroyed a Colony of the *Dutch*, at *Apeoawaca*, they reſolved likewiſe to attempt ſomething upon the *French*, and particularly to attack the Fort of *Sinamary*, which they took, together with the Governor, and 50 Priſoners, diſmantled the Fort, and carried away all the Guns and Ammunition.

Captain *Read* going up the *Caneſſa*, towards the *Berbices*, landed at *Carenteen*, and marching 20 Miles by Land, took the Fort of the *Arawaces*, with a great Number of Captives, and a large Booty. In the mean time, the *Dutch* Admiral *Evertzen* recover'd *Tobago*, and in Company with *Kruyſen*, took many Prizes on the Coaſt of *Virginia*.

On the other hand, Sir *John Harman*, who was ſent to protect the *Engliſh* Settlements, arrived before *St. Chriſtopher*'s with 12 Frigates, in the End of *March* 1667, where he had Intelligence that the Deſign of the *French* on *Mevis* had miſcarried, with great Loſs. He burnt two *French* Ships, and ſoon after, upon Intelligence that two *Zealand* Privateers, with four Prizes lay at *Guadalupe*, he ſent part of his Squadron thither, which took them; and afterwards landing on the Iſland, did conſiderable Damage.

The News of this having reached *Martinico*, Monſieur *de la Barre*, and the *Zealand* Commodore *Kruyſen*, with the United-forces of the *French* and *Dutch*, conſiſting of 22 Men of War and Frigates, with 1300 Soldiers on-board, ſailed to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Engliſh*. On the 10th of *May* they came in ſight of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and were immediately encountered by the *Engliſh* Squadron. In this Engagement, which was very ſharp, and laſted about three Hours, the *Engliſh* were ſometimes almoſt ſurrounded; but the Conduct and Bravery of their Admiral, being well ſeconded by the inferior Officers and Seamen, rendered them not only equal, but ſuperior to the Enemy; for both *French* and *Dutch* were defeated, with the Loſs of the *French* Admiral, and five or ſix of their Ships taken, and moſt of the reſt were ſunk.

The *Zealand* Commodore complaining that he had not been well ſeconded in the Engagement, parted ſoon after from the *French*; and ſo the *Engliſh* were left entire Maſters in thoſe Seas; nor did they fail of improving their Advantage; for attacking the *French*, in the very Port, they burnt their Admiral, and ſix or ſeven of their beſt Ships; all the reſt, except two, being ſunk, either by the *Engliſh* Shot, or by the *French* themſelves.

In the firſt of theſe Engagements, our Writers have obſerved, that the Admiral Sir *John Harman* was exceedingly ill of the Gout, ſo as not to be able to ſtir. On the firſt firing, however, he ſtarted up, and went upon Deck, gave his Orders throughout the Engagement, in which he acted with all the Alacrity imaginable, and when it was over, became as lame as he was before. By theſe Victories he became Maſter in thoſe Seas, and took from the *Dutch* their Plantation at *Surinam*; but it was reſtored by the Treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that Treaty for the Concluſion of Hoſtilities [c].

About this time it was, that the Iſland of *Providence* was firſt diſcovered by Captain *William Sayle*, who was afterwards Governor of *Carolina*, being driven thither by a Storm, as he was on a Voyage to the Continent; and from him it was then named *Sayle*'s Iſland. At his Return to *England*, about 1667, he gave his Employers, who were the Proprietors of *Carolina*, an Account of his Diſcovery; and ſome of them [d] procured a Grant for this and all the *Bahama* Iſlands. The Extent of their Grant reaches from 22 to 27 Degrees North Latitude. The Name of the Iſland of *Providence* was given it by Captain *Sayle*, after he had been driven upon it a ſecond time, when he was bound for the Continent. It lies in 25 Degrees North Latitude, is 28 Miles long, and 11 Miles broad, where it is broadeſt, in the Center of 4 or 500 Iſlands, ſome 160 Miles in Length, others no bigger than little Rocks, riſing above Water. The firſt Colony was driven out of it by the *Spaniards*, after which it lay uninhabited till about the time of the Revolution.

A Peace was at laſt ſigned at *Breda* [e], in three diſtinct Treaties; one with the *Dutch*; a ſecond with the *French*; and a third with the *Danes*, by Lord *Holles*, and Mr. *Coventry*, the *Engliſh* Miniſters. By which *England* ſecured the Honour of the Flag, kept all ſhe had taken in the *Weſt-Indies*, except *Surinam*; obliged the *French* to reſtore what they had taken from the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts; and inſiſted much on the Reſtitution of *Poleron*, yielded to them by *Oliver Cromwell*, for an annual Penſion; but the *Dutch* were now too well ſatisfied of the Neceſſity they were under to do all in their Power to keep the Poſſeſſion of this Iſland, in order to monopolize the Spice Trade, and therefore could not be brought to give it up [f].

However, tho' the Peace cannot be ſaid to be altogether ſo advantageous, as might have been expected, conſidering the low Circumſtances to which the Enemy was reduced; the King and his Miniſtry gave very early Proofs of their Attention to the Trade of this Kingdom, which at the Reſtoration was found in a very declining Condition.

The Act for *encouraging and increaſing of Shipping and Navigation* [g], whereby it is enacted, "That no Goods or "Commodities, that are of foreign Growth, Production, "or Manufacture, and which are to be brought into *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales* [h], the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, "or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, in *Engliſh*-built Shipping, or other Shipping belonging to ſome of the aforeſaid Places [i], and navigated by *Engliſh* Mariners, as aforeſaid, ſhall be ſhipped or brought from any other

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[a] Philips's Chronicle, p. 564. Kennet. Echard. Burchett. Rapin.

[b] Some Authors ſay this little Fleet was commanded by the Lord Willoughby, and that he himſelf was loſt in the Hurricane.

[c] Columna Roſtrata, p. 201. Kennet. Burchett.

[d] The Patent was granted to George Duke of Albemale, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, John Lord Berkley, Anthony Lord Aſhley, and Sir Peter Colliton.

[e] On the 24th of Auguſt 1667.

[f] Baſnage Annal. de Prov. Unies, Vol. I. p. 806.

[g] 12 Car. II. cap. XVIII. §. 4.

[h] Great Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[i] By the third Section of this Act, no Goods of Aſia, Africa, or America, ſhall be imported into Great-Britain, Ireland, Guernſey, or Jerſey, but in Ships belonging to the People of England or Ireland, or his Majeſty's Plantations, the Maſter and three Fourths of the Mariners being Britiſh; and, by the 6th Section of this Act, no Ship ſhall go from Port to Port with any Fiſh, Victuals, Wares, Goods, Commodities, or Things of what Kind or Nature ſoever, but Britiſh, mann'd with Britiſh, as deſcribed above, under Penalty of forfeiting all ſuch Goods, with the Ship or Veſſel, and all her Guns, Ammunion, Tackle, Furniture, and Apparel; one Moiety to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, and the other Moiety to him or them that ſhall inform, ſeize, or ſue for the ſame, in any Court of Record, to be recovered by Bill, Information, Plaint, or other Action, wherein no Eſſoign, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed.

"Place or Places, Country or Countries, but only from thoſe of the ſaid Growth, Production, or Manufacture, or from thoſe Ports where the ſaid Goods and Commodities can only, or are, or uſually have been firſt ſhipped for Tranſportation, and from none other Places or Countries, under the Penalty of the Forfeiture of all ſuch the aforeſaid Goods, as ſhall be imported from any other Place or Country, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, as alſo of the Ship in which they were imported, with all her Guns, Furniture, Ammunition, Tackle, and Apparel; one Moiety to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, and the other Moiety to him or them that ſhall ſeize, inform, or ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, to be recovered as is before expreſs'd [a]."

The Act *to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms* [b]; whereby it is enacted, "That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall cauſe any Goods, for which Cuſtom, Subſidy, or other Duties are due or payable by virtue of the Act paſſed this Parliament, intitled, *A Subſidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable upon Merchandiſe exported and imported*, to be landed or conveyed away without due Entry thereof firſt made [c], and the Cuſtomer or Collector, or his Deputy, agreed with; that then, and in ſuch Caſe, upon Oath thereof made before the Lord-treaſurer, or any of the Barons of the Exchequer, or chief Magiſtrate of the Port or Place where the Offence ſhall be committed, or the Place next adjoining thereunto, it ſhall be lawful to and for the Lord-treaſurer, or any of the Barons aforeſaid, or chief Magiſtrate of the Port or Place where the Offence ſhall be committed, or the Place next adjoining thereunto, to iſſue out a Warrant to any Perſon or Perſons, thereby enabling him or them, with the Aſſiſtance of a Sheriff, Juſtice of Peace, or Conſtable, to enter into any Houſe in the Day-time, where ſuch Goods are ſuſpected to be concealed; and in caſe of Reſiſtance, to break open ſuch Houſes, and to ſeize and ſecure the ſame Goods ſo concealed; and all Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice are hereby required to be aiding and aſſiſting thereunto.

"Provided always, That no Houſe ſhall be entered by virtue of this Act, unleſs it be within the Space of one Month after the Offence ſuppoſed to be committed.

"Provided alſo, That if the Information whereupon any Houſe ſhall come to be ſearched, ſhall prove to be falſe, that then, and in ſuch Caſe, the Party injured ſhall recover his full Damages and Coſts againſt the Informer, by Action of Treſpaſs to be therefore brought againſt ſuch Informer."

The Act *for prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, Woolfells, Fullers-earth, or any kind of Scouring-earth* [d]; whereby it is enacted, "That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall directly or indirectly export, tranſport, carry, or convey, or cauſe or procure to be exported, tranſported, carried, or conveyed, out of, or from the Kingdom of *England* [e], or Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or out of or from the Iſles of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*, with *Sark* and *Alderney*, being under the Government of *Guernſey*, or out of or from any of them, or out of or from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, into any Parts or Places out of the Kingdoms, Iſles, or Dominion aforeſaid, any Sheep or Wool whatſoever, of the Breed or Growth of the Kingdoms of *England* [f] or *Ireland*, or Iſles, or Dominion aforeſaid; or any Wool-fells, Mortlings, or Shortlings, or any Yarn made of Wool, or any Wool-flocks, or any Fullers-earth, or any Fulling-clay whatſoever, nor ſhall directly or indirectly pack or load, or cauſe to be packed or loaded upon any Horſe, Cart, or other Carriage, or load or lay on board, or cauſe to be loaden or laid on board, in any Ship or other Veſſel, in any Place or Port within the Kingdoms of *England* [g] or *Ireland*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or Iſles, or Dominion aforeſaid, any ſuch Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shortlings, Yarn made of Wool, or Wool-flocks, or any Fullers-earth, or Fulling-clay, to the Intent or Purpoſe to export, tranſport, carry, or convey the ſame, or to cauſe the ſame to be exported, tranſported, carried, or conveyed out of the Kingdoms of *England*[a] or *Ireland*, Town of *Berwick*, Iſles, or Dominion aforeſaid, or with Intent or Purpoſe that any other Perſon or Perſons ſhould ſo export, tranſport, carry, or convey the ſame into any Parts or Places out of the Kingdoms of *England*[b] and *Ireland*, Town of *Berwick*, Iſles, or Dominion aforeſaid, into the Kingdom of *Scotland*[c], or any foreign Parts.

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[a] By the 7th Section of this Act, 12 Car. II. where any Eaſe is given by the Book of Rates to Goods imported in Britiſh Shipping, it is to be underſtood, that the Maſter, and three Fourths of the Mariners are Britiſh for the whole Voyage; and by the 14 Car. II. cap. 11. §. 6. Subjects of Great-Britain, Ireland, or the Plantations, are to be accounted Britiſh, and no others. By the 8th Section of this Act, no Goods belonging to the Dominions of Muſcovy and Ruſſia, or any Maſts, Timber, Boards, foreign Salt, Pitch, Tar, Roſin, Hemp, Flax, Raiſins, Figs, Prunes, Olive-oil, Corn, Sugar, Pot-aſhes, Wine, Vinegar, Spirits, or Brandy, are to be imported into Great-Britain or Ireland, or any Currants or Commodities belonging to the Turkiſh Empire, but in Engliſh-built Ships, mann'd as aforeſaid, or in Ships of the ſame Country, of which they are the Growth or Production, upon the like Penalty of Ship and Goods, which is further explained by the Act 14 Car II. cap. 11. §. 23. as to Holland and Germany, from whence no Sort of Wines (other than Rheniſh) no Sort of Spicery, Grocery, Tobacco, Pot-aſhes, Pitch, Tar, Salt, Roſin, Deal-boards, Fir-timber, or Olive-oils, ſhall be imported, upon any Pretence, or in any Ship whatſoever, upon Forfeiture of Ship and Goods; but Spice is allowed to be brought from thence by Licence, by the Act 8 Annæ, cap. 7. §. 13. By the 12th and 13th Sections, this Act is not to extend to Commodities of the Streights and Levant, or to Eaſt-India Goods, brought from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which ſhall be imported in Britiſh-built Shipping, from the uſual Places. Section 14. Engliſhmen may import from Spain, Portugal, or Weſtern Iſlands, all Goods of their Plantations; and by the 12 Annæ, cap. 18. §. 3. Cochineal may be brought from Spain in any Ship in Amity. N. B. For the Manner of Recovery of Penalties, &c. by this Act, ſee the Note [l] preceding.

[b] 12 Car. II. chap. XIX. §. 1.

[c] No Goods to be ſhipped to be carried beyond Sea, or unſhipped to be laid on Land, before the Cuſtom be paid, or lawfully tendered, 12 Car. II. cap. 4. §. 4. and the Perſons concerned, forfeit treble the Value, with the Veſſels, Boats, Horſes, &c. by the 8 Annæ, cap. 7. §. 30. Goods liable to Duty, or prohibited, ſhipped for Exportation, without a Warrant, or Preſence of an Officer, are forfeited, or the Value, 12 Geor. I. cap. 28. §. 18. Coffee, Tea, and Cocoa-nuts imported, and not warehouſed, forfeited, with the Horſes, &c. 10 Geor. I. cap. 10. §. 27. Perſons concerned in the unſhipping of Goods, liable to the Payment of Cuſtoms, without paying the ſame, or in importing prohibited Goods, ſhall forfeit treble the Value, with the Veſſels, Horſes, Boats, &c. by 8 Annæ, cap. 7. §. 30. Officers or other Perſons having a proper Warrant, may enter Houſes with proper Aſſiſtance, to ſearch for Goods conveyed away, without Entry firſt made, by 12 Car. II. cap. 19. §. 1. and may enter Ships and Veſſels, and bring away prohibited and uncuſtomed Goods, or other Goods not entered or compounded for within 20 Days after Entry of the Ship, by 14 Car. II. cap. 11. §. 4. and by §. 5. have like Power in the Day-time to enter Houſes, &c with Writ of Aſſiſtance, but by §. 15. of the ſame Act, no Perſons to ſeize Goods but Officers, or thoſe authorized. Goods found on-board Veſſels after clearing, forfeited, 5 Geor. I. cap. 11. §. 4. Goods found on-board Veſſels, and not reported, forfeited, by 9 Geor. II. cap. 35. §. 27. Perſons harbouring or concealing prohibited Goods, or Goods liable to Duty, forfeit the Goods, and treble the Value, by 11 Geor. I. cap. 30. §. 16. Goods of Britiſh Product or Manufacture, the Duties whereof are taken off, by the 8 Geor. I. cap. 15. if ſhipp'd outward, without due Entry or Preſence of the proper Officer, are liable to the Payment of the Duties. Penalty on Importers of Popiſh Books, &c. is divided, one Third to the King, one Third to the Proſecutor, and one Third to the Poor of the Pariſh, 3 Jac. I. cap. 5. §. 25. Wool forfeited for being lodged near the Sea, ſhall be divided, one Third to his Majeſty, and two Thirds to the Seizer, 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 40. §. 8. Alamodes and Luſtrings: All Penalties and Forfeitures relating to them are divided, two Thirds to the King, and one Third to the Officer. 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 43. §. 9. Eaſt-India Goods prohibited to be worn, and the Penalty for harbouring them ſhall be divided, one Third to the King, and two Thirds to the Seizure or Proſecutor, 11 & 12 W. III. cap. 10. §. 2. Unrated Eaſt-India Goods, white Callicoes, China Ware, and Drugs, except for Dyers Uſe, being landed without Warrant, are forfeited, two Thirds to the King, who muſt pay the Charges, and one Third to the Officer, 2 & 3 Annæ, cap. 9. §. 8. and 3 & 4 Annæ, cap. 4. §. 11. Penalties and Forfeitures for trading to the South-Sea, is divided, one Fourth to the King, one Fourth to the Proſecutor, and two Fourths to the Company, 9 Annæ, cap. 21. §. 47 & 49. Penalties for bringing Fiſh of foreign Taking, ſhall be divided, one Half to the Informer, and one Half to the Poor of the Pariſh where ſeized, 9 Geor. II. cap. 33. §. 1. as alſo the Penalty of 20 l. for running or receiving prohibited Goods, ſhall be divided, one Half to the Poor of the Pariſh, and one Half to the Informer or Proſecutor, 7 Geor. I. cap. 3. §. 19. 8 Geor. I. cap. 18. §. 10. and 11 Geor. I. cap. 29. §. 4. All Penalties and Forfeitures for trading to the Eaſt-Indies, contrary to the Act of 9 W. III. cap. 44. 6 Annæ, cap 3. and 5 Geor. I. cap. 21. are divided, one Third to the King, one Third to the Eaſt-India Company, and one Third to the Officer, 7 Geor. I. cap. 21. §. 6. and 3 Geor. II. cap. 14. §. 9. Tea, Coffee, Tobacco, Brandy, and other exciſeable Liquors, ſhall, after Condemnation, be ſold and divided, two Thirds to the King, who muſt pay the Charge of Proſecution and Sale, and one Third to the Officer; and Tobacco ſtalks and Tobacco, that will not ſell for the Duties, ſhall be burnt, and the Officer's Reward muſt not exceed one Penny per Pound; and Tea that will not ſell for 5 s. per Pound, ſhall be burnt, and the Officer's Reward muſt not exceed 18 d. per Pound, 12 Geor. I. cap. 28. §. 3, 11, 12. Cocoa-huſks imported, ſhall be deſtroyed, after Condemnation, and the Seizer rewarded with 20 s. per Cwt. 4 Geor. II. cap. 14. §. 12. Wool, and Ships carrying Wool, &c. ſeized by the Admiralty Sloops, and forfeited, ſhall be divided, one Fourth to the Commander, one Fourth to the Officers, one Fourth to the Mariners, and one Fourth to the King, ſubject to the Charge of Proſecution, 5 Geor. II. cap. 21. §. 3 & 13. Forfeitures by Watermen, Carmen, and Porters, for carrying prohibited or run Goods from the Water-ſide, muſt be divided, one Half to the Proſecutor, and one Half to the Poor of the Pariſh, 9 Geor. II. cap. 35. §. 21. Wool, Wool-fells, &c. forfeited by the 12 Geor. II. cap. 21. ſhall be publickly ſold, and the Charges being paid, the Balance, and other Penalties for tranſporting thereof, ſhall be divided, one Half to the Proſecutor, and one Half to the Informer, §. 19, 20, & 21. to be paid by the Proſecutor.

[d] 12 Car. II. cap. XXXII. §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12.

[e] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[f] Ditto.

[g] Ditto.

“ And that no Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shortlings, Yarn made of Wool, Wool-flocks, or any Fullers-earth, or Fulling-clay, ſhall be exported, tranſported, carried, or conveyed out of the Kingdom of *England*[d], and Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick*, or Kingdom of *Ireland*, or out of any Port or Place of the ſaid Kingdoms reſpectively, unto the Iſles of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*, or to *Sark*, or *Alderney*, except as in this Act ſhall be hereafter limited or appointed, under the Forfeiture of Sheep and Goods, and for every Sheep 20*s.* and for every Pound of Wool, *&c.* 3*s.* Owners forfeit the Ships and Veſſels[e], the Maſter and Mariners to loſe all their Goods, and be impriſoned for three Months[f].

“ And that if any Merchant, or other Perſon or Perſons, ſhall tranſport or cauſe to be tranſported any Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shortlings, Woolen-yarn, Wool-flocks, Fullers-earth, or Fulling-clay, contrary to the true Intent of this Act, and be thereof lawfully convicted, that then he ſhall be diſabled to require any Debt or Account of any Factor or others, for or concerning any Debt or Eſtate properly belonging to ſuch Offender.

“ And that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any Perſon or Perſons[g] to ſeize, take, and challenge to his or their own Uſe and Behoof, and to the Uſe of the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, all and all manner of ſuch Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shorlings, Yarn made of Wool, Wool-flocks, Fullers-earth, and Fullers-clay, as he or they ſhall happen to ſee, find, know, or diſcover to be laid aboard in any Ship, or other Veſſel, or Boat, or to be brought, carried, or laid on-ſhore at or near the Sea, or any navigable River or Water, to the Intent or Purpoſe to be exported or conveyed out of the Kingdoms of *England*[h] or *Ireland*, Town of *Berwick*, Iſles, or Dominions aforeſaid, contrary to the true Meaning of this Act; or to be packed or loaden upon any Horſe, Cart, or other Carriage, to the Intent or Purpoſe to be conveyed or carried into the Kingdom of *Scotland*[i] aforeſaid; and that ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall happen ſo to ſeize, take, or challenge any ſuch Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shorlings, Yarn made of Wool, Wool-flocks, Fullers-earth, or Fulling-clay, as aforeſaid, ſhall have the full Moiety thereof to all Intents and Purpoſes[k].

“ And furthermore, that all and every Ship, Veſſel, Hulk, Barge, or Boat, of what kind ſoever, whereof any Alien born, or whereof any natural born Subjects not inhabiting within the Realm of *England*[l], ſhall be Owner or part Owner, and wherein any Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shorlings, Yarn made of Wool, Wool-flocks, Fullers-earth, or Fulling-clay, ſhall happen to be ſhipped, put, or laid aboard, contrary to the true Meaning of this Act, ſhall be forfeited to the King’s Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors.

“ Provided always, that this Act ſhall not extend to any Lamb-ſkin ready dreſt, and prepared, fit, and uſeful for Furr or Linings; nor to the tranſporting, carrying, or conveying away of any ſuch Wool-fells or Pelts[m], with ſuch Wool upon them, or to any Beds ſtuffed with Flocks, which ſhall be carried or employed in any Ship or other Veſſel for neceſſary Uſe only, of and about the Ordnance or other thing in or concerning ſuch Ship or Veſſel, or only for the neceſſary Uſe of any the Perſons in ſuch Ship or Veſſel paſſing or being[n], and which ſhall not be ſold or uttered in any foreign Parts.”

The Act *to reſtrain the Exportation of Leather and raw Hides out of* England[o]; whereby it is enacted, “ That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall carry or tranſport,

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[a] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[b] Ditto.

[c] Altered as to Scotland by ditto.

[d] Great-Britain by ditto Act.

[e] Was made Felony by the 14 Car. II. cap. 18. §. 2. but by the 7 & 8 W. III. cap. 28. §. 4. repeal’d. See what regards Scotland in that Act, §. 8, &c.

[f] See 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 10. §. 2. Offenders in Priſon, for Want of Bail, not pleading to a Declaration or Information delivered, by the Space of one Term, ſhall ſuffer Judgment by Default, and upon Non-payment of the Sum recovered, within three Months, the Court may order Tranſportation for ſeven Years, as for Felony, 4 Geo. I. cap. 11. §. 6. Any Perſon or Perſons guilty of tranſporting, or cauſing to be tranſported any Wooll, &c. may be proſecuted at any Time within 3 Years by the Act 9 W. III. cap. 40. §. 9.

[g] See alſo 10 and 11 W. III. cap. 10. §. 4.

[h] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[i] Altered as to Scotland by Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[k] See the 1 W. and M. cap. 32. §. 7—9. where this is confirmed.

[l] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[m] By the Act 11 and 12 W. III. cap. 13. §. 9. it is provided, That the Laws againſt tranſporting Wool out of Ireland, ſhall not extend to ſubject any Perſon or Ship to the Penalties of that Act for Wool-fells, &c. for the Uſe of the Ship, or for Mariners, or Paſſengers, if they do not exceed 40 s. Value for each. But by the Act 5 Geo. II. cap. 13. §. 7. that Proviſion is repealed.

[n] See this repealed in 14 Car. II. cap. 18. ſect. 10. But this exemption is repealed by 5 Geo. II. cap. 21. ſect. 6, §. XII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that this act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to any ſuch Wool to be exported or tranſported out of or from the Port of Southampton only, unto the aforeſaid Iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, by or for the only Uſe or behoof of any the Inhabitants of the ſaid Iſles of Jerſey or Guernſey, or either of them, or to any ſuch Wool to be ſhipped or loaden aboard in any Ship or other Veſſel, by or for the only Uſe or Behoof of any the Inhabitants of the ſaid Iſles of Jerſey or Guernſey, or either of them, in the Port aforeſaid, to be exported and tranſported into the ſaid Iſles of Jerſey or Guernſey, or either of them, ſo as ſuch Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall ſo ſhip or lay aboard ſuch Wool into any Ship or other Veſſel, do, before the ſhipping or laying aboard ſuch Wool, deliver unto the Cuſtomer, Comptroller, Surveyor, or Seacher of the Port of Southampton aforeſaid (out of which the ſaid Wool is to be exported) a Writing under the Seal or Seals of the reſpective Governors of the ſame Iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, unto which the ſaid Wool is to be tranſported, or of his or their Deputy or Deputies reſpectively; the which Writing ſhall purport and expreſs, that the Party named in ſuch Writing is authorized and appointed to export, or cauſe to be exported out of the Port aforeſaid, ſo much Wool, expreſſing the Number of the Tods, to the ſame Iſle, to be uſed or manufactured in one of the ſame Iſles, or in ſome of the Members or Parts of the ſame; and that ſuch Party ſo authorized and appointed to export, or cauſe to be exported that Wool, hath before the making and ſealing of that Writing, entered into ſufficient Bond, to his Majeſty’s Uſe, for the Landing of the ſaid Wool in that Iſle. And to the Intent that the Quantity of Wool to be exported out of the Port of Southampton aforeſaid into the ſaid Iſles, or either of them, in any one Year, accounting the Year to begin from the firſt Day of January next enſuing, and ſo yearly from the firſt Day of January, may not exceed the Quantity here under ſpecified; (1 W. and M. cap. 32. ſect. 14. gives a further Liberty to export 1000 Tods to Guernſey, 2000 to Jerſey, 200 to Alderney, 100 to Sark) that is to ſay, unto the Iſle of Jerſey 2000 Tods, and no more of unkembed Wool; and unto Guernſey 1000 Tods and no more of unkembed Wool; and unto Alderney 200 Tods and no more of unkembed Wool; and unto Sark 100 Tods of unkembed Wool, and no more, every Tod not exceeding 32 Pounds. §. XIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Govenor of the ſaid Iſle of Jerſey, or his Deputy, for whom he will anſwer, ſhall not make to any Perſon or Perſons, any Writing or Writings, ſuch as is above ſpecified, to authorize or appoint ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as aforeſaid, to fetch, export, or tranſport out of the Port of Southampton aforeſaid, unto the ſaid Iſle of Jerſey, in one Year, accounting the Year from the firſt Day of January, 1660 aforeſaid, any greater Quantity of Wool than 2000 Tods in any one Year; and that the Governor of the ſaid Iſle of Guernſey, or his Deputy, for whom he will anſwer, ſhall not make to any Perſon or Perſons, any Writing or Writings, ſuch as is above ſpecified, to authorize and appoint ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as aforeſaid, to fetch, export, or tranſport out of the Port above ſpecified, unto the ſaid Iſles of Guernſey, with Alderney, and Sark, in any one Year, accounting the Year from the firſt Day of January, any greater Quantity of Wool than 1000 Tods for Guernſey, 200 Tods for Alderney, and 100 Tods for Sark, in any one Year; and that the Cuſtomer of the Port of Southampton aforeſaid, ſhall keep a true Account of all the ſaid Quantity of Wools, ſo by him permitted to be loaden by virtue of this Act, and ſhall not permit any greater Quantity of Wools to be loaded than by this Act is preſcribed, in any one Year, to either of the ſaid Iſlands reſpectively, under any Pretence whatſoever, upon the Penalty of the Forfeiture of his Place, and the Sum of 100 l. in Money; one Moiety whereof to the King’s Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and the other Moiety to him or them that will ſue for the ſame, in any Court of Record, wherein no Eſſoign, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed: And if any of the Governors aforeſaid, or any of their, or either of their Deputy or Deputies of the ſaid Iſles, or either of them, ſhall give, grant, or make any Licence or Licences for exporting from Southampton aforeſaid, into the ſaid Iſles reſpectively, of any greater Quantity of ſuch Wool, than is before by the true Meaning of this Act limited and appointed in that behalf; that then the reſpective Governor or Governors of ſuch of the ſaid Iſles, ſhall forfeit and pay to the King’s Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, the Sum of 20 l. of lawful Money of England, for every Tod of Wool which ſhall be ſo licenſed to be exported, over and above the Rate and Proportion of Wool in and by this Act, or the true Meaning thereof, limited or appointed. §. XIV. And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, that the reſpective Governors aforeſaid, or their reſpective Deputies, or any of their Clerks, Officers, or Servants, for the granting, making, or ſealing of every ſuch Writing of Licence, as is aforeſaid, and for the entering a Remembrance of the ſame into ſome Book, which they ſhall have and keep for that Purpoſe, may have and take the Sum of Twelve-pence, and no more, upon pain of forfeiting to the Party grieved the Sum of Five-ſhillings for every Penny which ſhall be taken over and above the Sum of Twelve-pence, in and by this Act allowed to be taken, and ſo after that Proportion.

[o] 14 Car. II. chap. VII. §. 2, 3—5, 6—12.

“or cauſe to be carried or tranſported out of *England* [a] into *Scotland* [b], *Ireland*, or into any the Iſles belonging to this Kingdom, or to any Parts beyond the Seas, the Skins or Hides, tanned [c] or untanned, of any Ox, Steer, Bull, Cow, or Calf, otherwiſe, or in any other Manner, than is by this preſent Act directed, upon pain of Forfeiture for every ſuch Offence double the Value of Skins or Hides ſo to be tranſported out of the ſaid Iſland, or any of them, to any other Place than into the Kingdom of *England* [d]; the ſame Forfeiture to be ſued for and diſpoſed as hereafter in this Act is directed.

“And that if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall be found guilty of the Tranſportation of any Leather [e], or raw Hides of any the Beaſts aforeſaid (excepting ſuch Calves-ſkins and Sheep-ſkins, dreſſed without the Wool, as by Law [f] may be tranſported) contrary to the Proviſion of this Act; he ſhall from thenceforth be diſabled to trade, or deal in Leather for the future, and ſhall for every ſuch Offence forfeit the Sum of 500*l.* to be ſued for, and diſpoſed as hereafter in this Act is directed.

“Provided nevertheleſs, that this Act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to the prohibiting the Tranſportation of any Leather made into Boots, Shoes, or Slippers, but that the ſame may be tranſported [g].

“Provided alſo, that this Act ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to prohibit the carrying or conveying of any ſuch Hides or Leather which ſhall be uſed or employed for the neceſſary Uſe, or Proviſion of any Ship or Veſſel in any Voyage beyond the Seas, and which ſhall not be ſold in any foreign Parts, ſo as the Number do not exceed ſix raw Hides, and three tanned Hides.”

The Act *for preventing Frauds, and regulating Abuſes in his Majeſty's Cuſtoms* [h]; whereby it is enacted, “That no Ship or Veſſel, arriving from the Parts beyond the Seas, ſhall be above three Days coming from *Graveſend*, to the Place of her Diſcharge (within the River of *Thames*) without touching or ſtaying at any Wharf, Key, or Place adjoining to either Shore between *Graveſend* and *Cheſter*'s Key (unleſs apparently hindered by contrary Winds, Draught of Water, or other juſt Impediment, to be allowed by ſuch Perſon or Perſons as are or ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty for managing the Cuſtoms, the Collectors Inwards, or other principal Officers of the Cuſtoms) and then, or before, the Maſter or Purſer [i], (for that Voyage) of ſuch Ship or Veſſel, ſhall make a juſt and true Entry upon Oath of the Burthen, Contents, and Lading of every ſuch Ship or Veſſel, with the particular Marks, Numbers, Qualities, and Contents of every Parcel of Goods therein laden, to the beſt of his Knowledge; alſo where, and in what Port ſhe took in her Lading; of what Country built; how manned; who was Maſter during the Voyage; and who are Owners thereof; and in all Out-ports or Members, to come directly up to the Place of unlading, as the Condition of the Port requires, and will admit, and making Entries, as aforeſaid, upon the Penalty of the Forfeiture of 100*l.*

“And that no Captain, Maſter, Purſer, or any other Perſon or Perſons taking Charge of any Ship or Veſſel bound for the Parts beyond the Seas, or into the Kingdom of *Scotland* [k], whether the ſame Ship or Veſſel ſhall have Commiſſion from, or belong unto the King's Majeſty that now is, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, or ſhall belong to, or have Commiſſion from any foreign Prince or State, or otherwiſe, ſhall take in, or ſuffer to be taken into, or laden aboard any ſuch Ship or Veſſel, any *Engliſh* Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe, to be exported into the Parts beyond the Seas, or into the Kingdom of *Scotland* [l], until ſuch Captain [m], Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon, as aforeſaid, ſhall have entered ſuch Ship or Ships in the Book of the Commiſſioners, Cuſtomer, or Collector and Comptroller Outwards of ſuch Port where he ſhall load or take in Goods, together with the Name of ſuch Captain or Maſter, the Burthen of ſuch Ship or Veſſel, the Number of Guns and Ammunition ſhe carries, and to what Port or Place ſhe intends to paſs or ſail; and before he or they ſhall depart with his or their Ship or Veſſel out of ſuch Port or Place, ſhall bring or deliver unto the ſaid Perſon or Perſons which are or ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty for managing the Cuſtoms, the Cuſtomer, or Collector and Comptroller of ſuch Port or Place, a Content in Writing under his or their Hands, of the Names of every Merchant, and other Perſon and Perſons that ſhall have laden and put on-board any ſuch Ship or Veſſel, any ſuch Goods or Merchandiſe, together with the Marks and Numbers of ſuch Goods and Merchandiſe, and ſhall likewiſe publicly in the open Cuſtom-houſe, upon his corporal Oath, to the beſt of his Knowledge, have anſwered to ſuch Queſtion or Queſtions as ſhall be demanded of him by the ſaid Perſon or Perſons, which are or ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty for the managing the Cuſtoms, the Cuſtomer, or Collector and Comptroller, or their Deputies, concerning ſuch Goods and Merchandiſe as ſhall be aboard ſuch Ship or Veſſel, upon pain of Forfeiture of 100*l.* and that no ſuch Captain, Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon or Perſons taking Charge of any Ship or Veſſel of War, as aforeſaid, wherein any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes ſhall have been laden or brought from the Parts beyond the Seas, or out of the Realm of *Scotland* [n], ſhall unload or put on-board any Lighter, Boat, or Bottom, or lay on-land, or ſuffer to be diſcharged or put into any Lighter, Boat, or Bottom, or to be laid on-land out of any Ship or Veſſel, as aforeſaid, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe whatſoever, before ſuch Captain, Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon taking Charge of the Ship or Merchants Goods for that Voyage, as aforeſaid, ſhall have ſignified and declared in Writing under his or their Hands, unto the Perſon or Perſons which are or ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty for managing the Cuſtoms, the Cuſtomer, or Collector, and Comptroller Inwards of the Port where he arriveth, the Names of every Merchant or Lader of any Goods or Merchandiſes aboard the ſaid Ship or Veſſel, together with the Number and Marks, and the Quantity and Quality of every Parcel of Goods and Merchandiſes, to the beſt of his Knowledge, and ſhall have anſwered upon his or their corporal Oath, to ſuch Queſtions concerning ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes, as ſhall be publicly adminiſtered unto him in the open Cuſtom-houſe, by ſuch Perſon or Perſons which are or ſhall be appointed for managing the Cuſtoms, Cuſtomer, or Collector, and Comptroller, or their Deputies, and ſhall be liable to all Searches and other Rules which Merchants-ſhips are ſubject unto, by the Uſage of his Majeſty's Cuſtom-houſe (Victualling-bills and Entering excepted) upon pain to forfeit 100*l.* and upon Refuſal to make ſuch Entries, as aforeſaid, as well Outwards as Inwards, the ſaid Perſon or Perſons which are or ſhall be appointed for managing the Cuſtoms, and Officers of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, and their Deputies, ſhall and may freely enter and go on-board all and every ſuch Ship or Veſſel of War, and bring from thence on-ſhore into his Majeſty's Store-houſe belonging to the Port where ſuch Ship ſhall be, all Goods and Merchandiſes prohibited and uncuſtomed, which ſhall be found on-board any ſuch Ship, as aforeſaid; and that the Perſon or Perſons which are or ſhall be appointed to manage the Cuſtoms, and the Officers of the Cuſtoms, and their Deputies, may freely ſtay and remain aboard, until all the Goods are delivered and diſcharged out of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels; and if any Maſter, Purſer, or Boatſwain, or other taking Charge in any Ship or Veſſel, or other Perſon whatſoever, ſhall ſuffer any Truſs, Bale, Pack, Fardel, Caſk, or other Package to be opened aboard the ſaid Ship or Veſſel, and the Goods therein to be embezzled, carried away, or put into any other Form or Package, after the Ship comes into the Port of her Diſcharge; in every ſuch Caſe the ſaid Maſter, Purſer, Boatſwain, or others, ſhall forfeit the Sum of 100*l.*

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[a] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[b] Repealed as to Scotland by ditto.

[c] Tanned Leather may be exported, on paying 1s. per C. Wt. Duty Outwards, and Skins tanned, tawed, or dreſſed; by the Act 9 Annæ, cap. 6. §. 4. and 3 Geo. I. cap. 5. §. 1.

[d] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[e] Altered as to Leather, which by the Act 9 Annæ, cap. 6. §. 4. was allowed to be exported, paying a Duty Outwards, of 12d. per C. Wt. for 32 Years, which Act was continued for ever by the Act 3 Geo. II. cap. 7. §. 1.

[f] 12 Car. II. cap. 4. §. 11.

[g] All ſorts of Manufactures, made of Leather, may be exported by any Perſon, 12 Car. II. cap. 4. §. 11. See alſo 9 Annæ, cap. 11. § 6—12—44, 45. 10 Annæ, cap. 26. §. 4, 5. and 20 Car. II. cap. 5. § 2.

[h] 14 Car. II. cap. 11. §. 2.

[i] See the like Proviſion made by the 1 Eliz. cap. 11. §. 5. as to the Duty incumbent on Maſters, &c. See the firſt Rule annexed to the Book of Rates, referred to in the 12 Car. II. cap. 4. Maſters ſuffering Package to be opened on-board, or put into any other Form or Package, without Leave, to forfeit 100l. and ſix Months Impriſonment. See 5 Geo. I. cap. 11. §. 7. 9 Geo. I. cap. 8. §. 8. 2 Geo II. cap. 28. §. 3.

[k] Altered as to Scotland by Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[l] Altered as to ditto.

[m] See the Duty incumbent on the Maſter, &c. of every Ship outward-bound, by the Act 1 Eliz. cap. 11. §. 4.

[n] Altered as to Scotland by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

"And that in caſe, after the clearing [a] of any Ship or Veſſel, and diſcharging the Watchmen or Tideſmen from Attendance thereupon, there ſhall be found on-board ſuch Ship or Veſſel, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe, which have been concealed, and for which the Cuſtom, Subſidy, and other Duties due upon the Importation thereof, have not been paid; then the Maſter, Purſer, or other Perſon taking Charge of ſuch Ship or Veſſel, ſhall forfeit the Sum of 100*l.* and it ſhall be lawful to and for any Perſon or Perſons, authorized by Writ of Aſſiſtants, under the Seal of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer, to take a Conſtable, Headborough, or other public Officer inhabiting near unto the Place, and in the Day-time to enter, and go into any Houſe, Shop, Cellar, Warehouſe, or Room, or other Place; and in caſe of Reſiſtance, to break open Doors, Cheſts, Trunks, and other Package, there to ſeize, and from thence to bring any kind of Goods or Merchandiſe whatſoever, prohibited and uncuſtomed, and to put and ſecure the ſame in his Majeſty's Storehouſe [b] in the Port next to the Place where ſuch Seizure ſhall be made.

"And that all and every Perſon or Perſons reſiſting, affronting, abuſing, beating, or wounding the ſaid Officer or Officers, or their Deputies, or ſuch as ſhall act in their Aid or Aſſiſtance, ſhall, by the next Juſtice of Peace, or other Magiſtrate, be committed to Priſon, there to remain till the next Quarter-ſeſſions; and the Juſtices of the Peace of the ſaid Quarter-ſeſſions ſhall and are hereby impowered to puniſh the Offender by Fine, not exceeding 100 [c] *l.* and the Offender is to remain in Priſon till he be diſcharged by Order of the Exchequer, both of the Fine and of the Impriſonment, or diſcover the Perſon that ſet him on work, to the end he may be legally proceeded againſt.

"And that if any Wharfinger, or Keeper of any Wharf, Crane, or Key, or their Servants, or any of them, ſhall take up or land, or knowingly ſuffer to be taken up or landed, or ſhall ſhip off, or ſuffer to be water-born at or from any of their ſaid Wharfs, Cranes, or Keys, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe prohibited, or whereof any Cuſtom, Subſidy, or other Duties are due and payable unto the King's Majeſty [d], without the Preſence of ſome of the Officers of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms thereunto appointed, or at Hours and Times not appointed by Law (except in the Port of *Hull*, as in the Statute of the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chapter the Eleventh, is excepted, and not otherwiſe) or Goods paſſing by Certificates, Waſte Cocquet, or otherwiſe, without the Preſence or Notice given to one or more of his Majeſty's Officers; that in every ſuch Caſe all and every ſuch Wharfinger and Keeper of ſuch Wharf, Crane, or Key, ſhall forfeit and pay the Sum of 100*l.* and if any Goods or Merchandiſe ſhall be laden or taken in from the Shore into any Bark, Hoy, Lighter, Barge, Wherry, or Boat [e], to be carried aboard any Ship or Veſſel outwards bound for the Parts beyond the Seas, or laden, or taken in, from, or out of any Ship or Veſſel coming in, and arriving from foreign Parts, without a Warrant, and Preſence of one or more Officers of the Cuſtoms; ſuch Bark, Hoy, Lighter, Barge, Boat, or Wherry, ſhall be forfeited and loſt, and the Maſter, Purſer, Boatſwain, or other Mariner of any Ship inward bound, knowing and conſenting thereunto, ſhall forfeit the Value of the Goods ſo unſhipped. And further, That in caſe any Carman, Porter, Waterman, or other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever [f], ſhall aſſiſt in the taking up, landing, ſhipping off, or carrying away any ſuch Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſe, that then ſuch Carman, Porter, Waterman, or other Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, being apprehended by Warrant of any Juſtice of the Peace, and the ſame being proved by the Oath of two Witneſſes, the ſaid Offenders, for ſuch firſt Offence, ſhall and may by ſuch Juſtice of the Peace be committed to the next Gaol, there to remain till he and they find ſufficient Surety to be of good Behaviour for ſo long time, until he or they ſhall be thereof diſcharged by the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellor, Under-treaſurer, or Barons of the Exchequer; and in caſe he or they ſo convicted, ſhall afterwards at any time offend in the like kind, then he and they ſhall remain for the Space of two Months without Bail or Mainprize, or until he ſhall pay unto the Sheriff of that County the Sum of 5*l.* for the Uſe of his Majeſty, or until he ſhall by the Lord-treaſurer, Chancellor, Under-treaſurer, or Court of Exchequer, be thence diſcharged."

It was further enacted, by the ſaid Act [g], "That Goods ſhipt to be carried from one Port to another, without Warrant or Sufferance, ſhould be forfeited; that the Maſter of every Ship or Veſſel that ſhall lade or take in any ſuch Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes [h], to be carried Coaſtwiſe, ſhall, before the Ship or Veſſel be removed or carried out of the Port (where he ſhall take in his Lading) take out a Cocquet or Cocquets, and become bound to the King's Majeſty with good Security, in the Value of the Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſe aforeſaid, for Delivery and Diſcharge thereof in the Port or Place for which the ſame ſhall be entered, and to return a Certificate [i] within ſix Months after the Date of ſuch Cocquet and Cocquets, under the Hands and Seals of the King's Majeſty's Officers, upon the Penalty of the Forfeiture of the Bond and Security aforeſaid.

"And it was further enacted, that Goods ſecretly conveyed on-board any Ship or Veſſel, before the Cuſtom and Subſidy thereof be duly anſwered and paid, and ſhall be carried into the Parts beyond the Seas; in ſuch Caſe the Owners or Proprietors of ſuch Goods, ſhall forfeit the double Value of the Goods [k], computed according to the *Book of Rates*; except for Coal, which ſo ſecretly exported, as aforeſaid, ſhall pay double the Cuſtom and Duty; to be collected and levied in ſuch Manner as by the Act of Tonnage and Poundage is directed and appointed."

His Majeſty was alſo empowered to appoint Places, Ports, and Keys for landing and ſhipping of Goods [l].

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[a] Goods found on-board after clearing, forfeited, by 5 Geo. I. cap. 11. § 4. and Goods found concealed, and not reported, forfeited, by 9 Geo. II. cap. 35 §. 27.

[b] Prohibited Eaſt-India Goods ſeized, where to be carried, ſee the Act 11 and 12 W. III. See the Proviſions made by the 11 Geo. I. for ſecuring Seizures made by that Act. See alſo the 12 Geo. I. for Directions when Notice is to be given to Exciſe-officers of all the Seizures of Tea, Coffee, Brandy, and exciſeable Liquors.

[c] Further Proviſion againſt obſtructing Officers, by the Acts 6 Geo. I. cap. 21. 8 Geo. I. cap. 18. 11 Geo. I. cap. 29. 2 Geo. II. cap. 28. and 9 Geo. II. cap. 35. §. 28, and 35.

[d] Inſurers running Goods, forfeit 500l. 4 W. and M. cap. 15. §. 14, 15, 16, and 8 and 9 W. III. cap. 36. §. 2. and Inſurers to carry out Wool, &c. incur the like Penalty, by the Act 12 Geo. II. cap. 21. §. 29, 30, 31.

[e] Boats, Veſſels, Horſes, &c. employed in running Goods, forfeited, and treble the Value of the Goods, by the Act 8 Annæ, cap. 7. §. 30.

[f] See the preceding Note. And, Britiſh Goods, of which the Duties were taken by the Act 8 Geo. I. cap. 15. if ſhipt without Entry, ſhall by that Act be ſubject to Duty. Goods liable to Duty, or prohibited, ſhipped for Exportation, without Warrant, or the Preſence of an Officer, forfeited, or the Value; half to the King, and half to the Informer, 12 Geo. I. cap. 28. §. 18. Watermen, Porters, &c. found with run or prohibited Goods, to forfeit treble the Value, 9 Geo. II. cap. 35. §. 21.

[g] § 7—9.

[h] Veſſels with Corn and Inland Proviſions from the North Foreland in Kent to the Naes in Eſſex excepted, by the Act 1 Annæ, cap. 26. §. 1. No Goods ſhall be carried Coaſtwiſe in Veſſels owned by Foreigners, 5 Eliz. cap. 5. §. 8. and 12 Car. II. cap. 18. §. 6.

[i] Certificates to be annexed and endorſed on the Coaſt-bonds, by the Act 1 Annæ, cap. 26. §. 3. but by the Act 9 Annæ, cap. 28. §. 6. Ships loaden with Coals only, for which Bonds have been given to deliver the Coals in Great-Britain, may, upon the Maſter's producing his Coaſt-cocquet, and making Oath of the true Quantity of Coals on-board his Ship at any other Port, pay the over-ſea Duty for ſuch Coals, and thereon receive a Certificate, which being given into the Cuſtom-houſe where the Coals were laden, ſhall diſcharge the Coaſt-bond.

[k] See the Notes on Page 491, with Regard to Britiſh Goods exported.

[l] §. 14.

The Acts *for prohibiting the Importation of foreign Bone-lace, Cut-work, Imbroidery, Fringe, Band-ſtrings, Buttons, and Needle-work* [a]; and againſt exporting of *Sheep* [b], &c. whereby the Importation and Sale of foreign Bone-lace, Cut-work, Imbroidery, Fringe, Band-ſtrings, Buttons, and Needle-work, are prohibited under the Penalty of 50 *l.* and Loſs of the Goods by the Perſon that ſhall offer the ſame to ſale; and of 100 *l.* by the Perſon who ſhall bring the ſaid Goods into this Realm [c]. And the exporting of Sheep, Wool, Wool-fells, Mortlings, Shorlings, Yarn, Wool-flocks, and Fullers-clay, was made Felony. Screws, and unlawful Engines, for preſſing together Wool, were condemned, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Goods and their Value; and of 3 *s.* for every Pound of Fulling or Tobacco-pipe-clay exported [d].

And laſtly, the Act *againſt importing foreign Wooll-cards, Card-wire, or Iron-wire* [e], whereby they are prohibited on pain of forfeiting the Goods, or their Value, if not ſeized; muſt convince every one of the great Regard paid by the Miniſtry at the Beginning of this Government, to the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom.

That their Attention alſo extended to the Improvement as well as Protection of the national Trade, to and from all Parts of the World, appears by the Patent granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company; the Renewal of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce with the *Great Turk*, in favour of the *Levant* Adventurers; the advantageous Treaty for the Merchants with the *Spaniſh* Monarch, and the Encouragement given to the *African* Company, which now began to bring in vaſt Profits to the Proprietors, and to the Nation in general.

See the Act for the better regulating of the Navy at the End of Chap. II.

CHAP. II.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE and COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Concluſion of the firſt* DUTCH *War, to the Concluſion of the ſecond* DUTCH *War in* 1674.

PEACE being concluded between *England* and *Holland*, his Majeſty's next Care was to enter into ſuch Meaſures as would be moſt likely to prevent the growing Power of *France*, whoſe ambitious Views continually diſcovered themſelves in the vexatious Part they took in all the Quarrels of *Europe*. For this end it was thought neceſſary to preſerve *Flanders* from becoming a Prey to her Arms; which his Majeſty effectually ſecured by a triple Alliance between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*; the moſt glorious Step taken by the Miniſtry in this Reign, and chiefly conducted by the Wiſdom of Sir *William Temple* [f].

By this Treaty of Peace there was alſo concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the States General; and both Nations being injured by recent Hoſtilities or Piracies of the *Algerines*, ſent out ſtrong Squadrons to chaſtiſe and to repreſs thoſe Barbarians. The *Engliſh* Squadron was commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*; the *Dutch* by Admiral *Van Ghendt*.

Six of thoſe Corſairs, from 34 to 24 Guns, being chaſed by *Van Ghendt*, and retiring towards their own Coaſt, would probably have eſcaped, had not four *Engliſh* Frigates (the *Hampſhire*, the *Portſmouth*, the *Jerſey*, and the *Centurion*) under Commodore *Beach*, come in to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, and, after a cloſe Chaſe, obliged them to run aground; in which Situation, being attacked by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, in their Boats, they were all taken, after being left by their Men; and a great Number of Chriſtian Slaves, of different Nations, were releaſed. The *Engliſh* Commodore preſented 16 *Dutch* Slaves to *Van Ghendt*, and received, by way of Exchange, 20 *Engliſh*. But the Ships being leaky, were burnt.

The ſame Year, ſome *Engliſh* Frigates attacked ſeven of the *Turks* beſt Ships near Cape *Gaeta*. The Admiral and Vice-admiral of the Barbarians carried 56 Guns each, the Rear-admiral 60, and the leaſt of the reſt 40. After a ſharp Fight, the Vice-admiral was ſunk, and the reſt retired very much diſabled.

At the Cloſe of the Year 1669, Captain *Kemptborne*, (afterward Sir *John*) in the *Mary-Roſe*, a ſmall Frigate, engaged ſeven *Algerine* Men of War; and after a very warm Action, forced them to ſheer off, being in no condition to fight any longer [g].

His Majeſty's further Attention to Trade appears by a Commiſſion granted to Captain (afterwards Sir *John Narborough*) to paſs the Streight of *Magellan*, into the South Sea, and ſail along the *American* Coaſt, to the North, as far as *Baldavia*, to make a Diſcovery of the Seas and Coaſts of that Part of the World, and, if poſſible, to ſettle a Trade or Commerce there.

Sir *John*, on-board his Majeſty's Ship the *Sweep-ſtakes* [h], of 300 Tons, 36 Guns, and 80 Men, with Ammunition and other Neceſſaries proportionable, and Proviſions at full Allowance for 14 Months, ſet ſail on the 26th of *September*, in Company with the *Batchelor* Pink, of 70 Tons, and four Guns, with 20 Men and Boys, and Ammunition accordingly, Proviſions at full Allowance for 12 Months, and Goods proper to barter with the Savages.

I find nothing remarkable in this Voyage, till their Arrival at Cape *St. Mary's*, at the Entrance of the Streight of *Magellan*, the 22d of *October* 1670. They entered the Streight, and at *Elizabeth*'s Iſle had ſome Traffic with the Natives; as they had likewiſe at Port *Famine*. Being paſſed the Streight, they arrived the 15th of *December* in the Harbour of *Baldavia*, on the Coaſts of *Chili*, in the South Sea, in 39 Degrees and 56 Minutes South Latitude. They endeavoured to trade here with the Natives. The *Spaniards*, who have ſeveral Forts, uſed them at firſt with Civility, bought ſeveral things of them for ready Money, and Preſents were made on both Sides; but ſoon after, when leaſt expected, the Governor of one of the *Spaniſh* Forts ſeized Lieutenant *Armiger*, and one Mr. *Forteſcue*, with two more, pretending he had Orders from the Captain-general of *Chili* ſo to do, till the Ship came under the Command of the Fort. And Sir *John*, not being in a Capacity to reſcue them, was obliged to retire, repaſſed the Streight, and returning, arrived in *England* in the Month of *June* 1671.

Hiſtorians about this time give plain Hints of his Majeſty's being ſo far influenced by *French* Council, that there followed a total Alteration of Meaſures in the Court of *England*; and that, by a ſecret Treaty with the *French* King, it had been concerted to render the King of *England* abſolute; and that *Charles* ſhould aſſiſt *France* to humble the Pride of the States General. This is certain, the *Britiſh* Miniſtry (called the CABAL [i]) began now to eſpouſe Schemes to render the King abſolute; and every little Diſguſt [k] with the *Dutch* was magnified into a ſufficient Reaſon for a freſh War with the States; till at laſt it broke out with great Violence. For the CABAL engaged the King to liſten to the Propoſitions of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who,

[a] 14 Car. II. cap. 13. §. 2. [b] 14 Car. II. cap. 18. §. 1. [c] Repealed as to Lace made of Thread (except from the French or Spaniſh Dominions) by 5 Annæ, cap. 17. §. 1, 2. [d] 14 Car. II. cap. 18. §. 7, 8. [e] 14 Car. II. cap. 19. §. 1. [f] A. D. 1668. [g] Ogelby's Deſcription of Africa, p. 218. [h] Harris's Col. Vol. II. p. 801. [i] The CABAL was a Word very luckily choſen, ſince it was compoſed of the initial Letters of their Titles, which were Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. [k] Their Factory at Gambroon in Perſia, after the Peace, burnt the King in Effigy, having firſt dreſſed up the Image in an old ſecond-hand Suit, to expreſs the Diſtreſs in which they knew him in his Exile; for this, as the King thought it beneath him to demand, ſo the States General looked upon themſelves as above, giving him any Satisfaction. This was very much inſiſted on in thoſe Days, and the rather, becauſe things of a like Nature were practiſed by the Dutch in Ruſſia, and other Places. As to the Fact before us, we have a long Detail of it in Voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, Vol. I. p. 775. It is mentioned by Baſnage, and de Neuville, who both own, that it was a baſe and unjuſtifiable Outrage. Inſtead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch Nation, we ought in juſtice to refer it to the Spirit of the de Wit Miniſtry, which was its true Source.

who, as he had before deceived him to ſerve the *Dutch*, ſo he now offered to deceive the *Dutch*, to gratify King *Charles*; and that the King might not heſitate at this Step, *Louis le grand* betrayed his Creature *de Wit*, and diſcovered a Project he had ſent him, for entering into an offenſive Alliance againſt *England*; which, with other Articles for his private Advantage, determined our Prince to take a Step prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt, repugnant to that of the Nation, and dangerous to the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

In order to have a Pretence for breaking with them, the Captain of the *Merlin* Yatch, with Sir *William Temple*'s Lady on-board, had Directions to paſs thro' the *Dutch* Fleet, and on their not ſtriking to his Flag, was commanded to fire; which he did, and was rewarded for it, with a Gold-chain. The Pretence thus ſecured, the *French* next undertook to lull the *Dutch* aſleep, as they had done us, when our Ships were burnt at *Chatham*; and this too they performed, by offering their Mediation to accommodate that Difference which they had procured, and upon which the Execution of all their Schemes depended. Yet *de Wit* truſted to this; till, as the Dupe of *France*, and the Scourge of his own Nation, he fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of a free People. The War once reſolved on, Sir *Robert Holmes*, who began the former by his Repriſals in *Guinea*, had Orders to open this too, tho' without any previous Declaration, by attacking the *Smyrna* Fleet [a].

The Fleet deſtin'd for this previous Service conſiſted of 36 Men of War, and were ordered to cruiſe off the *Iſle of Wight*. But the *Dutch* Fleet, which conſiſted of 72, ſome ſay but 50, or at moſt 60, Sail of Merchantmen, under the Convoy of ſix Men of War, came ſo unexpectedly, that Sir *Robert* could get no more than ſeven or eight, ſome ſay but five Frigates, in Readineſs to attack them; conſiderably inferior in Force to the *Dutch* Convoy.

Sir *Robert*, however, coming up with the Convoy [b], ſhot at them, to make them ſtrike their Flags, and lower their Top-ſails; which they neglecting to do, he again fired upon them, when they lowered their Top-ſails, but ſtill refuſed to ſtrike their Flags; upon which he immediately engaged them.

The *Dutch*, who had previous Notice that they were to be way-laid, having thrown great Quantities of Goods over-board, to clear their Decks, divided themſelves into three Squadrons, each guarded by two Men of War, and together forming a Half-moon.

In the Beginning of the Engagement, Sir *Robert* coming up with *Adrian de Haes*, a *Zealand* Captain, who was Commodore of the *Dutch* Convoy, called to him to come on-board; which he refuſing, and ſending one of his Under-officers, Sir *Robert* ſaluted him with a Broad-ſide. Upon this, a ſharp Engagement enſued. The Lord *Oſſory* engaged another *Dutch* Captain, called *du Bois*; and the reſt fell on where they ſaw the beſt Advantage, ſtriving with their utmoſt Force and Skill to diſorder the *Dutch* Squadrons. The Convoys, on the contrary, did their beſt; and the Merchant-ſhips, (among which were above 20 that carried from 20 to 40 Cannons, and were as fit for Battery as moſt of the *Engliſh* Frigates) encouraged by the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, were not backward to ſecond their Convoys. The Combat laſted with great Fury about two Hours, till about an Hour paſt Sunſet, when the Darkneſs put an End to it, after the *Dutch* Commodore *de Haes* had been killed by Sir *Robert*.

The following Day, the *Engliſh* being reinforced by four other Frigates, and a Ketch or two, renewed the Fight. Sir *Robert* again attacked the Ship of *de Haes*, which was then commanded by the ſecond Captain; and the Lord *Oſſory* boarded *du Bois*, who upon that Occaſion loſt his left Hand; but the *Engliſh* having to do with ſuch Multitudes, could gain no conſiderable Advantage the whole Morning. Sir *Robert*, however, not being eaſily diſcouraged, and reſolving, tho' wounded, not to loſe altogether his Labour, made a third and more deſperate Attack in the Afternoon, with eight Ships, which were then his whole Force, the reſt having been ſent home diſabled. This laſt Attack ſucceeded ſo well, that he cut off a Man of War from the Line, of 54 Guns, (commanded by Captain *John Van Nes* the Elder, who was killed in the Action) which he boarded and took, after a ſtout Reſiſtance; but the Prize having received ſeveral Shot under Water, ſoon after ſunk. Then attacking the Merchant-ſhips which were neareſt, he took two very richly laden, from *Smyrna* and *Meſſina*, and two or three more of leſs Value. *Baſnage* allows the taking of, but three Merchant-ſhips, one from *Smyrna*, one from *Meſſina*, and the third from *Malaga*. This being after Sunſet, the *Engliſh* could reap no more Fruit of the Advantage they had gained, and the *Dutch* eſcaped by Favour of the Night. With this ſmall Booty, in Compariſon of what they expected, Sir *Robert* returned to the *Thames*, and it was reported at *London* that this Engagement was caſual, becauſe the *Dutch* refuſed to ſtrike.

Not contented with this, a Squadron was ordered out to meet four *Dutch Indiamen*, which were expected, and being ſoon taken, they were preſently condemned. The King, at the ſame time, ordered all the *Dutch* Ships in his Ports to be ſeized. On the 17th of *March*, the King publiſhed his Declaration of War againſt the *Dutch*. The ſame Day War was likewiſe declared againſt the *Dutch* at *Paris*.

The States, who were very unwilling to engage in this War, endeavoured to avoid it by offering the King of *England* all reaſonable Satisfaction. They propoſed to agree to whatever he deſired, with regard to the Flag, and thinking it would be an Obligation to him, made his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*, Captain-general and Admiral, tho' he was but 22 Years of Age.

This Year, King *Charles* II. granted a new Charter to ſundry Perſons, who had ſubſcribed to a new Stock for carrying on the *Guinea* Trade, giving them the Title of *The Royal* African *Company of* England, with the ſame Privileges and Excluſions, which the former Company had.

The *Algerines* had violated their late Treaty, ſeldom keeping their Faith longer than a ſufficient Navy appeared in the *Mediterranean* to keep them in Awe. This obliged the Government to ſend a Squadron of Men of War under the Command of Sir *Edward Spragge* for that Service; who being come before their Capital, and having cruized ſome Days, without receiving any ſatisfactory Anſwer to his Demands, ſailed from thence with ſix Frigates and three Fire-ſhips, to make an Attempt on a conſiderable Number of their Corſairs, which lay at *Bugia*, the moſt conſiderable of their Towns, next to *Algiers*. By the Way, he loſt the Company of two of his Fire-ſhips; yet not diſcouraged by this Accident, he perſiſted in his Reſolution. Being come before the Place, he broke the Boom which lay a-croſs the Entrance of the Harbour, forced the Barbarians aground, and then going in, he burnt nine (ſome Accounts ſay but ſeven) of their beſt Ships, from 24 to 34 Guns, with three Prizes, as they lay under the Cannon of the Caſtle. After which, he burnt another of their Ships of War near *Tadellis*; and Captain *Beach* brought in another Ship of 40 Guns, and 350 Men, which he had taken; which ſo terrified the *Turks*, and put them into ſuch Confuſion and Diſorder, that they ſtruck off the Head of their Dey, and ſet up another, whom they obliged to come to an Agreement with our Admiral; and a Peace was concluded accordingly.

By the League, *France* was engaged to enter *Holland* by Land, and to aſſiſt *England* with her whole naval Force. Accordingly the *French* took the Field in the Beginning of *May*, and in a few Days penetrated as far as the Walls of *Utrecht*; and their Fleet was conducted by the Count *D'Eſtrees*, the *French* Vice-admiral, to *Portſmouth*, where it arrived on the 3d of *May*.

Our Fleet coming thither ſoon after from the *Downs*, they both put to Sea. The Duke of *York*, being Commander in Chief, was with the Red-ſquadron in the Center; Monſieur *D'Eſtrees*, acting as Admiral of the White, with the *French* Squadron, on the Right; and the Earl of *Sandwich*, being Admiral of the Blue, on the Left. The

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[a] Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 310. Philips. Echard. Burnet. Rapin.

[b] 13th March 1672.

Engliſh Fleet conſiſted of above 100 Ships of all Sorts, and the *French* of 40[a].

On the 19th[b] they diſcovered the *Dutch*, about eight Leagues E. S. E. of the *Gunfleet*; and the next Day they prepared to engage, had not the thick Weather which came up, made them loſe Sight of each other[c]. Upon this, the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets put into *Solebay*, where they continued, till the 28th, when the *Dutch* appeared unexpectedly at Break of Day in the Offing, bearing up to them, and had very near ſurprized them in the Bay, many Ships being obliged to cut their Cables, to get out and range themſelves in Order of Battle[d].

The *Dutch* Fleet, which according to moſt of their Authors conſiſted of 75 large Ships, and 40 Frigates and Fire-ſhips, was commanded by *Banckert*, in the Van, who attacked the White-ſquadron, under Monſieur *D'Eſtrees*; by *de Ruyter*, who was Commander in Chief, in the Center, and fought with the Red-ſquadron, under the Duke; and by *Van Ghent*, in the Rear, who engaged with the Blue-ſquadron, under the Lord *Sandwich*.

The Engagement was begun, between ſeven and eight in the Morning, by the *Dutch*, with the White-ſquadron, and the *French* received them, in the Beginning, with ſome Shew of Courage and Bravery; but they, ſoon after ſheered off from the Battle[e].

The Duke and *de Ruyter* were, in the mean time, ſo warmly engaged for ſeveral Hours, that his Royal Highneſs was obliged to leave his Ship, the *St. Michael*, (her Main-top-maſt, with the Standard being, according to the *Dutch* Accounts, ſhot down) and go on-board the *Loyal London*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, in the *Royal James*, a Ship of 100 Guns, gave very ſignal Proofs of his intrepid Valour. He was firſt attacked by the *Great Holland*, commanded by Captain *Brackel* (the ſame who began the Attack at *Chatham*) followed by a Fire-ſhip, and was ſoon ſeconded by *Van Ghendt*'s whole Squadron. *Brackel*, tho' of much leſs Force, depending on the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, who had the Advantage of the Wind, grappled the *Royal James*; and while the Earl was engaged with him, he was attacked by *Van Ghendt*, with ſeveral other Men of War and Fire-ſhips, againſt all which he maintained a bloody Fight. The *Dutch* Rear-admiral *Van Ghendt*, was ſoon taken off with a Cannon-ſhot; three of their Fire-ſhips and a Man of War, which would have laid the Earl on-board on the other Side, were ſunk; and, at length, he was diſengaged from *Brackel*'s Ship, with which he had been grappled an Hour and a half, and had reduced her to the State of a Wreck, wounded her Commander, killed and wounded almoſt all his Officers, and above two Thirds of his Men. He had now defended himſelf and repulſed the Enemy, in ſo brave a Manner, for five Hours together, and it was believed might have made an honourable Retreat too; but he would not be perſuaded to deſiſt from the unequal Combat, tho' not ſeconded, as he ought to have been, by his Squadron. At length, another *Dutch* Fire-ſhip, covered by the Smoke of the Enemy, grappled the *Royal James*, and ſet her in a Flame; and the brave but unfortunate Earl periſhed in her, with ſeveral other gallant Officers.

Of the 1000 Men on-board, 600 were killed on the Deck. When the Ship was on fire, the Earl retired to his Cabbin, where he was followed by his Captain, Sir *Richard Haddock*, who finding him with a Handkerchief before his Eyes, told him of the Danger. But he anſwered, "He "ſaw how Things went, (reflecting on the Words the "Duke had let fall the Day before) and was therefore re"ſolved to periſh with the Ship[f]." Sir *Richard Haddock*, who was wounded in the Thigh, was taken out of the Sea.

The Death of *Van Ghendt*, with the furious Attack of Part of the Earl's Squadron, which at laſt came in to his Reſcue, tho' too late, cauſed ſoon after ſuch a Confuſion in *Van Ghendt*'s Squadron, that it ſtood off, and left the Fight for ſome Time. This gave Opportunity to the Blue-ſquadron to join the Red, and to aſſiſt the Duke of *York*, who being abandoned by the *French*, was in Danger of being bore down by two of the Enemy's Squadrons, under *de Ruyter* and *Bankert*. In this Fight *Cornelius Evertzen*, Admiral of *Zealand*, was killed; and *de Ruyter* himſelf, with *Allemond*, another of their Flag-officers, narrowly eſcaped being burnt by the *Engliſh* Fire-ſhips. *De Ruyter* was wounded, 150 of his Men killed, and his Ship ſo diſabled, that ſhe was towed out of the Fleet, and with great Difficulty got to *Zealand*. *Van Ghendt*'s Squadron, which had abſented for ſome time from the Battle, coming in again to the Aſſiſtance of *de Ruyter*, the Fight went on with greater Fury. The *French* Squadron ſtill kept a-loof, and left the *Engliſh* to encounter the whole Force of the Enemy, with the Diſadvantage of two to three. Notwithſtanding this Inequality, the Fight (as the *Dutch* themſelves own) laſted with great Fury till nine at Night, both Sides having diſplayed all the Art and Skill which could be expected from the moſt experienced Commanders, and all the Bravery that Thirſt of Honour could inſpire.

Towards the End of the Fight, great Havock was made among the *Dutch* Fire-ſhips, of which five or ſix (as they themſelves allow) were deſtroyed by one *Engliſh* Man of War. At laſt, the whole *Dutch* Fleet being diſperſed, and in great Diſorder, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, with the Blue-ſquadron, getting the Wind of them, *de Ruyter*'s Ship was in great Danger of being burnt; but being got looſe from the Fire-ſhip which grappled her, that Admiral took the Opportunity to gather his ſcattered Fleet together, and firſt quitted the Place of Battle.

The Loſs of Men was pretty near an Equality; but of Ships, the *Dutch* will needs have it the moſt were miſſing on our Side; there being (ſay they) two burnt, and three ſunk; whereas they loſt but three, one burnt, one ſunk, and a third taken by the *Engliſh*; beſides *Brackel*'s Ship diſabled. The *French*, notwithſtanding their great Caution, loſt two Men of War, one burnt, and another ſunk. Among the ſlain, on our Side, were many brave Men of Quality, as the Earl of *Sandwich*, Captain *Digby* in the *Henry*, Sir *Fretcheville Holles* in the *Cambridge*, Sir *John Cox* in the *Prince*, Monſieur *de la Rabeniere* the *French* Rear-admiral, the Lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Montague*, Mr. *Nicholas*, and Mr. *Vaughan*, the two laſt of which were of the Duke's Bed-chamber, beſides ſeveral other Perſons of Note.

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[a] The Author of de Ruyter's Life pretends they were 116 Ships, moſt of them large, beſides 24 Ketches; and the French 48 ſtout Ships.

[b] Kennet. Columna Roſtrata. Baſnage Annales des Prov. Unies.

[c] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter. Leven Van Cornelius Van Tromp. Leven der Zee-Helden. F. Daniel.

[d] The Earl of Sandwich, with the other Flag-officers, being invited to an Entertainment on-board the Duke of York's Ship, took the Liberty, in the Midſt of their Jollitry, to ſay, That the Fleet was in Danger of being ſurpriſed, as the Wind then ſtood, and that therefore it was his Opinion, they ought to weigh Anchor and put out to Sea: Whereupon, the Duke, by a ſudden Reply, ſeeming to reflect on this Caution of the Earl's, as the Effect of Fear, it is ſaid, cauſed in him a Reſentment, that was ſuppoſed to have been fatal in the Sequel, (as we ſhall ſee below) tho' the Event ſhews, this Caution was the Effect of his Prudence, and not of his Fear. For, had not de Ruyter been tied down to the Formality of calling a Council, and adviſing with Cornelius de Wit, the Deputy of the States, on-board the Fleet, he might have attacked them in ſuch Manner, during the Surprize, as muſt have brought them into the utmoſt Diſorder, according to Baſnage.

[e] Tho' it is plain, the French afforded us no Aſſiſtance, they could deſire us to ſpare them Ammunion, as appears, by the following Letter, from the Duke of York, to the Maſter of the Ordnance.

"Whereas I am informed, by the Officers of his Majeſty's Ordnance, that there may be ſpared out of his Majeſty's Stores in the River, unto the "Count D'Eſtrees, Bullets of 24 Pounds 4,000, of 18 Pounders 10,000, of 12 Pounders 10,000, and of eight Pounders 5,000. Theſe are to will "and require you, forthwith to deliver, unto ſuch Perſons as the Count D'Eſtrees ſhall appoint to receive them, the ſeveral Quantities of Bullets "hereafter mentioned, which he deſires to be furniſhed with, viz. 3029 twenty-four Pounds, 9243 eighteen Pounders, 5008 twelve Pounders, and "1693 eight Pounders; he paying the uſual Rates for them; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand, on-board the "Prince, this 24th of June 1672. JAMES.

"To Sir Thomas Chicheley, Knt. Maſter of his Majeſty's Ordnance."

[f] The Author of the Columna Roſtrata ſays, that the Earl, being unwilling to leave his Ship, whilſt the leaſt Hope remained of ſaving her, was left alone to encounter the Fire and the Enemy; which having done for ſome time in vain, he leaped thro' the Flames into the Sea, and ended his Life, to his Immortal Honour. Dutch Writers ſay, two of his Sons periſhed with him; and that, endeavouring to eſcape, his Barge ſunk, by being overcharged. The Author of de Ruyter's Life gives the deceaſed Earl the Epithet of valiant, wiſe, circumſpect, courteous and candid, as well in Words as Deeds. This Author and Baſnage ſay, one only of his Sons was drowned with him.

The *Engliſh* complained, that the *French* were wanting in their Duty, and only fought at a Diſtance, after they had ſeparated from the Fleet. This Conduct was aſcribed to ſecret Orders given to the Count *d'Eſtrees*, not to expoſe his Majeſty's Ships too much, but to leave the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets to effect their own Deſtruction.

Nothing can give a juſter Idea of this Fight, than the Teſtimony of the *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter*, who declared, that he had been in many Sea-fights, but never was in any ſo continual, obſtinate and cruel, as this was, on the Side of the *Engliſh* [a].

Tho' the Advantage which we had now gained over the *Dutch* at Sea, was not ſo very conſiderable, the States were reduced to a deplorable Condition. Two of the Provinces, *Guelderland* and *Utrecht*, were in Poſſeſſion of the *French*; *Overyſſel* was in the Hands of the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*; and *Frieſland* and *Groningen* were actually attacked. The Province of *Holland* was obliged to open the Sluices, and lay the Country under Water, to ſtop the rapid Progreſs of the *French*. This raiſed a general Diſcontent in the Populace, which ripened, at length, into open Sedition; and the Penſioner *de Wit* was charged with having been the Cauſe of all theſe Calamities which broke in like a Torrent upon their Country. In this Perplexity, the States of *Holland*, very much againſt their Will, were obliged to admit the Prince of *Orange* to the Dignity of Stadtholder; and ſoon after, the two Brothers, *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, were maſſacred, by the common People, at the *Hague*.

During theſe Diſtractions, the States ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*, to ſue for a Peace; but their Propoſals being rejected, they ſoon returned. The Demands inſiſted on by the *Engliſh* were, The Honour of the Flag, not only by ſingle Ships, but by whole Fleets; a Million Sterling for Reparation of Damages, and the Charges of the War; 10,000 *l.* a Year for the Liberty of fiſhing on the *Britiſh* Coaſt; the Offices of perpetual Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral-general, for the Prince of *Orange*, and his Male-iſſue; a Share of the whole *Eaſt-India* Trade; the Poſſeſſion of the City of *Sluys* in *Flanders*; and the Iſlands of *Cadzant*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree*, and *Voorn*.

The *French* and *Engliſh* Fleets being perfectly refitted, the latter took on-board a large Body of Land-forces, intended for a Deſcent on *Zealand*, the only Province into which the *French* Arms had not penetrated; being interrupted by the opening of the Sluices.

They ſailed for the *Dutch* Coaſts, and found the *Dutch* Fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the Sands, they deferred the Execution of their Deſign, and blocked up the *Maeſe* and *Texel*; which *de Ruyter* (having ſtrict Orders from the States not to hazard a Battle) ſaw with Concern, yet wanted Power to prevent. The Duke of *York* was reſolved to debark on the *Texel* [b] the Body of Troops on-board his Fleet. The Occaſion was favourable in all Reſpects; the *French*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, were in the Heart of the *Dutch* Territories, ſo that no great Force could be drawn together to reſiſt them on-ſhore; and the Coaſt was ſo low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a ſuperior Force could have ſecured the *Dutch* from this Invaſion. It was upon the 3d of *July* this Reſolution was taken; and it was intended, that their Forces ſhould have landed the next Flood. But Providence interpoſed in favour of a free People, and ſaved them from a Yoke, which ſeemed already to preſs upon their Necks. The Ebb, inſtead of ſix, continued twelve Hours, which defeated the intended Deſcent for that time; and the Storm that roſe the Night following, forced the Fleet out to Sea, where they ſtruggled for ſome time with very foul Weather, and, the Opportunity being quite loſt, returned, without performing any thing of Conſequence, to the *Engliſh* Shore. The *Dutch* Clergy magnified this Accident into a Miracle [c].

There was no other Action thought of at Sea for this Year, except the ſending Sir *Edward Spragge*, with a Squadron, to diſturb the *Dutch* Herring-fiſhery; with which he took ſeveral of their Buſſes and Doggers, and 350 Priſoners.

While theſe things were tranſacting in *Europe*, Sir *Tobias Bridges*, ſailing with a Squadron of five or ſix Ships, and a Regiment of Foot-ſoldiers, from *Barbadoes* to *Tobago*, a neighbouring Plantation belonging to the *Dutch*, made himſelf Maſter of that Iſland, with a Booty of about 400 Priſoners, and 500 *Negroe* Slaves. Not long after, the *Engliſh* took from them *St. Euſtace*, another of the *Caribbee* Iſlands. About the ſame time, four of their *Eaſt-India* Ships, having 5 or 600 Men on-board, reduced the Iſland of *St. Helena*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*; but the Governor and his People, after having ſeveral times repulſed the *Dutch*, finding the Fort not defenſible, on the Land-ſide, embarked with their moſt valuable Effects, on-board ſome *Engliſh* and *French* Ships, and carried them off.

Commodore *Richard Monday*, who was ſent with four Men of War, to convoy the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Fleet, ſeeing at his Arrival at *St. Helena*, what had happened; and beſides, being in want of Water, immediately ſet about to retake it; which he did without any great Reſiſtance. This Loſs was the more fatal to the *Dutch*; becauſe, ſoon after, three *Eaſt-India* Ships, very richly laden, coming in there, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and they might have taken more, had they not been too forward in diſcovering themſelves. For this Service the King knighted *Monday* at his Return.

In revenge of theſe Proceedings, the *Dutch* made an Attempt upon the Iſland of *Bombay*, but were repulſed. And their Vice-admiral *Frederickſon*, ſailing with 13 (ſome Accounts ſay 15) Men of War, to our Plantations on the Continent, did us conſiderable Miſchief; till meeting with 10 *Engliſh* Men of War, and ſome Merchant-ſhips, a ſharp Engagement enſued, in which they loſt their Admiral; and the *Engliſh*, on their Side, loſt three Merchant-ſhips. From thence going down to the *Caribbees*, they recovered *St. Euſtace*.

All this time Commerce ſuffered exceedingly on both Sides. Plantations were ruined; and the *French*, who before this War, had not either Skill in Navigation, or underſtood at all the Art of fighting at Sea, as their own Writers confeſs, improved in both, at the Expence of *Britain* and *Holland*. Thus their End was plainly anſwered, while the maritime Powers were fighting as much againſt their Inclinations, as their Intereſt [d].

In *England* the People were greatly diſcontented with the miniſterial CABAL; the Parliament ſhewed their Diſlike of a *Dutch* War, by refuſing to grant any Money for ſuch a Service; and the Fears which increaſed about the Religion of the Duke of *York*, as Heir apparent to the Crown, occaſioned them to fall into warm Debates upon Religion, and to paſs an Act, under the Title of the Teſt Act, which putting it out of the Power of the Papiſts to continue in any public Employments, Lord *Clifford* was ſoon after obliged to quit the Treaſury, and the Duke of *York* immediately declined the Command of the Fleet. Theſe were Changes which had a natural Tendency to bring Things about again to their proper Places: Yet the *Dutch* War was carried on for another Year, thro' the Influences of their Councils who began it.

It was reſolved early in the Year 1673, that Prince *Rupert* ſhould command the Fleet, yet no care was taken to fit it out in time, and much leſs to furniſh him with ſuch Officers, as were agreeable to him. Sir *Robert Holmes* was laid aſide, merely becauſe he was in his Highneſs's Favour, and Sir *Edward Spragge* ſent in his ſtead; who not long after went into *France* on a ſecret Commiſſion, without Prince *Rupert*'s knowing any thing of his Buſineſs. Sir *John Harman* was appointed his Vice-admiral, when he was known to have ſurvived the great Abilities he once had ſignalized; and was now ſo ill of the Gout, as not to be able to move either Hand or Foot, or ſo much as to ſtir out of his Cabbin.

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[a] La Vie de Michel de Ruyter.

[b] The Texel, tho' a ſmall Iſland, is yet the moſt conſiderable of thoſe which, lying in a ſtrait Line in the German Ocean, cover the Mouth of the Zuyder Sea.

[c] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. II. p. 264. Where this extraordinary Accident is juſtly ſtated, and fairly accounted for. The Wonder did not conſiſt ſo much in an Ebb of 12 Hours, as in the time in which it happened; for tho' the like has fallen out, before and ſince, about the Equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this Juncture, when the ſwelling of the Waters in the Y, and the Zuyder Sea repelled the Flood.

[d] Columna Roſtrata, p. 230, 231. Baſnage. Le Clerc.

The Prince in vain expoſtulated againſt theſe and many other Hardſhips, of which he could obtain no Redreſs; therefore in the Beginning of the Month of *April*, hearing the *Dutch* Fleet was at Sea, and intended to come and ſink many Hulks filled with Lead and Stones in the Mouth of the River, he with much Induſtry got together as many of the fourth and fifth-rate Ships as he could, and with ſome Fire-ſhips, ſailed out and prevented them.

About the Middle of *May*, the Fleet, tho' indifferently provided, was ready for the Sea; but then the great Difficulty was, how to join our good Allies, the *French*, who were at *Breſt*, and who freely declared, that they were reſolved not to ſtir till our Fleet was in the Channel. As the *Dutch* laboured Day and Night to ſtrengthen their Navy, his Highneſs ſaw the Neceſſity of joining the *French* early; and as a Proof of his high Courrge, as well as great Skill in maritime Affairs, he paſſed in ſpite of the Enemy, then riding at the *Gun-fleet*, thro' the Paſſage called the *Narrow*, and this too againſt the Wind; which ſo ſurpriſed the *Dutch*, that, ſeeing the End of their lying there loſt, they ſailed back again to their own Ports [a].

His Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, viſited the Fleet on the 19th of *May*, and in a Council of War held in their Preſence, it was reſolved to attack the Enemy, even upon their own Coaſt, in caſe they could not be provoked to quit it. In purſuance of this Reſolution, Prince *Rupert* ſtood over towards the Coaſt of *Holland*, and found *de Ruyter* with the *Dutch* Fleet, riding within the Sands at *Schonevelt*, in a Line between the *Rand* and the *Stony Bank*, which was a very advantageous Situation; but his Highneſs perſiſted in his Reſolution of obeying the poſitive Orders he had received for attacking them. Therefore on the 28th in the Morning, about nine o'Clock, a detached Squadron of 35 Frigates, and 13 Fire-ſhips, were ſent to draw the Enemy out, which was very eaſily done; for *de Ruyter* preſently advanced in good Order, and the *Engliſh* light Ships retreating, put their own Fleet in ſome Diſorder. This Engagement happened on very unequal Terms: The confederate Fleet conſiſted of 84 Men of War, beſides Fire-ſhips, divided into three Squadrons, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, Count *d'Eſtres*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*. The *Dutch* were ſcarce 70 Men of War and Frigates, under *de Ruyter*, *Tromp*, and *Bankert* [b]. The *French* made little or no ſail, but kept in the Rear, tho' they ſaw the *Dutch* Fleet ſtretch to the North.

By twelve in the Morning, the detached Squadron beforementioned, engaged *Van Tromp*, and ſoon after the Prince engaged *de Ruyter* almoſt two Hours before the *French* began to fight at all. Then, ſays Prince *Rupert*'s Relation, Count *d'Eſtrees* engaged *de Ruyter*, but quickly left him; neither did *de Ruyter* follow [c], but went to the Aſſiſtance of *Tromp*, whom he very ſeaſonably relieved, which put an end to the Feuds long ſubſiſting between them. The Battle was very hard fought on both Sides.

Schram, who was Vice-admiral of *Van Tromp*'s Squadron, was killed; as was likewiſe Rear-admiral *Vlag*, of *Bankert*'s Squadron, with ſeveral of the Captains who commanded under them. The *Golden-Lion*, in which *Van Tromp* himſelf was, had above 100 Men killed and wounded, and was very much ſhattered; and, in this Condition, ſhe was very near being burnt by a Fire-ſhip, ſet upon her by Sir *William Reeves*. *Van Tromp* was then obliged to hoiſt his Flag on-board the *Prince on Horſeback*, and her Main-maſt being ſhot by the Board, he removed to the *Amſterdam*, and afterwards to the *Comet*. Of Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron, Captain *Leg* boarded and took the *Dutch* Ship called the *Jupiter*; but ſhe was ſurpriſed, and re-taken, while the *Engliſh* were buſied in rummaging her. At length, the furious Attack made by Sir *Edward Spragge*, ſeconded by the other Squadrons, obliged the *Dutch* to retreat ſo far within their Sands, that the *Engliſh* and *French* could not purſue them, eſpecially as it was dark, without the greateſt Danger, and they were therefore obliged to ſtand off.

De Ruyter and *Van Tromp*, in their Letters to the States, the former however with more Modeſty than the latter, pretend upon Suppoſition and Hear-ſay, that the *Engliſh* loſt 14 or more Ships, and Fire-ſhips; but our Accounts allow no more than one Frigate ſunk, and the Fire-ſhips which were ſpent in the Action. The *French*, who behaved tolerably well in this Day's Action, had two Men of War ſunk. The *Dutch* own the Loſs of five or ſix Fire-ſhips, deſtroyed by our Men of War. The *Deventer*, one of their Men of War, which with ſeveral others was much diſabled, and towed out of their Fleet, ſunk before the *Wielings*, and moſt of her Men were drowned.

The confederate Fleet remained on the Coaſt, without receiving any Reinforcement, or being able, on account of a ſtrong Weſterly Wind, to get rid of the Incumberance of their wounded Men. The *Dutch*, on the contrary, being on their own Coaſts, were plentifully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries, and reinforced by ſeveral Men of War, in the room of thoſe which were diſabled in the laſt Battle.

Prince *Rupert* did all that in his Power lay, to put the Fleet into a good Condition; and believing, that the *Dutch* would not be long before they endeavoured to make uſe of their Advantages, he went on-board the *Royal Sovereign* in the Evening of the 3d of *June*, where he went not to Bed all Night [d]. His Fore-ſight was very requiſite; for on the 4th in the Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet, by this time, at leaſt as ſtrong as the Confederates, bore down upon them as faſt as the Wind would permit. Sir *Edward Spragge* had ſo little Notion of their fighting, that taking the brave Earl of *Oſſory*, his Rear-admiral, with him, he went in his Boat on-board the Admiral; which loſt a great deal of time. As for Prince *Rupert*, he was ſo much in earneſt, that finding his Ship's Crew, which was but indifferent, raiſed his Anchors very ſlowly, he ordered his Cables to be cut, that he might make haſte to meet the *Dutch*. Count *d'Eſtrees*, with the White-ſquadron, betrayed no ſuch great Willingneſs to fight, as both our own and the *Dutch* Writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of Harm's way. At laſt, about five in the Evening, *Spragge* and *Tromp* engaged with great Fury. As for *de Ruyter*, he ſhewed at firſt a Deſign of coming to a cloſe Engagement with the Prince; but before he came within Muſket-ſhot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had ſuffered ſome conſiderable Damage. *Spragge*, in the mean time, had forced *Tromp* to ſheer off. He then fell into Vice-admiral *Sweer*'s Diviſion, which he ſoon put into Confuſion; and *Spragge* likewiſe encountered *Van Tromp* Ship to Ship, but at ſome Diſtance, for want of a Wind; notwithſtanding which, he ſhot down his Admiral's Flag, and made a terrible Slaughter among his Men. This brave Commander behaved himſelf upon other Occaſions likewiſe, during the Engagement, with ſo much Gallantry, and plied his Broadſides with ſo much Fury, as well as good Management, on the Enemy's Ships, that whole Squadrons fled before him. The Fight laſted till 10 or 11 at Night; at which time the *Dutch*, tho' they had the Weather-gage, and could have obliged the Confederates to fight the next Day, thought fit to retreat, and uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to reach their own Coaſts. This Retreat, their own Writers allow; and Prince *Rupert*, in his Account of the Action, takes Notice of the great Confuſion the whole *Dutch* Fleet was in at that time.

The Night being cloſed in, before the *Dutch* began to retreat with the Body of their Fleet, the Confederates were not ſenſible of it for ſome Hours; however, about two in the Morning, they ſtood after them, and continued the Chaſe, as well as the Wind would let them, till ſix; when perceiving they were gotten within the Shoals, they gave it over, and ſteered for the *Engliſh* Coaſts, where they arrived about 11. This Battle having been fought, as I obſerved above, at a Diſtance, there were no Ships either taken or deſtroyed on either Side; but many were very much damaged, eſpecially on the Side of the *Dutch*, which obliged them to decline the Battle the next Day, tho' they had the Advantage of the Wind.

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[a] An exact Relation of all the Engagements, and Actions of his Majeſty's Fleet, under the Command of his Highneſs Prince Rupert, and of all Circumſtances concerning this Summer's Expedition, 1673, written by a Perſon in Command of the Fleet. London, 1673, 4to. Kennet. Burchett. Echard. Burnet Rapin.

[b] Kennet. Burchet. Columna Roſtrata. Baſnage. De Neuville. Vie de Ruyter. P. Daniel.

[c] An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, p. 8, 9. Philips's Chronicle, p. 592.

[d] An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

The Prince was for fighting the Enemy again; but it was carried in a Council of War, to ſail for the *Engliſh* Coaſt, in order to obtain Supplies, as well of Ammunition as Proviſion, through want of which, a great many Captains complained loudly. Beſides, the Fleet was ſo poorly manned, that if it had not been for the Land-forces on-board, they could not have fought at all; and for the moſt part new-raiſed Men. On the 8th of *June* the Fleet arrived at the *Buoy* in the *Nore*; and on the 14th Prince *Rupert* went to *London*, in order to give the King an Account of the Condition Things were in, and to preſs for ſuch neceſſary Supplies as might enable him to put to Sea again without Delay [a].

The Confederate Fleet, having landed their wounded Men, and taken in a freſh Store of Proviſions and Ammunition, put again to Sea, on the 17th of the ſame Month, (in the Preſence of the King, who came down the River to ſee the Fleet) with a Body of 7000 freſh Troops, whereof 4000 were diſtributed on-board the Men of War. The Deſign was to attempt a Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Zealand*. They appeared before the *Maeſe* the 23d, the next Day were off of *Scheveling* and *Zandvort*, and quickly after before the *Texel*; from whence they cruiſed along the whole Coaſt of *Holland* and *Frizeland*, to the *Vly*, *Ameland*, and the *Weſtern-Ems*; and in the Beginning of *Auguſt* returned again before the *Texel*. Theſe various Motions of the Confederate Fleet were a great Inconvenience to the *Dutch*, as well by haraſſing their Troops, which were obliged to follow them, as by endangering their homeward-bound Trade, and particularly a rich *Eaſt-India* Fleet, which they were in Expectation of, and of which they took one Ship very richly laden.

The *Dutch* bore with this patiently, near a Fortnight; and had the Mortification to have not only their Harbours block'd up, but their Ships taken in their very Sight. At length Deſpair rouſed their Courage, and they reſolved in a Council of War, held on-board *de Ruyter*'s Ship, in the Preſence of the Prince of *Orange*, to leave their Station, and hazard a third Engagement, rather than ſuffer theſe Inſults any longer; but though, purſuant to this Reſolution, they put to Sea on the 3d of *Auguſt*, it was the 10th before the Fleets met, *de Ruyter* having, by a Maſter-piece of good Conduct, paſs'd by the Confederates, cloſe under the Shore, in the Night, and ſo got the Weather-gage of them.

The *Dutch* Admiral, early on the 11th of *Auguſt*, bore down upon the Confederates, as if he meant to force them to a Battle, upon which his Highneſs thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the Fleet into good Order. He put the *French* in the Van, himſelf in the Center, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the Rear; and in this Diſpoſition the *French* lay fair to get the Wind of the Enemy, which however they neglected [b]. The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of about 60 Men of War and Frigates, the *French* of 30, and the *Dutch* of 70 or thereabouts; ſo that the royal Fleets were indiſputably ſuperior to that of the Republic [c].

De Ruyter, bearing down with his Fleet in three Squadrons, prepared to attack the Prince himſelf, while *Tromp* engaged *Spragge* and the Blue-ſquadron, in which the *Engliſh* Admiral obliged him, by laying his Fore-top-ſail to his Maſt, in order to ſtay for him, contrary to the expreſs Order of the Prince. This Fondneſs for a Point of Honour, proved fatal to himſelf, as well as diſadvantageous to the Fleet. *Bankert*, with his *Zealand* Squadron, ſhould have engaged the White, commanded by *D'Eſtrees*; but, it ſeems, the *Dutch* underſtood their Temper better than to give themſelves much Trouble about them, for *Bankert* contented himſelf with ſending eight Men of War and three Fire-ſhips to attack the Rear-admiral *de Martel*, who ſeemed to be the only Man that had any real Deſign to fight; and then the reſt of the *Zealand* Squadron united themſelves to *de Ruyter*, and fell together upon Prince *Rupert* [d].

Rear-admiral *de Martel*, being left not only by the Body of the *French* Fleet, but even by the Captains of his own Diviſion, was attacked by five *Dutch* Ships at once. He fought them for two Hours, and that with ſuch Courage and Succeſs, that having diſabled one, the reſt were glad to ſheer off, and he rejoined the White-ſquadron; where expoſtulating with the Captains of his own Diviſion, for deſerting him ſo baſely, they told him plainly, they had Orders from the Admiral, not to obſerve his Motions; and, indeed, at his Return to *France*, he was called to an Account, as having exceeded his Commiſſion; and was thrown into the *Baſtile*, for having behaved himſelf too well.

The Battle between *de Ruyter* and the Red-ſquadron, began about eight o'Clock in the Morning, and a Multitude of Circumſtances concurred to threaten the *Engliſh* Admiral with inevitable Ruin. The *French*, not ſatisfied with being mere Spectators of a very unequal Combat from the Beginning, ſuffered the Ships which had attacked *de Martel*, to paſs quietly to their own Fleet; ſo that now, *de Ruyter*'s and *Bankert*'s Squadrons were both upon the Red. Sir *Edward Spragge*, intent on his perſonal Quarrel with *Van Tromp*, had fallen to the Leeward ſeveral Leagues with the Blue-ſquadron; and to compleat Prince *Rupert*'s Misfortune, the Enemy found Means to intercept his own Rear-admiral, Sir *John Chichele*, with his Diviſion; ſo that by Noon, his Highneſs was wholly ſurrounded by the *Dutch*, being preſſed by *de Ruyter* and his Diviſion on his Lee-quarter, an Admiral with two Flags more on his Weather-quarter, and the *Zealand* Squadron on his Broadſide to Windward. Thus the *Dutch* wiſely employed their Force againſt the Enemy that would fight, and took no more Notice of the *French* Fleet, than the *French* did of them, or of Prince *Rupert* [e].

His Highneſs, in the Midſt of theſe Diſappointments, behaved with ſuch Intrepidity, and encouraged all his Officers ſo effectually, by his own Example, that, by degrees, he cleared himſelf of his Enemies, rejoined Sir *John Chichele*, and by two o'Clock, had Time to think of the Blue-ſquadron, which was now at three Leagues Diſtance; and not hearing their Guns well plied, he made all the Sail he could towards them, in order to unite and relieve them. *De Ruyter* perceiving his Highneſs's Deſign, left firing, and bore away alſo with his whole Fleet, to the Relief of *Tromp*; ſo that both Fleets ran down Side by Side, within Range of Cannon-ſhot, and yet without firing on either Part. About four the Prince joined the Blue-ſquadron, which he found in a very tattered Condition [f].

At the Beginning of the Fight, *Tromp* in the *Golden Lion*, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the *Royal Prince*, fought Ship to Ship. The *Dutch* Admiral, however, would not come to a cloſe Fight, which gave him a great Advantage; for *Spragge*, who had more than his Compliment on-board, ſuffered much by the Enemies Cannon, and having the Wind and Smoke in his Face, could not make ſo good Uſe of his own, as he would otherwiſe have done. After three Hours warm Fight, the *Royal Prince* was ſo diſabled, that Sir *Edward* was forced to go on-board the *St. George*; and *Tromp* quitted his *Golden Lion*, to hoiſt his Flag on-board the *Comet*, where the Battle was renewed with incredible Fury. The great Aim of the *Dutch* Admiral, was to take or ſink the *Royal Prince*; but the Earl of *Oſſory*, and Sir *John Kempthorne*, together with *Spragge* himſelf, ſo effectually protected the diſabled Veſſel, that none of the Enemy's Fire-ſhips could come near her, though this was often attempted. At laſt, the *St. George*, being terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled, Sir *Edward Spragge* deſigned to go on-board a third Ship; but before he was got ſix Boats Length, a Shot, which paſſed through the *St. George*, took his Boat; and tho' they immediately rowed back, yet before they could get within Reach of the Ropes that were thrown out from the *St. George*, the Boat ſunk, and Sir *Edward* was drowned [a], lamented not only by his own Nation, but by his very Enemies, who give him the Character of one of the braveſt Sea-officers, that ever ſought under the *Engliſh* Flag.

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[a] An exact Relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

[b] An exact Relation of the Actions of the Engliſh Fleet under the Command of Prince Rupert, p. 13. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata.

[c] Baſnage, le Clerc, Leven van Tromp.

[d] An exact Relation, &c. p. 14. Baſnage, Vie de Ruyter.

[e] The exact Relation, &c. In this Piece we have not only the moſt authentic, but, I believe, the only authentic Account of this Engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's Letters were uſually publiſhed, but what he wrote on this Occaſion, was not judged convenient for the People's Peruſal. The Dutch Narrations were calculated to ſerve a Turn; and that penned by M. de Martel, for the Information of the French King, was, for many good Reaſons, ſuppreſſed.

[f] Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Hiſtory of the Dutch War.

When Prince *Rupert* drew near the Blue-ſquadron, he found the Admiral diſabled; the Vice-admiral lying to the Windward, mending his Sails and Rigging; the Rear-admiral aſtern of the *Royal Prince*, between her and the Enemy, bending his new Sails, and mending his Rigging. The firſt thing his Highneſs did, was to ſend two Frigates to take the *Royal Prince* in tow. He then ſteered in between the Enemy and the lame Ships, and perceiving that *Tromp* had tacked, and was coming down again upon the Blue-ſquadron, he made a Signal for all the Ships of that Squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for except the two Flags, Sir *John Kemptborne*, and the Earl of *Oſſory*, there was not one in a Condition to move.

About five in the Evening, *de Ruyter*, with all his Flags and Fleet, came cloſe up with the Prince, and then began a very ſharp Engagement; his Highneſs had none to ſecond him, but the Vice and Rear of the Blue; Sir *John Harman*, Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Stout*, of his own Diviſion; Sir *John Holmes* in the *Rupert*, Captain *Leg* in the *Royal Katherine*, Sir *John Berry* in the *Reſolution*, Sir *John Ernle* in the *Henry*, Sir *Roger Strickland* in the *Mary*, and Captain *Carter* in the *Crown*; in all about 13 Ships. The Engagement was very cloſe and bloody, till about ſeven o'Clock, when his Highneſs forced the *Dutch* Fleet into great Diſorder, and ſent in two Fire-ſhips amongſt them, to increaſe it; at the ſame time, making a Signal for the *French* to bear down, which if they had done, a total Defeat muſt have followed. But as they took no Notice of it, and the Prince ſaw that moſt of his Ships were in no Condition to keep the Sea long, he wiſely provided for their Safety, by making eaſy Sail towards our own Coaſts [b].

The Fight however continued till after Sunſet, when Darkneſs and Smoke obliged them on all Sides to deſiſt; the *Engliſh* having, during all this Time, maintained the Fight alone (while the *French* continued to look on at a Diſtance) againſt the whole *Dutch* Fleet, with ſuch Firmneſs and Reſolution, that the *Dutch* own, in all their Accounts, they ſhewed the utmoſt Proofs of Valour, and fought like Heroes. And tho' ſome of them, with their uſual Vanity, pretend they chaſed the *Engliſh*, yet neither *de Ruyter* nor *Van Tromp* aſſume to themſelves any ſuch Honour, in their Letters to the States, after the Fight, which, if true, they might very well have done, without wounding their Modeſty.

The *French* Admiral, the Count *d'Eſtrees*, to give ſome kind of Colour to his Conduct, after the Battle was in a manner over, ſent to know what the Signal meant [c].

Conſidering the Heat of Action, and the Time the Engagement laſted, the Loſs of Ships was inconſiderable. On the *Engliſh* Side, no more than the *Henrietta* Yacht, which was ſunk. The *Dutch* own the Loſs of but three or four Fire-ſhips; but the *Engliſh* are poſitive, and the Lord *Oſſory* confirms it, in a Letter, that the *Dutch* had two of their largeſt Men of War ſunk. To compenſate the Loſs of our brave Admiral *Spragge*, the *Dutch* loſt two of their Vice-admirals, *Sweers*, and *de Liefde*; and in return of two of our Captains, Sir *William Reeves*, and Captain *Haiman*, two (ſome ſay three) of their Captains, one of whom was *de Ruyter*'s Son-in-law, were killed. Of Seamen and Soldiers, the *Engliſh*, being over-manned, in order for a Deſcent, were the greateſt Loſers: But as in this Battle, neither Side can, with Juſtice, pretend to a Victory, ſo were the Loſſes on both pretty equal; tho' rather greater on the *Dutch* Side, than on ours.

This Behaviour of our *French* Allies, and the Information received from *Holland*, of a ſeparate Peace propoſed to the *Dutch* by *France*, increaſed the Diſſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*; ſo that the King, addreſſed by his Parliament to proceed in a Treaty with the States, in order to a ſpeedy Peace, directed Sir *William Temple* to negotiate the ſame with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who, on the Part of *Holland*, was provided with full Powers for that Purpoſe.

This Treaty, in three Meetings, concluded with a Peace, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties; which has continued ever ſince. It was ſigned at *London* on the 9th of *February* 1674, and communicated to the Parliament two Days after. And by this Treaty it was agreed, on the Part of the *Dutch*, that their Ships, whether ſeparate or in Fleets, ſhould be obliged, as a Matter of Right, to ſtrike their Sails to any Fleet, or ſingle Ship, carrying the King of *England*'s Flag [d].

The *Eaſt-India* Trade was likewiſe ſettled, ſo as to prevent ſubſequent Diſputes, and leave neither Party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to leſſer Matters, Commiſſioners were to meet on both Sides at *London* to decide them; and, in caſe they did not agree in the Space of three Months, then the Queen of *Spain* was to arbitrate. Such of the Planters as had been reſtrained by the *Dutch* at *Surinam*, were to be left at their full Liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their Effects. Places taken on both Sides were by this Treaty to be reſtored; and the States General were to pay his Majeſty 800,000 Patacoons at four Payments; the firſt immediately after the Ratification of this Treaty, and the other three by annual Payments. By a particular Treaty it was agreed, that the *Engliſh* Regiments in the *French* Service ſhould be ſuffered to wear out for want of Recruits; and by a ſecret Article it was ſettled, that neither Side ſhould aſſiſt the Enemies of the other by Land or Sea [e]. We may gueſs how acceptable this Treaty was to the States, by the Preſent made to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador for negotiating it, which was 16,000 Crowns, and the Gratification of 6000 which were given to Don *Bernardo de Salinas* [f].

What greatly contributed to the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* in this bloody War, was the good Regulation and Government obſerved on-board his Majeſty's Fleets; for which there had been an early Proviſion made by Parliament, as the Reader will find in the following Act [g], intitled, *An Act for the eſtabliſhing Articles and Orders for the regulating and better Government of his Majeſty's Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea.*

"For the regulating and better Government of his Ma-
"jeſty's Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea; where-
"in, under the good Providence and Protection of God,
"the Wealth, Safety, and Strength of this Kingdom is
"ſo much concerned; be it enacted by the King's moſt
"excellent Majeſty, with the Advice and Conſent of the
"Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſem-
"bled, and by the Authority thereof, That all and every
"the Articles and Orders in this Act mentioned, ſhall be
"duly and reſpectively put in Execution, obſerved, and
"obeyed, in manner hereafter mentioned.

"1. That all Commanders, Captains, and other Offi-
"cers at Sea, ſhall cauſe the public Worſhip of Almighty
"God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *Eng-*
"*land*, eſtabliſhed by Law, to be ſolemnly, orderly, and
"reverently performed in their reſpective Ships; and that
"Prayers and Preaching by the reſpective Chaplains, in
"holy Orders, of the reſpective Ships, be performed dili-
"gently, and that the Lord's-day be obſerved according
"to Law.

"2. Every Perſon and Perſons in his Majeſty's Pay,
"uſing unlawful and raſh Oaths, Curſings, Execrations,
"Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, or other ſcandalous Actions,
"in

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[a] Baſnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. II. p. 420. Le Clerc. Tom. III. p. 343. De Neuville, Tom. IV. p. 204.

[b] Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

[c] An exact Relation, &c. p. 18, 19, where it is affirmed, that Count d'Eſtrees ſent this Meſſage after Night had parted the Fleets. The Officer, who wrote that Account, ſays very judiciouſly, that the ſending to enquire the Meaning of the Signal, was cunningly done. But one of de Ruyter's Sailors ſeems to have had as much Penetration, as the French Miniſtry had Artifice; for upon one of his Companions aſking him, what the French meant by keeping at ſuch a Diſtance, "Why, you Fool (ſaid he) they have hired the Engliſh to fight for them, and all their Buſineſs here is to ſee that they earn their Wages." So tranſparent to honeſt Men, are the boaſted Politics of this Court!

[d] See the Introduction to this Hiſtory, p. xlviii, &c.

[e] Sieur du Mont in his Memoirs pour Servir a la Hiſtoire de la Paix de Ryſwick, Tom. II. p. 272, &c.

[f] Baſnage. Le Clerc. De Neuville. Tho' this Treaty was negotiated by Sir William Temple, it was not ſigned by him, but by the following Committee of Council, viz. the Lord-keeper Finch, the Lord-treaſurer Latimer (afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds), the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Arlington, and Secretary Coventry.

[g] 13 Car. II.

in Derogation of God's Honour, and Corruption of good Manners, ſhall be puniſhed by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe, as the Court-martial ſhall think fit.

“ 3. If any Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other Perſon in the Fleet, ſhall give, hold, or entertain Intelligence, to, or with any King, Prince, or State, being Enemy to, or any Perſon in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, without Direction or Leave from the King's Majeſty, the Lord High-admiral, Vice-admiral, or Commander in Chief of any Squadron, every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 4. If any Letter or Meſſage, from any King, foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, being an Enemy to the King's Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, or on their Behalf, be conveyed to any inferior Officer, Mariner, or Soldier, or other in the Fleet, and the ſaid Officer, Mariner, Soldier, or other, as aforeſaid, do not within 12 Hours (having Opportunity ſo to do) acquaint the ſuperior Commander with it; or, if a ſuperior Officer, or Mariner, being acquainted therewith by an inferior Officer, Mariner, or other, or himſelf in his own Perſon, receiving a Letter or Meſſage from any ſuch Enemy or Rebel, and ſhall not in convenient time reveal the ſame to the Admiral, Vice-admiral, or the Commander of the Squadron, every ſuch Perſon ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Court-martial ſhall think fit.

“ 5. No Perſon or Perſons of the Fleet ſhall relieve an Enemy or Rebel in time of War, with Money, Victuals, Powder, Shot, Arms, Ammunition, or any other Supplies whatſoever, directly or indirectly, upon pain of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Court-martial ſhall think fit to impoſe.

“ 6. All the Papers, Charter-parties, Bills of Lading, Paſſports, and other Writings whatſoever, that ſhall be taken, ſeized, or found aboard any Ship or Ships, which ſhall be ſurpriſed or ſeized as Prize, ſhall be duly preſerved, and not torn, nor made away, but the very Originals ſent up intirely, and without Fraud, to the Court of Admiralty, or ſuch other Commiſſioners as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe; there to be viewed, made uſe of, and proceeded upon according to Law, upon pain of Loſs of all the Shares of the Takers, and ſuch further Puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Offenders therein, as the Quality of their Offence and Miſdemeanor ſhall be found to deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

“ 7. None in his Majeſty's Pay ſhall take out of any Prize, or Ship, or Goods ſeized on for Prize, any Money, Plate, Goods, Lading, or Tackle, before Judgment thereof firſt in the Admiralty-court; but the full and intire Account of the whole, without Imbezzlement, ſhall be brought in, and Judgment paſt entirely upon the whole, without Fraud, upon pain of ſuch Puniſhment as ſhall be impoſed by a Court-martial, or the Court of Admiralty; excepting, That it ſhall be lawful for all Captains, Seamen, Soldiers, and others, ſerving as aforeſaid, to take, and to have to themſelves, as Pillage, without further or other Account to be given for the ſame, all ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes (other than Arms, Ammunition, Tackle, Furniture, or Stores of ſuch Ship) as ſhall be found by them, or any of them, in any Ship (they ſhall take in Fight, or Prize) upon, or above the Gun-deck of the ſaid Ship, and not otherwiſe.

“ 8. None ſhall embezzle, ſteal, or take away any Cables, Anchors, Sails, or any of the Ship's Furniture, or any of the Powder, or Arms, or Ammunition of the Ship, upon pain of Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Quality of the Offence ſhall be found by a Court-martial to deſerve.

“ 9. If any foreign Ship or Veſſel ſhall be taken as Prize, that ſhall not fight or make Reſiſtance, that in that Caſe, none of the Captains, Maſters, or Mariners, being Foreigners, ſhall be ſtripped of their Cloaths, or in any ſort pillaged, beaten, or evil entreated, upon pain, that the Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, ſhall forfeit double Damages; but the ſaid foreign Ships, and all the Goods ſo taken, ſhall be preſerved intire, to receive Judgment in the Admiralty-court, according to Right and Juſtice.

“ 10. Every Captain or Commander, who upon Signal, or Order of Fight, or View, or Sight of any Ships of the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, or Likelihood of Engagement, ſhall not put all things in his Ship in a fit Poſture for Fight, and ſhall not in his own Perſon, and according to his Place, hearten and encourage the inferior Officers and common Men to fight courageouſly, and not to behave themſelves faintly, ſhall be caſhiered; and if he or they ſhall yield to the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebels, or cry for Quarter, he or they ſo doing ſhall ſuffer the Pains of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Offence ſhall deſerve.

“ 11. Every Captain, Commander, and other Officer, Seaman, or Soldier of any Ship, Frigate, or Veſſel of War, ſhall duly obſerve the Commands of the Admiral, or other his Superior or Commander of any Squadron, as well for the aſſailing or ſetting upon any Fleet, Squadron, or Ships of the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebels, or joining Battle with them, or making Defence againſt them, as all other the Commands of the Admiral, or other his ſuperior Commander, upon pain to ſuffer Death or other Puniſhment, as the Quality of his Neglect or Offence ſhall deſerve.

“ 12. Every Captain, and all other Officers, Mariners, and Soldiers of every Ship, Frigate, or Veſſel of War, that ſhall in time of any Fight or Engagement, withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the Fight, and engage, and do his utmoſt, to take, fire, kill, and endamage the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebel, and aſſiſt, and relieve all and every of his Majeſty's Ships; ſhall, for ſuch Offence of Cowardice or Diſaffection, be tried, and ſuffer Pains of Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Circumſtance of the Offence ſhall deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall judge fit.

“ 13. The Captains, Officers, and Seamen of all Ships appointed for Convoy and Guard of Merchant-ſhips, or any other, ſhall diligently attend upon that Charge without Delay, according to their Inſtructions in that Behalf; and whoſoever ſhall be faulty therein, and ſhall not faithfully perform the ſame, and defend the Ships and Goods in their Convoy, without either diverting to other Parts or Occaſions, or refuſing or neglecting to fight in their Defence, if they be ſet upon, or aſſailed, or running away cowardly, and ſubmitting thoſe in their Convoy to Hazard and Peril; or ſhall demand and exact any Money, or other Reward from any Merchant and Maſter, for conveying of any ſuch Ships or other Veſſels belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, ſhall be condemned to make Reparation of the Damage to the Merchants, Owners, and others, as the Court of the Admiralty ſhall adjudge; and alſo be puniſhed criminally, according to the Quality of their Offences, be it by Pains of Death, or other Puniſhment, according as ſhall be judged fit by the Court-martial.

“ 14. Whatſoever Perſon or Perſons, in, or belonging to the Fleet, either thro' Cowardice, Negligence, or Diſaffection, ſhall forbear to purſue the Chace of any Enemy, or Pirate, or Rebel beaten, or flying, or ſhall not relieve or aſſiſt a known Friend in view, to the utmoſt of his Power, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or otherwiſe, as a Court-martial ſhall find fit.

“ 15. When at any time, Service or Action ſhall be commanded, no Man ſhall preſume to ſtop, or put backward, or diſcourage the ſaid Service and Action, by pretence of Arrears of Wages, or upon any Pretence of Wages whatſoever, upon pain of Death.

“ 16. All Sea-captains, Officers, and Seamen, that ſhall betray their Truſt, or turn to the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebels, and either run away with their Ship, or any Ordnance, Ammunition, or Proviſion, to the weakening of the Service, or yield the ſame up to the Enemy, Pirate, or Rebels, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 17. All Sea-captains, Officers, or Mariners, that ſhall deſert the Service or their Employment in the Ships, or ſhall run away, or intice any other ſo to do, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 18. All Perſons whatſoever that ſhall come, or be found in the Nature of Spies, to bring any ſeducing Letters or Meſſages from any Enemy or Rebel, or ſhall attempt or endeavour to corrupt any Captain, Officer, Mariner, or other of the Navy or Fleet, to betray his or their Truſt, and yield up any Ship, or Ammunition, or turn to the Enemy or Rebel, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 19. No Perſon in, or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall utter Words of Sedition or Mutiny, or make, or endeavour to make any mutinous Aſſemblies, upon any Pretence whatſoever, upon Pain of Death.

“ 20. No Perſon in, or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall conceal any traiterous or mutinous Practices, Deſigns, or Words, or any Words ſpoken by any to the Prejudice of his Majeſty or Government, or any Words, Practices, or Deſigns, tending to the Hinderance of the Service, but ſhall forthwith reveal them to his Superior, that a meet Proceeding may be had thereupon, upon pain of ſuch Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall find to be juſt.

“ 21. None ſhall preſume to quarrel with his ſuperior Officer, upon pain of ſevere Puniſhment, nor to ſtrike any ſuch upon pain of Death, or otherwiſe, as a Court-martial ſhall find the Matter to deſerve.

“ 22. If any of the Fleet find Cauſe of Complaint of the Unwholſomneſs of his Victuals, or upon other juſt Ground, he ſhall quietly make the ſame known to his Superior, or Captain, or Commander in Chief, as the Occaſion may deſerve, that ſuch preſent Remedy may be had as the Matter may require, and the ſaid Superior or Commander is to cauſe the ſame to be preſently remedied accordingly; but no Perſon, upon any ſuch or other Pretence, ſhall privately attempt to ſtir up any Diſturbance, upon pain of ſuch ſevere Puniſhment as a Court-martial ſhall find meet to inflict.

“ 23. None ſhall quarrel or fight in the Ship, nor uſe provoking or reproachful Speeches tending to make any Quarrel or Diſturbance, upon pain of Impriſonment, and ſuch other Puniſhment as the Offence ſhall deſerve, and the Court-martial ſhall impoſe.

“ 24. That there be no waſteful Expence of any Powder, Shot, Ammunition, or other Stores in the Fleet, nor any Imbezzlement thereof; but that the Stores and Proviſions be carefully preſerved upon ſuch Penalties by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe, upon the Offenders, Abettors, Buyers, and Receivers, as ſhall be by a Court-martial found juſt in that Behalf.

“ 25. That care be taken in the conducting and ſteering of the Ships, that thro' Wilfulneſs, Negligence, or other Defaults, none of his Majeſty's Ships be ſtranded, or run upon any Rocks or Sands, or ſplit, or hazarded, upon pain, that ſuch as ſhall be found guilty therein, be puniſhed by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe, as the Offence by a Court-martial ſhall be adjudged to deſerve.

“ 26. All Perſons that ſhall willingly burn or ſet fire on any Ship, or Magazine, or Store of Powder, or Ship, Boat, Ketch, Hoy, or Veſſels, or Tackle, or Furniture thereto belonging, not appertaining to the Enemy or Rebel, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 27. No Man in, or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall ſleep upon his Watch, or negligently perform the Duty impoſed on him, or forſake his Station, upon pain of Death, or other Puniſhment, as the Circumſtances of the Caſe ſhall require.

“ 28. All Murders, and wilful killing of any Perſons in the Ship, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

“ 29. All Robbery and Theft committed by any Perſon, in, or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall be puniſhed with Death, or otherwiſe, as the Court-martial upon Conſideration of the Circumſtances ſhall find meet.

“ 30. No Provoſt-martial belonging to the Fleet, ſhall refuſe to receive or keep any Priſoner committed to his Charge, nor ſuffer him to eſcape, being once in his Cuſtody, nor diſmiſs him without Order, upon pain of being liable to the ſame Puniſhment, which ſhould have been inflicted upon the Party diſmiſſed, or permitted to eſcape, or ſuch other Puniſhment as the Court-martial ſhall think fit.

“ 31. All Captains, Officers, and Seamen, ſhall do their Endeavours to detect, apprehend, and bring to Puniſhment all Offenders, and ſhall aſſiſt the Officers appointed for that Purpoſe therein, upon pain to be proceeded againſt, and puniſhed by the Court-martial at Diſcretion.

“ 32. If any Perſon or Perſons in, or belonging to the Fleet, ſhall commit the unnatural and deteſtable Sin of Buggery, or Sodomy, with Man or Beaſt, he ſhall be puniſhed with Death without Mercy.

“ 33. All other Faults, Miſdemeanors, and Diſorders committed at Sea, not mentioned in this Act, ſhall be puniſhed by the Laws and Cuſtoms in ſuch Caſes uſed at Sea.

“ 34. And it is hereby further enacted, That the Lord High-admiral for the time being, ſhall by virtue of this Act, have full Power and Authority to grant Commiſſions to inferior Vice-admirals, or Commanders in Chief of any Squadron of Ships, to call and aſſemble Courts-martial, conſiſting of Commanders and Captains; and no Court-martial, where the Pains of Death ſhall be inflicted, ſhall conſiſt of leſs than five Captains at leaſt, the Admirals-lieutenant to be, as to this Purpoſe, eſteemed as a Captain; and in no Cauſe wherein Sentence of Death ſhall paſs by virtue of the Articles aforeſaid, or any of them (except in caſe of Mutiny) there ſhall be Execution of ſuch Sentence of Death, without the Leave of the Lord High-admiral, if the Offence be committed within the Narrow Seas: But, in caſe any of the Offences aforeſaid be committed in any Voyage beyond the Narrow Seas, whereupon Sentence of Death ſhall be given in purſuance of the aforeſaid Articles, or of any of them; then Execution ſhall not be done but by Order of the Commander in Chief of that Fleet or Squadron, wherein Sentence of Death was paſſed.

“ 35. And be it further enacted and declared, That the Judge-advocate of any Fleet, for the time being, ſhall have full Power and Authority to adminiſter an Oath to any Perſon or Witneſs in order to the Examination or Trial of any of the Offences aforeſaid; and in the Abſence of a Judge-advocate, the Court-martial ſhall have full Power and Authority to appoint any Perſon to adminiſter an Oath to the Purpoſes aforeſaid.

“ Provided alſo, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That this Act, or any Thing or Things therein contained, ſhall not in any manner of wiſe extend to give unto the Lord Admiral of *England*, for the time being, or to any his Vice-admirals, Judge or Judges of the Admiralty, his or their Deputy or Deputies, or to any other the Officers or Miniſters of the Admiralty, or to any other having or claiming any Admiral Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority, within this Realm and *Wales*, nor any other the King's Dominions, any other Power, Right, Juriſdiction, Pre-eminence, or Authority, than he or they, or any of them lawfully have, hath, or had, or ought to have, and enjoy before the making of this Act, other than for ſuch of the Offences ſpecified in the ſeveral Articles contained in this Act, as hereafter ſhall be done upon the main Sea, or in Ships or Veſſels, being and hovering in the main Stream of great Rivers, only beneath the Bridges of the ſame Rivers, nigh to the Sea within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty, and in none other Places whatſoever; and committed only by ſuch Perſons as ſhall be in actual Service and Pay in his Majeſty's Fleet, or Ships of War.”

Near the Concluſion of this War we find the following Officers put into Commiſſion. Sir *John Aſhby*, made Captain of the *Lion*, the 21ſt of *June* 1673, who afterwards was Admiral of the Blue in the *Victory* at *la Hogue*, and was knighted for his gallant Behaviour in 1689.

Mr. *Henry Prieſtman*, made Captain of the *Richmond*, on the 23d of *Auguſt* 1673. He was appointed a Commiſſioner of the Navy in 1681, and a Lord of the Admiralty in 1690, in which high Office he continued till the Year 1699.

Sir *George Rooke*, firſt commiſſioned for the *Holmes*, was appointed Rear-admiral in 1691. He was knighted by King *William* in *February* 1692-3, was raiſed to be Vice-admiral of *England*, and at laſt Commander in Chief of the *Britiſh* Fleet; tho' he was for a ſhort time laid aſide in the Beginning of Queen *Anne*'s Reign.

Mr. *George Legg*, firſt commiſſioned for the *Fairfax*, on the 31ſt of *January* 1673, was appointed Maſter-general of the Ordnance in 1678, created Lord *Dartmouth* the 2d of *December* 1682, commanded the Fleet ſent to demoliſh *Tangier* in 1683, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in 1688, and died in the *Tower* in the Year 1691.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Concluſion of the* Second DUTCH War *to the Acceſſion of King* JAMES II.

THE Corſairs or Pirates of *Tripoli*, took ſuch Advantages of the Employment of our Marine againſt the *Dutch*, that it was found neceſſary to ſend Sir *John Narborough*, ſoon after the Peace, with a ſufficient Power to chaſtiſe them for their Outrages, and to protect our Trade to the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*.

This brave Commander, being arrived before that Place on the 14th of *January* 1676, in the Dead of the Night, after having blocked up the Port, ſo that no Ship could go in or out, manned out his Boats, and ſent them into the Harbour, under the Conduct of his Lieutenant *Cloudſley* (afterwards Sir *Cloudſley Shovel.)* He firſt ſeized the Enemy's Guard-ſhip, and then going on undiſcovered, ſet upon four of their Ships, the *White-crowned Eagle* of 50 Guns, the *Looking-glaſs* of 36, the *Sancta Clara* of 24, and a *French* Petaſch of 20 (being all they then had in the Port) as they lay under the Caſtles and Walls of the Town, which they burnt, and then returned triumphantly to their Ships, without the Loſs of one ſingle Man.

The Regency of *Tripoli* immediately ſued for Peace; but being loth to make Satisfaction for the Damages they had done the *Engliſh*, Sir *John Narborough*, to make them more tractable, cannonaded the Town; and then landing ſome Men about 20 Leagues from thence, he burnt a Magazine of Timber prepared for building of Ships.

The Pirates remaining yet obſtinate, Sir *John* ſailed for *Malta*. From whence returning ſuddenly, he ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them, that they ſoon conſented to a Peace to his Satisfaction. After the Articles were ſigned, ſome of theſe Corſairs, returning from cruiſing, and being diſſatisfied with what the Regency had done, raiſed a Tumult, expelled their Dey, and broke the Peace. But Sir *John*, informed thereof, returned with eight Frigates; and by Dint of Cannon, not only obliged them to renew and confirm the Treaty, but to deliver up the chief Mutineers to his Mercy [*].

The Spirit of Diſcovery began again to ſhew itſelf under the Bleſſings of Peace; and a Project formed by Captain *John Wood*, for opening a Paſſage to *China* and *Japan* by the North-eaſt, was ſo well approved at Court, that Orders were given for manning and victualling the *Speedwell*, one of his Majeſty's Ships, for the Voyage; to which was added, at the Expence of the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Samuel Pepys*, Captain *Herbert*, Mr. *Dupey*, and Mr. *Hopegood*, a Pink of 120 Tons, called the *Proſperous*. They had Proviſions for 16 Months; the *Speedwell* being manned with 68 Men and Boys, and the *Proſperous* with 18; the former commanded by Captain *Wood*, and the latter by Captain *William Flawes*; having ſuch Merchandiſe on-board, as were likely to turn to the beſt Account on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Japan*.

They ſet ſail from the River of *Thames* the 28th of *May*. The 29th of *June*, being in the Latitude of 74 Degrees and 40 Minutes, about 11 at Night, the *Proſperous* perceiving the Sea break, fired a Gun, and bearing down upon the *Speedwell*, cried out, *Ice on the Weather-bow*; upon which ſhe clapp'd the Helm hard a-weather, and veered out the Main-ſheet, to wear the Ship; but before ſhe could wear, and bring to upon the other Tack, ſhe ſtruck on a Ledge of Rocks, which lay under Water. The *Proſperous*, wearing rounder, got clear; and ſuppoſing the *Speedwell* to have done the like, kept on her Courſe. The *Speedwell* fired ſeveral Guns, to give Notice of their Diſtreſs, and uſed all poſſible Means to get off, by throwing their Proviſions over-board. It was then Ebb, and the Ship ſued above three Foot. But the Flood brought a great Sea with it; ſo that the Ship making Water more than they could pump, they cut their Maſts by the Board, and ſent a Yatch aſhore to ſee for a Landing-place; and having found one, they got ready their Bread, and Carpenter's Tools, in order to rebuild their Long-boat, in caſe Captain *Flawes* ſhould not come near them. At Noon the next Day, they got all their Men aſhore, excepting two, who were drowned in the Pinnace, the Sea breaking into her, juſt as ſhe put off from the Ship's Side, with all the Bread, Powder and Proviſions, which were loſt; ſo that they had now nothing left but the Long-boat, which could not carry above 30 out of 70.

By this time the Ship being filled up to the Upper-deck, they could ſave only two Bags of Bread, with a few Pieces of Pork, and a little Cheeſe. This, with what other Neceſſaries they had ſaved, they carried upon a Hill, where the firſt thing they met with was a prodigious large white Bear, at which they ſhot, but ſhe got away. They made a kind of Tent, with ſome Canvas they had ſaved, which they faſtened to their Oars and ſome Spars, and made a kind of Fence or Trench round it; but being very wet, and without Firing, they ſuffered very much by the Extremity of the Cold.

The 30th, their Ship ſplit upon the Rocks, and much Wreck driving aſhore, they got Oars, Spars and Deals, ſufficient to make Tents, as well as for Fuel; but their greateſt Trouble was, that the Weather continuing foggy, they could not expect Captain *Flawes*. The next Day they ſaved two Caſks of Flour, ſome Brandy, a Butt of Beer, and a Caſk of Oil. The 2d of *July* they ſaved more Flour, with ſome Butter, Beef, and Pork. This Day their Gunner was ſeized by a great white Bear, but was reſcued; and the Bear being killed, proved fat and very good Meat.

On the 8th, to their unſpeakable Joy, they eſpied Captain *Flawes*. They immediately made a Fire, which he ſeeing, ſent in his Boat, and got them all on-board. The Loſs of this Ship having overturned the whole Voyage, they returned together in the *Proſperous*, and arrived in the *Thames* the 23d of *Auguſt*.

The Year 1676 had certainly begun a new War with *France*, had not the King and his Miniſtry been too cloſely connected with *Lewis* the XIVth. For the *French* Privateers infeſted the *Engliſh* Channel in ſuch a Manner, that without any Regard to the Neutrality, they ſeized our Ships, and made Prizes of them, as if we had been in actual War with them. It was proved upon them, that they had taken 53, ſince the Peace with the *Dutch*. This provoked the Nation ſo far, that the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris* not having been able to obtain Satisfaction, a War with *France* was ardently deſired: And the next Year, the Houſe of Commons preſented the King three ſeveral Addreſſes, intimating the ſame thing; and in a fourth laid ſeveral Reaſons before him, to convince him it was abſolutely neceſſary.

But inſtead of purſuing the Meaſures propoſed by the Parliament, and ſo earneſtly wiſhed by the Nation in general,

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[*] Columna Roſtrata, p. 252.

neral, his Majeſty only made uſe of their Inclinations to draw conſiderable Sums from his Subjects, for a War he never intended to undertake. However, to parry off their Solicitations, and to give ſome Pretence for his frequent Demand of Supplies, ſome Preparations were made in the military way; and the Fleet was ordered to be ſurveyed, when it appears [a] to have contained,

Rates.	Ships.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ſhips,	6	340
	83 Ships	18323

In the Year 1679, when Mr. *Pepys* was put under Confinement, he gives us the State of the *Engliſh* Fleet then in Pay, as follows:

Rates.	Ships.	Men.
1	1	12040 Men.
2	3	
3	15	
4	30	
5	12	
6	7	
Fire-ſhips,	8	
	76 Ships.	

Small Craft not reckoned.

Beſides the additional Force of 30 capital Ships, then actually in building; whereof 11 were launched, and the Remainder (all of them) under an aſſiduous Proſecution on the Stocks. An Addition (continues the ſame Author) rendering the whole a Security not unequal (ordinary Providence concurring) to the publick Ends of it, in the Maintenance of the Peace and Honour of the Government on Shore, and Support of its ancient, rightful, and envied Title to Dominion at Sea.

The internal Diſtractions of the Nation, occaſioned by the Intrigues of the Court to ſecure the Succeſſion to the Duke of *York*, a Papiſt; and the Faction in Parliament, and amongſt the Chief of the Landed-intereſt throughout the Kingdom, gave a great Damp to maritime Affairs for ſeveral Years, and indeed prevented any conſiderable Adventure during the Remainder of this Reign. However, we read that in the Year 1681, the firſt Settlement by the *Quakers* in *Pennſylvania* was made, under a Patent granted to *William Penn* Eſq; of which, as alſo of the Settlement of *New York* and *New Jerſey*, we have the following accurate and conciſe Account.

Of the firſt Settlement of New York, New Jerſey, *and* Pennſylvania.

The *Swedes* are on all Hands allowed to be the firſt *Europeans* that took Poſſeſſion, and made the firſt Settlements on both Sides of the River of *Delaware*, to which they gave the Name of *New Sweden*. There they built ſeveral Forts and Towns, namely Fort *Elſenburgh*, which Name it ſtill retains; Fort *Caſimer*, afterwards called *New Amſtel* by the *Dutch*, and now *Newcaſtle* by the *Engliſh*; Fort *Chriſtina*, which alſo retains its Name to this Day; beſides the Towns or Settlements of *Gottemburgh*, *Finland*, *Meulendal*, &c.

But the *Dutch*, who boaſt they were the firſt Diſcoverers of this Country in the Year 1609, (by means of *Henry Hudſon*, an *Engliſhman*, Commander of a Ship called the *Half-moon*, which Ship had been fitted out of *Holland*, at the Charge, and upon the Account of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, for diſcovering, if poſſible, a nearer Paſſage to *China*) had ſettled at firſt near the Mouth of *Hudſon*'s River, where *New York* now ſtands, naming the Country *New Netherland*; and in the Year 1623, had extended their Settlements on both Sides of *Hudſon*'s River, not only as far as Fort *Orange*, now called *New Albany*, or Fort *Albany*, near 40 Leagues up the ſaid River, but took Poſſeſſion alſo of *Delaware* River, which they called the South River, by erecting a Fort upon its Bank, to which they gave the Name of Fort *Naſſau*, at or near a Place now called *Gloceſter*. The ſame Year they alſo made a Settlement on *Connecticut* River, which they called the Freſh River, and erected a Fort at a Place there, that they named the *Houſe of Good Hope*. And in the Year 1630, erected a Fort near the Entrance of a Creek called the *Hoore Kill*, about three Leagues within the Capes of *Delaware*, on the Weſtern Shore, where *Lewes Town* now ſtands, which Place, to this Day, is oftener call'd, and better known, by the Name of *Hoore Kill*, which was its *Dutch* Name, than by the Name of *Lewes*, which was given it by Mr. *Penn*, when he named the County where it ſtands *Suſſex*. The ſame Year, *viz*, 1630, the *Dutch*, under the Direction of *David Peterſon de Vries*, extended their Settlements farther up the Bay of *Delaware* on the Weſtern Shore, even to the Entrance of the River, as far as *Bomkey's Hook*, calling that Part *Swanendale*, or *Swandale*, which Names they retain to this Day. The *Dutch* increaſed in thoſe Parts much more than the *Swedes*, who having been in conſtant Fears and Alarms from their more numerous Neighbours, in the Year 1655, agreed to put themſelves under the Protection of the Republick of *Holland*. Accordingly *John Rizeing*, the *Swediſh* Governor, made a formal Surrender of that Country to *Peter Stuiveſant*, the *Dutch* Governor for the States of *Holland*; whereupon all that Tract of Land in *America*, from the Latitude of 38 Deg. and 50 Min. North Latitude, to the *Engliſh* Settlement at *New Haven*, in the Latitude of about 41 Deg. and 10 Min. North, obtained that Name, and was called *New Netherland* by all People, except the *Engliſh*, who ſtill claimed it as Part of *New England* [b].

In the Year 1644, the *Engliſh* fitted out a Squadron of Men of War for the taking of *New Netherland*. The Command of this Squadron was given to Sir *Robert Carr*, and he had Orders to take on-board a Number of Land-forces, to be commanded by Colonel *Richard Nichols*, who was alſo appointed Governor of that Country. Accordingly, upon the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Squadron at *New Amſterdam*, the *Dutch*, after ſome Shew of Reſiſtance, being dreadfully alarmed and terrified, upon their being offered Protection by the *Engliſh*, of their Perſons and Properties, and Liberty to remove, if they ſaw fit, with all their Effects, ſubmitted to the *Engliſh*; and purſuant thereto, Articles were drawn up, ſigned, and mutually exchanged, by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Governors reſpectively, on the of *September* 1664. Thus the *Engliſh* became poſſeſs'd of the City of *New Amſterdam*, to which they gave the Name of *New York*; and in a ſhort Time after that, upon the Entrance of the *Engliſh* Squadron into *Delaware* Bay and River, all the Settlements there followed the Example of their Capital of *New Amſterdam*, and the whole Country became ſubject to the *Engliſh*. Poſſeſſion was taken of it accordingly, for, and in the Name of the Duke of *York*, to whom King *Charles*, his Brother, by Letters Patent bearing Date the twelfth Day of *March* 1663-4, had given it.

In conſequence thereof, all Manner of Juriſdiction, as well civil as military, was exerciſed throughout the whole Country in the Name, and by the ſole Appointment of the Duke of *York* and his Miniſters; unleſs we are to except

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[a] Pepy's Memoirs. A. D. 1678.

[b] For the Truth of which I refer the Reader to the following Books and Hiſtories, viz. L'Hiſtoire du Noveau Monde, ou Deſcription des Indies Orientales, par le Sieur Jean de Laet, d'Anvers, Printed Anno 1648, from Page 74 to 82; and to Bleaw's Atlas of 1647, and all the following Editions thereof. Alſo to a Book entitled, Beſchrii vinge van Virginia Neiw Nederlant, &c. Printed by Jooſt Hartyers in Amſterdam 1651. Alſo to a Tract entitled, The Repreſentation of the Commons of New Netherland. Likewiſe Vander Donck's Account or Deſcription of New Netherland. And David Peterſon de Vries his ſundry Voyages. Printed at Alkmaur by Sim. Cornneliſon Brekequeſt, Anno 1655. Moreover A Deſcription of the Weſt-Indies by Arnoldus Montanus, Anno 1670. See alſo the old Maps of Sanſon and Jaillot, and all the Dutch Maps of thoſe Parts, which are very numerous. Yet from them the Engliſh took theirs, reſerving even the Dutch Names of Places, &c. See alſo a Book entitled, Methode pour Etudier la Geographie, par le Sieur Robbe. Alſo a Book entitled, Kort Verhael Van Niew Nederlants: Gedrukt in't Jaer, 1662.

cept that Part of the Country, which he, the Duke, had granted to *John* Lord *Berkley*, and Sir *George Carteret*, by the Name of *Nova Ceſaria*, or *New Jerſey*.

By virtue of the third Article of Peace at *Breda*, the 21ſt of *July*, *Anno* 1667, between *England* and the *United Provinces*, the *Engliſh* were to remain poſſeſt of the before-mentioned Country. But in the Year 1672, after King *Charles* had declared War againſt the *United Provinces*, the *Dutch* diſpatched a Squadron of Ships to *New York*, which Place they ſoon reduced to their Subjection again, as well as all the reſt of the Country, which they had called before *New Netherlandt*, and which hath already been deſcribed.

Soon after this, a Treaty of Peace was concluded on between *England* and the *United Provinces* at *Weſtminſter*, on the 9th of *February* 1673-4, wherein by the 6th Article it was agreed and concluded, “ That whatſoever “ Countries, Iſlands, Towns, Ports, Caſtles, or Forts, “ have or ſhall be taken on both Sides, ſince the Time “ that the late unhappy War broke out, either in *Europe* “ or elſewhere, and before the Expiration of the Terms “ above-mentioned for the Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, ſhall “ be reſtored to the former Lord and Proprietor, in the “ ſame Condition they ſhall be in when the Peace itſelf “ ſhall be proclaimed ; after which Time there ſhall be no “ Spoil nor Plunder of the Inhabitants, no Demolition of “ Fortifications, nor carrying away of Guns, Powder, or “ other military Stores, which belonged to any Caſtle or “ Fort at the Time when it was taken.”

By virtue of which Treaty, the *Engliſh* became again poſſeſt of this Country, and have ſo remained ever ſince. Yet, as the Property of this Tract of Land was by ſome eminent Perſons of that Time ſuppoſed to be altered, by its having been taken and poſſeſt by a foreign Power, tho' afterwards delivered or ſurrendered back by public Treaty, King *Charles* the 2d, to obviate all Doubts, made a new Grant of that Country to his Brother the Duke of *York*, by Letters Patent bearing Date the 29th Day of *June*, *Anno* 1674.

Some Time after that, my Lord *Berkley* aſſigned over all his Right to the ſaid Country to *William Penn*, Eſq; Mr. *Gawen Laurie* of *London*, Merchant, Mr. *Nicholas Lucas*, and Mr. *Edward Byllyng* ; and in a ſhort Time after the Death of Sir *George Cartaret*, the Earl of *Bath* and others, the Executors of Sir *George Carteret*, with the Conſent of his Widow, the Lady *Carteret*, aſſigned over all his Share of the ſaid Country to * *William Penn*, Eſq; *Robert Weſt*, Eſq; Mr. *Thomas Rudyard*, Mr. *Samuel Groom*, * Mr. *Thomas Hart*, Mr. *Richard Mew*, Mr. *Thomas Wilcox*, Mr. *Ambroſe Rigg*, Mr. *Hugh Hartſhorn*, * Mr. *Clement Plumſtead*, * Mr. *Thomas Cooper*, and Mr. *John Hayward*. The Deed bears Date the 2d of *February* 1681. For the better Information of the Reader, he ought to be acquainted that my Lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret* had agreed upon a Diviſion of their Country into two Parts, the one to be called *Eaſt New Jerſey*, the other *Weſt New Jerſey*, which laſt was Lord *Berkley*'s Share. Theſe Gentlemen, who were the Aſſignees of my Lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret*, ſoon after diſpoſed of Shares of *New Jerſey*, to the following Perſons, *viz. James* Earl of *Perth*, Sir *George Mackenzy*, *John Drummond*, *Robert Barclay*, *David Barclay*, *Robert Gordon*, Eſquires, and Meſſieurs *Robert Burnet*, *Peter Sonmans*, *James Braine*, *Gawen Laurie*, *Edward Byllyng*, *William Gibſon*, *Walter Benthall*, *Robert Turner*, *Thomas Narne*, *Thomas Cox*, and *William Dockwra* :

Who, with the ſix Proprietors diſtinguiſhed in the ſecond Liſt by the Aſteriſms, procured a Confirmation of their Patent, by another from the Duke of *York*, dated the 14th of *March* 1681-2, whereby they were inveſted with all the Powers and Privileges which he, the Duke, had granted to Lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret* ; which were indeed all that the King had granted to the Duke himſelf. Yet did they not procure a Conjunction of the two Provinces, which, as I obſerved before, had been divided into *Eaſt* and *Weſt New Jerſey* ; but ſeparate Governors were appointed over each of them.

The firſt Governor of *Eaſt New Jerſey*, was the famous *Robert Barclay* of *Ury*, Eſq; as great a Man as any the *Quakers* can boaſt to have been of their Religion. His Deputy was *Gawen Laurie*, Eſq;

The firſt Governor of *Weſt New Jerſey* was *Edward Byllyng*, Eſq; who was continued till Doctor *Daniel Cox*, one of the College of Phyſicians, purchaſed the greateſt Part of that Province, and took the Government into his own Hands ; but the Doctor having great Buſineſs at that Time, did not think fit to leave it, and therefore governed by a Deputy. In the Year 1690, he ſold the greateſt Part of his Propriety to Sir *Thomas Lane* and others, for 9000 *l.* Sterling, a Sum at that Time greater than ever had been given for an Eſtate on the Continent of *America*.

During thoſe Times, many People, who were made uneaſy by the Perſecutions againſt Diſſenters in King *Charles*'s and King *James*'s Reign, flocked over thither, and purchaſed Lands of thoſe Proprietors, whereon they ſettled, and enjoyed a peaceable Toleration. Inſomuch, that in the Year 1702, the Inhabitants in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt New Jerſey* were computed to amount to near 20,000 Souls.

It is not eaſy to imagine, that ſo great a Number of Proprietors could long agree together concerning the Methods and Means of carrying on the Affairs of the Government, wherefore finding an Unwillingneſs to ſubmit to each other, and to avoid thoſe Heart-burnings and Jealouſies that had been raiſed amongſt ſome of them, they thought it convenient, for the Good of both Colonies, to make a Surrender of their Patents to the Queen ; reſerving all their Rights to themſelves, except the Sovereignty, which was reſtored to the Crown. Accordingly, on the 22d of *April* 1702, this Surrender was made by Mr. *William Dockwra*, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the Proprietors of *Eaſt New Jerſey* ; and by Sir *Thomas Lane*, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the Proprietors of *Weſt New Jerſey* : thus two Provinces, which had been divided about 26 Years, became united, and the Queen thereupon appointed the Lord *Cornbury* Governor, who was then Governor of *New York*. And accordingly ever ſince, the Governor for the Time being of *New York*, hath alſo been Governor of *New Jerſey*, as it is now called ; but they have a Council and Aſſembly of their own, and are in all other Reſpects a diſtinct Government from that of *New York*.

Pennſylvania, or the Country commonly ſo called, is all that Tract of Land bounded by the 39th, or Beginning of the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, which is by *Maryland* and Part of *Virginia* on the South ; the Beginning of the 43d Degree of Northern Latitude on the North, which is Part of *New York* or *New England* ; the Bay and River of *Delaware*, on the Eaſt ; and extends Weſtward five Degrees of Longitude, from the ſaid Eaſtern Bounds.

All this Country was granted, by three Grants, to *William Penn*, Eſq; Son of Sir *William Penn* the Admiral, who commanded the Fleet under the Duke of *York*, in conſideration of the Services that the ſaid Sir *William Penn* had done his King and Nation. And the firſt Grant which was made to Mr. *Penn* by King *Charles* II. to uſe the Words of the Patent, which bears Date the 4th of *March* 1680-1, is, “ Of all that Tract of Land in *America*, called “ by the Name of *Pennſylvania*, as the ſame is bounded “ on the Eaſt by the River *Delaware*, from 12 Miles “ Diſtance Northwards of *Newcaſtle* Town, unto the 43d “ Degree of Northern Latitude, if the ſaid River doth extend ſo far Northwards ; and if the ſaid River doth not “ extend ſo far Northwards, then by the ſaid River ſo far “ as it doth extend ; and from the Head of the ſaid River, “ the Eaſtern Bounds to be determined by a Meridian Line “ to be drawn from the Head of the ſaid River unto the “ ſaid 43d Degree, the ſaid Province to extend Weſtward “ five Degrees in Longitude, to be computed from the “ ſaid Eaſtern Bounds ; and to be bounded on the North “ by the Beginning of the 43d Degree of Northern Latitude ; and on the South, by a Circle drawn at 12 Miles “ Diſtance from *Newcaſtle* Northwards and Weſtwards, “ unto the Beginning of the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude ; and then by a ſtrait Line Weſtwards to the Limits of the Longitude above-mentioned, *&c.*”

The ſecond Grant was made to Mr. *Penn* by the Duke of *York*, on or about the 24th Day of *Auguſt* 1682, and is of, “ All that the Town of *Newcaſtle*, otherwiſe called “ *Delaware* Town, and all that Tract lying within the Compaſs or Circle of 12 Miles about the ſame, ſituate, lying, and being upon the River *Delaware* in *America*, and all Iſlands in the ſaid River *Delaware*, and the ſaid River and Soil thereof, lying North of the Southermoſt Part of the ſaid Circle of 12 Miles about the ſaid Town." And by another Grant or Indenture, bearing Date on or about the ſaid 24th Day of *Auguſt* 1682, the Duke of *York*, for the Conſiderations therein mentioned, did bargain, ſell, enfeoff and confirm unto the ſaid *William Pen*, Eſq; "All that Tract of Land upon *Delaware* River and Bay, beginning 12 Miles South from the Town of *Newcaſtle* otherwiſe called *Delaware*, and extending South to the *Whore Kills* otherwiſe called Cape *Kinlopen*." Which two laſt mentioned Grants include all that Tract of Land now known by the Name of the three lower Counties of *Pennſylvania*, viz. *Newcaſtle* County, *Kent* County, and *Suſſex* County.

When the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, who were the only *Europeans* ſettled in, or inhabiting theſe Places, in the Year 1664, ſubmitted to the *Engliſh* under the Command of Sir *Robert Carr*, Poſſeſſion was taken, and all Acts of Government, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice were carried on in the Name, and by the Authority of the Duke of *York*, until Mr. *Penn* was inveſted with Power and Authority from King *Charles* and the Duke; and at that time, and long afterwards, the Duke of *York*'s Title to thoſe Countries was ſo univerſally allowed, that I have been informed that Mr. *Penn*, notwithſtanding that he had obtained a Grant from King *Charles* II. of the Lands before-mentioned, yet was adviſed to obtain the Duke of *York*'s alſo, as the better Title, which I am told he alſo obtained.

Hence it is evident, that including all the Lands granted to Mr. *Penn*, they are bounded on the Eaſt by the Bay and River of *Delaware*, on the North by the 43d Degree of Northern Latitude, on the South by the 39th Degree, or beginning of the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, and the ſaid Country to extend Weſtward five Degrees of Longitude from the ſaid Eaſtern Bounds.

But by "Articles of Agreement, indented, had, made, and concluded upon, the 10th Day of *May*, in the fifth Year of our Sovereign Lord *George* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, *&c. annoque Domini* 1732, between the Right Honourable *Carles* Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, true and abſolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of *Maryland* and *Avalon*, &c. of the one Part; and *John Penn*, *Thomas Penn*, and *Richard Penn*, Eſqs; Sons and Deviſees under the Will of *William Penn*, Eſq; the Elder, their late Father, true and abſolute Proprietaries of the Province of *Pennſylvania*, &c. of the other Part; the aforeſaid *John Penn*, *Thomas Penn*, and *Richard Penn*, Eſqs; for themſelves and their Heirs, have for ever, unto the ſaid *Charles* Lord *Baltimore* and his Heirs, renounced and quitted Claim to all Rights, Titles, Intereſt, Powers, Prerogatives, Claims, Demands, and Pretenſions, they have in that Tract of Land (which is manifeſtly within the Bounds of *Pennſylvania*, according to its Charter) bounded on the Eaſt by a Meridian Line, drawn at 12 *Engliſh* Miles Weſtward of the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Delaware*, which ſaid Meridian Line is to be determined on the South, by the Parallel of Cape *Kinlopen*; and on the North by a Parallel Line drawn at 15 Miles South of the Southermoſt Part of the City of *Philadelphia*; and as far to the Weſtward as the Meridian of the Weſtern Bounds of *Pennſylvania*."

The *Algerines*, who never kept their Faith longer than it ſuited their Intereſt, renewed their Hoſtilities or Piracies in the Year 1682. But Admiral *Herbert* executed his Commiſſion againſt them ſo effectually, that he obliged them to make a Peace upon ſuch Terms, as they have never ſince thought proper to renounce.

In the Year 1683, one *John Cooke*, a *Buccaneer*, or *American* Pirate, and Native of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, having, with ſeveral others, fitted out one of their Captures, with 18 Pieces of Cannon, and 70 Men *, by the Name of the *Revenge*, navigated by Captain *Cowley*, who ſays he was not in the Secret, ſailed from *Achamack* in *Virginia* on the 23d of *Auguſt* 1683, for the South Seas. This Ship they exchanged for one of 40 Guns, laden with Brandy, Water, and all kind of Proviſions, and new built, which they ſurpriſed near *Sierra Leona*, on the Coaſt of *Guinea*.

With this Prize they determined to ſteer directly for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, in the South Seas. Being arrived on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, they ſteered S. W. till they came into 40° S. Lat. and then to an Iſland in 47° Long. to which they gave the Name of *Pepys* Iſland, where they found an Harbour capacious enough for 1000 Ships to ride at Anchor.

From hence bearing away for the Streights of *Magellan*; they, inſtead of venturing the hazardous Voyage thro' the Streights of *le Maire*, reſolved to purſue the Courſe round taken by *Bartholomew Sharp* in 1681, who firſt diſcovered the Country or Iſland called by the *Dutch States-land*, but by him *Albemarle* Iſland. Then ſteering N. E. they, in Lat. 40°. met with Captain *Eaton* in the *Nicholas* of *London*. They joined Company, and arrived at *Fernandez* on the 23d of *March*.

From *Juan Fernandez*, ſailing in queſt of the Plate-fleet, expected from *Panama*, they took a Ship loaded with Timber, in Lat. 10°. careened and refreſhed the ſick Men on the Iſland of *Lobos*, in Lat. 7°. and as they ſailed from thence with a Reſolution to attack *Truxillo*, they took three Ships laden with Flour, Sweet-meats, and Fruit; which being too much for them to keep at Sea, they convoyed it, and depoſited 1500 Bags of Flour, a large Quantity of Sweet-meats, and other Proviſions, on the Duke of *York*'s Iſland, one of the *Gallapagos*, which lie in 1°. 30'. South Latitude.

This done, they ſailed with a Deſign to ſurpriſe *Realejo*, on the *American* Coaſt. In the Courſe Captain *Cooke* died, and was ſucceeded by one *Davis*. This Expedition proved abortive; the Country being alarmed by an *Indian*, that had eſcaped from them near Cape *Treſpontds*, whom they had ſeized, on their going aſhore to bury Captain *Cooke*. It was then propoſed to ſail for the Gulph *Amapalla*, or *St. Michael*'s; where the two Commanders diſagreeing, they by Conſent divided the Proviſions, and ſeparated; Captain *Cowley* engaging himſelf with *Eaton*.

Eaton bore away for *Paita*, which lies in Lat. 5°. where he ſurpriſed two Ships in the Harbour, and burnt them, becauſe the *Spaniards* refuſed to pay their Ranſom. He finding this Coaſt alarmed, ſtretched away for the Iſland of *Gorgona*; and, by various Courſes, arrived at the Iſland of *Guam*; where aſſuming the Character of a *French* Adventurer, and by genteel Behaviour to the Governor, they were kindly received by the *Spaniards*, and permitted to water and victual.

His next Courſe was for the *Philippines*, and from thence for *Canton* in *China*; where they arrived ſafely, and fitted their Ship, to ſail in queſt of a *Tartar* Ship, expected in thoſe Seas, laden with Silver; but were never able to come up with her, tho' ſhe came in ſight of our Buccaneers; who therefore made the beſt of their way for *Borneo*, and from thence to the Iſland of *Timor*; where the Crew growing mutinous, Captain *Cowley* and 19 more quitted the Ship, and in a Long-boat got to a *Dutch* Factory called *Cheribon* in *Java*, and from thence found a Paſſage to their own Country by the way of *Holland*.

As for Captain *Davis*, on-board of whoſe Ship was the famous Navigator *Dampier*, he ſailed on the 3d of *September* 1684 out of the Gulph of *Amapalla*, and came to an Anchor near the Iſle of *Plate*, ſo called ever ſince Sir *Francis Drake* carried thither the *Cacafoga*, laden with Plate. Here they continued with their Ship, ſearching the Coaſt, and the adjacent Continent, as far as *Manta*, on the Iſthmus of *Darien*, about eight Leagues from the Iſle of *Plate*, from the 20th of *September* to the 20th of *October*; when, being joined on the 2d of *October* by Captain *Swan*, Commander of the *Cygnet* of *London*, a rich Ship, freighted for Trade on that Coaſt, and having fitted a ſmall Bark into a Fireſhip, ſailed with an Intention to attack *Paita*, ſituate in 5°. 15'. and landed 110 Men for that Service on the 3d of *November*, took the Fort and the Town, and after ſix

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* Dampier's Voyages.

Days reduced it to Aſhes, the *Spaniards* being fled with their Riches, and refuſing to ranſom it.

Their next Exploit was formed againſt the Town of *Guiaquil*; but on their Approach to the Middle of the River, whereon it ſtood, the Attempt ſeemed impracticable; and therefore they returned to the Iſland of *Plate* for Water, with a Reſolution to proceed to *Larelia*; but in their way, near the Iſle of *Gallo*, intercepting a Packet of Letters ſent from *Panama* to *Lima*, whereby the Preſident of *Panama* gave Advice of the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Armada at *Porto Bello*, and ordered the *Plate* Fleet to haſten thither from *Lima*; it was reſolved to rendezvous among the *Pearl* Iſlands, not far from *Panama*. Accordingly they ſailed on the 7th of *January* 1685, took a Ship next Day laden with Flour; and being now a ſtout Squadron of two Men of War, two Tenders, one Fire-ſhip, and a Prize, well provided with Fuel and Fire, arrived on the 20th of *February* in the Channel of *Panama*, where they received the additional Strength of 200 *Frenchmen* and 80 *Engliſh*, who were Privateers lately come out of the North Sea over the Iſthmus of *Darien*, and afterwards by the Acceſſion of Captain *Townley* with two Barks; ſo that being now near 1000 ſtrong, on-board of 10 Sail, *viz.* Captain *Davis*, 36 Guns, 156 Men; Captain *Swan*, 16 Guns, 140 Men, the reſt having only ſmall Arms; they came to an Anchor near the Iſland of *Pacheque*; and on the 28th of *May* diſcovered the *Spaniſh* Fleet, at 11 o'Clock, A.M.

The *Engliſh* bore down upon the *Spaniards* about three, P.M. But, tho' the *Spaniards* kept cloſe on a Wind to come up with them, the Night obliged them to lie by, after a few Shot had been exchanged. The *Spaniſh* Fleet conſiſted of 14 Sail, beſides Periagoes, or Boats of 12 or 14 Oars each, among which were eight Ships from eight to 48 Guns, two Fire-ſhips, and contained 3000 Men.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral, as ſoon as it began to be dark, put out a Light at his Top, as a Signal for the Fleet to come to an Anchor. In half an Hour after it was taken down again, but appeared ſoon after as before; which the *Engliſh* ſuppoſing to be in the Admiral's-top, kept under ſail, being to the Windward, were deceived; for thereby the *Spaniards* got the Weather-gage, and came down in the Morning with ſo much Fury, that the *Engliſh* were obliged to make a running Fight of it, not being ſeconded by the *French* Privateers, who had been taken aboard, as mentioned above; yet there was but one *Engliſhman* killed.

This Failure made them reſolve to try their Fortune by Land, and to begin with an Attack on the City of *Leon*, on the Coaſt of *Mexico*; which they entered, and burnt for want of Ranſom. They then marched to *Rio Leja*, a fine Town, without Reſiſtance; but found nothing in it worth their Notice, except 500 Packs of Flour, and ſome Pitch, Tar, and Cordage.

Here *Davis* and *Swan* divided the Spoil, and ſeparated; the former intending to return to the Coaſt of *Peru*; the latter, to go further Weſtward, with *Dampier* on-board; and did not reach *England* till *July* 1691.

After the King had kept *Tangier* about 20 Years[a], and had been at a vaſt Charge in making a Mole before it; in which ſeveral Sets of Undertakers had failed, indeed, in the main Deſigns, but had ſucceeded well in the enriching of themſelves; and the Work was now brought near Perfection, which ſeemed to give us the Key of the *Mediterranean*; he, to deliver himſelf from that Charge, ſent Lord *Dartmouth* with a Fleet to deſtroy all the Works, and to bring home all our Men. The King, when he communicated this to the Cabinet-council, charged them to be ſecret: But it was believed, that he himſelf ſpoke of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and that Lord *Arlington* told it to the *Portugal* Ambaſſador: For the Ambaſſador took fire upon it, and deſired, that if the King was weary of keeping it, he would reſtore it to his Maſter; and he undertook to pay a great Sum for the Charge the King had been at, all theſe Years that he had it. But the King believed, that, as the Money would never be paid, ſo the King of *Portugal* would not be able to maintain that Place againſt the *Moors*; ſo that it would fall into their Hands, and by that means prove too important to command the Streights. The thing was boldly denied by the Miniſters, when preſſed by the Ambaſſador upon the Subject.

Lord *Dartmouth* executed the Deſign as he was ordered. So an end was put to our poſſeſſing that Place. This was done only to ſave Charge, that the Court might hold out the longer without a Parliament.

The Mole coſt the Workmen the moſt Trouble[b]; for the Stones being cemented together to the ſame Hardneſs as the natural Rock, they were forced to dril it in ſeveral Places, and blow it up by Piece-meal. This Mole, together with the Rubbiſh of the Town, was thrown into the Harbour, to fill it up, and did ſo effectually ruin it, that it never can be made a Port again. By the King's Directions, there were buried among the Ruins of the Place a good Number of milled Crown-pieces, of his Majeſty's Coin, which, perhaps, many Centuries hence, when other Memory of it ſhall be loſt, may declare to ſucceeding Ages, that this Place was once a Member of the *Britiſh* Empire.

Thus, thro' Diſputes between the King and Parliament, the *Britiſh* Nation loſt a Place and Port of great Importance[c].

As it is on all Hands confeſſed, that never any *Engliſh*, perhaps I might ſay any Prince, without Diſtinction of Countries, underſtood maritime Affairs ſo well as *Charles* II. did; ſo it cannot ſurpriſe any intelligent Reader when we aſſert, that the *Engliſh* Navy received very great Advantages from his Skill and Care in Matters of this Nature. It muſt indeed be allowed, that he found the Fleet at his Reſtoration in an excellent Situation, and abundance of very able Men employed therein; and it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, to the Honour of his Government, that he preſerved them in their ſeveral Poſts without any Reſpect to Party; which, without queſtion, contributed not a little to the Increaſe of our naval Power[d]. How intent he was for the firſt 10 Years of his Reign, in promoting whatever had a Tendency this way, appears from all the candid Hiſtories of thoſe Times, from the Collection of Orders, and other public Papers relating to the Direction of the Navy, while the Duke of *York* was Admiral[e]; and in a ſhort and narrow Compaſs from the Speech made by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, who affirmed, that from 1660 to 1670, the Charge of the Navy had never amounted to leſs than 500,000*l.* a Year[f]. But after the ſecond *Dutch* War, the King grew more ſaving in this Article; and yet in 1678, when the Nation in general expected a War with *France*, his Navy was in excellent Order, as we have noted above.

I muſt obſerve, that at *Midſummer* 1660, the whole Fleet conſiſted but of 65 Veſſels of all Sizes, as appears by an original Letter under the Hand of Mr. Secretary *Coventry*[g]. But after this Period of Time, I mean the Date of the Liſt, the King finding himſelf extremely uneaſy at home, and conſequently in a Situation perplexed enough abroad, was perſuaded to alter the Management of his Navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himſelf eaſy in his civil Government. Sir *Anthony Deane*, Mr. *Pepys*, and ſeveral other old Officers of the Navy having been ſo unfortunate to incur the Diſpleaſure of the Houſe of Commons, by whom they were committed[h].

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[a] Biſhop Burnet.

[b] Burchett.

[c] Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 376—408. Burchett. Burnet. Echard. Rapin.

[d] Such as Sir George Ayſcue, Sir William Batten, Sir John Lawſon, Sir Richard Stayner, Sir William Penn, and many others.

[e] The Title of this Book is, Memoirs of the Engliſh Affairs, chiefly Naval, from the Year 1660 to 1673, by his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, London, 1729, 8vo.

[f] Happy future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The Deſign of this Speech was to induce the Houſe of Commons to grant a Supply for this particular Service of increaſing the Royal Navy; and after having ſhewn the great Importance of ſuch a Proceeding, his Lordſhip goes on thus: "My Lords and Gentlemen, his Majeſty is confident "that you will not be contented to ſee him deprived of all the Advantages which he might procure hereby to his Kingdoms, nay even to all Chriſten-"dom, in the Repoſe and Quiet of it. That you will not be content alone to ſee your Neighbours ſtrengthening themſelves in Shipping, ſo much "more than they were before; and at home to ſee the Government ſtruggling every Year with Difficulties, and not able to keep up our Navies equal "with theirs. He finds that by his Accounts from the Year 1660 to the late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet, communibus annis, came to "about 500,000 l. a Year, and it cannot be ſupported with leſs."

[g] Memoirs of Engliſh Affairs, chiefly Naval, p. 12.

[h] The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, printed for Richard Chandler, Vol. I. p. 260.

This new Adminiſtration, with reſpect to naval Affairs, ſubſiſted for about five Years, and if it had continued five Years longer, would, in all Probability, have remedied the Evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole Royal Navy, and ſo leaving no room for future Miſtakes; and a juſt Senſe of this, induced the King in 1684, to reſume the Management of the Fleet into his own Hands, to reſtore again moſt of the old Officers, and to undertake the bringing Things once more into Order: But before any conſiderable Progreſs could be made in ſo great a Work, his Majeſty died, and left the Care of it to his Succeſſor[a].

The State of Trade, at the time of this King's Death, may be properly underſtood by Dr. *d'Avenant's*[b] Calculation; who pronounces the Balance of Trade to have been in our Favour, in this Reign, at leaſt two Millions a Year. And the State of the Cuſtoms, which in 1660 were farmed at 400,000*l.* amounted now to almoſt one Million.

At the Concluſion of King *Charles* II's Reign, we find, beſides thoſe mentioned at the Concluſion of the laſt Chapter, the following eminent Captains in Commiſſion, *viz.*

Sir *William Davis*, whoſe Commiſſion bore Date the 26th of *October* 1674, on-board the *Foreſight*. He was made an Admiral, and knighted by King *James* II. and was Vice-admiral of the Red in 1668.

Sir *John Berry*, of the *Swallow*, commiſſioned the 9th of *March* 1674-5. He was Vice-admiral at the Revolution.

Henry Killigrew, Eſq; of the *Swan* Prize, commiſſioned alſo on the 9th of *March* 1674-5. He was promoted to a Flag, but was afterwards diſmiſſed; and died Member of Parliament for *St. Albans* in 1712.

Richard Carter, Eſq; ſucceded Captain *Killigrew* in the *Swan* Prize, on the 22d of *April* 1675, was made Rear-admiral of the Blue, and was ſlain in an Engagement with the *French* on the 19th of *May* 1692, off Cape *Barfleur*.

Richard Trevanion, Eſq; commiſſioned in *May* 1675, on-board the *Jerſey*, followed the Fortune of King *James* II. and retired to *France*.

Sir *William Booth* received his Commiſſion the 3d of *June* 1675, commanded the *Eagle* Fire-ſhip, and was made an Admiral by King *William*.

Ralph Wren, Eſq; Commander of the *Young Spray*, was commiſſioned on the 10th of *July* 1677, and died Commodore of a Squadron at *Barbadoes*, in *April* 1692.

David Lloyd, Eſq; received his Commiſſion on the 18th of *September* 1677, commanded the *Mermaid*, was diſmiſſed the Service in 1688, followed King *James* II. into *France*, returned to *England* in 1714, and ſoon after died ſuddenly of an Apoplectic-fit in a Coffee-houſe in *London*.

Sir *William Jennings*, was commiſſioned on the 26th of *March* 1678, and had the Command of the *French Ruby*. He was knighted by King *James* II. and diſmiſſed the Service by King *William* in 1688. He died chief Engineer at *Liſbon* in 1704.

Sir *David Mitchell*, received his Commiſſion on the ſame Day, and had the Command of the *Speedwell*. King *William* made him a Rear-admiral at the latter End of 1692, dignified him with the Honour of Knighthood, and appointed him Gentleman-uſher of the Black-rod. He was afterwards named one of the Council to Prince *George* of *Denmark*, as Lord High-admiral, and died on the 1ſt of *June* 1710.

Lawrence Wright, Eſq; received his Commiſſion on the 27th of *March* 1678, and had the Command of the *Charles*. He was made a Commiſſioner of the Navy by King *William*, in which Capacity he reſided many Years at *King ſale* in *Ireland*. From whence, being ſuperannuated, he retired to *Chatham* in *Kent*, and lived retired upon a Penſion till 1719.

The Honourable *George Churchill*, Eſq; Brother to the late *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, was made a Captain on the 10th of *April* 1678, commanded the *Dartmouth*, was advanced to be Admiral of the White, and a Lord of the Admiralty. He died Member of Parliament for *Portſmouth* on the 8th of *May* 1710.

William Botham, Eſq; who was ſlain in an Engagement on the 30th of *June* 1690, off *Beachy-head*, under the Earl of *Torrington*, with the *French*, was made Captain of the *Roebuck* on the 12th of *April* 1678.

Sir *Ralph Delaval*, commiſſioned for the *Conſtant Warwick*, on the 9th of *April* 1679, was made an Admiral at the Revolution, was Vice-admiral of the Red at the Battle of *La Hogue*; but was ſoon after diſmiſſed, and never more employed in the Sea-ſervice.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell's* Commiſſion, as Captain of the *Saphire*, was dated the 8th of *April* 1680; was knighted in 1689, and made Rear-admiral of the Blue by King *William* in 1690. He was afterwards Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, and in that Poſt was wreckt and drown'd in the *Aſſociation*, on the Rocks of *Scilly*, on the 22d of *October* 1707.

Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; dated his Commiſſion as Captain of the *Swan* Prize, on the 17th of *July* 1680. He was appointed Rear-admiral of the Red on the 8th of *February* 1693, Admiral and Commander in Chief on the 4th of *November* 1709, Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain* on the 1ſt of *November* 1714, Governor of *Greenwich-hoſpital*, was created Baron *Aylmer* of the Kingdom of *Ireland* in 1717, by King *George* I. and died the 18th of *Auguſt* 1720.

George Aylmer, Eſq; firſt commiſſioned for Captain of the *Dartmouth* on the 11th of *September* 1680, was ſlain on-board the *Portland* on the 1ſt of *May* 1689, in an Engagement with the *French*, off of *Bantry* Bay.

John Lord *Berkeley*, dated his Commiſſion as Captain of the *Tyger* on the 2d of *July* 1681, and was promoted to be Admiral of the Blue, and a Colonel of Marines by King *William*.

Sir *Thomas Hopſon*, was firſt made a Captain on the 10th of *January* 1681, and commanded the *Swan*. He was knighted, and appointed Rear-admiral, and then Vice-admiral of the Red by Queen *Anne*, which Poſt he reſigned in 1706, and died at *Weybridge* in *Surry* on the 12th of *October* 1717.

Sir *William Gifford's* Captain Commiſſion was dated the 11th of *April* 1682. He firſt commanded the *Larke*, was afterwards knighted, made a Commiſſioner of the Navy, and at laſt Governor of *Greenwich-hoſpital* on the 1ſt of *September* 1711. He died in 1717.

George St. Loe, Eſq; his Commiſſion bears Date the ſame Day, and was Captain of the *Dartmouth*; and after many Services, was made Commiſſioner of the Navy at *Chatham*, from which Poſt he was diſmiſſed in 1714.

Sir *Francis Wheeler*, Captain of the *Tyger*, was commiſſioned on the 28th of *July* 1683. He was knighted, and made Rear-admiral of the Red after the Revolution, and died on-board the *Suſſex*, which foundered at the Back of *Gibraltar* Hill, on the 29th of *February* 1693-4.

Theſe eminent Seamen, whom we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, had been trained up in the bloody Wars with the *Dutch*, and were promoted for their Merit or good Behaviour, when the *Britiſh* Flag reigned Miſtreſs of the Ocean; having been well principled in that School of Virtue and Courage, where the following great Commanders preſided.

The Life *of General* Monk.

George, Duke of *Albemarle*, was the Son of Sir *Thomas Monk*, and was born at *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire*, on *Tueſday* the 6th of *December*, in the Year 1608. In his Youth he was brought up at School in the Country; but being a younger Brother, and the Eſtate of the Family ſomewhat in Declenſion, he was deſigned to make his Fortune by the Sword, and to be ſent to the Wars abroad, being not yet full 17 Years of Age.

He was committed to the Care of a near Relation, Sir *Richard Greenville*, who had Command in the Expedition to *Cadiz*. This was the firſt Trial he was to make of that Profeſſion he intended to follow. But the Fleet returning about the End of the Year home to *Plymouth*, our young Soldier was again to ſeek for Employment.

The following Year began the War with *France*. And in the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* and *Rochelle* he accompanied Sir *John Burroughs* in quality of an Enſign; tho' in the Voyage to *Spain* he had ſerved only as a private Soldier. But in leſs than two Years time, the *Rochellers*

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[a] Memoirs of the Royal Navy, by Mr. Pepys, p. 10.

[b] Vol. II. p. 47.

lers ſubmitting to their own King; and the Crowns of *England* and *France*, by the Mediation of the State of *Venice*, coming to an Agreement, he came back from *Rhee* in 1628; and the next Year (being now 21 Years of Age) he went into the *Low-Countries*, then the great Seminary of War and warlike Men, where he was firſt entertained in the Regiment of the Earl of *Oxford*; and after ſome Years, was removed into the Command of the Lord *Goring*, and made Captain of his own Company, not being yet arrived to the 30th Year of his Age. But upon ill Uſage from the Burgher-maſters of *Dort*, he quickly threw up his Commiſſion, diſdaining to expoſe himſelf any longer in the Service of an ungrateful Commonwealth.

He returned back to *England* about the 30th Year of his Age, about the time that the firſt *Scotch* War began; and had brought home the Reputation of a good Soldier; wherefore, at the Recommendation of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to whom he was allied, he was placed Lieutenant-colonel to the Regiment of the Earl of *Newport*, who was then General of the Ordnance. Both thoſe Northern Expeditions had but little Action in them. But at *Nowborn*, after the *Scots* preſſed hard upon his Quarters, with very few Men, and leſs Ammunition, he ſo lined the Hedges with his Fire-locks, and brought off the Ordnance with that Bravery and Conduct, that none of all the *Scotch* Regiments had the Courage or Confidence to impede his Retreat.

This War ending at laſt in a Treaty begun at *Rippon*, and the Rebellion in *Ireland* breaking out the 23d of *October* 1641, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was both by King and Parliament (then ſitting) agreed upon as a fit Perſon to ſucceed in the Lieutenancy of that Kingdom. Forces alſo were voted to be raiſed in *England* for the War.

In this Service Lieutenant-colonel *Monk* was appointed by the Earl of *Leiceſter* to be Colonel of his own Regiment; and tho' the Earl never went to his Government, Colonel *Monk* did ſuch good Service in and about *Dublin*, that the Lords Juſtices thought him to be the fitteſt Man to be Governor of that City.

But whilſt Colonel *Monk*, and thoſe other Forces in *Ireland*, were ſtrenuouſly carrying on the War againſt the Rebels there, the civil War in *England* between the King and Parliament began; which obliged the King to aſſent to a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and recall the *Engliſh* Army to his own Aſſiſtance at home.

With theſe Officers and Regiments, Colonel *Monk* returned alſo into *England*. But the more loyal Party in the Kingdom, had ſome Diſtruſt of the Earl's Officers, and particularly of Colonel *Monk*, that he would rather ſerve the Parliament than the King. At his Arrival therefore at *Briſtol*, there were Orders ſent from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and from the Lord *Digby*, then Secretary of State at *Oxford*, directed to the Lord *Hawley*, who was then Governor of *Briſtol*, to ſecure Colonel *Monk* till further Order. The Lord *Hawley* acquainted Colonel *Monk* with the Order he had received; but Colonel *Monk* repreſenting to him the unjuſt and malicious Suſpicion that had been upon him, and aſſuring him that he was returned into *England* with no other Reſolution than to ſerve his Majeſty; he was thereupon permitted, on his Parole, to go directly to the King at *Oxford*; and Lord *Hawley* ſent Letters by him to the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, who was ſo well ſatisfied concerning him, that he introduced him to his Majeſty in the Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*.

Colonel *Monk* brought with him to *Oxford* the Reputation of an extraordinary Courage and Conduct; and, after ſome private Conference, his Majeſty was ſo well convinced of the Colonel's Loyalty, that he commanded him into *Cheſter*. And becauſe upon the former Suſpicion of him, his Regiment was already given to Colonel *Warren*, that had been his Major, his Majeſty was pleas'd to entruſt him with a Commiſſion to be Major-general to the *Iriſh* Brigade. At his Arrival there, he found the Lord *Byron*, who commanded in Chief over the *Iriſh* Regiments, had beſieged *Nantwich*, then garriſon'd for the Parliament. To whoſe Relief Sir *Thomas Fairfax* made ſuch Haſte out of *Yorkſhire*, that he wholly ſurpriſed the *Iriſh* Brigades, raiſed the Siege, and, among other Officers, took Colonel *Monk* Priſoner, and for the preſent ſecured him in *Hull*.

Here begins the paſſive Scene of this Gentleman's Life, without which Ingredient, no eminent Virtue was ever raiſed in the World. He had brought little with him into *England*, except his Sword and his Liberty, and now he has loſt both. He is a Priſoner of War, with little Hopes of being exchanged, both on account of the Value ſet upon him by the Parliamentary Officers, and of the many other Officers and Perſons of Quality in the ſame Condition with himſelf, who had powerful Friends at Court, that expected to be releaſed before him. The Narrowneſs of his Income, being only a ſmall Annuity out of his Father's Eſtate, badly paid by his elder Brother in the King's Service, alſo made his Confinement more uneaſy; but this was ſomewhat ſupplied by the King, who, when he could not procure Colonel *Monk*'s Liberty, was careful to provide for his Support; and to that Purpoſe there was ſecretly conveyed to him 100*l*. in Gold, at a Time when ſuch a Sum was a greater Matter in his Majeſty's Coffers, than in many of his meaner Subjects.

During his Impriſonment in the *Tower*, moſt of the great Actions of the Civil War were over, and their greater Battles fought, as at *Marſton-Moor*, *Newbury*, and *Naſeby*; and he wanted not many and good Offers for his Enlargement, upon Acceptance of a Commiſſion to ſerve the Parliament: But the Parliament could not prevail with him to take Arms againſt his Sovereign. However, the King and Parliament having jointly voted the *Iriſh* then in Arms to be Rebels, Colonel *Monk* accepted of his Liberty for this Service, and of a Commiſſion under Lord *Liſle*. But before he quitted the *Tower*, he took Leave of ſeveral of his Fellow-priſoners, with whom he was acquainted, and, among the reſt, of the Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Wren*, from whom he requeſted his epiſcopal Bleſſing, telling him, he was now going to do the King the beſt Service he could againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*, and hoped he ſhould one Day do him further Service in *England*. The Marquis of *Ormond* having received no Command from his Majeſty to deliver up the City of *Dublin* to Lord *Liſle*, could not give him Admiſſion; ſo that after two Months Stay in the Country, his Commiſſion being expired, he ſet ſail *April* 17, 1647, and returned again into *England*, and Colonel *Monk* with him, who was then above 38 Years of Age.

Colonel *Monk* by this having diſcovered his Inclination rather to ſerve the Parliament in *Ireland*, than in any other Employment, they offered him a Commiſſion to command the *Britiſh* Forces in the North of *Ireland*, which he accepted, and took his third Voyage into that Kingdom. In this Command he had a very nice and difficult Province; for the *Scotch* under *Monroe*, and the *Engliſh*, though conjoin'd together, did not perfectly agree or truſt each other; yet he kept them both in ſo good Order, as he effectually proſecuted the War. Much of his Buſineſs was againſt *Owen Roe O Neal*, a bold and reſtleſs Rebel, and accounted the beſt Soldier among them, having many Years ſerved the King of *Spain*, and who had trained up the Forces under his Command, to a Courage and Reſolution beyond the uſual Temper of the *Iriſh*: Yet Colonel *Monk* look'd ſo narrowly after all *Owen Roe O Neal*'s Goings, and kept him ſo ſhort of Proviſion, as made him weary of the War: and tho' he found much Difficulty to manage his *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Soldiers, yet he ſo ordered the Tillage and Improvement of the Country, and providently diſpoſed of all Booties taken from the Enemy, that he made the War ſupport itſelf, without much Relief from *England*. But apprehending himſelf in Danger from the diſcontented *Scots*, who were ordered home by the Parliament, as unneceſſary; and at the Time the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Incbequin*, and divers others, came to an Agreement, a great Part of Colonel *Monk*'s Forces revolting from him at *Dundalke*, he was forced to cloſe up an haſty Pacification with *O Neal*, and return to *England* *; the King being murdered ſome Time before.

His elder Brother, *Thomas Monk*, Eſq; died by a Fall from his Horſe about this Time, leaving only two Daughters behind him; and the Eſtate being ſettled upon the

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* 1649.

Iſſue-male, it came to Colonel *Monk* as now Heir in Tail; and as he was now out of all Employment, would have been well contented to have continued ſo; but a new War at hand brought him again into Action. It was to puniſh the *Scots* for acknowledging King *Charles* II. in which *Cromwell* was voted to the ſole Command; who upon modelling his Army, which indeed was made up of the Flower of the *Engliſh* Forces, furniſhed *Monk* with an extempore Regiment, drawn out of ſeveral others, and afterwards made him Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance, an Expedition to which he ſeemed to be deſign'd by the ſecret Fate that governed him; for by his extraordinary Conduct and Prudence in this War, he gained ſo upon *Cromwell*, as to be thought the only fit Perſon to be truſted with the ſole Command of the Country. By which Station he became at laſt capable of doing thoſe great and happy things, which we are afterwards to relate.

Cromwell ſoon experienced the Advantage of having ſo good an Officer as *Monk* under his Command. The *Engliſh* Army was by his own Miſtake cooped up in a narrow Neck of Land near *Dunbar*, the Sea behind him, and no Way for Retreat, but by the Paſs at *Coppeſmyth*, then ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the *Scots*. But here the Experience and Conduct of Lieutenant-general *Monk* helped him at the dead Lift; for at a Council of War he moved, to make a preſent Aſſault upon the Enemy, when never an Officer there had the Courage to think of it; and undertook the Charge himſelf, with ſuch Succeſs, as ended in an entire Victory.

Next Year, his Majeſty having raiſed a more powerful Army, and taking the Advantage of *Cromwell*'s Army being paſs'd over the *Frith* into *Fiſe*, gave them the Go-by, and ſlipt into *England* by the Way of *Carliſle*, and was purſued to *Worceſter* by the Body of *Cromwell*'s Army. Lieutenant-general *Monk* was left with 6000 Men, to perfect the Reduction of *Scotland*: He ſo warmly proſecuted the *Scots*, that by the taking of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the Surrender of *Tantallon* Caſtle, the Rendition of *Sterling*, and the ſurpriſing of *Dundee*, with ſeveral other conſiderable Places yielding preſently to the Fortune of the Victor, he had gained a great Part of *Scotland*, by that Time *Cromwell* had fully done his Buſineſs at *Worceſter*.

In this Summer's Expedition, Lieutenant general *Monk* fell into a violent Sickneſs, which held him all the Winter, and reduced him to that Weakneſs, that he was enforced to return into *England* for Repair of his Health; and the following Summer he recovered it at the *Bath*. After which, the firſt Service we find him in, is a Commiſſioner for ſettling the Union of *England* and *Scotland*.

Hitherto the Parliament had diſſembled their Reſentments for the Death of *Doriſlaus*, who went to compliment the *Dutch* to an Alliance with their new Commonwealth; and alſo the Affronts that were put upon their extraordinary Ambaſſadors, *St. John* and *Strickland*. Neither wanted there Complaints about Trade, which they deſigned to reduce by an Act for Encouragement of Navigation, ſucceeded with ſuch high Demands upon the *Dutch* for Reparation of Injuries, and of ſettling a free Trade, *&c.* as the States were reſolved to enter into a War, rather than make ſo hard a Bargain for their Peace. The Honour and Eſteem of the *Engliſh* Nation was at this Time utterly loſt abroad, by the bold and inſolent Actions of the Commonwealth Parliament, and the aſtoniſhing Murder of the late King; ſo that the *Dutch* ſomewhat ſcorned to be firſt in making Alliance with ſo infamous a People, and did alſo equally deſpiſe them. After a great deal of religious Tampering on both Sides, they fell at laſt to Blows.

We have ſhewn, that in the firſt Year of this War, it was managed by Admiral *Blake*; but next Year [a], General *Monk* [b] and General *Dean* were joined in equal Commiſſion, to carry on the Sea-war. On *April* 23, *Oliver Cromwell* entered the Houſe of Commons, accompanied with ſome of his Officers, and diſſolved the Parliament; but the *Dutch* War went on, being managed for the preſent by a Council of State.

The firſt Engagement this Year, was *June* the 2d, on the Coaſt of *Flanders*. The *Engliſh* Fleet was led by General *Monk* and *Dean*, having *Jordan*, *Lawſon* and *Goodſon*, with them. The Fight began very early in the Morning. At the firſt Shot from the *Dutch* Fleet, *Dean* was killed, walking by the Side of General *Monk*; who at his Fall, (nothing diſcompoſed in his Mind or Looks) caſt his Cloak over him, and afterwards ordered him to be carried into his Cabbin, commanding the Soldiers and Seamen to look to the Ship, and follow their Buſineſs. By ten of the Clock the Fight grew very ſharp, eſpecially between the Squadron commanded by *de Ruyter*, and the Blue-ſquadron led by *Lawſon*. To the Relief of the firſt *Van Tromp* came in, and General *Monk* in excellent Order ſailed to reinforce the other, ſo that now the Fight became very hot on both Sides, till three in the Afternoon, about which Time the Wind favouring the *Dutch*, they bore away before it, being purſued till Night by General *Monk*; who, the next Morning, found himſelf nearer than he imagined to the Enemy's Fleet. Yet he could not get up to them till towards Noon, and then both Fleets engaged till ten at Night: The Wind being freſh and Weſterly, General *Monk* preſſed hard upon them, and ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships.

After the Flight of the *Dutch*, General *Monk* lay upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, ſurpriſing ſeveral of their Ships, and diſturbing their Trade, till foul Weather drove him off their Shores. In leſs than two Months Time, the *Dutch* had got together another very great Fleet. And *July* 29, both Fleets came in view of each other. General *Monk* could not get up to come to any Engagement till towards Evening, which began with ſome of the lighter Frigates, and increaſed to about 30, who fought till the Night parted them. This was but the Prelude to the next Day's Work: For on the next Morning early, General *Monk* tack'd upon the Enemy, and a moſt fierce and bloody Fight began on all Hands, which continued till about three in the Afternoon. In this Battle the General, being much inferior to the Enemy in Number, had commanded the Captains to attempt to deſtroy or ſink what Ships they could, without taking of any, whereby he ſhould be obliged to weaken his Fleet, through the Abſence of thoſe that muſt go off with them. In this Fight were ſunk of the *Dutch* Fleet near 30 Ships, among which was Vice-admiral *Evertzen*, with the Loſs only of one *Engliſh* Frigate. And to conſummate the Fortune and Glory of this new Admiral, in this Fight fell the brave and aged Seaman *Van Tromp*, famous for many Victories, and accounted one of the beſt Seamen of that Age; he was killed by a ſmall Shot, and died like an Admiral, with his Sword in his Hand, as he was ſtanding on the Deck of his Ship, encouraging his Men to the Fight.

There was a Treaty ſet on Foot for a Peace; but General *Monk* was, during this Treaty, lying upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, blocking up their Havens, and interrupting their Trade, and did all he could to hinder this Agreement. He exclaim'd againſt it, as a thing infamous and diſhonourable to the Nation. He repreſented to them, that the *Dutch* could not be able to fight another Battle; and that they had never an Ally in the World, that would be concerned for them. But all he could do, was only to remonſtrate againſt it. The Time was not yet come for General *Monk*, by his own Authority, to govern the great Concerns of the Nation, nor to put an End to Uſurpation and Tyranny.

The Protector *Cromwell* had no ſooner concluded the *Dutch* War, but another began to be formed againſt him in *Scotland*; and as it greatly behoved *Oliver* to obviate the Danger which threatened from that Quarter, he immediately caſt his Eye upon *Monk*, who had reduced the Country before, and who beſt knew how to handle the *Scots*. His Reputation at Arms was grown equal with any of the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commanders, and by his Succeſs in the laſt *Dutch* War, was become their Superior; ſo that ſeveral of them began to emulate and ſuſpect his Greatneſs. He was unluckily caſt among theſe People, rather by his ill Fate, than any Choice of his own; but was ſtill eſpecially careful to keep himſelf from their greater Guilts and Hypocriſy. He would never be concern'd in any of their more ſecret Intrigues or Cabals, never pretending to their Frenzies of Preaching or Praying, nor to any of their

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[a] 1653.

[b] Aged 45.

Revelations or Impulſes; but as a ſtout and valiant *Engliſhman*, he loved his Country, and ſtill hoped for ſome better Seaſon to expreſs it.

Being thus made Commander in Chief of *Scotland*, and becauſe all things then ran into greater Diſorder, he was haſtened away to his Province, taking his Leave of *Cromwell*, whom he never ſaw more, nor ſet his Foot again in *England*, till he brought back with him the Redemption and Deliverance of his Country.

He arrived in *Scotland* about the 23d of *April*; and having ſettled ſome neceſſary Affairs in *Edinburgh*, he preſently draws out his Army, left a Party of Horſe and Foot to range about the *Lowlands*, and prevent the raiſing of more Forces, and with General *Morgan* marched up into the *Highlands* in two diſtinct Bodies, having about 2500 Foot, and about 600 Horſe, in each Party; with which Force he purſued the *Scotch* Army, retreating before him. As he marched through the Countries or Lands of ſuch as were wholly in Arms, he deſtroyed almoſt all before him, ſettled convenient Garriſons in the Country, and by the End of *Auguſt* returned to *Edinburgh*; which being the capital City of the Nation, was the moſt proper Place of Reſidence for the Prefect or chief Governor; but as he always affected the Privacy and Retirement of the Country, he took a particular Fancy to the Situation of *Dalkeith-Houſe*, about five Miles from *Edinburgh*, where he continued his Head-quarters, during his more than five Years Command of that Country.

The Protector having fully ſecured the Subjection of *Scotland*, appointed a Council of State, for the better Adminiſtration of the civil Government, *viz.* the Lord *Broghil* Preſident of the Council, General *George Monk*, Colonel *Howard*, Colonel *William Lockhart*, Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Colonel *John Whetham*, and Major-general *Deſborow*, authorized by a Commiſſion under *Cromwell*'s Broad-ſeal, dated *June* 1655. The Lord *Broghil* Earl of *Orrery*, Colonel *Howard* Earl of *Carliſle*, and Colonel *Whetham*, who was Governor of *Portſmouth*, did afterwards very effectually co-operate with General *Monk* in thoſe great and happy Alterations, which at laſt introduced the King.

About this time the Commonwealth Party in the Army, who ſecretly maligned the Protector's Government, and among whom was Colonel *Overton*, Major-general of the Infantry in General *Monk*'s Army, met at *Aberdeen*, and framed a ſmart Declaration againſt *Cromwell* and his Government; and laid a Scheme for cutting off of General *Monk*, whom they had reſolved to ſurprize on New-years Day in the Morning. The wary General had Notice of this Plot; and having taken Care for his own Security, ſuffered *Overton* and his Accomplices to proceed, till he had ſufficient Matter againſt them, and then impriſoned them all in their ſeveral Quarters. *Overton* he ſent up to *London*, to be reckoned with by the Protector himſelf, who laid him faſt in the *Tower*, having before ſecured many other Officers of the Faction in ſeveral Goals and Caſtles. *Overton*'s Regiment was given to the brave Major-general *Morgan*; and for the reſt of the Confederates, General *Monk* impriſoned or caſhiered them all.

His ſtrict Diſcipline and good Behaviour to the Army, gained him the Love of the Soldiery; and his Affability and Conduct as a Gentleman and a Magiſtrate, recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the Affections of the Gentry, *&c.* that *Cromwell* at laſt grew jealous of his Intereſt, and ſought a Pretence to remove General *Monk* from his ſo long Command in *Scotland*. And ſome while before his Death, he wrote to him a Letter with his own Hand, containing only general Matters relating to the Government; but in his Poſtſcript he ſubjoins, "There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning Fellow in *Scotland*, called *George Monk*, who is ſaid to lie in wait there to introduce *Charles Stuart*; I pray uſe your Diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up to me." A kind of Grimace in the Protector, to wrap up his Suſpicions in Drollery: And it was another Part of his Cunning, to place that in a Poſtſcript, which in reality was the main Occaſion of the Letter. But whatever his ſecret Reſentments were, they proceeded no further, being prevented by his own Death, *September* 3, 1658.

Richard Cromwell being proclaimed Protector at *Edinburgh*, with a cold and indifferent Ceremony; he, to ſettle a better Underſtanding with General *Monk*, ſent preſently Commiſſary *Clarges* with Letters to him, both to compliment his farther Service, and to deſire his Advice. *Monk* returned him very civil and wary Anſwers, and carefully ſecuring his own Command, he was reſolved not to concern himſelf with the Affairs of *England*; but to leave the young Protector to the Conduct of thoſe about him, who preſently quarrelled about Power, and they who had ſo officiouſly lent *Oliver* their Hand to raiſe him up, were now as buſy with their Feet to kick down *Richard*.

The Officers of the Army, who had thus thrown down the Protectorate, had no other Authority to which they could retreat, but reſtoring the old Commonwealth Parliament. And at laſt a Committee of ſeven Perſons, *viz.* Lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Colonel *Lambert*, *Deſborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, were appointed by thoſe in Power, with Authority to model the Army, and diſplace all ſuch Officers in the three Nations as they thought fit.

General *Monk* ſat all this while ſilent in *Scotland*, keeping a very ſteady Eye upon all theſe ſeveral Scenes and Alterations in *London*. And knowing himſelf to be in a Station ſo conſiderable, as they would be enforced to make Applications to him, he was reſolved to keep himſelf at a Diſtance, and ſecure his own Command, leaving them a while to manage their Game at their own Rate.

Nor did the loyal Party in *England* ſtand as idle and unconcerned Spectators upon this great Change of Affairs. They firſt agreed, that an univerſal Inſurrection ſhould be made in every County of *England*, and every one upon the ſame Day (for which ſeveral Perſons of Quality had undertaken). They conſented that the firſt Appearance ſhould be of ſuch Perſons only as had not been engaged on the King's Side in the late War; thereby both to prevent the greater Jealouſy of the Army againſt them, and with Hopes to have drawn over the more moderate Party among the Soldiers. They agreed alſo to a Declaration, which ſhould not mention the King, nor monarchical Government, but only for the Freedom of Parliaments, according to the known Laws, and for Liberty and Property of the People. And in this Inſurrection, the firſt and only Perſon that appear'd was Sir *George Booth*.

But beſides this Deſign of an univerſal Inſurrection, (which, if it had ſucceeded right, had given the Juncto and their Army Trouble enough) it was reſolved by his Majeſty and his Privy-council at *Bruſſels*, to attempt the Allegiance of ſome principal Commanders in the *Engliſh* Army. And upon an exact Conſideration of ſeveral great Officers, among them all there was no Perſon of whom they could entertain any probable Hope, but General *Monk* of *Scotland*, who being a Gentleman born, and of better Quality than moſt among them, and having formerly been in the Service of the late King, and no way concerned in their Principles and deeper Guilts, might be thought, by the Condition of the Command he held, to be a Perſon very proper for ſuch a Service as this; nor were there wanting certain Conceits and Forebodings in the Minds of Men concerning him. Having therefore reſolved to make ſome Attempt upon him, the next Care was in the Choice of a Perſon fit to undertake it; when it was ſeaſonably remembered, that there was a very near Relation between General *Monk* and Sir *John Greenville*; and therefore there was diſpatched to him a particular Commiſſion from the King, to find out ſome way of treating privately with General *Monk*, in order to his Majeſty's Service, and the following Letter:

"I am confident General *Monk* can have no Malice in his Heart againſt me, nor has he done any thing in Oppoſition to me, which I cannot eaſily pardon, and it is in his Power to do me ſo great Service, as I cannot fully reward; but I will do all I can. And I do hereby authorize you to treat with him, and not only to aſſure him of my Kindneſs, but that I will very liberally reward him with ſuch an Eſtate in Land, and ſuch a Title of Honour as himſelf ſhall deſire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Intereſt: And whatever you ſhall promiſe to him on my Behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, ſhall promiſe to any of his Officers, or “the Army under his Command (which Command he ſhall ſtill continue) I will make good upon the Word of a King. *C. R.*”

And in the ſame Packet there was incloſed this following Letter, to be conveyed to General *Monk*.

“*SIR*,

“I cannot think you wiſh me ill, nor have you Reaſon to do ſo: And the Good I expect from you will bring ſo great a Benefit to your Country, and to yourſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my Intereſt. The Perſon who gives, or ſends this to you, has Authority to ſay much more to you from me. And if you once reſolve to take my Intereſt to Heart, I will leave the Way and Manner of declaring it entirely to your Judgment, and will comply with the Advice you ſhall give me. The reſt I refer to the Perſon that conveys this to you. It is in your Power to make me as kind to you as you can deſire, and to have me always,

July 21, 1659. “*Your affectionate Friend*,

“C. R.”

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, Sir *John Greenville* preſently engaged the Rev^d. Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, to go to the General, and execute this Commiſſion, who punctually performed all that was required of him: And the Army growing diſſatisfied by the Arbitrarineſs of the Commiſſioners, by their Reſentments, General *Monk* (who very well knew how to make uſe of other Mens Paſſions) came to a better Underſtanding of thoſe about him, and the Inclinations of his Army, inſomuch as he entered into a private Conſultation with ſome whom he could beſt truſt, where it was agreed to frame a declaratory Letter to the Junto at *Weſtminſter*; but was reſolved not to diſcover his Inclinations to the King's Service, till he could firſt ſee himſelf in ſuch a Situation, as would be able to ſupport him alone, and juſtify his Proceedings, without depending upon the acceſſory and contingent Aſſiſtances of others. But by the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, this Affair was for the preſent wholly laid aſide. He took the next Opportunity of diſcourſing privately with his Brother, adviſing him to follow his Studies, and the Care of his Living, and no more concern himſelf in public Buſineſs; and that he ſhould carry this Advice to his Couſin *Greenville*, not to meddle any more in ſuch dangerous Adventures; and conjuring them both to an entire Secrecy, he told his Brother with ſome Paſſion, “That if ever this Buſineſs were diſcovered by him, or Sir *John Greenville*, he would do the beſt he could to ruin them both.”.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk* took his Leave at *Dalkeith* about the 8th of *October*, arrived at *London* about four Days after, and acquainted Sir *John Greenville* with the whole Account of his Voyage to his Brother, and of all that paſſed between them; aſſuring them that, at leaſt for the preſent, nothing could be expected from General *Monk*, with whom he had taken an Oath of Secreſy, about which he was not to be examined, but hoped good Effects of it would in due time appear. And the ſame Evening Mr. *Monk* coming to Commiſſary *Clarges*, delivered him the General's Meſſage; by which he was directed to inform the Members of the Parliament, that if the Army in *London* continued in their Diſobedience towards them, he would aſſiſt them therein; and if things ſhould run into farther Extremity, he would be in Readineſs to march his Army into *England* in Defence of them. And accordingly, the Moment he received Advice that *Lambert* and his Party had interrupted the pretended Parliament, he communicated his Reſolution to ſuch Officers as were then about him; and preſently diſpatched away Adjutant *Smith* to *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, commanding the Officers of both thoſe Garriſons, which were within five Miles of him, to attend him preſently at *Dalkeith*; where he acquainted them with his Reſolution of marching into *England*, to reſtore the Parliament; unto all which they unanimouſly aſſented.

In the Afternoon General *Monk*, being attended with his Guards at *Dalkeith*, marched to *Edinburgh*; where were quartered only two Regiments of Foot, one whereof was his own, the other Colonel *Talbot's*, who was then abſent at *London*. And having ſecured or diſcarded ſuch Officers as he diſtruſted, and placed others in their Room, he told them at the Head of the Regiments then drawn up, “That the Army in *England* had broken up the Parliament, out of a reſtleſs and ambitious Humour to govern all themſelves, and to hinder the Settlement of the Nation. That their next Practice would be to impoſe their inſolent Extravagancies upon the Army in *Scotland*, that was neither inferior nor ſubordinate to them. For his own Part, he thought himſelf obliged, by the Duty of his Place, to keep the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that ſince they had received their Pay and Commiſſion from the Parliament, it was their Duty to defend them; in which he expected the ready Obedience of them all: But if any did declare their Diſſent to his Reſolution, they ſhould have Liberty to leave the Service, and might take Paſſes to be gone.” This was ſpoken with the Authority and Spirit of a General, and without Diſguiſe or Artifice; and was received with the univerſal Shout and Submiſſion of the Regiments.

His next Care was to ſecure the Garriſons, which was done effectually. It was then deliberated by him and his Council of Officers, to give the Nation an Account of this their Proceeding, by a public Declaration. The Subſtance whereof was, “That they had now taken Arms only to defend the Freedom and Privilege of Parliaments, and to vindicate the Rights and Liberties of the People againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.” This was accordingly printed at *Edinburgh*, and diſperſed thro' *Scotland* and *England*.

He then wrote Letters to the Forces in *Ireland*, repreſenting the Juſtneſs and Neceſſity of his Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* Army; and deſiring their Aſſiſtance with him in reſtoring the Parliament; from whom he received a very cold and diſſenting Anſwer.

At the ſame time there was a good Fleet riding in the *Downs*, commanded by Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, from whom he might, with much Confidence, expect a Compliance; having been, ſome Years ſince, their Admiral in the fortunate War againſt the *Dutch*, and had left them with an extraordinary Memory and high Eſtimation of his Bravery and Courage. But the Officers at *London* had before-hand, by their Agents, done his Buſineſs ſo effectually, by miſrepreſenting his Intentions, that the Fleet was reſolved to ſtand off, till they were further ſatisfied in the Clearneſs of his Deſigns. The like Anſwers he received from Colonel *Overton*, then Governor of *Hull*, and ſome other Garriſons in *England*, who were content to become Interceſſors between him and the *Engliſh* Officers for an Agreement; but would not otherwiſe be concerned in the Quarrel. However, Overtures of an Agreement were made by the Council of the *Engliſh* Army, who ſent two eminent Meſſengers, Commiſſioner *Clarges* and Colonel *Talbot*, to propoſe an Accommodation; tho' *Lambert*, on the Part of the *Engliſh* Army, advanced preſently with his Forces towards the North, and at *York* met the Commiſſioners of the Treaty in their way to *London*; and was willing to have ſpared them the Trouble of a longer Journey, aſſuring them, that he had brought with him Powers from the Committee of Safety, and the Council of Officers, to treat with them, and to compoſe the Differences. But when they came to enter upon the Buſineſs, the Commiſſioners would aſſent to nothing, till it was firſt agreed, that the late Parliament ſhould be reſtored. This was a Point which *Lambert* (who had diſſolved the Junto) could leaſt of all aſſent to, and was reſolved againſt; and therefore pretending he had no Inſtructions to treat of it, the Commiſſioners were permitted to go on their Journey. Only it was here agreed, that, during the Treaty, neither of their Armies ſhould advance from their ſeveral Quarters, and that no Act of Hoſtility ſhould paſs between them, nor any Interruption upon Letters or Meſſengers.

But on the 7th of *December*, a Party of *Lambert's* Horſe and Dragoons broke into *Northumberland*, and ſurpriſed *Chillingham* Caſtle. They were in ſo great Strait for Money, that they made this Incurſion, partly in hopes to ſeize the Lord *Grey's* Rents, which they might eaſily have done, but that the Bird was flown before they had ſpread their Nets.

This Action being ſo directly contrary to their Agreement at the Beginning of the Treaty, highly incenſed the General, who was advanced as far as *Berwick*. And the Succeſs by Treaty being not expected, he made the beſt of his way to ſecure the Paſs over the *Tweed*, at *Coldſtream*, being nine Miles from *Berwick*.

This miſerable Town was furniſhed with the moſt commodious Paſs for the March of his Army over the *Tweed*, and was placed as a central Point to all the neighbouring Villages, where his Forces all lay quartered about him; ſo that in four Hours time he could have drawn them all into a Body upon any ſudden Occaſion or Alarm.

While the General lay here, he received an Invitation from Lord *Fairfax*, and his *Yorkſhire* Friends, to advance Southward, with Promiſes to join him; and that they would be in Readineſs about the Beginning of *January*, to fall upon *Lambert*'s Rear. He alſo received from Commiſſary *Clarges*, and his other Intelligencer at *London*, ſuch an Account of the Factions and Diſorders beginning in the City, that he was reſolved to make no haſte in proceeding further to the Treaty.

Some of the Junto at *London* had ſo far tampered with the Soldiery, that a great Party among them, finding they had miſtaken themſelves, in ſupporting an Intereſt that was not able to pay them, were willing to ſubmit to their old Maſters the Parliament. Others of the Junto had got down to Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, and the Navy; where they told their own Tale ſo effectually, that the Fleet was contented now to declare with General *Monk*, for reſtoring the Parliament. And about the ſame time Colonel *Whetham*, who commanded the Garriſon at *Portſmouth*, diſcovered his Inclination to join with General *Monk*, and his Army, in Defence of the Parliament. About this time Capt. *Campbel* arrived at *Coldſtream* with the Letters from *Ireland*; acquainting him, that the Army there had not only declared with him for reſtoring the Parliament, but would be ready alſo to ſend over ſuch Forces to him, as he ſhould have need of.

His Chaplain, Dr. *Price*, having no Opportunity in the Day-time of private Acceſs to him, took Occaſion, by the Help of a Corporal, who that Night commanded the Guards, to enter his Chamber about two in the Morning, where he found the Door only latched, and the General, being weary of his narrow uneaſy Lodging in his Bed, was ſleeping in his Cloaths, having laid himſelf down on a Form, and reſted his Head on the Side of the Bed, with a Fire and Light in the Room. At his Approach, the General (who was never a ſound Sleeper) preſently awaked, and entered into much ſecret Diſcourſe with him; who freely repreſented to him, how much his Obligation and Safety were equally concerned in complying with the Deſires of the better Part of the Nation, by endeavouring their Settlement according to the antient and known Laws. To which the General replied, "That he very well knew what he would have, nor ſhould he be wanting therein, ſo ſoon as he could find himſelf in a Capacity of effecting it; of which he had now ſomewhat more Hopes than formerly." And then kindly taking him by the Hand, very ſolemnly and devoutly told him, "By God's Grace I will do it." His Chaplain then took the Boldneſs to let him know how much he had diſobliged a great Part of the Nation, and contracted his own Intereſt into a narrower Compaſs, by declaring ſo ſtrictly for the Parliament as it ſat the 11th of *October*. To this the General anſwered with ſome Earneſtneſs, "You ſee what People they are now who are about me, by whoſe Advice and Diſcretion ſeveral Things are tranſacted and written. There are Jealouſies enough upon me already, and the leaſt Appearance of any Diſlike would make them greater. But tho' he had been paſſive in allowing ſome Proceedings, yet he was reſolved not to act by them." This put an End to the Diſcourſe, and his Chaplain, craving Pardon for this Interruption upon him, left him to the remaining Part of his Repoſe.

The *Yorkſhire* Confederacy being diſcovered, and knowing how unequal Lord *Fairfax*'s Forces would be to cope with *Lambert*'s, then in full March to attack them at *York*, General *Monk* reſolved to march to their Relief, and to fall upon the Rear before he ſhould be able to engage them. To that end, having drawn his Forces together, he commanded their March over the *Tweed*.

His Army conſiſted * only of four Regiments of Horſe, which were not complete, and ſix intire Regiments of Foot. Their March was in two diſtinct Brigades, one whereof was led by himſelf, and the other by Major-general *Morgan*. And on New-year's-day he ordered the Advance of the Foot over the River, and the next Day following them with his Regiment of Horſe, took up his firſt Night's Quarters at *Wellar* in *Northumberland*, where, late in the Night, he received a ſhort Letter from the Speaker, dated the 27th of *December*, informing him of their Return again to the Government, with ſome Acknowledgment of his Prudence and Fidelity in their Service, but not one Word of Order for his March toward them. Here alſo he received Advice that *Lambert*'s Army had recruited themſelves, on Receipt of the Parliament's Order to quit their Station at *Newcaſtle*, and return directly to thoſe reſpective Quarters which were aſſigned them by the Parliament before their Interruption.

But ſince by the Diſſolution of *Lambert*'s Army, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party were out of Danger, General *Monk* did ſomewhat abate his Pace, and ſtaid three Days at *Newcaſtle*, to perfect ſuch Inſtructions and Letters as he intended to ſend to *London*.

From *Newcaſtle* the General advanced to *Durham*. From thence, about the 11th of *January*, he arrived at *York*, where he took up his Quarters for five Days; and, by his own Authority, modelled and diſpoſed of ſuch Forces as he found in the Country, that had belonged to *Lambert*.

Hitherto the General had marched about 100 Miles in length from *Coldſtream* to *York*, by his own ſole Authority and Diſcretion; but here he received Orders from the Junto, to keep on his way to *London*. They had taken no Satisfaction at the Lord *Fairfax*'s Appearance in *Yorkſhire*, tho' he had prefaced his Actions with Authority of Parliament, being very well aſſured that he had other Deſigns in it beyond their Safety. Nor could they be pleaſed with General *Monk*'s Stay in that County, where he might probably receive other Impreſſions than thoſe he had brought out of *Scotland*. And the Union of two ſuch Perſons againſt them (eſteemed the beſt Generals in the Nation) might have given them another kind of Diſturbance, than what they had received from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*.

To remove all Umbrage and Apprehenſion, the General reſolved here to leſſen his Army, and from *York* ſent back Major-general *Morgan* to take the Care of *Scotland*, accompanied with two Regiments of Horſe and Foot; to keep together a conſiderable Reſerve in caſe the General ſhould have need of them, or to which he might have retreated himſelf, if he ſhould happen to take a Battle in *England*.

Here alſo he left another Regiment under the Command of Colonel *Fairfax*; who, being a Native of this County, and very well allied and eſteemed among them, was the moſt proper Perſon to be entruſted with the Care of the City, and the Safety of the County. And now having reduced his Army to 4000 Foot, and 1800 Horſe, he went out of *York* about the 16th of *January*, and arrived on the 3d of *February* at *London*. But before he entered the Town, he made a Stand at *Highgate*, where the Army, being then but 5800 Men, came again to rendezvous, and there received Orders for the manner of their March into the City. The three Regiments of Horſe firſt, and the General mounted at the Head of them, with his Trumpets before him, accompanied with the Junto's Commiſſioners, and ſome of his own principal Officers, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, that had the Curioſity or Courteſy to meet him at his ſeveral Stages on the way. After the Horſe marched his four Regiments of Foot; and in the Afternoon he made his Entry by *Gray's-Inn Lane*, where, at the *Rolls*, he made a Stop at the Speaker's Door; but he being not yet returned from the Houſe, the General went on into the *Strand*; where, being told that the Speaker's Coach was coming near, the General alighted from his Horſe, and, with much Ceremony, complimented the Prince of the Senate, and his legiſlative Mace in the Boot of his Coach. And thence, accompanied with ſome of his Horſe-guards, went on to his Quarters at *Whitehall*, where the Junto had aſſigned him before-hand the Apartment commonly called the Prince's Lodgings.

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* The 1ſt of January, 1659-60.

The next Morning, *Saturday* the 4th of *February*, the General was invited to take his Place in the Council of State, where, preſently after his Entrance, the Oath of Abjuration was tendered to him by the Preſident. He expected no leſs than the Offer of it, and was prepared with an Anſwer; that ſeveral others, who were nominated with himſelf as Members of that Council, had before refuſed it; and therefore he deſired there might be a Conference between thoſe who had taken the Oath, and thoſe who had refuſed it; by which himſelf and others who demurred, might be better ſatisfied. He alſo told them, that the Officers of his own Army were very tender in taking Oaths; and that he would not oblige himſelf in ſwearing to this new one, till he had firſt acquainted them therewith; and ſo, taking his Leave of the Aſſembly, returned again to his Quarters at *Whitehall*.

On *Monday* Morning [a] he was brought with much Ceremony by *Scot* and *Robinſon* thro' the Court of Wards to the Door of the Parliament-houſe, where the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, received him, and conducted him to a Chair within the Bar, in which he was deſired to ſit down; which the General refuſing, the Speaker gave him the Thanks of the Houſe for his Service and Fidelity towards them, in a ſet Speech, filled with much ſcriptural and pious Raillery, according to the Guiſe of thoſe Times. The General, from the Back of the Chair, anſwered in a very wary and agreeable Reply, contrived to fit the Temper of thoſe Ears that were to hear him; yet the abjuring Part of the Houſe (whoſe Jealouſies of him were further heightened by his Refuſal of the Oath two Days before) were diſpleaſed with all he ſaid, and arraigned his whole Diſcourſe.

The Common-council of *London* had publiſhed a Vote or Order of their Houſe, declaring they would pay no more Taxes or Aſſeſſments impoſed upon their City, till the Parliament were filled up with equal Repreſentatives of the People. The Council of State could not imagine any Pretence for this their preſent Preſumption, but from ſome private Engagement given them by General *Monk* and his Army. Therefore to prevent this Inſolence in the City before it could fix itſelf, and become exemplary to others, as alſo for the better Diſcovery of General *Monk* and his Army, the Council of State ſent for him late at Night, the 8th of *February*, (where were preſent the other Commiſſioners for governing the Army) and gave him Orders to march his Regiments the next Morning early into the City, and to quarter upon them till he had reduced them to Obedience; in the mean while, to ſecure 11 of the moſt active Perſons of the Common-council (whoſe Names were inſerted) and to take down the Chains and Poſts in the ſeveral Streets, and to unhinge their Gates and Port-cullices. Nor did they allow him longer time to deliberate upon this extraordinary Action than till the next Morning.

Tho' the General was ſomewhat ſurpriſed with this outrageous Reſolution of the Junto, yet at the firſt Offer of it to him, he preſently took the right Scent of their Deſign. And therefore, concealing his Diſlike of them, he accepted their Orders, reſolving to make his own Uſe of them.

Accordingly the next Morning early, *February* the 9th, the General commanded the March of his Army up into the City, without adviſing with any of his own Officers. And having placed his main Guards at the *Old-Exchange*, and other convenient Places, he retired himſelf to the *Three-Tuns* Tavern near *Guildhall*, where he diſpatched his Orders to ſome of his Officers, for the taking up the Poſts and Chains, and ſent others to apprehend thoſe 11 Citizens, whom the Council of State had commanded him to ſecure.

The Council of State was reſolved, now their Hand was in, to do their Work to Purpoſe, and effectually to humble that lofty City. And therefore they returned him a further Command, not only to take down their Gates and Port-cullices, according to their firſt Order, but alſo now to break them in Pieces: And, that they might have the full Stroke of their Revenge upon the Common-council, for their daring Reſolution of paying no more Taxes, they had decreed they ſhould never meet more; and therefore inſtantly paſſed a Vote to diſſolve the preſent Common-council of the City.

Theſe ſecond Orders did more deeply incenſe the General againſt the Council of State; but ſeeing them make ſuch haſte to their own Infamy, he was reſolved now to execute their Commands to the full, and venture the Iſſue. The next Day [b] therefore the Gates and Port-cullices were taken down, and the Soldiers broke them in Pieces; but with ſuch Reflection upon the Parliament in chuſing them to this baſe Employment, in making them the Executioners of their Paſſion and Revenge upon thoſe who had received them kindly, that the Citizens, being more ready to excuſe the Stone which hurt them, converted all their Indignation upon the Arm that threw it, and loudly arraigned this Inſolence of the Junto.

Thus he took care to ſtir the Humours in the Body-politic; to rouſe and animate all the Parties in the Nation, that they might move, act, and ſhew their Strength. He ſet up *Fairfax* againſt *Lambert*, and broke his veteran Army, by ſhewing them their old General. He made uſe of honeſt Dr. *Price* to feed the Royaliſts with Hopes, while his own Actions could give them none. By the talkative Mr. *Gumble*, he wrought upon the Commonwealth's Men; by gracious and yet general Anſwers, he kept himſelf well with all Parties, without declaring for any. He prevailed with the Parliament, to part with a better Army than his own, meerly from the Opinion of his being their beſt Friend: When he came to *London*, he ſhewed himſelf the very beſt of their Servants, by obſequiouſly performing the dirtieſt of their Work, and proving them thereby to be the worſt of Maſters, he paved the way for outing them of their Authority. Thus he went beyond them in their own Arts, outſtripped them in Cunning, and having the City and the Country, as well as the Fleet and the Army, on his Side, he gave Law to thoſe who had been ſo long Dictators [c].

By recalling the ſecluded Members, he, of a Rump, made them a Houſe, and, by their own Conſent, fairly diſſolved that long Parliament, which might otherwiſe have been everlaſting. After doing all this, he did ſtill more; he refuſed the Kingdom, when it was offered him by the diſtracted Republicans, to keep it from its right Owner; and when our old Enemies, the *French*, would have lent him their Aſſiſtance, to have hindered the Return of a Monarch, who they foreſaw, unleſs they miſled him, muſt be the firſt in *Europe*; and this as good Politicians, tho' that Monarch was a Grandſon of *France*. But *Monk* generouſly deſpiſed a Diadem to which he had no Right; and with equal Greatneſs of Mind, refuſed to make any Terms with him to whom it belonged.

For Sir *John Greenville* had no ſooner found means to enter ſecretly into a Converſation for reſtoring the King, but that the ſame General *Monk*, who was naturally ſo wary and conſiderate, that he would find ways to deliberate upon the leaſt ſudden Propoſal made to him; yet entertained preſently this great Affair the firſt Minute it was offered him: ſo congenial and agreeable was the Addreſs of Sir *John Greenville* to his own ſecret Inclinations. And they who have render'd this great and illuſtrious Perſon a kind of Property led on by the Conduct of others, may here meet with their own Conviction. For though no Man knew better than himſelf, how to make uſe of thoſe about him; yet in this great Concernment, which was the moſt nice and tendereſt Part of all his Buſineſs, he adviſ'd with none of them all, nor made them privy to it.

The General read his Majeſty's Letters, and look'd over Sir *John Greenville*'s Commiſſion, and thereupon further reply'd, "That he was much oblig'd to his Majeſty for "this good Opinion he was pleas'd to entertain of him, "and for the Aſſurance his Majeſty had given him (by "his Letter) of his gracious Pardon. That indeed he "had been caſt into the Society of his Majeſty's Enemies,

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[a] The 6th of February.

[b] The 10th of February.

[c] See Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Kennet, Echard, Rapin; as alſo Gumble's Life of Monk; Dr. Price's Myſtery and Method of the Reſtauration; Skinner's Life of Monk, and Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

"but his Heart was always faithful to him, and he had ſtill kept an Eye upon his Service, whenſoever he ſhould be in a Condition to attempt it; unto which he had now, in ſome good meaſure, arrived, through manifold Difficulties and Diſappointments, being reſolved to endeavour his Majeſty's Reſtauration with the Hazard of his own Life and Fortune." And, that there might be further Witneſſes of theſe Reſolutions, he would call that honeſt Man from the Door. Mr. *Morrice* was accordingly call'd to the reſt of their Conference, and aſſiſted therein.

Sir *John Greenville* acquainted the General, that he had Authority from his Majeſty to aſſure him of 100,000 *l.* *per Annum*, to be annually paid to him and his Officers for ever, with what Title of Honour he ſhould chuſe for himſelf, together with the Offer of Lord High-conſtable of *England*. All which his Excellency as generouſly refuſed; telling Sir *John Greenville*, "There was ſufficient Reward in the Conſcience and Satisfaction of ſerving his Prince, and obliging his Country. That he would not ſell his Duty, nor bargain for his Allegiance; ſo that for any Regards towards him, he was wholly reſolv'd into the good Pleaſure of his Majeſty.".

Sir *John Greenville* then moved the General to write ſome Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, and to ſend a Meſſenger of his own to attend him; which his Excellency declin'd, telling him, "That he had none about him that as yet he could truſt with ſuch a Secret." And though Sir *John* mentioned the Names of ſome particular Perſons about him, yet he refuſed, for the preſent, to adventure a Letter to his Majeſty, which, if it ſhould happen by any Accident to be intercepted, would raiſe ſuch Jealouſies and Apprehenſions in the Army, (not yet fully wrought to his Mind) as it ſhould hardly ever be again in his Power to compoſe them. He therefore deſired Sir *John Greenville*, as he had receiv'd from him the Commands of his Majeſty, ſo he would alſo return his Anſwer; and that ſince he could not ſecurely write, a Meſſenger of his own without Letters would be to little purpoſe; but his Majeſty would believe his own Agent, though he brought no Letter of Credence. Sir *John Greenville* then told the General, that he would begin his Journey to the King the next Evening, who thereupon appointed to meet him again the following Day in the ſame Place, where he ſhould receive his Inſtructions.

The next Evening Sir *John Greenville* attended the General in Mr. *Morrice*'s Chamber, where his Excellency deſir'd him to take his Inſtructions in Writing, the Heads whereof were:

"That ſince by the long Civil War and Change of Government, the Minds of the Soldiers in general, and a great Part of the People would be alarm'd with the Apprehenſion of his Majeſty's Return, it was his humble Advice, that he would be graciouſly pleas'd to proclaim his free and general Pardon to all his Subjects, except to ſuch as the Parliament ſhould eſteem incapable of it. That he would prepare the Minds of the Army, by declaring his Readineſs to conſent to ſuch Acts as ſhould ſecure the publick Sales and Diſpoſitions of Lands, and the Payment alſo of their Arrears. And becauſe nothing was more likely to run the People into Frenzies, than the Fear of Reſtraint in their ſeveral Religions, he did further beſeech his Majeſty to declare his Aſſent for a Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects, who ſhould ſo employ it as not to give any Diſturbance to the civil Government. He was alſo inſtructed to deſire his Majeſty to retire from the Dominions of the King of *Spain* into ſome convenient Place belonging to the States of the united Provinces, where, with more Freedom and Security to his Perſon, he might treat further with his Parliament and People. And laſtly, he was ſtrictly cautioned not to give his Majeſty any Interruption, by offering Propoſals to him for the Reward of his Service." The General then deſired him to peruſe his Inſtructions carefully, and to fix them throughly in his Memory; and then, receiving the Paper from his Hand, threw it into the Fire before them, and intreated him to keep theſe Particulars in his Thoughts as he travelled, and by no means to commit them again to Writing, till he was firſt arriv'd in *Flanders*, nor to acquaint any Perſon with his Buſineſs except his Majeſty only. They then privately took leave of each other; and the ſame Night Sir *John Greenville*, ſpeeding ſecretly through the City, began his Journey towards *Dover*.

Upon receipt of this News by Sir *John*, the King propoſed firſt to reward the Service of the General, and was adviſing with Sir *John Greenville* hereupon; who told him, he had already acquainted the General with his Majeſty's Propoſals, according to his former Inſtructions, which the General had wholly refuſed; and that, among his other Inſtructions from the General, there was this particularly inſerted, "That he ſhould move nothing to the King about any Reward." So that Sir *John Greenville* did now offer it as his humble Advice to his Majeſty, to intermit, for the preſent, the Care thereof till his own happy Arrival into *England*. Wherefore at preſent his Majeſty only commanded a Commiſſion to be drawn up for General *Monk*, to command as Captain-general over all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was ſigned by him, and put up with a private Letter to him from his Majeſty, written with his own Hand. There was alſo another Letter directed, "To our truſty and well-beloved General *Monk*, to be by him communicated to the Preſident of the Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command," with a Copy of the forementioned Declaration encloſed. And becauſe the new and auſpicious Parliament (upon whoſe Councils the Hopes both of the King and People did ſo much depend) were ſuddenly to meet, Letters were drawn up to be delivered at their Aſſembly by Sir *John Greenville*, directed by the King, "To our truſty and right well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords;" and another, "To our truſty and well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons;" in both which were alſo Copies of his Majeſty's fore-mentioned Declaration incloſed. There was alſo a Letter directed, "To our truſty and well-beloved the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council of our City of *London*;" in the Contents whereof the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was alſo to return with Sir *John Greenville*, was mentioned. And another to General *Monk*, and General *Montague*, to be by them communicated to the Fleet.

All the Letters and Inſtructions were made ready, and delivered by the King to Sir *John Greenville*, together with his Privy-ſeal and Signet, to be intruſted with General *Monk*; by which he was authoriſed to chuſe a Secretary of State for his Majeſty's Service. And after four Days Stay at Court, he took Leave of his Majeſty, and returned for *England*.

At his Arrival he privately attended the General at *St. James*'s, and delivered to him his Majeſty's Letter written with his own Hand, together with his Commiſſion of General over all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The General peruſed the Letter, and kept it with him; but, for the preſent, he would not truſt his own Cabinet with the Commiſſion; which was therefore delivered back to Sir *John Greenville*, who ſecured it in a private Place in the Floor of his Bed-chamber, where he had uſed to lay up Letters and Commiſſions from the King; where alſo this lay till after the King's Return, and was then delivered to the General. And for thoſe other Letters, it was here reſolved, that Sir *John Greenville* ſhould keep them privately, till the opening of the Parliament, and then deliver them according to his Inſtructions. The General alſo here deliberated with Sir *John Greenville*, about the Diſpoſal of his Majeſty's Seal and Signet; where it was agreed, that, in regard Mr. *Morrice* was the only Perſon that had been privy to this ſecret Affair, and had ſo faithfully aſſiſted therein, they would recommend him to the Truſt; which, ſo ſoon as the King returned, was accordingly done by the General, when, at the ſame time, his Excellency was offered 10,000 *l.* to procure the Place for another. And now, for the preſent, all Interviews between the General and Sir *John Greenville* were but ſeldom, and always private.

All this while the People were every where very buſy in chuſing the Members for the approaching Parliament. The Preſbyterians were very induſtrious for the introducing again Men of their own Party; but the People (from the Memory of their paſt Miſeries) were generally ſo averſe to that ſort of Men, that few of them found their way into this approaching Parliament; whoſe Seſſion was now ſo near, that General *Monk* began to entertain himſelf with the Approach of his own and the Kingdom's Safety; till on a ſudden, he was ſurpriſed with an Inſurrection of the Mal-contents under *Lambert*, who had for that end found means to eſcape from the *Tower*, and haſtened towards *Warwickſhire*; having firſt agreed with his Confederates to meet at a Rendezvous there, whither he hoped the Regiments of the *Engliſh* Army, quartering in thoſe Countries, would quickly repair to him. Upon this News, the General preſently diſpatched away Colonel *Ingoldſby*, with his Regiment of Horſe quartering in *Suffolk*, to haſten thro' *Cambridge* to *Northampton*, and there join with Colonel *Streather*, and purſue *Lambert* wherever he could be heard of; and more Forces were ſent after, commanded by Colonel *Howard*, to prevent the Motions of any other Forces, quartered in thoſe Countries, from joining with *Lambert*.

At the ſame time his Excellency ſent alſo for Sir *John Greenville*; and, upon private Conference with him, told him, "it was not certain what might be the Iſſue of this "Inſurrection, if *Lambert* was not preſently reduced, and "the Army ſhould revolt from him: But that he would "publiſh his Commiſſion from the King, and by it would "raiſe all the royal Party of the three Nations into Arms, "rather than ſuffer theſe furious and hair-brain'd Sectaries "to domineer within the Kingdom; deſiring him to be "always in Readineſs for receiving further Orders from "him, which ſhould be communicated by him to ſuch Perſons about the Town, as he knew were moſt faſt and de"voted to his Majeſty's Service."

On *Eaſter-day* the Scouts brought News where *Lambert* was; and accordingly the Forces were drawn out to follow him, and found him near *Daventry*, having drawn out his Men in an open plow'd Field. The Force with him was but ſmall, being only ſeven broken Troops and a Foot Company. *Lambert's* Party were ſo irreſolute and unwilling to endure the Charge, as ſome of them came over to *Ingoldſby*, and the reſt fled, and the Commanders began preſently to ſhift away for themſelves; but Colonel *Ingoldſby* took *Lambert* Priſoner; nor would he be prevail'd with to connive at his Eſcape, tho' others of them offer'd themſelves Priſoners in his Stead. *Lambert*, *Cobbet*, and *Creed* were preſently carried off with a Guard; and on *Eaſter Tueſday* were brought to *London*, and ſecured again in the *Tower*.

On the 25th of *April* the Houſes of Lords and of Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*; for the Houſe of Lords the Earl of *Mancheſter* was choſen Speaker, and for the Houſe of Commons Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*. The General was elected by the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the County of *Devon*; but having civilly acknowledg'd the Reſpects of the former, he choſe to take his Place for his native Country of *Devonſhire*. In the Beginning of their Counſels the Houſe was pleas'd to give to the General their publick Acknowledgments of his Prudence and faithful Service, in preſerving the Peace of the Commonwealth, and ſo effectually oppoſing the Enemies thereof, whereby they had now the Privilege of aſſembling together in Parliament with Liberty and Freedom.

The Parliament being met, it was now agreed by the General and Sir *John Greenville*, that thoſe Letters which he had brought over from his Majeſty, ſhould be deliver'd according to the ſeveral Inſtructions. And becauſe it was not yet ſeaſonable, that thoſe ſecret Cabals and Conferences between the General and Sir *John Greenville* ſhould be publickly known, it was reſolv'd, that the Letter directed to the General, and by him to be communicated to the Council of State, and Officers of the Army, ſhould be openly deliver'd to him at the Council-chamber in *Whitehall*. Accordingly next Day Sir *John Greenville* ſtood ready at the Door, intending by the next Member that went in, to let the General know he was there. And Colonel *Birch* happen'd to be the Man who receiv'd Sir *John's* Meſſage; and, upon Intimation to the General, his Excellency came to the Door, where Sir *John Greenville* told him he had Letters to him from the King, which he deliver'd into his Hands in ſight of the Guards; and the Buſineſs was ſo contrived, that the General received him as a Stranger whom he had never ſeen before, and with ſome Surpriſal at his Buſineſs. He then deſired him to ſtay there till he received his Anſwer, and commanded his Guards to look after him. The General then carried the Letter to the Council, opening the Seal, and delivering it to the Preſident; and the Superſcription being read, the Stile of it made them all know whence the Letter came.

The Council being ſurpriſed with the Receipt of theſe Letters, fell into an earneſt Debate about them; ſo that Colonel *Birch* (tho' there was no fear that this Buſineſs would hurt his Reputation) endeavoured to clear himſelf by his Proteſtation, "That he neither knew the Gentle"man that delivered the Meſſage to him, nor any thing "of his Buſineſs." It was then reſolved, that the Letter ſhould not be opened till the Parliament met again, which was then adjourned for three Days; and Sir *John Greenville* was then called in, where the Preſident examined him ſtrictly about the Letter, and how he came by it. To which Sir *John* replied, "That the King his Maſter de"livered it to him at *Breda* with his own Hand." It was then debated to ſend him into Cuſtody, till the Parliament ſhould determine therein; but General *Monk* then told the Preſident, "That tho' he had not ſeen Sir *John Greenville* "for many Years, yet he was his near Kinſman, ſo that he "would undertake for his Appearance before the Houſe;" and thereupon he was diſmiſſed by the Council.

On the Day the Houſe met again, the 1ſt of *May*, Sir *John Greenville* was accordingly ready; and meeting in the Lobby, the Lord Commiſſioner *Tyrrel*, then entering the Houſe, with whom he was acquainted, he entreated him to inform the Speaker, that he attended at the Door with Letters to the Houſe from his Majeſty. When the Lord Commiſſioner came in, he found the Preſident of the Council of State giving the Houſe an Account of Letters from the King; which ſo ſoon as he had ended, Commiſſioner *Tyrrel* acquainted the Speaker with Sir *John Greenville's* Meſſage. But whilſt the Commons were debating of this Letter, Sir *John* was retir'd from the Door, and haſtened to the Houſe of Lords, where he firſt enquired for his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; and being informed, that the Duke was not yet come, but that the Earl of *Oxford* was then ſitting, he ſent in a Meſſage to him, upon which his Lordſhip came forth; and Sir *John Greenvile* informed him, that he had Letters from the King, which he was commanded to deliver to the Speaker of the Lords Houſe, intreating his Lordſhip to acquaint the Earl of *Mancheſter* therewith. The Earl of *Oxford* preſently acquainted the Speaker with the Arrival of his Majeſty's Letters. Thereupon it was firſt debated in what manner they would receive them; and accordingly the Lords voted, to attend their Speaker to the Door of the Houſe, where Sir *John Greenville* met them, and delivered his Majeſty's Letter; and, having received the Thanks of the Lords Houſe, he haſtened preſently back again to the Houſe of Commons, where his Majeſty's Letters were equally welcome. Sir *John* was then called in, and delivered his Majeſty's Letter to the Speaker; and upon the Peruſal of theſe Letters, the Lords voted, "That, "according to the ancient and fundamental Laws of the "Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by "King, Lords, and Commons." And after his Majeſty's Letter and Declaration incloſed had been read by the Commons, the like Vote was paſſed in that Houſe alſo.

The General then deſired Leave of the Houſe to communicate his Majeſty's Letter, which had been delivered at the Council of State, to the Officers alſo of his Army, which was accordingly there read. About the ſame time the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen received the King's Letter from the Lord *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Greenville*; and afterwards Sir *John Greenville* delivered alſo his Majeſty's Letter to General *Montague*, and the Fleet.

The Lords and Commons then voted, "That they "would return Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letters by Meſ"ſengers from their ſeveral Houſes;" and voted 500 *l.* to Sir *John Greenville* for bringing the Letter, to buy him a Jewel, which he was deſired to wear as a Memorial of the Thanks and Reſpect of the Houſe to him.

The Parliament then proceeded to the Nomination of ſuch Perſons from their ſeveral Houſes, as ſhould attend upon his Majeſty with their Anſwer to his Letters, and ordered alſo the Inſtructions to be drawn up for them; and that General *Montague* with the Fleet ſhould be in Readineſs to attend them. But becauſe theſe Proceedings of the Parliament would take up time, and the General was altogether uneaſy, till his Majeſty was actually returned, he reſolved to ſend Sir *John Greenville* again to him, to acquaint his Majeſty with the Reception of his Letters; and that he would be pleaſed to expedite his Return into *England*. He directed him to acquaint General *Montague* with his Deſire; that, for the more ſpeedy Expedition of his Majeſty's Return, he would forthwith carry the Fleet to the *Dutch* Coaſts. Accordingly General *Montague*, having firſt accommodated Sir *John Greenville*, for the quicker Diſpatch, with the *Mary* Frigate (then called the *Speaker*) and left a good Convoy in the *Downs* to bring over the Commiſſioners, ordered the reſt of the Fleet to put under ſail for the Shore of *Holland*.

The General had before communicated his Majeſty's Letters and Declaration to the Officers of the Army who were near him; by whom they were ſo joyfully received, that they preſented a public Addreſs to the General, to teſtify their Duty and Allegiance to his Majeſty. The Copies of which Letters and Declaration, together with the Copies of the Addreſs, were diſpatched away to all the remote Garriſons and Regiments; where they were entertained with the like Readineſs and Submiſſion. The General had, by his former Methods, ſo effectually regulated his Army, that there was no Report made of any one Officer that refuſed to ſign the Addreſs. This Addreſs from the Army, together with the General's Letter, was ſent to his Majeſty by Commiſſary *Clarges*.

Upon the ſame Day (the 8th of *May*) on which Sir *Thomas Clarges* preſented to the King the Army's Addreſs at *Breda*, his Majeſty was, by a Vote of both Houſes, proclaimed at *London* with all the uſual Ceremonies, but with an Affection that certainly was never ſo manifeſted towards any of his Predeceſſors. In this Solemnity the General joyfully aſſiſted, following in his Coach the Coaches of both the Speakers.

And now all things being in Readineſs for the King's Removal, he went on-board his Fleet the 23d of *May*, where he firſt took Poſſeſſion of his Dominion at Sea, and then arrived at *Dover*; where the General was ready to receive him on the Shore.

From hence he attended his Majeſty to *Canterbury*, where he received the firſt honourable Mark of his Favour, being there made Knight of the Garter, which was the Foundation of thoſe further Dignities which were to be conferred upon him; and the moſt illuſtrious Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* put upon him, with their own Hands, the Enſigns of his Order.

In all the way of the King's Progreſs towards *London*, the General had much Freedom of Diſcourſe with his Majeſty, and was admitted to all his private Hours. At *Blackheath* he led his Majeſty to view that Part of the Army, which was then drawn up to offer their Addreſs and Service to him. From hence his Majeſty began his triumphant Entrance into *London* on the Anniverſary[*] of his Nativity. In this glorious and magnificent Proceſſion, the General rode next before his Majeſty.

The General having ſeen his Majeſty ſafely lodged in his Palace at *Whitehall*, and congratulated there by both his Houſes of Parliament, retired to his Apartment at the *Cockpit*, whither he was now removed, to be nearer the King's Preſence and Counſels. And when his Friends and Attendants began to renew their Thanks and Acclamations to him for his great Service and Faithfulneſs, in producing the Effects of this Day, he was ſo far from being exalted with any Opinion of his own Merit, that he declined them all, telling them, "He had all along been beſet with ſo "many Difficulties and Jealouſies upon him, as all Thanks "and Acknowledgments muſt be only paid to the Miracle "of the divine Providence."

Preſently after his Majeſty's Reſtauration, he ſettled his Privy-council, choſen out of the chief Officers belonging to the Crown, and other principal Nobility; of which Number General *Monk* was one, and was continually admitted to all Councils of the moſt interior Truſt and Concernment. He was alſo made Maſter of his Majeſty's Horſe, and one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber. The General was alſo choſen one of the Commiſſioners for the Treaſury; but that Office was ſome time after intruſted in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, the late juſt and upright Earl of *Southampton*; after whoſe Death, both the King and People were ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the General's Care and Faithfulneſs in that Truſt, that he was called to it again, and in which he continued to the Day of his Death. He was, by Letters Patents under the Great-ſeal of *England*, made Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp* and *Tees*; and, for the better Support of this high Dignity, beſides the Penſions recited in the Letters Patents, his Majeſty ſettled upon him 7000 *l. per Annum*, out of the Royal Demeſnes, to him and his Heirs for ever. He was alſo ſummoned by Writ into the Houſe of Lords; and tho' the Commons were very ſorry to part with ſo dear and conſiderable a Member from their Body, yet, in Teſtimony of their great and particular Eſtimation and Reſpect towards ſo great and illuſtrious a Perſon, moſt of them attended him to the Door of the Lords Houſe.

His Majeſty being perfectly ſettled in the Government, actually crowned, and the Army diſbanded, the Duke of *Albemarle*, for ſome Years, betook himſelf to Privacy; ſo that we find no very public Action of his Life for ſome Years, ſave that he carefully attended at the Privy-council, adviſing with his Majeſty upon all Occaſions, and was conſtantly preſent at the Houſe of Lords in the ſeveral Seſſions of Parliament.

When the *Dutch* War broke out, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, being alſo Lord High-admiral of *England*, undertook the Conduct of the Fleet, accompanied with the moſt illuſtrious Prince *Rupert*, who commanded a Squadron, the late General *Montague* (ſince Earl of *Sandwich*) being Vice-admiral. But, before his Royal Highneſs went on-board the Fleet, he left the Care of the Admiralty to the Duke of *Albemarle*; to provide for the Stores and Proviſion of the Navy, which was all attended with a very particular Induſtry.

With the Beginning of this War, began alſo a moſt fatal Peſtilence in *London*. His Majeſty was therefore enforced to leave his Palace at *Whitehall*, and retire to *Oxford*, whither afterwards the Houſes of Parliament and the Term were adjourned. The Nobility alſo, and Gentry, and principal Citizens, were diſperſed for Refuge from the Infection throughout all the Villages of *England*. But being the capital City of the Nation, was not to be left at random, where not only the Poor, enforced by Neceſſity, or encouraged thro' Liberty, might rifle the Houſes of the Rich, but the Seditious alſo might take the Opportunity to practice new Miſchiefs, it pleaſed his Majeſty to entruſt the Care and Safety of the Place with the Duke of *Albemarle*, commanding his Continuance in the Town; and tho' his Grace might very well, with the reſt of the Nobility, have conſulted his own Safety, by retreating with his Majeſty to *Oxford*, or to ſome of his own Retirements in the Country, and his paſt Services might have fairly exempted him from this hazardous Attendance, and thrown it upon ſome others; yet he very willingly obeyed, and, when other Men had expoſed their Eſtates and Fortunes to ſecure their Lives, he was contented to ſtay and expoſe his own Life to ſecure their Properties. Nor did he only direct his Care to the Concernments of the Rich, but eſpecially for the Neceſſities of the Poor, by continually inſpecting the Diſtributions of the public Charity, to which was alſo ſuperadded a Share of his own private Bounty.

Towards the End of the Year, his Majeſty adviſed with his Privy-council at *Oxford*, about the Conduct of the Fleet next Spring. And tho' his Royal Highneſs was very importunate to finiſh the War with the *Dutch*, which he had ſo fortunately begun; yet, since they were reſolved not to venture his Perſon again to further Hazards, it was at laſt determined, that his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, ſhould, by joint Commiſſion, command at Sea, and carry on the War the following Summer. The Prince, being preſent upon the Place, accepted the Charge; and his Majeſty appointed the Duke ſhould haſten down to *Oxford*; and having ſtaid three Days at *Oxford*, adviſing privately with the King about the Preparations for the War, and received his Majeſty's Thanks for his faithful Care of the public Safety and Security of the City, he returned back to his Charge at *London*.

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[*] The 29th of May.

Being made Co-admiral at Sea, he had another Province added to the reſt of his Cares, whereby he was obliged to give Orders for the making ready ſuch Ships as were not yet finiſhed, and the Repair of others, that had been diſabled in this Year's War, beſides all other naval Preparations for the following Spring. Tho' there was ſome Difficulty in procuring enough of thoſe ſtout and valiant People to man the Fleet, on account of their Loſs in the Plague, the Duke of *Albemarle*, having formerly commanded at Sea, had ſo much Reputation and Influence among the Seamen, that, whilſt there was any of them left in *England*, he was not likely to want their Company in his Majeſty's Service; and, by the united Intereſt and Influence of the Prince, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages of the late Plague, all things were brought into ſo good Readineſs, as that both the Men and Ships were quickly fit to ſail, attending for their Admirals to come on board.

The 23d of *April*, being *St. George's* Day, his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, took leave of his Majeſty and the Court; and, at *Whitehall* Stairs, in one of the King's Barges, went down the River to the Fleet.

Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* brought the Fleet to an Anchor in the *Downs*, reſolving from thence to ſet ſail for the *Dutch* Coaſts, and find out the Enemy. But, in the interim, his Majeſty had received Intelligence from *France*, that the Duke *de Beaufort* had made equal Diſpatch in getting ready the *French* Fleet, and was coming out to join with the *Dutch*. Upon which Information from thence, his Majeſty, with the Advice of the Privy-council, diſpatched away Orders to his Fleet, That Prince *Rupert* ſhould take 20 of the beſt and nimbleſt Frigates, and, directing his way towards the Coaſts of *France*, ſhould attend the Motions of the *French* Admiral, and engage him before he could join his Fleet with the *Dutch*. Theſe Inſtructions were preſently put in Execution by his Highneſs, leaving the Duke, with the reſt of the Fleet, ſtill in the *Downs*.

The laſt of *May* the Duke ſet ſail from the *Downs*; and the next Morning early, the *Briſtol*, plying about a League from the reſt of the Fleet, diſcovered ſeveral Sail; and therefore fired three Guns, one after another, which gave Warning to the Fleet. About eight of the ſame Morning, from the Admiral's Top-maſt-head, they diſcovered about 11 or 12 Sail; and at the ſame time other Ships diſcovered about 20 or 30 Sail more, towards *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*; and preſently after more of them were deſcried; ſo that it was out of hand concluded to be the *Dutch* Fleet. Therefore his Grace preſently commanded the Flag-officers to meet in a Council of War, (there were preſent Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Chriſtopher Mings*, Sir *George Ayſcue*, Rear-admiral *Harman*, and others) where it was debated, Whether they ſhould adventure to engage the *Dutch* in the Abſence of ſo conſiderable a Part of their Fleet, then gone off with the Prince. But, in regard ſeveral good Ships, beſides the *Royal Sovereign*, then at Anchor in the *Gun-fleet* (neither fully mann'd, nor ready) would, upon their Retreat, be in danger of a Surpriſal by the Enemy; and that ſuch a Courſe might have ſome Impreſſion upon the Spirit and Courage of the Seamen, who had not been accuſtomed to decline fighting with the *Dutch*; it was at laſt unanimouſly reſolved to abide them, and the Fleet ſhould preſently be put in Readineſs to fall into a Line. This Advice was agreeable to the Opinion and Sentiments of the Duke, who did very much undervalue the Power and Force of the *Dutch* Fleet, expecting ſuch eaſy Conqueſts as he had obtained 13 Years before. But the *Dutch* of late had built much greater and ſtronger Ships, and, by often Trials, had learnt from the *Engliſh* the Experience of fighting better. Of the Iſſue of this Reſolution you have read before on Page 484 of this Hiſtory.

This Action of the Duke's, in adventuring to fight the *Dutch* after the dividing the Fleet, was by ſeveral Men variouſly conſidered. His Enemies, tho' they acknowledged his Courage and Generoſity, yet did greatly accuſe his Diſcretion; and did ſuggeſt, That a little Allay of the Coward was a ſafer Ingredient in a General, than ſuch vaſt and tranſcendent Raſhneſs; and tho' he came off well, yet he intruſted Fortune with a greater Stock than a wiſe Man would put into her Hands. But his Majeſty, and all diſcerning Perſons, had another Opinion of this extraordinary Action, That it was grounded on the greateſt Reaſon and Neceſſity, and that the Honour of the Nation was concerned in it; that he had thereby given the greateſt Inſtance of his own and the *Engliſh* Proweſs; and had raiſed the Reputation of his Majeſty's naval Force to ſuch an Height of Glory, as would render him more terrible to his Enemies, and deſired by his Allies.

Whilſt the Fortune of *England*, by ſo many naval Succeſſes abroad, run high upon the Water, it was ſuddenly arreſted by a fatal Fire at home; which about this Time (*September* 2.) began, and, in three Days time, burnt down the greateſt Part of the City; which the Citizens computed at above 1300 Houſes, beſides ſo great a Loſs of Goods and Wares, as can never be duly eſtimated.

After ſo great a Blow upon the Metropolis of the Nation, it pleaſed his Majeſty to command the Duke of *Albemarle* from Sea, to be near his Perſon and Counſels in ſo diſtracted a Time; who accordingly came back to *London* about two Days after the Fire was quenched.

From which Time he divided himſelf between his Majeſty's Service and his own private Affairs, till he arrived to the ſixtieth Year of his Age.

And now that firm and good Conſtitution of Body, that great and conſtant Health, which he had ſo long enjoyed, began to impair in him; which Decays were more haſtily promoted, by the Hardſhips of a Soldier's Life in his younger Days; and were further advanced, by the continual Weight of publick Cares in his declining Age. His general Indiſpoſition of Body diſcover'd itſelf in the Beginnings of a Dropſy, againſt which no timely Care was employ'd. For, though his Grace was very well pleas'd with the Reaſons and Diſcourſe of Phyſicians, yet, thro' an uninterrupted Health, he had a kind of Averſeneſs to Medicines, or Methods of Phyſick. In this Condition he retired himſelf to his Seat at *New-hall* in *Eſſex*, in hopes that the freſh Air might have ſome good Effect upon his Body; and, by this Retreat and Receſs from publick Buſineſs, he might recover his Health.

Which, proving otherwiſe, and his Dropſy and Shortneſs of Breath ſtill increaſing, he was perſuaded, by the Importunity of his Friends, and particularly by one who had been an Officer in his Army, to uſe a Pill, which, at that Time, had ſome Reputation for curing the Dropſy, and was then in the Hands of a Perſon [a] that had formerly been a Soldier under him in *Scotland*; and being informed, that the Remedy might be try'd without any ſtrict Method or Confinement, he was the more inclinable to make ſome Experiment of it. Which, though it never effected any thing worthy the Name of a Cure, yet, upon the frequent Uſe thereof, it ſo diſcharg'd the Deluge of wateriſh Humour, as the active Parts of his Blood began again to recover; ſo that the Difficulty of his breathing, and the ſwelling in his Body and Legs, were very much relieved. And all Men, being ſo greatly deſirous of his Life and Health, they were ready to perſuade him into the Confidence of a greater Amendment than there really was.

With this Opinion, at the End of Summer [b], he returned back to *London*: But, upon the Approach of the Winter, his Blood declining again with the Year, his Dropſy increaſed upon him, with the ſame Accidents as before. Nor, could his former Remedy, which, by the Opinion of curing him before, was grown to a great Reputation, avail any thing to preſerve his Grace, and its own Credit, by a ſecond Recovery.

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[a] Dr. Sermon.

[b] 1669.

The Noiſe of his Relapſe, and the imminent Danger of it, being quickly ſpread about the Town, all his Friends and Retainers came to make their Viſits to him. Several alſo of the Houſe of Lords, and of the Commons, then ſitting, did frequently attend him; and, having accuſtomed himſelf to public Cares, he could not part with them in the midſt of his own Difficulties; but, with that little Breath he had left to ſupport himſelf, diſcourſed always very earneſtly with them about his Majeſty's Service, and the Good and Settlement of the Commonwealth; conjuring them, to preſerve always a good Underſtanding between the two Houſes; and that his Majeſty's Crown and Government ought never to ſuffer any Inconvenience by the Paſſions or Prejudice of thoſe, who are ſo nearly obliged to take care of it.

The extreme Difficulty of breathing, which had all along been the moſt uneaſy Part of his Sickneſs, increaſed ſo violently upon him, that he could not lie down in his Bed, but entertained himſelf only with ſome ſhort Sleeps in his Chair; in which Poſture he died, four Days after the Marriage of his Son, on the 3d of *January* 1669-70, about nine in the Morning. And as he lived in Silence, ſo he died without Noiſe; one eaſy and ſingle Groan did the Work of Death upon the ſtouteſt and moſt valiant Hero of the Age he lived in.

Such was the Exit of this high and illuſtrious Perſon. After he had ſurvived ten thouſand Hazards of War and Battles, and ſurmounted as many Difficulties to redeem his Country; and in his immortal March from *Dalkeith* to *London*, had led two Kingdoms in his own Triumph; after he had reſtored his Majeſty to his Crown, and had erected the Trophies of his Courage and Prudence in his Dominion at Land, and had humbled the Pride of the ſtubborn Enemy, the *Dutch*, in two memorable Battles at Sea; after he had ſeen the Enemies of this Crown under his Majeſty's Feet, and, for ten Years faithfully aſſiſted in the Settlement of the State, he exchanged this mortal Life for an happy Immortality, having lived 61 Years and 29 Days.

His Majeſty reſolved to celebrate the Duke's Funeral at his own Charge, and aſſigned him alſo a Tomb in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, that the great Inſtaurator and Guardian of Monarchy might reſt himſelf near the crowned Heads, and mix his loyal Duſt with the Aſhes of former Kings; where, after lying in *Somerſet-houſe* for many Weeks in Royal State, attended with all the Ceremonies of pompous Mourning, his Body was depoſited.

The LIFE *of Sir* GEORGE AYSCUE, *Knt. and Admiral.*

Sir *George Ayſcue*, *Ayſcough*, or *Aſkew*, was deſcended from a very good Family in *Lincolnſhire*, and entered early into the Sea-ſervice, where he obtained the Character of an able and experienced Officer, and had the Honour of Knighthood from King *Charles* I [a]. This however did not hinder him from adhering to the Parliament, when by a very ſingular Intrigue they got Poſſeſſion of the Fleet; and ſo zealous he was in the Service of his Maſters, that when in 1648 the greateſt Part of the Navy went over to the Prince of *Wales*, he, who then commanded the *Lion*, ſecured that Ship for the Parliament; which was by them eſteemed both an acceptable Service, and an Action of great Importance [b].

This Revolt of the Fleet, was among thoſe extraordinary things, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or to prevent. It was owing entirely to the Diſpoſition of the common Seamen, for ſcarce any Officer was at all concerned in it, and at a Time too, when the Parliament was every where victorious, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive the Cauſes of ſo great a Change. In order to underſtand this Matter, it muſt be remembered, that the Parliament had in the Beginning of the War, drawn off the Fleet from the King's Service, partly by working upon the Minds of the Seamen, and partly by the turning upon him his own Commiſſion of Admiral, which he had granted to the Earl of *Northumberland*, but with a Proviſo in that Commiſſion, to hold this Office no longer than till the Duke of *York* was of Age to execute it, as the King his Father intended he ſhould [c]. It was of this very Clauſe, which had ſerved them in the Beginning, that the Parliament began now to be afraid, and it was their Fear that produced the very thing which it apprehended. The Earl of *Warwick*, and his Preſbyterian Officers, who had brought off the Navy from the King, were not likely to go all the Lengths that were then expected from them. The Parliament therefore thought fit to bring in new Officers, and accordingly appointed one Colonel *Rainſborough* Vice-admiral, and ſent him into the *Downs*, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet with that Title [d]. But when he came thither, the Sailors had been for ſome time Politicians; and having probably catched up ſome Words that fell from their Officers, had, after mature Deliberation, ſettled theſe three Points among themſelves. The firſt was, that the Parliament muſt be either doing or contriving ſomething very bad, becauſe in *Scotland*, *Eſſex*, *Lancaſhire*, *Kent*, and eſpecially at *London*, People were generally diſcontented, and alſo becauſe they could not truſt thoſe good old Officers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved them at Sea, but were putting others into the Fleet, in whom, though they might, the Seamen could not at all confide. They were likewiſe very clear, that as the King's Cauſe declined from the Moment the Fleet left him, ſo without doubt it would recover, when the Fleet returned to his Service, which was a Point ſo clear in marine Politicks, that it was never once controverted. Thirdly, the Duke of *York* was now become a fine young Prince, had juſt made his Eſcape to *Holland*, and was very capable of making them a good Admiral [e]. When *Rainſborough* therefore came on-board in the *Downs*, they aſked him in very plain Terms, whether he would go with them, and ſeek their Admiral the Duke of *York*? which he reſenting, and beginning to talk in high Terms, they very fairly ſent him and a Boat-full of his new Captains on-ſhore, and hoiſted ſail, and bore away for the *Dutch* Coaſt [f]. This was in the Month of *July* 1648; and the Ships that thus quitted the Parliament's Service, were 20 Men of War, moſt of them of the firſt and ſecond Rates, well manned and furniſhed, and theſe ſoon after appeared at the Mouth of the River *Thames*, by which the Commerce of the City of *London* ſuffered ſeverely [g]. We need not wonder therefore, that Sir *George Ayſcue*'s preſerving, in ſuch a Juncture, his Ship for the Parliament, gained him a great Degree of Credit and Confidence with his Maſters.

As this was a ſufficient Proof of his Fidelity, he had the Command given him in a Squadron, that was employed to watch the Motions of the Prince of *Wales*, and accordingly ſailed therewith to the Coaſt of *Ireland*; where, by his Vigilance, he prevented his Highneſs from doing what he would otherwiſe have done, and by his great Intereſt with the Seamen, he drew many of them back to that Service from which they had deſerted [h]. This recommended him ſtrongly to the Parliament, who the next Year ſent him with a conſiderable Number of Ships, and the honourable Title of Admiral in thoſe Seas, to the Coaſt of *Ireland*; which Commiſſion he diſcharged with equal Vigour and Vigilance, ſupplying *Dublin* with Proviſions, attending the Army upon all Emergencies, and contributing in every Reſpect ſo effectually to the Reduction of *Ireland*, that the Parliament not only thought fit to continue him in his Command for another Year, but likewiſe ordered an immediate Proviſion to be made for the Payment of his Arrears, and preſented him with 1000 *l.* as a ſpecial Mark of their Favour, and the juſt Reward of his Services [i]. The Obſervation I would make upon all this, and I hope the Reader will agree with me, that it is an Obſervation worth making, is, That Sir *George Ayſcue*, and the reſt of the Officers at Sea, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their Maſters; who kept ſo ſtrict an Eye over all the Servants of the Publick, that it was impoſſible for Men of no Merit to riſe, or for ſuch as really poſſeſſed it to paſs unregarded.

After the War was finiſhed in *Ireland*, and the Parliament had thereby Time and Opportunity to think of the proper Means of ſubduing the reſt of the Dominions of the Crown of *England* to their Obedience, Sir *George Ayſcue* had Orders to ſail with a ſmall Squadron to reduce the Iſland of *Barbadoes*; but before he was in any Readineſs to ſail, his Orders were countermanded. The Reaſon of this was, that the Parliament had received Information, that the *Dutch* were treating with Sir *John Greenville*, in order to have the Iſles of *Scilly* put into their Hands, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce theſe Iſlands firſt. *Blake* and *Ayſcue* were employed in this Expedition [a], in the Spring of the Year 1651, and performed it with Honour and Succeſs. They had but a ſmall Body of Troops on-board, and Sir *John Greenville* had a conſiderable Force in the Iſland of *St. Mary*, commanded by ſome of the beſt Officers in the late King's Army; ſo that if thoſe Diſputes had been decided by the Sword, the Engagement muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir *John* eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the Remains of the King's Forces under his Command; and therefore entered into a Treaty with General *Blake* and Admiral *Ayſcue*, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair Conditions: after which *Blake* returned to *England*, and *Ayſcue* proceeded on his Voyage to *Barbadoes* [b]. The Parliament, when they firſt heard of the Reduction of *Scilly*, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had Reaſon, ſince Privateers from thence did ſo much Miſchief, that ſcarce any Trade could be carried on with tolerable Security. But when the Conditions were known, ſome great Men changed their Opinions, and gave *Blake* to underſtand, that he and his Colleague had been too forward; ſo that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this Agreement. *Blake* ſaid, that if they had given Sir *John Greenville* good Conditions, they had done it with good Reaſon; that, in the firſt Place, it ſaved the Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood; and next, that there was a ſtrong Squadron of *Dutch* Ships at no great Diſtance, the Commander of which had offered Sir *John* no leſs than 100,000 *l.* to put theſe Iſlands into his Hands; that if the Parliament did not approve of his Conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a Miſtake of that Sort for the future, by laying down his Commiſſion, as he was confident Sir *George Ayſcue* would likewiſe do [c]. Upon this there was no more ſaid of the Articles, which were honourably complied with, and Sir *George* received Orders to ſail immediately to the *Weſt-Indies*, which he obeyed, never expecting to hear any more of theſe Articles, which as they were made with good Reaſon, ſo he thought they would have met with a good Reception; but he had afterwards Cauſe given him to apprehend, that whatever Benefit the Parliament might receive from the Service itſelf, they were far enough from being ſatisfied with the Manner in which it was done.

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[a] Some Notices of eminent Perſons in England, MS. once W. Lilly's.

[b] Whitlock's Memorials, p 317.

[c] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 158.

[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

[e] The Civil Wars of England, p. 231.

[f] Sir Shilip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.

[g] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

[h] Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 395.

[i] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411—414.

It is the Miſfortune of all Governments, that have a Diſtruſt of their own Titles, to be jealous and ſuſpicious to a very unreaſonable Degree, and this was one of the very few Foibles, to which our Long-parliament was ſubject, and proved in the End the Ruin of their Power. For *Oliver Cromwell*, and the People he truſted, knowing that there was no Means of ſubverting that Senate, but by dividing them, and thereby rendering their Bottom narrower; they took great Pains to infuſe into honeſter Mens Heads than their own, that ſuch as were mere Acts of Generoſity and Virtue, flowed from a ſecret Regard to the royal Cauſe. And thus they brought both *Blake* and *Ayſcue* to be conſidered, after all their Services, as Men not fit to be truſted. There was ſome Pains likewiſe taken, to infuſe into the Minds of *Blake* and *Ayſcue*, a deep Reſentment of this undeſerved Uſage: and that this was not altogether without Effect, appears clearly from the Warmth expreſſed by *Blake* about it [d]. Yet after all, there are ſome Paſſages relating to the Reduction of theſe Iſlands, which deſerve the Reader's Attention, and which will clear up many Difficulties, even in the beſt Hiſtories we have of thoſe Times. In the firſt Place it is certain, that the leſſer Iſlands were actually taken by the Parliament's Forces; that Sir *John Greenville* was blocked up by Land and Sea in the Iſland of *St. Mary*, which he had fortified indeed, and had a competent Number of Men to defend; but then, there were two Things againſt him: The firſt, that the King his Maſter could afford him no Succours; the ſecond, that tho' the *Dutch* would have bought the Iſland of him, yet he had no Reaſon to hope, they would take him or his Troops on-board, in caſe they were diſtreſſed by the Parliament's Forces. Theſe were certainly very good Reaſons, for that brave Man's endeavouring to make the beſt Terms for himſelf he could [e]. Yet the Parliament had no juſt Cauſe to blame their Generals for what they did in this Buſineſs, ſince theſe Iſlands were ſo ſituated, that, in the Hands of an Enemy, neither *England* nor *Ireland* could have been ſafe; and if reaſonable Terms had not been granted to Sir *John Greenville*, he muſt have been obliged to have accepted the Terms offered him by the *Dutch*, who both could and would have yielded him that Protection, which it was not in the Power of his Maſter to afford [f]. Yet after all, Sir *George Ayſcue* had no Share in actually granting him theſe Conditions; ſince it manifeſtly appears, that he not only wrote for, and had the Parliament's Orders to continue his Voyage to *Barbadoes*, but was actually ſailed before the Articles were ſigned, which was on the 23d of *May* 1651 [g]. The Account given by the Earl of *Clarendon* of this Matter, is very ſhort, and is wrong placed; for he brings it in after the *Dutch* War was begun, and at the Cloſe of his Account of the Reduction of *Barbadoes* and *Virginia* [h].

Sir *George* continued his Voyage, without meeting with any croſs Accident, till his Arrival at *Barbadoes*, which was on the 26th of *October* 1651. He then found his Enterpriſe would be attended with great Difficulties, and ſuch as had not been foreſeen at home. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* commanded there for the King, and had aſſembled a Body of 5000 Men for the Defence of the Iſland. He was a Nobleman of great Parts and greater Probity, one who had been extremely reverenced by the Parliament, before he quitted their Party to follow his Duty, and whoſe Worth had ſo ſtrongly recommended him, both to the Eſteem and Affection of the Inhabitants, that he had as abſolute a Diſpoſal of their Perſons and Properties, as it was neceſſary for a Governor to have, who was in ſuch a Situation; and the Uſe he made of his Power and Influence, was as perfectly right in itſelf, as the critical Circumſtances of thoſe Times required [i]. Sir *George*, though he fully apprehended how many and how great Obſtacles lay in his way, yet ſhewed no Signs of Concern, but boldly forced his Paſſage into the Harbour, and made himſelf Maſter of 12 Sail of *Dutch* Merchantmen that lay there, hoping that this might raiſe an Inſurrection in the Iſland, in which however he was miſtaken. The next Morning he ſent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*, requiring him to ſubmit to the Authority of the Parliament of *England*; to which his Lordſhip anſwered, that he knew no ſuch Authority, that he had a Commiſſion from King *Charles* II. to be Governor of that Iſland, and that he would keep it for his Majeſty's Service at the Hazard of his Life. That he might be able to make good his Word, he put the Iſland and its Inhabitants into the beſt Poſture of Defence poſſible; and being much ſuperior in Strength, Sir *George* thought it not prudent to land the few Troops he had, and thereby diſcover his Weakneſs to ſo cautious an Enemy [k]. In the mean time, he received a Letter by an Advice-boat from *England*, with the News of the King's being defeated at *Worceſter*, with one intercepted from Lady *Willoughby*, containing a very particular Account of that unhappy Affair. Upon this he ſummoned Lord *Willoughby* a ſecond Time, and accompanied his Summons with Lady *Willoughby's* Letter, which however made no Impreſſion upon his Lordſhip, who continued firm in his Reſolution, of holding out the Iſland as long as he could [l]. All this time Sir *George* anchored in *Speights* Bay, and ſtayed there till *December*, when he accompliſhed his Service, as related on Page 448.

Sir *George*, conſidering that he had fully executed his Commiſſion, and that his Preſence was no farther neceſſary in *America*,

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 636.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.

[c] The Proſe Works of the Lord Viſcount Landſdown, p. 256, 257.

[d] Lord Landſdown's Proſe Works, Vol. II p. 256, 257.

[e] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 492, 493.

[f] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

[g] See theſe Articles in MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel.

[h] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

[i] Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 18.

[k] Ibid. p 17.

[l] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 385.

America, reſolved to return with the Squadron under his Command to *England*, which he accordingly did; and arriving at *Plymouth* on the 25th of *May* 1652[a], was received with all imaginable Teſtimonies of Joy and Satisfaction by the People there, to whom he was well known before, as his late Succeſs alſo ſerved not a little to raiſe and heighten his Reputation.

The Reduction of *Barbadoes* was firſt attempted, becauſe it was thought of greater Conſequence than any of our Plantations, and the People leaſt affected to the new Government. We have an excellent, tho' conciſe, Account of this, from the Pen of Lord *Clarendon*[b]. “*Barbadoes*, ſays he, which was much the richeſt Plantation, was principally inhabited by Men that had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the Noiſe and Oppreſſions in *England*, and without any ill Thoughts towards the King, many of them having ſerved him with Fidelity and Courage during the War, and that being ended, made that Iſland their Refuge from farther Proſecutions; but having now gotten good Eſtates there, (as it is incredible to what Fortunes Men raiſed themſelves in few Years in that Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection under that Government at that Diſtance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Tranſgreſſions, which upon the Articles of Surrender they were indemnified from. Nor was there any other Alteration there, than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was upon many Accounts odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governor there by the King's Commiſſion) and putting an inferior mean Man in his Place.”

It was not long after his Arrival, before he found himſelf again obliged to enter upon Action, for the *Dutch* War which broke out in his Abſence, was then become extreamly warm, and he was forced to take a Share in it, though his Ships were ſo extremely foul, that they were much fitter to be laid up, than to be employed in any farther Service. On the 21ſt of *June* 1652, Sir *George Ayſcue*, in Obedience to the Orders he had received from *London*, came to *Dover*, with his Squadron of 11 Sail, and there joined his old Friend Admiral *Blake*, on-board whoſe Ship he dined, and was received with all imaginable Marks of Reſpect and Kindneſs, by that famous Commander[c]. In the Beginning of the next Month, *Blake* having received Orders to ſail Northward, and deſtroy the *Dutch* Herring-fiſhery, Sir *George Ayſcue* was left to command the Fleet in the *Downs*. Within a few Days after *Blake*'s Departure, he took five Sail of *Dutch* Merchantmen[d], and had ſcarce brought them in, before he received Advice, that a Fleet of 40 Sail had been ſeen not far from the Coaſt, upon which he gave Chace, fell in amongſt them, took ſeven, ſunk four, and run 24 upon the *French* Shore, all the reſt being ſeparated from their Convoy, which, conſidering that Sir *George* had with him only the Squadron he brought from *Barbadoes*, was very gallantly performed, as *Whitlock* judiciouſly informs us[e]. In the Account that Sir *George* gave of this Action to the Parliament, he obſerved, that running *Dutch* Ships upon the *French* Shore, was the ſame thing as ſinking or burning them; for though the *French* defended them vigorouſly from the *Engliſh* Ships that purſued them, yet they afterwards went aboard the *Dutch*, and plundered them without Mercy[f].

The *Dutch* Admiral, *Van Tromp*, who was at Sea with a great Fleet, having Information of the Situation that Sir *George Ayſcue* was in, reſolved to take Advantage of him, and with no leſs than 100 Sail, clapped in between him and the River, and reſolved to ſurprize ſuch Ships as ſhould attempt to go out; or, if that Deſign failed, to go in and ſink Sir *George* and his Squadron[g]. The *Engliſh* Admiral ſoon diſcovered their Intention, and cauſing a Signal to be made from *Dover-Caſtle*, for all Ships to keep to Sea, he thereby defeated the firſt Part of their Project. However, *Van Tromp* attempted the ſecond Part of his Scheme, in Hopes of better Succeſs, and on the 8th of *July*, when it was Ebb, he began to ſail towards the *Engliſh* Fleet, but the Wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an Anchor about a League off, in order to expect the next Ebb; Sir *George*, in the mean time, cauſed a ſtrong Platform to be raiſed between *Deal* and *Sandown* Caſtles, well furniſhed with Artillery, ſo pointed, as to bear directly upon the *Dutch* as they came in. The Militia of the County of *Kent* were alſo ordered down to the Sea-ſhore, to entertain the Enemy with their ſmall Shot; notwithſtanding which Preparation, the *Dutch* Admiral did not recede from his Point, but at the next Ebb weighed Anchor, and would have ſtood into the Port, but the Wind coming about South-weſt, and blowing directly in his Teeth, conſtrained him to keep out, and being ſtreightened for Time, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave Sir *George* ſafe in the Harbour, with the ſmall Squadron he commanded[h].

He was ſoon after ordered to *Plymouth*, to bring in under his Convoy five *Eaſt-India* Ships, which he did in the latter End of *July*; and in the firſt Week in *Auguſt*, brought in four *French* and *Dutch* Prizes, for which Activity and Vigilance in his Command, he was univerſally commended.

In a few Days after this, Intelligence was received, that *Van Tromp*'s Fleet was ſeen on the Back of the *Iſle of Wight*, and it was thereupon reſolved, that Sir *George* with his Fleet of 40 Men of War, moſt of them hired Merchantmen, except Flag ſhips, ſhould ſtretch over to the Coaſt of *France* to meet them. Accordingly, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, between one and two of the Clock at Noon, they got ſight of the Enemy, who quitted their Merchantmen, being 50 in Number. About four the Fight began; the *Engliſh* Admiral with nine others charging through their Fleet, his Ships received moſt Damage in the Shrouds, Maſts, Sails, and Rigging, which was repaid the *Dutch* in their Hulls; Sir *George* having thus paſſed through them, got the Weather-gage, and charged them again, but all his Fleet not coming up, and the Night already entered, they parted with a Drawn-battle[i]. Captain *Peck*, the Rear-admiral, loſt his Leg, whereof ſoon after he died. Several Captains were wounded, but no Ship loſt, only ſome ſhattered and torn. Of the *Dutch* not one was ſaid to be loſt, though many ſhot through and through, but ſo that they were able to proceed in their Voyage, and anchored the next Day after, being followed by the *Engliſh* to the Iſle of *Baſſa*, but no further Attempt was made by our Fleet, by reaſon, as it was pretended, of the Danger of the *French* Coaſts, from whence they returned to *Plymouth Sound*, to mend and repair their Rigging[k]. The Truth of the Matter was, ſome of Sir *George*'s Captains were a little baſhful in this Affair, and the Fleet was in ſo indifferent a Condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to refit, before they proceeded again to Action[l].

There were various Reports concerning this Engagement, ſome of which reflected on the Commander, and ſome on thoſe who ſerved under him. *Whitlock*, who wrote preciſely as Things came to Hand, and neither more nor leſs than his Advices contained, tells us[m], “On the 18th of *Auguſt*, that Sir *George Ayſcue* and the *Dutch* Fleet was engaged about *Plymouth*, and that there had paſſed 2 or 3000 Shot between them.” On the 24th he had received clearer Accounts, from whence he writes thus: “Letters, that Sir *George Ayſcue*, by Advice of his Council of War, went after the *Dutch* Fleet to the Coaſt of *France*, and there engaged them, who were 90 Sail of Ships, 30 of them Merchantmen, who left their Fleet upon the Beginning of the Engagement.

“That Sir *George* had but 38 Sail, and four Fire-ſhips, and four Scouts; that he and four others charged thro' the whole Body of the Enemy's Fleet, and received many Shots in their Hulls, Maſts, and Rigging, the Enemy's Deſign being to ſpoil them. But Sir *George* tacked about and weathered them, and charged them all again, and ſo continued engaged till dark Night.

“That he loſt but one Fire-ſhip, which ſet herſelf on fire, being ready to ſink, and ſaved her Men, and turned

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[a] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 534.

[b] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

[c] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 536.

[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

[e] Memorial, p. 538, Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

[f] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 538.

[g] Heath's Chronicle, p. 522.

[h] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 539, 540, 541. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 364.

[i] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 541. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 637. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.

[k] Heath's Chronicle, p. 325.

[l] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 542.

[m] Memorials, p. 541.

" her among the Enemy. That the *Dutch* Admiral was " ſunk. That the next Day the *Engliſh* Fleet kept ſight " of the *Dutch* Fleet, but would not engage upon the " *French* Coaſt, but went to the Northward to repair their " Ships." The Account given by Lord *Clarendon*, differs ſomething from this: " Sir *George Ayſcue* ſtanding Weſtward, ſays he, engaged with 30 Sail of Men of War, " the whole *Dutch* Fleet conſiſting of 60 Ships of War and " 30 Merchants. It was near four of the Clock in the " Afternoon when both Fleets begun to engage, ſo that " the Night quickly parted them; yet not before two of " the *Holland* Ships of War were ſunk, and moſt of the " Men loſt. The *Dutch*, in that Action, applying them- " ſelves moſt to ſpoil the Tackling and Sails of the *Engliſh*, in which they had ſo good Succeſs, that on the next " Morning they were not able to give them farther Chace, " till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired [a]." The *Dutch* Writers give a very different Account of this Affair; they aſſert, that their own Fleet was ſo far from being ſuperior, that it was ſcarce equal to that of the *Engliſh* [b]; which however is no better than a Fallacy, ſince tho' Admiral *de Ruyter* had no more than 38 Men of War under his Command, yet he had 60 Merchantmen under his Convoy; and out of theſe he took 20 of the ſtouteſt and beſt manned into the Line, and as they acted in every Reſpect as well as Men of War could have done, there is no great Wonder that they were taken for Men of War by the *Engliſh* Sailors who engaged them, and that from their Report this Miſtake is crept into Hiſtory. We have ſeen that Lord *Clarendon*, in his Account of this Battle, ſays, that the *Dutch* fired chiefly at the *Engliſh* Rigging, which at firſt Sight looks, as if they had had a Mind to retire from them. Yet when one conſiders that the Author of *de Ruyter*'s Life gives us a long Speech made by that Admiral, reflecting on the baſe Behaviour of the *Engliſh*, and encouraging his Officers to purſue and attack them even in their own Harbour of *Plymouth* [c]; I ſay, when one conſiders this, and that the moſt impartial and *Engliſh* Hiſtorians own, that *de Ruyter* offered Sir *George Ayſcue* Battle afterwards, who refuſed it [d], this muſt appear in a very different Light. It was ſome time before I could penetrate this Myſtery; for tho' Mr. *Colliber*, a very induſtrious Writer, and one whoſe perfect Knowledge in the *Dutch* Hiſtory enabled him to ſet many Things in a better Light, than any of our Writers of naval Hiſtory, denies the Fact, and treats *de Ruyter*'s Speech as a mere Fiction [e]; yet I could not ſubſcribe in that to his Opinion, becauſe, as I have obſerved, the *Engliſh* Writers of thoſe Times confirmed what the *Dutch* ſay, and acknowledge that Sir *George Ayſcue* declined fighting [f]; but thought there muſt be ſomething more in it, and upon ſifting the Matter thoroughly, I found the Truth to be this: Sir *George Ayſcue* had a Fleet of 38 Sail, but the greateſt Part of them neither did nor would fight; ſo that the whole Fire of the *Dutch* Fleet fell upon nine or ten Sail that did their Duty; and the Reaſon that the *Dutch* fired at their Rigging, was in Hopes of diſabling them from making a Retreat, that the next Day they might be able either to ſink or take them. This accounts clearly for all the dark and contradictory Paſſages that we have met with. It ſhews us, why Sir *George Ayſcue* retired to his own Ports to refit, it explains and juſtifies *de Ruyter*'s Speech, and it manifeſts the true Reaſon why Sir *George* afterwards refuſed to fight when *de Ruyter* challenged and provoked him. This, I ſay, is the Myſtery hitherto never explained by any of our Writers, and which therefore I take to be a very curious and valuable Diſcovery. But the Reader may perhaps imagine that this is all Conjecture; and if it were ſo, I ſhould have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of it. But *William Lilly* has ſet down the very Fact, and it is from his Account that I have made this Diſcovery. His Words are theſe: " *Auguſt* 16, 1652, Sir *George Ayſcue*, near *Plymouth*, with " 14 or 15 Ships only, fought threeſcore Sail of *Dutch* " Men of War, had 30 Shot in the Hull of his own Ship, " 20 Merchant-ſhips (I ſuppoſe Merchantmen converted " into Men of War) never came in to aſſiſt him, yet he " made the *Dutch* give way. Why our State ſhall pay " thoſe Ships that fought not, we of the People know not. " This is he that is a Gentleman, lives like a Gentleman, " and acts the Part of a generous Commander in all his " Actions." There cannot, I think, be any clearer Account or better Authority than this, either expected or demanded, ſince thereby all the different Relations of this Engagement, which have appeared hitherto ſo unintelligible, and in many Reſpects ſo contradictory, are fully explained, and perfectly reconciled.

He proceeded next to join *Blake* in the Northern Seas, where he continued during the beſt Part of the Month of *September*, and took ſeveral Prizes, and towards the latter End of that Month, Sir *George* returned with General *Blake* into the *Downs*, with 120 Sail of Men of War [g]. On the 27th of that Month, a great *Dutch* Fleet appeared, after which, *Blake* with his Fleet ſailed, and Sir *George Ayſcue*, purſuant to the Orders he had received, returned to *Chatham* with his own Ship, and ſent the reſt of his Squadron into ſeveral Ports to be careened [h]. It does not appear that the Parliament openly expreſſed any Diſlike, or Diſtaſte, at Sir *George*'s Behaviour upon his coming home, but, on the contrary, ſhewed him all the Regard and Reſpect imaginable; tho' he had ſome Friends who informed him, that this was in Appearance only, ſince they could not help expreſſing a Diſlike to the Terms he had granted to the Lord *Willoughby* at *Barbadoes*, which they conſidered as the ſecond Part of Sir *John Greenville*'s Buſineſs, for which they had been ſo angry both with him and *Blake*; all which, however, Sir *George* bore without any viſible Signs of Diſcontent, profeſſing that he had done what he took to be his Duty, and would continue ſo to do, as long as he commanded in the *Engliſh* Fleet, without troubling himſelf about the Humours of particular Men, whom, after all his Endeavours, he might find it impoſſible to pleaſe.

There was one Reaſon, which at this Juncture, inclined the Parliament to part the more readily with this excellent Officer, which deſerves to be conſidered. It is this; they began to diſcern *Cromwell*'s Intention to overturn them, and to ſet up a new Form of Government by the Power of the Army, which they ſaw he had gained, by putting in Creatures of his own. In order therefore to get the better of this Deſign, they formed a very extraordinary Project; which was to new model the Army, by ſending ſuch of the Regiments as they ſuſpected moſt, to ſerve onboard the Fleet; and to make this Scheme anſwer their Purpoſe the better, they thruſt in abundance of Land-officers to command their Fleet, and it was to make way for theſe that they ſuffered Sir *George Ayſcue* and ſome other Officers to quit that Service [i]. But in this they ſtrangely overreached themſelves; for *Cromwell* ſeeing there was no time to be loſt, and that by this Step they had for the preſent equally diſobliged the Seamen and alarmed the Army, puſhed on his Deſign with greater Vehemence, and by craftily managing two Parties, who, tho' they wiſhed equally ill to the Parliament, leaſt of all intended the ſetting him up, deceived and got the better of them all; while the Officers of the Fleet having their Hands full of the *Dutch* War, thought themſelves obliged to ſerve their Country the beſt they could, notwithſtanding this Change of Government, which tho' they did not reliſh they could not remedy. Before this great Change was brought about, which was in the Month of *April* 1653, Sir *George Ayſcue* was retired to his Country-ſeat in *Surrey*, with a ſettled Reſolution to live in an honourable Privacy, and never concern himſelf farther with public Affairs; which is the Reaſon that we never meet with him in the Councils of State, or any other of the new Schemes of Government that were ſet up in ſucceeding Times. How far this Conduct of his may on the ſtrict Principles of Patriotiſm be juſtified, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but this is certain, that ſome of the wiſeſt and ableſt Men in the Kingdom thought in the ſame Way, and acted in the ſame Manner, till they had an Opportunity afterwards of entering again into the public Service, when the Government was better eſtabliſhed, and ſtood once more upon a legal Baſis. There might alſo be a particular Reaſon that might determine Sir *George Ayſcue* to act as he did, which was this; that he had never interfered in any of thoſe dark Deſigns by which the Government was overturned, or been made uſe of as an Inſtrument in any of the violent Meaſures practiſed for overturning it; ſo that in his State of rural Retirement, he had very little to apprehend from new Changes, but might be truly ſaid to have all things to hope, and little or nothing to fear.

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[a] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

[b] La Vie et les Actions memorables du Sieur M. de Ruyter, p. 10.

[c] Ibid. p. 14.

[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 226.

[e] Columna Roſtrat. p. 102.

[f] Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

[g] Id. ibid.

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

[i] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 450, 451, 452.

The Services this great Man had rendered his Country, were none of them more acceptable to the Parliament, than this Act of laying down his Command. They had long wiſhed and waited for an Opportunity of diſmiſſing him from their Service, and were therefore extremely pleaſed that he had ſaved them this Trouble; however, to ſhew their Gratitude for paſt Services, and to prevent his falling into abſolute Diſcontent, they voted him a Preſent of 300 *l.* in Money, and likewiſe beſtowed upon him 300 *l. per Annum* in *Ireland* [a].

There is ſome Reaſon to believe that he had a particular Correſpondence with the Protector's ſecond Son, *Henry*, ſince there is ſtill a Letter in being from the latter to Secretary *Thurloe* [b], which ſhews that he had very juſt Notions of the Worth of this Gentleman, and of the Expediency of conſulting him in all ſuch Matters, as had a Relation to maritime Power, which Letter, as it is equally curious and ſhort, is here inſerted.

H. CROMWELL *to Secretary* THURLOE.

“*SIR*,

“This incloſed Paper, was preſented to me by a Perſon of Worth here, who deſired it might be communicated to you, and deſired that you would hear Sir *George Ayſcue* (if you think there is any thing worthy of your Notice) more particularly about it; and alſo I make it my Requeſt, that you would hear him as to other things, and make what Uſe thereof you think fit. I am,

Dublin, Nov. 14,
1655.

“Your loving Friend,
“H. CROMWELL.”

The Protector, towards the latter End of his Life, began to grow diſſatisfied with the *Dutch*, the rather, becauſe of the Share they had taken in the Affairs of the North, where they had eſpouſed the Cauſe of the King of *Denmark* to a Degree of Partiality, and were projecting the total Suppreſſion of the *Swediſh* Power. This did not by any means agree with the Protector's Plan in regard to foreign Affairs; and as it was not in his Nature to bear with any Diſappointments in his Views, ſo he reſolved to deſtroy this Syſtem of the *Dutch*, and yet without entering immediately into a War with them. It was with this View, that he encouraged the *Swedes* to cultivate with the utmoſt Diligence a maritime Force, promiſing in due time to aſſiſt them with a ſufficient Number of able and experienced Officers, and with an Admiral to command them, who in point of Reputation was not inferior to any then living [c]. It was upon this Occaſion, and for this Service, that he caſt his Eyes upon Sir *George Ayſcue*; but not caring to deal directly with a Man who had declined acting under his Government, and had never frequented his Court, he reſolved that the Propoſition ſhould be made him by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and ſent the Lord Keeper *Whitlock* to introduce him to the Admiral at his Country-ſeat [d]. We have a large and very curious Account of this Conference, and of that Part of the Converſation which was fit for the public View, preſerved by *Whitlock* himſelf, who writes [e]: “*Auguſt* the 13th, 1656, the Ambaſſador of *Sweden* dined at Sir *George Ayſcue*'s Houſe in *Surrey*, where they had a very noble Entertainment. The Houſe ſtands environed with Ponds, Motes, and Water, like a Ship at Sea; a Fancy fitter for the Maſter's Humour, who is himſelf ſo great a Seaman. There he ſaid he had caſt Anchor, and intended to ſpend the reſt of his Life in a private Retirement.

“The Ambaſſador underſtanding the Abilities of Sir *George* in Sea-affairs, did (according to his Cuſtom) endeavour to improve his own Knowledge by his Diſcourſes and Queſtions to the Company, according to their ſeveral Capacities and Abilities. He therefore found many Queſtions to demand of Sir *George*, and had much Diſcourſe with him about Sea-matters, and particularly concerning our *Engliſh* Frigates: He was very inquiſitive to know of Sir *George*, Whether he eſteemed them the beſt of any ſort of Ships for Fight. Sir *George* anſwered freely, That he did not eſteem them the beſt Ships for fight, but held, that the old-faſhioned *Engliſh* Ships of the biggeſt Rate were beſt for Fight; and being aſked his Reaſon, ſaid, Becauſe they were ſtronger than the Frigates, would endure the ſhaking of their own Guns, and the Blows of the Enemy, better than the Frigates could, and were firm and like Caſtles in the Sea, and not ſo eaſy to be boarded as the Frigates, being higher built.

“The Ambaſſador replied, That they themſelves could not ſo eaſily board another Ship being ſo high built. Sir *George* anſwered, That when they came to boarding, they that aſſailed, had not ſo great a Trouble of going down their own Ship, as the going up their Enemies; and the high building was no Hinderance to the boarding of another, but was the better Defence for themſelves. “The Ambaſſador alſo objected, That they could not ſo eaſily come about and fetch up another Ship as the Frigates could. Sir *George* anſwered, That they could eaſily enough tack about upon any Occaſion in Fight; but confeſſed that they could not ſo ſoon fetch up another Ship, nor take, or leave, as the Frigates could, which he ſaid was rather an Inducement to Cowardice than Courage; and ſome Captains, when they knew they could leave an Enemy as they pleaſed, would engage in the fewer Blows; whereas the old built Ships muſt ſtand to it, and the Men knowing that there was no running away, would have the better Mettle to fight it out. “The Ambaſſador aſked, Which would laſt longeſt, the Ships built after the old Faſhion or the Frigates. Sir *George* anſwered, That the old Buildings were more ſtrong and ſubſtantial than the Building of the Frigates, which was made long and light for ſailing, and therefore could not laſt ſo long as the other; and they carrying many Guns, and being thus made, their own Guns did much ſhake and wear them, more than the Guns of the other did.” They had much Diſcourſe of this Nature, which added much to the Entertainment.

It appears clearly from hence, that Sir *George Ayſcue* was exactly of the ſame Opinion with the ableſt Seamen of our Times, in reſpect to the building of Ships of War. He judged, that the Capacity, Firmneſs, and Strength of our Men of War, gave us great Advantages; that the End and Deſign of Ships ſhould be chiefly conſidered in building them; and therefore that Ships of War ſhould rather be diſtinguiſhed by their Strength and Conveniency for Fighting, than by the Neatneſs of their Form, or their being extraordinary good Sailors. Sir *William Monſon*, the ableſt of our Writers upon maritime Affairs, thought the ſame way; and it is very remarkable, that long before the *Dutch* Wars began, he foretold, that if ever that State differed with us, they would make their utmoſt Efforts to gain the firſt Battle at Sea, for which he gives ſeveral Reaſons [f]: and it is no leſs remarkable that they really attempted this; and that their famous Admiral *Tromp* attacked *Blake* in the firſt Battle in the *Downs*, with a Force vaſtly ſuperior, and that *Blake* eſcaped by nothing but the Size and Strength of his Ships, which enabled him with four or five to bear the Fire of almoſt the whole *Dutch* Fleet, till ſuch time as the reſt of his own Ships were able to come in to his Relief, and then the Matter was ſpeedily determined, and contrary to the Hopes and Expectation of the *Dutch*, who thought they ſhould have gained an eaſy and complete Victory by Surpriſe, which would have forced the *Engliſh* Commonwealth to make Peace upon their Terms [g]. In like manner, thro' the whole Courſe of that War, it was the large Size and Firmneſs of our Ships, which gave us ſuch great

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[a] Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

[b] Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

[c] Notices of eminent Perſons, &c. MS.

[d] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649.

[e] Ibid. p. 649, 650.

[f] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 462.

[g] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.

Advantages, not only in the Opinion of our own Commanders, but of the *Dutch* themſelves.

This Interview had its Effects: Sir *George Ayſcue* from that time began to entertain favourable Thoughts of the Deſign, and brought himſelf by degrees to approve of the Propoſition that was made him, ſo far as to think at leaſt, not only of quitting the Retreat he had choſen, but even of accepting the Offer made him, and of going over for that Purpoſe to *Sweden* [a]. But as great Undertakings move ſlowly, and there is much time neceſſary for ripening ſuch vaſt Projects into Execution; ſo we find that Sir *George Ayſcue* had not brought himſelf to an abſolute Compliance in reference to this Deſign, before the Death of the Protector [b]. Yet that did not hinder his cloſing at laſt with the Propoſals made him from *Sweden*, and putting every thing in order for his Journey, towards the latter End of the Year 1658.

It is remarkable, that the *Daniſh* Miniſter, tho' he appears to have been ſenſible of the Deſign, did not think proper to complain during the Life-time of *Oliver*, but when he ſaw *Richard* inveſted with his Title only, and not his Power, he addreſſed himſelf to the Secretary in the following Epiſtle, which is very ſingular in its kind, ſince it ſhews at once, how little Kindneſs its Author had for Sir *George Ayſcue*, and how much he ſtood in fear of him [c].

" *May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

" Talk has been this many Months, that Sir *George*
" *Ayſcue*, and 10 or 12 Sea-captains were to take Service
" under the King of *Sweden*, which I would not be in-
" duced to believe, thinking the ſaid *Ayſcue*, could not
" turn a mercenary Soldier of another Prince, whilſt the
" War in his own Country laſted; if he could not be ſa-
" tisfied with that Wealth and Honour he has gotten, and
" live a retired and quiet Life: but I have been deceived,
" in my Opinion, and find, that certainly he, and the ſaid
" Captains, are to depart in a few Days; they to com-
" mand each a Man of War, and Sir *George* the whole
" *Swediſh* Fleet; wherewith I have thought it my Duty to
" acquaint your Lordſhip, in hope, his Highneſs will think
" it convenient to ſtay his and their Journey, as judging it
" more convenient, that his Subjects ſhould rather aſſiſt
" the King, my Maſter, than, in the Service of the King
" of *Sweden*, help to oppreſs him; and this, I think, would
" be alſo conformable to the Senſe of the Article of that
" Treaty, concluded between his late Highneſs of immortal
" Memory, and the King, my Maſter, *viz. Ita ut neutra*
" *pars populuſve, aut ſubditi alterutrius, neque per ſe, neque*
" *per alios, directè, vel indirectè, quidquam agat, vel quantum*
" *in ſe eſt, agi, permittat, in damnum aut præjudicium alte-*
" *rius, verum altera alteram omnibus bonis officiis adjuvabit,*
" *atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit, i. e.*
" ſo that no part of the People or Subjects of the one or
" of the other, either by themſelves, or by others, directly,
" or indirectly, ſhall either do, or, as far as in their Power
" lies, permit to be done, any Damage or Prejudice to the
" other, but ſhall to each other render all ſorts of good
" Offices, and promote one the other's Advantage, as
" much as in them lies.

" I reſt, your Lordſhip's,
" (whoſe perfect Recovery I heartily wiſh)
" moſt humble and obedient Servant,

Covent-Garden,
27 Sept. 1658.

" SIMON PETKUM."

This however had no Effect, either in procuring an Interpoſition from the State, to prevent Sir *George* from proſecuting his Deſign, or in obliging him to alter his Reſolution. On the contrary, as ſoon as he had ſeen the Officers embarked, and had diſpatched ſome private Buſineſs of his own, he proſecuted his Voyage, tho' in the very Depth of Winter. This expoſed him to great Hardſhips, which however he endured with much Conſtancy; and on his Arrival in *Sweden*, was received with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Civility and Reſpect by the King, who was extremely well pleaſed with his coming, and might very probably have made good his Promiſe, of promoting him to the Rank of High-admiral of *Sweden*, if he had not been taken off by an unexpected Death [d].

This *Swediſh* Monarch, who invited Sir *George* into his Dominions, and who was always firmly attached to *England*, was *Charles Guſtavus*, who came to the Throne by the voluntary Reſignation of Queen *Chriſtina*, Daughter to the famous *Guſtavus Adolphus*, in the Year 1654, and ſoon after engaged in a War with *Poland*, becauſe the Monarch who then governed had oppoſed his Acceſſion, on the ſcore of his hereditary Right to the Crown of *Sweden*, and in a very ſhort Space of time, King *Charles* over-ran the greateſt Part of *Poland*, forcing the King to take Shelter in *Sileſia*. This War, which laſted as long as the *Swediſh* Monarch lived, and was the ſole Buſineſs of his Reign, ended in a manner very far different from that in which it began; for the *Poles*, foreſeeing that the Conqueſt of their Country would raiſe his *Swediſh* Majeſty abundance of Enemies, abſolutely refuſed to make Peace with him upon any Terms, tho' he was Maſter of both their Capitals, *Cracow* and *Warſaw*, and of the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, and themſelves conſtantly beaten in every Engagement. In this they judged right; for tho' at the Beginning King *Charles* was at Peace with all his Neighbours, yet his rapid Conqueſt of *Poland*, ſtirred him up many Enemies: For firſt, the Emperor dreading this Acceſſion of Power to a *Swediſh* Prince, granted Succours to King *Caſimir* of *Poland*; then the *Muſcovites* invaded *Livonia*; the *Danes* broke with him next, in hopes of recovering what they loſt to his Predeceſſors; and tho', in the Beginning, he had the Elector of *Brandenburgh* for his Ally, he afterwards deſerted him, and joined his Enemies; and Prince *Ragotſki* of *Tranſilvania*, who invaded *Poland* likewiſe at his Inſtance, was called home by the *Turks* entering his own Dominions; and in the firſt Battle he fought againſt them, was killed upon the Spot [e]. The King of *Sweden*, notwithſtanding this Change of Affairs, continued the War, and, which is more ſurpriſing, maintained it with Succeſs, more eſpecially againſt the *Danes*, which drew the *Dutch* into the Quarrel, under pretence of their Alliance with *Denmark*. But, in reality, out of Regard to their own Intereſt, for they were perſuaded, that if this Monarch ſucceeded in his Deſigns, he would exclude them from the Trade of the *Baltic*: And it was to prevent this, that they ſent a ſtrong Fleet to the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes*. This Meaſure of theirs greatly offended the Protector *Oliver*, who had always kept up a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Sweden*, which he would willingly have aſſiſted with a powerful Fleet, if it could have been done without breaking with the *Dutch*, for which his Affairs were not then ripe. This put him upon ſending 20 experienced Officers, to command the *Swediſh* Ships, and to encourage Sir *George Ayſcue* to enter into the ſame Service, upon a Propoſal the King had made of declaring him Admiral; and if this Scheme had anſwered in his Life-time, there is no doubt, he would have ſent a ſtout *Engliſh* Fleet to have ſupported them. His Son *Richard* might, probably, intend to have purſued his Father's Meaſures, and it is very likely, that with this View he ordered Admiral *Montague*, with a numerous Squadron of Men of War to ſail for the *Sound*; but the long Parliament, reſuming the ſupreme Authority, ſent Inſtructions to that Admiral to join the *Dutch* [f]. But while theſe things were tranſacting, King *Charles* had puſhed on the War with ſuch Vigour, that he was actually become Maſter of moſt Part of the *Daniſh* Territories, and had even laid Siege to *Copenhagen*, which he would infallibly have taken, if the *Dutch* had not relieved it by beating his Fleet; which conſtrained him to turn the Siege into a Blockade, which he continued in ſpite of the *Dutch*. It was at this Juncture that Sir *George Ayſcue* arrived, who at firſt put him in hopes of ſome Aſſiſtance from *England*, but this quickly vaniſhed, in conſequence of the Revolution before-mentioned; notwithſtanding which, Sir *George Ayſcue* continued in great Credit with his Majeſty, and attended him to *Gottenburg*, where he had ſummoned an Aſſembly of the States, becauſe of its lying upon the Coaſt, which gave him an Opportunity of minding the Affairs of his Kingdom, and of the War at the ſame time. But it falling out unluckily, that a malignant Fever reigned there at that time, the King was ſeized thereby, and after an Illneſs of a few Days, died on the 13th of *February* 1660, in the 6th Year of his Reign [a].

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[a] Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 260.
[b] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 677.
[c] Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 412.
[d] Puffendorff Hiſtoire de Suede, Vol. II. p. 30.
[e] Hiſtoire de Suede, par Puffendorff, liv. III.
[f] Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

This put an End to his Hopes in that Country, and diſpoſed Sir *George Ayſcue* to return home, where a great Change had been working in his Abſence, which was that of reſtoring King *Charles* II. It does not at all appear, that Sir *George* had any concern in this great Affair; but the contrary may be rather preſumed, from his former Attachment to the Parliament, and his making it his Choice to have remained in *Sweden*, if the Death of the Monarch who invited him thither had not prevented him. On his Return however, he not only ſubmitted to the Government then eſtabliſhed, but gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances to the Adminiſtration, that he ſhould be at all times ready to ſerve the Public, if ever there ſhould be Occaſion, which was very kindly taken; and Sir *George Ayſcue* had the Honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, and to kiſs his Hand [b].

It was not long before he was called to the Performance of his Promiſe, for the *Dutch* War breaking out in 1664, he was immediately put into Commiſſion by the Direction of the Duke of *York*, who then commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet. In the Spring of the Year 1665, Sir *George Ayſcue* hoiſted his Flag as Rear-admiral of the Blue, under the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sandwich*; and in the great Battle that was fought on the 3d of *June* in the ſame Year, that Squadron had the Honour to break thro' the Centre of the *Dutch* Fleet, and thereby made way for one of the moſt glorious Victories ever obtained by this Nation at Sea [c]. But after many Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, as already noted in this Hiſtory, it happened on the third Day of the Battle, that Sir *George Ayſcue*, Admiral of the White, who commanded the *Royal Prince* (being the largeſt and heavieſt Ship of the whole Fleet) unfortunately ſtruck upon the Sand called the *Galloper*; where being threatened by the Enemy's Fire-ſhips, and hopeleſs of Aſſiſtance from his Friends (whoſe timely Return, the near Approach of the Enemy, and the contrary Tide, had abſolutely rendered impoſſible) he was forced to ſurrender [d]. This was that famous Engagement, which did equal Honour to both the maritime Powers, and in which both their Officers and Seamen are allowed to have performed as great things as were ever attempted on the watery Element. The *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter*, in his Letter to the States General, ſays in few Words, that Sir *George Ayſcue*, Admiral of the White, having run upon a Sand-bank, fell into their Hands; and that, after taking out the Commanders and the Men that were left, they ſet the Ship on-fire [e]. But the large Relation, collected by Order of the States out of all the Letters written to them upon that Occaſion, informs us, that Sir *George Ayſcue* in the *Royal Prince*, ran upon the *Galloper*; an unhappy Accident, ſays that Relation, for an Officer who had behaved very gallantly during the whole Engagement, who only retired in Obedience to his Admiral's Orders. The unfortunate Admiral made Signals for Aſſiſtance, but the *Engliſh* Fleet continued their Rout, ſo that he was left quite alone, and without Hope of Succour; in which Situation he was attacked by two *Dutch* Fire-ſhips, by which, without doubt, he had been burnt, if Lieutenant-admiral *Tromp*, who was on-board the Ship of Rear-admiral *Sweers*, had not made a Signal to call off the Fire-ſhips, perceiving that his Flag was already ſtruck, and a Signal made for Quarter; upon which Rear-admiral *Sweers*, by Order of *Tromp*, went on-board the *Engliſh* Ship, and brought off Sir *George Ayſcue*, his Officers, and ſome of his Men, on-board his own Veſſel; and the next Morning Sir *George* was ſent to the *Dutch* Coaſt, in order to go to the *Hague* in a Galliot, by order of General *de Ruyter*. The *Engliſh* Ship was afterwards got off the Sands, notwithſtanding which, General *de Ruyter* ordered the reſt of the Crew to be taken out, and the Veſſel to be ſet on-fire, that his Fleet might be the leſs embarraſſed; which was accordingly done [f]. But in the *French* Relation, publiſhed by Order of that Court, we have another Circumſtance which the *Dutch* have thought fit to omit, and it is this, that the Crew gave up the Ship againſt the Admiral's Will, who had given Orders for ſetting her on-fire [g]. There were ſome Circumſtances which made the Loſs of this Ship, in this Manner, very diſagreeable to the *Engliſh* Court; and perhaps this may be the Reaſon that ſo little is ſaid of it in our own Relations.

The *Royal Prince*, as all our Writers agree, was the largeſt and beſt built Ship in the Royal Navy; ſhe carried 92 Guns, and 620 Men; her Guns were all of them Braſs, and the Veſſel in the beſt Condition poſſible; theſe were Reaſons ſufficient to make the Loſs of her regretted; but the particular Circumſtance hinted at, is this, the *Royal Prince* was the Ship in which the King came over from *Holland* at his Reſtoration; a Fact, ſet down in none of our private Memoirs, tho' ſufficiently known and talked of at the time. But the *Dutch*, who knew this Circumſtance full as well as the *Engliſh*, have taken ſpecial Care to preſerve it [h]. It was not a little hard upon Sir *George Ayſcue* to be laid aſide for this Miſfortune, which for any thing appears, did not at all ariſe from any Miſtake or Overſight of his; but it ſeems that our Seamen conceived from hence, that he was an unlucky Commander; and that was enough in thoſe Days to lay any Man aſide; it being a conſtant Rule with the Court to employ none but popular Admirals, and ſuch as were beloved by the Seamen. It was on *Sunday* the 3d of *June*, about five in the Afternoon, that this Ship was given up to the *Dutch*, and about nine ſhe was ſet on-fire, becauſe about that time it appeared, that Prince *Rupert* having joined the Duke of *Albemarle*, was bearing down again upon the *Dutch* Fleet; ſo that tho' the *Royal Prince* was got off the Sands, they would not ſpare the time neceſſary to bring her away, but burnt her according to the expreſs Inſtructions given by the States General to *de Ruyter*.

On his Arrival at the *Hague*, he was very civilly treated; but to raiſe the Spirits of their People, and to make the moſt of this dubious kind of Victory, the States ordered Sir *George* to be carried as it were in Triumph, thro' the ſeveral Towns of *Holland*, and then confined him in the Caſtle of *Louveſtein*, ſo famous in the *Dutch* Hiſtories for having been the Priſon of ſome of their moſt eminent Patriots, and from whence the Party which oppoſed the Prince of *Orange*, were ſtiled the *Louveſtein* Faction [i]. As ſoon as Sir *George Ayſcue* came to this Caſtle, he wrote a Letter to King *Charles* II. to acquaint him with the Condition he was in. How long he remained there, or whether he continued a Priſoner to the End of the War, is what we cannot determine from any Lights that we have been able to procure; but it is ſaid, that he afterwards returned to *England*, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days in Peace [k].

The Life *of Admiral* Montague, *Earl of* Sandwich, *and Knight of the* Garter.

This eminent Perſon, *Edward Montague*, was the only ſurviving Son of Sir *Sidney Montague*, the youngeſt of ſix Sons of *Edward* Lord *Montague* of *Boughton* [l]. He was born on *July* 27, 1625 [m], and was married at 17 to the Daughter of Mr. afterwards Lord *Crew* of *Stene* [n].

He appeared ſoon after at the Head of a Regiment, under the Earl of *Eſſex*, raiſed by himſelf, not yet 18 Years old, his Colonel's Commiſſion bearing date *Auguſt* 20, 1643; and he was preſent at the ſtorming of *Lincoln*, on the 6th of *May* 1644, which was one of the warmeſt Actions in the War. He was likewiſe in the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, which was fought on the 2d of *July* the ſame Year, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, inſomuch, that ſoon after, when the City of *York* demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for ſettling the Articles; which muſt have been the pure Effects of perſonal Merit, ſince he was then but in his 19th Year[a]. We find him the next Year in the Battle of *Naſeby*; and in the Month of *July* 1645, he ſtormed the Town of *Bridgwater*[b]. In *September* he commanded a Brigade in the Storm of *Briſtol*, where he performed very remarkable Service; and on the 10th of *September* 1645, ſubſcribed the Articles of the Capitulation granted to Prince *Rupert*, on the Delivery of that important Place to the Parliament[c]; the News of this, in conjunction with Colonel *Hammond*, he was appointed to carry, for which a Thankſgiving was ordered[d] by the Parliament, where, though not of Age, he ſat as Knight for *Huntingdonſhire*[e]. His Acquaintance with *Cromwell*, the Court paid him by that artful Man, and his own generous unſuſpecting Temper, drew him in to accept a Seat at the Board of Treaſury, and into a Share of the Tranſactions in thoſe Times, with which he was very much diſſatisfied upon Reflection.

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[a] Puffendorff, ubi ſupra, p. 30. [b] Notices of eminent Men, &c. [c] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 20. [d] Columna Roſtrata, p. 172. [e] Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 294. [f] Ibid, p. 314. [g] Ibid, p. 326. [h] Ibid, p. 346. [i] Ibid, p. 348. [k] Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 446. [l] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. [m] Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 280. [n] Ibid, p. 281.

After the *Dutch* War was over, he was brought into a Command of the Fleet, and was made choice of by the Protector, to be joined with *Blake*, in his Expedition into the *Mediterranean*[f]. But our young Admiral found many of the Officers diſpleaſed with the Service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few inſiſted on laying down their Commiſſions: but he managed this intricate Buſineſs with ſuch Prudence and Dexterity, that by the time he came to ſail, the Fleet was pretty well ſettled, and the Officers diſpoſed to act in obedience to Orders[g].

In the Spring of the Year 1656, we find him in the *Mediterranean*, where himſelf, and his Colleague *Blake*, meditated great Things. They once thought of attacking the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the Harbour of *Cadiz*; but after attentively conſidering the Port, it was reſolved in a Council of War, that ſuch an Attempt was impracticable. Then *Gibraltar* was mentioned, as a Place that would be of great Utility, in caſe it could be taken. Admiral *Montague*, in a Letter to Secretary *Thurloe*, gave his Judgment of this Project, with great Sagacity. But this Project alſo not ſuiting, the Fleet ſtood over to the oppoſite Shore of *Barbary*, in order to repreſs the Inſolence of the *Tripoli* and *Sallee* Rovers, which was found no very eaſy Taſk; and therefore Admiral *Montague* could not forbear intimating his Deſire, that we ſhould have ſome good Port in *Africa*, which he believed might anſwer various Ends, and eſpecially conduce to the Preſervation and Augmentation of our Trade in the *Levant*. However, by the Protector's Orders, they returned towards Autumn into the Road of *Cadiz*, where in *September* following, Captain *Stayner* made Prize of the Galleons. A full Account of their Strength, and the Money on-board them, Admiral *Montague* ſent into *England*, deſiring at the ſame time, that ſome Perſons might be ſent down to meet the Fleet at *Portſmouth*, in order to take Charge of the Silver, and to make a further Search into the Contents of the Galleons[h]. The Silver was carried in open Carts and Ammunition-waggons, thro' *Southwark*, to the *Tower* of *London*; and to make a Shew of Confidence in the People, theſe Waggons had no greater Guard than ten Soldiers[i]. As for Admiral *Montague*, he had all the Compliments paid him upon this Occaſion, that it was poſſible to deſire; the Protector careſſed him exceedingly; the Parliament returned him Thanks by their Speaker[k].

A Fleet being ordered in 1657 to watch the *Dutch*, to carry on the War with *Spain*, and facilitate the Enterpriſe on *Dunkirk*, he was appointed Commander thereof; and did as much as could be expected from them. Towards Autumn he thought fit to make a Journey to the Camp of the Marſhal *de Turenne*, where he had a Conference with him, as to the propereſt Method of carrying on the War; and then returned on-board the Fleet, which cruiſed in the Channel till the Beginning of the Winter[l]. But the Senſe he had of the ſtrange Service he was put upon in aſſiſting the *French*, and diſtreſſing the Trade of all the reſt of the World, made him uneaſy[m], and reſolved to retire from Buſineſs; yet how much ſoever he diſliked the Orders that were ſent him, he executed them with the utmoſt Punctuality. He was not a little embarraſſed about the Protector's Deſigns, and yet it is plain enough, that *Cromwell* deſired that the Admiral ſhould rather regulate Things by his Diſcretion, than be able to juſtify himſelf from the Letter of his Orders; and this particularly appears in the Buſineſs of the Flag, upon which the Protector wrote him an Epiſtle with his own Hand, commanding in expreſs Terms, that he ſhould inſiſt upon the Honour of the Flag from all Nations, within the Limits of the *Britiſh* Seas, and yet telling him as expreſly, that he knew not what thoſe Limits were; adding at the ſame time, that he was to execute theſe Orders with Caution, ſince Peace and War depended on them[n].

Richard Cromwell being declared Protector, Admiral *Montague* was made choice of to command the great Fleet ſent to the North, the beſt that had been fitted out ſince the *Dutch* War[o].

The *Naſeby*, which was the Ship the Admiral ſailed in, carried 70 Guns, and 600 Men; the *Reſolution* had the like Number of Men, and 80 Guns. There were 14 Ships carrying 50 Pieces of Cannon and upwards, 28 forty Gun Ships or near it, four of 30 Guns, beſides 12 ſmaller Veſſels, carrying from 22 to eight Pieces of Cannon, in all 68 Ships, and on-board them 11,820 Men[p].

The Admiral went on-board the Fleet in the Spring of the Year 1659, and on the 7th of *April* he wrote to the King of *Sweden*, the King of *Denmark*, and the *Dutch* Admiral *Opdam*, to inform them of the Motives that had induced the Protector to ſend ſo ſtrong a Fleet into the *Baltick*; and that his Inſtructions were not to reſpect the private Advantage of *England* by making War, but the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, by engaging the Powers of the North to enter into an equitable Peace[q]. But before he ſailed from *England*, the Parliament tied him down by Inſtructions, which left him no real Power, but in conjunction with their Commiſſioners, Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, and Mr. *Thomas Boon*; they alſo took away his Regiment of Horſe[r].

However, when he arrived in the *Sound*, he took his Share with other Miniſters in Negotiation, and made it ſufficiently evident, that his Genius was equally capable of ſhining in the Cabinet, as of commanding at Sea, or on Shore. And his Diſguſt with the Government for their abridging of his Power and Profits, may be ſuppoſed to diſpoſe him the more readily to hearken to King *Charles*'s Overtures for his Reſtoration; which ſoon after prevailed with him to return to his Duty, with all that Warmth and Sincerity incident to great Minds, conſcious of former Failings.

The Service the King expected from him was, a ſpeedy Return to *England*, that the Fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir *George Booth*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, who were diſpoſed to hazard their Lives for the Service of their Country; on weighing which Propoſal, Mr. *Montague* found it ſo plauſible, that he reſolved to run any Hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in Execution, conceiving that, if this Opportunity was miſſed, another equally fortunate might not quickly happen [a]. But Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, a Man of quick Parts, and deep Penetration, ſoon diſcerned ſome Change in Mr. *Montague*'s Conduct, and purſued his Diſcoveries ſo cloſely, that he miſſed very little of coming at his whole Secret.

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[a] Ruſhworth's hiſtorical Collections, Vol. V. p. 637.

[b] Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 56.

[c] Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 83, 86.

[d] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 166.

[e] Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 282.

[f] Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. IV. p. 445. Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Kennet, Echard.

[g] Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. IV. p. 579, 571, 589, 594.

[h] This Letter is directed to Secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naſeby, at Sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he ſays, "There have been ſome "Miſcarriages, by the Ships that did take the Ships of Spain; but I ſhall delay to tell of them here, and I judge the beſt way to improve Mercies "of this kind, is to look forward; however, that is my Buſineſs at this Time. The Silver they brought, is on-board this Ship and the Vice-admiral; "in the Admiral we have 550 Sowes of Silver, and Boxes of Plate, and nine Pieces of Silver not well refined, like Sugar-loaves. In the Vice-"admiral there is 124 Sowes of Silver; all which we judge may produce near 200,000 l. I hope I ſpeak the leaſt, and that it will make much more. "In the Galleons Holds alſo, there is that Space between the Main-maſt, and the Bulk-head of the Bread-room, not yet rummaged." Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. V. p. 509.

[i] This appears from a Letter of the Dutch Ambaſſador Nieuport to the States-general, dated November 17, N. S. 1656. Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. V. p. 269.

[k] Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Lord Sandwich's Journal, MS.

[l] Theſe Facts are collected from various Letters in the ſixth Volume of Thurloe's State-papers.

[m] We have theſe Particulars in a very curious Letter from Lord Broghill to Mr. Montague, diſſuading him from retiring; dated from Youghall, November 20, 1657. Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VI. p. 622.

[n] Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 633. where the Reader may find Cromwell's Letter of five Lines on this important Subject.

[o] As to the true Grounds of fitting out this Fleet, and the Ends it was intended to anſwer, conſult Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, &c.

[p] This Account I take from two Liſts in Thurloe's Collection, and from one in MS. See alſo Page 465. of this Hiſtory.

[q] Theſe Letters are in Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VII. and in Lord Sandwich's Journal.

[r] Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VII. p. 680, 681.

The Admiral, obſerving his Suſpicions, called a Council of War, and therein made a clear and cloſe Speech, in which he ſhewed them plainly the little Hopes there were of doing any thing for the Honour of *England*, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no Authority; and if they were to remain neuter, they might as well ſail home. He then laid before them the Accounts he had received from his native Country, of the great Struggles between the Army and the Parliament, whence he took Occaſion to hint, that themſelves had a great Stake there; and that if a new Government was to be ſettled, ſome Reſpect ought to be had to the Fleet. He concluded with ſaying, that he readily ſubmitted his Sentiments to a free Debate, and that he was determined to act according to their Judgment; but that one thing muſt be noted, Proviſions were already become ſcarce, it was very difficult to obtain Supplies, and therefore if they reſolved to ſtay, they muſt reſolve alſo to live at ſhort Allowance. The Queſtion was ſoon decided; and in conſequence of the Council's Opinion, Admiral *Montague* weighed immediately and ſailed to *England* [b].

On his Arrival, he found Sir *George Booth* in the *Tower*, the Parliament reſtored to their Authority, and a warm Charge againſt himſelf come to hand from Colonel *Sidney*. However, he ſet out for *London*, attended the Parliament, and gave an Account of his Conduct with ſo much Wiſdom and Eloquence, that he eſcaped with only the Loſs of his Command, which was given to *Lawſon*, a rigid Anabaptiſt, and one in whom they had the greateſt Confidence [c].

Mr. *Montague* withdrew to his own Eſtate, with a Deſign to enjoy in Privacy and Peace the Remainder of his Life. And when *Monk* deſired his being reſtored to his Command, he ſent privately to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he ſent his Majeſty a Liſt of ſuch Officers in the Fleet as might be confided in, and of ſuch as he apprehended muſt be reduced by Force. He likewiſe deſired to know, whether the King had any Aſſurance of the General; but was ſo cautious, as to deſire no Notice might be taken to his Excellency how his Inclinations ſtood [d]. On his coming on-board the Fleet, he found Things ſtrangely altered, and *Lawſon*, from whom he expected moſt Oppoſition, as ready to ſerve the King as himſelf; upon which he laid by all Reſerve, and as ſoon as he received the King's Letter directed to himſelf and General *Monk*, he ſailed with the Fleet to *Holland*, leaving only two or three Ships to attend the Parliament Commiſſioners. This was a very warm Teſtimony of his Affection for the King's Service, and as ſuch was received by his Majeſty; but when it was obſerved, that the Parliament Commiſſioners looked upon it as a Mark of Diſreſpect, the King was pleaſed to cover Mr. *Montague*, by ſending him an Order that was antedated. Soon after he had the Honour to convoy his Majeſty to *England*, who, two Days after his Landing at *Dover*, ſent Sir *Edward Walker*, Garter-king at Arms, to deliver him his declaratory Letters, with the Ribband and George of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, which he preſented him on the 28th of *May* in the Morning, in his Ship then riding in the *Downs* [e]. And by Letters-patent dated the 12th of *July* 1660, he was created Baron *Montague* of *St. Neots* in the County of *Huntingdon*, Viſcount *Hinchingbrooke* in the ſame County, and Earl of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, made Maſter of the King's Wardrobe, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Lieutenant-admiral to the Duke of *York*, as Lord High-admiral of *England*. At his Majeſty's Coronation, his Lordſhip carried St. *Edward*'s Staff, and was now looked upon as one of the King's principal Miniſters, as well as the Perſon chiefly intruſted with the Care of the Fleet [f]. He conſtantly attended the Council, when any Tranſactions relating to foreign Affairs were under Debate, and always gave his Opinion like a good Subject and a true Patriot. When the Marriage with the Infanta was concluded, he brought her Majeſty over.

In the *Dutch* War begun in 1664, the Earl of *Sandwich* commanded the Blue-ſquadron, and by his Induſtry and Care, Abundance of the Enemy's Ships were taken, and the beſt Part of their *Bourdeaux* Fleet [g]. In the great Battle, fought on the 3d of *June* 1665, wherein the *Dutch* loſt their Admiral *Opdam*, and had 18 Men of War taken, and 14 deſtroyed, a large Share of the Honour of the Victory was juſtly given to the Conduct of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who, about Noon, fell with the Blue-ſquadron into the Center of the Enemy's Fleet; and thereby began that Confuſion, which ended ſoon after in a plain Flight [h]. Moſt of our Hiſtorians agree, that if this Victory had been properly purſued, the *Dutch* Fleet had been totally ruined; and the Neglect of this Advantage is, by ſome, charged on the Duke of *York*. However this might be, on the Return of the *Engliſh* Navy, and a Report to his Majeſty of what had paſſed at Sea, the King declared the Duke of *York* ſhould not return to the Command of the Fleet; but that it ſhould be left to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who was ordered to employ his utmoſt Diligence to put it as ſpeedily as poſſible in a Condition to return to the *Dutch* Coaſt, which he accordingly performed [i]; and ſailed on the 5th of *July*, with 60 Men of War, to the Coaſt of *Holland*, bearing the royal Standard of *England*, and having under him ſeveral of the braveſt Seamen that perhaps ever bore the *Engliſh* Flags. Finding the *Dutch* Fleet not at Sea, and having Information that both their *Eaſt-India* and *Smyrna* Fleets were to return home North about, he reſolved to ſteer for the Coaſt of *Norway*, in hopes of meeting with them; nor was this a difficult thing, ſince it was ſoon after known, that they had taken Shelter in the Port of *Berghen* [k], of which we have already given an Account on p. 483.

The King, at his Return, received him with diſtinguiſhed Marks of Favour: But his Royal Highneſs's Conduct in the great Engagement, on the 3d of *June*, being much cenſured, and the King then declaring the Duke of *York* ſhould go no more to Sea; and the Earl's Conduct in the ſame Action, being as much applauded; leſt his Continuance in the ſole Command of the Fleet might be any Diſadvantage to the Duke, our Affairs in *Spain* requiring an extraordinary Embaſſy to be ſent into that Kingdom, his Majeſty diſpatched the Earl of *Sandwich* to the Court of *Madrid*, to mediate a Peace between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* [l]. This Negotiation was of equal Difficulty and Importance: We had many things to aſk from *Spain*, in favour of our Trade; and there was nothing to which the *Spaniards* were leſs inclined than to make Peace with *Portugal*, and own it for an independant Kingdom. The Earl of *Sandwich* however, managed his Buſineſs with ſuch Addreſs, that he concluded a moſt advantageous Treaty with the Court of *Spain*, conſiſting of forty Articles; and this too in a ſurpriſing ſhort Space of time [m]. His Lordſhip applied himſelf next to the other Part of his Commiſſion, and by inſiſting principally on the Intereſts of *Spain*, and making it evident, that the Continuance of the *Portugal* War would be the total Ruin of their Affairs, and that a Peace might be made without the leaſt Wound to their Honour, at that Juncture, he ſo far prevailed, as to gain the Queen of *Spain*'s Conſent, that a Treaty ſhould be ſet on foot under the Mediation of the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The great and unuſual Confidence repoſed in him upon this Occaſion, was managed with ſuch Dexterity by the Earl of *Sandwich*, that in three Weeks after his Arrival at *Liſbon*, he concluded a Peace between the two Nations, to their mutual Satisfaction. This Treaty was ſigned the 13th of *February* 1668 [a].

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[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 723.

[b] Heath's Chronicle, p. 436. Memoirs of the Reſtauration, a MS.

[c] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath. As to Sidney's Charge, the Reader may find it in Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VII. p. 731.

[d] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 731.

[e] Walker's hiſtorical Account of the Knights of the Garter, a MS. p. 104. penes Joh. Anſtis arm.

[f] Pat. 12 Car. II. Walker's hiſtorical Account of the Knights of the Garter, MS.

[g] Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 819, 820. Burchett, Columna Roſtrata, Lediard.

[h] Columna Roſtrata, p. 160.

[i] Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the Earl of Clarendon's Speech, as Chancellor, to the Parliament at Oxford, October the 10th 1665, the keeping the Duke at home is repreſented as a Mark of the King's Tenderneſs for his Royal Highneſs's Perſon.

[k] Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville.

[l] Philips's Chronicle, p. 545.

[m] Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 293. Philips's Chronicle, p. 565.

After the Concluſion of the Treaty with *Portugal*, he returned again to *Madrid*, where he ſpent ſome time in ſettling Affairs, and confirming that Court in the Opinion, that *Britain* was its moſt uſeful and natural Ally; and then taking his Leave, arrived the 19th of *September* 1668 at *Portſmouth* [b]. On his Return to Court, he was received with all imaginable Teſtimonies of Reſpect by the King and Duke. And as the Trade to our Colonies by this time was become very conſiderable, and growing daily more and more advantageous to the Nation, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to erect a Council for inſpecting Matters relating to Trade, and for the ſpecial Encouragement of the Plantations. King *Charles* determined to the Choice of the Earl of *Sandwich*, for the Head of ſo popular a Work, who, the 3d of *Auguſt* 1670, was ſworn Preſident of the Council of Plantations, and in that Quality he ſwore the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other Perſons of the higheſt Quality, Members thereof [c].

In this Capacity, as well as in that of Vice-admiral and Privy-counſellor, he gave no ſmall Diſturbance to the CABAL: For, in the firſt Place, he was a ſincere and zealous Proteſtant; next, he was a true *Engliſhman*, loyal to his Prince, but ſteady in the Cauſe of his Country; an Enemy alike to Faction and arbitrary Power. He was, beſides, for regarding no Qualification but Merit in the Preferments of the Navy, declaring upon all Occaſions againſt ſhewing Favour to the Relations of Peers, or other Perſons of Diſtinction, to the Prejudice of ſuch as had ſerved longer or better. This rendered him the Darling of the Fleet, who, after the Death of the Duke of *Albemarle*, looked upon him as their Father and Protector; which, however, raiſed him a great many Enemies, amongſt ſuch as could not bear the thwarting of their private Intereſts, tho' for the Sake of the public Good.

The laſt *Dutch* War breaking out again, his Lordſhip went to Sea with the Duke of *York*, and commanded the Blue Squadron, the *French* Admiral Count *d'Eſtrees* commanding the White. The Fleet was at Sea in the Beginning of the Month of *May*, and towards the End of that Month came to an Anchor in *Southwold* Bay, in order to take in Water. There we are told, that on the 27th, which was *Whitmonday*, there was great Merry-making onboard the Fleet, and many Officers and Seamen were permitted to go on-ſhore, and were at *Southwold*, *Dunwich*, and *Aldborough*. Things being in this Situation, and the Weather withal very hazy, the Earl of *Sandwich*, delivered it as his Opinion, at a Council held in the Evening, that, the Wind ſtanding as it did, the Fleet rode in Danger of being ſurpriſed by the *Dutch*; and, therefore, he thought it adviſeable to weigh Anchor, and get out to Sea. To this the Duke of *York*, it is ſaid, made ſuch an Anſwer, as ſeemed to hint that the Earl ſpoke out of Fear; which Inſinuation, if it was really made, was certainly barbarous and unjuſt [d].

Between two and three in the Morning, on the 28th of *May*, the Fleet was informed of the Approach of the *Dutch*; and his Royal Highneſs making the Signal for weighing Anchor, and getting out to Sea, tho' many of the Captains were obliged to cut their Cables. The Blue Squadron was out firſt, and in good Order; the Red next; and the White in its proper Station, much a-ſtern [e].

The Earl of *Sandwich*, in his fine Ship the *Royal James*, which carried 100 Pieces of Cannon, and about 800 Men, began the Fight, and fell furiouſly on the Squadron of *Van Ghendt*, with a View to give the reſt of the Fleet time to form; and in this he carried his Point; tho' moſt of his Men were killed, and the Hull of the *Royal James* ſo pierced with Shot, that it was impoſſible to carry her off. In this Diſtreſs he might have been relieved by his Vice-admiral Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, if that Gentleman had not been more ſolicitous about aſſiſting the Duke. When therefore he ſaw him ſail by, heedleſs of the Condition in which he lay, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, *There is nothing left for us now but to defend the Ship to the laſt Man*, and thoſe who knew him readily underſtood, that by the laſt Man he meant himſelf. When a fourth Fire-ſhip had grappled him, he begged his Captain Sir *Richard Haddock*, and all his Servants to get into the Boat and ſave themſelves; which they did: Yet ſome of the Sailors would not quit the Admiral, but ſtaid and endeavoured at his Command to put out the Fire, which, in ſpite of all their Efforts they could not do, and ſo they periſhed together, the Ship blowing up about Noon [f].

His Lordſhip's Body was found near a Fortnight afterwards, and the King teſtified, by the Honours he paid to the Corpſe, how much he admired the Man; how ſenſible of his hard Fate; and how willing he was to mingle with the Duſt of his Anceſtors, the Remains of ſuch as died glorioufly in their Country's Service. This Fact ſtands thus in the *Gazette*.

Harwich, June 10.

" This Day the Body of the Right Honourable *Edward* " Earl of *Sandwich*, being by the Order upon his Coat " diſcovered floating on the Sea, by one of his Majeſty's " Ketches, was taken up, and brought into this Port; " where Sir *Charles Littleton* the Governor receiving it, " took immediate Care for its embalming and honourable " diſpoſing, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be known " concerning it. For the obtaining of which, his Majeſty " was attended at *Whitehall* the next Day, by the Maſter " of the ſaid Veſſel, who, by Sir *Charles Littleton*'s Order, " was ſent to preſent his Majeſty with the *George* found " about the Body of the ſaid Earl, which remained at the " time of its taking up in every Part unblemiſhed, ſaving " ſome Impreſſions made by the Fire upon his Face and " Breaſt. Upon which his Majeſty, out of his Princely " Regard to the great Deſervings of the ſaid Earl, and his " unexampled Performances in this laſt Act of his Life, " hath reſolved to have his Body brought up to *London*, " there at his Charge to receive the Rites of Funeral, due " to his great Quality and Merits [g].

" The Earl of *Sandwich*'s Body being taken out of one " of his Majeſty's Yatchts at *Deptford*, on the 3d of *July* " 1672, and laid in the moſt ſolemn Manner in a ſump" tuous Barge, proceeded by Water to *Weſtminſter-bridge*, " attended by the King's Barges, his Royal Highneſs the " Duke of *York*'s; as alſo with the ſeveral Barges of the " Nobility, Lord-Mayor, and the ſeveral Companies of " the City of *London*, adorned ſuitable to the melancholy " Occaſion, with Trumpets and other Muſic, that ſounded " the deepeſt Notes. On paſſing by the *Tower*, the great " Guns there were diſcharged, as well as at *Whitehall*, and " about five o'Clock in the Evening the Body being taken " out of the Barge at *Weſtminſter-bridge*, there was a Pro" ceſſion to the Abbey-church, with the higheſt Magni" ficence. Eight Earls were aſſiſtant to his Son *Edward* " Earl of *Sandwich*, chief Mourner, and moſt of the No" bility and Perſons of Quality in Town gave their Aſſiſt" ance to his Interment, in the Duke of *Albemarle*'s Vault, " in the North-ſide of King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, " where his Remains are depoſited [h]."

The LIFE *of Prince* RUPERT, *Admiral of* England.

Prince *Rupert* was the third Son of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, ſtiled King of *Bohemia*, by the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *James* I. and was conſequently Nephew to King *Charles* I. His Education, like that of moſt *German* Princes, eſpecially younger Brothers, qualified him for Arms; and he was extremely well fitted, in reſpect both to natural Abilities and acquired Accompliſhments, for a great Commander [i]. When the Civil Wars broke out, he offered his Sword to his Uncle, tho' ſcarce of Age; and, thro' the whole War, behaved with great Intrepidity; and on many Occaſions his Endeavours were attended with very extraordinary Succeſs. When the War was over, he went abroad with a Paſs from the Parliament: But when the Fleet revolted to the Prince of *Wales*, he readily went on-board it, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by vigorous Councils; which, however, were not followed; but on the Return of the Fleet to *Holland*, the Command of it was left to him. He then ſailed to *Ireland*, where he endeavoured to ſupport the King's ſinking Cauſe; but was quickly purſued by the Parliament's ſuperior Fleet, under *Popham* and *Blake*, who, in the Winter of the Year 1649, blocked him up in the Haven of *Kingſale*, whence he eſcaped, by boldly puſhing thro' their Fleet; an Action as ſucceſsful in the Event, as brave in the Intention [a]. He was then purſued to *Spain* and *Portugal*; as related in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, on Page 445.

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[a] Pointer's chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. I. p. 223.

[b] Ibid, p. 226.

[c] See the Gazette of that Date.

[d] Echard's Hiſtory, p. 883. Columna Roſtrata, p. 217.

[e] I take this from Mr. Saville's Letter to the Earl of Arlington, then Secretary of State, and publiſhed by Authority.

[f] Burchett. Columna Roſtrata. Baſnage. De Neuville.

[g] Gazette, June 13, 1672.

[h] Gazette, July 4, 1672.

[i] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 226. Echard's Hiſtory. Clarendon. Whitlock.

On the 5th of *November* 1650, General *Blake* deſtroyed the *Roebuck*, and the *Black-Prince*, two of the beſt Ships he had remaining, while his Highneſs in the *Reformation*, and his Brother Prince *Maurice* in the *Convertine*, or, as other Writers ſay, in the *Swallow*, ſailed into the *Adriatic* Sea, and after taking ſome Prizes, returned, after *Blake*'s Departure, into the Port of *Toulon*; where they diſpoſed of them, paid their Sailors, and provided for a more diſtant Expedition [b].

In the Spring of the Year 1651, the Prince ſailed again for the *Streights*, with five Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips. There he began to take *Spaniſh* Ships by way of Repriſal, for the Reſpect they ſhewed the Parliament; till finding himſelf hard preſſed by *Penn*, he reſolved, having indeed no Reſource beſides, to follow his Brother into the *Weſt-Indies*. This Project was owing to the Lord *Willoughby*'s engaging *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward* Iſlands to declare for the King, when all other Colonies, except *Virginia*, had ſubmitted to the Parliament. This Deſign might poſſibly have proved more ſucceſsful, if Prince *Rupert*, on his Arrival in thoſe Parts, had applied himſelf to the Preſervation of the *Weſt-India* Trade; but inſtead of this, both he, and Prince *Maurice* continued to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, till the latter periſhed at Sea, and the former found his Ships in ſuch a Condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to return into *Europe*; and in the Beginning of 1653 [c], arrived ſafely in *Brittany*; and, for the preſent, laid aſide his Command as an Admiral [d].

He failed not to negotiate with ſeveral Princes of the Empire, on his Majeſty's Behalf; and behaved towards him on all Occaſions, in his Exile (after the Quarrel at *Paris*) with all the Duty and Deference that he could have ſhewn him on the Throne [e]. Wherefore, at the Reſtoration, Prince *Rupert* was invited into *England*, and created Duke of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Holderneſs*, &c. and was promoted to various Offices worthy of his high Birth.

In the Year 1666, the King intruſted him, in Conjunction with the Duke of *Albemarle*, to command the Fleet; and he diſcovered all the great Qualities that could be deſired in an Admiral; for by his happy Return to the Fleet on the 3d of *June*, he raviſhed from the *Dutch* the only Victory they had the Appearance of gaining; and afterwards, on the 24th of *July*, in the ſame Year, beat them effectually, purſued them to their own Coaſt, blocked up their Harbours, and made them ſenſible of the Superiority of *Engliſh* Courage, when not oppreſſed by Numbers [f]. In the Autumn of the ſame Year, having the ſole Command of our Fleet, and underſtanding that the *Dutch* were endeavouring to join a *French* Squadron of 40 Sail, under the Duke of *Beaufort*, he followed them ſo cloſely into *Bulloign* Road, that, to avoid another Battle, they hauled in ſo near the Shore, as in all Probability they muſt either have been burnt or ſunk, if a ſudden Storm had not forced the Prince to return to *St. Helen*'s Bay.

On his Highneſs's Return home, he was kindly received by the King, and grew into great Eſteem with the Nation. He always ſteered cautiouſly between the Factions at Court, and having ſo near a Relation to the King, never thought of ſtrengthning his Intereſt by entering into Intrigues.

After the paſſing the Teſt Act, the Duke of *York* having reſigned his Office of Lord High-admiral, the Earl of *Sandwich*, and moſt of the old Admirals being dead, and the ſecond *Dutch* War breaking out, there could be none, with any Decency, called to that Command but himſelf [g]. But he had never lived on any Terms with the Miniſtry, who were ſtiled the CABAL, and indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould; for they were all Perſons of the utmoſt Art, and he was one of the plaineſt Men that could be. The Method they took to rid themſelves of a War, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make ſuch Diſpoſitions in the Fleet, as were fitteſt to render the Admiral uneaſy, from a Proſpect that this might bring the Advice of making Peace from other Hands than their own [h]. All the Captains in the Fleet were the Creatures of the Duke of *York*, and were told, tho' perhaps without Truth, that glancing at the Prince's Character, would oblige his Royal Highneſs. There needed no more to ſet theſe Folks to work: They began to find Fault with every Order he gave, and to miſrepreſent every Meaſure he took; but the Prince quickly convinced them, that inſtead of hurting his Character, they would deſtroy their own [i]. By his briſk getting out to Sea in the Month of *April*, he ſhewed that he could be active in Age, as well as Youth; and by ſailing over to the *Dutch* Coaſt, he diſcovered a Readineſs to fight, which was the old Characteriſtic of an *Engliſh* Admiral. We have already given an Account of the Battle of the 28th of *May* 1672, in which we had the Advantage [k].

In the Engagement on the 5th of *June*, the Advantage was more plainly on the Side of the *Engliſh*; but after this Engagement, he found the Fleet to be ſo miſerably deſtitute of all Neceſſaries, and, which was worſe, ſo badly manned, that he thought fit to return home. The Prince had often complained before, and the Officers of the Navy had conſtantly perſuaded the King, that there were no Grounds for his Complaints; which put his Highneſs under the Neceſſity of taking this Step, that the thing might be put out of Diſpute, and the Fleet out of Wants. As this ſhewed his Spirit (for he brought the King himſelf to look upon the Ships) ſo he gave afterwards as ſtrong a Proof of his Judgment, by carrying the whole Fleet thro' the *Narrow*, on the 19th of *July*, and appearing on the *Dutch* Coaſt almoſt as ſoon as they had received certain Intelligence of his returning to his own [l].

On the 11th of *Auguſt* he fought the laſt Battle that was fought againſt this Enemy; of which we have already given a full Account [m]. On his Return, the King expreſſed ſome Coolneſs, which was owing not more to the Arts of his Highneſs's Enemies, than to the Quickneſs of his Letter, in relation to the laſt Fight, and the Behaviour of the *French* [n]; but the King's Diſpleaſure quickly wore out, as the Intereſt of the CABAL began to decline.

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[a] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 290, 291. Burchett. Columna Roſtrata. Echard, &c.

[b] Philips's Chronicle, p. 289. Bate. Warwick, &c. Amongſt other Inconveniencies following from this Practice, the Prince's Example was no ſmall one. When he condeſcended to live by Privateering, no body was aſhamed to take up the Trade; ſo that from Breſt, Guernſey, Jerſey, and the Scilly Iſlands, there iſſued whole Fleets of Corſairs.

[c] See before, p. 446.

[d] Philips's Chronicle, p. 337. Clarendon. Kennet. Echard. Bate. Warwick, &c.

[e] Thurloe's State Papers; particularly a Letter of his to King Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February the 6th, 1656, Vol. I. p. 694.

[f] Kennet. Echard. Burchett. Columna Roſtrata. Rapin.

[g] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 893. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Burchett. Columna Roſtrata. Rapin.

[h] See an exact Relatiou of the Engagements and Actions of his Majeſty's Fleet under Prince Rupert.

[i] Echard. Burnet. Hiſtory of the Dutch War.

[k] See Page 496.

[l] The Members of the Office of Ordnance vindicated themſelves notwithſtanding the King's View: But whoever ſhall conſider that Vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to ſcreen themſelves, than to clear up the Truth of the Fact.

[m] See Page 499.

[n] The Reader may gueſs at the Particulars of this Letter, from the following Paragraph of the exact Relation, &c. in which they are ſummed up almoſt in his own Words. "In the midſt of ſo many Intrigues of Oppoſition here at home, ſo many Delays of his Commiſſion, ſo few Powers contained in "it, ſuch ſcanty Number of Seamen, ſo little Aſſurance of divers chief Commanders, ſuch Failure of Proviſions, ſuch Want of Ammunition, and "all

The Prince thence forward led a quiet, and (in a great Meaſure) a retired Life, moſtly at *Windſor-caſtle*, of which he was Governor, and ſpent a great Part of his Time in the Proſecution of chemical and philoſophical Experiments, as well as the Practice of mechanic Arts, for which he was very famous. Foreign Authors applaud him for his Skill in Painting; and he is celebrated by one of the moſt judicious of our own Nation for his Invention of Mezzo-tinto Prints [a]. He delighted in making Locks for Fire-arms, and was the Inventor of a Compoſition called Prince's Metal. In the laſt ten Years of his Life, he was a Patriot; and in reſpect to his private Life he was ſo juſt, ſo beneficent, ſo courteous, that his Memory remained dear to all that knew him.

He died at his Houſe in *Spring-Gardens*, on the 29th of *November* 1682, in his grand Climacteric, leaving behind him a Daughter by Mrs. *Margaret Hughes*, who afterwards married General *Howe* [b].

The LIFE *of Sir* EDWARD SPRAGGE, *Knt. Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet.*

Sir *Edward Spragge*, a Gentleman of great Abilities in the Cabinet, as well as at Sea, was a Captain in the firſt Engagement with the *Dutch*, after the Reſtoration, on the 3d of *June* 1665, wherein he behaved with great Reputation, and ſo far recommended himſelf to the Favour of the Duke of *York*, that upon his Majeſty's viſiting the Navy, and going on-board the *Royal Charles*, he received the Honour of Knighthood [c].

In the four Days Battle in *June* 1666, he was particularly taken Notice of by the Duke of *Albemarle*; and in the ſucceeding Battle, which was fought on the 24th of *July*, he carried a Flag under Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, Admiral of the Blue-ſquadron, who engaged *Tromp*, ſhattered his Vice-admiral, ſo that ſhe was abſolutely diſabled; and having ruined the Rigging of his Rear-admiral, and killed its Commander, contributed greatly to the Glory of that Day [d].

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the unlucky Buſineſs at *Chatham* [e], where he was employed to defend the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, attacked by the Enemy on the 10th of *June* 1667, and tho' it was unfiniſhed, his Garriſon very ſmall, and the Place in no State of Defence, he continued to defend himſelf, till it would have been an Act of Raſhneſs to expoſe his Garriſon any longer. Then he collected five Frigates, 17 Fire-ſhips, and ſome Tenders, with which he engaged the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Nes*, as he came up the River again, after the Attempt upon *Harwich*, of which we have given an ample Relation in this Hiſtory on page 488.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile* being appointed Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, Sir *Edward Spragge* was ſent over (in 1669) to compliment him upon that Occaſion, and to enter into ſome further Negotiations for the Succeſs of the new Meaſures, in which Sir *Edward* is ſaid to have been deeply engaged [f]; and after his Return from his Negotiation in *Flanders*, was ſent with a Squadron into the *Mediterranean* to chaſtiſe the *Algerines*, in the Spring of the Year 1671; his Fleet conſiſted of about 12 Sail. In the latter End of the Month of *April*, he had Intelligence that there were ſeveral *Algerine* Men of War in *Bugia* Bay; on which he called a Council of War, when it was reſolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. But in his Paſſage, the *Eagle* Fire-ſhip was diſabled by a Storm; and ſoon after one of his Ships ſpringing her Main-maſt, was obliged to bear away for the Chriſtian Shore.

Sir *Edward* perſiſted in his Deſign, refitted the *Eagle*, and bore into the Bay of *Bugia* with a briſk Gale; but by that time they got within half Shot of the Caſtle and Forts, it fell a dead Calm; and when the Wind roſe again, it proved contrary; and the Wind changing every half Hour, Sir *Edward* reſolved to make an Attempt upon them in the Night with his Boats, and the ſmalleſt of his Fire-ſhips, which rowed as well as a Long-boat. About 12 o'Clock that Night (2d of *May*) he ſent in all his Boats and the *Eagle* Fire-ſhip, under the Command of his eldeſt Lieutenant Mr. *Nugent*. But the Night proving very dark, and the high Land obſcuring the Ships as they drew near them, they paſſed by, and Lieutenant *Nugent* leaving one of the Boats with the Fire-ſhip, beſides her own, rowed in to diſcover the Enemy, leaving Orders with the Captain of the Fire-ſhip, to come to an Anchor in caſe he found Shoal-water. The Lieutenant had not left him a Minute, before he perceived himſelf within Piſtol-ſhot of the Ships; and concluding the Buſineſs now as good as done, ſteered off again to find the Fire-ſhip, and to his Amazement ſaw her all in Flames. The Enemy taking the Alarm at this, the Lieutenant was forced to row off with his Boats; and ſo this fair Opportunity was loſt of burning the *Algerine* Men of War without the Loſs of a Man. The next Day the Enemy unrigged all their Ships, and made a ſtrong Boom with their Yards, Top-maſts, and Cables buoyed up with Caſks, the Wind hindering the *Engliſh* from doing any thing to intercept them: And it ſo fell out, that by a drunken Gunner's firing a Piſtol, his other little Fire-ſhip was loſt; ſo that he had none now left but the *Little Victory*, which drew too much Water, to enter that Part of the Bay where the *Algerines* lay at Anchor. However, Sir *Edward Spragge* being informed that the *Algerines* were embarking great Store of Ammunition, and not knowing what future Reinforcements they might receive, reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity of making his utmoſt Effort, and directed the *Victory* to be lightened, ſo that ſhe might not draw above eight Foot; and about Noon there ſprung up a fine Breeze to the Eaſt, upon which the Admiral gave the Signal for the Men of War to draw into a Line, and bear up in the Bay. The Admiral came to an Anchor in four Fathom Water, cloſe under their Caſtle-walls, which fired upon him continually for two Hours. In this Space he ſent in his own Pinnace, and thoſe of the *Mary* and the *Dragon*, which cut the Boom, though not without conſiderable Loſs. The Boom being cut, the Fire-ſhip went in, and getting up athwart their Bowſprits, their Ships being a-ground, and faſt to the Caſtles, ſhe burnt very well, and deſtroyed them all. Captain *Harris* who commanded her, his Maſter's Mate, Gunner, and one of his Seamen were deſperately wounded with ſmall Shot, and this at their Entrance; ſo that probably the whole Deſign had proved abortive, if the Admiral had not with great Prudence commiſſioned *Henry Williams* (then one of his Maſter's Mates, but who had formerly commanded the *Roſe* Fire-ſhip) to take the Charge of the Veſſel, in caſe the other was diſabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him.

This Loſs was irreparable to the *Algerines*, who had picked out the ſeven Men of War here burnt, on purpoſe to fight Sir *Edward Spragge*; had furniſhed them with their beſt braſs Ordnance from on-board all the reſt of their Veſſels, with 18 or 1900 choſen Men double officered, under the Command of old *Terkey* their Admiral, of whom, between 3 and 400 were loſt, the Caſtles and Town miſerably torn, and a vaſt Number of People in them killed and wounded; and, which much increaſed their Miſery, all their Surgeons Cheſts were burnt on-board their Ships, ſo that Numbers died for want of having their Wounds dreſſed. Beſides the Men of War (of which we ſhall give a Liſt) there were burnt a *Genoeſe* Ship, a ſmall *Engliſh* Prize, and a Settee.

“ all other Neceſſaries, ſuch Deceit of Navy-officers, ſuch Non-obſervance of Orders at Sea amongſt his own Engliſh, and ſo manifeſt Defections of the French; not to be ſtaggered in his Reſolution, nor to be put out of all Patience and Prudence in Action, nor to abate of his Affection and Zeal for the Honour and Service of his Majeſty, the Safeguard and Intereſt of Religion and the Kingdom; in a Seaſon when ſo many Popiſh Projectors played a Game under board, and above too; will be an everlaſting Argument of his Highneſs's Valour and Renown, and muſt needs be a ſtrong Obligation upon the King, the Parliament, and People of England, who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good Providence of God, or one of the moſt memorable Pieces of Service ever done at Sea, to ſurmount all thoſe Difficulties, and even Envy itſelf; and after all, to bring home the Fleet Royal of England, without the Loſs of one Man of War, to her own Shore in Safety, in deſpite of all Enemies that deſigned otherwiſe by Sea and Land.”

[a] Cabinet des ſingularites d'Architecture, &c. Tom. I. p. 177. Evelyn's Calcography, &c.

[b] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 1023.

[c] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 831.

[d] Columna Roſtrata, p. 179.

[e] Page 488 of this Hiſtory.

[f] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 857. Rapin. Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts.

An exact LIST *of the* Algier *Ships burnt in* Bugia, *with their Number of Guns and Age.* May 8, 1671.

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Years old.
The *White Horſe*	*Tabark Rays*	34	4
The *Orange Tree*	*Courbaly*	34	4
The *Three Cypreſs Trees*	*Caram Hammet*	34	½
The *Three Half Moons*	*Braybam Tagrin*	28	2
The *Pearl*	*Braybam Turco*	26	8
The *Golden Crown*	*Halua Tagrin*	24	⅙
The *Half Moon*	*Hammett*	24	¼

Sir *Edward Spragge* had only 17 killed, and 41 wounded, which makes the Victory ſtill more extraordinary, and is a very full Proof how neceſſary a ſteady and conſtant, as well as briſk and active Courage is in an Officer, who bears ſupreme Command at Sea [a]. He returned in the Beginning of the Year 1672, with the Squadron under his Command. The *Dutch* War was then meditated by our Court; but had not as yet broke out. On the 12th of *January* he met with Sir *Robert Holmes*'s Squadron near the Iſle of *Wight*; and upon Sir *Robert*'s enquiring News, Sir *Edward* very frankly told him, that he had ſailed ſeveral Days with the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet; that in a Day or two, they might be certainly expected. Sir *Robert Holmes*, who was ordered to attack the *Smyrna* Fleet, was very well pleaſed with this News, but took great care to ſay nothing, that might give him the leaſt Intimation of his having any Orders to attack them; tho' if he had ſo done, and required Sir *Edward*'s Aſſiſtance, he could not poſſibly have failed of taking or deſtroying that whole Fleet, reckoned worth a Million and half; and on the taking of which the King depended, for a Supply towards carrying on the War. But Sir *Robert*, averſe to ſharing any Part of the Reputation that might be acquired by this Action, uſed his utmoſt Diligence that no-body ſhould have any Part in the Execution of it but himſelf, in which, however, he had no ſucceſs; and as this blaſted his Reputation with the World, ſo it produced a Quarrel between him and Sir *Edward Spragge*, which could never afterwards be compoſed [b].

In 1672, when his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* had reſolved to take upon him the Command of the *Engliſh* Navy, Sir *Edward Spragge* was chiefly depended on for aſſembling the Fleet, and preparing all Things for the Reception of his Highneſs [c]; and he performed his Part ſo well, that by the End of the Month all Things were ready. In *Solbay* Fight (the 28th of *May*) he ſunk a *Dutch* Ship of 60 Guns; and returned with great Reputation; which very probably determined the Court to employ him (as they did) the next Year.

When the Nation lay under a Neceſſity of making uſe of Prince *Rupert*, Sir *Edward Spragge* was appointed to carry the Blue Flag inſtead of Sir *Robert Holmes*; and before the Fleet put to Sea, Sir *Edward* was ſent with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary to *France*, to renew the Treaty with that Court, to ſettle the Rules that were to be obſerved on the Junction of the *French* and *Engliſh* Fleets, and to reſtore the old Friendſhip between the Courts, which ſeemed to be ſomewhat injured by the late Proceedings in *England* [d].

As no Part of Sir *Edward Spragge*'s Negotiation or Inſtructions was ever communicated to Prince *Rupert*, it gave him freſh Grounds of Diſlike; ſo that when Sir *Edward* came to hoiſt his Flag, there was a great Coldneſs between them [e]. However, this did not hinder our Admiral doing his Duty very gallantly in the Engagement (on the 28th of *May*) wherein he fought *Tromp* ſeven Hours, forced him to go from the *Golden Lion* into the *Prince on Horſeback*, and thence into the *Amſterdam*, from that into the *Comet*, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by *de Ruyter* [f]. Sir *Edward* alſo twice changed his Ship.

In the Battle of the 4th of *June*, Sir *Edward* is blamed for coming, juſt before the Engagement began, ſix Miles in his Boat to receive his Highneſs's Orders [g]; however, after he returned, he behaved with great Reſolution, forced *Van Tromp*, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his Ship; and would inevitably have either taken or deſtroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the Admiral [h].

But in the third Battle, which happened on the 11th of *Auguſt*, our brave Admiral was accidentally drowned, as related on page 499. The *Dutch* Writers ſpeak of his Death with viſible Regret, and own, that he was one of the braveſt Men, and beſt Commanders that ever fought at Sea.

The LIFE *of Sir* JOHN KEMPTHORNE, *Knt. and Admiral.*

This eminent Seaman was born of reputable Parents in the Pariſh of *Widſcome* in *Devonſhire*, in 1620. His Father was but in mean Circumſtances, and as he, being a Royaliſt, had no Views of mending his Fortune by Land, bound his Son *John* to the Commander of a trading Veſſel at *Topſham*. *John* ſerved his Maſter with Reputation, and acquired ſuch Knowledge in his Profeſſion, that he grew into great Credit with the moſt eminent Traders in *Exeter*, in whoſe Service he made divers Voyages with Advantage into the *Mediterranean* [i].

In the Beginning of our Wars with *Spain*, he was attacked by a large *Spaniſh* Man of War, commanded by a Knight of *Malta*; yet Captain *Kempthorne* defended himſelf gallantly, till all his Ammunition was ſpent; and then remembering that he had ſeveral large Bags of Pieces of Eight on-board, he ordered his Men to load their Guns with Silver, which did ſuch Execution on the *Spaniard*'s Rigging, that if his own Ship had not been diſabled by an unlucky Shot, he had in all probability got clear. But over-powered by Numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into *Malaga*, where the Knight treated him with the utmoſt Kindneſs and Civility, carried him home to his Houſe, gave him the free Uſe of it, ſpoke of him with much Reſpect, commended his Valour to every Body, and declared, that he never knew a Man who deſerved higher Preferment; and after a ſhort Stay he ſent him ſafe home to *England*. Some Years after, the ſame Knight of *Malta* was taken in the *Streights* by Commodore *Ven*, brought Priſoner into *England*, and was committed to the *Tower*. Captain *Kempthorne* then had an Opportunity of returning all the Civilities he had received, and accordingly procured his Liberty at his own Expence, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to return to *Spain* [k].

Soon after the King's Return, he was provided with the *Mary-Roſe*, a third Rate, carrying 48 Guns, and 230 Men. In this Ship he went as Convoy to a conſiderable Fleet of Merchantmen into the *Streights*, and in the Month of *December* 1669, met with a Squadron of ſeven *Algerine* Men of War; and yet by his Prudence and Courage, he preſerved all the Veſſels under his Care, and obliged the Enemy to ſheer off, after leaving behind them ſeveral of their Men, who had boarded the *Mary-Roſe*, and were brought by Captain *Kempthorne* into *England*; for which Service he was rewarded with a Flag.

Upon the Duke of *Albemarle*'s taking the Command of the Fleet in 1666, he carried one of the Flags, and in the ſucceeding War he ſerved as Rear-admiral, and had the Honour of Knighthood [l]: and he ſpent the latter Part of his Life in a Poſt both of Profit and Reputation, *viz.* Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Navy at *Portſmouth*. It has been tranſmitted to Poſterity, that his ſharp Senſe of his Diſappointments ſhortened his Days: And thus a Man who had with ſuch Courage ventured his Life for the Honour of the Crown, and had done ſuch ſignal Service to the Nation, was ſacrificed to ſome pitiful Court-intrigue, and left to wear away his Life in a little Employment, which would have been eſteemed a high Promotion by a Perſon of another Temper, and who had leſs Paſſion for Glory than this worthy Gentleman, who ended his Days on the 19th of *October* 1679.

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[a] Memoirs of Engliſh Affairs, chiefly Naval, p. 200. Sir Edward's Letter, dated May 11, 1671, and publiſhed by Authority, under the Title of, "A true and perfect Relation of the happy Succeſs and Victory, obtained againſt the Turks of Algier at Bugia, by his Majeſty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, under the Command of Sir Edward Spragge, &c. Printed in the Savoy, by Thomas Newcomb, 1671."

[b] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 555, of the Dutch Edition. True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert. Hiſtory of the Dutch War.

[c] Memoirs of the Royal Navy, p. 246.

[d] Kennet. Echard. Columna Roſtrata. Oldmixon. Rapin.

[e] True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, p. 9.

[f] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. II. p. 411. Vie de Ruyter, p. 565.

[g] True Account of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, p. 10, 11.

[h] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. II. p. 415. Le Clerc, Tom. II. p. 241. Vie de Ruyter, p. 498.

[i] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 437.

[k] Remarkable Sea-deliverances, p. 22.

[l] Philip's Chronicle, Burchett, Columna Roſtrata, Echard.

The LIFE *of Sir* JOHN LAWSON, *Knt. and Admiral.*

Sir *John Lawſon* was the Son of an Anabaptiſt, and a Perſon in low Circumſtances at *Hull*; he obtained a Ship by his Merit, and ſerving in the Fleet under the Parliament, was made a Captain for his extraordinary Deſert[a]. He ſerved with great Fidelity againſt all their Enemies, ſo long as the Parliament retained their Power, and towards the End of the War carried a Flag, together with *Penn*, under *Monk*. In 1653, he commanded a Fleet of 44 Sail, which were ſent over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and by taking a ſcarce credible Number of Prizes, had a great Influence in making the Peace[b]. On the Change of the Government, and *Cromwell*'s aſſuming the ſupreme Power to himſelf, he was continued in his Command, and treated with Reſpect; but it ſeems, his Principles did not incline him to act ſo ſteadily under the new Government, as he did under the old[c].

The Protector *Oliver* had early Intelligence of *Lawſon*'s Diſaffection. Colonel *Overton*, who had plotted againſt *Monk* in *Scotland*, had in ſome of his Conferences with his Friends, mentioned Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, as a Perſon upon whom they might depend; yet for all this, he was employed and entruſted to command a Fleet for the Channel-ſervice in 1655[d]. But the *Spaniſh* War had the ſame Effect upon him, that it had upon many other Officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant Act of Injuſtice and Tyranny, and began from that Moment to enter into Schemes againſt the Protector with the Fifth-monarchy-men, for pulling down the preſent Tyranny. Secretary *Thurloe*, however, had ſuch clear Information of all their Proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing; and *April* 10, 1657, Major-general *Harriſon*, Admiral *Lawſon*, and ſeveral others were committed, which put an end to their Intrigues[e].

Having recovered his Liberty, he judged proper to retire; but upon the firſt News of the Return of Admiral *Montague* with his Fleet from the *Baltic*, the Parliament ſent for Mr. *Lawſon*, declared him Vice-admiral, gave him the Command of a few Frigates, and ordered him to take the Charge of the whole Fleet on its Arrival[f]. In his Retirement he had converſed with ſome underſtanding Cavaliers, and came to have a true Notion of the Folly of ſhifting from one Form of Government to another, and the great Crime of ſubverting the Conſtitution of one's Country, to which an abſolute Obedience is due. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard of General *Monk*'s March into *England*, he reſolved to co-operate with him; and knowing that nothing could be done, but by the Medium of a Parliament, he got the Fleet to declare roundly upon that Head; for which he received their ſolemn Thanks[g]. When *Monk* came to *London*, and many People doubted what Courſe he would take, Admiral *Lawſon* ſaid to General *Ludlow*, *That ſince the* Levite *and the* Prieſt *had paſſed by without helping them, he hoped they had now found a* Samaritan *who would*[h]. This *Ludlow* underſtood in his own Senſe; but it was certainly meant in another. The Lieutenant-general himſelf underſtood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. *William Prynne*, out of his great Loyalty to the Houſe of *Stuart*, had given the Clerk, without Order of the Houſe of Commons, a Clauſe for excepting out of the Bill of Indemnity, ſuch as had taken the Oath for abjuring that Family, in the Council of State; he was ſeverely reprimanded by Dr. *Clarges*, Brother to General *Monk*, becauſe he foreſaw that this would affect Admiral *Lawſon*, to whom the General was previouſly engaged[i]. Indeed, as to the Vice-admiral, he came very early, and very heartily into the Reſtauration; ſo that when the Earl of *Sandwich* acknowledged his Services in this Reſpect to the King in *Holland*, he was much careſſed, received the Honour of Knighthood, and was always looked upon as a Man ſincerely attached to the Crown[k].

He was ſent as Vice-admiral to the Earl of *Sandwich*, when he went to fetch Queen *Catherine* from *Portugal*, and was afterwards employed in the *Mediterranean* againſt the *Algerines*, to whom he did conſiderable Damage, and ſo effectually blocked up their Port, that they were not able to ſend any of their Cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been diſappointed in his Expectation from *de Ruyter*; who, with his *Dutch* Squadron, was ſent on the ſame Errand[l]. Theſe Admirals differed about a Salute, which *de Ruyter* paid *Lawſon*, and *Lawſon* refuſed to return, as being bound up by his Inſtructions: after this, there was no Harmony between them. Soon after this Accident, he received Inſtructions to return home, to ſerve under the Duke of *York* as Rear-admiral of the Red. Sir *John* was very grateful for this Honour. The Duke of *York* ſailed on the 21ſt of *April* 1655, with a grand Fleet to the Coaſt of *Holland*, himſelf carrying the red Flag, Prince *Rupert* the white, and the Earl of *Sandwich* the blue. His Royal Highneſs's Vice and Rear-admirals were *Penn* and *Lawſon*, who both performed all that could be expected from them. Towards the latter End of the Engagement, which happened off *Leoſtaff*, on the memorable third of *June*, that Day twelve Years, in which they had been beat by *Monk*; *Lawſon*, after he had exceeded all he had done before, was, by a Muſket-ſhot in his Knee, diſabled from enjoying that Victory which he had laboured ſo hard to gain, and died in a few Days. Sir *Philip Warwick* ſays, that he was highly loyal[m]; and another eminent Author, that he was the moſt experienced Seaman of the Age in which he lived, excepting only Sir *George Ayſcue*[n].

CHAP. IV.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Acceſſion of King* JAMES II. *to the Proclamation of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

KING JAMES II. aſcended the Throne of theſe Kingdoms by the Death of his Brother King *Charles* II. on the ſixth Day of *February*[o], and within two Days after appeared publickly at Maſs.

Biſhop *Burnet* introduces King *James*'s Reign, in the following remarkable Manner: "I am now (ſays he) to "give the Relation of an inglorious and unproſperous "Reign, that was begun with great Advantages: But "theſe were ſo poorly managed, and ſo ill improved, that "bad Deſigns were ill laid, and worſe conducted; and "all came, in Concluſion, under one of the ſtrangeſt "Cataſtrophes, that is in any Hiſtory. A great King, "with ſtrong Armies, and mighty Fleets, a vaſt Treaſure, "and powerful Allies, fell all at once. And his whole "Strength, like a Spider's Web, was ſo irrecoverably "broken with a Touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for Want both of Judgment and Heart, he "threw up in a Day."

In the *May* following, the Earl of *Argyle* landed in the Highlands of *Scotland*, from *Holland*, with Arms for 5000 Men, and a few *German* Officers and Soldiers: and on the 11th of *June* the Duke of *Monmouth* alſo landed in the

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[a] See Whitlock's Memorials, p. 471—563, 564.

[b] See Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 466. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 591—526—606.

[c] This appears from ſeveral Informations given againſt him to Thurloe, of which Notice will be afterwards taken.

[d] This Information to Monk is in Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. III. p. 185. where Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Colonel Pride, Colonel Cobbet, Colonel Aſhfield, and other Officers are named therein.

[e] Thurloe's State-papers, Vol. VI. p. 184.

[f] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 690. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 666.

[g] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 693.

[h] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 821.

[i] Ibid. Vol. III. p. 24.

[k] See Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Burchett, Columna Roſtrata; and particularly Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 415.

[l] Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 526—528.

[m] In his Memoirs, p. 415.

[n] Author of the Hiſtory of the Dutch War.

[o] A. D. 1685.

Weſt of *England* with about 80 Followers, to ſtir up an Inſurrection, and to diſturb the Peace of the Government. But they were ſoon ſilenced with the Loſs of both their Heads. Upon this Occaſion the Crown procur'd an Act to paſs in Parliament, prohibiting the *Importation of Gunpowder, Arms and other Ammunition, and Utenſils of War*, without Licence from his Majeſty, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the Goods, and treble their Value, by the Perſons in whoſe Cuſtody they are found [a].

Next Year, on the 12th of *April*, his Majeſty granted a new Charter to the *Eaſt-India* Company; and about the ſame time granted a Licence to Captain *Phipps*, who had fail'd in his Succeſs on a former Adventure, to fiſh on a Wreck on the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. The Captain, notwithſtanding his former Miſcarriage, remain'd poſitive that he could accompliſh the Work; and at laſt prevail'd with the Duke of *Albemarle* to advance a conſiderable Sum to fit him out. He ſail'd in a Ship call'd the *Bridgewater Merchant*, in 1687, Burthen 200 Tons, and in a ſhort time he returned to *England* with 300,000 *l.* in Silver. On his Arrival, there wanted not ſome who would have perſuaded the King to ſeize his Ship and Cargo, under Pretence, that Captain *Phipps* had not given an exact Information, when he applied for his Licence, and the royal Aſſiſtance: but his Majeſty generouſly anſwered, that he knew the Captain to be an honeſt Man, and a Man of Honour; and that if he had brought home twice as much Treaſure, his Proprietors ſhould divide it. His Majeſty further expreſſed his Satisfaction by knighting him [b]. The Duke of *Albemarle* had for his Share 90,000 *l.* and Sir *William* about 20,000 *l* [c].

Tho' *Britain* was at this time at Peace with all the World, his Majeſty, who had long experienced the Office of Lord High-admiral, in the Reign of his Brother, and underſtood it thoroughly; who knew the Diſorders which had crept into the wholy Œconomy of the Fleet, in the ſix Years immediately preceding his Acceſſion; and was well acquainted beſides, with the Difficulties the late King had found, in diſcovering and applying Remedies to theſe Miſchiefs, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the Throne, began to conſider how a total Reformation might be wrought, and the Affairs of the Navy be not only ſet right for the preſent, but alſo be put into ſuch a ſettled Courſe, as that they might not ſuddenly go wrong again. With this View he conſulted Mr. *Pepys*, and ſome other conſiderable Perſons, on whoſe Abilities and Integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was neceſſary to be done to bring about the Ends at which he aimed, he firſt aſſigned a ſtated Fund of 400,000 *l.* a Year, payable quarterly out of the Treaſury for the Service of the Navy; and then iſſued a ſpecial Commiſſion for ſettling all things relating to it, and for putting the Management thereof into ſuch a Method, as might need few or no Alterations in ſucceeding Times. A Commiſſion grounded, as to Form, on a Commiſſion which had iſſued for the ſame Purpoſe in the Reign of his Grandfather. This Commiſſion was dated the 17th of *April* 1686, and by it the Commiſſioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the Diſorders that were then in the Navy, to reſtore it in every Reſpect to good Order, and from time to time to report the Proceedings to his Majeſty and the Privy-council, as they were particularly enjoined in that Commiſſion [d].

The Commiſſioners, veſted with theſe Powers, loſt no time, but fell immediately on a diligent Inſpection into the State of the Navy, enquired ſtrictly into the Cauſes of paſt Miſcarriages, with reſpect rather to Things than Men, and taking ſuch Meaſures for the immediate Remedy of the Miſchief they diſcovered, that the old Ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and mended; the Yards properly ſupplied with the ableſt Workmen; all the Store-houſes filled with whatever was requiſite, bought at the beſt Hand, and in all reſpects the beſt in their kind; the Eſtimates brought into proper Order, and the whole Œconomy of the Navy reduced into ſo clear a Method, that it was impoſſible any Officer could be ignorant of, or miſtake in his Duty, the public Service ſuffer in any of its various Branches, or the King run any Hazard of being cheated without an immediate Diſcovery of the Offender. That all this might more fully and indiſputably appear (beſides the Reports directed by the Commiſſion being duly made) the Commiſſioners engaged his Majeſty to viſit in Perſon the Yards, Docks, Store-houſes, *&c.* which, conſidering his perfect Acquaintance with naval Affairs, made it impoſſible he ſhould be deceived; and then having demonſtrated the Juſtice of their Conduct, by leaving the Navy much increaſed, in perfect Order, and with Sea-ſtores valued at 400,000 *l.* they laid down their Poſts, their Commiſſion being ſuperſeded with a juſt Approbation of their Conduct, by Letters Patent under the Great-ſeal, *October* 12, 1688. Thus in little more than two Years time this great Reform was made, all the Officers of the Navy in general paid to a Farthing, and a ſaving made to the Public of 307,570 *l.* 9 *s.* and 4 *d.* and this for the inconſiderable Expence of 6000 *l.* paid to the new Commiſſioners.

At this time the Royal Navy conſiſted of,

9	Firſt Rates.	2	Ketches.
16	Second Rates.	3	Hoys.
38	Third Rates.	5	Smacks.
44	Fourth Rates.	12	Sloops.
13	Fifth Rates.	7	Prizes from *Barbary*.
7	Sixth Rates.		——
7	Hulks.	191	in all.
12	Fire-ſhips.		——
18	Yatchs.		

Of which

5	carry each	100	Guns — in all	500
3	——	96	—	288
10	——	90	—	900
2	——	82	——	164
1	——	80	——	80
4	——	72	—	288
28	——	70	—	1960
1	——	66	——	66
2	——	64	——	128
5	——	62	——	310
3	——	60	——	180
9	——	54	——	486
1	——	50	— —	50
19	——	48	— —	912

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[a] Provided always, That if any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, Bodies Politic or Corporate, ſhall, by Colour of this Act, or otherwiſe, obtain from his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, any Letters Patents, Licence, or Grant, for the ſole making or importing any Gun-powder, Arms, Ammunition, or other Utenſils of War, and ſhall put the ſame in Execution, or by Colour thereof moleſt or hinder any Perſon or Perſons who lawfully make any the Things before-mentioned, in this Kingdom, or ſhall obtain any Letters Patents, Licence, or Grant, for the Importation of Gun-powder, Arms, Ammunition, or other Utenſils of War, by way of Merchandiſe, to make Profit thereof, other than for the immediate furniſhing of the public Stores of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors; that then the Perſon and Perſons ſo offending, ſhall incur and ſuſtain the Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures contained and provided in the Statute of Proviſion and Præmunire (i. e. Impriſonment and Forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, &c. to the King's Uſe) made in the 16th Year of the Reign of King Richard II. and be diſabled to hold any Office or Employment under his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors; and all and every ſuch Letters, Licence, Patent, and Grant, and every of them, for the ſole making and importing the ſaid Commodities, ſhall be void to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſame had never been had or made; any Clauſe of non obſtante, or other Proviſion or Covenant to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. 1 Jac. II. cap. VIII.

[b] Life of King James II. p. 392.

[c] Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 130.

[d] Pepy's Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, wherein he tells us, that the following Qualifications were chiefly conſidered in the Choice of the new Commiſſioners, purſuant to a Memorial addreſſed by him to the King, and drawn by his Maſter's Directions, viz. "I. A practiſed Knowledge in every Part of the Works and Methods of your Navy, both at "the Board and in your Yards. The not diſcerning of which (and the others that follow) appears to have coſt your Royal Brother and you within "the fore-mentioned five Years, above half a Million. II. A general Maſtery in the Buſineſs and Accounts, tho' more particularly thoſe incident to "the Affairs of your Navy. III. Vigour of Mind, joined with approved Induſtry, Zeal, and perſonal Aptneſs for Labour. IV. An entire Reſignation of themſelves, and their whole Time to this your Service, without Liableneſs to Avocation from other Buſineſs or Pleaſure. V. Laſtly, Such "Credit with your Majeſty for Integrity and Loyalty, as may (with the former Conditions) lead both yourſelf and my Lord Treaſurer, to an entire "Confidence of having all done, that can be morally expected from them, in the Advancement of your Service, and the circumſpect and orderly "diſpenſing and improving of your Treaſure."

3	46	138
1	44	44
6	42	252
1	38	38
6	32	192
6	30	180
2	28	56
1	18	18
5	16	80
2	12	24
1	10	10
19	8	152
3	6	18
20	4	80

Total 169 Ships. Total 7,594 Guns.

For the better Regulation of this formidable Fleet, the King alſo iſſued out new Inſtructions to the commanding Officers, dated the 15th of *July* 1686, which were extremely well calculated for promoting the public Service, ſecuring Diſcipline, and preſerving proper Memorials of every Man's particular Merit, by obliging all Captains and ſuperior Officers, to depoſit a perfect Copy of their Journals with the Secretary of the Admiralty. A Method obſerved to this Day, as the Reader will find more particularly in the Introduction to this Hiſtory. And as many things in theſe Regulations might ſeem to bear hard upon Commanders, and to deprive them of thoſe Emoluments which their Predeceſſors had enjoyed, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them very conſiderable Favours; ſuch as a ſettled Allowance for their Tables [a], ſeveral Advantages in reſpect to Prizes, *&c.* and in the cloſe, the King was pleaſed to promiſe to take ſpecial Notice of, and amply to reward, every Inſtance of Courage, Care or Diligence in any of his Officers, upon proper Atteſtations depoſited with the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Such was the Attention given to the *Britiſh* Fleet by King *James* II. and it was never in ſo good Order, as at the time, when the Report of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition firſt prevailed. Is it not then a Matter of the greateſt Surpriſe to find the Marine ſo ill managed [b], that it was ſcarce made uſe of, or, at leaſt, ſo faintly equipped, as to anſwer no Purpoſe in the Defence of his Crown and Dignity againſt a foreign Force, which, he received daily Advice, was preparing in *Holland*, and was in great Readineſs to viſit the *Britiſh* Shore? For inſtead of aſſembling the Flower of his Navy, and employing the moſt eminent and moſt popular Officers, his Majeſty, by a kind of Fatality, was prevailed upon by his bigotted, ignorant Council, to neglect the Fleet, to be content with a ſmall Squadron of Obſervation, under the Command of a Man, that had very lately diſguſted the Seamen by introducing the Maſs, Prieſts and Confeſſors, on-board their Ships; and to place his whole Dependance on the ſtanding Army, which, as he was willing to believe, were modelled upon a *Popiſh* Plan. So that when the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſign of viſiting *Britain* was fully diſcovered, he only ſent Sir *Roger Strickland*, then Rear-admiral of *England*, to *Southwold* Bay, with a Squadron of 26 Men of War, *&c.* badly manned; the Sailors refuſing to enter under ſuch a Commander.

The Preparations in *Holland* advancing apace, King *James* deemed it neceſſary to ſend the following Inſtructions to Sir *Roger Strickland*, how to govern himſelf in ſo important an Affair.

James R.

“ Whereas we have been lately given to underſtand, that great Preparations are at this Day making by the States of the United Provinces, for increaſing their naval Force now at Sea, by the Addition of a conſiderable Number of their greater Ships; and foraſmuch as we think it behoving, that, for preventing, as much as may be, the Evil that may be intended towards us, our Government, or the Trade of our Subjects, you, with the Commanders of our Ships under your Charge, be, without Delay, advertiſed thereof, we have, to that Purpoſe, cauſed this, by Expreſs, to be diſpatched to you, to the end that, upon Receipt hereof, you may immediately apply yourſelf to the conſidering, and putting in Execution, whatever you, with the Advice of ſuch of our Commanders as you ſhall call to your Aſſiſtance, ſhall judge expedient, for the putting and keeping our Ships in a Condition of attending the Motion of thoſe of the States, as you ſhall from time to time conceive moſt for our Service. To which end, tho' ſuch is our Reliance upon your approved Diligence, Integrity, Valour, and Experience in maritime Affairs, that we do hereby entirely commit the whole Conduct thereof, in all Emergencies, to your ſole Direction; yet we conceive it not unuſeful (without Conſtraint) to recommend to you, in your Proceedings therein, the following Conſiderations, *viz.*

“ 1. That two of our Ships (to be changed once a Week) may be always kept cruiſing off of *Orfordneſs*, in order to as early diſcovering as may be the Approach or Motion of thoſe of the States, with Inſtructions not to fail, ſo ſoon as any ſuch Diſcovery ſhall be made, to repair with Advice thereof to yourſelf in the *Downs*, or where elſe you ſhall appoint for their meeting you.

“ 2. That ſo ſoon as the Wind ſhall come Eaſterly, and while it ſo continues, the like to be done by Ships to be by you employed between the *Goodwin* Sands and *Calais*, for preventing the States Ships paſſing by undiſcovered to the Weſtward.

“ And here you are to take Notice, that for the more effectual ſecuring of timely Advice to you of the Proceedings of the Ships of the States, and eaſing you in the Ships to be ſpared for this Uſe, we have determined to cauſe ſome *Barking* Smacks, or other ſmall Craft, proper for that Work, to be without Delay taken up, and ſent forth to that Purpoſe, with like Inſtructions to repair from time to time to you, with Advice, as before; of the Readineſs of which Veſſels to proceed on this Service, you ſhall be farther informed from the the Secretary of our Admiralty.

“ 3. That upon your being advertiſed of the *Dutch* Ships being come to Sea, and of their Motion there, it may be adviſeable (which Way ſoever they bend, whether to the Northward, down the Channel, into the River, or towards the *Downs*) that you with our Squadron do get under Sail, and (quitting the *Downs* either by the North, or South *Foreland*, according to your Diſcretion) endeavour to follow them, ſo as always, if poſſible, to keep between them and their home. And in caſe of their attempting to make any Deſcent, by landing of Men upon any of our Coaſts, you are to proceed hoſtilely upon them, for the preventing, or interrupting them as much as may be in their ſaid Attempt.

“ 4.

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[a] The following Table ſhews the Proportion maintained in this new Allowance, ſo as to make it a juſt Equivalent for the Perquiſites taken away by this Inſtruction.

Rate.	Preſent Wages.		Preſent Victualling.			Additional Grant for his Table.	
	l.	s.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.
1	273	15	12	3	4	250	
2	219		12	3	4	200	
3	182		12	3	4	166	5
4	136	10	12	3	4	124	5
5	109	10	12	3	4	100	
6	91		12	3	4	83	

[b] After he was made High-admiral, he found all the great Seamen had a deep Tincture from their Education. They both hated Popery, and loved Liberty: They were Men of ſevere Tempers, and kept good Diſcipline. But, in order to the putting the Fleet into more confident Hands, the Duke began a Method of ſending Pages of Honour, and other young Perſons of Quality to be bred to the Sea; and theſe were put in Command, as ſoon as they were capable of it, if not ſooner. This diſcouraged many of the old Seamen, when they ſaw in what a Channel Advancement was like to go; who thereupon left the Service, and went and commanded Merchant-men. By this means, the Virtue and Diſcipline of the Navy is much loſt. It is true, we have a Breed of many gallant Men, who diſtinguiſh themſelves in Action: But it is thought, the Nation has ſuffered much by the Vices and Diſorders of thoſe Captains, who have riſen by their Quality, more than by Merit or Service. Biſhop Burnet's Character of King James II.

" 4. That Care be timely taken, by Orders to be given
" in that Behalf, that effectual Proviſion be always made
" for our Ships reſorting to ſome known Places of Ren-
" dezvous, in Caſes of Separation; and that as frequent
" Accounts of the Proceedings of the *Dutch* be by you
" diſpatched, as conveniently may be, to the Secretary of
" our Admiralty, for our Information. And whereas, for
" the better inforcing the preſent Squadron of our Ships
" under your Command, we have determined upon con-
" verting thoſe of the fifth Rate into Fireſhips, and fit-
" ting out others of the third and fourth Rates in their
" Room; in the doing whereof all Endeavours of Di-
" ſpatch will be made, our Will and Pleaſure is, that you
" do forthwith iſſue out your Orders to the Lord *Berkeley*,
" to take the firſt Opportunity of Wind and Weather for
" bringing the *Charles* Gally to *Sheerneſs*, that her Com-
" pany may be removed into ſuch other Ship as we ſhall
" by our Commiſſion appoint for him. But we are pleaſed
" to direct, that in caſe the *Reſerve* be ſtill with you, and
" that you conceive her to be in any Condition of being
" kept abroad a little while longer, for anſwering the pre-
" ſent Exigence, till theſe Recruits, or part of them, can
" come to you, you do reſpite the ſending her to *Portſ-*
" *mouth* till farther Order. For which this ſhall be your
" Warrant. Given at our Court at *Windſor*, the 22d Day
" of *Auguſt* 1688.

" *By Command of his Majeſty*,

" S. Pepys."

In conſequence of theſe Inſtructions, and the repeated Advices from abroad of the Strength of the *Dutch* Fleet, the following Ships were ordered to join him.

Number and Rates of Ships which were with Sir Roger Strickland.

Rates.	Number.	
3	1	26
4	16	
5	3	
6	2	
Fire-ſhips	4	

Ordered to be fitted out to join him.

3	10	35
4	11	
6	1	
Fire-ſhips	13	
	In all	61

Beſides ſix Tenders, which were to be employed as Scouts.

Sir *Roger* found that thoſe Ships he had with him were very ill manned, and ſince there was but little Proſpect of a ſpeedy Supply of Seamen, he deſired that ſome Soldiers might be ſent on-board to make up that Deficiency, which was done, but not with that Speed the Nature of the Service required. He adviſed with thoſe Officers in the Squadron whom he judged the moſt experienced; and communicating to them the Contents of his Inſtructions, both he and they were of Opinion, that they ought, when victualled, to ſail to the *Buoy of the Gunfleet*, on this Side *Harwich*, ſince they might ſooner get Intelligence there of the Motion of the *Dutch*, than by ſtaying in the *Downs*, for that with Weſterly Winds it would be five or ſix Days before the Scouts off of *Orfordneſs* could ply it up; whereas the Squadron might ſooner put to Sea from the *Gunfleet*, upon Notice that the *Dutch* were come out. But, if when this ſhould be conſidered by his Majeſty, it met not with his Approbation, he propoſed that one or two of the Scouts might ſail directly to the Coaſt of *Holland*, to make Diſcoveries, whilſt he, at the ſame time, ſent two of his cleaneſt Ships off of *Orfordneſs* for that Purpoſe.

Soon after King *James* received this Propoſition, he ſignified his Pleaſure thereupon, and that in ſuch a manner, as made it apparent, the Opinions of the Flag-officer, and Captains under him, were not ſo much adhered to as might have been expected from the Contents of his Majeſty's firſt Inſtructions; for he let Sir *Roger Strickland* know, that having conſidered well of what he had propoſed, and debated the ſame with ſeveral of the moſt experienced Commanders, and Maſters, he was fully convinced, that it could not in any wiſe be convenient for his Service to put the ſame in Execution; for that the *Gunfleet*, at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year was a very ill Road; and that, if the Wind ſhould hang Eaſterly, he would be liable to be driven up the River by the *Dutch*, which ought above all things to be avoided. Wherefore he directed him to go out of the *Downs* with the firſt Eaſterly Wind, and to place himſelf between the North Sand-head, and the *Kentiſh Knock*, there to continue under ſail in the Day-time, and at anchor in the Night, if fair Weather; but if it happened to blow hard, and that the *Dutch* Fleet did not appear, to proceed by the Back of the *Goodwin* Sand to *Bologne* Bay, and there remain until he was ſatisfied they were either paſſed down the Channel, or gone up the River; in the former of which Caſes it was recommended to him to follow them as near as he judged convenient, until they were between the *Lizard* and *Scilly*, and finding them proceeding farther, to return to *St. Hollen*'s Road, or *Spithead*; but if they bent their Courſe into the River, he was to endeavour to return by the Back of the *Goodwin*, and to get the Wind of them. For the reſt it was left to him to proceed as he ſhould judge moſt proper, with this only Caution, that as ſoon as the Wind came up Weſterly, and that not any of the forementioned Caſes happened, he was to repair to the *Downs*. Theſe Directions, rather to proceed to *Bologne* Bay than the *Gunfleet*, were determined upon a ſolemn Debate the Day before they bore Date (*viz.* the 26th of *Auguſt*) in King *James*'s Cloſet, at *Windſor*, the following Perſons being preſent, who were particularly ſummoned from *London*, namely, the Lord *Dartmouth*, Mr. *Pepys* Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir *John Berry*, and three elder Brothers of the *Trinity-houſe* of *Deptford Strond*, Captain *Atkinſon*, Captain *Mudd*, and Captain *Rutter*, together with Captain *John Clements*.

The 2d of *September* Sir *Roger Strickland* had Advice from one of the Scouts, that 25 Sail of the *Dutch* Fleet, 16 of them great Ships, were off of *Gorſe*, on the Coaſt of *Holland*, ſome of them under ſail, with three Flags, *viz.* Admiral, Vice, and Rear, and that they all lay with their Top-ſails looſe upon the Windward Tide.

King *James* thinking his Squadron (which, tho' but very weakly manned, were, for what Reaſon I know not, forbid to impreſs Men, even out of homeward-bound Merchant-ſhips) not of ſufficient Strength to intercept the *Dutch*, ordered them to retire to the *Buoy of the Nore*; but commanded that two of the cleaneſt Frigates ſhould ply off of *Orfordneſs*, and that upon the firſt Approach of a foreign Fleet, one of them ſhould immediately repair to the *Nore*, with Advice thereof, and the other remain in her Station, to obſerve whether the ſaid Fleet made up towards *Harwich*, or the River, and then alſo come to the *Nore*, and give Notice thereof by the uſual Signals. And that the Motions of the *Dutch* Fleet might be the better known, it was recommended to Sir *Roger Strickland*, as a Matter of greateſt Importance, ſo to employ all the ſcout Veſſels, as that he might have from them, and King *James* himſelf from him, the moſt frequent and exact Accounts of their Proceedings on their own Coaſt, and of their Departure thence.

The Beginning of *October*, King *James* appointed the Lord *Dartmouth* Admiral of the Fleet, who diligently applied himſelf towards the haſtening to the *Buoy of the Nore* all Ships and Veſſels which were fitting out in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*; and received the following Inſtructions for his Government.

James R.

" Whereas we have received undoubted Advice, that a
" great and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland*, with an armed
" Force of Foreigners and Strangers, will be made ſpeedily,
" in an hoſtile Manner, upon this our Kingdom; our Will
" and Pleaſure is, that all neceſſary Orders being by you
" iſſued for the haſtening our Ships and Veſſels, now fitting
" forth out of the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and
" from *Portſmouth*, together with thoſe already at Sea un-
" der the Command of Sir *Roger Strickland*, Knt. Vice-
" admiral

“ admiral of our ſaid Fleet, to their intended Rendezvous at the *Buoy of the Nore* (a perfect Liſt of which Ships, Fire-ſhips, and other Veſſels, is hereunto annexed) you do, with all poſſible Diligence, repair on-board our Ship *Reſolution*, Captain *William Davis* Commander, or ſuch other of our Ships as you ſhall now, and at any times hereafter, think fit to bear our Flag, as Admiral, upon taking upon you the Charge and Conduct of our ſaid Fleet, and what other Ships ſhall at any time hereafter be by us ſet forth for reinforcing the ſame. Which Fleet, and every Part thereof, we (out of entire Reliance upon your approved Loyalty, Valour, Circumſpection, and Experience) do hereby authoriſe and empower you to lead, and by our Orders, to direct and diſpoſe of, at all times, and in all Emergencies, as you in your Diſcretion ſhall judge moſt conducing to our Honour, and the Safety of our Dominions, and particularly in the preventing the Approach of any Fleet, or Number of Ships of War from *Holland*, upon any of our Coaſts, or their making any Deſcent upon the ſame. Towards your more effectual Execution whereof, we do hereby empower and require you, to endeavour, by all hoſtile Means, to ſink, burn, take, or otherwiſe deſtroy and diſable the ſaid Fleet, and the Ships thereof, when and wheresoever you ſhall meet with, or otherwiſe think fit to look out for and attack them, giving a perfect Account of your Proceedings therein to the Secretary of our Admiralty for our Information. And for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at *Whitehall* this firſt Day of *October* 1688.

“ *By his Majeſty's Command*,

“ S. Pepys.”

The following LIST *of the Fleet was annexed to the foregoing Inſtructions.*

Ships for the main Fleet.

Rate.	Ships Names.	Where they were.
3	*Mary*	Coming to the *Nore* with Sir *Roger Strickland.*
	Montague	
4	*Aſſurance*	
	Jerſey	
	Conſtant Warwick	
	Briſtol	
	Nonſuch	
	Crown	
	Dover	
	Mordaunt	
	Greenwich	
	Tyger	
	Bonadventure	
6	*Larke*	
Fireſhips	*Sally Roſe*	
	Half-Moon	
	St. Paul	
Yatchs 3		In the River.
4	*Foreſight*	At the *Nore.*
	Deptford	Off of *Orfordneſs.*
Fireſhip	*Dartmouth*	
4	*Faulcon*	Coming to the *Nore* from *Yarmouth.*
Fireſhip	*Sampſon*	
6	*Suadadoes*	In the *Downs.*

Ships fitting out.

Rate.	Ships Names.	Where they were.
3	*Defiance*	At *Blackſtakes* near *Sheerneſs.*
	Reſolution	
	Henrietta	
	Cambridge	At *Chatham.*
	Elizabeth	
	Pendennis	
4	*Newcaſtle*	
	Woolwich	
3	*Rupert*	In the *Hope.*
	York	At *Portſmouth.*
	Dreadnought	
	Plymouth	
3 Fireſhips	*Pearl*	At *Portſmouth.*
	Richmond	
	Charles and Henry	
	Unity	
4	*Advice*	At *Spithead.*
	Diamond	
	Ruby	
	St. David	In *Longreach.*
	Centurion	
	Portſmouth	
6	*Firedrake*	
Fireſhips	*Guardland*	
	Guernſey	
	Swan	
	Sophia	
	Speedwell	
	Elizabeth and Sarah	
	Cignet	
	Charles	
	Roebuck	
4	*Antelope*	At *Deptford.*
	St. Albans	
	Swallow	

ABSTRACT.

Rate.	Number.	
3	14	
4	24	
6	2	
Fireſhips	18	Moſt of which were made ſo from fifth Rates.
Yatchs	3	
	61	

Of which 38 were of the Line of Battle.

The Fleet being at the *Gunfleet*, and ready in all reſpects to proceed to Sea, his Lordſhip called a Council of War, and by a great Majority it was reſolved to continue there: not but that ſome, and particularly Sir *William Jennings*, (who commanded a Ship of the third Rate) thought it much more adviſeable to proceed over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and there attend the coming forth of the *Dutch* Fleet. This laſt Propoſal did certainly carry the greateſt Weight with it, had there been a real Deſign of obſtructing the Prince of *Orange* in his Paſſage to *England*; but, inſtead of that, Matters were ſo concerted, and agreed among the Commanders (who had frequently private Meetings to conſider the Circumſtances of Affairs) that had the Admiral come fairly up with the *Dutch*, it would not have been in his Power to have done them much Damage, although I [*] have Reaſon to believe his Lordſhip, and ſome of the Captains, would have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt.

In the mean time the *Dutch* Fleet put to Sea. It conſiſted of about 50 Sail, third and fourth Rates chiefly, and 25 Fire-ſhips, beſides about 500 Tranſports. The Officers of this Fleet were *Dutch*; but the Commander in Chief was an *Engliſhman*, Admiral *Herbert*, he being appointed in the Stead of the Prince of *Orange*, by the Stile of Lieutenant-general Admiral, as the moſt probable Means to prevail with the *Engliſh* Fleet to deſert to the Prince.

Herbert went to Sea with the *Dutch* Fleet; and was ordered to ſtand over to the *Downs*, and to look on the *Engliſh* Fleet, to try if any would come over, of which ſome Hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above 18 or 20 Ships ſtrong. But the contrary Winds made this not only impracticable, but gave Reaſon to fear that a great Part of the Fleet would be either loſt or diſabled. Theſe continued for above a Fortnight, and gave them at the *Hague* a melancholy Proſpect. *Herbert* alſo found, that the Fleet was neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo well manned as he had expected.

On the 16th of *October* O. S. the Wind, that had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, came into the Eaſt; ſo Orders were ſent to all to haſten to *Helvoetſluys*. That Morning the Prince went into the Aſſembly of the States-General, to take Leave of them. He ſaid to them, he was extreamly ſenſible of the Kindneſs they had all ſhewed him, upon many Occaſions; he took God to witneſs, he had ſerved them faithfully, ever ſince they had truſted him with the Government, and that he had never any End before his Eyes, but the Good of his Country; that was what he had always purſued; and if, at any time, he had erred in his Judgment, yet his Heart was ever ſet on procuring their Safety and Proſperity. He took God to witneſs, he went to *England* with no other Intentions but thoſe he had ſet out in his Declaration: He did not know how God might diſpoſe of him; to his Providence he committed himſelf: Whatſoever might become of him, he committed to them the Care of their Country, and recommended the Princeſs to them in a particular Manner: He aſſured them, ſhe loved their Country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would ſtill protect her, and uſe her as ſhe well deſerved: And ſo he took his Leave.

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[*] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 414.

It was a ſad, but a kind Parting. Some of every Province offered at an Anſwer to what the Prince had ſaid; but they all melted into Tears and Paſſion; ſo that their Speeches were much broken, very ſhort, and extream tender. Only the Prince himſelf continued firm, in his uſual Gravity and Phlegm. When he came to *Helvoetſluys*, the Tranſport-fleet had conſumed ſo much of their Proviſions, that three Days of the good Wind were loſt, before all were ſupplied anew.

“ His whole Fleet conſiſted of about 50 Men of War, 25 Fire-ſhips, and near 400 Tranſports, Victuallers, and other Veſſels, carrying about 4000 Horſe, and 10000 Foot. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet, Vice-admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince himſelf was in the Center, carrying a Flag, with *Engliſh* Colours, and their Highneſſes Arms, ſurrounded with this Motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, and underneath the Motto of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, JE MAINTIENDRAI, *(I will maintain.)*

At laſt, on the 19th of *October*, the Prince went on-board [a], and the whole Fleet ſailed out that Night. But, the next Day, the Wind turned into the North, and then ſettled in the North-weſt. At Night a great Storm aroſe; we wrought againſt it all that Night and the next Day, but it was in vain to ſtruggle any longer. On the 21ſt, in the Afternoon, the Signal was given to go in again; and on the 22d, the far greater Part got ſafe into Port. Many Ships were at firſt wanting, and were believed to be loſt; but after a few Days all came in, and not ſo much as a Ship, or even a Man loſt, but one who was blown from the Shrouds into the Sea. The Ships, however, received ſome Damage; and about 500 Horſes periſhed for want of Air.

On the 1ſt of *November* O. S. we (ſays my Author) ſailed out with the Evening Tide; but made little Way that Night, that ſo our Fleet might come out, and move in Order. We tried next Day till Noon, if it were poſſible to ſail Northward; but the Wind was ſo ſtrong and full in the Eaſt, that we could not move that Way. About Noon, the Signal was given to ſteer Weſtward. This Wind not only diverted us from that unhappy Courſe, but it kept the *Engliſh* Fleet in the River; ſo that it was not poſſible for them to come out, though they were come down as far as the *Gunfleet*. By this Means we had the Sea open to us, with a fair Wind and a ſafe Navigation. On the 3d we paſſed between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before Night came in ſight of the *Iſle of Wight*. The next Day, being the Day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that Day, it would look auſpicious to the Army, and animate the Soldiers. But we all, who conſidered that the Day following being Gun-powder Treaſon Day, our Landing that Day might have a good Effect on the Minds of the *Engliſh* Nation, were better pleaſed to ſee we could land no ſooner.

Torbay was thought the beſt Place for our Fleet to lie in: And it was reſolved to land the Army, where it could be beſt done near it, reckoning, that being at ſuch a Diſtance from *London*, we could provide ourſelves with Horſes, and put every thing in Order, before the King could march his Army towards us, and that we ſhould lie ſome time at *Exeter* for refreſhing our Men.

On the 4th at Noon, it was reſolved that ſome of the Ships ſhould land at *Dartmouth*, and the reſt ſail into *Torbay*; but in the Night the Pilots overſhot both *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*; ſo, the Wind continuing full in the Eaſt, it ſeemed neceſſary to ſail on to *Plymouth*, which might have been of ill Conſequence on ſeveral Accounts. This put us in ſome Diſorder, till on a ſudden it calmed a little; and then the Wind turning to the South, a ſoft and happy Gale of Wind carried the whole Fleet, in four Hour's Time, into *Torbay*. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As ſoon as the Prince and Marſhal *Schomberg* got on-ſhore, they were furniſhed with ſuch Horſes, as the Village of *Broxholm* could afford, and rode up to view the Grounds, which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the Foot, in that Seaſon.

The next Morning all our Horſe was landed, in three Hours Time, with as much Baggage as was neceſſary, till we got to *Exeter*; and we reſolved to make haſte thither.

We had no ſooner got thus diſengaged from our Fleet, than a new and great Storm blew from the Weſt; from which our Fleet, being covered by the Land, could receive no Prejudice; but the King's Fleet had got out as the Wind calmed, and was come in Purſuit of us as far as the *Iſle of Wight*, when this contrary Wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to purſue us; but were ſo ſhattered for ſome Days by this Storm, that they were forced to go into *Portſmouth*, and were no more fit for Service that Year. This was a greater Happineſs than we were then aware of; for the Lord *Dartmouth* aſſured me, ſome time after, that whatever Stories we had heard and believed, either of Officers or Seamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily.

On this Occaſion were applied to the Prince of *Orange* [b] the two famous Lines of *Claudian*:

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Claſſica Venti!

Heaven's Favourite! to whom the Skies Aſſiſtance lend,
Whilſt on thy Sails conſpiring Winds attend.

The Country came in by degrees, and King *James*'s Army thereupon deſerting, even by whole Regiments, and the beſt of his Officers alſo leaving him, while others ſhewed no greater Inclination than the common Men to engage in his Quarrel, the Prince marched with little Bloodſhed to *London*, and the unfortunate King, with his Queen, retired to *France* not long after.

The *Engliſh* Fleet which put to Sea, as ſoon as they could purchaſe their Anchors, came in few Days off of *Torbay*, where the *Dutch* Ships lay. The Lord *Dartmouth* had not viewed them long, e'er a Storm aroſe, which forced him out of the Channel; but returning in a little Time, and being again off of the aforeſaid Bay, his Lordſhip gave them an Opportunity of ſeeing what his Strength might have enabled him to have done, had our Inclinations been to treat them as Enemies.

The Seamen had time in this Space, to conſider what they were doing; and ſuch of the Officers as were well affected to the Prince's Deſign, had an Opportunity of working upon them, and diſpoſing Things for his Service: and thus that naval Force, which the King had cultivated with ſo great Care, and on which he depended ſo much, proved of little or no Uſe, as well as his Army. So difficult a thing is it to bring *Engliſhmen* to enſlave *England*!

As to the Conduct of the King, after the Arrival of the *Dutch* Fleet, it was unaccountable in itſelf. It was very ſtrange he paid ſo little Attention to the Fleet; ſince, if we except the Care he took in ſending away his Family, it does not appear, that he iſſued any Orders relating thereto; which will ſeem ſtill the more extraordinary, if we conſider, that his Admiral was not only a Man of Quality, and one on whoſe Fidelity he could abſolutely depend; but alſo an experienced Officer, and a Man extremely beloved by the Sailors [*]. In all Probability, he was deterred from taking any Meaſures of this ſort, by what happened at the Docks, where the Workmen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, roſe on a ſudden, and without any other Arms than the Tools belonging to their Trades, drove out a Regiment of regular Troops quartered at *Rocheſter* and *Chatham*, and declared for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange*.

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[a] With the Prince were the Earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dunblain, Admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, Colonel Sidney, Mr. Ruſſel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, Major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguſon, and others; and, beſides the General Officers of the States, the French Marſhal Schomberg, Count Charles his Son, Mr. Caillemote younger Son to the Marquis of Rouvigni, and 2 or 300 French Refugee-officers.

[b] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

It is alſo not improbable, that the King was diſcouraged from making any Applications to the Seamen, in whom he had formerly ſhewn much Confidence, by the Revolt of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, where the People, and eſpecially the Sailors belonging to the Veſſels in their Harbours, ſeized ſeveral Popiſh Officers, who had been ſent thither to diſcipline their Militia, and on other Pretences; and this upon the firſt News of the Invaſion here. To ſay the Truth, the Sea-faring People all over the Nation, but particularly in *Briſtol* and *London*, declared unanimouſly and vehemently againſt his Meaſures, and did all in their Power to prevent the moſt obnoxious of his Miniſters, ſuch as Chancellor *Jefferies*, and Father *Petre*, from making their Eſcape; which can be attributed to nothing but the juſt Senſe they had of the iniquitous Meaſures theſe People had purſued; for, as to themſelves, they had no particular Grievances.

When Lord *Dartmouth* ſaw the Diſpoſition of his Officers, and how little it was in his Power to ſerve his Maſter, he wiſely yielded to Neceſſity; and ſailing once again into the *Downs*, and there holding a Council of War, it was reſolved, firſt to diſmiſs from their Commands all ſuch Officers as were known to be Papiſts, or ſuſpected ſo to be; and then to ſend up an Addreſs to his Highneſs, ſetting forth their ſteady Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, and their ſincere Concern for the Safety, Freedom, and Honour of their Country. Not long after this, the Ships were diſperſed, ſome to the Dock-yards to be diſmantled, and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and ſuch as were in the beſt Condition for the Sea, were appointed for neceſſary Services.

Theſe were all the Services performed by the *Engliſh* Navy, during the Reign of a Prince, who, while a Subject, had ſerved and acquired a Reputation at Sea; who underſtood maritime Affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary Diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that tho' this Fleet was uſeleſs to him, yet it was of the higheſt Advantage to the Nation. If he had been leſs careful in this Reſpect; if he had left the Navy in a low Condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it at his Brother's Deceaſe, it would have been impoſſible for us to have withſtood the naval Power of *France*, which had been for ſeveral Years growing, and about the time of the Revolution, or a little before, it had attained its greateſt Height. As it was, the King left behind him, as numerous, and in every Reſpect as complete and well furniſhed a Navy, as *England* had ever ſeen; ſo that, when the *French* came out with ſuch a Strength as amazed all the World, it ſurpriſed indeed, but did not fright us. We were quickly in a Condition to look them in the Face; and the ſubſequent Part of this Work will ſhew, that notwithſtanding the mighty Change that had happened in a ſhort time abroad, and the Pains almoſt every where taken to create a naval Force, yet we were as able to aſſert our Sovereignty in our own Seas, and to maintain the Honour of our Flag every where elſe, as in any preceding Period.

At the REVOLUTION.

A GENERAL LIST *of all his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the Sea-ſervice and Pay, upon the* 18*th of* December 1688, *with their reſpective Rates, Commanders, Lieutenants, Complements of Men, and Stations.*

Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Lieutenants.	Men.	Stations.
3	*Reſolution*	Lord *Dartmouth*, Admiral Captain *Davis*	*Milleſon Prene*	450	Channel.
	Elizabeth	Sir *John Berry*, Vice-admiral Captain *Nevill*	*Gother Crawley*	475	
	Cambridge	Captain *Tyrwhit*	*Wright Boys*	420	
	Defiance	——*Aſby*	*Byng Littleton*	390	
	Dreadnought	——*Akerman*	*Bounty Tyrwhit*	355	
	Henrietta	——*Irevanion*	*Gardner Dilkes*	355	
	Mary	——*Layton*	*Townſend Hayes*	355	
	Pendennis	Sir *William Booth*	*Jennings Kerr*	460	
	Plymouth	——*Cartar*	*Foulks Edwards*	340	
	York	*Delavall*	*Moody Manley*	340	
4	*Advice*	*Williams*	*Haughton*	230	
	St. Alban	*Conſtable*	*Killigrew Bundel*	280	
	Antelope	*Ridley*	*Pugh*	230	
	Aſſurance	Mr. *Donald*	*Fitzpatrick*	180	
	Bonadventure	Captain *Hopſon*	*Granvile*	230	
	Briſtol	*Leigton*	*Pen*	230	
	Centurion	*Elliot*	*Townſend*	230	
	Conſtant Warwick	*Cornwall*	*Hales*	180	
	Crown	*Robinſon*	*Wickham*	230	
	St. David	*Botham*	*Jennings Walker*	280	
	Deptford	*Rooke*	*Guy Bowyer*	280	
	Diamond	*Walkers*	*Greenway*	230	
	Dover	*Shevell*	*Davies*	230	
	Foreſight	*Stanley*	*Hubbard Man*	280	
	Greenwich	*Wren*	*Waughan Audley*	280	
	Jervey	*Beverley*	*Hammond*	230	

Rate

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[*] Admiral Legg, had been created Lord Dartmouth by King Charles II. but he received much greater Favours from King James, in whoſe Reign, he was Maſter of the Horſe, General of the Ordnance, Conſtable of the Tower of London, one of the Lords of the Privy council, Colonel of the royal Regiment of Fuſileers, and Captain of an independent Company of Foot. He was alſo High-ſteward of Dartmouth, Kingſton upon Thames, and Recorder of Litchfield. In the Year 1687, attending the King in his Progreſs, and the City of Coventry preſenting his Majeſty with a large gold Cup and Cover, he immediately delivered it to the Lord Dartmouth, telling him, there was an Acknowledgment from the City of Coventry, for his Father's Sufferings in their Town; where, during the Civil Wars, he had ſuffered a long Impriſonment. The ſucceeding Year, he was made Admiral of the Fleet of England, then ſet out to intercept the Dutch Fleet, bringing over the Prince of Orange; which Employment he accepted out of Gratitude to the King, who, as Biſhop Barnet writes, loved him, and in whoſe Service and Confidence he had long been. The Biſhop alſo ſays, that he was indeed one of the worthieſt Men of his Court; but he was much againſt the Conduct of his Affairs; yet he reſolved to ſtick to him at all Hazards. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 108.

Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Lieutenants.	Men.	Station.
4	*Mordaunt*	*Tyrrell*	*Carveth*	230	Channel.
	Newcaſtle	*Churchill*	*Harman*	280	
	Nonſuch	*Montgomery*	*Talbot*	180	
	Phœnix	*Gifford*	*Harriſon*	180	
	Portland	*George Aylmer*	*Trevannion*	240	
	Portſmouth	*St. Loe*	*Beaumont*	220	
	Ruby	*Froude*	*Gillam*	230	
	Swallow	Captain *Matthew Aylmer*	*Whitaker*	230	
	Tyger	*Tennant*	Lord *Will. Murray*	230	
	Woolwich	*Haſtings*	*Talbaſh Baker*	280	
6	*Larke*	*Grimſditch*	—	85	
	Saudadoes	*Graydon*	—	75	
Bomb-Ketches	*Firedrake*	*Leake*	—	75	
	Quaker	*Allen*	—	40	
Yatchs	*Cleveland*	*Hoſkins*	—	30	
	Fubbs	*R. Saunderſon*	—	40	
	Iſabella	*William Saunderſon*	—	30	
	Katherine	*Clements*	—	30	
	Kitchen	*Crow*	—	30	
	Mary	*Fairby*	—	30	
	Cygnet	*Shelly*	—	30	
	Dartmouth	*Legg*	—	55	
	Elizabeth and Sarah	*Dover*	—	25	
	Guarland	*Jenifer*	—	50	
	Richard and John	*William Wright*	—	20	
	Supply	*Croſs*	—	20	
	Guernſey	Captain *Arthur*	—	50	
	Pearle	*Cole*	—	50	
	Richmond	*Fairborne*	—	50	
	Swann	*Johnſon*	—	50	
	Sophia	*Myngs*	—	27	
Fireſhips	*Speedwell*	*Powſon*	—	30	
	Sally Roſe Prize	*Biſhop*	—	37	
	St. Paul	*Botelar*	—	50	
	Sha. and Henry	*Stone*	—	25	
	Roebuck	*Pooley*	—	16	
	Unity	*Wyvell*	—	25	
	Charles	*Potter*	—	30	
	Half-Moon	*Munden*	—	35	
	Young Spragg	*Wiſeman*	—	20	*Portſmouth* Guard-ſhips.
Yatch	*Merlin*	*Wild*	—	30	
Fireſhips	*Eagle*	*Wilford*	—	45	*Sheerneſs* Guard-ſhips.
	Sampſon	*Harris*	—	50	
Yatch	*Navy*	Captain *Cotton*	—	20	*Guernſey.*
Ketch	*King's Fiſher*	*Swaine*	—	15	*Jerſey.*
Yatch	*Monmouth*	*William Wright*	—	20	*Ireland.*
4	*Dragon*	*Killegrew*	*Bokenham Sherborne*	185	*Salley.*
	Sedgmore	*Loyde*	*Buckley Hawkens*	240	
5	*Saphire*	*Tozier*	*Briſbane*	115	
Hulk	*Leopard*	—	—	35	*Jamaica.*
4	*Aſſiſtance*	*Law Wright*	*Chapman*	200	
6	*Drake*	*Spragg*	—	65	
5	*Roſe*	*George*	*Candon*	105	*New England.*
Ketch	*Deptford*	*Berry*	—	40	*Virginia.*
6	*Dunbarton*	*Roe*	—	70	

BOOK

BOOK V.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to the BRITISH *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Acceſſion of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in 1688, to the UNION of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE and COMMERCE, DICOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the* REVOLUTION *to the Death of Queen* MARY.

THE Crown being placed, by the Convention of the Lords and Commons, upon the Heads of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who were proclaimed by the Names of King *William* III. and Queen *Mary*; their Majeſties, purſuant to an Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, declared War againſt *France*, on the 7th of *May* 1689, whoſe Monarch had taken part with the late King *James*, and ſupplied him with a conſiderable Body of *French* Troops [a] to reduce *Ireland*. Thus, his firſt Moments of Royalty were engaged in a hazardous and bloody War [b]; a War, which tho' at firſt was pretended only to reſtore King *James* II. to his abdicated Throne, preſently diſcovered [c] the ambitious Views of *Lewis* XIV. towards univerſal Monarchy, and obliged all *Europe* to arm in their own Defence, againſt the Encroachments of that aſpiring and perfidious Nation.

The Difficulties which King *William* met with in *England* on his Acceſſion to the Throne, greatly favoured the Schemes of *Lewis*; for, tho' his *Britannic* Majeſty was well acquainted with the natural Means to defend his Kingdoms againſt Invaſions, his perplexed Affairs obſtructed the neceſſary Preparations at Sea for oppoſing ſo powerful an Enemy, for ſome time. However, having got 12 Ships of the Line fit for Sea, they were given to Admiral *Herbert*, who, with one Fire-ſhip, two Yatchs, and two Smacks, and this Squadron, had Orders to ſail in queſt of the *French* Fleet.

The Admiral having Intelligence, that the *French* Fleet had landed King *James* on the 12th of *March* at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, made for that Coaſt, with all the Ships, which he could get in haſte together, in hopes to intercept the Convoy, in its Return. He commanded the reſt of the Fleet to follow him, and that they might loſe no time, to ſail ſingly, without waiting for one another, the Places appointed for Rendezvous being the Coaſt of *Ireland*, or ten Leagues Weſt of *Scilly*. The Admiral arrived off *Cork* on the 17th of *April*, and being informed that the King was landed at *Kingſale*, he proceeded firſt off of *Breſt*, and then ranged too and fro in the *Soundings*, in hopes of meeting thoſe Ships, which, as he was informed, were taking in, at *Breſt*, a conſiderable Supply, ſending by the King of *France* to *Ireland*.

Being diſappointed in theſe Hopes, and returning to the *Iriſh* Coaſts, the 29th of *April*, in the Evening, he diſcovered off of *Kingſale*, a Fleet of 44 Sail, keeping their Wind, which made him keep his likewiſe, all Night, to hinder their getting into that Port. The 30th, he heard that the Enemy was gone into *Baltimore*, upon which he bore away towards that Place; but finding there no Sign of them, and judging them to be to the Weſtward of him, he bore away, with the Wind Eaſterly, for Cape *Clear*, and in the Evening he ſaw them ſtanding into *Bantry-Bay*, off which he lay till Morning; and then, by Break of Day, ſtood towards them, having increaſed his Strength to 18 Men of War, the *Dartmouth*, a ſmall Frigate, and a Fireſhip. The *French* were at Anchor, being 28 Men of War, moſt of them from 60 to upwards of 70 Guns, and ſome larger, with five Fireſhips, under the Command of Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud*. The Tranſport-ſhips (which had carried about 5000 Men to *Ireland*) were at ſome Diſtance, plying to Windward.

The *French*, encouraged by their great Superiority, got under ſail [d]; and when Admiral *Herbert* had, not without great Difficulty, worked up within two Miles of them, they bore down upon him in a very orderly Line, of all the 28 Men of War, and five Fireſhips. One of their Ships being within Muſket-ſhot of the *Defiance*, which led the Van, Monſieur *de Chateau-Renaud* put out the Signal of Battle, and they two began the Fight, which was continued by the others, as faſt as they came up with one another. The Admiral made ſeveral Boards, endeavouring, by that means, to gain the Wind of the Enemy, or at leaſt to engage them cloſer than they ſeem'd willing to do; but finding he could not do either, and that it was not adviſeable to maintain ſo unequal a Fight, (that way of working being very diſadvantageous) he ſtretched off to Sea, not only to get his Ships into a regular Line, but to gain the Wind, if poſſible. The *French* were ſo very cautious of bearing down, that the Admiral could meet with no Opportunity of obtaining his End; ſo that continuing the Fight, and battering upon a Stretch, till about five in the Afternoon, the *French* Admiral then tack'd about, and ſtood farther into the Bay. And our Admiral, and ſome of the other Ships, had ſuffered ſo very much in their Maſts and Rigging, that not the one half of them being in a Condition for farther Action, they could not follow them.

If all Circumſtances be duly weighed, and particularly, that moſt of the *Engliſh* Ships were very ill manned, they came off more fortunately than could reaſonably have been expected; and it muſt be ſaid to their Honour, that both Officers and Sailors behaved with all the Courage and Vigour of the braveſt Men. There were no more than 94 killed, and about 250, or 300 wounded, Captain *George Aylmer* of the *Portland*, and one Lieutenant, being the only Officers ſlain in the Action. The Ships received little or no Damage, except in their Sails and Rigging.

This Engagement, or rather Skirmiſh, being over, the Admiral repaired to his Rendezvous, which was ten Leagues Weſt from the Iſles of *Scilly*, where he was in hopes of meeting with ſuch an additional Force, as might have enabled him to proceed in ſearch of the *French*. Being deceived in this his Expectation, he returned to *Spithead*, where Orders were lodged for the immediate refitting the Ships; and all ſuch as had not before join'd the Fleet, but were ſo far advanc'd as *Plymouth*, or *Scilly*, were remanded to *Spithead*, at which Place thoſe coming from the Eaſt were likewiſe directed to rendezvous till farther Orders.

The

[a] Eſcorted by a Fleet of 22 Sail of Men of War.

[b] Kennet. Rapin.

[c] By invading the Empire, and declaring War againſt Spain.

[d] On the 1ſt of May 1689.

The King went himſelf, a Fortnight after this, to *Portſmouth*, as well to haſten the refitting of the Fleet, as to diſtribute Rewards to thoſe Officers and Soldiers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Engagement. Admiral *Herbert* was declared, and ſoon after made Lord *Torrington*, Captain *John Aſhby* of the *Defiance*, and Captain *Cloudeſly Shovel* of the *Edgar*, were knighted, and every Seaman had a Gratuity of ten Shillings: And beſides this, a Bounty was added to the Relicts of thoſe who had loſt their Lives. By which means ſo much Diſpatch was made, in refitting the Fleet, that the Admiral arrived with it off of *Torbay* about the Middle of *June*, and not many Days after ſeveral Ships belonging to the *States General* reached *Spithead*, with their Admiral, a Vice and a Rear-flag. They, together with Mr. *Ruſſel* (afterwards Earl of *Orford*) then Admiral of the Blue, ſailed the ſecond of *July*, to join the Body, which did likewiſe ſeveral others, as they came in. Among whom was Vice-admiral *Killegrew*, who had been ſtationed for ſome time with a Squadron off of *Dunkirk*, to keep the *French* Ships from coming out of that Port; but he finding no more than four Sail in *Flemiſh* Road, three of which were very ſmall ones, received likewiſe the ſame Orders to join the Fleet. This little Squadron conſiſted of Merchant-ſhips, hired into the Service, except the *Kent*, a third Rate, two ſmall Frigates, and two Fireſhips; they were therefore diſpoſed of to ſeveral neceſſary Stations, as being in no wiſe fitting for the Line of Battle.

The Admiral was cruiſing, in the mean time, on the *French* Coaſt, and to and fro in the *Soundings*, without meeting with any thing remarkable, till the latter End of *Auguſt*; when being in a very great want of Beer, he was obliged to come to *Torbay*, and the Winter-ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced, as not to admit of keeping the Fleet at Sea, in a Body, thoſe Ships which wanted the greateſt Repairs, eſpecially of the largeſt Rates, were ordered into Port, and the reſt were divided into ſeveral Squadrons for different Services.

Before we ſpeak more particularly of theſe, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by ſome other Squadrons, which had been detached earlier in the Year.

When King *James* landed in *Ireland*, his Affairs had certainly a very promiſing Aſpect on that Side. He brought with him a very conſiderable Supply, and he found there an Army of 40,000 Men. There were but two Places in the North which held out againſt him, *viz. London-derry*, and *Inejkilling*. Of theſe, he determined to make himſelf Maſter, and might eaſily have done it, if he had been well adviſed; but, as Biſhop *Burnet* juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of Fatality that hung on his Councils. He reſolved to begin with *London-derry*, in reſpect to which, two Propoſals were made him; the firſt was, to attack the Place vigorouſly, and take it as ſoon as poſſible, by Storm; the other, to block up the City, and to act with his great Army in ſuch a manner, as might beſt ſuit his Intereſt, till this Place was by dint of Famine compelled to ſurrender. Either of theſe Methods might have ſucceeded; but King *James* declined theſe, and made Choice of a third, which was, to take the Place by a ſlow Siege, in order to enure his *Iriſh* Army to Fatigues, and to render them by this kind of Diſcipline, more fit for Service. This Reſolution of his gave time for an Application to the Government in *England*: And upon this, two Regiments of Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Cunningham* and Colonel *Richards*, with ſome Supplies, were ſent thither. They arrived on the 15th of *April* in the *Lough*; but Colonel *Lundy*, who was Governor of the Town, being, as it was believed, in King *James*'s Intereſt, perſuaded thoſe Gentlemen, that it was a thing impracticable to defend the Place; and that therefore the beſt thing they could do, was to return and ſecure his Majeſty's Troops; which they accordingly did. The Townſmen, having turned out their Governor, however, made a noble Defence, which gained time for another Application to *England* [a].

During this ſpace, Commodore *Rooke*, who had been ſent with a Squadron in the Month of *May*, to the Coaſt of *Ireland*, performed good Service there, by keeping King *James* and his Army from having any Intercourſe with the *Scots*; and on the 8th of *June*, he ſailed in with the *Bonaventure*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, and a Fleet of Tranſport-ſhips, under the Command of Major-general *Kirke*, who was come with this Force to relieve *London-derry*. The Commodore concurred with him very chearfully in carrying on this Service.

As ſoon as the Major-general was advanced to a ſmall Diſtance from the Place, he called a Council of War, on-board the *Swallow*, it being then the 19th of *June* [b]. They were almoſt aſſured that there was a Boom laid athwart the River, a little above *Brook-hall*, at a Place called *Charles Fort*; that this Boom was framed of Chains and Cables, and floated with Timbers; and that at each End of it there were Redoubts, with heavy Cannon. They had likewiſe Information, that both Sides of that narrow River were intrenched, and lined with Muſketeers, as alſo that ſeveral Barks were ſunk, and Stockades drove in with great Spikes of Iron. They were already convinced, that they had no Room to doubt of that Part of their Information which related to the Cannon; for the *Greyhound* received conſiderable Damage from them in going up the Day before. It was therefore reſolved to ſtay till their Forces were augmented, and then, by making a Deſcent, endeavour to oblige the Enemy to raiſe the Siege.

The Major-general propoſing, in the mean time, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Iſland of *Inch*, the Commodore took on-board the Men of War a Detachment of Troops under Colonel *Stuart*. With theſe he arrived, the ninth of *July*, in *Lough-Swilly*, and came to an Anchor near the Iſland. The next Morning, the Men were landed, and the Paſs from the Iſland to the Main was ſecured the 16th by two Redoubts, and a Battery of Cannon, on each Side of which the *Greyhound* and *King's Fiſher* Ketch were moored. The Commodore ſailed with the *Deptford*, *Bonadventure*, and *Portland*, towards *Lough Foyle*, where he met the Major-general coming down with his Tranſports from *Kilmore*, in order to land the Forces on the Iſland of *Inch*.

Being informed by him that ſome *French* Ships of War had been cruiſing on the Coaſt, and had taken two ſmall *Scotch* Frigates off of *Carrickfergus*, and two *Engliſh* Veſſels near *Cantire*, and that they were ſailed from thence with ſome Forces to the Iſle of *Mull*, he immediately departed, and arrived at that Iſland the next Day; but the *French* Ships had left it four Days before, and directed their Courſe for the ſouthern Coaſt of *Ireland*. The very Morning he arrived there, a Battalion of about 400 Men were tranſported from the Iſland to the Main, and their Officers were then following in two ſmall Veſſels; but the *Iriſh* no ſooner ſaw our Ships doubling the Land, than they got on Shore, and ran up to the Mountains. After the Commodore had batter'd the Caſtle, which belonged to Commiſſary *Macklaine*, he ſet ſail and left the Iſland. The next Morning, being off of the Iſland *Ila*, he met a ſmall Boat, with an Expreſs from Duke *Hamilton*, which gave him an Account, that the *Iriſh* had a Deſign of tranſporting more Forces from *Carrickfergus*; and for that Reaſon his Grace deſired him to continue to cruiſe in that Station, that he might prevent them in the Execution of their Purpoſe.

On the 22d of *June*, the *Portland* brought the Commodore a Letter from the Major-general, with Advice, that our Forces in *Londonderry* were reduced to ſuch deplorable Extremities, for want of Proviſions, that they had lived for ſome time on nothing but Hides, Dogs, and Cats; that he was returned from *Inch* with the *Swallow*, and three victualling Ships, and was now reſolved, at all Events, to attempt getting up to the Town. Nevertheleſs, he was of Opinion, that the Countenance of ſome more of our Ships would be very ſerviceable to forward his Deſign: therefore the Commodore left the *Bonadventure* and *Portland* in his Station, and with the *Deptford* and *Dartmouth*, ſailed to the Aſſiſtance of the Major-general. He ſent the *Dartmouth* up to *Kilmore*, to receive his Orders, and then returned to the *Bonadventure* and *Portland*, with Intention to continue there till the Arrival of the three Ships he expected from the Earl of *Torrington*.

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[a] Dr. Walker, who was Governor of London-derry, publiſhed an exact Account of the Siege, under the Title of "A true Account of the Siege "of London-derry, London, 4to. 1690. 59 Pages." Afterwards he wrote a Vindication of this Account, and from theſe, Burnet's Hiſtory, and the Detail we have had from living Witneſſes, we report theſe Facts.

[b] At this Council were preſent Colonel Stuart, Sir John Hanmer; the Lieutenant-colonels St. John, Wolſley, Dampier, De la Barte and Landini; the Majors Rowe, Tiffin and Carville; Major Richards, Engineer; the Captains Cornwall of the Swallow, Leake of the Dartmouth, Gillain of the Greyhound, Saunderſon of the Henrietta Yatch, and Boys of the King's-fiſher Ketch.

With this Aſſiſtance the Place was ſoon after relieved, and the Siege raiſed, in the following Manner: The *Montjoy* of *Derry*, commanded by Captain *Browning*, and the *Phœnix* of *Colrain*, by Captain *Douglas*, being both loaden with Proviſion, were ſent towards the Town, under the Convoy of the *Dartmouth* Frigate, commanded by Captain *Leake*. They were forced to ſtand a furious firing of the Enemy from *Kilmore*, and both Sides of the River, which they received, and returned, with the greateſt Bravery imaginable. The *Montjoy* made a little Stop at the Boom, occaſioned by her Rebound, after ſtriking and breaking it, ſo that ſhe was run aground. Upon this, the Enemy gave a loud and joyful Shout (tho' a dreadful one to the Beſieged) fired all their Guns upon her, and were preparing their Boats to board her. The Trouble and Concern of the Beſieged, to ſee their laſt Hopes diſappointed, is not to be expreſſed; but, by great Providence, firing a Broad-ſide, the Shock looſened the Ship ſo, that ſhe got clear and paſſed the Boom. Captain *Douglas* was engaged all his while, and the *Dartmouth* gave the Enemy very warm Entertainment, till, at length, the three Ships, having overcome the great Difficulty of breaking and paſſing the Boom, got up to the City, and brought unſpeakable Joy and Tranſport to a Garriſon, which reckoned only upon two Days Life, having nothing left but nine lean Horſes, and a Pint of Meal to each Man [a].

If we may believe Father *Daniel*, 7000 Perſons were famiſhed to Death, during the Siege. An Inſtance of a brave Reſolution, in a People, who could ſubmit to ſo rigorous a Fate, rather than bow their Necks to the Yoke of Tyranny and Oppreſſion!

This brave and ſucceſsful Undertaking ſo diſcouraged the Enemy, that, on the laſt of *July*, they raiſed the Siege, in the Night-time, with great Confuſion, and, in their Retreat, made a miſerable Havock of the Country [b].

The 13th of *Auguſt*, the Commodore of the Fleet, on the *Iriſh* Coaſt, met the Duke of *Schomberg*, with the Tranſport-ſhips, coming into *Bangor* Bay, in *Carrickfergus Lough*, where he landed part of his Army the ſame Night. He had left *England* the Day before, with 90 Veſſels of all ſorts, and near 10,000 Men, Horſe and Foot; but many of the Tranſports were wanting, and with them ſeveral ſmall Frigates; the *Charles* Galley, *Supply*, *Suadadoes*, *Dartmouth*, and *Pearl*, in queſt of which the *Portland* was ſent to the *Iſle of Man*.

The Duke began the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, on the 22d of *Auguſt*, and in four Days time made ſuch conſiderable Breaches, and was ſo ready for a general Aſſault, that the Garriſon was contented to accept what Conditions he pleaſed to offer; which were, *To be conducted with their Arms, and as much Baggage as they could carry on their Backs, to the next* Iriſh *Garriſon, which was* Newry. In the mean time, the reſt of the Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, which, for want of Tranſport-ſhips, had ſtaid behind, were embarked at *Highlake*, and ſafely landed in *Ireland*, which were ſoon to be followed by the Artillery, and the Horſes thereunto belonging.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, the Ships in the *Iriſh* Seas were diſpoſed of in certain Stations by the Commodore. The *Deptford*, *Bonaventure*, *Mary* Galley, *Antelope*, *Supply* and *Fan-fan* Sloops, the *Ann*, *Charity* and *King's-fiſher* Ketches, with the *Edward* and *Suſan* Hoys, at *Carrickfergus*. The *Dartmouth* and *Princeſs Ann*, at *Highlake*. The *Charles* Galley, the *Greyhound* and the *Unity* Ketches, cruiſing off of the Iſle of *Man*. The *Pearl*, the *Henrietta* and *Monmouth* Yatchs, cruiſing between *Dublin* and *Man*. The *Portland*, *Suadadoes*, and the *Welcome* Ketch, off of *Cape Cantire*; and the *Swallow*, with Major-general *Kirke*.

After the Squadron had continued at *Carrickfergus* ſome time, the Commodore was deſired, by the General, to take with him the *Deptford*, *Bonaventure*, *Mary* Galley, *Swallow*, *Portland*, *Antelope*, *Dartmouth*, *Archangel*, *Sampſon*, *Scepter*, *Princeſs Ann*, *Hannibal*, *Smyrna* Merchant, *Supply*, *Greyhound* and *Henrietta* Yatchs, together with ſeveral Ketches, and to cruiſe with them off of *Kingſale* and *Cork*, or where elſe he ſhould judge he could do it with moſt Advantage. The General kept with him, at *Carrickfergus*, the *Charles* Galley, *Pearl*, *Suadadoes*, *Fan-fan*, *St. Malo* Merchant, and ſeveral ſmaller Veſſels, which were put under the Command of Captain *Roach*, of the *Charles* Galley.

The Commodore himſelf put to Sea, and endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his Power, to get Southward; but was obliged, by Streſs of Weather, to run into *Banger* Bay. Here he received Orders, from the Lords of the Admiralty, to ſend all the hired Ships of War to *Highlake*. In his Paſſage from *Carrickfergus* he was obliged, by a ſtrong Southerly Wind, to bear up an Anchor at the *Skerries*, about 12 Miles from *Dublin*; where ſending in the Yatch, to get Intelligence of the Army, ſeveral Shot were fired at her, from the Shore. Enraged at this unexpected Treatment, he ordered the Ketches in, and manning all the Boats, landed about 200 Men, who ſoon cleared the Town of thoſe who undertook to defend it. Nevertheleſs, as he ſaw the Hills were covered with both Horſe and Foot, he ordered the Seamen off, leſt they ſhould be too much expoſed; well knowing, that tho' the *Engliſh* Sailors are intrepid at an Aſſault, they are far from being the moſt orderly at a Retreat. They did not however embark, till they either ſtaved or brought off all the ſmall Veſſels or Fiſher-boats which lay there.

On the 16th of *September*, the Commodore entered *Dublin* Bay; but the Wind veering out, and blowing a briſk Gale, he was forced away; and arriving off of *Cork* the 18th, he gave Orders for the Yatch, and the four Ketches, to enter into the Harbour for Intelligence; and to give the People the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of their Majeſties Protection, upon their Submiſſion; but the obſtinate *Iriſh*, having planted 14 or 15 Guns, on both Sides of the Harbour's Mouth, plied hard upon the Veſſels, with a Shower of great and ſmall Shot; notwithſtanding this, they proceeded, landed their Men, and took Poſſeſſion of the Great Iſland; however, as the Ships were very foul, and in want of all manner of Proviſions, the Commodore was obliged to quit his Station, and repair to the *Downs*, where he arrived the 13th of *October*.

On the 23d of *November* of this Year, the Houſe of Commons being informed, that great Quantities of corrupt and unwholeſome Victuals, had been furniſhed to the Navy, this laſt Summer, which had been the Occaſion, as was conceived, of great Sickneſs and Mortality in the Fleet; and the ſame being atteſted by ſeveral Members of the Houſe, upon their own Knowledge, it was reſolved, "That Sir "*John Parſons*, Sir *Richard Haddock*, Alderman *Sturt*, "and Mr. *Nicholas Fenn*, Victuallers of the Fleet, ſhould "be ſent for in the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to "anſwer to the ſaid Complaint."

But, notwithſtanding an exact Scrutiny into that Affair produced a full Diſcovery of great Miſchiefs, occaſioned by the bad victualling of the Fleet, yet the Spirit raiſed againſt the Adminiſtration grew ſo ſtrong, that it was thought neceſſary for the Earl of *Torrington* to reſign his Office of firſt Commiſſioner, to allay it; and he was ſucceeded therein by *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, which anſwered the End effectually, and gave the Nation great Satiſfaction [c].

As to the remaining Services of this Year, they were not either many or great; and therefore I ſhall only mention the taking of two celebrated Sea-officers in the *French* Service, *viz.* the celebrated Chevalier *de Fourbin*, and the famous *John Bart*. They commanded two ſmall Frigates, and under their Convoy, ſix rich Merchant men, Outward bound.

The Count *de Forbin* (in his Memoirs) gives this Relation thereof.

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[a] See Sir John Leake's Life, by Stephen Martin Leake, Eſq; 8vo. p. 16.

[b] See a particular Account of the Siege of London-derry, by the Reverend Mr. George Walker, Rector of Donagh Moore, in the County of Tyrone, the brave Governor of that City, during this Siege.

[c] Kennet, Burnet, &c.

At our Arrival (ſays he, *viz.* himſelf, with a Frigate of 16 Guns, and 120 Men, and the famous *John Bart*, with a Frigate of 24 Guns) at *Havre de Grace*, we found 20 Merchant-ſhips ready to ſail, who deſired our Convoy. Off of the *Iſle of Wight* we were chaſed by two *Engliſh* Ships of 50 Guns. I found the only way to ſecure ourſelves would have been to have abandoned our Fleet, but not the moſt honourable; I therefore told *Bart*, if he would follow my Advice, we would run the Hazard of a bold Stroke, which would certainly be for our Reputation: that the only Thing we could do, was to arm two of the biggeſt Merchant-ſhips, and to ſtrengthen the Crew, by taking Sailors out of other Ships: that with this Re-inforcement we would venture to attack the two *Engliſh* Ships, if they continued the Chaſe: that he and I would board the Commodore, while the two Merchant-men kept the other employed, by cannonading him: And, in ſhort, that if we were ſo happy to take the Ship we propoſed to engage, we would make uſe of her to attack the other. As he approved of my Propoſal, I attacked and boarded the *Engliſh* Ship: But, by Miſfortune, *Bart* miſcarried in his Attempt of boarding her, which I perceiving, ſaw plainly we ſhould be taken. The Soldiers and Sailors of our Frigates, which could not board, plied the Head of her with Shot and Grenadoes pretty warmly. The two Merchant-men, inſtead of fighting, abandoned us; upon which, the other *Engliſh* Ship came to the Aſſiſtance of his Companion. We ſaw it was, in a manner, impoſſible for us to eſcape; we continued, however, the Fight, to give the Fleet time to make off. The Engagement was very bloody for two long Hours. Two thirds of my Crew were killed, and I myſelf had received ſix Wounds, which were more troubleſome than dangerous; but, as I loſt much Blood, I was obliged to go off of Deck to be dreſſed. This gave Occaſion to ſome of the Crew, who ſaw the Deck covered with dead Bodies, to eſcape to the Merchant-ſhips. *Bart* fared, in the mean time, no better: The greater Part of his Men were killed, or wounded, and he himſelf wounded in the Head. When we ſaw it was in vain to hold out any longer, we yielded our two Frigates, and went on-board the *Engliſh* Ship we had been engaged with, which had loſt her Captain in the Fight, and in which we were carried Priſoners to *Plymouth*.

The King of *Spain* having married by Proxy the Princeſs *Mariana* of *Newburg*, Siſter to the Empreſs, and the Queen of *Portugal*, his Catholic Majeſty deſired an *Engliſh* Convoy of King *William*, to conduct her by Sea to the *Groyne*. Vice-admiral *Ruſſel* was ordered to proceed to *Fluſhing*, in *Zealand*, with the Ship *Duke*, of the Second-rate, four Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, and two Yatchs, there to receive on-board the Queen of *Spain*, and her Majeſty's Retinue. From thence he was directed to proceed to *Spithead* for farther Orders; and upon her Majeſty's coming on-board, as well as during the time of her Stay, he was ordered to bear the Union-flag, at the Main-top-maſt-head.

This Fleet arrived at *Fluſhing* the 12th of *December*, having been obliged to hover about 24 Hours on that Coaſt, in ſuch hazy Weather, that there was no Poſſibility of making the Land. Her Majeſty embarked on-board the *Duke* towards the Middle of *January*, and arrived in the *Downs* on the 18th, where both herſelf and her Retinue were removed into more proper Ships. The 24th of *January* they arrived at *St. Helens*, and a few Days after, the Queen was complimented from their Majeſties, by the Duke of *Norfolk*; and from their Royal Highneſſes, by the Lord *Cornbury* and Colonel *Berkley*. The Admiral proceeded to Sea again as ſoon as the Winds would permit; but was forced back to *Torbay* the 23d of the next Month, as he was again the 2d of *March*, after another Attempt to ſail. At length, the Fleet, which by this time was increaſed to the Number of 400 Merchant-men, bound for the Streights, with about 30 Men of War to convoy them, ſetting ſail from *Torbay* on the 7th of *March*, after a ſtormy and dangerous Paſſage, arrived in Safety at the *Groyne*, on the 16th.

The Admiral, having put the Queen and her Retinue on-ſhore, and diſpatched all his other neceſſary Affairs, ſet ſail again; but by contrary Winds was drove into the Harbour of *Ferrol*, near the *Groyne*. Here the Ship *Duke* went on-ſhore, in a violent Storm; but with great Care and Pains was luckily got off again, having ſuſtained little or no Damage. Thoſe Ships which were appointed for part of the *Mediterranean* Squadron, the Admiral took timely Care to diſpatch to *Cadiz*, and then, laying hold of the firſt Opportunity of a Wind, he reached *Plymouth* the 25th of *April*, with the Remainder. He arrived at *Portſmouth* the 28th, and there landed the Ladies, and other Perſons of Quality, who had attended the Queen of *Spain* in her Paſſage, and ſo ended the Voyage.

Vice-admiral *Killegrew*, who was appointed Commander in Chief of a Squadron, which was ordered for the *Mediterranean*, conſiſting of one Second-rate, four Third-rates, ſeven Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, and two Fire-ſhips, received the following Inſtructions.

" 1. When he arrived at *Cadiz*, he was to ſend the
" *Happy Return* and *Oxford* (two Fourth-rate Ships) with
" the Trade, to *Malaga* and *Alicant*, and to give them
" Orders for their Return to *England*, with the Merchant-
" ſhips from thoſe Parts.

" 2. At ſuch time as he ſhould judge it moſt conveni-
" ent, he was to order the *Portland*, *Falcon*, *Tyger*, and
" *Sapphire*, to proceed with the Trade to *Genoa*, *Leghorn*,
" *Naples*, and *Meſſina*, and to ſee thoſe bound for *Galli-*
" *poli* and *Zant*, as near to thoſe Places as they could con-
" veniently. Theſe Ships of War were to keep Company
" with the *Turky* Trade to the Height of *Candia*, where
" parting, the *Tyger* and *Falcon* were to conduct thoſe
" bound to *Smyrna* firſt, and then the others within the
" *Dardanelles*, after which they were to return to, and re-
" main at *Smyrna* 60 Days. The other two Ships, the
" *Portland* and the *Sapphire*, were to convoy the Trade
" bound to *Scanderoon*, and to continue in that Port 60
" Days, at the Expiration whereof they were reſpectively
" to ſail, with all the Trade that ſhould be ready, to *Meſ-*
" *ſina*, the Place deſired by the *Turky* Company for their
" Rendezvous. But it was, nevertheleſs, left to the
" Admiral to give them other Directions, in caſe he
" judged it more adviſeable, and to ſend them home,
" with the other Trade, for *England*, in ſuch a Man-
" ner, as (according to Intelligence) he ſhould think moſt
" proper.

" 3. Having diſpatched away theſe Convoys, he was,
" with the *Duke*, *Berwick*, *Reſolution*, *Montague*, *Burford*,
" *Newcaſtle*, and *Greenwich*, together with the *Dutch* Ships
" appointed to join him, and the *Half-moon* and *Cadiz-*
" *Merchant*, Fire-ſhips, to attend the Motions of the
" *French*, either in a Body, or in ſuch Manner as might
" moſt conduce to the intercepting them, and to the Safety
" of the Trade. He was likewiſe to attack them, if he
" found himſelf of Strength ſufficient; but if they hap-
" pened to paſs the *Streights*, he was, upon the firſt No-
" tice thereof, to follow them."

He ſailed from *Torbay* on the 7th of *March*, but did not arrive at *Cadiz* till the 8th of the next Month, having met with extreme bad Weather in this Paſſage. Several Ships of the Squadron were horribly ſhattered, and two *Dutch* Men of War, one of 72, and the other of 60 Guns, unhappily foundered, after they had but one Maſt left ſtanding between them, and that but a Mizzen. In repairing their Damages, he met with no little Diſcouragement and Interruption from the then Governor of *Cadiz*, who, on this, as well as all other Occaſions, demonſtrated how much he inclined to an Intereſt which was entirely oppoſite to that of the Allies.

The 9th of *May*, the Admiral received three ſeveral Expreſſes, one from the Conſul at *Alicant*, another from him who reſided at *Malaga*, and the third from Captain *Shelton*, who was with Part of the Squadron at *Gibraltar*. They were all to inform him, that the *Toulon* Squadron, commanded by Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud*, had been ſeen from thoſe Places, and that it conſiſted of 10 Sail, three of them Ships of 80 Guns each.

Hereupon a Council of War was called, and it was therein reſolved, " To ſail, with as many Ships as were " in a Condition, to join the ſix *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, which

“ Captain *Skelton* had with him at *Gibraltar*; and to order “ him not to attempt any thing until ſo joined, but to “ take an eſpecial Care for his Safety.” Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Admiral ſailed the 10th, at four in the Morning, with the *Engliſh* Ships following, *viz.* the *Duke*, *Montague*, *Eagle*, *Tyger*, *Portland*, *Faulcon*, *Happy Return*, *Richmond*, and *Sapphire*, being one Second-rate, two Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, and two Fifth-rates, as alſo two Ships of the Line of Battle, belonging to the States-General, called the *Guelderland* and *Zurickzee*, with which was Lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*. He left behind a Third-rate, called the *Reſolution*; and a Fourth-rate, named the *Newcaſtle*; as alſo a Prize taken by Captain *Bokenham*, of the *Happy Return*, called the *Virgin's Grace*, they being not found in a fit Condition to keep the Sea.

The 10th, at about 11 at Night, the Wind being at W. N. W. the Squadron had Cape *Trafalgar* E. and by N. about four Leagues off. At four o'Clock next Morning, they ſteered away for the *Streight*'s Mouth, and had Cape *Spartel* S. W. diſtant about ſix Leagues. The Admiral then detached the *Portland* to *Gibraltar*, with Directions to Captain *Skelton* to get ready and join him. About one in the Afternoon he got into the Bay, where there came on-board him three *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, ſent from the Governor of the Town, with Advice from the Commander in Chief at *Ceuta*, a *Spaniſh* Garriſon on the *Barbary* Coaſt, that there had been ſeen, the Night before, 14 Ships at Anchor, in the Bay of *Tetuan*, a Town about ſeven Miles from *Ceuta*.

The whole Squadron, which was now under ſail, conſiſted of one Second-rate, three Third-rates, ſix Fourth-rates, two Fifth-rates, and two Fire-ſhips, of the *Engliſh*, and five Ships belonging to the States-General.

They ſtood over, upon this Advice, to *Ceuta* Point, with a fair Gale at Weſt, and there lay by all Night. The next Morning early, the Admiral ſteered away with his Squadron for the Bay of *Tetuan*, where he found only two Ships; one at Anchor, in the Weſt Part of the Bay; the other under ſail, about two Leagues Eaſtward of her. The latter put abroad the Colours of *Algiers*, and eſcaped; but the other being imbayed, ſhe was taken by the *Dutch* Vice admiral *Allemonde*, and proved to be a *French* Ship bound to *Antegoa*.

The Wind ſhifting to the E. S. E. with a ſmall Gale, our Squadron ſtood over for the *Spaniſh* Shore, and having *Ceuta* Point W. N. W. diſtant about two Leagues, the Men at the Maſt-head ſaw 10 Ships to the North, lying with their Heads Eaſtward. An Account was immediately given of this to Monſieur *Allemonde*, who could not diſcern them ſo ſoon, he being about two Leagues Southward of the *Engliſh* Ships. In a very little time after, the whole Squadron ſtretch'd over for *Gibraltar* Hill, the *Montague* being ſent a-head to obſerve, and give Notice of the Enemies Motions. At 11 o'Clock ſhe fell a-ſtern, her Captain having diſcovered that four Ships were under his Lee. All poſſible Endeavours were immediately uſed to get up with them, and about one o'Clock they were not above two Miles off, when it being diſcerned that they ran, our Ships ſet their Top-gallant-ſails, and crowded after them as much as poſſibly they could. The *French* had, however, the better Heels, and no wonder, for they were juſt cleaned; whereas ſome of ours had been 17 Months from the Ground.

The Chaſe was continued till ten the next Day, and as then the Enemy were about four Leagues a-head, ſo were the *Dutch*, with ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Ships, near hull to aſtern; nor had the Admiral more than the *Duke*, *Montague*, *Eagle*, and *Portland*, near him. Notwithſtanding this, Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud* kept on his Way, tho' he had 13 Ships, *viz.* ſix Men of War, three Fire-ſhips, a Tartane, and three Merchant-ſhips. As there now was no Proſpect of coming up with them, the Chace was given over; however, between nine and ten in the Morning, the *Richmond* and *Tyger* forced one of the Merchant-ſhips on-ſhore, Weſtward of *Tariffa*, oppoſite to *Tangier*, and it was with great Labour that it was got off. The Admiral lay by till it was three o'Clock, and then the reſt of his Squadron coming up, he bore away for *Cadiz*; but, by reaſon of contrary Winds, could not reach that Place till the 21ſt.

From thence he diſpatched away ſeveral Convoys, namely, the *Tyger*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Oxford*, for *Smyrna*, commanded by Captain *Coal*; the *Portland*, *Greenwich*, and *Faulcon*, to *Scanderoon*, under the Conduct of Captain *Ley*; and the *Sapphire* and *Richmond* were appointed for *Malaga* and *Alicant*, under the Command of Captain *Bokenham*.

All Things being now in Order for the Squadron's Return to *England*, the Admiral, ſince the *French* Ships had paſſed the *Streights*, ſet ſail, according to his Inſtructions, and in 35 Days arrived at *Plymouth*, with one Second-rate, and four Third-rates of ours, together with the *Virgin* Prize and *Half-moon*, and ſix *Dutch* Men of War. At *Plymouth* he received Letters from the Lords of the Admiralty, by which he was informed, that the *French* Fleet had, after an Engagement, obliged ours to retire, and that they hovered about *Rye*, *Dover*, and thoſe Parts; for which Reaſon he was adviſed to take Care for the Security of his Squadron. This occaſioned his calling a Council of War, where it was determined, “ To proceed with the Ships into *Hamoze*, “ within *Plymouth Sound*; it being judged that they could “ not be otherwiſe ſafe, ſhould the *French* attempt them; “ for as they were great Ships, they could not run in at “ any time of the Tide, nor were they in a Condition to “ put forth to Sea, until ſuch Time as they had taken in “ Water, Stores, and Proviſions [*].”

While the *French* were thus employed, our Councils were chiefly bent on ſending over a royal Army to *Ireland*, to be commanded by King *William* in Perſon. This great Deſign was brought to bear about the Beginning of the Month of *June*, when his Majeſty left *London* to march toward the Coaſt, where he embarked his Forces on-board 288 Tranſports on the 11th, and under the Convoy of a Squadron of ſix Men of War, commanded by Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, ſailed for *Carrickfergus*, where he ſafely arrived on the 14th of the ſame Month, and ſoon after diſmiſſed Rear-admiral *Shovel*, with the *Plymouth* Squadron, and with Orders to join the grand Fleet.

The King went on-ſhore immediately, and travelled by Land, in Duke *Schomberg*'s Coach, to *Belfaſt*, about eight Miles, where he was met by the Duke of *Schomberg*, the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, Major-general *Kirk*, and other General-officers. His Majeſty, who upon a certain Occaſion was heard to ſay, *He did not come there to let Graſs grow under his Feet*, ordered the whole Army to march immediately into the Field, and to encamp at *Loughbritland*, where he arrived himſelf the 22d. Here he took a particular View of the Army, and finding it to conſiſt of 36,000 Men, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *French* Refugees, *Danes*, and *Germans*, all in good Heart and Condition, he marched to *Newry*, and the 27th to *Dundalk*. The Country pleaſed his Majeſty ſo well, as he rode along, that he ſaid, *It was worth fighting for*. The 30th, the King, being informed that the Enemy had repaſſed the *Boyne*, ordered his whole Army to move, by Break of Day, towards that River, which was about three Miles diſtant. While his Majeſty was viewing the Enemy's Army, he received a Wound by a Cannon-ball on the right Shoulder; but this did not hinder him from continuing to perform every Part of a brave Commander. He remained on Horſeback till four in the Afternoon, tho' he had been up from one in the Morning. He then dined in the Field, and mounted again in the Evening; and at 12 at Night rode thro' the whole Army, and then retired to his Tent. The next Day the Army paſſed the *Boyne*, and our brave and glorious Monarch fought the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, where he gave inimitable Marks of his Courage and Conduct; and at the great Hazard of his royal Perſon, having Part of the Heel of his Boot ſhot away by a Cannon-ball, obtained a compleat Victory, which determined King *James*'s Fate, and obliged him to return to *France*.

The King, in this Battle, choſe the Field, diſpoſed the Attacks, drew up his Army, charged the Enemy ſeveral Times, ſupported his Forces when they began to ſhrink, and, in ſhort, behaved himſelf the whole Day with that Conduct, Gallantry, Reſolution, and Preſence of Mind, and was ſuch a Poiſe for the inclining Victory to his own Side, that the *Iriſh* themſelves confeſs, "That if the *Eng-* "*liſh* changed Kings with them, they would fight the "Battle over again."

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[*] At this Conſultation were preſent, Vice-admiral Killegrew, Vice-admiral Allemonde, and Rear-admiral Evertzen, as alſo Sir Cloudſley Shovel Rear admiral of the Red, who was arrived at Plymouth from the Coaſt of Ireland.

There was nothing better underſtood in *England*, than the abſolute Neceſſity of aſſembling early in the Year, a ſtrong Fleet in the Channel. The Honour of the Kingdom depended upon it; for the *French*, after their ſmall Advantage in *Bantry-Bay*, had given out, that they would the next Summer inſult the joint Fleets of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. What was ſtill more, the Nation's Safety depended on this Meaſure no leſs, ſince the King, and the greateſt Part of his Forces were abroad. Scarce 7000 regular Troops left in *England*; and ſuch as were in the Intereſt of King *James*, almoſt every where in Motion, and waiting, in all Appearance, for nothing but the Sight of a *French* Fleet on the Coaſt, to take up Arms, and declare againſt the Government. Yet, for all this, our Proceedings were very ſlow, for which various, and ſome ſcarce credible Cauſes are aſſigned. It was given out, that the greateſt Part of the Fleet were diſaffected; and to wipe of this Suggeſtion, it was thought neceſſary that an Addreſs ſhould be ſent up from the *Downs*, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the *Dutch* ſent their Fleet to Sea, and the *Engliſh* knowing that nothing of Conſequence could be done till after their Junction, were the leſs ſolicitous about putting themſelves in Order, till they heard of their being at Sea[a].

The *French* had now put to Sea a Fleet of 78 Men of War, 22 Fire-ſhips, and the whole Fleet carried upwards 4700 Pieces of Cannon; which on the 13th of *June* ſteered for the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and on the 20th was found off the *Lizard*. The next Day the Admiral took ſome *Engliſh* Fiſhing-boats, and after having paid the People who were on-board for their Fiſh, he ſet them at Liberty again; and theſe were the Men, ſuch was our Supineneſs! that firſt brought Advice of the Arrival of the *French* Fleet on our Coaſt; while ours was lying idle, and ſcarce in a Condition to put to Sea.

The Earl of *Torrington*, who was with the Fleet at *St. Helen*'s, was not a little ſurprized when he received Advice from *Weymouth*, that the *French* were entered into our Channel; for ſo far was he from believing them (according to his Intelligence) in ſuch Forwardneſs, that there were not at that time any Scouts Weſtward, to obſerve and bring an Account of their Motions. This News was ſoon confirmed from many other Places; and it was therefore judged high time to get together all the Ships that were within Reach, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and to put them into the beſt Condition of Defence that poſſibly might be.

His Lordſhip ſailed the 24th of *June*, early in the Morning, with the Wind at E. N. E. and ſtood to the S. E. towards the *French* Fleet, which had been ſeen the Day before, by the Scouts lately ſent out, off of *Freſh-Water Gate*, on the Back of the *Iſle of Wight*; but the Wind taking him ſhort, he came to an Anchor near *Dungeneſſe*, within five Leagues of the Enemy. The next Day, our Fleet being reinforced by the *Lion*, a third Rate, and ſeveral *Dutch* Ships of War, were, with a N. E. Wind, in ſight of the Enemy at *Compton-Bay*. The next Morning, about four o'Clock, the Admiral advanced towards the *French*, who were at about three Leagues Diſtance from him; and though, when the Wind ſhifted to the S. E. and S. E. by S. he tacked and ſtood Eaſtward, yet, at three in the Afternoon, the whole Fleet went about, and ſtood Weſtward again. The *French* took ſeveral People from the Shore, and when they had puniſhed them for magnifying our Strength, they were pleaſed to diſmiſs them, with a Letter to the Admiral (as it has been ſaid) from Sir *William Jennings* (who commanded an *Engliſh* Ship of War at the Revolution, and now ſerved in no better a Poſt than that of third Captain to the *French* Admiral) by which he preſumed to promiſe Pardon to all Captains who would adhere to the Intereſt of King *James*.

About this time arrived another Reinforcement of ſeven *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of Admiral *Evertzen* and another Flag-officer. The two Fleets, however, continued looking at each other, without entering upon Action, till the 30th; for the Admiral was not willing to hazard an Engagement, before the Ships, which he was in Expectation of from the Eaſt, had join'd him. In the mean time, notwithſtanding the Enemy were ſo much ſuperior to us in Strength, and that their Ships were generally larger, the Admiral received poſitive Orders from Court to give them Battle. Biſhop *Burnet*, however, ſays, theſe Orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a Council of War. Upon Receipt of theſe Orders, the Signal was diſplayed, as ſoon as it was Light, for the Ships to draw into a Line; and this being done, the whole Fleet bore down upon the Enemy, while they were under ſail, by a Wind, with their Heads Northward, off of *Beachey*.

About eight in the Morning, another Signal was given, which was for Battle; and then the *French*, bracing their Head-ſails to the Maſt, lay by. About an Hour after this, the *Dutch* Squadron, which led the Van, under Admiral *Evertzen*, began the Engagement, with Part of the Van of the *French*; and half an Hour after, our Blue-ſquadron encounter'd their Rear. The greateſt Part of our Red-ſquadron, which was in the Center, could not come to the Fight till it was near ten; and as they were then at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Enemy, ſo was there a great Opening between them and the *Dutch*.

Mr. Secretary *Burchett* ſeems here willing to excuſe, or rather to paſs over in Silence, the pretended Miſconduct of a great Officer. *Kennet*, who ſpeaks plainer, ſays, "The *Dutch* began the Fight, as alſo did ſome of the "*Engliſh*; but not being ſeconded by the reſt of the "*Engliſh* Fleet, which unexpectedly ſtood away, ſeveral "of the *Dutch* Ships (after they had fought moſt gal- "lantly) were either burnt, ſunk, or diſabled, and the "*Engliſh* that engaged were very much ſhattered[b]."

Thus the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet, notwithſtanding they were ſo much inferior, began the Attack, and this Monſieur *de Fourbin* himſelf allows: But F. *Daniel* goes yet farther, and to the Honour of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſays, the *French* had the Advantage both of Wind and Tide.

It was remarkable, that as our Ships bore down upon the *French*, they laſked away; but that probably might be only to cloſe their Line. After this, ſeveral of their Ships towed round with their Boats, till they were gotten out of Shot, which gave us Reaſon to hope the Advantage would have fallen on our Side; but it was not long before we plainly perceived the *Dutch* had ſuffered very much in the Battle. This happened chiefly by their being (for want of a neceſſary Precaution) weathered and ſurrounded by thoſe *French* Ships which they left a-head of them, when they began to engage.

Our Admiral no ſooner perceived their Condition, than he ſent them Orders to come to an Anchor, where they lay, at ſome Diſtance from the *French*, without any Sail, and ranged in Order of Battle, the only Expedient (ſays Monſieur *de Forbin*) which could bring them off. With his own Ship, and ſeveral others, he drove between them and the Enemy, and anchored about five in the Afternoon, at which time it was calm, and the *French* Fleet was driving away with the Tide; however, judging it not ſafe to renew the Fight, at ſo great a Diſadvantage, he weighed Anchor at nine in the Evening, and retreated to the Eaſtward, taking Advantage of the Flood-tide.

The Admiral thought it requiſite to call a Council of War, the firſt of *July*, in the Afternoon, and there it was reſolved, "To endeavour to preſerve the Fleet by retreat- "ing, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled Ships, if they "ſhould be preſs'd by the Enemy, than to hazard ano- "ther Engagement by protecting them."

The *French*, very indiſcreetly, firſt neglected coming to Anchor, when the *Engliſh* did, to prevent their driving to too great a Diſtance, and thereby to improve the Advantage they had obtain'd; and then, with as little Foreſight, purſued in a formal Line of Battle. Whereas, had they come to Anchor, they would have continued near us, and had they afterwards left every Ship at Liberty to have done her utmoſt, they would undoubtedly have obtained a far greater Advantage, and we have been more roughly handled, eſpecially thoſe Ships which were damaged in Fight. On the contrary, on our Side, each Ship ſhifting for herſelf, (as 'tis natural to do in ſuch Caſes) and beſides, all poſſible Caution being taken to anchor to the greateſt Advantage, with regard to the Tides, which the *French* took little or no Notice of, we thereby got Ground conſiderably of them. This Monſieur *de Forbin*, who knew the Channel, tells us he foreſaw, and was for anchoring the Moment the *Engliſh* did; but was over-ruled by his ſuperior Officers. However, they purſued us as far as *Rye-Bay*, but with little Succeſs, and one of the *Engliſh* Ships, called the *Ann*, of 74 Guns, was run on-ſhore near *Winchelſea*, after having loſt all her Maſts. Here two *French* Ships attempted to burn her; but the Captain ſaved them that Trouble, by precipitately ſetting Fire to her himſelf. Monſieur *de Forbin* ſays, two of the *Engliſh* Ships run a-ground on their own Coaſt, and were obliged to burn one another. He likewiſe ſays, that the *Engliſh* loſt another Ship, which, having no Anchors, drove upon the *French* Fleet, and was taken.

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[a] Kennet, Vol. III. p. 561. Burnet, Burchet, Quincy, &c.

[b] Hiſt. of King William.

After the Retreat of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet, the greater Part of the *French* ſtood in and out off of *Bourne* and *Pemſey* in *Suſſex*, while about 14 of their Ships lay at Anchor near the Shore. Some of theſe (*viz.* two Ships and a Fire-ſhip, under the Command of Monſieur *de Riberet* and Monſieur *de Forbin*) attempted to deſtroy a *Dutch* Ship of about 64 Guns, which lay dry, at Low-water, in *Pemſey-Bay*; but her Commander defended her ſo bravely every High-water, when they made their Attacks, that they at laſt thought fit to relinquiſh their Deſign, and the Ship, being got off, the Captain carried her ſafe into *Holland* [a].

Our Loſs in this unlucky Affair, if we except Reputation, was not ſo great as might have been expected; not above two Ships, two Sea-captains, two Captains of Marines, and 350 private Men. The *Dutch* were much more unfortunate, becauſe more thoroughly engaged. Beſides three Ships ſunk in the Fight, they were obliged to ſet Fire to three more that were ſtranded on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*; in all, ſix Ships of the Line. They loſt likewiſe Abundance of gallant Officers, particularly their Rear-admirals *Dick* and *Brakel*, and Captain *Nordel*, with a great Number of inferior Officers and Seamen [b]. Yet, even this Miſfortune contributed to raiſe their Reputation at Sea, ſince, as ſoon as the States received the News of it, they ordered 14 Men of War to be built and put to Sea in as many Days; which, as my Author ſays, may ſeem incredible to ſuch as are unacquainted with the Power of the *Dutch* at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary Occaſions [c].

The 8th of *July*, the *French* Fleet ſtood towards their own Coaſt, but they were ſeen the 27th off of the *Berry Head*, a little to the Eaſtward of *Dartmouth*, and there the Wind taking them ſhort, they put into *Torbay*. They did not lie there long, for they were diſcovered the 29th near *Plymouth*; but at that Place very good Preparations were made, by Platforms and other Works, to give them a warm Reception. The 5th of *Auguſt*, they ſhewed themſelves again off of the *Ram-Head*, being in Number between 60 and 70; but they ſtood Weſtward, and appeared no more in the Channel this Seaſon.

We need not wonder, that a Victory gained by the *French* Fleet over the joint Forces of the maritime Powers, ſhould extremely elevate the Writers of that Nation. The Marquis de *Quincy* aſſerts, that the united Fleets were, at leaſt, equal in Force to the Navy of *France*, tho' they had fewer Ships [d]. In this, however, he is certainly miſtaken; for the *Dutch* Squadron conſiſted of 22 large Ships, and was, by much, the moſt formidable of the whole Fleet, and yet that Squadron carried but 1360 Guns; whereas the weakeſt of the *French* Squadron carried 1526; and if we ſhould ſuppoſe the united Fleet to have conſiſted of Ships of the like Force with the *Dutch*, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3462 Guns; whereas the *French* Fleet, according to this Writer's own Account, carried 4702 [e]. This is ſufficient to ſhew how little Dependance can be had even on the Accounts of the faireſt *French* Authors. Father *Daniel* has given us two Relations of this Engagement full of Exaggerations [f]. He tells us, that 17 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships being diſabled, ran aſhore, and were burnt by their own Crew; whereas, in truth, inſtead of the ſeventeen, there were but ſeven. He likewiſe magnifies the Conduct of the Count *de Tourville*, who would, as he informs us, have entirely deſtroyed the Enemy, if they had not had the Advantage of the Wind and Tide. In the Battle indeed, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had the Advantage of the Wind; but in their Retreat, the Wind was equally favourable to the *French*; and as to the Advantage of the Tide, it was owing to their ſuperior Skill in the Management of their Veſſels.

The Earl of *Torrington* having made a ſafe Retreat within the *Buoys* at the *Thames* Mouth, and ſecured the Fleet from any Surpriſe, by ſtationing the *Phœnix*, four Fifth-rates, and four Fire-ſhips, under the Command of Captain *Monk*, above the *Narrow* of the middle Grounds, and one Frigate at the *Buoy* of the Spits, and another at the lower End of the Middle, with Orders to take away the Buoys upon the Approach of the Enemy; he left the chief Command to Sir *John Aſhby*, and made the beſt of his way to the Court, where the *Dutch* had before-hand made heavy Complaints of his Conduct, and expreſſed great Uneaſineſs at the Damage they had ſuſtained in the late Battle; and their Intereſt ſo far prevailed, that notwithſtanding his Lordſhip, upon his Examination before the Privy-council, proved beyond Contradiction, that the Loſs ſuſtained in the Fight was principally to be aſcribed to the ill-grounded Contempt entertained of the *French* Behaviour at Sea, by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Officers; and that his Retreat was neceſſary for ſaving the Fleet, and thereby prevent a Loſs, which his Country might never be able to repair; he was committed to the *Tower*; a Committee was appointed to repair to *Sheerneſs*, to examine into this Affair thoroughly upon Oath [g]; a Clamour was raiſed by the *Dutch* Advocates throughout the three Kingdoms againſt the *Engliſh* Admiral; and the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State, wrote by the Queen's Order the following Letter to Lord *Durſly*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *Holland*.

Whitehall, 14th *July*, 1690.

"My Lord,

"I have received yours of the 10th Inſtant, and am glad to find that the States General are ſo ready to concur with us for the common Safety. At preſent this Diſpoſition is become more neceſſary by the unfortunate Succeſs of the Engagement between the two Fleets laſt *Monday* the 10th of this Month; in which the *Dutch* Squadron ſhewed ſo much Bravery, that if my Lord *Torrington* had done his Duty, we ſhould, in all Appearance, have obtained a complete Victory: But now we retreat from before the Enemy; and I am informed from the Coaſt, that the Fleets have ſtood away from *Beachy*, where the Fight began, and are at preſent between *Haſtings* and *Dover*, in a Place called the *Neſſe*. The *Dutch* have loſt three Ships; one of which was taken and burnt by the Enemy, and the other two having eſcaped in the *Haſtings* Road, were ſet on-fire to prevent their falling into the Enemy's Hands. There

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[a] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 427. I have been at ſome Pains to diſcover the Name of this Ship, and of its gallant Captain. The former I find to have been Demaes, and the latter Couvient. As I have my Information from a Frenchman, I doubt whether the Names are ſpelt right.

[b] Kennet, Burnet, Burchett, Columna Roſtrata, Life of King William.

[c] Memoirs hiſtoriques, p. 14.

[d] Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. II. p. 330.

[e] Theſe Computations, ſo far as they regard the French, I have taken from the Marquis de Quincy's own Book; but as to the Dutch Squadron, I did not think it fair to make uſe of the Liſt he has given us, becauſe I had a more authentic Account; by which it appeared, that the Dutch Squadron was larger by two Ships, and carried more Guns than the Marquis de Quincy has ſet down.

[f] We have this Account firſt in his Hiſtoire de Milice François, Tom. II. p. 491. with the Addition of a Fact altogether groundleſs, viz. That the French Fleet after their Victory, took a vaſt Number of Merchant-ſhips. He relates the ſame Affair more at large in his Hiſtoire de France, Tom. X. In the Hiſtorical Journal of the Reign of *Lewis* XIV. p. 155. where he repeats the ſame Tale of their taking an infinite Number of Ships.

[g] Kennet. Burnet. Burchett.

“ are five or ſix remaining that have eſcaped the Engagement.
“ *Brakell*, *John Dick*, and *Noorthiel*, are killed.
“ We have loſt two Captains, and have but two or three
“ Ships diſabled. In fine, my Lord, I am aſhamed to
“ continue writing on this Subject, and will trouble you
“ no further with it, becauſe her Majeſty intends to diſpatch
“ Mr. *Harbert* To-morrow to the States: But if
“ you receive this before his Arrival, you are to repreſent
“ as you can this unhappy Affair; which, according to
“ the beſt Information I can get, is wholly to be imputed
“ to my Lord *Torrington*. The Queen has ſhewn ſo great
“ a Reſentment of it, and every body here appears ſo full
“ of Anger againſt him for what he has done, that the
“ States General will ſoon ſee Vengeance taken of him;
“ and if they will join with us, it may be extended to our
“ Enemies too; for we are fitting out all the Ships that
“ are in any Condition of ſerving, and hope the States
“ will do the ſame. And I do not doubt we ſhall in a
“ few Days have a better Fleet under a better Admiral;
“ and then we reaſonably preſume, that the Enemy will
“ not only be unable to do us any Damage, but will not
“ dare to meet us on our Coaſt; for all the Officers and
“ Men of our Fleet are enraged at this Conduct of my
“ Lord *Torrington*. And becauſe it has been ſo much reported
“ that there were ſome of our Captains who failed
“ of doing their Duty, it is requiſite to let you know that
“ Captain *Bocham*, who was the moſt ſuſpected, behaved
“ himſelf with ſuch Courage and Honour, that he loſt his
“ Life in the Action. We are ready to refit all the *Dutch*
“ Ships with all poſſible Diligence, and have given the
“ neceſſary Orders for taking care of their wounded; and
“ ſuch as come aſhore out of the Ships which have been
“ burnt, ſhall be furniſhed with Money, and conducted
“ to *Chatham*, where they ſhall be taken care of, and received
“ on-board of our Ships, till Admiral *Evertz* can
“ otherwiſe diſpoſe of them. All People have ſo much
“ Compaſſion of them, and expreſs ſo much Affection for
“ the *Dutch* Nation in general, that if the States take this
“ Matter right, as unhappy as it may ſeem for the preſent,
“ I make no queſtion but this very Affair will be the Occaſion
“ of the greateſt Amity and Union that has ever
“ yet been between theſe two Nations, or any others;
“ and in the preſent Conjuncture, this ſeems abſolutely
“ neceſſary for our common Safety. I cannot give you
“ an exact Particular of the *French* Loſs, but there is no
“ doubt they have ſuffered in the Engagement; and Sir
“ —— *Holmes* has writ to me from the Iſle *of Wight*, that
“ he ſaw a great *French* Ship paſs by much ſhattered,
“ which made towards *Breſt*; and others ſay they have
“ ſeen five or ſix others making the ſame way, and nine
“ or ten of our Men of War, which came from *Plymouth*
“ to *Portſmouth* to join the Fleet, met with them; and
“ Sir —— *Holmes* ſends Word, that he could ſee them
“ very near this great *French* Ship. I am,

“ My Lord,
“ Your moſt humble Servant,
“ Sign'd, NOTTINGHAM.”

The News of this Diſadvantage at Sea, had no ſooner reached *London*, than it cauſed a general Conſternation, and Apprehenſions of a Deſcent, which ſoon ſpread itſelf throughout the whole Kingdom. The Queen did all that a wiſe and prudent Princeſs could do, as well to diſſipate theſe Fears, as to remove the Objects of them: And, upon this Occaſion, the City of *London* gave ſuch Marks of their Loyalty, by the Offers they made for the Security of her Perſon and Government, as will for ever bear Teſtimony how conſiderable, as well as valuable a Part of the *Engliſh* Subjects they make. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Council aſſembled, unanimouſly reſolved, by their own voluntary Contribution, as well as that of other Citizens, forthwith to ſet out a large Regiment of Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons, for their Majeſties Service, and to maintain them at their own Charge for a Month, or longer, if there ſhould be Occaſion: And they prayed her Majeſty to nominate and appoint Officers to command them, which the Queen promiſed them to do, and thanked them for their Readineſs and Loyalty on this Occaſion.

The *French*, after having obtained this ſmall Advantage, rowed their Gallies towards *Torbay*, and then ſent their Boats aſhore at *Tinmouth*, and ſet the Village, with two or three defenceleſs Colliers or Coaſters, in that Harbour, on-fire: But at the Approach of the Militia, commanded by the Lord *Lanſdown*, Lord-lieutenant of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, they retired into their Ships again, carrying off ſome Sheep, with other inconſiderable Booty, and then returned to *Breſt*. And thus were the great Deſigns both of the *French*, and of the diſcontented, entirely baffled, by the Vigilance of the Queen. It appeared, in the mean time, very ſtrange, in the Eyes of all *Chriſtendom*, that the *French* were Maſters at Sea, and the *Engliſh* were obliged to turn their Backs to that very Enemy whom they had ſo often, and almoſt always, beaten (as the foregoing Part of this Hiſtory ſufficiently evinces) and upon that very Element, which Nature, and the Poſſeſſion of many Ages, has made properly their own. But their Reign was ſhort.

The Earl of *Torrington*, after ſeveral Months Confinement, was brought before a Court-martial at *Sheerneſs*, on the 10th of *December*, and proved, That our Preparation was too late; that our Fleet was too weak; that our Fleet was ill manned; that the *French* were not prevented making a Deſcent at *Cork*; that we wanted Intelligence, or did not believe it when given; that we were forced to fight contrary to the Opinion of the Council of War; that the Fight was managed to the beſt Advantage for the Kingdom's Safety.

“ That our Preparation was too late, I need (ſaid he) give but two Inſtances.

“ *1ſt*, That we were not in a Condition to prevent the Deſcent at *Cork*: If we were, I am ſure nothing can excuſe our not doing it, nor our not deſtroying the *French* Fleet that for ſeveral Weeks lay there, and had all that time moſt of our Tranſport-ſhips at their Mercy.

“ *2dly*, That all our Ships were not completely fitted by the Middle of *June*, nor manned, as they ſhould be, the whole Year.

“ Here I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that in the War with *Holland* againſt a Proteſtant Enemy, our Fleets were out in *April*; and againſt the *French*, a Papiſt Enemy, we can hardly get them out in *June*.

“ That we were too weak, is apparent, ſince all our Fleet conſiſted but of 56 Ships, and 20 Fire-ſhips; and the *French* had 82 Ships, and 30 Fire-ſhips, of which 17 were three deck'd, moſt of the reſt from 60 Guns upwards, very few of 50 Guns, and I dare ſay not under. The Diſproportion of the Guns I believe will not be found much leſs than 2000, poſſibly more.

“ I never heard but two Reaſons given for our preparing a weak Fleet; to me they are very odd: That if we arm out a ſtrong Fleet, the *French* will not come out: And if we fit out all our Firſt and Second-rates, what will be left in Harbour?

“ Another Inſtance of our being too weak, even in the Opinion of ſome of thoſe Lords that adviſed the Battle, is, That the States were deſired to fit out 12 capital Ships; and, if I remember right, as many were ordered here, which joined to Admiral *Killigrew*, Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*, and Captain *Saunders*, would have made our Fleet above 30 Ships ſtronger than when we engaged. I think I may give this one Inſtance more; the Preparation for the next Year, which, if I am rightly informed, is to conſiſt of four Firſt-rates, 11 Second-rates, and 33 Third-rates, and I think 12 Fourth-rates, and 35 *Dutch*, which in the whole makes 95; which is 39 more in Number than we had when we engaged.

“ That our Fleet was ill manned, is a known Truth; and that the *French* were well manned, is evident by their Firing, generally ſpeaking, three Guns for our two. And if it ſhould appear, that at the ſame time many Seamen were protected, 'tis likely there is a Fault ſomewhere.

“ That we were not in a Condition to prevent the Deſcent at *Cork*, or to deſtroy the *French* Fleet whilſt it lay there, is it may be a very great Miſcarriage. I am ſure it was a very great Misfortune, and might have been more fatal; for had they deſtroyed our Tranſport-ſhips in thoſe Seas, it is not likely his Majeſty would have been able to have gone into *Ireland* this Year; and I am afraid he would have found more Difficulty in reducing it the next Year. And if the laſt Deſcent had been prevented, it is certain his Majeſty had neither been expoſed to ſo many Dangers as he was, nor would have met with thoſe Difficulties he did. From which I think it may be concluded, that fewer Men would have been loſt, leſs Treaſure expended, and *Ireland* wholly reduced, if that Fleet had been deſtroyed in *Cork*, as ſurely it might, if we had had Ships ready. The late Inſult, which ſome call a Diſgrace, had not only been prevented, but the *French* put by the Poſſibility, during the whole War, of ſetting any Fleet to Sea, conſiderable enough to give us either Care or Trouble. What Excuſe can be made for it, I do not well know; but I am ſure it is not want of Admonition; for I appeal to many concerned in it, whether it was not foreſeen and foretold ſeveral Months before the Deſcent of the *French*, and the time it was made.

“ Leſt any of theſe Matters ſhould be laid to my Charge, I think it neceſſary to acquaint this honourable Court, That not ſeeing Matters go ſo well in the Admiralty as I thought the Service required, and that it was not in my Power to prevent it, I humbly begged, and obtained the King's Leave to be diſmiſſed from that Commiſſion, and giving any further Attendance at that Board; that ſince I could not prevent the Miſchief, I might have no Share in the Blame.

“ That we wanted Intelligence. Some think that in ſome meaſure I am chargeable with it; ſurely they do not mean before I came to the Fleet, which was not till the 30th of *May*; and from that time forward we had always Ships at Sea, not only as Scouts, but ſome ever upon the Coaſt of *France*. It is ſaid, we had no Scouts out when the *French* appeared, and it is very true; nor is it my Fault: For all our Ships-boats being employed to fetch the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Regiment, I deſired the *Dutch*, who had the Out-guard, to take that care upon them; and it ſeems, thoſe that Vice-admiral *Callembergh* had appointed for that Service delayed it, to take in ſome Neceſſaries at the *Iſle of Wight*. And it is certain, that the firſt Notice I had of the *French*, was by the Appearance of five of their Scouts.

“ I thought, and ſtill think, that the material Intelligence is the Strength of an Enemy's Preparation, and how that is to be employed. If we had any ſuch Intelligence, it has been concealed from me; for the firſt Notice I had of Monſieur *de Chatteau Renaut*'s joining the *French* Fleet, was the Sight of his Flag flying off the *Iſle of Wight*. And I have Reaſon to believe the Secretary * knew of the Conjunction; for I can produce a Gentleman that ſays he told him ſo: And I am ſure the noble Lord, whoſe Province it is, has always by his Diſcourſe endeavoured to perſuade me to a Belief that the *French* would not come out with a conſiderable Strength. And I appeal to him, whether I did not tell him, when I had urged many Reaſons for ſtrengthning our Fleet, which he only anſwered with, *You will be ſtrong enough for the* French; “ My Lord, I know my Buſineſs, and will do my beſt with what I have; but pray remember it is not my Fault the Fleet is no ſtronger. I own I am afraid now in Winter, whilſt the Danger may be remedied; and you will be afraid in Summer, when it is paſt Remedy.” I could ſay more upon this Subject, had I not confined myſelf to this Year.

“ That we were forced to fight, contrary to the Opinion of the whole Council of War, is very plain by theſe following Letters, and her Majeſty's Orders, *viz.*

“ My Lord,

“ By ſeveral Letters I have had Notice Yeſterday and To-day of the *French* Fleet being ſail'd Eaſtward; the lateſt is dated eight o'Clock this Morning, and ſays they were at Anchor in *Compton* Bay, at the Back of the *Iſle of Wight*, in Number 120. We ſailed this Morning, but the Wind taking us ſhort, we are not far from *Donnoſe*. If the *French* have continued their Station, we are not above five Leagues aſunder. Our Fleet conſiſts of 50 Men of War, and 20 Fire-ſhips; the Odds are great, and you know it is not my Fault. To-morrow probably will be the deciding Day. Let them tremble at the Conſequence, whoſe Fault it was the Fleet is no ſtronger; for my Part, I will with God Almighty's Help do my Duty, and I hope every body here will do ſo too. If we are to expect any more *Dutch*, I hope they will be haſtened to us: It is not impoſſible they may come time enough for a Share, becauſe the Sea is ſubject to Accidents. We have as yet but 18 *Dutch* with us, after all *de Wilt*'s great Promiſes. I am,

Near Donnoſe,
June 23, 1690.

“ Your Lordſhip's, *&c.*”

To the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*.

“ My Lord,

“ Every Day ſince my laſt we have been in ſight of the *French* Fleet. *Tueſday* we were ſtrengthened with Admiral *Evertzen*'s, two *Dutch*, and two *Engliſh* Men of War, in all five. *Wedneſday* Morning, with the Day, we got under ſail with 55 Men of War, and 20 Fire-ſhips, the Wind Eaſterly, with Intention to attack the *French*; but the Morning proved ſo hazy, that we were forced to anchor again. The Wind came about to the S. W. and in half an Hour it cleared up again. Then we ſaw the *French* Fleet in a Line under ſail about three Leagues from us to the Windward. We got immediately under ſail, and ſtood upon a Line to the Southward, the Blue having the Van. The Wind favouring us a little, I ſaw a Probability of weathering two thirds of the *French* Fleet, and made a Sign for the Fleet to tack, which they accordingly did, and ſtood directly with them; the *French* tacked, and ſtood from us, and went a Point or two from the Wind till Night: Both Fleets then anchored. It is unaccountable why the *French* ſhunned us; for tho' they had many Ships to Leeward and ſcattered, they had enough in a Body to have given us more than ſufficient Work. I do acknowledge my firſt Intention of attacking them a Raſhneſs that will admit of no better Excuſe, than that, tho' I did believe them ſtronger than we are, I did not believe it to ſo great a Degree. I find by their manner of working, that notwithſtanding their Strength they act with ſome Caution, and ſeem to be willing to add to the Advantage of Force that of Wind too. Their great Strength and Caution have put ſoberer Thoughts into my Head, and have made me very heartily give God Thanks they declined the Battle Yeſterday; and indeed, I ſhall not think myſelf very unhappy, if I can get rid of them without fighting, unleſs it may be upon equaller Terms than for the preſent I can ſee any Proſpect of. I find I am not the only Man of that Opinion; for a Council of War I called this Morning unanimouſly agreed, we are by all manner of means to ſhun fighting with them, eſpecially if they have the Wind of us; and retire, if we cannot avoid it otherwiſe, even to the *Gun-fleet*, the only Place we can with any manner of Probability make our Party good with them in the Condition we are in. We have now had a pretty good View of their Fleet, which conſiſts of near, if not quite, 80 Men of War fit to lie in a Line, and 30 Fire-ſhips: A Strength that puts me beſides the Hopes of Succeſs, if we ſhould fight, and really may not only endanger the loſing of the Fleet, but at leaſt the Quiet of our Country too; for if we are beaten, they being abſolute Maſters of the Sea, will be at great Liberty of doing many things they dare not attempt whilſt we obſerve them, and are in a Poſſibility of joining Vice-admiral *Killigrew*, and our Ships to the Weſtward. If I find a Poſſibility, I will get by them to the Weſtward to join thoſe Ships; if not, I mean to follow the Reſult of the Council of War. In the mean time, I wiſh there might be ſpeedy Orders given to fit out with Speed whatever Ships of War are in the River of *Chatham*; and that the Ships to the Weſtward proceed to *Portſmouth*; and from thence, if the *French* come before the River, they may join us over the Flats. This is the beſt Advice I can give at preſent; but had I been believed in Winter, the Kingdom had not received this Inſult. Your Lordſhip now knows the Opinion of the Flag-officers of both *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Fleets, which I deſire you will lay

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* Earl of Nottingham.

"before her Majeſty; and to aſſure her, that if ſhe has other Conſiderations, whenever ſhe pleaſes to ſignify her Pleaſure, her Commands ſhall be punctually obeyed; let the Conſequence be what it will."

Off the Iſle of Wight,
June 26, 1690. To the Earl of *Nottingham*.

"*MARIE* R.

"Right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, we greet you well. We have heard your Letter dated *June* 26, to our Secretary of State, and do not doubt of your Skill and Conduct in this important Conjuncture, to take all Opportunities of Advantage againſt the Enemy: But we apprehend the Conſequences of your retiring to the *Gun-fleet* to be ſo fatal, that we chuſe rather you ſhould upon any Advantage of the Wind give Battle to the Enemy, than retreat further than is neceſſary to get an Advantage upon the Enemy. But in caſe you find it neceſſary to go to the Weſtward of the *French* Fleet, in order to the better joining with our Ships from *Plymouth*, or any others coming from the Weſtward; we leave it to your Diſcretion, ſo as you by no means ever loſe ſight of the *French* Fleet, whereby they may have Opportunities of making Attempts upon the Shore, or in the Rivers of *Medway* or *Thames*, or get away without Fighting. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel. Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this 29th Day of *June* 1690. In the ſecond Year of our Reign.

"*By her Majeſty's Command.*"

To our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, *Arthur* Earl of *Torrington*, &c.

"My Lord,

"The incloſed Order from the Queen, was prepared with the Advice of the Committee of Council; and 'tis neceſſary to acquaint you with ſome Particulars of which we have an Account.

"Sir *William Jennings* is on-board of the *French* Admiral, and examined ſome Priſoners (whom they took off of *Weymouth*, and ſet on-ſhore in the *Iſle of Wight*) what the Number of our Fleet was; and they ſaying 90 Sail of Men of War, he was in great Rage, and threatened to hang them for lying, for that he was ſure we had but 30 Ships together; for the *Dutch* were not come; *Killigrew* in the Streights, and *Shovel* in the *Iriſh* Seas; and that they came to deſtroy our Fleet thus divided, firſt at *Portſmouth*, and then in the River. And they were extremely diſcouraged upon hearing the Salutes, when they were told that it muſt be upon the Arrival of the *Dutch* Ships. And we have further Information, that they are very ill manned: And tho' your Lordſhip, that has ſeen them, may better judge of their Number, than we can by any Advice from *France*; yet I have ſeen Letters from one, who in Company with others was very near their Fleet; and they all ſay, that they counted them twelve times, and could never make them more than 103 or 104 of all Rates; of which they ſay poſitively, there was not above 60 Ships that could ſtand in a Line.

"The Ships from *Plymouth* ſailed thence on *Monday* Morning laſt; ſo that if they are not already with you, they muſt be very near.

"Sir *Cloudſly Shovel* ſailed from *Belfaſt* at three of the Clock in the Morning of the 18th Inſtant; ſo that he alſo cannot be far from you.

"By Letters from Vice-admiral *Killigrew*, dated *May* 26, from *Cadiz*, I find he intended to ſail in a few Days, and return according to his Orders.

"So that upon the whole, if you ſhould retire to the *Gun-fleet*, the Ships from *Plymouth*, if not joined with you, and Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*, and all the Ships returning from *Ireland*, and Vice-admiral *Killigrew* with that Squadron, and a rich Fleet of Merchant-men, will all be expoſed to inevitable Ruin. And beſides, the *French* may have Opportunity of going with their whole Fleet, or ſending ſuch Part as they think fit to *Scotland*, where they are expected; and we have too good Reaſon to apprehend Diſturbances.

"I wiſh you all imaginable Succeſs, and am with great Reſpect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordſhip's, &c.

"NOTTINGHAM.

"I have not time to take a Copy of this Letter; and leſt I might have Occaſion to refer to it when I write again, I pray your Lordſhip to order your Secretary to ſend me a Copy by this Meſſenger."

"My Lord,

"I this Minute received her Majeſty's Orders, which I will (ſo ſoon as I can get the Flag-officers on-board) communicate to them: I am very certain that they all will, with myſelf, with great Chearfulneſs give due Obedience to her Commands.

"Now in anſwer to your Lordſhip's, I infer from the Examination of the Priſoners they took off of *Weymouth*, and ſet on-ſhore at the *Iſle of Wight*, that the *French* are as ſtrong as we take them to be; for were they not ſo ſtrong, or under any Conſternation, I cannot think they would have put any body aſhore to bring us the News of it, but quietly have retired: For if they do not think they have the Advantage, I am yet to learn what can move them to ſtay, having for ſeveral Days had a fair Wind to carry them off. And, my Lord, notwithſtanding your Advice from *France*, I take them to be 80 Men of War ſtrong. How they are manned indeed, I am not able to judge; but I am credibly informed by ſome *French* Priſoners, who were taken in a ſmall Bark, that they are well manned; and that the *Toulon* Ships are now with them: Had we had *Killigrew* with us, the Match had been a little more equal. I cannot comprehend that *Killigrew*, the Merchant-ſhips, *Shovel*, or the *Plymouth* Ships, can run much Hazard if they take any care of themſelves: For whilſt we obſerve the *French*, they cannot make any Attempt either upon Ships or Shore, without running a great Hazard; and if we are beaten, all is expoſed to their Mercy. 'Tis very poſſible I reaſon wrong, but I do aſſure you I can and will obey. Pray God direct all for the beſt. I ſend your Lordſhip a Copy incloſed of your Letter to me. Pray, my Lord, aſſure her Majeſty, that all that can be done by Men in our Circumſtances, ſhall be done for her Service. I am, &c."

Off of Beachy,
June 29, 1690. To the Earl of *Nottingham*.

"That our fighting upon ſo great Diſadvantage as we did, was of the laſt Conſequence to the Kingdom, is as certain, as that the Queen could not have been prevailed with to ſign an Order for it, had not both our Weakneſs and the Strength of the Enemy been diſguiſed to her. The Secretary's Letter, dated *June* 27, is one good Inſtance, where to me, who knew and ſaw the contrary, he affirms the *French* had but 60 Sail could ſtand in the Line.

"It is true, the *French* made no great Advantage of their Victory, tho' they put us to a great Charge, in keeping up the Militia; but had I fought otherwiſe, our Fleet had been totally loſt, and the Kingdom had lain open to an Invaſion. What then would have become of us in the Abſence of his Majeſty, and moſt of the Land-forces? As it was, moſt Men were in fear that the *French* would invade; but I was always of another Opinion; for I always ſaid, that whilſt we had a Fleet in being, they would not dare to make an Attempt.

"In my Letter of the 29th of *June*, the Matter is ſtated pretty plain: Whilſt we obſerve the *French*, they can make no Attempt either on Sea or Shore, but with great Diſadvantage; and if we are beaten, all is expoſed to their Mercy. This I dare be bold to ſay, That if the Management of the Fleet had been left to the Diſcretion of the Council of War, there would have been no need of the exceſſive Charge the Kingdom was put to in keeping up the Militia, nor would the *French* have gone off ſo much at their Eaſe.

" There are very few Inſtances of Orders to fight againſt the Opinion of the General, but none that I know of contrary to the unanimous Opinion of a Council of War. I remember but one Inſtance of the firſt in former Ages, which was *Hannibal*'s being commanded againſt his Judgment to fight with *Scipio*, and that when his Country lay at Stake too. The Parallel is pretty near, I find only this Difference, that by his Misfortune in the total Loſs of the Battle, his Country was ruined, and ours preſerved by my Care and Caution. *Carthage* owed her Ruin to the Counſels of *Hanno*. I ſubmit to the Wiſdom of this Honourable Court to conſider the Parallel.

" That the Battle was managed to the beſt Advantage for the Kingdom's Safety, will beſt appear by the Relation of the Battle [a], and the Anſwers to ſeveral Objections I have been told ſome People make.

" *Firſt*, It is wondered why I made a Gap in our Line.

" I did it becauſe our Line was ſhorter than the Enemy's; and becauſe in the Poſture the Enemy lay, I thought it leſs dangerous to have an Interval near the Center, than leaving either the Van or Rear uncovered, and by it giving the Enemy an immediate Opportunity to weather us.

" *Secondly*, Why I ſteered to the Southward, after I had made the Signal for Battle?

" For ſeveral Reaſons: *Firſt*, To make the Interval in the Middle. *Secondly*, To place myſelf oppoſite to the Center of the Enemy's Fleet, or rather a little more in the Rear; and the better to bring the Blue to engage the Rear of the Enemy Fleet, in order to force them down: For they lay ſo far Weatherly, that till that was done I could not engage cloſe with the Body of the Enemy, without expoſing myſelf to the Danger of being weathered by all the Rear of the *French* Fleet.

" *Thirdly*, That if I had fought cloſer, the *French* could not have weathered us.

" 'Tis poſſible I might think ſo too, if by Experience I did not know the contrary: For in the *St. James's-day* Fight, in the firſt *Dutch* War, *Tromp* weathered a great Part of the Blue, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the reſt, and that the White and Red had beaten the Van and Body of the *Dutch*. He weathered Sir *John Kempthorne* among the reſt, to whom I was then Lieutenant, and laid a Fire-ſhip on-board the *Reſolution*, that was our Second, and burnt her. This Action would in all Probability have been fatal to us, if we had not given way. If this could be done to us, when we were equal in Number of Ships, and ſuperior in the Goodneſs of our Ships; the Caſe holds ſtronger, where the Enemy had a Third more in Number, and many bigger Ships. If this be a Fault, I have acquired it by Experience.

" *Fourthly*, Why I did not paſs to the Weſtward of the *French* Fleet?

" To that I anſwer, That I intended it, as appears by my Letter of the 26th of *June*; and 'tis as true, that we never had an Opportunity to do it, without engaging the *French*, contrary to the unanimous Opinion of the Council of War.

" *Fifthly*, Why I made the Signal of Battle, before I was near enough to engage myſelf?

" Becauſe the *Dutch* were in fit Diſtance to engage, and to ſhew them I would have them keep up with the headmoſt Ships of the Enemy; as is expreſſed more at large in the Relation of the Battle.

" *Sixthly*, Why I did not go ſooner down to the Fleet?

" Becauſe I was commanded to ſtay for my Inſtructions, and that they were not ſigned till the 26th of *May*, nor delivered me till the 29th; and the 30th I got to the *Downs*, the Place of Rendezvous; and that was within very few Days after the great Ships came there.

" *Seventhly*, The diſperſing of the Fleet, I hear, is laid to my Charge.

" To ſhew the contrary, I will begin with *Killigrew*. I did not ſo much as know his Orders till I came to *St. Hellens*, that the Earl of *Nottingham* ſent me a Copy of his Orders. Sir *Cloudſly Shovel* had but few Ships, and every body knows was attending his Majeſty's Perſon. And for Captain *Saunders*, I did not ſo much as know his Station till the 16th of *June*, that the Lords of the Admiralty ſent me Word he was ordered S. S. W. 90 Leagues from *Scilly*. I confeſs it is one of the laſt Places I ſhould have ſent to look him in, in a known War with *France*. If it be true that he was deſigned to protect our Merchant-ſhips in their Return home, it looks to me as improper a Station, as if a Guard ſhould be ſent to *Hounſlow*, to ſecure Paſſengers from being robbed upon *Putney-Heath*.

" *Eighthly*, Some People ſay, if we had fought cloſer, we ſhould have beaten the *French*.

" I wonder upon what it is they ground their Opinion. If they have Reaſons for it, I muſt confeſs they are above my Comprehenſion: For if we go to Matter of Fact, the *Dutch*, and thoſe other Ships that fought longeſt and cloſeſt to the Enemy, were moſt diſabled, nay were almoſt all diſabled, and no ſign of Damage appeared on the *French* Side: And yet I am ſure they cannot make out, that either the Gap in our Line, or our not bearing down cloſe to the Enemy at firſt, brought any more of the Enemy's Ships upon them than came to their Share, conſidering the Number of the *French*. If that be ſo, as certainly it muſt, unleſs they can trump up a Gap in the *French* Line, which I have not heard any body yet pretend to; from what Reaſon do they draw their Concluſion? I am ſure, that if I had acted otherwiſe than I did, the whole Fleet had been ruined, and I wholly inexcuſable; for I had loſt the Wind, contrary to the Reſults of the Council of War, which was, That we ſhould by all manner of means ſhun fighting the Enemy, if they have the Wind of us. If by all manner of means we are to ſhun fighting the Enemy, if they have the Wind of us, according to my Philoſophy, we are by all manner of means to preſerve it during the Battle. Had I made one Step towards loſing the Wind, I had not only acted contrary to the unanimous declared Opinion of the Council of War, but contrary to my own Judgment declared under my Hand. What Reflections that might have drawn upon me, I humbly ſubmit to the Judgment of this Honourable Court.

" *Laſtly*, I remember but one thing more that I am blamed for; and that is, not calling all the Captains to the Council of War. I am ſure it was no Diſreſpect to them, for there are many Men of Merit among them.

" To this I have two Anſwers: The firſt is, That in 27 Years that I have ſerved at Sea, I never knew it practiſed in this Kingdom, or any other. The ſecond is, That if it had been my Intention, it was not in my Power: For by the Treaty of Agreement with the *Dutch*, the Fleet is to be governed by an equal Number of Flag-officers of both Sides; and, in caſe they differ, ſo as to be equally divided, then the Captains of both Sides are to be called in.

" I hear that, for my Ruin, there is great uſe made of the Allies being diſſatisfied. I would fain know what it is they are diſſatisfied in, or what Satiſfaction my Ruin can be to them; I think them too reaſonable to deſire it. Were they ſo ill-natured, ſurely Prince *Waldeck* would not be ſo favourably dealt with, who loſt a Battle much at the ſame time. Nor is it a new thing for them to ſuffer by the *French*, witneſs *Meſſina* and *Palermo* under *de Ruyter*, the greateſt Seaman of his Age. Some ſay the *Spaniſh* General's Behaviour was complained of by the *Dutch*; but I never heard, that the *Spaniards* complained of their General to the *Dutch*; nor that the *French* made any Complaint of Monſieur *d'Eſtrees* to us, tho' we found great Fault with him; poſſibly they wanted ſo worthy and qualified a Secretary as we have, to ſet it forth as he did in his Letter to my Lord *Durſley* [b]. There are Expreſſions in it, which he had as little Authority to make uſe of, as there is Truth in the Contents of the Letter. It was all pure Inſpiration; for it was dated ſome Days before the Return of thoſe noble [c] Lords that came aboard at *Dover*; nay, one Day before they reached the Fleet; for the Letter bears Date the 4th of *July*, and they did not get aboard till the 5th. Nor do I believe that thoſe noble Lords, at their Return, ſaid any thing like it to him; for I cannot think they went off with ſuch an Opinion. They told me ſo, and I believed them: For if it is true that they had Power to remove me, if they ſaw Cauſe; and if they had ſeen Cauſe, and did not, they would have no Excuſe for leaving me at the Head of the Fleet, eſpecially when the Enemy was ſo near.

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[a] See Page 539.

[b] Recited above, p. 546.

[c] Duke of Devonſhire, and Earl of Pembroke.

“ And becauſe I have been miſunderſtood, I beg leave to explain what I ſaid in relation to the *Dutch* in the Battle. I never imputed it to want of Courage; for I conclude that it was their Courage that led them into the Snare the *French* had laid for them, and their Ships were too weak to ſupport them in it: And that they would always be beaten by that Enemy, and we too, till we arm out a proportionable Strength to theirs. I ſay no more upon theſe ſeveral Heads, becauſe I will keep ſtrict to the Rule I have laid down, not to reflect on any, but what is abſolutely neceſſary for my Country's Safety, and my own Juſtification; and have ſaid ſo much, becauſe all the Miſcarriages or Miſmanagements here laid down, have been laid directly or obliquely to my Charge.

“ That our Allies, if they are incenſed, were incenſed by the Author of the Letter, may be reaſonably concluded from the Stile of it, for I am ſure many of the *Dutch* did own, that it is certainly true, that but for me they had been Priſoners to the *French*. If my Commiſſion was ſuperſeded, by granting a new Commiſſion to another Perſon before I fought (as I appeal to the Lords of the Admiralty whether it was not) may it not be inferred, that my pretended ill Conduct in the Battle, which at preſent is laid to my Charge, is not the true Cauſe of my preſent Misfortunes?

“ I will not confine any Man's Judgment to mine, but I am very ready to reaſon the Point of Conduct in the Battle with any Man: But this I may be bold to ſay, That I have had Time enough and Cauſe enough to think of it; and that upon my Word were the Battle to be fought over again, I do not know how to mend it, under the ſame Circumſtances.

“ If after 27 Years Service at Sea, and being in more Battles, and loſing more Blood than any Gentleman in *England*, I can be ſuſpected of Cowardice; and if after having loſt ſo conſiderable Preferments (when I had nothing elſe to truſt to) rather than conſent to the taking off the penal Laws and the Teſt, the Bulwarks of our Religion and Liberties; and if after the Share I had in the late happy Revolution, and the Honour and Eſtabliſhment their Majeſties have been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me, my Integrity to my Country can be ſuſpected; what is it can ſecure any Man's Reputation or good Name?

“ Upon the whole Matter of Fact, all which I am able to make good, I ſubmit myſelf to the Conſideration of this Honourable Court, whether the ill Succeſs of the late Fight and Fleet, is to be imputed to my ill Conduct, or the ill Management of other Perſons, in the above mentioned Particulars; and whether I have not juſt Reaſon to think that the Perſons, who were guilty of thoſe Miſmanagements, (to call them no worſe) are not the Perſons, who ſet on-foot my Proſecution, to excuſe themſelves, by laying the Fault on me, which ought to be aſcribed to them.”

Theſe Facts and Reaſons prevailed ſo powerfully upon the Court, in which Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-admiral of the Blue in that Engagement, acted as Preſident, that they unanimouſly acquitted him. But the King was ſo diſſatisfied with the Court-martial, that he diſcarded ſeveral of its Members from the Service, and broke 42 Officers of the Navy, who appeared to juſtify the Earl's Conduct and Courage.

In the mean time, the King being abroad in *Ireland*, at the time of *Torrington*'s Defeat, the Queen, with her uſual Care and Vigilance, gave the neceſſary Order for the refitting of her Fleet, with all poſſible Expedition; nor was her Care confined within her own Dominions. She ſent Mr. *Harbord* to the States-General, to let them know how much ſhe was concerned at the Misfortune which had befallen their Squadron; that ſhe had given Orders for refitting the *Dutch* Ships that were diſabled at her own Charge; had commanded all poſſible Care to be taken of the ſick and wounded; and Rewards to be given to the Widows of thoſe who were killed. Mr. *Harbord* likewiſe told the States, that her Majeſty had ordered 12 great Ships to be forthwith fitted out, and that ſhe hoped the States would likewiſe do their utmoſt to reinforce their Fleet in this Conjuncture; and laſtly, he acquainted them with the King's happy Succeſs in *Ireland*. The States expreſſed a great Satisfaction at the Receipt of this Meſſage, and unanimouſly reſolved to fit out immediately 13 capital Ships, and ſix Frigates.

Theſe Ships were as follows, and were then diſperſed at the ſeveral Places expreſſed againſt their Names, *viz.* one Firſt-rate, the *Sovereign*; ſeven Second-rates, the *Sandwich*, *Coronation*, *Ducheſs*, *Royal Catherine*, *Neptune*, *Duke*, and *Oſſory*; 26 Third-rates, the *Captain*, *Grafton*, *Defiance*, *Elizabeth*, *Berwick*, *Hope*, *Breda*, *Edgar*, *Hampton-Court*, *Expedition*, *Suffolk*, *Sterling-Caſtle*, *Reſtoration*, *Lenox*, *Warſpight*, *Cambridge*, *Exeter*, *Kent*, *Northumberland*, *Monmouth*, *Eſſex*, *Swiftſure*, *Reſolution*, *Eagle*, *Burford*, and *Montague*; two Sixth-rates, the *Suadadoes* and *Salamander*; the *Fubs-Yatch*; nine Fire-ſhips, the *Griffin*, *Cadiz Merchant*, *Charles*, *Hunter*, *Owner's-Love*, *Wolf*, *Vulture*, *Hound*, and *Pelican*; at *Spithead*. The *St. Michael*, a Second-rate, at *Blackſtakes*. The *Harwich*, a Third-rate; and the *Sampſon*, a Fourth-rate, (hired) at the *Nore*. The *Modena*, a Third-rate, (hired); the *Wolf*, (hired) and the *Dragon*, Fourth-rates, at *Long-Reach*. The *Charles* Galley, a Fourth-rate, gone to *Holland*; and the *Hopewell*, Fire-ſhip, at *Deptford*.

As ſoon as the Fleet was in a tolerable Forwardneſs, it was put under the joint Command of Sir *Richard Haddock*, *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; and Sir *John Aſhby*. Two of theſe Admirals arrived in the *Downs* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, and ſailing from thence the 25th, were joined by Mr. *Killegrew* off of *Dover*, with the Ships he brought from the *Streights*. The Fleet arriving at *Spithead* the 28th, the Admirals received Inſtructions how to proceed, and Orders what Ships to take under their Command.

They were all ordered to be victuall'd at *Portſmouth*, in the following Manner: The Firſt and Second-rates were to be furniſhed to the 12th of *October*; and the Third-rates and under to the 26th of that Month. They had at this time on-board the Earl of *Marlborough*, General of his Majeſty's Forces, with upwards of 5000 Soldiers, bound to *Ireland*. But the Winter-ſeaſon advancing, the Admirals were ſoon directed to ſend their great Ships, *viz.* the *Sovereign*, *Duke*, *Coronation*, *Ducheſs*, *Sandwich*, *Neptune*, *Oſſory*, and *Royal Catharine*, to *Chatham*. Beſides, Proviſions fell very ſhort, and there was a great want of good Seamen.

Amidſt all theſe Difficulties, the Admirals put to Sea, purſuant to the Commands they had received from the King, and arrived before *Cork* Harbour the 21ſt of *September*. Here they anchored; for the Tide of Flood being done, the Pilots would not venture in. The Earl of *Marlborough* immediately gave Notice of his Arrival to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and Major-general *Scravenmore*; and next Day they weighed, and in a Calm towed in towards the Harbour's Mouth. Several Shot were fired at them from the Larboard Side, from a ſmall Battery of eight Guns; but three Boats being ſent on-ſhore, armed with ſome ſtout reſolute Fellows, to attack them, the *Iriſh* were ſoon forced to abandon their Guns, and the Ships got in without farther Interruption.

On the 23d, between two and three in the Morning, the greateſt Part of the Soldiers, headed by the Duke of *Grafton*, were put into proper Veſſels, which carried them up to a Place called *Paſſage*; and in the Afternoon the reſt, together with the Marines, were landed. The next Day, about 5 or 600 Seamen, Gunners, and Carpenters, were put on-ſhore, who proved very uſeful in drawing up the Cannon to batter the Town. The Powder and Shot taken out of the great Ships at *Portſmouth*, being now made uſe of by the Army, they began to beſiege the Town in Form, and took it on the 29th, and made the whole Garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 Men, Priſoners of War; tho' not till a conſiderable Breach was made in their Wall, and a general Aſſault, in which the Duke of *Grafton* received his Death's Wound, was actually begun.

Cork being ſurrendered, the King gave Orders that the Admiral ſhould return to the *Downs* with the Fleet, leaving behind them ſuch Ships only as were needful. Accordingly, they appointed ſeven Third-rates, one Fifth-rate, one Sixth-rate, the *Owner's-Love* Fire-ſhip, and a Tender to each, to be under the Command of the Duke of *Graf-*

ton, who was then in a Ship called by his own Title. With the reſt of the Fleet they arrived in the *Downs* the 8th of *October*, bringing with them, at the Deſire of the Earl of *Marlborough*, Colonel *Macullicot*, who was the Governor of *Cork*, the Earls of *Tyrone* and *Clancarty*, Lord *Carr*, Colonel *Owen Macartny*, Lieutenant-colonel *Rycaut*, Major *Macartny*, and Captain *Muſſy*, Priſoners of War. Having diſpoſed of Part of the Fleet, according to Orders received from the Lords of the Admiralty, by ſending ſome to the *Nore*, with Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and others to *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*, the reſt were left with Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* in the *Downs*.

The Duke of *Grafton* being, as ſaid above, unfortunately wounded at *Cork*, with a Muſket-ball from the Walls, when he was ſhewing his wonted Bravery and Zeal, by encouraging his Men on-ſhore, died of his Wound, after having languiſhed ſome Days. By his Death, the chief Command fell to Captain *Matthew Tenant*; but he being blown up in the *Breda* in *Cork* Harbour, the Conduct of the Squadron regularly fell to Captain *John Crofts* of the *Charles* Galley: As ſoon as the Service at *Limerick* was done, and they had taken on-board the General, with the Soldiers, Mariners, and Priſoners, they left *Ireland*, and arrived in the *Downs* the 27th of *October*.

The Expedition with that Part of the Fleet, which was commanded by the three joint Admirals, being at an End, it will be proper to ſay ſomething concerning the Squadron under Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, who had been cruiſing in the *Soundings*, and on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, from the Month of *December* to *July*; and having convoy'd his Majeſty from *Highlake*, was deſervedly appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* had arrived from the Coaſt of *Ireland* about the Beginning of *July* 1690, and he was hindered from joining the Fleet, on account of the *French*, who were to the Eaſtward of him. Then the King having received Intelligence of the Enemy's Deſign, to ſend a Squadron of upwards of 20 ſmall Frigates, the biggeſt of which was not to mount above 36 Guns, into *St. George*'s Channel, to burn the Tranſport-ſhips, his Majeſty ordered Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* to cruiſe off of *Scilly*, or in ſuch other Station as he ſhould judge moſt proper, that he might prevent the Enemy's accompliſhing this their Deſign; and to ſend Frigates to ply continually to the Eaſt and to the Weſt, to gain Intelligence of the Body of the *French* Fleet, that ſo he might be the better able to provide for his own Security. He was farther ordered, if he ſhould chance to meet with Vice-admiral *Killegrew*, in his Return from the *Streights*, to inform him of all theſe Circumſtances, that he might likewiſe be fore-warned, and take care accordingly.

In obedience to theſe Orders, he cruiſed to and fro, in the afore-mentioned Station, till the 21ſt of *July*, not meeting all that while with any thing remarkable. That Day the *Dover* and *Experiment* joined him, coming from the Coaſt of *Ireland*, with a Ketch from *Kingſale*, which they had taken. On-board of this Veſſel were Colonel *Hacket*, Captain *John Hamilton*, *Archibald Cockburne*, Eſq; *Anthony Tomſon*, Eſq; Captain *Thomas Power*, Mr. *William Sutton*, and ſix Servants, who were all following the late King *James* to *France*, in order to their attending him on his projected Expedition to *England*. They gave an Account, that this Prince took Shipping at *Duncannon*, and ſailed from thence to *Kingſale*; but that not ſtaying there above two Hours, he purſued his Voyage to *France*, with two *French* Frigates, which had long lain ready expecting him for that Purpoſe; and that his Majeſty had carried with him the Lord *Powis*, Sir *Roger Strickland*, and Captain *Richard Trevanion*.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* received the ſame Day Orders to proceed to *Kingſale*, with the Squadron under his Command, and to endeavour to intercept ſeveral *French* Frigates which were ſaid to be there. He was about to execute theſe Orders, when, being near the River of *Waterford*, he got Intelligence from the Shore, that altho' the Town of *Waterford* had ſurrendered the 25th, yet *Duncannon* Caſtle, a Place of Strength, which commands the River of *Waterford*, having been ſummoned likewiſe, the Garriſon had refuſed all the Conditions which had been offered to them. Hereupon, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* let Major-general *Kirk* know, that he was willing to aſſiſt him in attacking that Place, and to that End would let him have a certain Number of Frigates. The Major-general accepted his Offer, and the Manner of doing it being concerted, he went in with the *Experiment* and *Greyhound*, and all the Boats of the Squadron. The Caſtle at firſt made ſome Fire on them, but they ſoon let the Beſiegers know, that they were willing to ſurrender on Terms; and next Day, being the 28th of *July*, Governor *Bourk* marched out of the Place, with about 250 Men, with their Arms and Baggage, leaving 42 Guns mounted in the Caſtle.

Here the Rear-admiral got Intelligence, that all the *French* Ships, which had been on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, were ſailed to *Limerick*, together with the Privateers and Merchantmen, in order to ſecure the Retreat of their Army, if they ſhould attempt another Battle and be routed.

The Lords of the Admiralty being, in the mean time, informed that they were gone from *Limerick* to *Gallway*, there to embark for *France*, on a Squadron of Ships, which ſailed from the ſame Place, and were reinforced by Monſieur *d'Amfreville*, they ordered the Admirals to ſend Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* to *Plymouth* (where he was arrived with Part of his Squadron) four Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, three Fifth-rates, and four Fire-ſhips; which when added to thoſe which he had with him, would together make a Squadron of five Third-rates, ten Fourth-rates, eight Fifth-rates, and ſix Fire-ſhips. With theſe he was ordered to ſail in queſt of the Enemy. But other more preſſing Services ſoon after requiring the Ships, Directions were ſent to him, by the King's Command, on the 18th of *September*, to detach 10 of them into the *Soundings*, for the Security of the Trade, and to repair to the *Downs* with the Remainder of his Squadron.

In obedience to theſe Orders, he left three Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, and three Fifth-rates, under the Command of Captain *Carter* (who had joined him with ſeveral Ships) and he himſelf being off of the *Blaſket* Iſlands, lying at the North-ſide of the Entrance into *Dingle* Bay, got Intelligence that the *French* Fleet had indeed been gone from *Gallway* about a Week before, but that there ſtill remained five Sail at that Place. Upon this he ſent two Frigates thither, not thinking it ſafe to go in with the whole Squadron; becauſe, as it is a deep Bay, a Number of Ships could not eaſily get out, unleſs they had an Eaſterly Wind. Theſe two Frigates returning on the 26th, brought him the following Account: That on the 13th of *September*, Monſieur *d'Amfreville* ſailed from *Gallway*, with about 60 Ships and Veſſels, 18 whereof were Men of War; that they took with them only the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, Mr. *Fitz-James* (natural Son to King *James*) *Buſſlo*, late Governor of *Limerick*, with a few ſick Men, and about 3 or 400 *Iriſh*; that on the 15th they were joined by the Ship called the *Grand-Monarch*, and 11 other capital Ships, which had been in the River *Shannon* near a Week, and could not get to *Gallway*; and that upon the firſt Notice of our Squadron's coming, they ſteered their Courſe directly into the Sea, and did not venture to approach the Coaſt of *Ireland*, although they did not ſeem to have any Reaſon for apprehending Danger, conſidering the Superiority of their Force.

It was the 10th of *October* when Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* arrived in the *Downs*, with Part of his Squadron, having given Orders to the Remainder to attend on ſundry neceſſary Services. There he found Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty, to proceed to *Plymouth* with all the Ships which were in a Condition for the Sea, and from that Port to take others, with which he was to cruiſe in the *Soundings*, for Security of the Trade; having gotten together what Ships he could, he proceeded with them to the aforeſaid Port of *Plymouth*, and then ſailing thence, the 3d of *December*, chaſed ſeveral Sails in the *Soundings*, but could not come up with them, for moſt of the Ships he had with him were foul. At length, the *Deptford* and *Crown* took a ſmall *French* Man of War, of 18 Guns and 10 Patereros, called the *Fripon*; which Ship had before fought four *Dutch* Privateers, wherein ſhe received conſiderable Damage, and had 30 of her Men killed and wounded: Her Captain's Name was *St. Marca*, who, with the Lieutenant, were wounded, and her Maſter was killed; and fighting very obſtinately, ſhe yielded not till the *Crown* ſhot away her Main-maſt, and boarded her.

The Rear-admiral having ended his Cruiſe, he ſent ſome of the Ships to the Coaſt of *Ireland*, left others in the *Soundings*, and arrived himſelf in the *Downs* the Middle of *January*.

The Care of the Adminiſtration to repair all paſt Errors in naval Affairs, and to retrieve the Honour of the maritime Powers, appeared viſibly in the Meaſures taken for ſending a great Fleet early to Sea, in the Spring of the Year 1691. In order to this, the Week after the Earl of *Torrington* was diſmiſſed from his Command, *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief, and immediately received Inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt Expedition in drawing together the Ships of which his Fleet was to be compoſed; and a Liſt of them, to the Number of 91, of which 57 were of the Line of Battle, was annexed to his Inſtructions.

The Admiral's Inſtructions were [a], to ſail to ſuch a Station in the *Soundings*, or on the *French* Coaſt, as might be moſt proper for annoying the Enemy, and protecting our Trade; but it was particularly recommended to him not to leave the *Downs*, until he ſhould be joined by 20 *Dutch* Ships of War, or at leaſt 18, and that he had appointed a Squadron to look out after the *French* Ships at *Dunkirk*, with the Commander in Chief of which Squadron, he was to leave Inſtructions how to join the Fleet, ſhould there be Occaſion for it.

From the *Soundings* he was to detach a conſiderable Number of Ships and Fire-ſhips to *Gallway* in *Ireland*, either to prevent the *French* landing of Succours there, or to deſtroy them, if in that Harbour; and it was left to his Diſcretion to lie, with the Body of the Fleet, in ſuch a Station, as that this Detachment might moſt readily join him, to prevent the ill Conſequences of his being attacked by the *French* when ſeparated. It was, however, expreſly provided, that if bad Weather rendered it unſafe for him to proceed to Sea, he ſhould repair to, and remain at *Torbay*, till farther Orders; the Conſequences of which Reſtraint were not, perhaps, ſo thoroughly conſidered, as they might have been. With his Inſtructions, the Admiral likewiſe received a Liſt of the Ships, of which the main Fleet was appointed to conſiſt.

According to this Liſt, his Fleet conſiſted of five Firſt-rates, 11 Second-rates, 32 Third-rates, nine Fourth-rates, four Fifth-rates, three Sixth-rates, 20 Fire-ſhips, four Hoſpital-ſhips, one Sloop, one Brigantine, and one Yatch; in all 91 Sail, 70 of which were of the Line of Battle; beſides the *Dutch*, which came over in good time [b], and whoſe Quota was generally five to eight, or as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, was this time agreed to be three to five, of equal Rates and Strength.

While this Fleet was preparing for Sea, King *William* embarked for *Holland* [c], ſeveral of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Diſtinction attending him, under a Convoy of 12 Men of War, commanded by Admiral *Rooke*. When, after not the beſt Paſſage, they arrived on the Coaſt of *Holland*, they found the Froſt had been ſo ſevere, and the Ice near the Shore was ſo great, that they could not attempt to land without extream Danger. The King, with whom the Sea did not agree, and whoſe Buſineſs beſides required Haſte, being informed by a Fiſherman, that they were within a League and a half of the Shore, went into the Shallop, and ordered the Seamen to put off. The Sailors themſelves were apprehenſive of Danger, and all the Perſons of Quality about him did what they could, to diſſuade him from expoſing his royal Perſon to ſo prodigious a Hazard; but nothing being able to move his Majeſty's Reſolution, they put away from the Fleet, with two Shallops more, in which were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Devonſhire*, *Dorſet*, *Portland*, and *Monmouth*, and ſome others, and ſoon got out of ſight of it. Night came on, and the King remained for 18 Hours together, expoſed to the Injuries of the Air and Cold, to the Mercy of the Sea, whoſe Waves ran ſo high, that they daſhed him all over, he having nothing to ſhelter him from them but his Cloak, and at the ſame time in Danger of being taken by Privateers. At laſt, by Break of Day, the Shallop came near the Iſland of *Goree*, where his Majeſty refreſhed himſelf a little in a Fiſherman's Cottage, and then going into his Boat again, he happily landed at *Orange-Polder*. From thence he went to his own Palace of *Hounſlardike*, where he was met by the Deputies of the States, who conducted him to the *Hague* by ſix that Evening.

Now was held the moſt glorious Congreſs that ever yet appeared of Chriſtian Princes, Noblemen, and Miniſters, the great Deſign of which was, for all the Confederate Princes and States to concert Meaſures with King *William*, in order to preſerve the Liberties of *Europe*. This Congreſs being happily ended, the King ſet ſail from the *Maeſe* on the 12th of *April*, attended by Part of the *Dutch* Squadron, which was coming to join our Fleet at the *Buoy in the Nore*, and had ſo quick a Paſſage, that he was the next Evening at *Whitehall*. His Majeſty having diſpatched the weighty Affairs of haſtening out the Fleet, and making due Preparations for the Campaign in *Flanders*, and being reſolved to command the Confederate Army there himſelf this Summer, he departed again from *Kenſington* the 1ſt of *May*, and landed at *Maeſelandſluys* the 3d, under the Convoy of a Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Rear-admiral *Rooke*.

The Ships which were to compoſe this Fleet being victual'd, and tolerably well-manned, the Admiral received Orders from the Queen, dated the 7th of *May*, to proceed into the *Soundings*, provided the *Dutch* had joined him, and that he thought it proper to venture the great Ships there, at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year.

The Admiral, tho' he did not think it proper to hazard the great Ships ſo ſoon to Sea, yet declared his Willingneſs to obey her Majeſty's Commands, if ſhe perſiſted in them. He was likewiſe againſt ſending any large Fleet to *Gallway*, becauſe [d] many Accidents might have hindered their joining the Fleet, the Conſequence whereof, ſhould the *French* get between them, he judged of the laſt Importance, and that it carried greater Weight with it than the Reduction of *Ireland* that Summer; but yet he had no Objection to the ſending ſome Ships thither, if his Majeſty was ſatisfied that the *French* were ſo backward in their naval Preparations, as that our Fleet might with Safety be thus ſeparated. Nor did he approve of leaving *Dunkirk* unguarded, until the certain Arrival of other *Dutch* Ships; and to ſupport his Opinion in this, he alledged, that ſince the River's Mouth would be left open to the *French*, that the Trade and Fiſhery on all the Coaſt would be thereby expoſed, and *Newcaſtle* not only be liable to be blocked up, but an Opportunity would be given to the Enemy of ſinking Veſſels at the Bar of that Harbour, ſo as that no Ships of Burthen would be able to float over it.

But the Queen having Advice from *Holland* of the 21ſt of *April*, that the King of *France* was reſolved to ſend a Body of Troops to *Ireland*, in near 200 Tranſports, about 150 of which were already at their Rendezvous at *Belle-Iſle*, on the South Coaſt of *Bretagne*, together with 25 Men of War, deſigned for their Convoy; and it was ſaid, that theſe Ships had on-board, beſides a conſiderable Sum of Money to pay the Army under *St. Ruth*, all Manner of Neceſſaries for Cloathing and Subſiſtence; ſhe ſent poſitive Commands to the Admiral to depart forthwith to the *Soundings*, who thought Cape *Clear* to be the moſt proper Place for a Rendezvous, becauſe from thence Frigates might be more conveniently detached to *Kingſale*, to get Intelligence from the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, than from any other Station. And the beſt Part of the Fleet being now got together, the Admiral formed them into a Line of Battle, that they might be ready for Service, conſiſting of five Firſt-rates, 11 Second-rates, 32 Third-rates, nine Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, four Sixth-rates, four Frigates, 15 Fire-ſhips, four Hoſpital-ſhips, one Bomb-veſſel, and one Yatch, making together 87 Sail, of which 57 were of the Line of Battle, *Engliſh*; and of the *Dutch* 17 Ships, from 92 to 50 Guns, and four of leſſer Burden, together 21 Sail; in all, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, 108 Sail.

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[a] Burchett.

[b] Burnet.

[c] At Graveſend, on the 16th of January.

[d] Burchett.

Yet, on the 10th of *May*, he was ordered from a principal Secretary of State to ſend this Fleet to *St. Helens* or *Spithead*, and to wait immediately on her Majeſty at Court, becauſe there was Reaſon to apprehend, that the *French* intended not only to ſend Ammunition and other Inſtruments of War to *Ireland*, but alſo to tranſport a conſiderable Number of *Iriſh* from thence to *Scotland*; and therefore the Queen was deſirous to intercept them in their Paſſage, and to confer with him in Perſon, that as well this, as all other Affairs relating to the Expedition, might be maturely delliberated.

At this Interview, her Majeſty concurred with him that *Dunkirk* moſt not be left unguarded, and commanded him, before the Fleet ſailed, to block up that Port, if the *Dutch* Ships, which were expected there, did not arrive in time. Nevertheleſs, when he returned to the Fleet, he had Orders to ſend ſome Ships into the *Iriſh* Channel, to cruiſe upon the Coaſts of *Scotland* without *Cantire*, to prevent the *French* tranſporting any Forces from *Ireland* to that Kingdom; and tho' the Ships which were expected from *Dunkirk* were not come, and the *Dutch* Admiral refuſed to ſend Ships of his Squadron to ſupply in Part their Places, the Queen renewed her Order, that the Fleet ſhould ſail as ſoon as poſſible, according to her former Inſtructions, without ſtaying for the Return of the *Dunkirk* Squadron.

The 20th of *May*, the Fleet was ready, and the Admiral intended to ſail the next Morning from the *Downs* to *Torbay*, and to leave Orders for Mr. *Churchill* to follow him thither, with the Squadron under his Command off of *Dunkirk*; but a South-weſt Wind preventing him, he received the Queen's Orders, the 22d, to proceed before *Breſt*.

The 23d, in the Morning, the Fleet ſet ſail; but being got as far Weſtward as *Dungeneſs*, was forced back into the *Downs* with a hard Gale at South-weſt; and ſoon after Advice came, that the *French* were arrived with 100 Tranſports in the River *Shannon*, and that their Convoy was cruiſing between that River and *Gallway*; upon which her Majeſty ordered the Admiral to proceed off of *Breſt*, but to ſend a Frigate to *Kingſale* for Intelligence, and if there was any Probability of deſtroying thoſe Ships, to detach a Squadron for that Purpoſe, with Orders to return to the Fleet, as ſoon as the Service was performed. It was again recommended to him, to get the beſt Information he could of the Body of the *French* Fleet, to remain off of *Breſt* or thereabouts, if Wind and Weather would permit, till the *Smyrna* Fleet, which was expected, arrived, or as long after as he ſhould think neceſſary.

The 1ſt of *June* the Admiral was acquainted, that the News of the Duke of *Berwick*'s being gone to *Scotland* was contradicted; and not many Days after he received Advice from Court, that the *French* Squadron was certainly gone back from *Ireland*, and the Tranſports would probably be clear of that Kingdom before the Fleet could arrive: His Orders were therefore renewed, to ſail to *Breſt*, *Belle-Iſle*, or ſome Station thereabouts, to prevent the *French* from attempting our *Smyrna* Fleet.

The Weather being at length favourable, the Fleet put to Sea, and on the 14th of *June*, being ſix Leagues South-eaſt from the *Iſle of Wight*, it was, by a Council of Flag-officers, reſolved, that the Station ſhould be eight Leagues Weſt from *Uſhant*, and that from thence ſome Ships ſhould be detached to look into *Breſt*. The 19th they got off of *Plymouth*, but by bad Weather were forced back to *Torbay*. There the Admiral received a Letter from Mr. *Aylmer*, dated off of Cape *St. Vincent*, by which he judged the *Smyrna* Fleet was in *Ireland*, or at leaſt very near the *Soundings*. The Admiral got under ſail the 22d, and when he was off of *Dartmouth*, an Expreſs brought Advice, that the *French* were at Sea with 80 Ships; and the 28th, it was confirmed by ſome Fiſhermen, who ſaid they had lain four Days becalmed off of *Uſhant*, which then bore Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt from them about nine Leagues; upon which it was reſolved, by the Flag-officers, to ſtretch over to Cape *Clear*; and when the Admiral came off of *Kingſale*, he found the *Smyrna* Fleet in ſafe Harbour there.

The Admiral having convoy'd this Fleet off of *Scilly*, parted with them there the 13th of *July*, and ſhaped his Courſe towards the *French* Coaſt, in ſearch of the *French* Fleet [a]; and no ſooner was *Uſhant* diſcovered from the Maſt-head, than Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was ſent to look into *Breſt*, while the Admiral followed at a convenient Diſtance.

When he was about a League from *St. Matthew*'s Point, he ſaw about 40 Sail coming out of *Breſt* Harbour, which proved to be Coaſting-veſſels from *Bretagne*, with three Men of War, of about 40 Guns each. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, to decoy theſe Ships, ſtood in, with Part of his Squadron, under *French* Colours, and the reſt without any; which made them believe they were ſome Prizes ſent home, with Part of their Fleet, ſo that they were coming out to meet them; but finding their Miſtake, every one ſhifted for himſelf, as well as he could.

On this Occaſion, the Admiral got Intelligence, that the *French* Fleet had been at Sea near 40 Days; that they were 84 Ships of the Line of Battle, and were ſuppoſed to be cruiſing up and down in the *Soundings*.

The 27th, the Fleet being about 30 Leagues from *Uſhant*, ſeveral Veſſels were ſeen under Convoy of a Man of War, and two Ships ſuppoſed to be Fire-ſhips. The ſame Stratagem was made uſe of as before, to deceive them, with white Colours; but one of our Captains being too forward in the Chaſe, only three of the ſmall Veſſels fell into our Hands.

This Convoy was going with freſh Proviſions to the Fleet, which the Priſoners reported to conſiſt of 76 Sail, from 100 to 50 Guns, and that they expected them to lie 60 Leagues Weſt, or Weſt-ſouth-weſt from *Uſhant*; which, as our Scouts, tho' they were ſtationed ſo as to diſcover 20 Leagues in clear Weather, had not ſeen them, confirmed a Belief, that Monſieur *de Tourville* had Orders to avoid the *Engliſh*, and to that End ſhifted their Stations, as faſt as their Scouts diſcovered any of ours.

The Admiral finding all Methods for coming up with the Enemy proved ineffectual (for, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, they had Orders to avoid an Engagement) was deſirous of freſh Orders, how to proceed with the Fleet; when on the 29th, the Queen ſent him Directions, if the *French* Fleet was not at Sea, or in ſuch a Station that he could not prudently attack them, he ſhould forthwith repair to the Coaſt of *Ireland*, for Security of our Merchant-ſhips; but left him at Liberty to go to *Kingſale*, to refreſh his Men, or to remain in ſuch Station near that Place, where he ſhould judge the Fleet might be moſt ſafe, and in the greateſt Readineſs to execute Orders [b]. He was however adviſed, not to leave the *French* Coaſt immediately, becauſe he might probably ſoon, if at all, have an Opportunity of Fighting.

The 31ſt of *July* (the Fleet having till then kept its Station about 60 Leagues Weſt-ſouth-weſt from *Uſhant*) the Admiral gave Orders once more to ſtand for *Uſhant*; and three Days after, the Marquis of *Carmarthen*'s Sloop, being upon a Chaſe off of *Uſhant*, ſaw upwards of 100 Sail in *Broad-Sound*, which, as they ſuppoſed, proved to be the *French* Fleet going to *Breſt*. This being made known to the Admiral, it was agreed, in a Council of War, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for our Fleet to ſail to *Torbay*, as well to refreſh the Men, as to recruit with ſeveral things they ſtood in need of, which was done accordingly.

At *Torbay* her Majeſty's former Orders and Inſtructions were renewed and explained, with the Addition, of Care to be taken of the Trade coming from the *Weſt-Indies*: And as the Admiral thought it neceſſary that the three-deck'd Ships ſhould be ſent home at the End of this Month, her Majeſty conſented that they ſhould be ordered to *Spithead*. Not long after, the Admiral received a Letter from the Lords of the Admiralty, propoſing certain Queſtions, to which not only his Opinion, but the Opinion of all the Flag-officers was deſired.

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[a] From thence he ſent a Letter to the Secretary of State, deſiring that it might be conſidered, whether the Fleet, before its Return, could be ſerviceable towards the Reduction of Ireland; for that the Proviſions would laſt no longer than the latter End of Auguſt, and after that Month was expired, he thought it not ſafe for the great Ships to be out of Harbour, but deſired that a Supply of Proviſions might be ready at Plymouth, that ſo the want thereof might not obſtruct any neceſſary Service. Burchett.

[b] The chief Occaſion of this Order was the King's Succeſs in Ireland, which was ſo great, that his Majeſty thought he might employ a good Part of his Army this Year on a Deſcent in France, in which the Fleet was to be aſſiſtant; but this Project came to nothing, as you'll ſee hereafter.

The QUESTIONS.

“ How long it might be convenient to keep the Fleet “ at Sea in a Body? How long they might be ventured at “ Sea, in caſe the *French* did not diſarm their Ships, or “ the public Service ſhould require ſo great a Fleet? “ And when the great Ships could no longer keep the Sea, “ where they might, with moſt Safety, remain for ſome “ time, before they were laid up, ſo as to be ready to “ join the reſt of the Fleet, in caſe the *French* ſhould “ come upon our Coaſt?”

Hereupon a Council of War was called, the 19th of *Auguſt*, where were preſent the Flag-officers following, *viz.* *Engliſh*, Admirals *Ruſſel* and *Killigrew*, Vice-admirals *Aſhby* and *Delaval*, and Rear-admirals *Rooke* and *Shovel*: *Dutch*, Admiral *Allemonde*, Vice-admirals *Van de Putte* and *Callemberg*, and Rear-admiral *Evertzen*; who, taking theſe ſeveral Particulars into Conſideration, returned the following Anſwers to them, *viz.*

“ 1. That it was not convenient for his Majeſty's Ser- “ vice, the Fleet ſhould continue at Sea longer than the “ laſt of *Auguſt*.

“ 2. But if the Service did abſolutely require their ſtay- “ ing out longer, the utmoſt time ought to be the 10th “ of *September*.

“ 3. That when the great Ships could no longer keep “ at Sea, the moſt convenient Place for them to remain “ at, for farther Orders, was *Spithead*.”

And it was alſo agreed, That between 10 and 20 Leagues W. S. W. from *Scilly*, was the moſt proper Station for the Fleet to cruiſe in, ſo as to enable them to do Service.”

The Opinions of the Flag-officers having been reported to the Queen in Council, her Majeſty was pleaſed to let the Admiral know, that tho' ſhe had by former Orders, ſufficiently informed him what Services ſhe expected from the Fleet; yet ſince the *French* Fleet was now in *Cameret* Bay, and that probably he might have an Opportunity of attacking them there, ſhe thought it ought not to be neglected; eſpecially as it was reaſonable to believe, the Attempt might be made, before the Expiration of the time the Council of War had limited, for ſending home the great Ships. However, her Majeſty did not abſolutely command it; but declared ſhe would be ſatisfied, in this Matter, with the Reſolution of a Council of War.

The Admiral called a Council of War accordingly, where this Matter was taken into Conſideration; but the Project was diſapproved of, and their Reaſons for it alledged,

That altho' the Enemy were there, yet, conſidering the Scarcity of Proviſions, and the bad Weather which might be expected, at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, it was in no wiſe adviſeable to make any Attempt upon them.

That they alſo adhered to their former Opinions,

That the moſt proper Station for the Fleet to lie in was 10 or 20 Leagues W. S. W. from *Scilly*; and that the Ships ought not to continue in a Body longer than the laſt of this Month, unleſs there ſhould be an abſolute Neceſſity; and if ſo, not beyond the 10th of *September*. But it was thought neceſſary (if Wind and Weather would permit) to go before *Uſhant* (and not *Breſt*) that ſo the *French* might know we were at Sea, and then forthwith to return to the aforeſaid Station off of *Scilly*.

That they were ſenſible a Battle might be of great Advantage to the Public, but wiſhed the Enemy would give an Opportunity for it, without putting the Fleet under a Hazard of Deſtruction, by attempting them in their Harbours, eſpecially at the Approach of the Winter-ſeaſon.

And, upon conſidering what Squadron of Ships ought to be kept at Sea, after thoſe with three Decks ſhould be ſent in, it was found, that none of thoſe of the States General could continue out, for that their Proviſions would laſt no longer than the 20th of *September*, and his Majeſty's Orders required their returning by that time to *Holland*: So that, if the Queen expected their longer Stay, there wanted Orders from his Majeſty for the ſame, as well as for their Re-victualling; for the King being Stadtholder of that Republic, their Admirals received all their Inſtructions immediately from him.

But altho' it was the Opinion of the Council of War, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity for a Squadron to be kept abroad; and that, if a ſufficient Quantity of Victuals could be provided, a Detachment of proper Ships might be made for a Month; yet they were cautious in adviſing the Number, not knowing what Strength the *French* would have at Sea.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, the Admiral received farther Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty, prepared in Obedience to her Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified at the Cabinet-council.

By theſe Orders, he was directed to proceed forthwith to Sea, and to lie in ſuch a Station, as he judged moſt proper, as well for meeting the *French* Fleet, ſhould they come out again, as for the Security of the homeward-bound Trade, the Ships in the River *Shannon*, and the intercepting Succours from *France* to *Ireland*; but, when the Firſt and Second-rates could be no longer continued abroad with Safety, he was to order them to *Spithead*, there to remain till farther Directions, and to appoint the Ships of ſmaller Rates (both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*) which were in a Condition for it, to cruiſe until the 30th of *September* (if their Proviſions would laſt ſo long) in the moſt proper Station, for anſwering the three laſt Services before-mentioned; which Station their Lordſhips were of Opinion, ought to be between 20 and 30 Leagues S. W. off of *Cape Clear*, tho' they thought fit to leave that Matter to his Determination. He was alſo farther directed, when he came in with the great Ships, to appoint three of the *Engliſh* Flag-officers, to remain with the cruiſing Squadron, and to order the Senior of them, at the Expiration of his Cruiſe, to bring home with him the Ships of War in the *Shannon*.

Purſuant to theſe Orders, the Admiral put to Sea, with the very firſt Opportunity of a Wind, and on the 31ſt of *Auguſt* made the Land of *Uſhant*; but not a Sail appearing that Day, or the next, he ſteered away for the *Lizard*, 10 Leagues W. S. W. from which Place was the appointed Station.

If the *French* had been inclined to fight, they could not have wiſhed a fairer Opportunity; for they might have had the Weather-gage on their own Coaſt; but they were ſatisfied to lay ſafe in Port, rather than hazard Blows, tho' with this Advantage.

The 2d of *September*, our Fleet being in the *Soundings*, ſo violent a Storm aroſe, that for their Safety they were obliged to bear up for ſo dangerous a Port as *Plymouth*, (which, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, was much cenſured) where they arrived in a ſhattered Condition, with the Loſs of the *Coronation*, a Second-rate, which foundered off of the *Ramhead*, and the *Harwich*, a Third-rate, which ran on-ſhore, and was bulged. And thus ended the fruitleſs Tranſactions of our Fleet for this Year: For tho' a Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships was formed and ordered, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, to ſtation between 20 and 30 Leagues S. W. of *Cape Clear*; yet, he being four times beaten back by contrary Winds, his Expedition ended in as little as that of the great Fleet.

In the mean time, the *French*, after the Battle they loſt on the 12th of *July*, and the Surrender of *Gallway*, not attempting to relieve *Limerick* (as it was reported and believed they would have done) that Town likewiſe ſoon ſurrendered, which Succeſs was followed by a total Reduction of a Kingdom which had proved ſo long troubleſome to his Majeſty's Affairs.

The Year 1692 renewed the *French* War with more Vigour on both Sides; and at the very time King *William* departed for *Holland* [a], the late King *James* was diſpatched from *Paris* to *La Hogue*, to execute a Scheme already concerted by Colonel *Parker*, and others, with the *Jacobite* Party in *England*, who had engaged to favour a Deſcent upon this Iſland [b], by riſing in different Parts, as ſoon as the ſaid King ſhould land with an Army to protect them. Accordingly King *James* repaired to *La Hogue*, where there lay a conſiderable Army of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *Iriſh* [c], and *French* [d], ready to embark on 300 Tranſports.

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[a] 5th of March 1691-2.

[b] On the Coaſt of Suſſex.

[c] 14 Battalions.

[d] 9000. Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. II. p. 473—577. Kennet. Oldmixon. Burnet, p. 93.

The Queen, informed of the intended Invaſion, firſt provided for the internal Security of her Kingdom of *England*, by raiſing the Militia, and ſending for three Regiments of Foot from *Holland*; which, with ſome other Troops, formed a Camp near *Portſmouth*; and then with all Expedition haſtened the naval Preparations, ſo that the Fleet might get to Sea as ſoon as poſſible[a].

The main Body of the Fleet was put under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*; and, on the 22th of *April* he ſent, from the *Buoy of the Nore* to the *Flats of the Foreland*, all Ships of the third and fourth Rates, and Fire-ſhips which were ready, and ordered the reſt to follow him, as ſoon as they could be in Condition. In the mean while, Advice-boats were employed to gain Intelligence of the Enemy's Preparations at *Breſt*, and the Ports thereabouts[b].

There were at this very critical Juncture, two conſiderable Squadrons at Sea; one under the Command of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, which was ſent to bring home a Fleet of Merchant-men from the *Mediterranean*, the other under Rear-admiral *Carter*, near the *French* Coaſt.

It was apprehended, that the *French* would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore on the laſt of *February*, Orders were ſent by the *Groin* Packet-boat to Vice-admiral *Delaval*, to avoid coming near Cape *St. Vincent*, and to keep ſo far out to Sea, as not to make Cape *Clear*, but rather to ſail to *Dingle*-bay, the Mouth of the River *Shannon*, or ſome other Port in *Ireland* thereabouts, the better to ſhun the Danger, which not only the Ships, but the Effects of the Merchants, might be expoſed to, by meeting the *French* Squadron. Leſt theſe Orders ſhould not timely meet with him at *Cadiz*, there was the like Caution given by a ſmall Veſſel, which was ordered to cruiſe off of Cape *Clear*, or thereabouts, to look out for him, and her Commander directed to endeavour to gain Advice, and to communicate to him what he ſhould be able to learn, of the Enemy's Proceedings. And if neither he, nor Sir *Ralph* himſelf, could get any Intelligence, he was ordered to repair with his Squadron to *Cork* or *Kingſale*[c]. Though theſe Orders miſſed him, he had the good Fortune to arrive ſafe in the *Downs*, the Beginning of *March*. And as for the other Squadron, conſiſting of five third Rates, ſix fourth Rates, ſix fifth Rates, one ſixth Rate, three Fire-ſhips, and other ſmall Ships, under the Command of Rear-admiral *Carter*, particular Orders were ſent to him, on the 14th of *April*, to ſail to the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and there taking on board Pilots, to proceed to and cruiſe on the Coaſt of *France*, near *St. Malo*, for the Space of 48 Hours, longer than which Time, it was not thought convenient he ſhould ſtay, unleſs he found an Opportunity of doing Service. From thence he was to ſtretch away to Cape *La Hogue*, and to ſtand as near in towards *Havre de Grace* as he could, with Safety to the Ships; and, if no Service could be done there, to return to *Spithead*, if it ſhould not be found for the Security of the Iſlands, to continue longer on the *French* Coaſt, in which Caſe, the earlieſt Advice, that might poſſibly be, was to be ſent of his Intentions. Theſe Orders were followed by others of the 20th and 23d of *April*, the former directing him to repair, with all Speed, to the *Flats of the Foreland*, (for there was now Advice received, that the *French* were preparing to come to Sea) and the other requiring him, in his Return, to keep the Enemy's Coaſt on-board, and to endeavour to join the Squadron going out with Sir *Ralph Delaval*; but, upon miſſing him, to return to the *Downs*.

However theſe Orders were in ſome meaſure ſuperceded by others from Sir *Ralph Delaval*, on the fifth of *May*, by which he was directed to cruiſe between Cape *La Hogue*, and the *Iſle of Wight*, and to endeavour to join the Body of the Fleet, when it ſhould arrive thereabouts.

Sir *Ralph* having on the 24th of *April* received Inſtructions from Admiral *Ruſſel* to proceed to the *South Foreland*, with all the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Rates, and Fire-ſhips which were ready, together with the Bomb-veſſels, and then, paſſing in Sight of *Calais*, to ſtretch away Weſtward, along the *French* Coaſt, as far as Cape *La Hogue*, and there to ſend the ſmaller Ships, as near in with the Shore, as with Safety they might, to diſcover what the Enemy were doing at *St. Valery*, *Diep*, and *Havre de Grace*: At which Places he was ordered to attempt any Thing on their Shipping, he ſhould think practicable. When he arrived as far Weſtward as Cape *La Hogue*, he was to croſs over to the *Iſle of Wight*, and finding no Orders there, to return to, and range along the *French* Coaſt, until he came off of *Dover*, where he was to call for Orders; but, if he met not with any there, to repair to the *Flats of the Foreland*. The Admiral cautioned him to keep Scouts out, to prevent the Enemy's ſurprizing, or paſſing to the Eaſtward of him; and, if they came in Sight, and he judged them too ſtrong, he was not to engage, but to retreat to the *Flats of the Foreland*, and ſend immediate Advice to the Flag-officers there; and upon meeting Rear-admiral *Carter*, he was to take him under his Command.

His Majeſty was not leſs aſſiduous in *Holland*, and preſſed the ſailing of the *Dutch* Fleet ſo warmly, that it was got to Sea much ſooner than uſual, and appeared off of *Rye* in the Beginning of *May*. Upon which Admiral *Ruſſel* had Orders ſent him to cruize between Cape *La Hogue* and the *Iſle of Wight*, till the Squadrons ſhould join him, though he had propoſed the Junction ſhould be made off *Beachy-head*. However he obeyed his Orders as ſoon as he received them, and plied it down through the Sands, with a very ſcanty Wind, contrary to the Opinion of many of his Officers, and all the Pilots, who were againſt hazarding ſo great a Fleet in ſo dangerous an Attempt; and yet to this bold Stroke of the Admiral's, which was his own, was owing all his following Succeſs. On the eighth the Fleet came ſafe off of *Rye*, and that Night the Admiral ſent to the *Dutch* Admiral to weigh and make ſail after him, that no Time might be loſt; and he alſo ſent a Squadron of ſmall Ships to look for Sir *Ralph Delaval*, being in great Pain till the whole confederate Fleet was join'd in a Body. On the 11th of *May* he ſailed from *Rye-bay* for *St. Helens*, where, in two Days time, he was joined by Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Rear-admiral *Carter*, with their Squadrons[d].

Some time before, the *Jacobites* had ſent over Captain *Loyd*, expreſs to the Lord *Melford*, to acquaint his Lordſhip, "That they had corrupted ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Sea Commanders, particularly Rear-admiral *Carter*[e], and, with that falſe Intelligence, they tranſmitted to him an exact Liſt of the Number and Rates of the *Engliſh* Fleet, and how long it would be before it was poſſible they could be joined by the *Dutch*: Praying his Lordſhip to lay it before the Moſt Chriſtian King, and procure his Command to Marſhal *de Tourville*, to ſeek, and immediately to fight the *Engliſh*, before they could be reinforced by the *Dutch*." Upon the Receipt of this Meſſage, the Lord *Melford* applied himſelf to the King of *France*, who immediately gave his poſitive Commands to *Tourville*, to engage the *Engliſh* Fleet, without waiting for the *Toulon* Squadron, under Mr. *d'Eſtrees*.

This Intelligence gained ſo much Credit among the Well-wiſhers to the Government, and was likewiſe ſo induſtriouſly ſpread among the Diſaffected, to diſpirit the Friends of the Revolution, that the Queen commanded the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State, to write a Letter to the Admiral at St. *Helens*, to inform him that a ſcandalous and malicious Report was ſpread, as if ſome of the Officers of their Majeſties Fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their Service: But her Majeſty charged the Admiral to acquaint his Officers, that ſhe was ſatisfied this Report was raiſed by the Enemies of the Government, and that ſhe repoſed ſo entire a Confidence in their Fidelity, that ſhe had reſolved not to diſplace ſo much as one of them. Upon this, the Flag-officers and Captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal addreſs, dated from on-board the *Britannia* at St. *Helens*, *May* the 15th, 1692.

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[a] Queen Mary behaved upon this Occaſion with great Wiſdom and Firmneſs of Mind; for, without diſcovering any Apprehenſions of Danger, ſhe took all the Precautions that were neceſſary to prevent it; by publiſhing a Proclamation, requiring all Papiſts to quit the Cities of London and Weſtminſter; another for aſſembling both Houſes of Parliament; and a third for apprehending the Earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newbourg, Middleton, and Dunmore; the Lords Griffin and Forbes; Sir John Fenwicke, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, Sir Andrew Forreſter, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, ſuppoſed to be in her Father's Intereſt.

[b] Burnet, Kennet, Burchett Hiſtory of King William. Columna Roſtrata. F. Daniel Hiſt. de Franc. Hiſt. de la Mil. Franc. Memoires de Forbin. De Larrey, Hiſt. de Fr ſous Louis XIV. Hiſt. de Guillaume III. Roi d'Angl.

[c] Burchett.

[d] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 464.

[e] The Report was, that Rear-admiral Carter had ten Thouſand Pounds given him to bring his Diviſion over to the French. What Ground there was for this Rumour, is uncertain. True it is, Rear-admiral Carter was not rich; yet it is plain, he never received ſuch a Bribe, becauſe he died poor, though it was in the *Bed* of Honour, at the ſame time that he was ſaid to have been ſuſpected.

“We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects and Servants, Flag-officers and Captains in your Majeſty's Fleet, out of a deep and grateful Senſe of your Majeſty's good and juſt Opinion of our Loyalty and Fidelity, imparted to us by the Right Honourable Admiral *Ruſſel*, in a Letter to him from the Earl of *Nottingham*, principal Secretary State, do, in behalf of ourſelves, and all the other Officers and Seamen, humbly preſume to addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty, at this Juncture, to undeceive the World, as to thoſe falſe and malicious Reports, which have been lately ſpread, in prejudice of your Majeſty's Service, by People diſaffected to the Government, and who have an Averſion to the Quiet and Good of their Country, that there are ſome among us, who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. We do, therefore, moſt humbly beg Leave to add, to our repeated Oaths, this Aſſurance of our Fidelity, that we will, with all imaginable Alacrity and Reſolution, venture our Lives in the Defence of the Government, and of the Religion and Liberty of our Country, againſt all *Popiſh* Invaders whatſoever. And that God Almighty may preſerve your Majeſty's moſt ſacred Perſon, direct your Councils, and proſper your Arms, by Sea and Land, againſt your Enemies, may all People ſay, *Amen*, with your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects. Dated on-board the *Britannia*, at *St. Helens*, the 15th Day of *May*, 1692.”

This Addreſs was ſigned by Sir *John Aſhby* Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Ralph Delaval* Vice-admiral of the Red, Mr. *Rooke* Vice-admiral of the Blue, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* Rear-admiral of the Red, Mr. *Carter* Rear-admiral of the Blue, and by the other Commanders of the Fleet. It was preſented the Day after its Date, by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and her Majeſty was not only pleaſed to accept it very graciouſly, but to anſwer; “That ſhe always had this Opinion of the Commanders; but was very glad this was come, to ſatisfy others:” And, indeed it was not long before they performed their Promiſe.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets being come together, the Admiral propoſed, that a ſmall Detachment of ſix or eight Frigates, might hover about the Coaſt of *Normandy*; that at the ſame Time, the Forces intended for a Deſcent, ſhould embark, and be landed at *St. Maloes*, and the grand Fleet lie Weſtward of that Place, in order to protect them from the Enemy. This Propoſition being in Part approved, he detached ſix light Ships to gain Intelligence; and it being left to him to proceed, as a Council of War ſhould adviſe, he, on the 18th of *May*, ſailed for the Coaſt of *France*; and the Day after, (whilſt *France* and *England* were at a Gaze in dubious Expectation of this important Event) about three in the Morning, Cape *Barfleur* bearing S. W. by S. diſtant about ſeven Leagues, the Scouts Weſtward of the Fleet (which were the *Cheſter* and *Charles* Gally) fired ſeveral Guns. Theſe Ships coming, ſoon after, within Sight, made the Signal of diſcovering the Enemy, and lay with their Heads Northward. The Fleet was, hereupon, drawn into a Line of Battle, and Notice given for the Rear to tack, that ſo, if the *French* ſtood Northward, we might the ſooner come up and engage; but the Sun having diſperſed the Fog, ſoon after four, they were ſeen ſtanding Southward, forming their Line with the ſame Tack which our Ships had on-board.

De Larrey ſays, when the Fog diſſipated, Monſieur *de Tourville* was ſurprized to find it was the whole *Engliſh* and *Dutch* united Fleet he was going to engage, whereas before he imagined it had been but Part of it: But, however, conſidering a haſty Retreat would bring his Fleet into ſuch a Confuſion, as might prove more hazardous than a Battle itſelf, he continued his Orders for the Engagement. He himſelf commanded the White Squadron, conſiſting of 16 Ships in the Centre; the Marquis *d'Amfreville* commanded the Blue and White Squadron, of 14 Veſſels in the Van; and the Rear, or Blue Squadron likewiſe, of fourteen Ships, was under the Command of Monſieur *Gabaret*; all the Fleet, conſiſting of Ships of the firſt and ſecond Magnitude, according to their Way of reckoning in *France*.

Admiral *Ruſſel*, ſeeing their Diſpoſition, cauſed the Signal for the Rear-tack to be taken in, and bore away with his own Ship ſo far to the Leeward, as that every one in the Fleet might fetch his Wake or Grain, and then bringing to, he lay by, with his Fore-top-ſail to the Maſt, that ſo others might have the better Opportunity of placing themſelves, according as they had been before directed.

The confederate Fleet was in good Order by eight, having the *Dutch* Squadron in the Van, the Red in the Centre, and the Blue in the Rear. About ten the *French* Fleet bore down upon them with great Reſolution, with little Wind, and the Admiral (who ſtill lay by with his Fore-top-ſail to the Maſt) obſerving that Monſieur *de Tourville* had put out his Signal for Battle, commanded that his ſhould not be ſpread until the *French* (who had the Weather-gage) were advanced as far as they ſhould think fit.

At the ſame Time Admiral *Allemonde*, who commanded the *Dutch* Squadron, was ſent to tack, and get Weſtward of the *French*, as ſoon as any of his Ships could weather them, and thoſe in the Blue (then at ſome Diſtance a-ſtern) were ordered to cloſe the Line; but the Fleets had not been long engaged, before it became quite calm, ſo that theſe Directions could not poſſibly be executed. About half an Hour after Eleven Count *Tourville*, in the *Soliel Royale*, brought to, and began to fight with Admiral *Ruſſel*, being within three Quarters Muſket-ſhot. He plied his Guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great Diſorder, and very much diſabled, his Rigging, Sails, and Top-ſail-yard, being much ſhattered: And, as a ſure Argument that they muſt have had a great many Men killed, it was obſerved, that no Pains were taken to repair them: Some Accounts ſay, the Sailors, that remained of the terrible Slaughter which was made, were ſo diſheartned, that they left their Guns and ſought Shelter in the Hold. In this Fight the Activity of the *Engliſh* Gunners was particularly taken notice of, and it was reckoned, that during the whole Combat, they gave at leaſt three Broadſides to two.

Towards two a Clock the Wind ſhifted to the N. W. by W. and ſoon after five freſh Ships of the Enemy's Blue Squadron, commanded by the Sieurs *Magnon*, *d'Infreville*, *de Villette*, *de Beaujeu*, and *de Chateau-Morant*, poſted themſelves three a-head and two a-ſtern of their Admiral, to protect him, and fired very ſmartly till paſt three; ſo that Mr. *Ruſſel*, and his two Seconds (Mr. *Churchil* and Mr. *Aylmer*) had ſix of the Enemy's largeſt Ships to deal with[*]. About half an Hour after Three the *French* began to bear away, and at Four there was a thick Fog, ſo that not a Ship of the Enemy's could be ſeen, upon which all Firing ceaſed; but, it clearing up, in a little Time, the *French* Admiral was diſcovered towing away Northward (the great Firing on both Sides having occaſioned a Calm) and our Admiral, that he might the better come up with him, ordered all the Ships of his Diviſion to do the like. A ſmall Breeze of Wind Eaſterly, happening, about half an Hour after Five, the Signal was made for chaſing, and Notice ſent to every Ship, within Reach, that the Enemy were ſtanding away.

While this paſſed between the Admirals, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was got to the Windward of Count *Tourville*'s Squadron, and engaged them; but the Fog growing darker than before, they were forced to Anchor; and about this Time it was that Captain (ſome Liſts call him Colonel) *Haſtings* in the *Sandwich* was killed, driving through thoſe Ships of the Enemy, by Reaſon his Anchors were not clear.

The Admiral now judged it moſt adviſeable to order the Ships, which were neareſt him, to chaſe Weſtward all

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[*] Beſides theſe ſix, it is probable, they had to do with another, at the ſame Time; for Father Daniel (in his Hiſt. de la Milice Franc.) ſays, that Monſieur de Coetlogon, Rear-admiral of Monſieur Gabaret's Squadron, ſeeing he could be of no Service in the Rear, which was not then in a Situation to engage, quitted his Station, and paſſing through a Number of the Enemy's (the Engliſh) Ships, joined the Count de Tourville, his General and Friend, whom he knew to be in extream Danger, as well from the continual Connonading of the Engliſh, as their Fire-ſhips, and fought with his accuſtomed Valour.

Night, and acquainted them, he intended to follow the *French* to *Breſt*, which he thought more proper than to anchor; and ſo indeed it proved; for next Morning he found himſelf nearer the Enemy than thoſe Ships which had dropped their Anchors.

About Eight at Night there was Firing heard Weſtward, which laſted about half an Hour, part of our Blue Squadron having fallen in with ſome of the Enemy's Ships in the Fog; and, in that Diſpute, Rear-admiral *Carter* was killed, whoſe laſt Words to his Captain (*William Wright*) ſufficiently ſhewed, there had been no Grounds to ſuſpect his Zeal for the Service; for he gave him a ſtrict Charge to fight the Ship as long as ſhe would ſwim.

Admiral *Ruſſel* gave an Account of the Action hitherto, in the following Letter, which confirms moſt of the Particulars above-mentioned:

Cape *Barfleur*, S. W. Diſtance ſeven Leagues,
May 20, 1692.

“Yeſterday, about Three in the Morning, Cape *Barfleur* bearing S. W. and by S. Diſtance ſeven Leagues, my Scouts made the Signal for ſeeing the Enemy. The Wind being Weſterly, the *French* bore down to me, and at Eleven engaged me, but at ſome Diſtance. We continued fighting till half an Hour paſt Five in the Evening, at which Time the Enemy towed away with all their Boats, and we after them. It was calm all Day. About Six there was an Engagement to the Weſtward of me, which I ſuppoſed to be the Blue. It continued calm all Night. I can give no particular Account of Things; but that the *French* were beaten, and I am now ſteering away for *Conquet* Road, having a freſh Gale Eaſterly, but extreamly foggy: I ſuppoſe that is the Place they deſign for. If it pleaſe God to ſend us a little clear Weather, I doubt not but we ſhall deſtroy their whole Fleet. I ſaw, in the Night, three or four Ships blow up; but I know not what they were. So ſoon as I am able to give a more particular Relation, I will not be wanting.”

The Fog continued, with little or no Wind, all Night, and it was ſo hazy in the Morning, that none of the Enemy's Ships, and but very few of ours, were to be ſeen. The Weather clearing up about Eight, the *Dutch*, who were to the Southward, made the Signal of ſeeing the *French* Fleet, and ſoon after, about 34 (*Kennet* ſays 38) Sail were diſcovered, between two and three Leagues off, the Wind being then at E. N. E. and they bearing W. S. W. Our Ships chaſed them with all the Sail they could make; but not in the Line of Battle, as was done after the *Beachy* Fight; for the Signal for a Line was taken in, that ſo every Ship might make the beſt of their Way. Between Eleven and Twelve the Wind veered to the S. W. when the *French* crowded away Weſtward, and our Ships after them; but towards Four in the Afternoon, the Tide of Ebb being done, both Fleets anchored, Cape *Barfleur* then bearing S. by W. But they weighed about Ten at Night, and both plying Weſtward, our Admiral's Foretop-maſt came by the Board about Twelve, it having been ſhot in ſeveral Places.

The Admiral continued chaſing till Four the next Morning, and then the Tide of Ebb being done, anchored in 46 Fathom, Cape *La Hogue* bearing S. by W. and the Iſland of *Alderney* S. S. W. But, as he wanted a Topmaſt, the *Dutch* Squadron, and the Admiral of the Blue, with ſeveral of his Ships, got conſiderably to Windward of him: And about Seven in the Morning, part of the *French* Ships, which had advanced far towards the *Race of Alderney*, were perceived driving Eaſtward, with the Tide of Flood, without Ground-tackle to ride by; for they had in the Engagement, and the Morning after, cut away all their heavy Anchors. When they were driven ſo far, that our Admiral judged he could reach them, he made the Signal for the Ships neareſt him to cut and chaſe, which they accordingly did, and followed him; but Sir *John Aſhby*, with his Diviſion of the Blue Squadron, and ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, who were Weathermoſt, rid faſt (as Mr. *Ruſſel* had made the Sign for them to do) to obſerve the Motion of the reſt of the *French* Ships, which continued at an Anchor in the *Race*.

Three of their great Ships being under the Shore, tacked about Eleven o'Clock, and ſtood Weſtward; but, after making two or three ſhort Boards, the biggeſt of them, the *Soliel Royale*, or *Royal Sun*, ran on Ground, and preſently her Maſts were cut away. In the mean while, the other two, to Leeward (which were the *Admirable* and the *Conquerant*, the *French* Admiral's Seconds) plied up to her, becauſe they could not get to Windward of the Weathermoſt-ſhips, nor ſtretch out a-head Eaſtward. The Admiral taking notice, that many Ships of our Fleet hovered about them, ſent Orders to Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-admiral of the Red, who was in the Rear, to keep Ships enough with him to deſtroy them, and to order the reſt to follow the Body of the Fleet, which was punctually performed. Of which glorious Action Sir *Ralph Delaval* gives the following Account in a Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*.

On Board the Royal Sovereign, *near* Cherbourg,
May 22.

“I believe it my Duty to acquaint you, that on the 21ſt Inſtant, Admiral *Ruſſel* having made the Signal for the Fleet to cut their Cables, I obſerved the *French* to be forced from the *Race of Alderney* (where they anchored) to the Eaſtward; and finding that ſome of them endeavoured for the Bay of *Cherbourg*, I ſtood in for that Place, where I found three three-decked Ships of the Enemy's, but ſo cloſe to the Shore, and within ſome Rocks, that it was not ſafe for me to attempt them, till I had informed myſelf of the Road, they being hawled into Shoal-water. I immediately took my Boats, and ſounded within Gun-ſhot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And that no Time might be loſt, I went immediately on-board the *St. Albans*, where, for the Encouragement of the Seamen, I hoiſted my Flag; and having ordered the *Ruby*, with two Fire-ſhips, to attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the great Ships without, as drawing too much Water. But coming very near, they galled us ſo extreamly, and finding the Fire-ſhips could not get in, I judged it beſt to retreat without Shot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the Captains; where it was reſolved to attempt them, in the Morning, with all the Third and Fourth-rates, and Fireſhips. But, after having drawn them into four Fathom and a half Water, I found we could not do our Buſineſs, the Water being ſhoal; upon which I ordered three Fire-ſhips to prepare themſelves to attempt the burning them, going myſelf with all the Barges and Tenders to take them up, if by the Enemy's Shot they ſhould miſcarry. Indeed, I may ſay, and I hope without Vanity, the Service was warm; yet, God be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that notwithſtanding all their Shot, both from their Ships and Forts, two of our Fire-ſhips had good Succeſs by burning two of them; the other, by an unfortunate Shot, was ſet on fire, being juſt going on-board the Enemy: Indeed, ſo brave was the Attempt, that I think they can hardly be ſufficiently rewarded; and I doubt not but their Majeſties will do them right. The third *French* Ship being run a-ſhore, and obſerving the People on-board to go on-ſhore by Boats-full, I ordered the *St. Albans*, the *Reſerve*, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cauſe them to quit her; and after having battered her for ſome time, I obſerved ſhe made no Reſiſtance. I took all the Boats armed, and went on-board her. I found Abundance of Men on-board, and ſeveral wounded, but no Officers: And having cauſed all the People, as well thoſe that were wounded as others, to be taken out, I ſet her on fire, and had I not had Notice by my Scouts, that 30 Ships were ſtanding with us, had ſent all the *French* on-ſhore, who are now very troubleſome to me. The Ships we ſaw proved to be Sir *John Aſhby*, and the *Dutch*, coming from the Weſtward. We are proceeding together to the Eaſtward to *La Hogue*, where I am informed three or four of the Enemy's Ships are; and, if ſo, I hope God will give us good Succeſs. I expect to find the Admiral To-morrow, where I hope to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the Enemy's Ships, having left him in chaſe of them laſt Night, ſtanding to

“ the Eaſtward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My Lord, I hope you will excuſe me, if I preſume to pray, you will uſe your Intereſt with the Queen, that a Reward may be given to the three Captains of the Fire-ſhips, and ſeveral of the others; for greater Zeal and greater Bravery, I never ſaw. I pray your Excuſe for being thus tedious and particular. Pray God preſerve their Majeſties, and that their Arms may be ever crowned with Succeſs, by Sea and Land, ſhall be the Prayers and Endeavours of, *&c.*

P. S. “ Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville*'s Ship, the *Royal Sun*, which was the moſt difficult. Captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*. The *Admirable* was burnt by our Boats. Captain *Fowlis* attempted the *Royal Sun*, but was ſet on fire by the Enemy's Shot, yet deſerves as well as the others.”

About Four in the Afternoon, 18 of the *French* Ships, which were got Eaſtward of Cape *Barfleur*, haled in for *La Hogue*, where our Ships anchored about ten at Night, and lay till towards Four in the Morning, when the Admiral weighed, and ſtood in near to the Land. The Flood coming on, he anchored again; but, at Two in the Afternoon, got under Sail, and plied cloſe in with *La Hogue*, where he found 13 of the Enemy's Ships very near the Shore [a].

On the 23d of *May*, he ſent in Vice-admiral *Rooke*, of the Blue, with a Squadron of ſeveral Men of War, Frigates, Fire-ſhips, and the Boats of the Fleet armed to deſtroy thoſe Ships; but they had got them ſo far in, that not any but the ſmall Frigates could advance near enough for Service: However, the Boats burnt ſix of them that Night, and the other ſeven about Eight the next Morning, together with ſeveral Tranſport-ſhips, and ſome ſmall Veſſels with Ammunition. In this Action, not only all the Officers, (among whom was the then Lord *Carmarthen*) but the Men, behaved themſelves with ſo great Reſolution and Gallantry, that they took Poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships, and drove the *French*, with their own Guns, from their Platforms and Batteries, on-ſhore: And all this in the Sight of the *French* and *Iriſh* Camp that lay ready to invade *England* [b].

To omit nothing that may give my Readers a juſt Idea of this glorious Action, I ſhall ſubjoin a Tranſlation of the *Dutch* Admiral's Letter to the States General.

From on-board the Prince, *near* Cape Barfleur, *June* 3, (*May* 24) 1692.

“ *High and mighty Lords,*

“ Since my two laſt, of the 31ſt paſt, and 1ſt Inſtant, N. S. which gave your High-mightineſſes Advice of what had paſſed in the Defeat of the *French* Fleet, I came to Anchor under this Cape, where I have been ſince Yeſterday in the Afternoon, with your Highneſs's Squadron, and that of Sir *John Aſhby*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* Blue Squadron, and ſome other *Britiſh* Ships. At my Arrival here, I was informed by the Captain of a *French* Fire-ſhip, who was taken Priſoner, that about twelve of the Veſſels which had engaged your Highneſſes Squadron, and to which we had given Chace, were got in among the Rocks, upon which I prepared to go and deſtroy or burn them: But as I was ready to put my Deſign in Execution, I found that Admiral *Ruſſel* was giving Orders to the ſame Purpoſe, I immediately offered him your High-mightineſſes light Frigates and Fire-ſhips, to aſſiſt his Ships, and immediately gave the neceſſary Orders, in caſe he ſhould make uſe of them; but, as yet, I know not whether thoſe Frigates and Fire-ſhips were employed or not. All that I can aſſure your High-mightineſſes is, that the ſame Day they took a Reſolution to deſtroy theſe Ships, they burnt ſix of the largeſt, being Ships of three Decks; and this Day, the reſt which remained, the leaſt of which carried 60 Pieces of Cannon, incurred the ſame Fate, being burnt with all their Ammunition and Proviſion, together with ſix other ſmaller Veſſels, which they had lightened of their Guns, to try whether it were poſſible to ſave them, by towing them any higher; ſo that this Expedition has compleated the irreparable Ruin of the Enemy's Fleet. I underſtand, this Day, from on-board of Admiral *Ruſſel*, that Orders are given out to burn the Tranſport-Veſſels, which are in the Bay of *La Hogue*, to the Number of 300, if it may be done with Safety; but, I fear, it will be very difficult, becauſe the Water is very ſhallow where thoſe Veſſels lye, and great Reſiſtance may be made from the Land-ſide; I therefore leave the Succeſs of the Deſign to Providence. On the other hand, it has been reſolved, in a grand Council of War, to reduce our Fleet to 50 or 60 great Ships, ſail away to the *Iſle of Uſhant*, and endeavour to take all the Enemy's Ships that ſhall come of, or deſign to go into *Breſt*, and to ſend the reſt of the Men of War, with ſome Fire-ſhips, to ſcour the Coaſts of *France*, as far as *Dunkirk*, to ſeek out and deſtroy, if poſſible, the ſcattered Remnants of the *French* Fleet, that have ſteered their Courſe to the Eaſt.

I am,
Moſt high and mighty Lords,
Yours, &c.
P. ALLEMONDE.

Various have been the Accounts of the Strength and Loſs on both Sides; but after the ſtricteſt Examination of Authorities, the following Liſts, communicated by a Gentleman in the Navy, and a judicious Collector of Maritime Affairs, we hope will ſet them in a clear and impartial Light.

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[a] Monſieur de Forbin (contrary to the Opinion of Father Daniel) blames the Conduct of his Admiral in this latter Part of the Action. “ The General (ſays he) neglecting to improve the Advantage he had of eſcaping, reſolved, for what Reaſon I could never imagine, to come to Anchor, at the Entrance of the Race, inſtead of ſheering off quite, as he ſhould have done, not being in any Condition to continue the Fight. At laſt an unexpected Accident compleated our Ruin. The Ship the Admiral was in, with ſeveral others, ſlipped their Anchors, and were thereupon drove by the Tide upon the Enemy. Monſieur de Tourville, who ſaw he was himſelf loſt, being unwilling to expoſe the whole Fleet, which was about to follow him, and which would infallibly have been either taken or ſunk, took down his General's Flag. Upon this, Monſieur de Pannetier, Commander of a Squadron, put up a Flag, as a Signal to rally, and thereby ſaved the Remainder of the Fleet. Thoſe which followed the General's Fate, ran themſelves aſhore at La Hogue, where 14 of our fineſt Men of War were unfortunately burnt. I ſaved mine, though bored through and through, and following the Remainder of the Fleet, which were in no better Condition than myſelf, we made for the Road of St. Malo.”

[b] Of theſe Ships ſix were of three Decks, and the other ſix, from 60 to 70 Guns; and one Ship of 56 Guns was overſet and utterly loſt. Many of the French Seamen periſhed with their Ships, and a great Number were taken Priſoners. Kennet.

The Names of the FRENCH *Ships and Flag-officers, which were in the Engagement,* May 19th, 1692, *and composed the following Ships, which composed their Fleet.*

Their Van Guard.

Ships.	Guns.	Burnt, &c.
Formidable	94	Burnt at La Hogue, 28 May, Count de Rolingo's Ship.
Foudroyan	84	
St. Philip	84	Burnt at La Hogue, 23 May.
Magnifique	76	Burnt at La Hogue, 23 May, Count de Colago's Ship.
Orgueilleux	90	
Conquerant	84	Burnt at Cherburgh, 22 May, 1692.
Fier	76	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May.
Belliqueux	76	
Terrible	76	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May.
Horiſſant	84	
Tonant	76	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May.
Triumphant	76	Burnt at Cherburgh, 22 May, 1692.
Couronne	76	
Pompeux	74	
Galliard	68	Burnt at La Hogue, 23 May.
Content	64	
Glorieux	64	Burnt at La Hogue, 23 May.
Serieux	68	
Ecueil	64	
Brillant	68	
Furieux	60	
Fort	60	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May.
St. Michael	60	
Agreeable	60	
Diamant	60	
Entreprenant	58	
And Eight Fire-ſhips		

Thoſe that compoſed the Center or Main Battle.

Ships.	Guns.	Burnt, &c.
Soleil Royal	104	Monſ. Tourville's Ship burnt at Cherburgh, 22 May, 1692.
Dauphin Royal	100	
Monarch	90	
Grand	86	
Soverain	84	
Victorieux	92	
Fulminant	96	
Ambitieux	96	Burnt at La Hogue, 23 May, Marq. Villett's Ship.
Intrepid	84	
St. Eſpirit	74	
Illuſtrious	70	
Amiable	68	
Henry	64	
Courtiſan	64	
Bourbon	64	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May, 1692.
Siren	60	
Courageux	58	
Aſſure	60	
Apollo	60	
St. Louis	60	Burnt at La Hogue, 24 May, 1692.
Excellent	60	
Arrogant	60	
Prince	60	
Fleuron	58	
Temeraire	54	
And Eight Fire-ſhips		

The Names of the FRENCH *Ships, and Flag-Officers that commanded them, at the Battle of* La Hogue, *the* 19*th of* May, 1692.

Their Rear Guard.

Ships.	Guns.	Burnt, &c.
The Marveilleux	94	Burnt at La Hogue, 23d and 24th of May, 1692, D'Amphreville Admiral of the White and Blue Ships.
Admirable	90	Burnt at Cherburgh, 22d of May, 1692.
Vainqueur	84	
Brave	60	
Sans Pareil	60	
Juſt	64	
Entendue	60	
Maure	52	
Perle	56	
Heureux Retour	52	
Fidelle	48	
Another of	54	
Leſſer Veſſels — N° 7		
Flutes — 26		
Long Barques — 14		

ADMIRALS.

Monſieur Tourville	Admiral	of the White.
Marqueſs D'Villett	Vice-admiral	
Marqueſs De Langeroon	Rear-Admiral	
Marqueſs De Amphreville	Admiral	of the White and Blue.
Marqueſs Lemmon	Vice-admiral	
Count De Relingo	Rear-admiral	
Monſieur Gabarel	Admiral	of the Blue.
Monſieur De Paleture	Vice-admiral	
Count De Colago	Rear-admiral	

Guns of the Van Guard	1880
Guns in the Center	1826
Guns in the Rear Guard	774
Total Guns	4480

Line *of* Battle *of the* Confederate Fleet *under the Command of Admiral* Russel, *afterwards Earl of* Orford, *when he fought the* French Fleet *under the Command of Monſieur* Tourville, *off Cape* La Hogue *and Cape* Barfleur, *the 19th, 20th, 21ſt, 22d, and 23d of May, 1692.*

LINE *of* BATTLE.

The English *to lead with the* Larboard, *and the* Dutch *with the* Starboard *Tacks on-board.*

Fireſhips and Tenders.	Rate	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns	Diviſions.
	2	Albemarle	Sir Francis Wheeler	660	90	George Rooke, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue.
	3	Reſolution	Good	420	70	
	—	Monk	Hoſkins	340	60	
	—	Expedition	Dover	460	70	
Half-Moon Fireſhip.	4	Chatham	Leader	230	50	
Owners Love Fireſhip.	2	Windſor Caſtle	Lord Danby	660	90	
Cadiz Merchant.	2	Neptune	Gardner	680	90	
Lightning Fireſhip.	3	Royal Oak	Byng	470	70	
	4	Advice	Hawkins	230	50	
	3	Northumberland	Cotton	460	70	
	3	Lyon	Wiſeman	340	60	
	—	Berwick	Martin	460	70	
	3	Defiance	Gourney	400	70	Sir John Aſhby, Admiral of the Blue.
	—	Montague	Foulks	355	60	
	—	Warſpright	Grantham	420	70	
	4	Adventure	Dilks	200	46	
	2	Vanguard	Maſon	660	90	
Mermaid Frigate, 30 Guns.	1	Victory	Stanley	810	100	
Speedwell Fireſhip.	2	Dutcheſs	Clemmons	660	90	
Griffin Fireſhip.	3	Monmouth	Robinſon	420	70	
Ætna Fireſhip.	3	Edgar	Forpley	445	70	
Blaze Fireſhip.	3	Sterling-Caſtle	Waters	460	70	
Sheerneſs Frigate, 30 Guns.	—	Dreadnought	Cole	365	60	
	4	Crown	Warren	230	50	
	3	Suffolk	Billop	460	70	
	4	Woolwich	Myngo	230	50	
	2	Offory	Tyrrell	660	90	
	2	Duke	Wright	675	90	Richard Carter, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.
Thom. and Elizabeth Fireſhip.	3	Cornwall	Boys	550	80	
Veſuvius Fireſhip.	—	Eſſex	Bridges	460	70	
Hunter Fireſhip.	4	Deptford	Kerr	230	50	
	3	Hope	Robinſon	460	70	
	3	Plymouth	Mayn	340	60	
	4	Ruby	Meaſe	230	50	
	3	Cambridge	Leſtock	420	70	
	4	Oxford	Wiſheart	230	50	
	2	Sandwich	Haſtings	660	90	
Phaeton Fireſhip.	1	Royal William	Jennings	795	100	
Fox Fireſhip.	3	Breda	Lambert	560	80	
Strombolo Fireſhip.	3	Kent	Nevill	460	70	
Hopewell Fireſhip.	4	St. Albans	Fitzpatrick	230	50	
	3	Swiftſure	Clark	420	70	
James Gally Frig. 30 Guns.	3	Hampton-Court	Graydon	460	70	
Concord Hoſpital.	3	Grafton	Bokenham	460	70	Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Admiral.
William and Mary Yatch.	3	Reſtauration	Gother	460	70	
Flame Fireſhip.	4	Greenwich	Edwards	230	50	
Roebuck Fireſhip.	1	London	Aylmer	730	100	
Vulture Fireſhip.	1	Britannia	Mitchell, Fletcher	780	100	
Spy Fireſhip.	1	St. Andrew	Churchill	730	100	
Society Hoſpital-ſhip.	4	Cheſter	Gillam	230	50	
Greyhound Frigate, 18 Guns.	3	Eagle	Leake	460	70	

Fireſhips and Tenders.	Rate	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſions.
	3	Rupert	Beaumont	400	60	Ed. Ruſſel, Eſq; Admiral.
	3	Elizabeth	Fairborne	460	70	
	3	Burford	Harlow	460	70	
Milford Frigate, 30 Guns.	4	Centurion	Wivell	230	50	
Extravagant Fireſhip.	3	Captain	Jones	460	70	
Wolfe Fireſhip.	3	Devonſhire	Hawton	550	80	Sir Ra. Delaval, Vice-admiral of the Red.
Vulcan Fireſhip.	1	Royal Sovereign	Sanders	815	100	
Hound Fireſhip.	2	Royal Katharine	Cornwall	550	80	
Spencer Hoſpitalſhip.	4	Bonadventure	Hubbard	230	50	
Baltimore Hoſpitalſhip.	3	York	Dean	340	60	
Salamander Yatch.	3	Lenox	Munden	460	70	
Salvadoes Frigate, 18 Guns.	2	St. Michael	Hopſon	660	90	
	2	Noorthollandt	De Taugh	350	68	Vice-admiral Van Putte.
	1	Zeelandt	Shoutby N. Everts	500	90	
	3	Zirchzee	La Palme	325	60	
	4	Tergoes	Carent Martens	225	54	
	3	Gelderlands	R. Vander Scolch	324	64	
Des Harden Brandt.	4	Zeyſt	Wilſchit	200	40	
Orangboon Brandt.	3	Veere	Maſſelman	324	62	
	4	Vlacrdinge	Buchim	210	50	
	1	Konning William	Vice-admiral Van Putte	525	92	
	2	Eerſt Edele	Ben Boer	400	74	
	4	Madenblick	Hulſchen	210	50	
	1	Brandenburg	Toll	500	92	
	2	Munnickendam	Van Slatend'h	375	72	Admiral Almonde.
	4	Galſterlandt	Vanderhogen	210	50	
	2	Galderland V. A.	Stiere	375	72	
	1	Weſt Frieſlandt	S. b. N. Muys	475	84	
	3	Zeelandt	Schriiver	325	64	
Ses Poſt Snew.	3	Haerlem	Macnaert	325	64	
Des Gebroders Brandt.	4	Ripperda	Lynſlager	210	50	
Croonwyn Brig.	2	Slat Muyden	Vander Duſſe	375	72	
Mercurius Brandt.	1	De Prins	Admiral Almonde	540	92	
	2	Etſwaut	Graef V. Naſſau	375	72	
	4	Schatterchaef	Waſſenaer	210	50	
	2	Twent	Bontamantell	375	72	
	3	Leyden	Decker	325	64	
	1	Princeſs	Vies Adm. Scheii	500	92	Vice-admiral Callenburgh.
	3	Amſterdam	Vander Saen	325	64	
	4	Staden Landt	Roſs	210	50	
	2	Prins Caſimier	Van Lit	370	70	
	2	Friſia	Hidde de Vries	370	70	
	1	Baſcharmer	Van Poel	478	84	
Mercurius Brig.	4	Hoorn	Van Veen	210	50	
D' Son Brandt.	3	Veelerive	Brakell	335	64	
De Faam Brig.	1	Caſteel Medenblick	Vies Adm. Callenburgh	500	86	
	4	Delft	Vander Goes	225	54	
	2	Ridderſchaft	Convent	375	72	
	3	Malgt V. Doort	Paradis	325	64	
	1	Capt. General	S. b. N. Van Goes	500	84	
	2	De 7 Provinces	De Liefde	400	76	

According to a Relation we find in *Kennet*, the *French* loſt five great Ships in the Fight, (which Father *Daniel*, however, contradicts) one of which was Monſieur *Gabaret*'s, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, of 90 odd Guns; ſo that we deſtroyed about 21 of their biggeſt Ships, beſides the two Frigates, and other ſmall Craft; and had it not been for the foggy Weather few of the reſt would have eſcaped. On our Side not one Ship was loſt, but the Fire-ſhips which were ſpent upon Action: And, beſides Rear-admiral *Carter* and Colonel *Haſtings*, not one Commiſſion-officer was killed.

It is very remarkable, that though the confederate Fleet was near double to that of the *French*, yet ſcarce half of it could engage, which was owing to the original Diſpoſition of the Fleet, (by which, as the Reader may remember, the Blue Squadron, of which Sir *George Rooke* was Vice-admiral, was directed to tack Northward, and to the Weather) not at all to any Deficiency in that Admiral, as Biſhop *Burnet* alledges[a]; yet the Defeat was one of the moſt ſignal that ever happened at Sea[b]. If, indeed, Sir *John Aſhby* could have reached thoſe that took Shelter in *St. Maloes*, it had, in a good Meaſure, put an End to the *French* Power at Sea. As it was, we muſt acknowledge it a moſt glorious Victory, and that we ought to pay a juſt Tribute of Praiſe to the Memory of the brave Men who atchieved it.

Queen *Mary* was no ſooner informed of this Victory, than ſhe ſent a Gratuity of 30,000 Pounds down to *Portſmouth*, to be diſtributed among the Seamen and Soldiers, ordered Medals to be ſtruck for Tokens of Honour to the Officers; and cauſed the Bodies of Rear-admiral *Carter*, and Colonel *Haſtings*, who were ſlain in the Engagement, to be honourably interred[c].

When Admiral *Ruſſel* was ſatisfied, that the grand Fleet could not do any further Service againſt the *French*, the Seaſon of the Year, and their Circumſtances conſidered, he reſolved to return to *St. Helens*, as well to refit the Veſſels that were damaged in the late Fight, as to obtain a Supply of Proviſions and Ammunition. This Deſign he executed very happily, ſince he had ſcarce left the *French* Coaſt, before the Weather came ſo tempeſtuous, that his heavy Ships muſt have ſuffered exceedingly; and ſuch as had loſt their Maſts, would probably have periſhed. Yet this Meaſure, ſo prudent in itſelf, and ſo happy in its Event, has been cenſured, as if the Admiral had ſhewn too great Eagerneſs to be at home, and too little Care to proſecute his Victory[d]. However, before he took this Step, he left Sir *John Aſhby* with 12 *Engliſh* Ships, and 3 Fire-ſhips, in Conjunction with a *Dutch* Squadron of like Force, commanded by Vice-admiral *Callemberg* with Orders to ſail to *Havre de Grace*, and to endeavour the Deſtruction of ſo many of the *French* Fleet as had taken ſhelter there; which Service, indeed, they did not perform, the Enemy's Situation, and the ſtormy Weather, rendering it altogether impracticable[e]. So that to blame the Admiral for not expoſing the Fleet, when it was impoſſible for him to have done any thing, is to ſhew a Diſpoſition of finding Fault at the Expence of the Nation's Safety; nor would ſucceeding Commanders dare to uſe their Judgments freely, when they find their Predeceſſors ſuffer in Reputation, for doing what Prudence, and Regard to the Safety of the Fleet, directed. The true Reaſon, or rather the principal Reaſon, which influenced Admiral *Ruſſel* on this Occaſion, was his Deſire to make the moſt of his Victory, by immediately taking on-board the Troops intended for a Deſcent, and carrying them over with all poſſible Expedition, to the Coaſt of *France*[f].

As it was not believed the *French* would expoſe themſelves to a ſecond Defeat, ſeventy *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, of the Line of Battle, were thought ſufficient for any Service the remaining Part of this Year might require.

The 12th of *June* the Admiral got Advice, that the *French* Vice-admiral of the Blue, with 25 Ships of War and Fire-ſhips, were got into *St. Malo*, and having pretty well repaired the Damages ſuſtained in the laſt Fight, lay in wait of an Opportunity to get to *Breſt*. Upon which the Admiral ſailed the 14th with thoſe Ships which were ready, and ordered Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* to follow him with the reſt. The 21ſt he received Advice, that all the Tranſport-ſhips were ordered to *Portſmouth*, where it was deſigned the Troops ſhould embark for a Deſcent. The 25th a Council of War was held at *Torbay* of all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flags, by the Queen's Directions, in order to tranſmit to her their Opinion what could be moſt feaſibly undertaken[g].

Soon after, the Fleet was expoſed to a violent Storm near *Uſhant*, and ſome Ships ſuffered greatly in their Maſts and Rigging; however, the Storm being over, they arrived ſafely in the Road of *Guernſey* on the 3d of *July*. Being obliged to come to an Anchor here, it was reſolved, at a Council, upon Information, that there was not good Ground off of *St. Malo* for more than forty Ships to ride ſafely, that only Part of the Fleet ſhould go thither, to inform themſelves more certainly, whether the whole, or what Number of Ships might ride there; and this Commiſſion was given to Vice-admiral *Rooke*, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Callemberg*.

It was now the 8th of *July*, and the Tranſports not arrived at *Portſmouth* from the River; which Delay gave the *French* an Opportunity of putting themſelves in a better Poſture of Defence. The Fleet, in the mean Time, was forced, by bad Weather, back again to *Torbay*, where the Admiral waited, with Impatience, the Return of *Rooke*. The 13th he returned, and gave a particular Account of the ſeveral Soundings near *St. Malo*, together with his Opinion, and the following Obſervations.

1. The Ground is flat and even from *Guernſey* to Cape *Frebelle*, ſhoaling a Fathom or two, every two or three Miles, all the Way over to the Cape: And it is alſo generally very rough, and in ſome Places rocky, eſpecially near *Seſembre*.

2. The Tides run very quick in the Offing, on the Coaſt of *St. Malo*; but to the Eaſtward of Cape *Frebelle*, within three or four Miles of the Shoar, not above two and a half, or three knots, at Spring-tides.

3. There are ſome ſandy Bays between Cape *Frebelle* and *St. Malo*; but not very commodious for putting Men on-ſhoar, becauſe the Land riſes in moſt Places quick from the Strand; beſides, the River of *Dinant* (or the *Rance*) muſt be paſſed, before they can come to St. *Malo*.

4. There are about 35 or 36 Sail of Ships rigged, of which 12 lay in the *Rance*, and of them 4 or 5 great Ships, the reſt lying up at *Salidore*.

5. Not one of the Pilots would undertake to carry in any Ship of War, or Fire-ſhip, to make any Attempt on the *French* Ships at *St. Malo*, though I offered 100 *l.* Encouragement to each Man.

July 13, 1692. G. ROOKE.

A Council of War having been called to conſider of this Report, it was agreed to ſet ſail from *Torbay*, which was done accordingly on the 15th, Care having been taken, the Day before, to place Ships, in proper Stations, on the Coaſt of *France*[h]: But the Wind proving Weſterly the 18th and 19th, with a continual Fog, the Admiral fearing it might drive him to the Eaſtward of *Torbay*, thought fit to put in there, and take in Proviſions. Having, in this Time, received no Intelligence, only by a *St. Malo* Privateer, which was brought into the Fleet, that the *French* deſigned to let eight of their Men of War winter at *St. Malo*; and that tho' frequent Orders had been ſent to diſ arm the Fleet at *Breſt*, they had been as often countermanded. Here the Admiral received Orders from the Queen relating to a Deſcent; a Project concerted before he put to Sea, as the beſt Means both to force the *French* to come to an Engagement with their Fleet, and to divert them from the Invaſion of *Britain*. But the *French* being now driven out of the Seas, and in no Condition to cover the Tranſports deſigned for the Coaſt of *Suſſex*; when Admiral *Ruſſel* returned with all Expedition to forward that Scheme, inſtead of finding the Troops ready to embark, and himſelf furniſhed with Orders and Inſtructions for the Execution of the Enterprize, he was informed, by Letters from the Secretary of State, that no certain Reſolution was as yet taken in what Service to employ them; but that this was left to be ſettled by a General Council of Land and Sea-Officers, when the Fleet and the Tranſports ſhould be joined [a]. The plain Source of all this Confuſion was, that the Miniſters of State were unwilling to take upon themſelves the Direction of an Affair which they were apprehenſive would miſcarry, but were willing to put it upon the Land and Sea-Officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

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[a] See his Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 93.

[b] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 146. Kennet, Oldmixon, Columna roſtrata, &c.

[c] Kennet's Hiſt. of King William.

[d] Burnet's Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 94.

[e] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 467, 468.

[f] Kennet, Columna roſtrata.

[g] In this Council of War it was thought moſt adviſeable, that a conſiderable Part of the Fleet ſhould be appointed to lye about 15 or 20 Leagues North from the Iſle of Bas, for intercepting the French Ships, ſhould they attempt to puſh from St. Malo towards Breſt, and that the Remainder ſhould forthwith proceed to Spithead, and join the Tranſports: But it was farther reſolved, that if the Winds happened to hang Weſterly, the whole Fleet ſhould repair to Spithead, or if Eaſterly, continue in Torbay, in Expectation of the ſaid Tranſport-ſhips.

[h] They were placed in the following Manner, Captain Nevil in the Kent, was ſent with 30 Engliſh and Dutch 10 Leagues North, for the Weſt End of the Iſle of Bas. The Adventure and Suadadoes were ordered to lie between Brehac and the Seven Iſlands; the James-gally and Greyhound, between the Seven Iſlands and le Bas; two Dutch Frigates between that and the Fourne; and all theſe ſmall Frigates, as well as thoſe with Captain Nevil, were ordered to lye cloſe in with the Shore. This the Admiral judged would more effectually impede the Paſſage of any Thing Eaſtward or Weſtward from St. Malo; and the remaining Part of the Fleet either lay in proper Station, or cruized to and fro, as Wind and Weather would permit.

At laſt, very late in the Month of *July*, the Tranſports, with the Forces on board, joined the Fleet; and on the 28th of the ſame Month, a Council of War was held on board the *Breda*, where the Schemes, or rather Hints, of the Miniſtry, were ſeriouſly conſidered, and, upon the whole, reſolved to be impracticable.

At a Council of War, held on board the *Breda*, the 28th of *July*, preſent, Flag-Officers, the right honourable *Edward Ruſſel*, Admiral; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice Admiral of the Red; *George Rooke*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Rear-Admiral of the Red; *David Mitchell*, Eſq; firſt Captain to the Admiral.

Dutch Admiral *Allemonde*; Vice-Admiral *Callemberg*; Rear-Admiral *Vandergoes*; Rear-Admiral *Evertzen*; Rear-Admiral *Muys*.

General and Field-Officers. His Grace the Duke of *Leinſter*, Lieutenant-General of all the Forces; Earl of *Galway*, Sir *Henry Bellaſiſe*, Monſieur *de la Meloniere*, Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Beveride*, Monſieur *de Cambon*, Colonel *Selwin*, Earl of *Argyll*.

The Reſolutions they came to, follow: " The Matter " of burning the Ships at *St. Maloes*, being maturely con- " ſidered, Vice-admiral *Rooke*, and Vice-admiral *Cal-* " *lemberg*, (who were lately ſent with a Squadron of Ships " before that Port) repreſenting the great Difficulty of " carrying the Ships in there, by reaſon of the Multitude " of Rocks, and the Rapidity of the Tides; and the Pi- " lots refuſing to conduct any Frigates, or Fireſhips into " the Harbour, becauſe the Marks might be removed; " it was the Opinion of the Flag-Officers, that it was not " practicable to attempt any Thing againſt the Enemy's " Ships at *St. Maloes*, with any Part of the Fleet, until " the Town itſelf could be ſo far reduced by the Land " Forces, as that Ships might not receive any great An- " noyance from the Enemy's Guns in the Attempt; and " the General and Field Officers of the Army were of " Opinion, that the Troops could not do any Service at " that Place, without the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet.

" It was then conſidered, whether it was feaſible to " make any Attempt on the Enemy's Ships at *Breſt*; and " although the Flag-Officers were of Opinion, that an At- " tempt might be made there, with ſome Hopes of Suc- " ceſs, if the Summer had not been ſo far ſpent; yet, " conſidering the Winter was approaching, they did not " think it proper to attack the Enemy's Ships in that " Port, ſince the Fleet might be expoſed to very great " Inconveniencies, ſhould they be wind-bound near that " Place; and it was the Opinion of the General and " Field-Officers of the Army, that they ſhould not be " able to do any Service there againſt the Enemy, unleſs " they could be protected by the Fleet. The Flag-Offi- " cers likewiſe thought it not ſafe for the Fleet to attempt " any Thing againſt the Enemy at *Rochfort*, the Seaſon " of the Year being ſo far ſpent, and the Place itſelf lying " ſo deep in the Bay.

" It was in the next Place conſidered, whether the Fleet " might lie with Safety on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, to " protect the Army in an Attempt either at *Havre de* " *Grace*, *la Hogue*, or any Place thereabouts: And the " Flag-officers judged, that it might lie with Safety on " that Coaſt, until towards the End of the next Month, " in caſe their Majeſties Service ſhould require it."

The Flags came alſo to the following ſeparate Reſolution:

" That ſince the Tranſport Ships with the Land Forces " were come to the Fleet, in order to try what might be " done againſt the Enemy, either at *St. Maloes*, *Breſt*, or " *Rochefort*, it was their Opinion, that ſomething might " have been attempted with Probability of Succeſs, were " not the Seaſon of the Year ſo far ſpent, as not to ad- " mit of the Fleets going with Safety thither."

In conſequence of theſe Reſolutions, Sir *John Aſhby* was ordered to Sea immediately, with one Firſt-rate, ſix Second-rates, 17 Third-rates, one Fourth-rate, and four Fire-ſhips, together with ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, over to the Coaſt of *France*, and place himſelf about 15 Leagues North from the Weſt End of the Iſle of *Bas*; and, by ſtationing ſome of the Ships nearer to the Shoar, endeavour to intercept the *French*, ſhould they attempt to paſs from *St. Malo* to *Breſt*; beſides which, he was cautioned to look out carefully for any of the Enemy's Ships, which might be coming from the Weſt of *France*. Thus was he to employ himſelf, 'till he received farther Orders, for which he was directed to ſend to *Dartmouth*, by all convenient Opportunities: And if he met the Squadron with Captain *Nevil*, he was from them to increaſe the *Engliſh* Ships to 30, ſending the Remainder to *St. Helens*, with a Weſterly Wind, or, if Eaſterly, to *Torbay*, that ſo they might join the Body of the Fleet.

Sir *John* remained on this Service as long as the Weather would permit, without ſeeing any of the Enemy's Ships. Being returned to *Spithead* on the 14th of *September*, the Collector of the Cuſtoms at *Cowes* ſent him the Maſter of a *French* Tartane, which had been taken, ſome Days before, off of *Portland*.

This Maſter ſaid, that he ſailed from *St. Malo* the ſeventh of this Month, in company of a Vice-admiral and 16 Ships of War, from 80 to 60 Guns, and ſix Fire-ſhips, which by reaſon of little Wind, anchored under Cape *Frebelle*, and remained there 'till the 10th, and then, at ſix in the Morning, ſailed, with the Wind at Eaſt by South, for *Breſt*.

When the Admiral parted with Sir *John Aſhby*, it was indeed agreed at the Council of War, that the reſt of the Fleet ſhould proceed to the Coaſt of *France* off of *La Hogue*, and thereabouts; yet, in his paſſage from *Torbay*, he received Orders from the Queen, whereupon he came with the Tranſports to *St. Helens*. Yet there is ſomething very improbable in this, if we conſider, that as ſoon as an Expreſs, diſpatched by the Duke of *Leinſter*, arrived at *Whitehall* with this News, the Queen ſent down to the Fleet the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, then Lord-preſident of the Council, the Earl of *Devonſhire* Lord-ſteward, the Earl of *Dorſet* Lord-chamberlain, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lords *Sidney* and *Cornwallis*, to know the Reaſon of their Return, and to take proper Meaſures for their putting to Sea again immediately [b]. Theſe Lords, on their arrival, found all the Troops, except two Regiments, on-board, and the Fleet Wind-bound. Every body then expected, that the Troops would re-embark, and at laſt they did ſo; but inſtead of proceeding to *France*, they ſailed, under the Eſcort of a Squadron of Men of War, part to *Oſtend*, and part to *Newport*. There were 240 Tranſport-ſhips, 6 or 7000 men, a prodigious Quantity of Ammunition of all Sorts, and whatever ſeemed requiſite for executing a great Deſign, though ſo little came of it [c].

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[a] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 471. Memoirs of Admiral Ruſſel.

[b] Kennet, Burnet, preſent State of Europe, Life of King William, Oldmixon.

[c] The political Memoirs for the Month of September 1692, ſay, there were 16,000; but all our Hiſtorians mention the Numbers here inſerted.

One cannot wonder, that on ſo flagrant a Miſcarriage as this, the Mouths of all the World were opened. The *Engliſh*, who are not very famous for their Patience on ſuch Occaſions, made no Difficulty of ſaying, that the Nation was plundered and abuſed, and that, after immenſe Sums were drawn out of the People's Pockets, by the moſt grievous and burthenſome Taxes, they were idly ſquandered away in chimerical Projects. The *Dutch* ſcrupled not to exclaim againſt the Treachery of the King's Counſellors, and to affirm, that every thing that was tranſacted at *London*, was ſo ſpeedily betrayed to the *French* Court, that it was in vain to hope any Succeſs from Deſigns concerted there. The *French*, according to their uſual Manner, exulted ſtrangely on their Deliverance, and attributed to the Wiſdom and Power of *Lewis* XIV. what was the pure Effect of croſs Accidents and Party-reſentments [a]. I muſt not, however, forget, that ſome refined Politicians pretended, that this Scheme had its Effect; that King *William* intended no more than alarming the *French* Court, and obliging them to keep great Bodies of Men conſtantly on their Coaſts, and to be at a vaſt Expence to watch the Motion of this ſmall Body of Troops, which gave his Majeſty the greater Liberty of acting in *Flanders*. Yet this appears ſtrangely improbable, if we conſider the Return of the Fleet to *St. Helens*, ſince, if this had been the Deſign, it would certainly have proceeded directly to *Oſtend*. Others would perſuade us, that the Intention of the Court was to have landed the Forces at Port *St. Sebaſtians*; but when the Orders were opened at Sea, all the Admirals were of Opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The Reſolutions of the Council of War ſhew, that this Conjecture was groundleſs. The Bottom of the Buſineſs was a Deſign upon *Breſt*; which might have been executed, if the Tranſports had been ready, as the Admiral adviſed, in *May*.

After the ſending theſe Troops into *Flanders*, the great Ships were ordered about to *Chatham*, and the Fleet divided into Squadrons, as was judged moſt convenient for the Service: and thus ended the Public Tranſactions of this year [b].

Notwithſtanding our Superiority at Sea, it was very remarkable, that the Trade and Navigation of theſe Kingdoms ſuffered more from the *French* Privateers, than they had in the foregoing Year, when the Enemy rode Paramount upon the Ocean, which occaſioned great Clamours from the Merchants againſt the Board of Admiralty, who endeavoured to exculpate themſelves, by alledging, that the Loſs the *French* ſuſtained ſo early in the Year, was the Occaſion of their Seamen being diſmiſſed the King's Service, and ſuffered to go on-board Privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater Force than ever; while, on the other hand, our keeping ſo great a Fleet ſo long at Sea, rendered it impoſſible for the Admiralty to furniſh the Merchants with proper Convoys, at the ſame time that ſo large a Number of Men as were employed on-board the Navy, forced our Commanders of Merchant-ſhips, to proceed in their reſpective Voyages worſe manned than uſual [c].

However, thoſe private Bickerings between the Subjects of both Nations, produced ſome very extraordinary Examples of Courage; amongſt which the following are worthy our Recollection.

On the 24th of *February*, a *French* Privateer took a ſmall Ship called, the *Friends Adventure*, belonging to the Port of *Exeter*; and on the 29th, Captain *Fitzgerald*, who commanded the Privateer, took out of her, the Maſter and five of his Men, leaving none on-board but the Mate, *Robert Lyde* of *Topſham*, a Man of 23 Years of Age, and *John Wright*, a Boy of 16, with ſeven *Frenchmen*, who had Orders to navigate the Ship to *St. Maloes*. But when they were off Cape *La Hogue*, a ſtrong South-eaſt Wind drove them from the *French* Coaſt; upon which the Man and Boy, on the 6th of *March*, took their Opportunity, when two of the *Frenchmen* were at the Pump, one at the Helm, one on the Forecaſtle, and three ſleeping in their Cabbins, to attack them. The Mate, with an Iron Crow, killed one of the Men at the Pump, and knocked down the other at one Blow: The Boy, at the ſame Inſtant, knocked down the Man on the Forecaſtle, and then they ſecured and bound the Man at the Helm. One of the *Frenchmen*, running up from between Decks, to the Aſſiſtance of his Companions, was wounded by the Mate; but the two others, coming to his Relief, ſeized, and had like to have ſecured him, if the Boy had not come up briſkly to his Aſſiſtance, and after a ſharp Struggle, killed one, and gave the other Quarter. Having thus made themſelves Maſters of the Ship, they put the two, who were diſabled by their Wounds, into Bed, ordered a third to look after them, and ſecured them between Decks; one they kept bound in the Steerage, and made uſe of the remaining Man to navigate the Veſſel, which, on the 9th of *March*, they brought ſafely into *Topſham*, with five Priſoners on-board [d].

About the ſame time, one *Richard Griffith*, (afterwards Captain *Griffith*, commonly known by the Name of *Honour and Glory*) and his Boy, *John Codanon*, recovered their Sloop called, the *Tryal*, from five *Frenchmen*, put on-board them by a Captain of a Man of War, and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the Hold, brought the Veſſel, with their Priſoners, ſafe into *Falmouth* [e].

The Admiral, for his Part, could not forbear complaining of the Cauſes of thoſe Diſappointments with which the Nation was ſo much exaſperated; and ſcrupled not to blame both the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Board of Admiralty for Neglect, Remiſſneſs or Ignorance: By which he drew upon himſelf the Reſentment of the Miniſtry, and they depending upon a Majority in Parliament, reſolved to ſkreen themſelves, by endeavouring to impeach the Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity of Mr. *Ruſſel*, in the Houſe of Commons, which met on the fourth of *November*, and was opened by a Speech from the Throne, in which his Majeſty ſounded the miniſterial Alarm, by taking Notice of the great Diſappointments there had been lately at Sea. But, though this was recommending to the Houſe, an Enquiry into the Cauſes of thoſe Diſappointments, the Admiral's Character was ſo univerſally approved, that before the Commons entered into the Debate concerning the Opportunities of diſtreſſing the Enemy, that were loſt after the Victory gained off *La Hogue*, they thanked him in very ſtrong Terms for his Courage and Conduct in that Battle [f]. And when he was called before the Houſe to anſwer to the Complaints of the Miniſtry, he by his Letters, Papers, and Inſtructions, vindicated his Conduct, and ſhewed that the Earl of *Nottingham*, by delaying his Anſwer to the Admiral's Letter concerning the Deſcent, for 20 Days, was a principal Cauſe of the Miſcarriage of that Project, in ſo full and ſatisfactory a Manner, that notwithſtanding all the Arts of the Miniſter, and his engaging the King in his Favour, the Commons reſolved, that Admiral *Ruſſel*, in his Command of the Fleet during the laſt Summer's Expedition, had behaved himſelf with Fidelity, Courage, and Conduct [g].

In theſe Debates it appeared clearly to the Houſe, that one great Check on the public Service was the Want of timely and ſufficient Supplies; to remedy which in the ſucceeding Year, they on the ſecond of *December* reſolved, that the Sum of 1,926,516*l* be granted to their Majeſties for the Charge of the Navy, including the Charge of the Ordnance, and the finiſhing their Majeſties naval Yard at *Hamoſe* near *Plymouth*, and the building four Bomb-Veſſels, and eight new Ships of the fourth Rate [h]. They likewiſe took Notice of Admiral *Ruſſel*'s inveighing againſt the Want of Knowledge in Sea affairs, in ſuch as pretended to direct them: and therefore a Motion was made, that they ſhould come to a Reſolution of addreſſing his Majeſty, to conſtitute a Board of Admiralty, compoſed of ſuch Perſons as were of known Experience in maritime Affairs; but here the Weight of the Board, as it then ſtood, fully appeared, by its paſſing in the negative[a]. Yet to ſhew their Diſtaſte of the Earl of *Nottingham*'s interfering ſo much in maritime Affairs, they addreſſed the King, that for the future all Orders for the Management of the Fleet ſhould paſs through the Hands of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty[b]. But the Admiral's Victory here coſt him too high a Price; for the King conceiving that he had ſhewn a much greater Concern for his own Intereſt and Reputation, than for his Service, reſolved, notwithſtanding the great Things he had done, to lay him aſide for the preſent, and employ ſuch as might make his Affairs go eaſy.

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[a] See Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, and the firſt Volume of the State Tracts, in the Reign of King William.

[b] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 167, 168, and Naval Hiſtory, p. 476.

[c] See Chandler's Debates in the Year 1698, and Reflections on the preſent Complaints of ill Management at Sea, M. S.

[d] See the London Gazette, N°. 2749.

[e] See the London Gazette, N°. 2743.

[f] Kennet, Oldmixon, Burnet, Life of King William.

[g] See the Votes, Kennet, Burnet, &c.

[h] This ſhews a true Britiſh Spirit; they join Amendment with the Diſcovery of the Miſchief.

Sir *John Aſhby* was alſo called before the Houſe of Commons, and examined as to his not executing the Orders, that were given him, to deſtroy the *French* Ships, which got into *St. Maloes*. Sir *John* cleared himſelf ſo handſomely, and ſet the whole Matter in ſo fair a Light, that the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, took Notice of his ingenuous Behaviour at the Bar, which gave ſuch Satisfaction, that he was diſmiſſed from further Attendance[c].

The King's Diſguſt with Admiral *Ruſſel* did not prevent the ſpeedy and vigorous Preparations for equipping a powerful Fleet, to ſail early in the Spring; but the Earl of *Nottingham* had ſo much Influence with his Majeſty, in regard to the Command of this Fleet, that inſtead of appointing an Admiral and Commander in Chief, he granted a Commiſſion to *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, to execute that Office. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that the two firſt were thought to be ſo much in King *James*'s Intereſt, that it was believed the King was putting the Fleet into the Hands of ſuch as would betray him; for though no Exception lay againſt *Shovel*, yet he was but one to two[d]. Whether the Biſhop's Conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the Event very fully proved, that ſuch a joint Commiſſion is a very bad Expedient. Soon after his Majeſty made *George Rooke*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red, and *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of that Squadron. *John* Lord *Berkley*, Vice-admiral, and *David Mitchell*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue; and theſe Promotions were declared on the eighth of *February* following.

On the 16th the King came to *Portſmouth*, as well to view the Fortifications and the Dock-yard, as to ſee the Men of War at *Spithead*, and going on-board of Vice-admiral *Rooke*, conferred the Honour of Knighthood on him.

On the 18th of *March Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, and Sir *Ralph Delaval*, joint Admirals of the Fleet, received Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty, to proceed to Sea, and (without expecting particular Inſtructions, by which Opportunities of Service might be loſt) to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to annoy the Enemy, and protect the Trade[e]. There was at this Time a great Want of Seamen, and for the more ſpeedy raiſing them, general Orders were iſſued, (but ſoon after contradicted) for taking Half the Seamen from all Privateers. However, that the Fleet might be put into as early a Condition for Service as poſſible, five Regiments of Foot were ordered to embark at *Portſmouth*; and that the Proviſions might laſt the longer, as there was not a ſufficient Quantity ready, the Ships Companies were put to the Allowance of ſix to four, of every Species, except Beer.

When the Fleet arrived at *St. Helens*, the ſeventh of *May*, the Admiral formed a Line of Battle: This Line, according to its ſeveral Diviſions was as follows:

Engliſh.	*Rates.*						
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fireſh.
In the Diviſion of the Vice-ad. of the Blue	0	3	5	1	0	0	3
Admiral of the Blue —	2	1	5	1	0	1	3
Rear-ad. of the Blue —	0	2	6	1	0	0	2
Rear-ad. of the Red —	1	2	5	1	0	0	2
Admiral of the Red —	3	1	5	1	2	2	3

Dutch.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fireſh.
Vice-admiral ——— —	1	2	4	2	0	0	2
Admiral ——— ———	2	1	6	1	0	2	3
Another Vice-admiral -	3	0	4	3	0	1	1
	12	12	40	11	2	6	19

In all 102 Sail, beſides Brigantines, Bomb-veſſels, and Hoſpitals-ſhips; and of theſe 75 were of the Line of Battle.

The Day after the Fleet came to *Spithead*, the Flag-officers took into Conſideration, purſuant to her Majeſty's Command, what Number of Ships might be proper for them, to carry off of *Breſt*, as alſo what might be attempted when there. It was agreed, that if the Fleet, for that Service, could conſiſt of 70, they would proceed to the ſaid Port, and endeavour to attempt the *French* Ships; and their Reaſon for inſiſting on that Number was the Uncertainty whether the Ships from *Toulon* had joined the *Breſt* Squadron, or not.

Another Council of War was called, the 15th of *May*, to conſider how the Streights Fleet, with the Trade bound to *Turkey*, might moſt ſafely proceed, under the Conduct of Sir *George Rooke*.

If this Deſign had been executed as ſoon as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the Nation, and happy for the Merchants; but the Admirals were ſo timorous and diffident of their own Power, that it was the Beginning of *June* before they ſailed; and even then they had no Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, but took their Meaſures at Random. A Circumſtance not raſhly to be aſſerted, and yet too important to be concealed, when ſupported by undeniable Evidences[f].

All this while they had not met with any of the Enemy's Fleet; but the Lords of the Admiralty received Advice on the 13th, by Sir *Lambert Blackwell*, (Conſul at *Legborn*) which he had from the Maſter of a *Malteſe* Bark, that the *Toulon* Squadron, with 35 Gallies, were ready to proceed from *Marſeilles*; and ſome time before this the Country was alarmed with a Number of Ships ſeen off of *Scilly*, which were thought to be the *French* Fleet; but they proved to be only *Danes* and *Swedes*, under Convoy of a Man of War, of about 44 Guns.

Several Ships having been ſent to gain Intelligence, on the *French* Coaſt, one of them, the *Warſpight*, returned to the Admirals, the 17th of *June*, with an Account, that ſhe had ſtood in as near with *St. Matthew*'s Point, as to bring *Breſt* Bay open, and that neither Ship nor other Veſſel, could be diſcovered there, except two or three ſmall Fiſhing-boats; whereupon it was determined to ſail off of *Scilly*, in queſt of the Enemy, (having not yet been informed, that the Ships which gave the Alarm were only *Danes* or *Swedes*, and from thence to repair to *Torbay*, with the 69 Ships of the Line of Battle, which were then in Company, 45 whereof were *Engliſh* and 24 *Dutch*. There they arrived, the 21ſt of *June*, in great Want of ſeveral Species of Proviſions; but more eſpecially Beer, Butter, and Cheeſe, and a Council of War was called the 23d, upon Commands from her Majeſty, concerning Sir *George Rooke*[g], it being apprehended that he might be in Danger from the *French* Fleet, as indeed it happened.

About this Time Advice came from the Conſul of *Oporto*, dated the ninth of *June*, that on the firſt of that Month, an Expreſs arrived at *Liſbon*, from the *Algarve*, with an Account that Monſieur *Tourville*, with the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 75 Ships of War, and ſeveral other Ships and Veſſels, in all to the Number of 114, were come into the Bay of *Lagos*, between Cape *St. Vincent* and *Faro*. It was ſaid, that at firſt they ſhewed *Engliſh* Colours, and ſome of them *Dutch*, and that by *Engliſhmen* ſent on Shore they pretended to be of thoſe Nations; but that the next Day the Governor ſending on-board of the Admiral, he inſinuated as if he had been forced in there by bad Weather, and that he intended to ſail the following Morning; though doubtleſs his real Deſign was to intercept our Ships of War, and their Convoys.

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[a] It was rightly foreſeen, that a Lord High-admiral might be much more eaſily called to Account than Lords Commiſſioners; becauſe, whenever the latter is done, the Commiſſioners (if they have Seats in Parliament) muſt act againſt themſelves. In this Caſe, the grand Argument againſt the Addreſs was, that it reflected on his Majeſty's Judgment; and ſo Regard to Compliment got the better of Concern for the Public.

[b] This Addreſs had a right Intention; for as Things were managed before, the Admiral was frequently more puzzled to underſtand his Orders, than to execute them: And whenever Diſputes aroſe about them, the Admiral was ſure to ſuffer; for the Secretary intrenched himſelf behind his Directions, ſo that there was no coming at him but through the Council.

[c] See the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, Chandler's Debates, &c.

[d] See his Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 104.

[e] The Number of Ships (beſides Dutch) appointed for the Body of the Fleet, were ſix firſt Rates, 10 ſecond Rates, 28 third Rates, ſix fourth Rates, four fifth Rates, beſides Fireſhips, a Bomb-veſſel, and four Hoſpitals.

[f] Burchett, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, State Tracts in the Reign of King William, and in ſhort, all the Memoirs of that Time.

[g] It was, by this Council, determined, to proceed to Liſbon, in order to join him; but it was found, upon ſtrict Enquiry, they had not Proviſions to enable them ſo to do. Nevertheleſs, ſince it was judged that the Mediterranean Squadron did greatly require the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet, it was reſolved to proceed in Search of the Enemy, if the Proviſions could in 14 Days be compleated to 10 Weeks, at whole Allowance.

Beſides this Intelligence an Expreſs was ſent by the Biſhop of *Algarve*, with Advice that the Count *d'Eſtrees* was joined with Monſieur *de Tourville*, and that the whole Body of the *French* Fleet ſeemed to ſtand off to Sea, in order firſt to double Cape *St. Vincent*, and then to proceed Northward: Beſides which there was Advice at *Cadiz*, that they had been diſcovered in *Lagos* Bay, the ſixth of *June*, in all about 120 Sail, of which 70 were great Ships, together with 16 Fireſhips, and ſix Bomb-veſſels, and that 20 of them were cruizing Weſtward.

Theſe Advices reaching the *Engliſh* Court, the Lords of the Admiralty ſent Orders to the Admiral, on the 23d of *June*, to diſtribute the expected Proviſions equally, as ſoon as it arrived, and to cauſe each Captain to take on-board what Water he could, in as much as it was probable the Service might require the Fleet's continuing at Sea a conſiderable Time; and Directions were given to the Commiſſioners for victualling, to provide as faſt as poſſible they could, and haſten to the Fleet, what Proviſions were then ſhipped off; for, at that Time, what they had on-board would not ſuffice longer than is hereafter mentioned, according to the Computation made thereof by the Agent to the ſaid Commiſſioners.

Bread	'till	*Auguſt* 16.
Beer		*July* 21.
Beef		*September* 13.
Pork		*Auguſt* 16.
Peaſe		*September* 13.
Oatmeal		*Auguſt* 16.
Butter		*September* 13.
Cheeſe		*September* 13.

On the 23d of *June* a Council of War was held at *Torbay*, in which it was reſolved to bear away for *Liſbon* directly, in caſe they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all Danger, Orders were immediately diſpatched to Sir *George Rooke*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. If this Reſolution had been purſued, and the Fleet had actually ſailed for *Liſbon*, ſomething might have been done worthy of the *Engliſh* Nation. But upon the firſt of *July* another Council of War was held, in which, though the Queen's Orders were produced for their executing what themſelves had before propoſed, yet the Flags came to a new Reſolution, which was to ſubmit it to her Majeſty, whether, if the *French* Squadrons were joined, and ſhould ſail North about, the Coaſts of *England* might not be expoſed to ſome Inſult during their Abſence[a]. This was doing what they had always charged the Council with doing, *viz.* altering their Scheme when it ought to be put in Execution. They knew well enough, that a Hint of the Coaſt being in Danger, would be ſufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might eaſily have been diſcerned to be what its Conſequences ſhewed it, a weak and ruinous Meaſure, which expoſed Sir *George Rooke*, and the rich Fleet under his Care, to be attacked by the whole Force of *France*, while we had a ſuperior Fleet riding, to no Purpoſe in the World, in our Channel. But it is now Time to leave it, and ſpeak of the Conduct and Fortune of that Vice-admiral on this critical Occaſion, whom they had left with the Streights Fleet off *Uſhant*, on the ſixth of *June* 1693, without having at that Time any certain Intelligence either of the Force of the *French* Squadrons, or where they were ſailed; which put that Admiral under very great Difficulties, and therefore we cannot wonder that he expreſſed ſome Concern at the great Riſque the numerous Fleet of Merchant-men, under his Convoy, was like to run[b].

It is true his Squadron was very ſtrong, conſiſting of no leſs than 23 Men of War, and he had under him two Flag-officers of great Courage and Experience, *viz.* the *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and Rear-admiral *Hopſon*. But then the Merchant-men under his Care were near 400, and theſe not only *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, but *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Hamburghers*, *Flemings*, &c. ſo that our Reputation as a maritime Power, was in a manner ſtaked for their Safety[c]. When he left the Fleet he had a very fair and ſtrong Gale of Wind, which carried him at ſuch a Rate, as prevented any Advice-boats, ſent with freſh Inſtructions, from coming up with him; and he was ſo unlucky too, as not to meet with any Ships at Sea that could give him Notice of Marſhal *Tourville*'s Fleet being in that Part of the World. In this Situation of Things he purſued, as was his Duty, his Inſtructions, and having left by the Way the Veſſels bound for *Bilboa*, *Liſbon*, *St. Ubes*, and other Places, he continued his Courſe for the *Streights*[d].

Being the 17th (*Kennet* ſays the 15th) of that Month, about 60 Leagues ſhort of Cape *St. Vincent*, he ordered the *Lark*, a nimble Sixth-rate, to ſtretch a-head of his Scouts in *Lagos* Bay, and get what Intelligence could be had there of the Enemy; which Ship, hawling the Shore on-board, in the Night, more than the Reſt of the Fleet did, lay becalmed.

The next Day the Scouts diſcovered two of the Enemy's Ships, and giving them Chaſe 'till a little after Noon, the *Chatham* of 50 Guns came up with one of them, mounted with 70 Guns, and engaged her a ſhort Time; but ſeeing eight or 10 Sail under the Cape, ſhe left her and repaired to the Admiral, with an Account of what had been diſcovered; upon which he called a Council of War. And purſuant to a Reſolution taken in this Council of War, the Fleet making Sail, ran along Shore all Night with a preſſed Sail, and forced ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships to cut from their Anchors in *Lagos* Bay.

By Break of Day, the next Morning, being off of *Villa Nova*, it fell a Calm when about 10 Sail of the Enemy's Men of War, with ſome other ſmall Ships, were ſeen in the Offing. Theſe Ships ſtood away, with their Boats a-head, ſetting Fire to ſeveral, and abandoning others, of the ſmaller Veſſels, ſome of which fell into our Hands, and in one of them there was a Train laid which blew up 20 Men. A Fire-ſhip of theirs was likewiſe taken in the Night. The Men belonging to this Fire-ſhip informed the Admiral, (as had alſo ſeveral Fiſher-men before) that the Squadron conſiſted of no more than 15 Ships of the Line of Battle; but that there were three Flags, Monſieur *Tourville*, Monſieur *Villet*, and Monſieur *Lernon*; and that they had with them above 40 Sail of Store-ſhips and Merchant-ſhips, bound to *Toulon*, or to meet Monſieur *d'Eſtrees*. They ſaid, likewiſe, that the Squadron had been becalmed off the Cape, and having watered in the Bay, were now bound directly into the *Streights*, without any Intention of ſeeing our Fleet. This, with the haſty Retreat of their Men of War, in the Morning, and the deſerting and burning their ſmall Veſſels, amuſed the Admiral, and the reſt of the Flag-officers and Captains, for the preſent; but afterwards it was judged, (and with Reaſon too) that the precipitate Retreat of this little Part of the Fleet (unleſs they were at firſt ſurprized, and judged our whole Strength might be together, from the Number of Merchant-ſhips) was on Purpoſe to amuſe us, and thereby draw our Squadron on inſenſibly into the Body of them. It is, however, not improbable, that they apprehended, by their Numbers, the whole *Engliſh* Fleet was coming upon them; and, indeed, (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) had they come ſo far with them, here was an Occaſion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an Age, of deſtroying their whole Strength at Sea.

About Noon the Sea-breeze ſprung up at Weſt-North-Weſt, and North-Weſt, when the Admiral bore away along Shore upon the Enemy, diſcovering their Strength the more, the nearer he came to them. At laſt he reckoned about 80 Sail, commanded by Monſieur *de Tourville*;

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[a] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 185. [b] Ibid. [c] Kennet, Burchett, Burnet, and the State of Europe for July 1693. [d] The new Orders ſent him, were to this Purpoſe; that in caſe he was obliged to go into the River of Liſbon, and received certain Intelligence, during his Stay there, that the Toulon Squadron had joined the Reſt of the French Fleet, and were together gone Northward, from the Coaſt of Portugal, he ſhould leave a proper Number of Ships, both Engliſh and Dutch, to proceed up the Streights with the Turky Fleet, and himſelf return with the reſt, and join the Body of our Fleet in theſe Seas, and, not meeting them in his Paſſage, to make the Port of Plymouth, and there expect further Order. But theſe Inſtructions could be of no Uſe to him, ſince they were not ſent till the 23d, and he fell in with the French three Days afterwards. Secretary Burchett, indeed, ſays, they were ſent the third of June; but his own Account ſhews that to be impoſſible, ſince he owns, that Sir George did not quit the grand Fleet, till the ſixth.

ville; but the Number that plied up to him was not above 16, with three Flags, *viz.* The Admiral, Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Rear-admiral of the White; for the Vice-admiral of the White ſtood off to Sea, that he might weather our Squadron, and fall in with the Merchant-ſhips, whilſt the Body of their Fleet lay to Leeward of one another, as far as they could be ſeen.

At three in the Afternoon, our Squadron being within four Miles of the Enemy, Vice admiral *Vandergoes* brought to, and ſent to Sir *George Rooke*, to let him know, that he was then ſenſible of the Deceit, their whole Fleet being now viſible; for which Reaſon, he was for avoiding fighting, if poſſible, being fearful that not only many of the Merchant-ſhips would be loſt, but an Engagement be too hazardous.

The Admiral thought he was advanced too far to think of retreating, and therefore 'till he received this Meſſage, was fully reſolved to puſh for it; but conſidering afterwards the Blame would lie upon him, ſhould he expoſe himſelf to the Hazard of ſo unequal a Fight, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of the *Dutch* Flag-officer, and miſcarry, he brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy Sail, that the *Dutch*, and the heavy Ships might work up to the Windward. He ſent, at the ſame Time, the *Sheerneſs*, with Orders to the ſmall Ships that were near the Land, and probably could not keep up with the Fleet, to endeavour to get along Shore in the Night, and ſave themſelves in *Faro*, *St. Lucar*, or *Cadiz*.

The Admiral and Vice-admiral of the Blue, with about 10 Sail of the Enemy's Fleet, fetched up the *Engliſh* Squadron very faſt, ſo that about ſix in the Evening they came up with two *Dutch* Men of War, and ſome Merchant-ſhips of that Nation. The Men of War were commanded by the Captains *Schryver* and *Vander-Poel*, who finding themſelves under the Wind, and therefore in no Probability of eſcaping, tacked in for the Shore, and thereby drew the Enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the Fleet. The *Dutch* Captains made a moſt deſperate Defence, but were at laſt over-powered by Numbers, and taken [a]. The Admiral ſtood off all Night, having a freſh Gale at N. N. W. and the next Morning found 54 Ships about him, among which were only two *Dutch*, and one *Hamburgher*. Five Sail of the Enemy's Ships appeared to the Leeward, and two to the Windward, which laſt dogged him all Day.

In a Letter written by Captain *Littleton*, Commander of the *Smyrna*-Factor Man of War, from *Cadiz*, we have the following Particulars; ſome of which are not in any other Accounts. "The 26th of *June*, (I ſuppoſe he writes New Stile) "at Nine in the Morning, we arrived in the Height of Cape *St. Vincent*, and about Two in the Afternoon, the head-moſt Sailors diſcovered the *French*, and about Four in the Afternoon both Sides engaged, for ſome Time. After which the head-moſt retired, and gave Notice the ſame Evening to the Officer in Chief: The 27th, in the Morning, we arrived near *Lagos*, and our Ships took a Fireſhip of the Enemy's, which reported, That there were at *Lagos* 18 *French* Men of War, with ſome Fire-ſhips and Merchant-men. About Four in the Morning two Ships blew up, or elſe the Enemy ſet them on fire themſelves, within Cannon-ſhot of the Convoy. The Commander alſo gave the Signal of drawing into a Line of Battle; for 'till then we deſcried no more than 29 Sail of the Enemy's. There was no Wind ſtirring 'till 10 o'Clock, at which Time a freſh Gale aroſe, and then we diſcovered a greater Number of Ships. The Convoy alſo ſteering Southward, perceived, on the one Side, 40 Sail, under three Flags, beſides another Squadron, which endeavoured to get between us and the Coaſts: Which the Admiral obſerving gave notice to the Merchant-men, to make all the Sail they could for the Port of *Cadiz*, while the Men of War kept the Enemy in Play. This Deſign was obſerved by the *French*, who made all the Sail they could to intercept us: But the Convoy, having the Wind, kept the Enemy in Play 'till the Evening, and gave Time to the nimbleſt Sailors to get hither. Towards Five in the Afternoon the 18 *French* Men of War above-mentioned engaged the Convoy, and the Fight laſted ſome Part of the Beginning of the Night, the reſt of the Fleet not being able to come up with them. The 28th, in the Morning, the Fight began with greater Fury, ſo that about ſeven o'Clock our Veſſels ſaw four Ships on Fire, not knowing whether *French* or *Engliſh*, and the Guns were heard 'till Nine, though the Event be not yet known. It is to be feared we may have loſt ſome Men of War, and ſeveral Merchants." This Engagement happened about ſix Miles from Cape *St. Mary*.

The Account the *French* give of this Action. "The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*," ſays Father *Daniel*, "ſuſtaining every Day great Loſſes from the *French* Privateers, and more particularly by thoſe of *St. Malo*, had reſolved to ſecure their *Smyrna* Fleet, from any ſuch Inſults, by putting it under a Convoy of 22 Men of War. Advice of this Precaution being carried to the *French* King, his Majeſty ordered Marſhal *de Tourville*, with 60 Ships, which had been got together in the Ports of the Ocean, to ſail towards the Coaſts of *Portugal*, and there way-lay the *Smyrna* Fleet. Their Scouts diſcovered it a few Days afterwards: But as they had Information that the *Engliſh* were at Sea, with a Fleet of 90 Men of War, which had been ſeen on the Coaſt of *France*; the Marſhal, who was not yet joined with the *Toulon* Squadron, conſiſting of 30 Ships, under the Count *d'Eſtrees*, thought fit to detach 20 of his beſt Sailors, to take a View of the *Engliſh* Fleet, and to begin the Attack, if they did not find them much more numerous than themſelves, whilſt he would back them with the Body of his Fleet. They executed the Orders given them, and took, at the Beginning of their Attack, two Men of War, after which they burnt, ſunk, or run a-ground upon the Coaſt, 60 Merchant-ſhips, 27 were taken, and the Remainder, which could not make their Way for *England*, took Refuge at *St. Lucar*, *Cadiz*, and *Gibraltar*. The Marquis of *Coetlogon*, Commander of a Squadron, burnt four Ships, very richly laden at *Gibraltar*, and carried of 13, though they were defended by the Batteries of the Place and an Eſtacade. If a greater Number of Men of War had taken the ſame Courſe by Night, as the Sieurs *de Belliſle-Errard*, *de Chaland*, and *d'Henri*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* would have ſuſtained a far greater Loſs, tho', as it was, it was very conſiderable, and amounted to, according to the Relation of the Captains of Ships who were taken, above 20 (*de Larrey* ſays 25) Millions of Livres;" (that is, ſomething above a Million Sterling). Monſieur *de Forbin*, who was in the Action, gives us the following Account of it in his Memoirs. "The King's (*ſc.* the *French* King's) "Fleet, which conſiſted of 75 Men of War, commanded by the Marſhal *de Tourville*, ſet ſail for the Streight of *Gibraltar*, where the Count *d'Eſtrees*, who was coming with 20 other Ships from *Provence*, was to join them. They came to Anchor in the Road of *Lagos*, on the Coaſt of *Portugal*. I (ſays our Author) was ſent out for Intelligence, with Orders ſtrictly to examine whatever came to my View; and particularly, if I ſaw a great Number of Ships, I was to make it my Buſineſs to diſcover whether they were Merchant-men, or the Enemy's Ships of Force? I was accompanied with three other Captains, who were ſent on the ſame Errand. We ſet ſail together, and in a few Days, we diſcovered a Fleet of the Enemy's Merchant-men. We found they conſiſted of upwards of a 150 Sail; and being well aſſured of our Fact, we returned with all poſſible Haſte to the Fleet, to give the Admiral an Account of it, with Aſſurance, that it was

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[a] It is very ſtrange, then even our beſt Hiſtorians ſhould be ſo inaccurate as to their Dates. According to Burchett, this Engagement happened on the 18th of June; according to Biſhop Kennet, it muſt have been the 16th. One would have thought the former moſt like to be in the Right, on account of the Opportunities given him by his Office; and the rather in this Particular, becauſe I am ſatisfied he copied Sir George Rooke's Narrative: And yet he is abſolutely wrong, as appears, not only from other Accounts, but from his own: The Marquis de Quincy places this Action on the 27th, N. S. that is the 17th, and it muſt have happened upon that Day, even according to Burchett's Account; for he tells us, that the Day after the Engagement was Sunday; now it appears, that the 18th of June, 1693, fell on a Sunday; conſequently the Action muſt have happened on the 17th, and ſo indeed, Sir George Rooke's original Account, and all the Papers of thoſe Times, have it.

a Fleet of Merchant-men, and not Men of War. Upon this Advice the Admiral made ready for ſailing, and ſtretched out, for what Reaſon I am at a Loſs to ſay, before the Wind, to 10 Leagues Diſtance. The next Day our whole Fleet diſcovered the Enemy. The General gave Orders for the Chace: But the Enemy took the Advantage of the Wind, which our Working the Night before had made us loſe, and fled; inſomuch that we did them very little Damage. We took, nevertheleſs, two of their Men of War of 60 Guns, and about 30 of their Merchant-ſhips, which ran a-ground on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, were burnt. I, for my Part, burnt three of them, and took a fourth. It was happy for them that they came off ſo well; for had it not been for the falſe Step I juſt now hinted at, their whole Fleet would have been loſt.” Monſieur *de Forbin* was not, it ſeems, let into the Secret, nor did he obſerve the real Neglect, which our Fleet took the Advantage of, and thereby eſcaped.

Thus the Enemy drew our Squadron and the Trade into the Snare; but had they purſued their Advantage, and executed their Deſign, with as much Conduct and Reſolution as it was projected, hardly a Ship would have eſcaped; for their Admiral and Vice-admiral of the Blue, were within Shot of Sir *George Rooke*, when they tacked and ſtood into the Shore after the *Dutch*, and thereby ſaved the reſt of the Fleet.

Next Day the Admiral called the Officers of the Men of War and Merchant-ſhips on-board him, to inform himſelf from them what Account they could give of the reſt of the Fleet, and to adviſe what was beſt to be done for their Security[a].

An Account in what Manner the Squadron and Merchant-ſhips were ſeparated: With the Fleet when the *French* ſtood in towards the Shore.

Engliſh Ships of War.

The *Royal-Oak*, *Breda*, *Monmouth*, *Lion*, *Woolwich*, *Chatham*, *Tiger-Prize*, *Lumly-Caſtle*, *Princeſs-Ann*, *Royal-Merchant*, *Lark*, *Salamander* and *Diſpatch*, a Brigantine, the *Speedwell* and *Vulture* Fire-ſhips, the *Moſcovy*-merchant a Store-ſhip, and the *Suſannah* a Bomb-ſtore-ſhip. Bore up with the *Chandois*, *Aſia*, &c. the *Monk* Man of War. Tacked and ſtood in for the Shore, with the Merchant-ſhips, the *Sheerneſs* and *Smyrna-Factor* Men of War.

Dutch Ships of War in the Fleet.

Captain-General and *Guelderlandt*: Already gone Convoy to *Oporto* and *St. Ubes*, and ſo forward for *Cadiz*, the *Ooſterſtellingwerf* and *de Beſcermer*: Bore out with the *Chandois*, *Aſia*, &c. the *Nimeguen*: Tacked and ſtood in for the Shore, ſoon after the Enemy had reached and engaged them, the *Zeelandt*, *De Stadt Medezel*, and the *Schiedam*.

Merchant-ſhips in the Fleet.

Bound to *Smyrna*, the *George*, the *Concord*, and *Crown*. Bound to *Scanderoon*, the *Aleppo-Factor* and *Reward*. Bound to *Meſſina*, the *Phoenix*. Bound to *Gallipoli*, the *Merchant's-Goodwill*. Bound to *Alicant*, the *Lambeth*, the *Poplar-Frigat*, and the *Terra-Nova-Merchant*. Bound to *Cadiz*, the *Hunter*, *Andaluſia*, *Relief*, *Sarah*, and *George*. Bound to *St. Lucar*, the *Fidelity*.

Engliſh Merchant-ſhips miſſing.

Bound to *Smyrna*, the *Chandois*, *Aſia*, *Italian-Merchant*, and *Mary*. Bound to *Leghorn*, *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*, the *Joſeph*. Bound to *Scanderoon*, the *Loyalty*. Bound to *Venice*, the *Jacob*, the *Proſperous-Africa*, *Ruby*, and *Golden-Frigat*. Bound to *Tunis*, the *Great-Tuniſeen*. Bound to *Alicant*, the *Three-Brothers*, and the *Suſanna*. Bound to *Meſſina*, the *Oxenden*. Bound to *Barcelona*, the *Merchant's-Goodwill*. Bound to *Malaga*, the *Friendſhip*. Bound to *Cadiz*, the *Succeſs*, *Malaga-Factor*, *Frog-Dogger*, *Benjamin*, *Sarah*, and *John* and *Samuel*. Bound to *St. Lucar*, the *John* and *Thomas*. All the *Dutch Turky* Ships were miſſing. All the *Hamburgher* Convoys were miſſing, except one Man of War and one Merchant-man; the other Ship of War ſailed to *St. Ubes*.

Having given my Readers this Account, how the Ships were ſeparated, at this unhappy Encounter, I ſhall now give them a Liſt of what Ships got into ſeveral Ports of *Spain*, as printed in a *Spaniſh* Account of this Action.

Ships got into the Bay of *Cadiz*.

Engliſh; the *Smyrna-Factor* Man of War, Captain *Littleton* Commander. Merchant-ſhips; the *Suſan*, *Proſperous-African*, *Merchant*, *John*, and *Ann*, *Succeſs*, *Ruby*, *Golden Frigat*, *Three-Brothers*, *Tuniſian*, *Oxenden*, *John*, and *Samuel*, *Sarah*, *Owner's-Good-Speed*, another *Sarah*, *St. John*, *Tetuan-Merchant*, and *Friendſhip*. *Dutch*; the *Arms of Nimeguen*, and *City of Schiedam* Men of War; the *St. Paul*, a Tranſport-ſhip; the *Cadiz-Merchant*, *Ann*, *Elizabeth*, *King David*, *Arms of Sevil*, *Phoenix*, *Admiral Tromp*, *Union*, another *King David*, *Fortune*, *Ann*, and *Mary*, *Waking-Lion*, and *Elizabeth*. *Danes*; the *St. Domingo*, *King Solomon*, and *Iſabella*. *Swede*; the *John Simeon*. *Hamburghers*; the *Sampſon*, and the *St. Ann*. *Oſtender*; the *Elector of Bavaria*. *Venetian*; the *St. Joſeph*.

Veſſels arrived at *St. Lucar*.

Engliſh; the *Malaga-Factor*, *John* and *Thomas*, and *Richard*. *Dutch*; the *Iſabel*, *Crowned-Fortune*, and *Sarah*.

Veſſels arrived at *Gibraltar*.

Engliſh; the *Aſia*, *Loyalty*, *India-Merchant*, and *Chandois*. *Hamburgher*; the *Hope*, got into *Aymont*.

Veſſels burnt before the Bay of *Cadiz*.

Engliſh; the *St. Joſeph*. *Dutch*; the *St. Paul*.

Dutch Veſſels taken or burnt.

The Men of War commanded by *Schryver* and *Vander Poel*. The *Holland*, and the Veſſels commanded by *John Rock*, *John Stirling*, and *John Stockvis*; the *Margaret* and the *Rhine*; all taken. The *General-Peace*, and the Ship of *Jurgen-Janz*, burnt; the City of *Amſterdam* taken or burnt.

Hamburghers taken or burnt.

The *St. John* taken or burnt; the *Red-Lion*, *Vinyard*, *Union*, *Margaret*, and one more taken. Several *Danes* were taken and releaſed, after they had taken out the Goods.

This Misfortune lay heavy upon the Hearts of the Merchants, and indeed upon the Minds of all the People of *England*. The *Turky* Company, in particular, complained, that the Departure of the Fleet was deſignedly put off, 'till the *French* Fleet was in a Readineſs to wait for them; that the Admirals had Advice of Part of their Fleet being at Sea, when they left the *Turky* Convoy; and that the whole Tranſaction, as it happened, was publickly talked of ſix Weeks before at *Marſeilles*: And therefore, at the Meeting of the Parliament, the firſt Thing they did, was to enquire into the Miſcarriages of the Fleet the laſt Summer, and to conſider how beſt to preſerve the Trade of the Nation. Some Time was ſpent in examining the Inſtructions and Orders given to the Fleet, (which were thought weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective, but worſe executed) the Number of Ships for the Line of Battle, and of the Convoys and Cruiſers, the Admirals who commanded both, and the Reſults of the ſeveral Councils of War held by them; great Exceptions were taken to the many Delays, by which it ſeemed a Train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our Ports, 'till the *French* were ready to lay wait for them. They were accuſed of not having uſed any Zeal or Diligence in getting Information concerning the *French* Fleet; but had, in that important Article, truſted too eaſily to general and uncertain Reports. Againſt all which, they chiefly ſcreened themſelves by alledging, they had punctually obeyed their Orders. After all which, on the 17th of *November*, the Commons reſolved: “It was the Opinion of that Houſe, that there had been a notorious and treacherous Miſmanagement in the Miſcarriage of the *Smyrna* Fleet.” Their next Enquiry was, “Why the Streights Fleet was ſtopped, 'till the Main Fleet went out?” And then, “Why the Main Fleet did not convoy Sir *George Rooke*'s Squadron, and the Merchant-ſhips, out of the Danger of the *French* Fleet?” And it being alledged, that the Main Fleet was not ſufficiently victualled, the Commons examined the State of their Stores

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[a] Some of them ſaid, they ſaw 40 or 50 Ships bear away to the Southward, about Ten on Saturday Night, and that among them were the Monk, and a Dutch Man of War of 50 Guns. And there were great Hopes that the Chandois, Aſia, and ſeveral other large Ships, bound to Turky, were ſafe, becauſe the Admiral's own Ship was the Leeward-moſt of the Fleet, on Sunday Morning, and that now there could be diſcerned no more to Leeward than five French Ships, which were ſtanding away towards Cadiz. But one of the Maſters of the Merchants Ships was for looking towards the Streight's Mouth, the reſt were poſitively againſt it; ſome inclined for Liſbon, others for the Groyne, but moſt for Ireland; ſo that the Admiral determined to ſteer away, either for Cork or Kinſale, the two principal Ports in that Kingdom.

at ſailing from *Spithead*, and thereupon reſolved, on the 27th of *November*, “ That there were ſufficient Beer and “ other Stores, on-board the Main Fleet, when Sir *George* “ *Rooke* ſeparated, to have ſerved them, 'till they had “ convoyed this Squadron and the Merchant-ſhips, out “ of Danger of the *Breſt* Fleet.” But though the Miſcarriage was very notorious, they knew not where to fix the particular Blame; for, on the 29th, the Queſtion being put, “ That it did appear to that Houſe, that the “ Admirals, who commanded the Fleet the laſt Summer, “ had, on the 11th of *May* laſt, Information, that Part of the “ *Breſt* Fleet was going out to Sea,” it paſſed in the Negative: And, on the ſixth of *December*, another Queſtion being put, “ That the Admirals, by not ſending into “ *Breſt*, for Intelligence, before they left the Streights “ Squadron, were guilty of a high Breach of the Truſt “ that was repoſed in them, to the great Loſs and Diſhonour of the Nation;” it was likewiſe carried in the Negative. Before this Enquiry in Parliament, the Admirals had been examined before the Council-board; but nothing could be made appear to the Prejudice of their Honour, only ſome flying Reports, which gave Occaſion to this Order of Council, on the 25th of *October*. “ Whereas a “ Report has been raiſed and ſpread, by *Henry Killegrew*, “ Eſq; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Knights, “ Admirals of their Majeſties Fleet, that the honourable “ the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, one of the Lords of their “ Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Council, did, upon “ reading a Paper at the Board, ſtifle ſomething that was “ material to their Juſtification: The Lords of the Council having conſidered of, and examined into the Matter, “ are ſatisfied, and do declare, that the ſaid Report is falſe “ and ſcandalous; although, upon the ſaid Examination, “ it did alſo appear, that ſomething happened which might “ miſlead the Admirals into that Error; and it is ordered “ in Council that this be printed and publiſhed in the “ Gazette.”

The *French* Admiral, in the mean Time, proceeded up the *Streights*, and coming to *Malaga*, the 20th of *July*, aſſured the Governor his Deſign was only upon the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, unleſs the City attempted to defend them, in which Caſe he ſhould bombard it. The Governor anſwered him, that he ſhould protect theſe Ships to the utmoſt of his Power, having his Maſter's Orders ſo to do; upon which, the next Day, he layed his Broadſides againſt four *Dutch* and one *Engliſh* Ship in the Mole. He twice attempted to burn the *Union* Frigate, but was bravely repulſed; however he continued his Fire with ſo much Fury, that the Maſters themſelves ſeeing there was no Poſſibility of ſaving the Ships, after having done their utmoſt to defend them, ſunk them; though Father *Daniel* pretends, the *French* took ſix Ships here.

The *French* upon this returned to *Cadiz*, from whence they ſent their Prizes (being about 18) to *Toulon*, with two Men of War, and detached about 14 Ships, with two Bomb-veſſels to *Gibraltar*, where they approached ſo near the Fortifications that they were fired upon, as well from them, as the Mole and Ships the whole Day, but without any Return on their Side. They ſent in a Frigate to attack four Merchant-ſhips, which were bound for *Turky*; but ſhe met with ſo warm a Reception, that they were obliged to reſcue her with their Boats; and the Maſters of the Merchant-men, in the End, followed the Example of thoſe at *Malaga*, and, boring Holes in their Ships Sides, ſunk them. Upon which the *French* Fleet retired to *Lagos* Bay. Here Father *Daniel* again gives the *French* an Advantage, which I do not find mentioned elſewhere; and ſays, Monſieur *de Coetlogon* burnt four Ships richly laden, and took 13 more. Of *Engliſh* he could take none, there being no more in that Harbour than the four which ſunk themſelves. The one *Dutch* Ship, which was there, followed the Example of the *Engliſh*; beſides theſe there were none but ſeven *Danes* and *Swedes*, and two *Genoeſes*, who were ſuffered to come peaceably out of the Bay, and to go unmoleſted whither they thought fit.

Admiral *Rooke* having diſpatched the *Lark* to *England*, with an Account of this Diſaſter, ſailed to *Madera* to water, and in hopes of finding ſome of the ſcattered Ships; but only found Captain *Fairborn* with the *Monk*. He failed from thence the 27th of *June*, and arrived the third of *Auguſt* at *Cork* in *Ireland*, where finding Orders from the joint Admirals to ſend ſome of the Ships of his Squadron to the main Fleet, and conſidering they were all in Want of ſeveral Sorts of Proviſions, and no immediate Service could be expected from thoſe which were to remain at *Kingſale*, he ſent them thither with Captain *Fairborn*, and himſelf ſailed with the Detachment to the main Fleet.

The Winter Seaſon advancing, the Admirals at home received Orders the 25th of *Auguſt*, to come with the Fleet to *St. Helens*: the Soldiers were put a-ſhore at *Portſmouth*, and the three-decked Ships ſent to *Blackſtakes*, excepting four which were to be refitted at *Portſmouth*. The 19th of *September* 15 of the large *Dutch* Ships, with two Frigates, were ordered by his Majeſty to *Holland*; and the Body of the Fleet being now ſeparated, it was ordered, that one Second-rate, 17 Third-rates, ſeven Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, ſeven Fire-ſhips, and two Hoſpital-ſhips, ſhould be the Winter-guard, which it was then thought would have put an End to the military Operations of this Year; but it ſoon after appeared, that there was yet a ſecret Expedition to be undertaken, in order to ſoften a little the Joy of the *French*, for having taken the *Smyrna* Fleet.

King *William* having prevailed with the *States of Holland* to augment the Number of Ships to act in Conjunction with *Great-Britain*, returned for *England*, as ſoon as the Winds would permit, and arrived ſafe at *Kenſington* on the 30th of *October*. His firſt Care was to reſtore *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; to the Command of his Fleet[*], to prevent the like unhappy Proceedings of his Navy under the late ill-adviſed Commiſſion: and he opened the Parliament, which met on the 7th of *November*, with a Speech, which began thus:

“ I am always glad to meet you here, and I could “ heartily wiſh that our Satisfaction were not leſſened at “ preſent, by reflecting upon the Diſadvantages we have “ received this Year at Land, and the Miſcarriages in our “ Affairs at Sea. I think it is evident, that the former “ was only occaſioned by the great Number of our Enemies, “ which exceeded ours in all Places. For what relates to “ the latter, which has brought ſo great a Diſgrace upon “ the Nation, I have reſented it extreamly; and, as I “ will take care that thoſe who have not done their Duty “ ſhall be puniſhed, ſo I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt “ Endeavours, that our Power at Sea may be rightly “ managed for the future. And it may well deſerve your “ Conſideration, whether we are not defective both in the “ Number of our Shipping, and in proper Ports to the “ Weſtward for the better annoying our Enemies, and “ protecting our Trade, which is ſo eſſential to the Welfare of this Kingdom.” Upon this the Houſe of Commons came unanimouſly to a Reſolution, that they would ſupport their Majeſties and their Government, enquire into the Miſcarriages of the Fleet in the preceding Summer, and conſider of all poſſible Ways and Means for conſerving the Trade of the Nation.

The Houſe of Commons, to ſhew they were in earneſt, examined all the Admirals ſtrictly, particularly Sir *George Rooke*, though he was ſo ill as to be ſcarce able to ſpeak, and withal ſo lame of the Gout, that a Chair was ſet for him at the Bar of the Houſe. On the 17th of *November* they came to a Reſolution, “ That, upon Examination of “ the Miſcarriages of the Fleet, this Houſe is of Opinion, “ that there hath been a notorious and treacherous Miſmanagement in that Affair.” Yet afterwards a Negative was put on a Reſolution, to cenſure the Admirals commanding in chief; and ſo by degrees, after much Noiſe and Clamour, the Matter blew over.

“ The Enquiry into the Conduct at Sea, particularly with “ relation to the *Smyrna* Fleet, (ſays Bp. *Burnet*) took up “ much Time, and held long. Great Exceptions were taken “ to the many Delays, by which, it ſeemed, a Train was laid, “ that they ſhould not get out of our Ports, till the *French* “ were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our “ want of Intelligence was much complained of: the Inſtructions that the Admirals, who commanded the Fleet, “ had received from the Cabinet-council, were thought ill given, and yet worſe executed. Their Orders ſeemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective; nor had they ſhewed any Zeal in doing more than ſtrictly to obey ſuch Orders: They had very cautiouſly kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a Tittle. They had uſed no Diligence to get certain information concerning the *French* Fleet, whether it was ſtill in *Breſt*, or had ſailed out. But in that important Matter, they had truſted general and uncertain Reports too eaſily: nor had they ſailed far enough with *Rooke* to ſee him paſt Danger. To all this, their Anſwer was, that they had obſerved their Orders: they had Reaſon to think the *French* were ſtill in *Breſt*; that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from the Coaſt of *England*, when they had, as they underſtood, ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great Naval Force, which might make an Impreſſion on our Coaſt, when they were at too great a Diſtance from it. The getting certain Intelligence from *Breſt*, was repreſented as impracticable. They had many ſpecious Things to ſay in their own Defence, and many Friends to ſupport them: for it was now the Buſineſs of one Party to accuſe, and of another to juſtify their Conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient to condemn the Admirals, ſince they had followed their Inſtructions: ſo a Vote paſſed in their Favour:”

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[*] On the 6th of November.

Two Circumſtances contributed principally to their Safety; the firſt was, that it could not be made clear to the Houſe, that the Admirals had Information of the *Breſt* Squadron's putting to Sea on the 11th of *May*, though it was evident that ſuch Advice had been given to the Privy-council: the ſecond, that the Lord *Falkland*, who was very active in this Proſecution of the Admirals, fell under the Diſpleaſure of the Houſe, for very indirect Practices in relation to the Navy; which gave the more Offence, becauſe he was at that Time firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty. Upon the whole, that there was enough done in this Affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or ſatisfy the Nation; which laſt, however, ought to be the End of all parliamentary Enquiries.

Though the Admirals eſcaped, the Houſe of Commons diſcovered, by the Enquiry, great Miſmanagements in the Navy; and were aſtoniſhed to find 1,036,415 *l.* due for Seamen's Wages: But as this was the moſt viſible Reaſon that could be conceived for the Backwardneſs the Sailors had ſhewn for entering into the national Service, they, to provide a Remedy for ſo great an Evil, and to encourage the Seamen for the future, voted 500,000 *l.* towards the Diſcharge of the Debt, and 2,000,000 *l.* for the Service of the Fleet, that his Majeſty might be able to perform the Promiſe he had made them, of taking Care that Things ſhould go next Year better at Sea [a]. His Majeſty alſo made ſeveral Changes in the Miniſtry, which gave great Satisfaction; for the late Enquiries had made it evident, that the Dependants on ſome great Men were principally concerned in giving Information to the *French* of all our Motions.

During thoſe Tranſactions in Parliament [b], Captain *Benbow*, with a Squadron of 12 Ships of the Line, from 60 to 66 Guns, four Bomb-galliots, 10 or 12 Frigates, and ſeveral Sloops [c], entered the Harbour of *St. Malo*, and coming to Anchor within half a Mile of the Town, began to fire about Eleven, and continued firing till Four in the Morning, when they were conſtrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the 17th they went in again, and threw 70 Bombs that Day. They continued firing on the 18th, but with frequent Intermiſſions, which made the Inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an Iſland near the Town, and burnt a Convent. On the 19th, being *Sunday*, they lay ſtill till the Evening, when, by the Favour of a freſh Gale of Wind, a ſtrong Tide, and a very dark Night, they ſent in an extraordinary Fire-ſhip, of about 300 Tons Burthen, (which the *French* will have to be a monſtrous Machine) and which was intented to have reduced the Town to Aſhes.

I find this terrible Machine deſcribed in Father *Daniel*'s *Hiſt. de la Mil. Fr.* and in *De Larrey's de Fr. ſous Louis XIV.* in the following Manner: The Veſſel was a new Galliot, of about 300 Tons: In the Bottom of the Hold were placed above 100 Barrels of Powder, covered with Pitch, Tar, Brimſtone, Roſin, Tow, Straw, and Faggots. Over theſe was a Row of thick Planks or Beams, with Holes pierced through them, in order to communicate the Fire from above; and upon them were placed 340 Carcaſſes, (or rather Cheſts or Mortars) filled with Granadoes, Cannon-balls, Iron-chains, Fire-arms loaded with Ball, large Pieces of Metal wrapped up in Tarpawlins, and other combuſtible Matters. They were open in ſix Parts, like ſix Mouths, to let out the Flames, ſo fierce as to conſume the hardeſt Subſtances, and not to be quenched, but by hot Water, as upon Trial was obſerved. The Deſign was to have faſtened it to the Town-wall, and it was not doubted, but if it had taken its Effect, the Town would ſoon have been one Heap of Ruins; it was ſent in before the Wind, and was at the very Foot of the Wall where it was to be faſtened, when a ſudden Guſt of Wind drove it off, and forced it upon a Rock, where it ſtuck, near the Place where it was to have blown up. The Engineer perceiving it begin to burſt, had time to ſet Fire to it before he retired; and it did, indeed, blow up ſoon after; but the Carcaſſes, which were to have done the greateſt Execution, being wet with the Sea-water, did not take Fire; and yet the Shock was ſo terrible, though at ſome Diſtance, that it threw down Part of the Town-wall, ſhook every Houſe in the Town, and overthrew the Roofs of above 300, which were neareſt. The Capſtane of the Veſſel, which weighed above a Tun Weight, was thrown over the Wall, on the Top of the Houſe, which it beat down.

This Machine was of the Kind called *Infernals*, and made after the Model of thoſe, which the Engineer *Iambelli* contrived to blow up the Bridge, which *Alexander* of *Parma* had made over the *Eſcaut*, at the Siege of *Antwerp*, in 1585.

If there had been a ſufficient Number of Land-troops on-board, the Place might with Eaſe have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demoliſhed *Quince-fort*, carried off eighty Priſoners, and frightned moſt of the People out of the Town. This Expedition was well timed, and well executed. It ſtruck a Panick into the Inhabitants of *St. Maloes*, whence the moſt troubleſome of the *French* Privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake that whole Nation from their golden Dreams of the Empire of the Sea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall Squadron of *Engliſh* Ships could do, when commanded by Men of Reſolution and Experience.

About the ſame time the Admiralty, in order to alleviate the great Blow the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Commerce had received by the intercepting of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and to convoy the Remains thereof lying in *Spaniſh* Harbours, ordered Sir *Francis Wheeler* with 25 Men of War and Frigates, in Conjunction with a *Dutch* Vice-admiral and his Squadron, to proceed to the *Mediterranean*.

He was directed by the Lords of the Admiralty, in their Orders, bearing Date the 20th of *November*, to proceed to *Cadiz* with 16 Third-rates, ſeven Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, one Sixth-rate, ſix Fire-ſhips, two Bomb-veſſels, an Hoſpital-ſhip, and a Store-ſhip, in company with ſeveral *Dutch* Ships of War, appointed to join him, and to take, under his Convoy, all Merchant-ſhips bound to *Turky*, or any Port in *Spain* or *Italy*.

If he arrived at *Cadiz* before the *Spaniſh* Plate-fleet, he was to cruiſe in ſuch Station as ſhould be agreed on at a Council of War, not exceeding 30 Days, to ſecure them in their Paſſage; and when the ſaid Fleet came into Port, or if they did not ſo do within the aforeſaid Time, he was to proceed into the *Mediterranean* with ſeven Third-rates, as many Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, one Sixth-rate, four Fire-ſhips, two Bomb-veſſels, and the Hoſpital-ſhip and Store-ſhip, together with the *Dutch*. The reſt of the Squadron he was to leave at *Cadiz*, with Orders to the Senior-officer to remain 21 Days there, and then to return to *England* with all the Trade that ſhould be ready to accompany

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[a] Kennet, Oldmixon, Chandler's Debates.

[b] About the middle of November, 1693.

[c] De Larrey. But Daniel ſays they were 25 Men of War.

company him; and, if the *Spaniſh* Ships of War arrived at *Cadiz* before Sir *Francis Wheeler*'s Departure thence, he was to concert with their Admiral, where to join him at his Return from convoying the *Turky*-Trade.

He had particular Inſtructions what Convoys to ſend to *Turky*, and to other Ports up the *Streights*, which he was to accompany as high as the Channel of *Malta*; but was cautioned (as uſual) not to block up any of the Grand-Signor's Ports, and if he took any Ships, wherein were the Perſons, or Effects, of that Prince, or his Subjects, he was ordered to ſet both one and the other on-ſhore at the firſt convenient Place.

When he had thus ſent forward the ſmall Convoys, he was to return with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships of War, and join the *Spaniſh* Squadron, and with their Aſſiſtance to endeavour to annoy the Enemy, and protect the Trade; and when he judged the *Turky* Convoys might be on their Return, he was to repair to the appointed Rendezvous for joining them, and accompanying them to *England*, bringing with him the ſeveral Trades from the Ports in the *Streights* and *Cadiz*.

He was alſo farther directed, when he ſhould be in the *Mediterranean*, to ſend two or three Ships before *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, to confirm the Peace with thoſe Governments, and to deliver his Majeſty's Preſents to them.

He lay at *St. Helens*, from the 20th of *November* to the 27th of the enſuing Month, before all Neceſſaries could be ready for this Voyage; and, when he ſailed, was yet obliged to leave two or three of the ſmaller Ships behind, at *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*, to convoy the Store-ſhips and Victuallers after him.

He departed from the Land the 29th, being joined by moſt of the Ships he had left behind, together with the Victuallers from *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*. The 4th of *January*, being near the *North-Cape*, he gave a Convoy to the Ships which were bound to *Oporto*, and thereabouts. Two Days afterwards, being informed that there were five Sail of *French*, either off of the Rock of *Liſbon*, or Cape *St. Vincent*, he ſent in with the *Liſbon*, and *St. Ube*'s Ships, three Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, and a Fire-ſhip.

The 13th at Night, as he was ſtanding Eaſt by South, the Wind North by Eaſt, about 10 Leagues from Cape *St. Vincent*, he ſaw four large Ships, and immediately made the Signal for ſome of his Squadron to endeavour to come up with them; but they bearing away, and it being foul Weather, ours were called off, to prevent loſing Company. The next Morning he diſcovered ſix Sail a-ſtern of him, about ſeven Leagues N. of Cape *St. Vincent*, for which he lay by with little Wind, that if they were ſome of his own Ships, they might come up, or if Enemies, his Ships have Time to get together.

The 15th at Night, the Wind was contrary; but veering about in the Morning to the N. N. W. he made Sail. Soon after he ſaw four *French* Men of War, about three Leagues to Windward of him, near *Lagos*, and two more, at a Diſtance, under the Shore. For the better Security of the Merchant-ſhips, he ordered them to the Leeward, and commanded Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, and five Sail more, to chaſe to Windward; but the Enemy's Ships being clean, and at a Diſtance, eſcaped. It was therefore concluded, in a Council of War, that Rear-admiral *Nevil*, with the *Warſpight*, *York*, *Chatham*, and two *Dutch* Men of War of 70 Guns each, together with two Fire-ſhips, ſhould ſtand away towards Cape *St. Vincent* in ſearch of them; and after having cruiſed there ſix Days, ſhould join the *Liſbon*, *St. Ubes*, and *Oporto*-Convoy, and bring them to *Cadiz*.

Sir *Francis*, himſelf, arrived there the 19th of *January*, having parted with the *Canary*-Convoy at a convenient Station. He found the Spaniſh *Armada*, being about 16 Sail, in *Cadiz-Bay*, all unrigg'd; but their Admiral aſſured him they ſhould be ready about the latter End of *March*. From the *Dutch* he had no great Aſſiſtance to hope, (no more than from the *Spaniſh*) for though ſeven of their Ships accompanied him from *England*, two more were found at *Cadiz*, and four others were quickly expected as Convoy to their Merchants; yet the like Number were to return home in the room of them; ſo that, conſidering the Convoys he was to appoint, and the Smallneſs of his Squadron, he was not a little doubtful of the Succeſs of the Expedition.

He found the *Flota* in *Cadiz-Bay*, ſo that he had no farther Care for them; and the 25th of *January*, Rear-admiral *Nevil* returned from cruiſing off of Cape *St. Vincent*, where he fortunately joined the Convoys I mentioned above, when they were in ſight of the Enemy. After he had appointed two Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, and a Fire-ſhip, with four *Dutch* Men of War, two of which were of 70 Guns, to convoy the homeward-bound Trade, under the Command of Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, he put to Sea on the 10th of *February*; but when he had got the Entrance of the *Streights* open, he was forced to bear up again for the *Bay of Bulls*, where he anchored the next Day. He departed from thence the 17th, and, being off of the Bay of *Gibraltar*, lay by with an eaſy Gale at Weſt; but the next Morning, about two o'Clock, made Sail again, with little Wind, Northerly. At Seven, the Wind came up at S. E. then to the E. N. E. with Thunder, Lightning, and Rain; ſo that the Fleet laid their Heads to the South; but at One in the Afternoon, they wore, and lay Northward, under a main Courſe, it blowing a hard Gale at E. S. E. the Hill of *Gibraltar* bearing W. S. W. diſtant about ſix Leagues. At Four, the Land Weſtward of *Fuengirola* was ſeen N. E. by E. and, between Four and Five, the Squadron went about; but Rear-admiral *Nevil* getting his Tacks on-board, ſtood Southward, lying up S. E. under his Courſes. At Six, the Admiral himſelf hawled up his Fore-ſail, and tried with his Main-ſail, with his Head Southward; but, at Twelve at Night, the *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Callemberg* made the Signal for coming to Sail, and Rear-admiral *Nevil* doing the like, got his Fore-tack on-board. About One it blew very hard, and his Fore-ſail being loſt, he was forced to lie under a Main and Mizen all Night.

The next Day, about Five in the Afternoon, the Rear-admiral's Main-ſail gave way likewiſe; about an Hour after, ſeeing the South-part of the Hill of *Gibraltar* W. S. W. of him, at the Diſtance of about three Leagues, and at the ſame time 14 Sail of the Fleet to Windward, ſome under their Main-ſails, others under their Mizen only, and ſome without Maſts, he immediately brought a new Fore-ſail to the Yard, and hoiſted his Enſign, to give Notice to thoſe Ships, which were in ſight, of his ſeeing the Land. He himſelf diſcerning the Mouth of the *Streights*, ſtood away for it, as did Vice-admiral *Callemberg*; but other Ships, having the Bay of *Gibraltar* open, and miſtaking it, in all Probability, for the Entrance into the *Streights*, put in there, not being able to ſee the Land Weſtward for the Hazineſs of the Weather and Rain, which occaſioned their running into that unhappy Miſfortune; for it being a Lee-ſhore, foul Ground, and their Sails flying to Pieces into the Air, they were forced to let go their Anchors, of which many were loſt, moſt of their Cables ſpoiled, and ſome of the Ships forced on-ſhore.

The Rear-admiral forſaw the Danger; but not being able to give them timely Notice of it, ſtood away directly through the *Streights*, with the two *Dutch* Men of War, and at Night, got into *St. Jeremy*'s *Bay*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. Here he plied to and fro (it being then a Weather-ſhore, and ſmooth Water) until the 23d, when a ſmall Gale coming up Weſterly, he made the beſt of his Way for *Gibraltar*. There he met with the melancholy News of the Loſs of Sir *Francis Wheeler*, whoſe Ship, the *Suſſex*, foundered in the Storm on the 19th, about five in the Morning, and only two Moors, of 550 Men, were ſaved. The Admiral's Body was taken up the 21ſt on the Shore, very much mangled.

Beſides this Loſs, there were many others, both of Ships and Men, *viz.*

	Men.
The *Cambridge*, a Ship of 70 Guns, was forced on-ſhore, and loſt	100
The *Lumley-Caſtle* had the like Miſfortune, and loſt	130
The *Serpent* Bomb-veſſel foundered, and loſt	15
The *William*-Ketch run on-ſhore, and loſt	15
The *Mary*-Ketch foundered, and loſt	16

	Men.
The *Great-George*, a *Turky*-ſhip, run on-ſhore, and loſt	90
The *Aleppo-Factor* run on-ſhore, and loſt	3
The *Golden-Frigat*, of *Venice*, run on-ſhore, and loſt	23
The *Berkſhire*, a *Turky-ſhip*, run on-ſhore, and loſt	15
The *Indian-Merchant*, another *Turky*-ſhip, run on-ſhore, and loſt	1
The *William*, bound for *Leghorn*, run on-ſhore, and loſt	1
	409
Loſt in the *Suſſex*	448
In all	857

The *Hollandia*, a *Dutch* Ship of 70 Guns, run on-ſhore in *Gibraltar-Bay*, but got off again, with the Loſs of all her Maſts; *Dutch* Writers ſay, with the Loſs of her Main-maſt only.

Several other Ships, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were on the Ground, and few or none eſcaped without conſiderable Damage.

A *Dutch* Writer ſays, this was the moſt violent Storm that ever had been known in thoſe Seas ſince the Memory of Man. The ſame Author ſays, the Body of Admiral *Wheeler* was found on a Sand-bank, not far from *Gibraltar*, in his Shirt and Slippers, which made it believed, that ſeeing himſelf in great Danger, he had ſtripped, with a Deſign to endeavour the ſaving of his Life by Swimming.

The whole Squadron ſuffered extreamly, and were obliged to remain, by contrary Winds, a long time at *Gibraltar*, and at length, in the Beginning of *May*, ſailed for *Cadiz*[a]. In the mean time Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, purſuant to a Council of War, ſailed with the homeward-bound Ships, and arrived ſafely off the *Lizard* on the 5th of *April*, 1694[b].

At Home the King was taking every Step for retreiving the Honour of the *Britiſh* Flag; and amongſt other Meaſures, for that Purpoſe, he not only appointed Admiral *Ruſſel* Commander in Chief of his Navy, but, as a further Teſtimony of his Majeſty's Confidence in that great Man, he directed a new Commiſſion of Admiralty, wherein *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; Sir *John Lowther*, *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; *Robert Auſten*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Rich*, Sir *George Rooke*, and Sir *George Hubland*, were included[c].

Then he took into Conſideration the Pay allowed to the Sea Officers; and finding it to be leſs than that of their Neighbours, he was pleaſed, by Order of Council, to put their Pay upon the following Eſtabliſhment.

1. "That the Sea-pay of the Flag-officers, Commanders, Lieutenants, Maſters, and Surgeons of his Majeſty's Ships ſhould be doubled.

2. "That all Flag-officers and Captains of the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Rates, and of Fire-ſhips; and the firſt Lieutenant and Maſters of firſt, ſecond, and third Rates, who have ſerved a Year, in the ſame Poſts, in Ships of thoſe Rates, or been in a general Engagement, ſhould have Half-pay, while on Shore, to be paid Quarterly out of the general Eſtimate of the Navy.

3. "That only ſuch Commiſſion-officers as have been put in by the Admiral or Admiralty, and Warrant-officers as have been put in by the Navy-board, ſhould receive the Benefit of Half-pay.

4. "That the ſame ſhould commence from the ſecond of *January*, then laſt paſt.

5. "That no Officer who leaves the Service, or is diſmiſſed for any Miſdemeanor, enjoy that Benefit.

6. "That the Number of Servants allowed the Commanders ſhould be no more than 10 to the Admiral of the whole Fleet; all other inferior Flags one each; Captains of firſt and ſecond Rates, ſix; of third and fourth Rates, five; of fifth and ſixth Rates, four each; and that the Number of Servants leſſened be deducted out of every Ships Company.

7. "That Half-pay Officers be aſſiſting to the Navy-board.

8. "That no Convoy-money be demanded or received, under the Penalty of forfeiting, and loſing Employment for ever.

9. "That the Commanders tranſmit to the Admiralty, when and why they come into Port.

10. "That the Commiſſioners of the Navy at the Ports enquire, why Ships come in, and that all theſe Articles and Rules be ſtrictly obſerved."

But the Fund for that Eſtabliſhment ending with the War, and the King having no other Means to afford it, except he had allowed it out of his own Revenue, the then Lords of the Admiralty formed another Scheme, of which hereafter.

The next Thing was, to fix on ſuch Deſigns as were proper for retrieving the Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms, and blotting out the Memory of the unfortunate Accidents that had lately happened. In the firſt Place it was reſolved, that a Deſcent ſhould be actually made on the *French* Coaſt, in order to effect what had been long ago propoſed, the erecting a Fort on a certain Promontory near *Breſt*, which would have commanded that Haven, and have entirely prevented the aſſembling, as the *French* were wont to do, their grand Fleets there[d]. It was alſo judged requiſite to ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, as well to ſuccour the King of *Spain*, whoſe Affairs were much diſtreſſed by the *French* naval Power, as to prevent the *Toulon* Squadron from coming into the Ocean, and hindering the *French* thereby from making any Figure this Year at Sea[e]. In order to accompliſh theſe Schemes, all imaginable Pains were taken both in *England* and *Holland*, to fit out a more numerous Fleet, and to ſend it earlier to Sea, than in any Year ſince the War began.

On the firſt of *May* Admiral *Ruſſel* joined the Fleet at *St. Helens*, which conſiſted of 52 *Engliſh* and 41 *Dutch* Ships of the Line, beſides Frigates, Fire-ſhips, and other ſmaller Veſſels. The Admiral gave Order to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, on the third of *May*, to remain there with three Firſt-rates, nine Second-rates, 13 Third-rates, ſeven Fourth-rates, four Fifth-rates, and three Sixth-rates, 'till the Men belonging to them were paid, and during that Time, to conſider how many of the Land Forces (ſuppoſed to be about 6000) each Ship could conveniently take on-board, and what Numbers might embark in the Tenders left there for that Purpoſe, wherein he was ordered to adviſe with Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh*.

The Admiral ſailed on the third of *May* with the reſt of the Fleet, and reached the appointed Station, which was 15 Leagues S. S. W. from the *Lizard*, on the 19th of *May*, where he got Information, from the Maſter of a *Swediſh* Ship, which came from *Breſt* but three Days before, that the *French* Squadron departed thence the 25th of *April* O. S. and that 40 or 50 Merchant-ſhips lay in *Bertheaume* Bay, bound Eaſtward, and laden with Corn, Wine, Brandy, and other Merchandizes, under Convoy of a Man of War or two. Upon this he ordered Captain *Pritchard* with the *Monmouth* and *Reſolution*, and the *Roebuck* Fire-ſhip, to go between the Trade-way and Main, and endeavour to take or deſtroy them. Accordingly on the 10th, as ſoon as it was light, they made the *French* Shore about ſeven Miles from the Fleet, and by five o'Clock they ſaw ſeveral Ships behind a Point of Land near *Conquet* Bay, which, upon a Signal given from one of their Scouts, immediately put to Sea. In the mean time Captain *Pritchard* purſued the Man of War that was their Convoy, and forced her to haul in with the Shore, and run againſt the Rocks under the outermoſt Caſtle; and this Man of War proved to be the *Jerſey* Frigate, which the Enemy had taken from us in the *Weſt-Indies*, and which ſoon after blew up, and with her two Sloops of between 10 and 16 Guns. The Merchant-ſhips were in all about 55 Sail, of which 35 were burnt or ſunk, 25 in *Whiteſand* Bay, four on the South Side of the Point of the Bay, and ſix on the South Side of *Conquet*, their Lading being for the moſt Part Salt, Wine, and Brandy.

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[a] Burchett, Kennet.

[b] State of Europe, Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Life of King William.

[c] See the Preſent State of Europe for May 1694.

[d] Hiſtoire militaire; P. Daniel; Memoirs du Temps; Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. II. p. 129, 130.

[e] Burchett, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of King William.

Some few Days after they likewiſe took or burnt a good Number of Ships laden with Proviſions, for the *French* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and drove ſome others a-ſhore, which were bound for *Diep* and *Dunkirk*, with Ammunition and Proviſions for the Uſe of the *French* Army in *Flanders*.

After this Part of the Fleet had been ſome Days on the Station, it was thought proper to repair to *Torbay*, that the Remainder, with the Soldiers, might be the ſooner joined. To this End the Admiral wrote to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, to let him know if the Wind continued Weſterly, he had Thoughts of coming to *Spithead*; but if Eaſterly to ſtay in *Torbay* for him. According to this Reſolution, being arrived at *St. Helens* the 23d, he uſed his utmoſt Diligence to diſtribute the Land Forces, and compleat the Proviſions, that no Opportunity of fair Wind might be loſt; and Cruiſers were ſent on proper Stations to gain Intelligence. All Things being ready, he ſailed the 29th, and by ſtopping of Tides, got off the *Berry Head* the ſecond of *June*, having received farther Advice, that the *French* Squadron was departed from *Breſt* to *Toulon*; and having given the neceſſary Directions for the ſeparating, at a proper Station, of the Squadron that was intended for the *Breſt* Expedition, and which was to be commanded by the Lord *Berkley*[a]. On the laſt Day of the Month, at Nine in the Morning, a Council of War was held on-board the *Britannia*, at which were preſent the following Perſons, viz. *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; Admiral of the Fleet; the Lord *Berkley*, Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Vice-admiral of the Red; Colonel *Aylmer*, Vice-admiral of the Blue; Colonel *Mitchel*, Rear-admiral of the Red; the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, Rear-admiral of the Blue; Captain *Byng*, eldeſt Captain to the Admiral; Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh*; the Earl of *Macclesfield*; the Lord *Cutts*; Sir *Martin Beckman*; Admiral *Allemonde*, Admiral of the *Dutch*; Vice-admiral *Vander-Putten*; Vice-admiral *Schey*; Vice-admiral *Vander-Goes*; Rear-admiral *Evertzen*; and Captain *Vander-Duſſen*, in which it was reſolved, that the Fleet deſigned for *Breſt*, ſhould immediately proceed to *Camaret* Bay, and ſhould land the Forces on-board under the Direction of Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh*, and the neceſſary Inſtructions were given to Lord *Berkley*, and the Officers that were to command under him.

Lord Berkeley's *Inſtructions for attempting of* Breſt.

1. He was informed what Ships, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were to be under his Command, and directed to proceed with them to *Breſt*, and when there to land the Officers and Soldiers, in ſuch a Manner, and at ſuch Place, or Places, as ſhould be agreed on by a Council of War, of the General Officers both at Sea and Land; who were to conſider, before they arrived at *Breſt*, how the Forces might be beſt aſſiſted by the Ships, either in going on Shore, or otherwiſe, as alſo when it might be moſt proper for the Squadron to go into *Breſt* Water, to aſſiſt in the carrying on the Deſign againſt the Town, and the Ships there.

2. When they had done all they were able againſt *Breſt*, it was to be conſidered what Service might be performed, on any other of the *French* King's Ports, and how the ſame might be moſt effectually put in Execution.

3. And when a Council of War ſhould judge, that no farther Service could be done, either by Sea or Land, and think it adviſeable to have the Forces taken on-board again, he was to cauſe the ſame to be performed, and then repair to, and remain in *Torbay* or at *Spithead*, 'till he received Orders from the King, or the Lords of the Admiralty.

4. His Lordſhip was alſo directed, to uſe his beſt Endeavours to protect the Forces, at all Times, when it ſhould be thought proper to land them, and to embark them again: And, if the General Officers ſhould judge it, at any time, neceſſary to have Part of the Seamen put on Shore, to ſtrengthen the Troops, and that the Ships might conveniently ſpare them, he was to appoint ſuch a Number, as the ſaid General Officers ſhould deſire, or at leaſt, ſo many as he could, without Hazard of the Ships.

The Fleet employed for this Service, under the Lord *Berkeley*, was as follows:

Rates.	*Number.*
1	3
2	4
3	12
4	1
5	2
Fire-ſhips	10
Hoſpitals	3
Brigantines	3

Beſides Bomb-veſſels, Advice-boats, *&c.*

Dutch.

Ships of the Line of Battle	19
Fire-ſhips	4

In order to carry on this Deſign regularly, his Lordſhip was ordered to cauſe all the Ships and Veſſels, under his Command, together with the Tenders and Well-boats, (which latter were particularly built to put Men on Shore) to keep near the Flags, whereto they were reſpectively appointed, and to ſhift their Pendants accordingly, that when the Signal ſhould be made for parting, each might follow his proper Flag without Confuſion; for, at this Time, there were not many of the Officers, who knew the Fleet was to be thus divided.

This being done, and *Camaret* Bay appointed the Rendezvous, in caſe of Separation, the Admiral appointed another Rendezvous for thoſe Ships, which were to proceed with him to the *Mediterranean*, and ordered it to be diſtributed to each Captain, in particular, ſealed.

If they happened to loſe Sight of the Fleet, when 50 Leagues S. W. from the *Lizard*, and the Winds blew ſo ſtrong weſterly as to oblige them to bear up, they were to repair to *Torbay*: But, if they happened to loſe Company, in a Fog, or by any other Accident, when to the eaſtward of the aforeſaid Station, they were to make the beſt of their Way 15 Leagues Weſt from Cape *Spartel*, and remain there 'till joined by the Fleet, or otherwiſe ordered: And they were ſtrictly forbid to chaſe out of their Way, on any Pretence whatever, or to diſcover whither they were bound, to any Ship or Veſſel they ſhould meet with. But ſince they might probably join him, before he reached the Rendezvous, near Cape *Spartel*, he let them know, that, as the Winds proved, he deſigned to hawl in within 25 Leagues Weſt of Cape *Finiſterre*, and within 20 of Cape *St. Vincent*, and that from thence he would proceed directly to the aforeſaid Rendezvous: All the Captains were expreſsly directed not to break open the Rendezvous, unleſs they ſhould happen to be ſeparated, with the Wind eaſterly; and then informing themſelves of the Contents thereof, they were purſuant thereunto to repair to the Fleet, 15 Leagues S. W. from the Land's-end of *England*.

On the 31ſt of *May*, previous to their Separation, there was called a Council of War, at which were preſent Admiral *Ruſſel*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Vice-admiral *Aylmer*, Rear-admiral *Mitchel*, the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, *George Byng*, Eſq; firſt Captain to the Admiral. Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh*, Earl of *Macclesfield*, Lord *Cuts*, and Sir *Martin Beckman*. *Dutch* Flag-officers, Admiral *Allemonde*; Vice-admirals *Vanderput* and *Schey*; Rear-admirals *Vandergoes* and *Evertzen*; and Captain *Vander-Duſſen*. In which it was reſolved,

1. That the Lord *Berkeley* ſhould make the beſt of his Way to *Camaret-Bay*, and anchor there, and the Land-Forces be immediately ſet on-ſhore; and that the Ships ſhould continue at an Anchor, 'till they received Advice from General *Talmarſh* of the Condition of the Fort on the Star-board-ſide going in, and of what Forces he found there.

2. That it was not proper to come to any poſitive Reſolution, at what Time the Fleet ſhould go into *Breſt* Water; and, therefore, that Matter was left to be conſidered when they arrived in *Camaret-Bay*.

3. That a Red Enſign, at the Fore-top-maſt-head, on board the Lord *Berkeley*'s Ship, with the firing of a Gun,

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[a] Journal of the Breſt Expedition, by the Marquis of Carmarthen, London 1694, 4to. p. 5.

ſhould be the Signal for the Soldiers to embark on board the ſmall Craft and Boats; and the taking down that Signal, with the firing of two Guns, for their going on ſhore.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, Lord *Berkeley*, with 29 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War of the Line, beſides Frigates, Fireſhips, Machines, Tenders, Well-boats, and five Bomb-ketches, departed for the intended Service. On the 6th a Council of War was held, in which the proper Meaſures were taken for landing the Forces; and it was agreed, that Lord *Cutts* ſhould command 600 Grenadiers, and Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh* advance in Perſon, at the Head of the Troops that were to ſupport them. On the 7th the Fleet came to an Anchor between *Camaret* and *Bertheaume-Bay*, though continually played upon by the Enemy's Bombs; firſt from *Camaret* weſtern Point, then from a Caſtle on a high Rock in *Bertheaume-Bay*; and, laſtly, from two Forts on each ſide of the *Iſthmus* going into *Breſt* Road. The ſame Day the Lord *Cutts*, and the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, in his own Galley, ſtood in a conſiderable Way into the Bay; and having taken a good View of it, amidſt the Enemy's Fire, they returned and gave the Lord *Berkeley* an Account of the Poſture of the Bay, and the Situation of the Caſtle, which they found very advantageous to defend the Landing-places. It was at firſt ordered that the *Monk*, a Ship of 60 Guns, and the *Diamond*, of equal Force, ſhould go in; but the Marquis repreſented, that thoſe two Men of War would not be ſufficient to cover the Boats at their landing, becauſe the Enemy were better prepared, and more numerous than was expected, and ready to be ſeconded, on all Occaſions, by 14 Squadrons of Horſe.

Hereupon a Council of War was called, on board the Ship *Queen*, the 8th of *June*, at which were preſent his Lordſhip, Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh*, and all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag and General Officers, by whom it was reſolved, that the Lieutenant-general ſhould go on ſhore with the Troops as ſoon as it was poſſible, and endeavour to make himſelf Maſter of the Fort at *Camaret*, and that ſix other Men of War ſhould be added to the two former to cover him in landing; *viz.* the *Greenwich* of 54, the *Charles-Galley* of 32, the *Shoreham* of 32, the *Darkenſtein* of 44, the *Weſep* of 30, and the *Wolf* of 30; all which the Marquis undertook ſo to poſt, that they ſhould bear upon the Caſtle to the beſt Advantage.

This was, nevertheleſs, a Work of great Difficulty and Danger; for no ſooner was the *Monk* come within Reach of the Enemy's Mortars, but they began to throw Bombs at her from *Point des Fillettes*, and the weſtern Point of *Camaret-Bay*; and the reſt of the Ships that followed were ſurpriſed with three Batteries more, which they never perceived 'till they felt their Shot. But, under all theſe Difficulties, the brave Marquis made a Shift to poſt the eight Ships in ſuch Manner, as gave great Succour to the landing Forces, and did the *French* conſiderable Miſchief, dropping their Anchors, and firing with ſo much Reſolution, that the *French* began twice to run out of *Camaret* Fort; but they could eaſily perceive the Enemy very advantageouſly intrenched at every Place where there was any Poſſibility of landing, and great Numbers of Foot were drawn behind the Trenches.

The *French* had been ſo well informed of our Deſign, and ſuch ſtrange Delays had been made in embarking the Forces, that when our Fleet came upon the Coaſt, they found the *French* every where covered by impregnable Entrenchments, and ſupported by a Body of regular Troops, more numerous than the Forces intended for this Deſcent. This was repreſented to Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh* in the Council of War, and he was adviſed not to expoſe himſelf or his Men: To which he anſwered, "This Advice comes too late: the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation is at ſtake, and therefore I muſt and will land. I know that I ſacrifice myſelf and the Men; but it is neceſſary, and muſt be done, that both our Enemies and Allies may know, that even deſperate Undertakings cannot daunt *Engliſh* Courage [*]." The undaunted General *Talmarſh* was reſolute in the Enterprize, though unlikely to ſucceed; and therefore, with a ſmall Number of Well-boats, and about 900 Men (*Burnet* ſays but 600) he went aſhore, in a confuſed Manner, under a little Rock on the South-ſide of the ſmall Bay: But immediately a Detachment of the *French* Marines fell in upon them, with ſo much Fury, that the *Engliſh* were forced to retire to their Boats in great Diſorder; and it happening, at the ſame Time, to be an Ebb-tide, moſt of the Boats ſtuck faſt, ſo that the Men on-board them were either miſerably ſlaughtered, or forced to beg Quarter: *Burnet* ſays not above 100 came back.

In this Action were ſlain, wounded, or taken Priſoners, of the Land Troops, at leaſt 500 Men; and the brave Lieutenant-general *Talmarſh* himſelf, being wounded in the Thigh, died ſoon after at *Plymouth*. The *Monk*, *Charles-Galley*, and *Shoreham*, ſome of the Ships which were ſent to protect the Landing, and to batter the *French* Forts, were very much ſhattered, and in them and the others about 112 (*Kennet* ſays 400) Men were killed and wounded. A *Dutch* Frigate of 30 Guns, called the *Weſep*, was ſunk, and her Captain killed: Beſides which, we received many other Damages; and it was with incredible Labour and Hazard, that the Marquis of *Carmarthen* brought the Ships off, with all their Rigging cut to Pieces, and moſt of their Sails and Yards diſabled.

The Land Forces being embarked, a General Council of War was held; and as the Attempt upon *Breſt* was found impracticable, the Debate was what could be done with the Fleet and Army. The Lieutenant-general informed them, he was not authorized to attempt any other Place. It was therefore propoſed, that a ſmall Squadron of Frigates and Bomb-veſſels might be ſent into the Harbour of *Breſt*, to bombard that Town; but this was judged to be a raſh, and, as Things ſtood, an impracticable Undertaking, and therefore Lord *Berkeley* ſailed immediately for our own Coaſts, and arrived on the 15th of *June* 1694, at *St. Helens*. There they found the Queen's Orders to call a Council of War, to conſider how the Ships and Troops might be beſt employed. After ſeveral Conſultations, it was reſolved to keep no more than four Regiments on board, and to make ſome Attempts on the Coaſt of *Normandy*. Advice of this being ſent to Court, and an Anſwer being returned on the 27th of *June*, it was reſolved in another Council of War, that ſince the Wind was freſh weſterly, the Fleet ſhould firſt bombard *Diep*, and then do what other Prejudice they could along the *French* Coaſt. The Lord *Berkeley* having, in the mean time, Orders to ſtop all Ships he ſhould meet with in his Paſſage bound for *France*, took about 70 Sail coming from the North, laden with Corn and Sea-ſtores, of which, tho' they were reclaimed by the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Miniſters, above 20 were adjudged lawful Prize.

Being arrived there, they were hindered from making any Attempt by the Badneſs of the Weather, which not only diſperſed the Ships, but damaged ſome of them in their Maſts and Rigging; ſo that they were obliged to return to the Coaſt of *England*, and anchor off of *Dungeneſſe*, where the ſcattered Ships and Veſſels joined the 5th of *June*; and ſailing thence again to *Diep* Road, it was intended to bombard that Town the 9th in the Morning. To this End ſeveral of the Bomb-veſſels advanced near in with the Shore, but it blowing hard at Night, the great Sea prevented them.

On the 12th they began about Nine in the Morning to play upon the Town of *Diep*, and continued without ceaſing till about Nine at Night; 1100 Bombs and Carcaſſes being thrown into it, with ſuch Succeſs, that it ſoon appeared in Flames in ſeveral Places. The Townſmen, deſpairing to quench this raging Conflagration, began to run away in the greateſt Diſorder; whereupon two Regiments of the Militia of *Bretagne* were ſent to encourage them: But the Confuſion was ſo great, and the Fire ſo dreadful, that the Soldiers themſelves fled with the reſt. Had the *Engliſh* known what had paſſed, they might, in all Probability, have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Place; however they ſo ruined it, that the greateſt Part of the Houſes (being all of Wood) were reduced to Aſhes, and ſcarce any left unſhattered. The Night before a Machine-veſſel, (ſuch as I have deſcribed before) was blown up at the Pier-head, but with little or no Succeſs: It made a frightful Noiſe, but did little Execution, occaſioned, as was ſuppoſed, by the Head lying too low. Captain *Dunbar*, who commanded this Veſſel, behaved himſelf with great Bravery; for, the Fuſee going out, he went onboard again and ſet Fire to it; for which both himſelf and the Men he took with him, were deſervedly rewarded.

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[*] This Project, as we have been informed, was firſt propoſed by a Land Officer to the Earl of Nottingham, ſome Years before; and Hints of it having been given to the French, they reſolved to ſpare no Coſt or Pains, in order to prevent a Scheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the beſt Port they have in this Part of the World.

After the Bombardment of *Diep*, the *Engliſh* Squadron ſailed along the Coaſt, and obliged the *French* to march Night and Day, in order to prevent the debarking any Troops; which, however, was a Thing the *Engliſh* Admiral never intended. On the 15th, about Noon, Lord *Berkeley* arrived at *Havre de Grace*, and about Four o'Clock he began to bombard it, under the Direction of Captain *Bembow*; which had ſo good an Effect, that the Town was in Flames in ſeveral Places, and burnt all that Night and the next Day: the Wind blowing very hard, the Bombardment ceaſed for that Day, but the Fire continued; nor was it extinguiſhed the 18th. Towards the Evening of that Day, the Weather being calm, the following Night 250 Bombs more were thrown into the Town, inſomuch that it might be reaſonably conjectured at leaſt a third Part thereof was conſumed, tho' Father *Daniel* will allow no more than 20 Houſes to have been burnt; and *Burnet* ſays only a great Part of the Town was deſtroyed.

The 19th, the Weather being very bad, all the Bomb-veſſels were ordered off, when not above five of them were ſerviceable; for the Mortars were either melted, or the Veſſels themſelves ſo ſhattered, that no preſent Uſe could be made of them. One of them, the *Granado*, was entirely blown to Pieces by a Bomb which fell into her: And it was now agreed, at a Council of War, that it would be loſing of Time to ſtay longer before *Havre de Grace*. It was therefore determined to proceed to *St. Helens* to repair Damages. They arrived there the 26th, having firſt alarmed the *French* Coaſt off of *La Hogue* and *Cherbourg*. There they put ſix Regiments on-ſhore, and then, by the Queen's Orders, ſailed for the *Downs*, where they arrived the 6th of *Auguſt*.

It was ſoon after ordered, from Court, to attempt *Dunkirk*, and deſtroy the *French* Ships of War in that Harbour; and the three-deck'd Ships being firſt ordered to the *Nore*, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was commiſſioned to ſail on this Expedition with 13 *Engliſh* and ſix *Dutch* Men of War, two Bomb-galliots, ſome Frigates, and 17 Barks, with Machines, invented by Mr. *Meeſters*, with which he propoſed to deſtroy the Forts of *Dunkirk*. This Engineer came to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* in the *Downs*, on the 7th of *September*, having about 26 *Dutch* Pilots with him; and deſired a Captain might be appointed to command the ſmall Veſſels, with Inſtructions to follow his Directions in ſailing and anchoring; which was granted, and the Commiſſion was given to Captain *Bembow*.

Being arrived on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, with a northerly Wind, Mr. *Meeſters* acquainted Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* that his Pilots were of Opinion, the *French* could not carry out their Ships at the Eaſt Channel of *Dunkirk*; wherefore he anchored in *Graveline Pits*, and the Boats and Brigantines went before *Dunkirk*, under the Protection of the *Sally Roſe*, and ſounded, to make themſelves the better acquainted with the weſtern Channel, between the *Brake* and the Main; for all the Pilots but two or three, declared themſelves ignorant of that Paſſage.

Captain *Benbow* found the Narrow to be above three Cables Length in Breadth, and in Depth from three and a half to ſeven Fathom at Low-water; and the Brigantines and Sloops, which lay to and fro on the Back of the *Brake*, diſcovered a large Channel of ſeven, eight, nine, and ten Fathom at Low-water, about a Mile and a half broad, and ſomewhat more; that is, ſo far as they went into it, which was 'till they had *Dunkirk* South of them.

A *French* Frigate of about 20 Guns, in the Road, fired very ſmartly at our Boats, got within the *Brake*. Many Guns and ſome Bombs were alſo fired from the Citadel, the *Riſbank*, and the Forts at the Pier-heads; and as five of their Frigates, from 40 to 50 Guns each, were hawled out of the Baſon and rigged, ſo were there three or four ſmall Ships placed in the Channel, between the Pier-head and the Town; but, notwithſtanding all this, our little Fleet of Boats, *&c.* came off in the Night without any Damage.

The next Day, the Wind ſhifting from the North to the North-eaſt, and it being fair Weather, all the Boats and ſmall Veſſels were ſent in again, as was the *Charles* Galley, two Bomb-veſſels, and ſome of the Machines which Mr. *Meeſters* had appointed; and when the Veſſels came near the *Brake*, the *French* Frigate, which lay without, got up her Achors, fired her Broadſide, and run into the Pier.

In the Afternoon two of the infernal Machines were blown up, at a little Diſtance from the Pier-heads, but without Succeſs. One of them was played, but without any Effect, and the other, the Fire having caught hold of it, either by means of the *French* Cannon, or ſome other Accident, was loſt, with all the Men that were in it[a]: Nor was there any great Hopes of better Service from the reſt, for the *French* had driven Piles without thoſe Heads, and ſunk four Ships, on the Back of the weſtermoſt Pier, very advantageouſly.

Mr. *Meeſters* now informed Sir *Cloudeſly*, that ſince the Spring-tide was paſt, his Pilots would not undertake to carry the Ships through the Sands to the eaſtward of *Dunkirk*; and that therefore he thought it not proper to continue longer with his Veſſels on the *French* Coaſt. They were, upon this, ſent to the *Downs*, and at the ſame Time a ſmall Frigate was ordered thither, with Sir *Martin Beckman*, to bring the Veſſels which were deſigned to bombard *Calais*, who arriving with them the 16th, the Squadron forthwith proceeded off that Place, but the Weather proved ſo very bad ſeveral Days, that little Service was done; for both the Ships of War, and others, were conſtrained to come into the *Downs*, from whence the Bombs and Machines were ſent into the River of *Thames*. Though theſe Bombardments ſeemed inhumane, the *French* had no Reaſon to complain of this Way of carrying on the War, becauſe they themſelves had firſt begun it at *Genoa*, and ſeveral other Places.

As for Admiral *Ruſſel*, who parted with Lord *Berkeley*[b] on the 6th of *June*[c], arrived off of the Rock of *Liſbon* in 19 Days, in his Way to the *Mediterranean*, where he ſent aſhore Captain *John Jennings*, with the *Mary* and *Adventure*, for Intelligence whether the Enemy were, or had been, on that Coaſt; and if they were, to ſend Rear-admiral *Nevil*, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Callenberg*, who were in the Bay of *Cadiz*, Inſtructions to join the Fleet with all the Ships under their Command. The Admiral likewiſe ſettled the proper Places for Rendezvous in caſe of Separation. As the chief Deſign of this powerful Fleet's being ſent to the *Mediterranean*, was, by blocking up the *French* Fleet in *Toulon*, not only to ſecure our own Ports and Trade, but likewiſe to ſecure the Maritime Towns of *Spain* from the Inſults of the *French*, the Arrival of it was Matter of great Joy to the King of *Spain*, who, in Teſtimony of it, ſent the Admiral a Preſent of 24,000 Crowns, and the Vice-admiral 12,000.

Rear-Admiral *Nevil*, and the two *Dutch* Vice-admirals, *Callemberg* and *Evertzen*, having joined the Fleet with eight *Engliſh*, and as many *Dutch* Men of War, the Fleet conſiſted of 63 Ships of the Line, beſides nine *Spaniards*, who ſailed from *Cadiz* with *Nevil*, but were not yet come to the Fleet. And they having Advice that the *French* were between *Alfaques* and *Barcelona*, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to ſail in queſt of them; but this Meaſure was ſo obſtructed by contrary Winds, that the *French* got Intelligence of the Approach of the confederate Fleet, and retired to the Iſles of *Hieres* near *Toulon*, by the time they had got as far as *Carthagena*[d]. On the 17th it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to put into *Altea* Bay, and water; and about this Time the Earl of *Galloway* propoſed the Fleet's wintering in the *Mediterranean*[e]. But the Admiral could not approve of his Propoſal, becauſe he could by no means think it adviſeable, ſince there was not any Place fit to receive and protect them but *Mahon*, in the

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[a] Daniel, Larrey. [b] Burnet, Kennet, De Larrey Hiſt. de Fr. ſous Louis XIV. Columna Roſtrata, Burchett. [c] An. 1694. [d] On July 15.

[e] The French Admiral had no ſooner Intelligence of the Approach of our Fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and ſoon after

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Iſland of *Minorca*, where there was a total Want of Proviſions; nor could any Stores be timely got thither to refit the Ships againſt the Spring: That, as for *Naples*, there was no Defence, and *Meſſina* was not large enough. But there remained yet another material Objection, which was this; That ſhould ſuch a Strength be detained from *England* and *Holland* all the Winter, the *French* might have made themſelves too ſtrong in the Spring for what could poſſibly have been fitted out in theſe Seas. And notwithſtanding my Lord *Galloway*'s Propoſal was ſtrongly backed by the Marquis of *Villena*, Viceroy of *Catalonia*, the experienced Admiral choſe rather to leave *Barcelona* expoſed to the Inſults of the *French* Fleet, than yield to a Meaſure ſo hazardous to the *Britiſh* Navy; and accordingly on the 9th of *Auguſt* he wrote to the King of *Spain*, and acquainted his Majeſty how much it troubled him, that the Fleet could do no other Service than the keeping the *French* from farther Attempts in *Catalonia* during his remaining on the Coaſt; that he had Hopes his Majeſty's Troops might have made ſome conſiderable Effort, at leaſt have endeavoured to regain *Palamos*, and other Towns, with the Aſſiſtance of the Naval Force: And he likewiſe repreſented to his Majeſty, that unleſs Care was immediately taken to put *Catalonia* into a better Poſture of Defence, it would be next to an Impoſſibility to preſerve it many Weeks under his Subjection; and that the Kingdom of *Valencia*, as well as the Sea-port Towns, were in no better Condition: That as for the Fleet, ſince there was no Hopes of bringing the *French* to a Battle, or forcing them, with any Probability of Succeſs, at *Toulon*, nor of employing it ſo as to do any conſiderable Service, he deſigned to return with it to *England*; but that he could not leave *Barcelona* without informing his Majeſty, that the Viceroy had not only treated him with all imaginable Civility, but zealouſly promoted all Things that were repreſented to be neceſſary.

The 15th of *Auguſt*, two Third-rate Ships, and one of the Sixth-rate, were ordered to *Cadiz* to refit and victual, and then to convoy the Trade to *England*. And now the Fleet being ready to leave *Barcelona*, a Council of War was called, to conſider in what Manner it might be done, ſo as to keep it moſt private.

It was agreed, that when they ſailed, an Appearance ſhould be made the firſt Day as if they were going Eaſtward; but that, in the Night, an Opportunity ſhould be taken of getting out to Sea, and proceeding Weſtward; and the Places neceſſary for Rendezvous were ſettled in caſe of Separation.

But when they were returned as far as *Malaga*, the Admiral received Orders from the King and Council, dated *Auguſt* the 7th, to winter at *Cadiz*; it being thought a Matter of greater Conſequence to cover the *Spaniſh* Coaſt from the Attempts of the *French*, than to hazard the Fleet, and to ſpend our Money abroad. The Admiral immediately acquainted the Viceroy of *Catalonia* with this Order, and put into *Alicant* till the *Puntal* at *Cadiz* ſhould be made ready for refitting his Fleet.

While the Fleet rode at *Alicant*, the Admiral being taken ill of a Fever and Bloody-flux, and obliged to go on-ſhore, the Command was given to Vice-admiral *Aylmer*; and he was directed firſt to proceed and join Rear-admiral *Nevil* (who had been detached with 10 Ships to cruiſe) as ſoon as poſſible he could. It was then particularly recommended to him, to endeavour to gain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the *French*, and to prevent their getting out of the *Mediterranean*: In order whereunto, he was ordered to place himſelf in ſuch Stations, and to employ the Ships of the Fleet in ſuch Manner, as ſhould, from time to time, be judged moſt adviſeable by a Council of War; and upon meeting the Enemy's Fleet, or any Part thereof, he was directed to uſe his beſt Endeavours to come up with and deſtroy them, and to chaſe them with the whole Fleet, or ſuch a Number of Ships as ſhould be thought moſt proper, without having any Regard to his being on-ſhore, or expecting farther Orders from him for his Proceedings. It was alſo recommended to him, to take care, upon his diſcovering any *French* Squadron ſtanding Weſtward, and endeavouring to paſs the *Streights*, that ſuch a Number of Ships, as might, at leaſt, be equal to their Force, were ſent after them, as far as they ſhould go, or till ſuch time as they could come up with and attack them, and to proceed himſelf with the reſt to *Cadiz*, where he was to remain for farther Orders. But, if he did not ſee the *French* in ſix Days, after his being at Sea, or gain Information that they were come from *Toulon*, he was to repair with the whole Fleet to *Alicant*; for by that time the Admiral had Hopes he might be in a Condition to return on-board.

Mr. *Aylmer* put to Sea with the Fleet, but returned [a] without meeting with any thing: And in the mean time his *Catholic* Majeſty ſignified his Deſire, that the Fleet ſhould not winter at *Cadiz*, but at *Mahon*. On which Occaſion the Admiral let the Court know, that he was not a little ſuprized at ſuch a Propoſal, becauſe not any thing could be had from the Iſland of *Minorca*, ſhould the Fleet be under never ſo preſſing Neceſſities: Beſides, all the Stores and Proviſions to be ſent from *England*, muſt, in ſuch caſe, have been brought to *Portmahon*, ſo that the *French* would have had a large Sea to range in ſearch of them; and ſhould there have happened a Want but of the leaſt Thing, for enabling a Ship to proceed on Service, there ſhe muſt have lain, until ſuch time as it could have been conveyed from *Cadiz* or *Naples*: Whereas, if the Fleet wintered at *Cadiz*, as the King had ordered, it would then be in his Power to ſend Ships from thence, to protect any Supplies coming from *England*, or to furniſh himſelf there upon any emergent Occaſion. And without waiting any longer, his Health permitting him to take the Command again, he ſail'd with the whole Fleet from *Alicant*, and arrived at *Cadiz* on the 8th of *October*: where he was continually alarmed with the Fears of the King of *Spain*; at one time informing him, without any Foundation, that the *French* Fleet was come to *Palamos*; and at another time, that the ſaid Fleet had formed a Deſign of attacking the *Engliſh* in the Bay of *Cadiz*; though nothing could be more extravagant, for it was now the Beginning of *November*, and the Weather very ſtormy.

The Admiral being ſafe from any Attempts againſt him, or on the Coaſt, by the *French*; and aſſured that his Station and Character deterred them from purſuing their Orders, to venture through the Streights, and endeavour to ſail round to *Breſt*, applied himſelf diligently to put his own Fleet in a Condition to be fit for Service as ſoon as the Seaſon ſhould permit [b]. But amongſt the reſt of his Catholic Majeſty's Requiſitions, we cannot paſs over that Impoſſibility which he ſolicited our Admiral to undertake; it was no leſs than to tranſport five, then 7000 Men from *Genoa*, on-board his Men of War, though he knew them to be foul by their being ſo long at Sea, and but indifferently provided with Victuals; which, though the Admiral refuſed, yet he did it with great Decency, and at the ſame time offered unanſwerable Reaſons in ſupport of his own Conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongſt other Supplies, a reaſonable Number of Land Forces: And in this Manner the Remainder of the Year was ſpun out [c].

Kennet ſums up all he ſays of this Year's Expedition to the *Mediterranean*, in the following few, but remarkable Words:

"The Misfortunes at *Breſt* were in great Meaſure re-
" paired by the Glory of our grand Fleet in the *Mediter-*
" *ranean*, under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*, who
" rode there in Triumph, and cooped up the *French* Fleet
" in the Harbour of *Toulon*; and though the Marſhal *de Tourville*

ſhut himſelf up in the Port of Toulon, which put it out of Diſpute, that the Maritime Powers were now able to give Law to France in all Parts of the World. The Siege of Barcelona too was raiſed to the infinite Joy of the King of Spain, who teſtified his Gratitude for this ſignal Aſſiſtance, in the warmeſt and moſt public Manner poſſible. Our Admiral, indeed, found the Spaniſh Affairs in the moſt diſtreſſed Condition imaginable. Their Armada conſiſted but of 10 Ships, and of theſe four only were of the Line of Battle; the reſt of ſmall Force, and ſo rotten, that they could ſcarce endure the firing of their own Guns. The Army in Catalonia was in a ſtill worſe Condition; it conſiſted but of 9000 Men, without Cloaths, without Pay, without Proviſions, without Artillery, and without Tents. The Towns on the Sea-coaſt were ſo meanly fortified, that on the Approach of a French Squadron, the People had no other Way to ſecure themſelves but by Flight.

[a] On the 10th of September.

[b] The latter End of December ſeveral Ships arrived there from England, which brought the Admiral a Commiſſion of Admiral, Chief Commander, and Captain General of their Majeſties Navy, and Ships to be employed in the Narrow Seas, and in the Mediterranean; and, together with naval Stores, ſeveral Officers and Artificers for refitting the Fleet.

[c] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 265.

“ *Tourville* once adventured out to Sea, with a Deſign to ſlip by the *Engliſh* Admiral; yet he quickly found ſo watchful an Eye upon him, that he was forced to return to his Port again. Indeed, nothing is more illuſtrious, in the whole Courſe of King *William*'s Reign, than his Fleet riding thus triumphantly in the *Mediterranean*; for, by this Means, the *Engliſh* Dominion of the *Streights* was added to that of the narrow Seas; a Stop was put to the conquering Arms of *France* in *Catalonia*; all the *French* Coaſts were expoſed to the Inſults of the Confederates; and even all the *Italian* Princes were kept in Awe; and the *Venetians* began now to think of ſending a ſolemn Ambaſſy into *England*, to court the Friendſhip of his *Britannick* Majeſty.”

The Advantages gained over our Enemies this Year at Sea, particularly in the *Mediterranean*, and by bombarding their Ports in the Ocean, were ſo well diſplayed by his Majeſty and the Miniſtry at the Opening of the Parliament, that the Commons, on the 30th of *November*, granted a Supply of 2,382,712 Pounds, for the Maintenance of the Navy for the Year 1695, which ſufficiently ſhewed how eaſy it was to engage the Nation to give Money, when they had any tolerable Proſpect of ſeeing it well laid out [*]. But the Death of Queen *Mary*, which happened towards the latter End of the Year, damped the Spirits of the People, who had a wonderful Affection for the Perſon of that Princeſs.

Let us now take a View of what paſſed in the *Weſt-Indies* within this remarkable Æra, from the Revolution to the Death of Queen *Mary*.

The Revolution took Place in our Colonies, as eaſily as it had done at home, on a Principle which was very emphatically expreſſed by one of our Governors, who, when he was ſummoned, by a Man of War, to ſubmit to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, very ſenſibly anſwered, that if they were King and Queen at *Whitehall*, they ſhould be ſo there, and proclaimed them immediately. By this Means the Plantations were ſecured againſt every Thing except foreign Invaſions, and to theſe they were not long expoſed.

And his Majeſty having juſtly conſidered, that to diſturb the Trade, ruin the Settlements, and interrupt the Navigation and Commerce of his Enemies, was one of the readieſt Ways to impoveriſh their Subjects, diſable them in the eſſential Part of their Strength, and make them weary of the War, ſent frequent Orders and Directions to the Governors of the ſeveral Plantations in *America*, to annoy the *French* in thoſe Parts, to the utmoſt of their Power. And that they might be the better able to do this, and be, at the ſame Time, ſecured from any Inſults from the *French* Side, he had frequently ſent them ſmall Squadrons of Men of War, to be always ready, and at their Direction, on ſuch Occaſions as they ſhould find neceſſary to employ them in.

The *French*, however, were ſo numerous in their Colonies, and by the Riches of their Plantations, were ſo able to fit out Privateers, to infeſt the Weſtern Iſlands, that a ſmall Force was not only inſufficient to diſturb them, but alſo unable to protect the *Engliſh* Settlements. His Majeſty, therefore, now reſolved to ſend a Force capable of aſſaulting them, at their own Doors. Accordingly towards the End of the Year 1689, Captain *Lawrence Wright* was appointed Commander in Chief of the Squadron deſigned for the *Weſt Indies*, being one Third-rate, ſeven Fourth-rates, two Fifth-rates, two Fire-ſhips, and one Ketch.

He was ordered to rendezvous with them at *Plymouth*, there to take on-board a Regiment of Foot, of his Grace the Duke of *Bolton*'s, and that being done, to proceed to *Barbadoes*, where he was to conſult with the Governor and Council, how he might beſt ſecure the *Engliſh* Plantations, and to recover thoſe which might be fallen into the Hands of the *French*; but he was not to ſtay longer there than was abſolutely neceſſary for refreſhing the Regiment, and to take in ſuch Men and Proviſions, as the ſaid Governor and Council ſhould think proper. And then he was to repair to ſuch of the *Leeward Caribbee* Iſlands, as (by Intelligence of the Enemy's Proceedings, and his adviſing with the aforeſaid Governor and Council) ſhould be thought moſt for the Service: And if he ſaw a good Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, or their Ships, at *Martinico*, or elſewhere in his Paſſage to the aforeſaid Iſlands, it was recommended to him to make the beſt Uſe thereof he poſſibly could.

At the *Leeward* Iſlands he was to apply himſelf to General *Codrington*, and in all Things relating to the Land Service to act according to his Directions, and the Opinion of a Council of War, either for landing the Regiment, or attacking the *French* Colonies, recovering any of our Iſlands, or annoying the Enemy in any other Manner. In Enterprizes at Sea, he was to act as ſhould be adviſed by the Governor and Councils of War, when he had Opportunity of conſulting them, and, when it was neceſſary, to ſpare as many Seamen as he could with Regard to the Safety of the Ships. And that the Iſlands might not be expoſed to Inſults, he was forbid to ſend any Ship from the Squadron, until the Governor and Council were informed of it, and ſatisfied that the Service did not require their immediate Attendance.

If when he arrived among the *Leeward* Iſlands, he found them all in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and that it ſhould not be judged neceſſary to remain there, or to attempt the Enemy in thoſe Parts, he was, without Delay, to repair to *Barbadoes*, there to conſult with the Governor and Council, whether it might not be moſt for the Service to ſtay with all, or any of the Ships, or to go to other of the Plantations for their Defence; and purſuant to what ſhould be ſo agreed on, he was to proceed, and to do the beſt Service in his Power, 'till he received Orders to return to *England*. And leſt the *French* ſhould attempt any of the *Dutch* Plantations, and prevail upon them for want of timely Aſſiſtance, it was recommended to him, to give them what Help the Circumſtances of our own Affairs, both by Sea and Land, would conveniently admit of.

Captain *Wright* ſailed from *Plymouth* the 8th of *March*, with a conſiderable Number of Merchant-ſhips under his Convoy; but ſuch was the Extremity of the Weather, not long after he parted from the Land, that moſt of the Ships received very conſiderable Damages in their Maſts, Sails, and Rigging; and after he had beat it up and down the Sea ſeveral Days, without ſeeing any of his Squadron, or of the Merchant-ſhips, he reached *Madeira* the 2d of *April*, where he found all the Men of War, except the *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, *Quaker* Ketch, and *Richard* and *John* Fire-ſhips, and about 20 Sail of the Merchant-ſhips. He ſtaid here to recruit, and to take in Wine for the Men, and then proceeded towards *Barbadoes*, where he came to an Anchor in *Carliſle* Bay, the 11th of *May* following; but with his Men in ſo weak a Condition, that he had hardly enough in Health to get up his Anchors; however, the ſick ſoon recovered by the Care which was taken of them on-ſhore.

The 27th of the ſame Month he ſailed towards the *Leeward* Iſlands, and arriving the 30th at *Antegoa*, entered into Conſultation with General *Codrington*, and the Council there (of which he was ſworn a Member) what Place in the Poſſeſſion of the *French* they ſhould [illegible]ſt attack; but came then to no Reſolution.

The 3d of *June* the Commodore ſailed, with his Squadron, to *Montſerrat*, where the General joined him from *Antegoa*, with ſome Ships and Sloops, having ſome Troops on-board. They ſailed together to *Nevis*, where on the 17th they came to a Reſolution, to attempt the Recovery of *St. Chriſtopher*'s from the *French*. To this End it was agreed, that Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with about 500 Men, ſhould land Eaſtward of *Friget*'s Bay. Theſe Troops being landed, and having twice defeated the *French*, who oppoſed them, marched towards *Baſſe Terre*; and again repulſed the Enemy, who poſted themſelves in their Way. This ſo diſcouraged them, that they made no farther Attempt to oppoſe the General, who being landed, and at the Head of 3000 Men, marched thither likewiſe; while the Fleet ſailed to the Road, with a Deſign to batter the Town and Forts: But, upon their Approach, the *French* abandoned it, and fled to the Mountains. The Army, continuing their March, burnt all before them, and in the Evening encamped about a Mile from the Town, near the *Jeſuit*'s College.

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[*] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Preſent State of Europe, Chandler's Debates, &c.

The 24th the General marched towards *Fort-Charles*, while the Fleet ſailed to the *Old Road*, and anchored there, 'till the Army came up. The 26th they marched to *Phrip*'s Bay, and encamped ſome within a Mile of the Fort, and ſome nearer. The 30th two Chaſe-guns were mounted, which began, the next Morning, to fire upon the Fort, while the Fleet, plying backwards and forwards before it, ſaluted it with all the Guns they could bring to bear.

The 2d of *July* it was agreed to mount nine 12 Pounders more, to batter the Fort with the greater Vigour; the 12th the Enemy ſent a Flag of Truce from the Fort, and deſired a Ceſſation of Arms for three Days; but, the next Day, Articles of Surrender being agreed upon, the Fort was given up.

The 17th it was agreed, in a Council of War, that Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with his Regiment, ſhould be tranſported to *St. Euſtace*, a neighbouring Iſland, where he landed on the 19th, without any Reſiſtance, and the ſame Evening the Fleet came to an Anchor there. The Fort, though the Garriſon conſiſted but of 80, held out with great Bravery, 'till the 24th, and then ſurrendered. This being the only Place of Strength in the whole Iſland, it fell of Courſe into our Hands.

The 26th the Fleet ſet ſail again from *St. Euſtace*, and anchored the next Day in a ſandy Bay, Weſtward of *Charles-Fort*, where having taken on board the Guns they had mounted on-ſhore, it was agreed, in a General Council, that as the Army was ſickly, nothing ſhould be farther attempted, 'till the Men were in better Health, and the Hurricanes were over. The 2d of *Auguſt* the Fleet ſailed to the *Old Road*, where they watered, and proceeding thence, firſt to *Mevis*, they arrived the 5th off the Five Iſlands at *Antegoa*. Here they put their Soldiers on-ſhore, and departing from thence the 7th, arrived the 13th at *Barbadoes*.

The Hurricanes being over, the Fleet returned to *Antegoa*, the 6th of *October*; but not finding General *Codrington* there, ſailed to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, where they met him. The 11th, it was determined, in a Council of War, to attack *Guadelupe*; but, in the Midſt of their Preparations for this Expedition, the Commodore received Orders to return, with Part of his Squadron to *England*. The 15th of *December* the Fleet ſailed from *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and anchored the 30th in *Carliſle* Bay, in *Barbadoes*, being in grant Want of Proviſions. The Commodore being obliged to ſend two of his Ships to *Jamaica*, another as a Convoy from thence to *England*, and a fourth for the ſame Service, from *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward* Iſlands, had now but ſeven Ships left, and thoſe in a diſabled Condition[a].

Captain *Wright* had not been long in *Carliſle* Bay before his former Orders were revoked, and he directed to remain in the *Weſt-Indies*; and the 20th of *January* the Victuallers arrived, under Convoy of the *Jerſey*. The Commodore having reſumed the Deſign againſt *Guadelupe*, and ſix of the beſt Merchant-ſhips[b] being taken up to ſerve as Men of War, he ſet ſail the 12th of *February* for the *Leeward* Iſlands, where he arrived in a few Days; but there being a Miſunderſtanding between him and General *Codrington*, which occaſioned Delays in furniſhing Neceſſaries, it was the 21ſt of *March* before they proceeded.

It was now reſolved, that *Marigalante*, a *French* Iſland, in the Neighbourhood of *Guadelupe*, ſhould be firſt attacked. There they arrived the 27th, and landing 900 Men the next Day, under Colonel *Nott*, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town and Fort, without any Oppoſition, the Enemy being retired into the Country; whence they ſoon fetched in the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, and ſeveral other Priſoners.

General *Codrington* being, by this Time, arrived with the reſt of the Troops, and our Men having, in the mean time, ruined the Plantations, and ravaged the Country of *Marigalante*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, the 10th of *April*, to re-embark the Troops, and purſue the former Deſign on *Guadelupe*. The Army was accordingly landed the 21ſt on that Iſland; but their Attempts not proving ſo ſucceſsful here as at *Marigalante*; and receiving Intelligence, on the 14th of *May*, that 11 Sail of *French* Ships had been ſeen in Offing, which they ſuppoſed to be Monſieur *Du Caſſe*'s Squadron, coming from *Martinico* to relieve *Guadelupe*, it was reſolved to quit the Iſland, which, having embarked their Troops the ſame Night, they did the next Morning.

Two Days after they ſaw the *French* Squadron to Windward, which, as they believed, had landed a Reinforcement at *Guadelupe*, and Captain *Wright* gave Chaſe to ſix Sail, among which was a Rear-admiral; but they being clean Ships out-ſailed him; upon which, bearing up with the reſt of his Squadron, they came to an Anchor the next Day under the Iſland of *Marigalante*. Here it was agreed, in a Conſultation of Captains,[c] that all the Ships (excepting the *Antelope* and the *Jerſey*, which were left to carry General *Codrington*, with the blue Regiment to *Antegoa*, or whether elſe he deſired) ſhould proceed to *Barbadoes*, which they did accordingly. The Commodore falling ſick a Day or two after, as ſoon as he arrived in *Carliſle* Bay, left the Squadron, by the Advice of the Phyſicians, and coming to *England*, the Ships were divided, ſome to particular Services to the *Weſt Indies*, while the Remainder came home, and brought with them ſuch Trade as were ready to ſail.

The following Letters[d], written one by Colonel *Farmer*, the other by Mr. *Reid*, both Members of the Council of *Barbadoes*, to their Correſpondents in *England*, may give the Reader an Idea, what was the Opinion of that Iſland, concerning this Expedition.

"Moſt of our Ships-men being preſſed, and gone with "the Fleet, for the Leeward Expedition, they will not be "able to ſail, for want of them, and ſo muſt ſtay for their "Return. I wiſh I may then be able to give you ſuch an "Account of their Proceedings there, as may be pleaſing "to you; but, by what they have hitherto done, I much "doubt, I ſhall not: For Captain *Wright*, with all the "King's Ships, reinforced with ſix of our beſt Merchantmen, "equal to Fourth and Fifth-rates, well manned, has "been theſe ſeven Weeks down there; and though great "Matters were talked of here, before he went, as of taking "and deſtroying all the *French* Iſlands in a ſhort time; "yet talking is all that has hitherto been done, except the "taking a ſmall Fiſher-boat: But the *French* have been "more active; for while theſe mighty Things were performing "by our Fleets, in the Roads and Bays of *St.* "*Chriſtopher*'s, *Antegoa*, and *Mevis*, they, with Sloops, "and other ſmall Veſſels, are buſied in taking (both "Windward and Leeward of this Iſland) our Veſſels, inward "and outward bound, of which we have Advice of "13, of all Sorts, already taken by them; ſo that, in a "very ſhort Time, we ſhall be in a miſerable Condition, "for want of Proviſions."

"Our Crops[e], this Year, have been very ſmall; in all Probability, "the next will be ſmaller, we not having had the "uſual Seaſons to plant. We have been annoyed extreamly "by a little *French* Snow, who has, notwithſtanding the "King's Fleet, taken, by Report, 28 or 30 of our ſmall "Veſſels, to Leeward of this Iſland, which has occaſioned "Proviſions to be ſcarce and dear. Our Admiral, of "whom we are like to be happily rid, has been ſlothful in "their Majeſties Service; he, and General *Codrington*, de"ſerted *Guadalupe*, without any Reaſon, only their own "Jealouſies and Fears of the *French* Fleet, when we had "three Times the Number of Men that the *French* had. "They left their Mortar-piece behind, though the *French*, "at the ſame time, deſerted the Iſland alſo, concluding "we were going to attack *Martinico*. This Expedition is "one of the moſt unaccountable Things I ever heard of."

My Author adds, that Captain *Wright* for his Negligence and Cowardice, was ſent home a Priſoner; for which, if true, his Pretence of Sickneſs was a very good Colour.

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[a] Theſe ſeven Ships were the Mary, with her Fore-maſt ſprung; the Tiger, with a Jury main-maſt; the Aſſiſtance, with the Head of her Main-maſt ſhot with a 24 Pounder, and the Ship leaky; the Briſtol, with her Fore-maſt ſprung, and the Ship leaky; the Antelope and the Hampſhire, with their Main-maſts ſprung; and the St. Paul, a Fire-ſhip.

[b] One of 40 Guns, two of 32, and three of 30 Guns each.

[c] Their Reaſons were a ſudden malignant Diſtemper, which began to rage among the Ships Companies and Soldiers, the Weakneſs of the hired Ships, a French Squadron being abroad, and themſelves being in Want of all Manner of Stores.

[d] Brit. Emp. in America, Vol. II. p. 54.

[e] Mr Reid's Letter written three Months after the former.

The *New England* Men reſolving to take Advantages of the *French* War, attacked them in *Acadia*, though not with much Succeſs. The *French* had built a ſtrong Fort at *Port Royal*[a], in *Nova Scotia*, (or, as they called it, *Acadia*) where Monſieur *Meneval* was Governor; they had alſo ſeveral Plantations along the Coaſt; and drove a conſiderable Trade in Lumber, Fiſhing, and Furs; being increaſed to 6 or 7000 Souls, who, in Conjunction with their *Indian* Allies, were troubleſome to the *Engliſh* about *Caſco* Bay and *Wells* in *New England*. To rid themſelves of this Enemy the Government of *New England* ſent Sir *William Phips*, with 700 Men, and a convenient Number of Ships to diſlodge them. Sir *William* ſailed from *Nantaſcot* on the 28th of *April*, and, on the 11th of *May*, arrived before *Port Royal:* Monſieur *Meneval*, the Governor, ſurrendered the Place, after two or three Days Reſiſtance; and Sir *William Phips* took Poſſeſſion of it, in the Name of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, demoliſhed the Fort, ſent away the *French* Garriſons, and took an Oath of Allegiance to the King and Queen of *England*, of the *French* who ſtaid there, over whom he placed a Governor. Sir *William*, in his Return, deſtroyed another *French* Settlement at *St. John*'s River, on the South Side of *Funda* Bay. The *Engliſh*, for ſome time, carried on a beneficial Trade, with the Natives for Furs; and *La Hontan* complains, that they under-ſold the *French*, and took ſuch Meaſures, as he feared would, in time, drive the Latter quite out of the Trade; but, they ſuffered the *French*, in the Sequel, to recover all *Nova Scotia*, which, as I ſaid, they call *Acadia*.

After the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*, Sir *William Phips* was diſpatched away with 32 Sail of Ships and Tenders, to attack *Quebeck*. They had on-board, in all, 2000 Men; and ſetting ſail from *Hull* near *Boſton*, the 9th of *Auguſt*, arrived before *September* at *Quebeck*; but were detained ſo long by contrary Winds, that they were three Weeks going up the River of *Canada*, which otherwiſe they might have done in three Days. This gave the Count *de Frontenac* an Opportunity to prepare for his Defence, and draw all the Strength of the Colony to *Quebeck*, which Sir *William Phips* expected would have been divided, by an Army marching over Land, and attacking *Mount-Royal* Fort, at the ſame Time that he fell upon the City.

This Army was to conſiſt of a 1000 Men from *New York*, *Connecticut*, and *Plymouth* Colonies, and 1500 *Iroquois*. The *Engliſh* marched as far as the great Lake of *Canada*; but not finding Canoes ready for them to paſs it, and the *Indians* not joining them, according to their Agreement, they returned; by which means Count *de Frontenac* had no need to make any Detachments for the Security of *Mount-Royal*. Sir *William* ſummoned the Count to ſurrender the City, but received a very inſolent abuſive Anſwer. On the 8th of *October* the *Engliſh* landed, under Lieutenant-general *Whalley*, to the Number of 1400, for, to that Number they were now reduced, by the Small-pox, and other Diſeaſes

In the mean while Sir *William* brought his Ships to bear, on the Weſt End of the City, waiting when General *Whalley* would begin the Aſſault; but this Gentleman, hearing Count *de Frontenac* had 4000 Men with him, and was provided to make a vigorous Defence, notwithſtanding the Entreaties of the *Engliſh* Soldiers to the contrary, reſolved to re-embark. Sir *William* expecting the Signal of their attacking the Town on the Eaſt Side, ſent a Meſſenger on Shore, to know the Reaſon of their not giving the Aſſault, which when he underſtood, and that many of the Men were almoſt frozen to death, and the Colonel and others ill of the Small-pox, he ordered them on-board to refreſh themſelves; and calling a Council of War, it was reſolved to return. Thus ended this fruitleſs Expedition, which coſt the Colony of *New England* 40,000 Pounds!

Sir *William Phips* intended well, and did his beſt through the whole Expedition; though, perhaps, neither his Education nor Experience, had qualified him for a Command of ſo extenſive a Nature. But, beſides any Miſtakes he might fall into, there were many untoward Accidents which contributed to fruſtrate this Deſign, and therefore it is equally cruel and unjuſt to lay the Blame entirely at his Door. This is certain, that no Man could be more ſenſibly affected than he was by this Diſappointment; and yet he made it the Buſineſs of the remaining Part of his Life, to diſpoſe all Things for another Attempt, in hopes the Succeſs of that might efface the Memory of the former Miſcarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his Honor[b].

In the latter End of *October*, 1691, Captain *Ralph Wren*, who then commanded the *Norwich*, had Orders to ſail with that, and two other Fourth-rates, to *Barbadoes*, and from thence to the Leeward-iſlands, where he was to take upon him the Command of ſuch Ships as were in that Station; and his general Inſtructions were, to ſecure the Trade and Plantations, and to annoy the Enemy.

He ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 12th of *December*, and on the 16th of the next Month arrived in *Carliſle-Bay* in *Barbadoes*; where being informed, that the *French* had a ſtout Squadron at Sea, which had taken the *Jerſey:* The Governor and Council of *Barbadoes* agreed, that two large Merchant-ſhips ſhould be fitted out, in order to join the five Men of War already under the Commodore; and that with theſe he ſhould attack the *French* Squadron, tho' it conſiſted of nine Sail.

The Commodore quitted *Barbadoes* on the 13th of *January*, and cruiſed for about a Week, but without ſeeing the Enemy, and then returned. Another Council of War being held, it was therein reſolved, that the Commodore ſhould proceed with his Squadron, and the Merchant-ſhips that were then ready, for the Leeward-iſlands; and on the 21ſt of *February*, he fell in with a *French* Squadron of 18 Men of War, from 60 to 40 Guns. They laboured all Night to engage him, and about Eight in the Morning, on the 22d, the Enemy having a freſh Gale, and moſt of the Commodore's Squadron not a Breath of Wind, four of their Ships bore down upon the *Mary*, commanded by Lieutenant *Wyat*, who defended her very well, until the Commodore could come to her Aſſiſtance. At the ſame time the *Mordaunt*, commanded by Captain *Boteler*, with one of the hired Ships, and the *England* Frigate, commanded by Captain *Stubbs*, were warmly engaged in the very midſt of the Enemy; but they cleared themſelves with all the Bravery imaginable. The Commodore finding the great Diſproportion as to the Strength, his Squadron conſiſting then but of ſeven Ships, and that the Merchant-ſhips, which were under his Care, had taken the proper and uſual Methods for their own Security, he, after a warm Engagement of four Hours, wiſely provided for the Safety of the Ships of War under his Command, by bearing away. He did it, however, with ſo little Sail, that he ſecured the three Ships which the Enemy gave chaſe to: and they, as much tired of his Company, readily ſtood away from him. Thus by a due Mixture of Courage and Conduct, the Commodore ſaved his ſmall Squadron, and gained an high Reputation, this having been reckoned one of the beſt conducted Actions of the War. The gallant Commander, however, did not long enjoy that Satiſfaction which muſt neceſſarily reſult from performing ſo ſignal a Service as he had done to his Country; for as at the very Time of the Engagement he was in a declining State of Health, ſo very ſoon after, his Diſeaſe carried him off, and in *Auguſt* following, Part of his Squadron, under the Command of Captain *Boteler*, returned to *England*[c].

The Trade in the *Weſt Indies* ſuffering very much from the Superiority of the *French* in thoſe Seas, the Government in *England* reſolved in the Year 1692, to put an end to the Complaints that had been made from moſt of the Colonies on that Subject, by ſending a powerful Fleet[d] thither, under the Command of Sir *Francis Wheeler*, as gallant and as judicious an Officer as any in the Navy; and he was empowered to take under his Command ſuch Ships of War as he ſhould find in that Part of the World. He had under his Convoy alſo a certain Number of Tranſports, with 1500 Land-troops, and had Aſſurance given him, that he ſhould find another Body of very good Troops ready aſſembled in *Barbadoes*; and in Conjunction with them he had Orders to attack ſome of the *French* Settlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce.

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[a] Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p 22.

[b] See the Life of Sir William Phips, by Cotton Mather, Lahontan's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 155. Letter from New England, dated November 22, 1690, containing an Account of the Quebec Expedition.

[c] Burchett's naval Hiſtory, p. 459. Britiſh Empire in America, Life of King William, Hiſtory of the laſt War, Preſent State of Europe

[d] The State of Sir Francis Wheeler's Squadron was this; two Third-rates, ſix fourths, three fifths, one ſixth, three Fire-ſhips, a Store-ſhip, Hoſpital, and Bomb-veſſel. See Burchett's Memoirs, &c.

Sir *Francis* left the *Engliſh* Coaſt in the Beginning of *January*, and on the 26th of the ſame Month touched at *Madeira*; and having taken in Wine there for the Uſe of the Ships, he arrived in *Carliſle-Bay* at *Barbadoes* the firſt of *March* following, where ſeveral Ships, which had ſeparated from him in his Paſſage, joined him again.

Here it was determined to make an Attempt firſt upon *Martinico*; and the two Regiments of *Fowlkes* and *Godwin* were joined to about 800 Land-men, provided at *Barbadoes*, commanded by the Captains *Salter* and *Butler*.

The Squadron arriving at *Cul de Sac Marine*, in *Martinico*, the 1ſt of *April*, a general Council of War, of Sea and Land-officers, was called; and the Queſtion being put, whether the Soldiers ſhould land firſt, and deſtroy Fort *St. Peter*, and the Plantations thereabouts, or begin with attacking *Fort-Royal*, it was agreed to land at or near Fort *St. Peter*, and that the Fleet ſhould ſail the next Morning to favour this Attempt.

At *Cul de Sac Marine*, they burnt and ruined all the Houſes, and all the Plantations thereabouts, ſome of which were conſiderable, and then the Troops were put on-board again. Two Days after, Sir *Francis* made another Deſcent with 1500 Men; and after he had burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral Houſes and Plantations, the Troops came again to their Ships. The next Day Lieutenant-colonel *Lillingſton* was ſent aſhore, with a conſiderable Party, to ruin the Country on this Side *Diamond-Bay*, which he did and returned. The 9th and 10th, Colonel *Codrington*, with the Forces of the Leeward-iſlands, and Colonel *Floyd*'s Regiment, joined the Fleet, and then they weighed Anchor, and came before *Fort-Royal*, and *St. Peter*'s Fort. Soon after the Troops were landed, ravaged the Country, and ſome Skirmiſhes happened between them and the Enemy, with various Succeſs in the Neighbourhood of *St. Peter*'s *.

The 20th of *April* another Council of War was called, and a Debate ariſing, whether a cloſe Siege ſhould be laid, and Attacks made on the Town and Fort of *St. Peter*'s, or whether the Forces ſhould be taken on-board, and that then it ſhould be conſidered what was fit to be done, it was moved by the Preſident, (Sir *Francis Wheeler*) that every Man ſhould give his Opinion in Writing.

Purſuant to this Motion, each Officer, both by Sea and Land, took the Matter into Conſideration, and having drawn up their Reaſons, and ſigned them, they were delivered in: But few there were among them, if any, except Sir *Thomas Wheeler* himſelf, and Lieutenant-colonel *Colt*, who were for making an Attempt; but rather to retire, and land the Men in ſome other Place, in order to deſpoil the Enemy.

Moſt of the Officers alledged, that the *French* were ſuperior to our Forces, and that ſince, at leaſt, one third of the Men were *Iriſh* Papiſts, there could be but very little Confidence put in them; and another Objection was made, that the greater Number of Men they had to truſt to, had not borne Arms before this very Expedition.

Other Scruples were raiſed, ſuch as theſe: That the Roads were almoſt impaſſable, and the Hills inacceſſible; that the Attempt would not only too much expoſe the Men to the Enemy, but the Sickneſs alſo, by reaſon of the Fatigue, 800 of the 3000 (including the *Iriſh*) being either found killed, wounded, or ſick, within three Days after Landing.

Others, and particularly General *Codrington*, were of Opinion, that ſhould our Army be beaten, it would be almoſt impoſſible to retreat on-board the Ships; ſo that not only *Barbadoes*, but the Leeward-iſlands alſo, would be in a very great meaſure expoſed to the Enemy, moſt of the Forces having been drawn from thoſe Places for this Service.

All Things conſidered, it was reſolved, at a Council of War held the 22d of *April*, that the Army ſhould reembark, and the Squadron ſail to *Dominica*, that there they might take in Water, and refreſh the Men, who were, at this time, in but very indifferent Circumſtances of Health.

At *Dominica* another Council of War was called the 25th of *April*, and the Queſtion being put, whether they ſhould attack *Guadalupe*, it was carried by a large Majority on the Negative. Upon this it was reſolved, to ſend home all the Forces belonging to *Barbadoes*, and the Leeward-iſlands, with ſufficient Convoys, and that the Squadron ſhould proceed to *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and there rendezvous.

The great Charge the Crown had been at on this Expedition, being conſidered by Sir *Francis*, he was of Opinion, that *Guadalupe* ought to be immediately attacked, and General *Codrington*, as well as Colonel *Fowlkes*, were of the ſame Mind; provided the Squadron and Army could remain there ſix Weeks, or two Months; for in leſs than that time, it was believed, it could not be effected; becauſe the Enemy was here as ſtrong, or rather ſtronger, than at *St. Peter*'s. But Sir *Francis* informing them, that the King had poſitively ordered the Fleet ſhould not continue in thoſe Parts longer than the laſt of *May*; and the Forces belonging to *Barbadoes* being very urgent to be gone, he having refreſhed the Officers and Men, bent his Courſe to *New-England*, and arrived at *Boſton* the 12th of *June*.

Sir *Francis Wheeler*, purſuant to the Commands he had received from his Majeſty, propoſed to Sir *William Phips*, Governor of *New-England*, the going to, and attempting *Quebec* a ſecond time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-ſpirited Man, yet as Circumſtances then ſtood, he could not cloſe with it. Such an Expedition required a Strength of 4000 Men at leaſt, and theſe (having had no previous Notice) the Governor could not poſſibly draw together by the Beginning of *July*, which was the very lateſt a Fleet that was to be thus employed could ſail; and therefore this grand Deſign appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by thoſe two Men, who of all others, had it moſt at Heart. This Diſappointment determined the Commodore to quit *Boſton* as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore on the 3d of *Auguſt* he left that Place, and proceeded for *Newfoundland*, reſolving to attempt ſomething there worthy of the Force with which he left *England*, and the Honour allowed him of carrying the *Union-flag*, from a View to the Advantages which, it was not doubted, would reſult to the Nation from his Expedition.

On the 18th of *Auguſt* arriving at *Placentia*, he formed a Deſign upon that Place; but this Project fell to the Ground likewiſe, upon Information given, that the *French* were very ſtrong there, not only in large Privateers, but that they had, at leaſt, 2000 Men, reckoning both Soldiers and Inhabitants; that the Mouth of the Harbour (which was not above a Ship's Length in Breadth) was guarded by three Cables athwart, and a ſtrong Fort, whereon were mounted more than 30 large Cannons, and palliſadoed to the Land; and that the neighbouring Hills were alſo fortified.

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* Father Daniel pretends, that the Engliſh, attempting to make themſelves Maſters of Martinico, with 60 Sail of Ships, 17 whereof were Men of War, ſix Frigates, and three Fire-ſhips, and 4300 Men on-board, made a Deſcent in two Places, and landed 2000 Men in each: That they actually made an Attempt with theſe Forces, and that Monſieur Gabaret, who commanded in the Iſle, Monſieur Augire, the King's Lieutenant, and Monſieur de Blenac, Lieutenant-general of America, killed, upon theſe two Occaſions, 300 of the Engliſhmen, wounded 400 more, and obliged them to re-embark, with the greateſt Precipitation, without having done any Damage to the Iſle, farther than the Burning of a few Sugar-works. De Larrey ſays, the Engliſh appeared off of Martinico, with 46 Ships, the 2d of April, and having anchored in a Place proper for a Deſcent, landed 1600 Men, who began to burn the adjacent Country. Two Days after, they were re-inforced by 14 Barks with Militia, notwithſtanding which the French obliged them to retire. The 12th, they appeared before Fort-Royal, from whence being likewiſe repulſed the 17th, they landed 4 or 5000 Men, about a League from Fort St. Peter, the Chief of the Iſland, and advanced with the Deſign of attacking it. The Governor, Monſieur Gabaret, went to meet them, with 1000 Men only, but was obliged to give way to the ſuperior Force of the Engliſh; but having received a Reinforcement under the Command of the Count de Blenac, Governor of all the French Iſlands, (in ſix Brigantines, one Saick, one Galliot, and 70 Sloops) he obliged the Engliſh to retire, in their Turns, leaving 200 dead on the Spot, beſides wounded and Priſoners. The 18th, they were again driven from a riſing Ground, where they had lodged 600 Men, and they were afterwards worſted in divers Encounters: So that, after having remained five Days before Fort St. Peter, and 21 on the Iſland, they re-embarked, and ſet ſail, with the Loſs of 500 Men killed, 200 wounded, and 100 Priſoners. The French pretend, that on their Side there were only ſix killed, and two wounded, in the laſt Action, and, in all, but 10 killed, 38 wounded, and two taken Priſoners. They likewiſe ſay, the Engliſh left behind them 100 Barrels of Powder and Bullets, with good Store of Arms and Appurtenances to Artillery.

He thereupon called a Council of War, of the Sea and Land-officers, and earneſtly preſſed, that the Land-forces might make an Attempt on-ſhore, while the Fleet did the ſame by Sea; and that ſome Soldiers might be taken from the Tranſport-ſhips, to aſſiſt in the Ships of War, which had not more Men than were ſufficient to ply one Tire of their Guns. This the Land-officers rejected, there being eleven of them to ſix of the Sea, againſt going in with the Ships, to batter the great Fort: However, he ſent ſome of the Frigates, and Part of the Soldiers, under Command of Major *Rabiſiner*, to deſtroy the *French* at *St. Peter*'s, which was effectually done.

The 28th of *Auguſt* the Squadron arrived in the Bay of *Bulls*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland, and took in Water and Wood, where being detained, by bad Weather, until the 22d of *September*, the Commodore then ſailed for *England*, and arrived on the 18th of *October* at *Portſmouth*, his Ships in a bad, and his Men in a much worſe Condition, ſo that they were ſcarce able to navigate them. Yet as unfortunate as this Expedition proved from firſt to laſt, Sir *Francis Wheeler* never fell under the leaſt Cenſure. The Accounts he tranſmitted home, joined to the Letters from the reſpective Colonies, and the Extracts of Proceedings in Councils of War, juſtified him ſo clearly, and ſet his Courage and Conduct in ſo fair a Light, that when he arrived at *Portſmouth*, he had the Satisfaction of finding a Commiſſion, appointing him Rear-admiral of the Red; a Preferment, which as it was obtained purely by Merit, ſo it never expoſed him to Envy [a].

The *Royal-African* Company finding themſelves much diſturbed in their Trade, by the new Settlements made by the *French* in the Mouth of the River *Sennegal*, and having exact Intelligence of the Schemes concerted by that Nation for extending their own Trade in thoſe Parts, and deſtroying ours, reſolved to exert the great Force they had in *Guinea*, to ſecure themſelves from all theſe Apprehenſions, by attacking the Enemy immediately, in order, if poſſible, to the diſpoſſeſſing them of their Settlements before they could gain any Intelligence of the Deſign: A Project, which might eaſily have been accompliſhed with proper Aſſiſtance from the Crown. But they were at this time ſo much afraid of the Enemy's penetrating whatever was tranſacted at the Secretary's Office, that the *African* Company reſolved to riſque this Undertaking, without communicating their Secret to any body. With this View they ſent Orders to *John Booker*, Eſq; then their Agent-general in *Guinea*, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the Execution of the Deſign which they had formed; and, that he might be ſatisfied as to the Authority upon which he acted, they ſent him a Copy of the Commiſſion they had received from the King and Queen, empowering them to commit Hoſtilities, and annoy the Enemy in all Places within their Juriſdiction [b].

Mr. *Booker*, thus authorized, collected a ſufficient Force of Men, Ships, and Sloops, and embarking with them in *December* 1692, ſailed from the River *Gambia*, and arrived at the Mouth of the River *Sennegal* on New-year's Day, 1693 [c]. Having with ſome Difficulty got over the Bar, he made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for attacking *Fort-Bourbon*; but the Governor, M. *Demoulin*, knowing his own Condition beſt, and that he muſt ſoon be compelled to ſurrender, ſent to Mr. *Booker* to demand Terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the Place. This Propoſition was accepted, and the *Engliſh* that Evening entered into Poſſeſſion of the Fort, which the *French* had held upwards of 50 Years. Mr. *Booker* continued here till the 25th of the ſame Month, and then embarked his Forces in order to make a Deſcent on the Iſland of *Goeree*, the only Place which remained to the *French* in *Guinea*. He arrived there on the 1ſt of *February*, and after alarming the Enemy till the 4th, he, in the Night, landed 100 Men under the old Fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the Fort of *St. Michael*, a well fortified Place, furniſhed with 28 Pieces of Cannon. They made ſome ſhew of defending themſelves at firſt; but being indifferently provided with Ammunition, about Noon they deſired to capitulate, and on the 8th marched out with all military Honours, and were carried to *James-Iſland*, in virtue of the Articles ſigned by Mr. *Booker*; from whence they were to be tranſported into *Europe*, on-board the Company's ſhipping, but at their own Expence [d].

The *French* were all this while getting a-head in the *Weſt-Indies*; and a particular Deſign was formed by their Governor of *Domingo* to ſurprize and conquer *Jamaica*: Upon which, as well as our other Iſlands, they frequently made Deſcents and great Havock, enriching themſelves exceedingly at our Expence. The few Ships of War we had in thoſe Parts, were ſo far from being able to defend our Colonies effectually, that ſeveral of them were taken by the Enemy; and in ſhort, Things were in ſo bad a Way, that the Adminiſtration at home thought the Loſs of our Colonies no improbable Thing, as appears by the Inſtructions given to the Commodores of the Squadrons, and the Commanders in chief of Land Troops. On the other hand, our good Allies the *Spaniards*, were no leſs, or rather were ſtill more diſtreſſed by the Enemy than we; all Trade between their Colonies was deſtroyed, their Coaſts plundered, and every thing ſubject to the Mercy of the Privateers, that were equipped in whole Squadrons from the *French* Settlements in *Hiſpaniola*.

Theſe Advantages were not ſo much owing either to the Force or Courage of the *French* in thoſe Parts, as to the Want of public Spirit and right Management in us, as well as in the *Spaniards*. The *French* Governors ſeem to have had nothing ſo much at heart, as the Glory of their Country, and a juſt Diſcharge of their own Duty; whereas ours were generally involved in Diſputes with the People they ſhould have protected, and much more intent on increaſing their own private Fortunes, and that too at any Rate, than vindicating the Honour of the Nation, and ſecuring the Properties of thoſe they governed. In one Thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the moſt preſſing Inſtances to the Miniſtry at home, to take more Care of our Concerns in the *Weſt-Indies*, by ſending proper Squadrons, and with them ſufficient Supplies of Land-forces into thoſe Parts. Still nothing was done till towards the latter End of the Year, when they were alarmed with the Account of a briſk Attempt made upon *Jamaica* by M. *Ducaſſe*, the *French* Governor of *St. Domingo*. He ſailed in the Month of *June* with three Men of War, and 23 Tranſports, having on-board 1500 Men for the Coaſt of *Jamaica*, where they arrived on the 24th of the ſame Month, and made a Deſcent on *Port-Morant*, which they found abandoned; and marching from thence up the Country, they plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed whatever they met, and carried off Money and Effects to a very great Value. But they ſoon found that the fine Schemes of Conqueſt they had formed to themſelves, were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do, was to return with what they had got. The people of *Jamaica*, when they found their Property in danger, aſſembled readily for its Defence, and behaved themſelves ſo well in an Engagement with the *French*, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the preſent ſick of this Deſign, and to hinder them from reſuming it afterwards.

The complaints that were ſent home on this Affair, joined to the Repreſentations of other Colonies, the Remonſtrances of the *Weſt-India* Merchants, and the Fear of a parliamentary Inquiry, obliged the Miniſtry to reſume this long-neglected Subject, and to think ſeriouſly of ſending to *America* ſuch a Force, and under ſuch Officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done.

There are Laws ſtill in Force enacted, within this Period, for preventing Frauds and Abuſes in the Revenue, and the illegal Importation and Exportation of certain Goods;

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[a] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 174. Sir George Rooke's Memoirs, Hiſtory of the laſt War.
[b] Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. v. p. 428. Hiſtory of the War, Preſent State of Europe 1695.
[c] Mr. Booker's Letter in the Collection of Voyages.
[d] Memoirs of the Proceedings of the Royal African Company, from 1690 to 1701, by Mr. John Snow.

Goods: Such as, *An Act for the better prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, and improving the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom* [a]. Whereby it is enacted, That Wooll carried to any Place on the Sea-coaſt, with an Intention to be ſhipped for foreign Parts, the Owner or Owners ſhall, in the firſt Place, cauſe a due Entry to be made of the ſaid Wooll, at the Port from whence the ſame ſhall be ſo intended to be conveyed, containing the exact Weight, Marks, and Numbers of the ſame, before he or they preſume to load or carry away any of the ſaid Wooll, within five Miles of any ſuch Port or Place on the Sea-coaſts from whence the ſame is ſo to be conveyed [b], under Pain of Forfeiture of the ſaid Wooll, Horſe, Cart, Waggon, or other Beaſts or Carriages conveying the ſame; and the Perſon or Perſons carrying, driving, aiding, or abetting the ſame, ſhall ſuffer and forfeit in ſuch Manner as by the Laws and Statutes now in Force againſt the Exportation of Wooll [c] is provided.

There is added a Proviſo, That this Clauſe ſhall not extend to Perſons carrying Wooll from Shearing, tho' within five Miles of the Sea, in caſe the Owner ſhall within 10 Days after Shearing, and before Removal, certify the Quantity, and where houſed, to the Officer of the Cuſtoms, in the next Port, and not remove it without three Days Notice.

And it was further enacted [d], That no Wooll ſhall be ſhipped from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but from theſe Ports following, *viz. Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingſale, Cork*, and *Drogheda* [e]; and that no Wooll ſhall be imported from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, into any Ports but theſe following, *viz. Liverpoole, Cheſter, Briſtol, Minehead, Barnſtaple, Biddiford*, and *Exeter* [f]: This Act to continue for three Years, and from thence to the End of the next Seſſion of Parliament [g]. Provided, That it ſhall and may be lawful to tranſport from the Port of *Southampton* only, for the only Uſe or Behoof of the Inhabitants of the Iſlands of *Guernſey, Jerſey, Alderney*, and *Sark*, and of the Woollen Manufactures there made, 1000 Tods of unkembed Wooll for the Iſland of *Guernſey*, 2000 Tods of unkembed Wooll for the Iſland of *Jerſey*, 200 Tods of unkembed Wooll for the Iſland of *Alderney*, and 100 Tods of unkembed Wooll for the Iſland of *Sark*, more than by the ſaid Act made in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* II. [h], is directed and provided for the ſame; to be done according to the ſame Rules, Orders, and Directions, and under the like Penalties and Forfeitures, as in the ſaid Act is directed, ordained, appointed, and inflicted; and on the further Penalty of 20 Pounds for every Tod of Wooll, and Forfeiture of the Wooll itſelf (one half thereof to his Majeſty, one quarter Part thereof to the Informer, and the other quarter Part to the Poor of the ſaid Iſlands) in caſe any Perſon ſhall again tranſport, or attempt to tranſport any of the ſaid Wooll from the ſaid Iſlands, for every Offence therein.

By an Act [i] for preventing the *Importation of Brandy, or other Spirituous Liquors in ſmall Quantities* [k], it is enacted, That no Brandy, ſingle or double, ſhall be imported from Parts beyond the Seas, in any Veſſel or Caſk which ſhall not contain 60 Gallons at the leaſt, upon pain of forfeiting the ſaid Brandy, or the Value thereof ſo to be imported, as aforeſaid; whereof one half ſhall be to their Majeſties, and the other half to ſuch Perſons as ſhall inform or ſue for the ſame [l].

By another Act [m] *For prohibiting the Importation of all foreign Hair Buttons*, it was enacted, That no foreign Buttons, made, or to be made of Hair, nor any other foreign Buttons whatſoever, ſhall be imported, brought in, ſent, or conveyed into the Kingdom of *England* [n], Dominion of *Wales*, or Port or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or bartered, ſold, exchanged, or offered to be bartered, ſold, or exchanged, upon pain of forfeiting all the ſaid Buttons ſo imported, brought in, bartered, ſold, or exchanged, or offered to be bartered, ſold, or exchanged; and upon ſuch further and other Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as are mentioned, contained, and expreſſed in the Act (*of* Charles II. *prohibiting the Importation of foreign Bone-lace, Cut-work, Imbroidery, Fringe, Band-ſtrings, Buttons, and Needle-work*) one Moiety of all which Forfeitures to be to the Uſe of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, their Heirs, and Succeſſors; and the other Moiety thereof to the Perſon or Perſons that ſhall ſue for the ſame.

It being found about this Time, that great Quantities of Goods [o] were daily imported from foreign Parts in a fraudulent and clandeſtine Manner, without paying the Cuſtoms and Duties due and payable to their Majeſties, and the ſame hath of late been much increaſed and promoted by ill Men, who, notwithſtanding the Laws already made, do undertake, as Inſurers, or otherwiſe, to deliver ſuch Goods ſo clandeſtinely imported at their Charge and Hazard, into the Houſes, Warehouſes, or Poſſeſſion of the Owners thereof: For the preventing ſo great a Miſchief, it was enacted, That all and every Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, who, by way of Inſurance, or otherwiſe, ſhall undertake or agree to deliver any Goods or Merchandizes whatſoever, to be imported from Parts beyond the Seas, at any Port or Place whatſoever within this [p] Kingdom, without paying the Cuſtoms and Duties that ſhall be due and payable for the ſame at ſuch Importation, or any prohibited Goods whatſoever; or in purſuance of ſuch Inſurance, Undertaking, or Agreement, ſhall deliver, or cauſe or procure to be delivered any prohibited Goods; or ſhall deliver, or cauſe or procure to be delivered, any Goods or Merchandizes whatſoever, without paying ſuch Duties and Cuſtoms, as aforeſaid, knowing thereof, and all and every their Aiders, Abettors, and Aſſiſtants, ſhall for every ſuch Offence forfeit and loſe the Sum of 500 Pounds, over and above all other Forfeitures and Penalties, to which they were liable by any Act then in force.

And further it was enacted, That all and every Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, who ſhall agree to pay any Sum or Sums of Money for the inſuring or conveying any Goods or Merchandizes that ſhall be ſo imported, without paying the Cuſtoms and Duties due and payable at the Importation thereof, or of any prohibited Goods whatſoever; or ſhall receive or take ſuch prohibited Goods into his or their Houſe, or Warehouſe, or other Place on Land, or ſuch other Goods, before ſuch Cuſtoms and Duties are paid, knowing thereof, ſhall alſo for every ſuch Offence forfeit and loſe the like Sum of 500 Pounds [q]; the one half of the ſaid Forfeitures to be to their Majeſties, and the other half to the Informer, or ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall ſue for the ſame.

Further it was enacted, That if the Inſurer, Conveyer, or Manager of ſuch Fraud, be the Diſcoverer of the ſame, he ſhall not only keep and enjoy the Inſurance-money or Reward given him, and be diſcharged of the Penalties to which he is liable by reaſon of ſuch Offence, but ſhall alſo have to his own Uſe one half of the Forfeitures hereby impoſed upon the Party or Parties making ſuch Inſurance or Agreement, or receiving the Goods, as aforeſaid; and in caſe no Diſcovery ſhall be made by the Inſurer, Conveyer, or Manager, as aforeſaid; and the Party or Parties inſured or concerned in ſuch Agreement, ſhall make Diſcovery thereof; he ſhall recover and receive back ſuch Inſurance-money or Premium, as he hath paid upon ſuch Inſurance or Agreement; and ſhall have to his own Uſe, one Moiety of the Forfeitures impoſed upon ſuch Inſurer, Conveyer, or Manager, as aforeſaid; and ſhall alſo be diſcharged of the Forfeitures hereby impoſed upon him or them [a].

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[a] 1 W. & M. ch. xxxii.

[b] By the Act 7 & 8 W. III. cap. 28. this Act is continued and extended to all Wooll and Wooll-fells, &c. carried by Land, within five Miles of the Sea Coaſts, except between Sun and Sun, which ſhall be forfeited, beſides other Penalties. Vide the Act.

[c] 12 Car. II. cap. 32. ſect. 4. & 14 Car. II. cap. 18. ſect. 1. which have been ſince enforced by 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 40. ſect. 1. and by the Act 4 Geor. I. cap. 11. where it is enacted, That any Perſon in Priſon, for want of ſufficient Bail, for the unlawful Exportation of Wooll or Wooll-fells, Declaration may be delivered to ſuch Perſon, or to the Goaler, &c. and not pleading in one Term, Judgment may be entered by Default, and the Offender tranſported for ſeven Years; and by the 5 Geor. I. cap. 11. ſect. 14. all the Proviſions in this Act, for preventing the Exportation of Wooll, are extended to all the Species enumerated in the Preamble of this Act.

[d] Ib ſect. vi. xi. xiv.

[e] By the Act 4 Annæ, cap. 7. ſect. 1. New Roſs is added to the Ports in Ireland.

[f] By the Act 7 & 8 W. III. cap. 28. ſect. 5. Whitehaven and Bridgewater are added, and Exeter omitted, whereby that Port is reſtrained the Liberty of importing Wooll from Ireland. And by the Act 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 10. ſect. 10. Milford-haven is added, and White-haven omitted, whereby that Port is alſo reſtrained the like Liberty.

[g] Further continued, without Limitation, by 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 40. ſect. 1.

[h] Cap. 32. ſect. 12.

[i] 4 & 5 W. & M. cap. 1.

[k] Sect. 8.

[l] By 12 Geor. I. cap. 28. ſect. 2. the Seizer to have One-third of the full Sum ariſing from the Sale, free of Charges.

[m] 4 & 5 W. & M. cap. x. ſect. 2.

[n] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[o] 4 & 5 W. & M. cap. xv. ſect. 14, 15, 16.

[p] Great-Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[q] For which any Perſon may proſecute, by 8 & 9 W. III. cap. 36. ſect. 2.

And by another Act [b] it was enacted, That the Commiſſioners of their Majeſties Cuſtoms for the Time being, ſhall, and are hereby authorized and required, from time to time, to mark and ſeal [c], or cauſe to be marked and ſealed, all Luſtrings and Alamodes, and all Stuffs ſo called, which ſhall be imported; and to keep an Entry and Regiſtry thereof in the Cuſtom-houſe, in a Book to be for that Purpoſe provided; for which there ſhall be no Fee or Reward paid: And all ſuch Luſtrings and Alamodes, which ſhall be hereafter imported, ſhall be ſo marked, ſealed, and regiſtered, without any Fee, as aforeſaid, before they be delivered out of the Cuſtom-houſe Ware-houſe, where they ſhall be reſpectively imported and entered; and all ſuch Luſtrings and Alamodes which ſhall be imported, and not ſo ſealed and marked, ſhall be forfeited, and the Importers or Poſſeſſors thereof, ſubject to ſuch and the like Penalties and Forfeitures as Importers of *French* Goods, by one Act made in the Firſt Year of their Majeſties Reign, intituled, *An Act for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France; to be recovered as therein directed. And if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall alter or counterfeit the Mark or Seal, Marks or Seals [d], uſed, and to be uſed for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, the Offender ſhall forfeit the Sum of 500 Pounds [e] to any that will ſue for the ſame.

The firſt Promotion to a Captainſhip in the Fleet after Lord *Dartmouth* Surrender thereof to the Prince of *Orange*, was that of the *Conſtant Warwick*, given by his Lordſhip to *George Byng*, on the 22d of *December* 1688, on his Return from the Prince, to whom Lord *Dartmouth* had ſent him, and Captain *Aylmer* and *Haſtings* on the 10th, with that acceptable Meſſage: This ſame *Byng* was appointed Rear-admiral of the Red on the 1ſt of *March* 1702; knighted *October* 1704; made Admiral of the White in 1711; created a Baronet *October* 1715; and promoted to be Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet in 1718; Rear-admiral of *Great Britain* in 1720; Treaſurer of the Navy in 1721; created Viſcount *Torrington*, 9th of *September* 1721; Knight of the *Bath* 1725; firſt Lord of the Admiralty in 1727, in which Poſt he died on the 17th of *January* 1732-3: He was Father of the Admiral *Byng* now under Confinement, for his Miſconduct in the *Mediterranean*.

The ſame Day a Commiſſion paſſed for *Simon Folks*, to be Captain of the *Richard* and *John* Fire-ſhip; and for the Honourable *John Granville*, 2d Son of *John* Earl of *Bath*, to be Captain of the *Briſtol* Man of War: He was afterwards made a Colonel of the Guards, and Governor of *Deal* Caſtle [f], created Baron *Granville* of *Potheridge* [g], and promoted to the Poſts of Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Cornwall*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, died the 3d of *December* 1707.

The next Captains Commiſſions were granted to *David Greenhill* on the 5th of *March* 1688-9, for the *Cadiz-Merchant* Fire-ſhip, who was appointed Maſter Attendant at *Woolwich* in 1703, and died in that Office in 1716.

To Captain *James Barber*, on the 18th of *March* 1688-9, for the *Tyger-Prize*.

To Captain *Daniel Jones*, on the 19th of *March* 1688-9, for the *Fore-Sight* Man of War.

To Captain *Thomas Roomcoile*, on the 25th of *March* 1689, for the *Nonſuch*, in which he was killed on the 12th of *May* following, in an Engagement with two *French* Ships.

To Captain *Thomas Gilliam*, on the 25th of *March* 1689, for the *Greyhound*, who was drowned going in his Boat to the St. *Albans* in the Harbour of *Kingſale* in *Ireland*.

To Captain *Thomas Heath*, on the 2d of *April* 1689, for the *Owners-Love* Fire-ſhip, which burnt the *Royal Sun*, the *French* Admiral's Ship at *La Hogue*.

To Captain *Thomas Marſhal*, on the 3d of *April* 1689, for the *Thomas* and *Elizabeth* Fire-ſhip.

To Captain *James Roach*, on the 4th of *April* 1689, for the *Charles* Gally.

To Captain *George Meeſe*, on the 6th of *April* 1689, for the *Jerſey* Man of War. He was appointed Rear-admiral, 3d of *February* 1696, ſent to command a Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*, and died on that Station, *July* the 20th 1697.

To Captain *Thomas Dilks*, on the 8th of *April* 1689, for the *Charles* Fireſhip. He was promoted to be Rear admiral of the White on the 11th of *March* 1702; Rear-admiral of the Red on the 13th of *January* 1704, was knighted by Queen *Anne* about the ſame Time, and died at *Leghorn*, Rear-admiral of the Red, on the 1ſt of *December* 1707.

To Captain *Robert Reynolds*, on the 10th of *April*, for the *James* Gally.

To Captain *Thomas Allen*, on the 15th of *April* 1689, for the *King's-Fiſher*.

To Captain *Seth Thruſton*, on the 17th of *April* 1689, for the *Oxford*.

To Captain *John Crofts*, on the 25th of *April* 1689, for the St. *Paul* Fireſhip.

To Captain *James Guther*, on the 3d of *May* 168 9, ſr the *Fire-Drake*.

To Captain *William Bokenham*, on the 7th of *May* 1689, for the *Happy Return*.

To Captain *Thomas Raynes*, on the 10th of *May* 1689, for the *Coronation*, a hired Ship of War.

To Captain *William Harman*, on the ſame Day, for the *Sophia* Fire-ſhip, who was killed in the *Weſt-Indies* on the 6th of *October* 1694, on-board the *Advice*.

To Captain *Richard Keigwin*, on the 17th of *May* 1689, for the *Reſerve*, who was killed on the 21ſt of *June* 1690, on-board the *Aſſiſtance*.

To Captain *Baſil Beaumont*, on the 21ſt of *May* 1689, for the *Centurion*. He was advanced to the Degree of Rear-admiral of the Blue on the 11th of *March* 1702, and was drowned on the 27th of *November* 1703, on-board the *Great Mary* lying in the *Downs*, in the great Storm.

To Captain *Thomas Gardiner*, on the 23d of *May* 1689, for the *Sally Roſe*.

To Captain *Thomas Warren*, on the 28th of *May* 1689, for the *John of Dublin* Fire-ſhip. He died Captain of the *Harwich* Man of War, and Commodore in the *Eaſt-Indies*, on the 12th of *November* 1699.

To Captain *Joſeph Waters*, on the 29th of *May* 1689, for the *Hannibal* Ship of War, hired.

To Captain *Thomas Jennings*, on the ſame Day, for the *Alexander* Fire-ſhip. He was firſt made a Commiſſioner of the Victualling-office, and then a Commiſſioner of the Navy in 1701, and he died ſuperannuated on the 26th of *October* 1723.

To Captain *Jaſper Hicks*, on the 30th of *May* 1689, for the *Archangel*.

To Captain *Edward Good*, on the 6th of *June* 1689, for the *Kent*. He was ſuperannuated in 1703, with a Penſion of 182*l.* 10*s.* per annum for Life.

To Captain *Henry Hompton*, on the 13th of *June* 1689, for the *Briſtol*.

To Captain *John Every*, on the 16th of *June* 1689, for the *King's Fiſher*; who quitted the Service ſome time after on the Title, *&c.* of a Baronet, devolving upon him by Deſcent.

To Captain *Henry Martin*, on the ſame Day, for the *Berwick*.

To Captain *Henry Robinſon*, on the 17th of *June* 1689, for the *Sampſon* Ship of War, hired.

The reſt of the Captains, according to their Seniority, with the Names of their Ships, *&c.* are as follow:

NAMES.

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[a] See 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43. ſect. 4. where particular Encouragement is given to Perſons on-board Ships, diſcovering Frauds relating to Alamodes and Luſtrings. [b] 5 & 6 W. & M cap. xx. ſect. 45. [c] See the 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43. ſect. 2 & 5. making further Proviſion concerning the Importation of Alamodes and Luſtrings. [d] By the 6 & 7 W. III. cap. 18. ſect. 30. ſhall forfeit 100 l. to the Proſecutor; and by the Act 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43. ſect. 5. ſhall forfeit 500 l. See alſo the Act 8 & 9 W. III. cap 36. for the better preventing Frauds in importing Alamodes and Luſtrings. [e] All Penalties and Forfeitures, relating to Alamodes and Luſtrings, ſhall be two Thirds to the King, and one Third to the Proſecutor, and the King to pay Charges, by the Act 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43. ſect. 9. [f] A. D. 1692. [g] A. D. 1703.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, Firſt Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Robert Sincock	June 27	1689	Nonſuch	died		
James Wiſheart [a]	July 4	—	Pearle	died	May 30	1723
William Fitchborne [b]	16	—	Lively Prize	drowned	February 9	1691
William Whetſtone [c]	30	—	Europa, hired	died		
John Price [d]	30	—	Saphire, hired	died	April 1	1709
Bryant Townſend	Auguſt 17	—	Swift Prize	died	21	1709
Andrew Cotton	29	—	Play Prize	killed [e]	June 13	1693
John Bembow [f]	Sept. 30	—	York	died	November 4	1702
William Wright 2d	30	—	Nathaniel Fire-ſhip	died [g]	9	1689
Edward Boys	October 2	—	Advice	died [h]	Sept. 24	1696
John Bridges 1ſt	November 8	—	Northumberland	killed [i]	May 24	1694
John Jennings [k]	16	—	Saint Paul Fire-ſhip	died	December	1743
Anthony Roope	19	—	Charles Fire-ſhip	died		
Williams Higgins	19	—	Nathaniel Fire-ſhip	died	Sept. 16	1698
John Bumpſtead [l]	Dec. 14	—	Saint Paul Fire-ſhip	died		1691
James Ward	17	—	Falcon	killed [m]	May 31	1693
Richard Fitzpatrick [n]	January 11	—	Saint Albans	died	June 9	1727
William Fairby	24	—	Earl Guardſhip	died		
John Mayne [o]	February 4	—	Aſſurance	died	Auguſt 13	1712
Richard Kirby	17	—	Succeſs, hired	executed [p]	April 14	1703
Thomas Crawley	February 17	—	Richmond	killed [q]	Anno	1694
John Torpley [r]	15	—	Lyon	died	October 29	1699
Thomas Robinſon	15	—	Garland	died	January 21	1702
Robert Dorrell	20	—	St. Andrew	died		
Charles Stiggins	22	—	Greyhound	died		
Richard Edwards [s]	March 10	—	Greenwich	died	March 23	1713
Thomas Harlo [t]	19	—	Smyrna Merchant	died	March	174$\frac{2}{1}$
Edward Pottinger	19	—	Dartmouth	drowned [u]	October 9	1690
Edward Hawkins	19	—	Milford	drowned [w]	February 19	1693
Henry Wickham [x]	22	—	Antelope	diſmiſſed	Anno	1691
William Vickers	March 31	—	Dolphin Fire-ſhip	died	Nov. 25	1694
Robert Dean	April 1	—	Pearl	died	January 6	1699
John Maſon	4	—	Speedwell	died	Anno	1693
Frederick Weighman	5	—	Spy Fire-ſhip	died [y]	February 16	1696

[a] Appointed Rear-admiral in 1704, diſmiſſed when Admiral of the White 1714-15, knighted by Queen Anne.

[b] Caſt away in the Crown Prize off the Start and drowned.

[c] Appointed Rear-admiral of the White in 1704-5, knighted by Queen Anne, diſmiſſed in 1706.

[d] Superannuated in 1705, with a Penſion of £. 182 10 per Annum, for Life.

[e] In the Northumberland.

[f] Died at Jamaica, Vice-admiral of the Blue, of the Wounds he received the 24th of Auguſt 1702, in engaging a French Squadron, commanded by Monſieur Ducas, of whom more largely hereafter.

[g] In England.

[h] Shot himſelf on-board the Nonſuch.

[i] In the Van Guard.

[k] Rear-admiral the 20th of January 1704-5, knighted by Queen Anne the 9th of October 1704, Admiral of the White the 4th of November 1709, Governor of Greenwich Hoſpital 1720, Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet in 1732-3, which he reſigned in 1734, but continued the Government of Greenwich Hoſpital, in which Poſt he died.

[l] Taken by the French, and died in France.

[m] In the Dunkirk.

[n] Quitted the Ranelaugh in 1703, created Baron Gownzan in Ireland the 15th of March 1714-15.

[o] Superannuated in 1703.

[p] Sentenced to Death by a Court Martial at Port Royal in Jamaica the 9th of October 1702, for Cowardice, &c. for not engaging a French Squadron, under the Command of Monſieur Du Caſſe, off of St. Martha, in Latitude 10 00 N. then in the Defiance, and in Company with the Squadron under the Command of John Bembow, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue: Shot on-board the Briſtol in Plymouth Sound. See the Life of Bembow.

[q] In the Cambridge.

[r] Superannuated with a Penſion of a third Rate.

[s] Commiſſioner of Plymouth Yard the 23d of January 1711, and there died.

[t] Maſter Attendant at Deptford, Commiſſioner of the Victualling, from which he was removed, and died at Bromley aged 92.

[u] In the Dartmouth off the Mull of Gallway.

[w] In the Succeſs, in a Storm near Gibraltar.

[x] Taken by the French in the Diamond the 20th of September 1691, for which he was ſentenced, by a Court Marſhal, to be impriſoned for Life, was pardoned and releaſed by Queen Anne, but never more employed.

[y] In the Colcheſter in the Weſt Indies.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, Firſt Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Iſaac Killegrew	April 11	1689	Saphire	ſlain [a]	February 28	169$\frac{8}{9}$
Iſaac Townſend [b]	11	—	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	died	May 26	1731
Thomas Fowler	12	—	Hound Fire-ſhip	died	July 21	1703
James Moodie	14	—	Vulture Fire-ſhip	murthered [c]	Anno	1724
Clifford Chamberlain	18	—	Griffin Fire-ſhip	died	November 6	1691
Thomas Urry	18	—	Wolf Sloop	died	Anno	1691
Thomas Kercher	29	—	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died	October 17	1694
John Hales	May 1	—	Half-moon Fire-ſhip	drowned [d]	December 9	1693
Robert Leonard	3	—	Julian Prize	died	April 15	1693
William Bridges	9	—	Swallow	died		
William Kerr	14	1690	Deptford	died [e]	Anno	1719
Edward Whitaker [f]	15	—	Dover	died	November	1735
Roger Newton	15	—	Sandadoes	died	Anno	1693
Thomas Monk	15	—	Phœnix	died [g]	Anno	1715
David Condon	25	—	Roſe	died		
John Johnſon	27	—	King's Fiſher	drowned [h]	Nov. 27	1705
Benjamin Hoſkins [i]	31	—	Crown	died		
John Hubbard [k]	June 18	—	Bonadventure	died	Anno	1723
Anthony Aſhby	18	—	Mermaid	died	Nov. 30	1691
George Pomroy	24	—	Rupert	ſlain [l]	July 10	1690
John Daviſon [m]	July 7	—	Bonadventure	died		
Peircy Kirk	8	—	Sally Roſe	died	May 22	1693
John Norris [n]	8	—	Pelican Fire-ſhip	died	June	1749
John Walford	21	—	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	died		
Stephen Woolgate	21	—	Speedwell Fire-ſhip	died		
Humphry Saunders [o]	25	—	Modena, hired Ship	died	January 4	1725
James Buck	26	—	Play Prize	died	Auguſt 9	1691
Gabriel Hughes	Auguſt 5	—	Griffin Fire-ſhip	died	May 4	1699
Andrew Lake	7	—	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	ſlain [p]	Auguſt 13	1704
Robert Willmott	19	—	Hopewell Fire-ſhip	died [q]	Sept. 15	1695
Jacob Banks [r]	26	—	Cambridge	died	Dec. 22	1725
Thomas Symonds	31	—	Vulture Fire-ſhip	died [s]	October 6	1694
Rupert Kempthorne	October 18	—	Half-moon Fire-ſhip	killed [t]	Anno	1691
Edward Oakley	22	—	Guernſey	died [u]	Sept. 20	1693
Robert Vaughan	23	—	Richmond	killed [w]	February 4	1694
Robert Fairfax	Nov. 15	—	Conception Prize	died	Anno	1725

[a] In the Plymouth off of the Iſland Pantalaria in Italy, in engaging two French Men of War, viz. the Content, Marques Challard, and the Trident, Count Danoy; he then commanded the Squadron, in Company with the Plymouth, Carliſle, Newcaſtle, Falmouth, Southampton, and Adventure; he was buried at Meſſina in Italy.

[b] Commiſſioner at Portſmouth in 1705, knighted by King George 1723, ſuperannuated in 1729.

[c] In Scotland by Ruffians.

[d] In the Virgin's Grace.

[e] In the Rupert, then Commodore at Jamaica.

[f] Admiral the 17th of January 1707-8, was knighted by Queen Anne; but diſmiſſed by King George I. in 1715.

[g] In England, and was buried at Charleton in Kent.

[h] In the Sterling Caſtle on the Goodwin Sands, in the great November Storm.

[i] Superannuated the 21ſt of January 1702, with a Penſion of £. 182 10 per Annum for Life.

[k] Superintendant at Plymouth 1711 (that Office being laid aſide in 1712) he was ſuperannuated with a Penſion of £. 182 10.

[l] Died of the Wounds he received in an Engagement with the French off of Beachy-Head.

[m] Superannuated in 1702, with a Penſion of £. 182 10 per Annum for Life.

[n] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue the 10th of March 1706-7, knighted by Queen Anne, Admiral of the Blue the 4th of November 1709, Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet in 1734, Vice-admiral of Great Britain in 1743, one of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and Member for Rye.

[o] Superannuated in 1703, with a Penſion of £. 182 10 per Annum for Life.

[p] In the Grafton off of Cape Malaga, in engaging the French Fleet under the Command of Count Toulouſe; he was knighted by Queen Anne.

[q] In the Weſt Indies, in the Dunkirk, being then Commodore of a large Squadron in thoſe Seas, that attacked the French Settlements in Hiſpaniola, took Port Paix, &c.

[r] Was knighted by Queen Anne.

[s] In the Hampſhire in the Weſt Indies.

[t] In a Rencounter.

[u] In the Weſt Indies.

[w] In the Dartmouth, in an Engagement with the French.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Edward Nevill	December 3	1690	Swan	died [a]	Sept. 12	1701
Right Hon. Peregrine *Earl of* Danby [b]	January 2	——	Suffolk	died	Anno	1725
John Leader	5	——	Modena, hired Ship	died [c]	January 18	170$\frac{1}{2}$
Richard Clarke	5	——	Swiftſure	died [d]	Anno	1705
Richard Leſtock, 1ſt. [e]	6	——	Cambridge	died	May 18	1713
Edward Gurney	15	——	Defiance	died [f]	January 29	1694
William Croſs	19	——	Griffin Fire-ſhip	diſmiſſed [g]	Auguſt 25	1705
Francis Manly	19	——	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	died [h]	June 17	1690
Garret Elves [i]	19	——	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
Edward Bibb	19	——	Hopewell Fire-ſhip	died	October 2	1701
Thomas Sheerman	19	——	Spy Fire-ſhip	died [k]	June 15	1699
James Greenway	19	——	Wolf Fireſhip	drowned [l]	Nov. 27	1703
John Beer [m]	27	——	Roſe Guardſhip	died	Sept. 22	1696
Robert Hancock	February 6	——	Dolphin Fire-ſhip	drowned [n]	October 22	1707
Peter Pritchard	17	——	Hope	died [o]	Anno	
Joſeph Soanes [p]	23	——	Vulcan Fire-ſhip	died	Sept. 12	1737
Thomas Rooke	March 4	——	Blaze Fire-ſhip	died [q]	May 20	1701
Richard Short	16	——	Phæton Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
Lawrence Keck [r]	16	——	Lightening Fire-ſhip	died	October 30	1724
Richard Finch	May 1	1691	Henry Prize	died [s]	May 19	1695
Richard Kerworth	3	——	Eaton Fire-ſhip	died		
Richard Pugh	20	——	St. Paul Fire-ſhip	drowned [t]	October 6	1692
John Guy	26	——	Half-moon Fire-ſhip	died [u]	December 9	1697
Robert Patridge	28	——	Tho. and Eliz. Fire-ſhip	ſlain [w]	July 9	1692
Thomas Action	28	——	Cadiz Merchant, hired	died	Auguſt 5	1698
Francis Maynard	June 15	——	Aſſiſtance	drowned [x]	Nov. 21	1693
John Wright	29	——	Cadiz Merchant Fire ſhip	died		
Joſiah Crow	July 3	——	St. Paul Fireſhip	died	Anno	1714
John Evans	10	——	St. Martin's Prize	died [y]	Anno	1724
William Prowther	21	——	Saudadoes	died [z]	April 17	1703
Richard Cotton	22	——	Diamond	died [aa]	January 28	1691
Thomas Pound	Auguſt 5	——	Sally Roſe	died	Anno	1695
Andrew Douglas [bb]	31	——	Sweepſtakes	died	June 26	1725
John Bridges	Sept. 17	——	Portſmouth	died	May 29	1695
John Baker [cc]	October 12	——	Mary Gally	died	Nov. 10	1716

[a] In the Lincoln at Virginia; he was Father of William Lord Abergavenny. [b] Rear-admiral of the Red 1697, Vice of the Red the 11th of March 1703, Marquis of Carmarthen, and by his Father's Death in 1712, ſucceeded him as Duke of Leeds, after which he was never employed as a Sea Officer. [c] In the Kingſton in the Weſt Indies. [d] Maſter Attendant at Deptford-yard. [e] Superannuated in 1705, with a Penſion of £. 182 10 per Annum for Life. [f] In the Briſtol in the Weſt Indies. [g] Taken by the French in the Elizabeth, November 12, 1704, for which he was ſentenced by a Court Martial on the 25th of Auguſt 1705, to forfeit his Pay, and be impriſoned for Life; was pardoned and releaſed by Queen Anne, but never more employed, or reſtored to Rank or Pay. [h] In France of the Wounds he received in an Engagement with the French. [i] Superintendant at Plymouth in 1711; that Office being laid aſide in 1712, he was ſuperannuated with a Penſion of £. 182 10 0 per Annum for Life. [k] In the Weſt Indies. [l] In the Northumberland, on the Goodwin Sands, in the great Storm. [m] Was ſuperannuated in 1694. [n] In the Eagle, on the Rocks of Scilly, with whom all the Ship's Company was loſt. [o] In the Shrewſbury. [p] Lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hoſpital in 1718, and died there. [q] In the Fubbs Yatch. [r] Superannuated in 1704, with a Penſion. [s] In the Greenwich. [t] Caſt away in the Norwich in the Weſt Indies. [u] In the Speedwell. [w] In the Griffin Fireſhip. [x] Caſt away in the Mordaunt off of the Iſland of Cuba in the Weſt Indies. [y] In Ireland. [z] In the Yarmouth. [aa] In the Weſt Indies. [bb] Diſmiſſed from the Norwich, and from his Poſt in the Rank of Captains, for mean and irregular Practices, by a Court Martial the 16th of May 1704; but on the 25th of January 1710, he was commiſſioned for the Arundel, and from that Time allowed Poſt again. [cc] Appointed Rear-admiral 1709, Vice-admiral of the Blue the 4th of November 1709, and died on-board the Lyon at Port Mahon, Vice-admiral of the White.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Chriſtopher King	October 12	1691	St. Alban's Prize	died		
George Warren	19	——	Pembroke	died [a]	April 28	1693
Fleetwood Bavins	January 13	——	Extravagant Fire-ſhip	drowned [b]	Nov. 27	1703
Caleb Grantham	13	——	Warſpight	died [c]	Anno	1698
Chriſtopher Maund	29	——	Diamond	died [d]	March 17	1691
John Fletcher, 1ſt.	February 1	——	Britannia	died [e]	Anno	1704
William Jumper [f]	17	——	Hopewell Fire-ſhip	died	March 12	171$\frac{1}{2}$
John Knapp [g]	17	——	Half-moon Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
James Stewart, 1ſt.	17	——	Flame Fire-ſhip	died [h]	Anno	1704
Hovend. Walker [i]	17	——	Vulture Fire-ſhip	died	January 6	172$\frac{7}{8}$
Robert Winn	17	——	Cadiz Merchant Fire-ſhip	died [k]	Anno	
Edward Littleton	17	——	Tho. and Eliz. Fire-ſhip	died [l]	January 2	1695
John Perry [m]	17	——	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	died	February	173$\frac{3}{4}$
Thomas Killingworth	17	——	Fox Fire-ſhip	ſlain [n]	July 18	1694
Nathaniel Brown	17	——	Falcon	died [o]	June 28	1693
Phineas Bowles	March 31	1692	St. Paul Fireſhip	died [p]	March 4	1695
William Hughes	April 1	——	Hampſhire	killed [q]	April 4	1696
Richard Griffith	22	——	Mary Gally	died	Anno	1719
Samuel Vincent	June 1	——	St. Paul Fire-ſhip	died	Sept. 27	1729
Charles Brittiffe	4	——	Ruſſel	died [r]	Anno	1703
Charles Wager [s]	17	——	Fuzee Fire-ſhip	died	May 24	1743
William Wakelin	11	——	Princeſs Ann, hired	died [t]	October 1	1705
Jephtha Barker	24	——	St. Vincent Fire-ſhip	died [u]	January 12	170$\frac{2}{3}$
William Allen	July 1	——	Tyger	ſlain [w]	October 24	1696
Andrew Peddar	3	——	Swift Prize	died [x]	Anno	1702
Peter Watton [y]	17	——	Lark	died	Anno	1717
John Foliamb	20	——	Unity, hired	ſlain [z]	October 20	1705
Thomas Lyell	Auguſt 19	——	Prudence, hired	died	Anno	1737
John Shovell	Sept. 12	——	Smyrna Factor, hired	died [aa]	April 11	1697
George Myſter	16	——	Lumley-caſtle	died [bb]	Dec. 11	1696
Charles Cornwall [cc]	19	——	Portſmouth Sloop	died	October 7	1718
John Conſtable	Nov. 14	——	Catharine Store-ſhip	diſmiſſed [dd]	9	1702
John Hartnol	December 3	——	Hawke Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1723
James Braithwait	6	——	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died [ee]	Anno	

[a] In the Weſt Indies. [b] In the Reſtoration, on the Goodwin Sands, in the great Storm. [c] In the Eaſt-Indies. [d] In the Antelope in the Weſt-Indies. [e] In the Royal Catherine. [f] Appointed Superintendant at Chatham, 1708 (that being laid aſide in 1712) he had a Penſion—was knighted by Queen Anne, and afterwards made Commiſſioner at Plymouth, where he died. [g] Appointed Maſter Attendant at Deptford, 1708, and died there. [h] In the Barfleur. [i] Was knighted by Queen Anne, and appointed Rear-admiral in 1709; in 1715 he was diſmiſſed without Pay or Penſion, and died in Ireland. [k] In Wales. [l] In the Dorſetſhire. [m] Was taken by the French in the Signet Fire-ſhip, for which he was by a Court-Martial rendered incapable of the Service. This is the Gentleman who afterwards ſtopt Dagenham-breach on the River Thames, about 12 Miles Eaſt of London. [n] In the Scarborough, in an Engagement with the French, who took the Ship. [o] In the Weſt-Indies. [p] In the Norwich. [q] In Ireland, in a Duel. [r] In the Chicheſter. [s] Appointed Rear-admiral 1708, knighted by Queen Anne October 8, 1709; appointed Lord of the Admiralty March 1717-18, and Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty 1732-3; was then Admiral of the White. Removed from the Admiralty, March 1741-2, and appointed Treaſurer of the Navy, in which Station he died Admiral of the White, Privy-Counſellor, and Member of Parliament for Weſt-Looe in Cornwall. [t] In the Suffolk at Jamaica, and was buried in Green-Bay. [u] In the Cheſter in the Weſt-Indies. [w] In the Bonadventure, at Newfoundland, in an Engagement with the French. [x] In the Chicheſter, in the Weſt-Indies. [y] Superannuated from the St. George in 1704. [z] In the Pendennis; his Ship was taken by the French. [aa] In the Expedition. [bb] In the Coventry, in the Weſt-Indies. [cc] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue 1716, and died on-board the Argyle, Vice-admiral of the White, in Liſbon River, Portugal. [dd] By a Court-Martial at Jamaica for Cowardice and Neglect of Duty in the Windſor, for not engaging the French Squadron off of St. Martha, in company with Vice-admiral Bembow. [ee] In the Weſt-Indies.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, Firſt Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Thomas Hardy [a]	January 6	1692	Charles Fire-ſhip	died	Auguſt 16	1732
Francis Dove [b]	7	—	Pear Prize	died	February 19	172$\frac{1}{2}$
Francis Hilſley	10	—	Cygnet Fire-ſhip	died	May 22	1693
Leonard Crow	11	—	Machine Fire-ſhip	died [c]	September 9	1705
James Lawrence	12	—	Charles Fire-ſhip	died [d]	15	1695
Edward Rigby [e]	13	—	Mermaid	died		
Robert Stapylton	13	—	St. Joſeph Fire-ſhip	died [f]	Dec. 20	1702
John Lyſcoll	23	—	Rupert Prize	died [g]	June 4	1697
Chriſtopher Fogg	24	—	Mariana Fire-ſhip	died [h]	Novemb. 24	1708
Lionel Ripley [i]	28	—	Humber	died		
James Littleton [k]	February 27	—	Swift Prize	died	February 3	172$\frac{2}{3}$
Richard Wyatt	March 6	—	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	died [l]	Decemb. 14	1703
William Morgan	19	—	Julian's Prize	died		
Henry Lumley	22	—	Forbiſe Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1720
John Vyal	22	—	Creſcent Fire-ſhip	died [m]	March 14	1701
George Breholt	May 22	1693	Granada Bomb [n]	died	Anno	1740
Henry Furvill	23	—	Mortar Bomb	died [o]	Anno	
John Anderſon [p]	24	—	Hawke Fire-ſhip	died	April 17	1724
Cooper Wade [q]	24	—	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	executed	April 14	1703
Richard Authy	31	—	Canterbury Sloop	killed [r]	Anno	
Philip Dawes	June 1	—	Falcon	diſmiſſed [s]	Anno	1710
William Julius	10	—	Cheſter	died [t]	October 3	1698
John Kirwell	10	—	Julian Prize	died	Anno	
Charles Deſborough	July 17	—	Dover Prize	died [u]	March 8	172$\frac{2}{3}$
Edward Loades	12	—	Saudadoes	drowned [w]	October 12	1707
Horatio Townſend	12	—	Bridges Gally	died [x]	March 12	1698
John Clements	13	—	Portſmouth	ſlain [y]	June 11	1694
John Herne	21	—	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died [z]	Septemb. 25	1705
John Jackſon [aa]	Auguſt 4	—	Vulture Fire-ſhip	died	Decemb. 25	1725
John Ward	4	—	Cambridge	died	Anno	1703
George Symonds	19	—	Flame Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1704
Ld Archibald Hamilton [bb]	Sept. 11	—	Sheerneſs	quitted [cc]	Anno	1708

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[a] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue in 1710-11, knighted by Queen Anne, diſmiſſed 1715-16, and never reſtored. See his Monument in Weſtminſter-abby.

[b] Commiſſioner at Plymouth, appointed in 1716; and died there.

[c] At Barbadoes.

[d] In the Experiment in the Weſt-Indies.

[e] In the Year 1699 he was convicted of Sodomy, for which he ſtood in the Pillory at Charing-croſs; afterwards he went into France, and commanded a Man of War, in which he was taken in the Mediterranean, and carried into Portmahon; from whence he made his Eſcape, and died in France.

[f] In the Jerſey at New-York.

[g] In the Weſt-Indies, in the Pembroke.

[h] In the Rupert.

[i] Was ſuperannuated with pay of a Third-rate.

[k] Commiſſioner of Chatham-yard 1715, Admiral 1717, and died Vice-admiral of the White, and Member of Parliament for Weymouth.

[l] In the Somerſet at Leghorn.

[m] In the Pendennis at Jamaica.

[n] Q. He ſhould not take Poſt from this Bomb, but from a Ship to which he was appointed September 25, 1693, and in all Liſts is placed there.

[o] In the Portland.

[p] Diſmiſſed from the Briſtol in the Weſt-Indies for Neglect of Duty and Cowardice September 1706, and never reſtored.

[q] Sentenced to Death by a Court-Martial at Port-Royal in Jamaica October 12, 1702 for Cowardice, &c. in not engaging a French Squadron commanded by Monſ. Du Caſſe off St. Martha, in Lat. 10. 0. was then in the Greenwich, in company with the Squadron commanded by John Bembow, Eſq; He was ſhot on board the Briſtol in Plymouth Sound. See Memoirs of the Life of Admiral Bembow.

[r] In the Iſle of Scilly in a Duel. He was then Captain of the Cheſter.

[s] Out of the Crown Man of War.

[t] Is buried in Weſtminſter-abby.

[u] In the Fubbs Yatch.

[w] In the Aſſociation, caſt away on the Rocks of Scilly. He was then firſt Captain to Sir Cloudeſly Shovel.

[x] In the Lyon in the Weſt-Indies.

[y] In an Engagement with the French in the Channel.

[z] In the Grafton at Liſbon.

[aa] Was ſuperannuated in 1709.

[bb] Was appointed Governor of Jamaica 1711, and reſided there four Years. In 1729 was Lord of the Admiralty, from which he was diſplaced in 1737; and in March 1741-2, was appointed again Lord of the Admiralty; appointed Governor of Greenwich Hoſpital, 1744-5.

[cc] On his not being appointed an Admiral.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, Firſt Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
William Carter	Sept. 18	1693	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	drowned [a]	Novemb. 27	1703
William Hockaday	26	—	Vulcan Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
Thomas Butler	October 3	—	Julian Prize	died	Anno	1728
Robert Audley	Nov. 11	—	Lightening Fire-ſhip	killed [b]	Anno	1696
Robert Kirkton	23	—	Roebuck Fire-ſhip	died	July 9	1718
Thomas Taylor	25	—	Nonſuch	killed [c]	January 4	1694
James Atkins	Dec. 11	—	Greyhound	died	Anno	
John Huntington	12	—	St. Vincent Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1737
Thomas Blake	14	—	Cambridge Store-ſhip	drowned [d]	Novemb. 27	1703
Thomas Stepney	27	—	Dolphin Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1738
John Tuckey	January 31	—	Maidſtone	died	Anno	
Roger Bettwood	17	—	Pembroke	died [e]	Auguſt 11	1697
Edward Chant	20	—	Charles Gally	died [f]	Anno	1703
William Caldwell [g]	22	—	Lizard	died	October	1718
Wentworth Paxton	22	—	Newport	quitted [h]	Anno	1699
Richard Paul	23	—	Jerſey	died [i]	March 17	1703
Kerril Roffey	23	—	Griffin Fire-ſhip	died [k]	Anno	
John Smith	23	—	Morter Bomb	died [l]	Anno	1703
John Wooden	February 1	—	Blaze Fire-ſhip	died [m]	Anno	1703
James Jeſſon	7	—	Wincheſter	died [n]	Anno	1708
Robert Hollyman	8	—	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	ſlain [o]	October 13	1702
Thomas Bryant	12	—	Falcon	died	Anno	
William Cleland [p]	12	—	Catharine Store-ſhip	died	June	1735
Robert Watkins	13	—	Catharine Store-ſhip	died	Anno	
John Mitchell [q]	14	—	St. Paul Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
George Trenchard	14	—	Saudadoes	died [r]	April 21	1696
Daniel Wavell	15	—	Speedwell	drowned [s]	January 16	1703
Kendh. Anderſon	19	—	Charles Fire-ſhip	ſlain [t]	April 18	1697
Michael Wilkins	23	—	Experiment	died	Auguſt 16	1694
William Eyton	23	—	Joſeph Fire-ſhip	died [u]	Nov. 18	1698
John Moſes	March 5	—	Queenborough	died [w]	October 23	1703
Thomas Cleaſby [x]	May 26	1694	Vulture Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1720
William Lindſey	29	—	Play Prize	died	Anno	
William Smith, 1ſt.	June 25	—	Portland	drowned [y]	Dec. 31	1695
George Clements	July 18	—	Eſſex Prize	ſlain [z]	May 1	1707
Edward Owen	Auguſt 7	—	Roebuck	died [aa]	October 17	1708
Robert Stevens	13	—	Solebay	died	Anno	
Nathaniel Grantham	13	—	Seahorſe	died	Anno	1724
William Reeves	17	—	Experiment	died [bb]	October 29	1694
James Mighells [cc]	24	—	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	died	March 31	173$\frac{3}{4}$

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[a] In the New Caſtle on the Goodwin-Sands, in the great Storm.

[b] In a Duel.

[c] In the Nonſuch, and the Ship taken by the French.

[d] On the Goodwin-Sands in the great Storm.

[e] In the Sunderland in the Weſt-Indies.

[f] In the Kingſton at Jamaica.

[g] Appointed Rear-admiral of the White in February 1716-17.

[h] Went to live at Boſton in New-England, where he died in 1736.

[i] In the Pendannis in the Weſt Indies.

[k] Died Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

[l] Captain of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

[m] In the Deptford.

[n] In the Greenwich at Barbadoes.

[o] In the Dragon, in an Engagement with the French; who did not take the Ship.

[p] Commiſſioner of the Navy, March 1717-18, reſigned it for a Penſion in 1732.

[q] Superannuated in 1712.

[r] In the Roebuck.

[s] In the Colcheſter, which foundered at Sea. Moſt of the People were loſt.

[t] In the Ætna Fire-ſhip, which the French then took, and called L'Ætna.

[u] In the Saudadoes Prize in the Weſt-Indies.

[w] In the Norwich at Jamaica.

[x] Was made Captain of Greenwich Hoſpital in 1718, and there died in 1720.

[y] In the Portland.

[z] In the Hampton-Court off of Beachy-head, in the Engagement with the French, who took the Ship.

[aa] In the Medway.

[bb] In the Experiment in the Weſt-Indies.

[cc] Rear-admiral of the White in 1717-18; he reſigned his Flag, when Vice-admiral of the Blue, in January 1722-3, to be Comptroller of the Navy; and there died.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Thomas Lake	Auguſt 24	1694	Flame Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
John Stapleton	Sept. 26	—	Drake	drowned [a]	Dec. 20	1694
Edward Action	October 3	—	Advice	ſlain [b]	May 1	1707
John Redman [c]	3	—	Loyalty, hired			
Henry Middleton	13	—	Falcon	drowned [d]	Anno	1708
Edward Bowles	18	—	Play Prize	died [e]	January 13	1694
John Soul	19	—	Firebrand Fire-ſhip	died [f]	October	1705
David Loyd	30	—	Experiment	drowned [g]	Anno	1697
Robert Thompſon [h]	November 9	—	Africa, hired	died	Anno	
Charles Richards	Decemb. 4	—	Fire Drake Bomb	died [i]	March 25	1703
Iſaac Andrews	8	—	Rupert's Prize	died	Anno	
John Douglas	21	—	Phœnix Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1699
Baron Wylde [k]	24	—	Winchelſea	died	Anno	1739

[a] In the Drake, on the Coaſt of Ireland; and the Ship was loſt. [b] In the Grafton, off of Beachy-head, in the Engagement with the French, who took the Ship. [c] Superannuated in 1707. [d] In the Lincoln, which foundered at Sea. [e] In the Weſt-Indies. [f] In the Weſt-Indies. [g] Going in a Sloop in ſearch of Kidd the Pirate, in the Weſt Indies. [h] Superannuated in 1703. [i] In the Severn in the Eaſt-Indies. [k] Diſmiſſed from the Royal-Oak in 1707. He was reſtored October 8, 1717 to a Poſt of that Date; and afterwards to this Poſt again.

CHAP. II.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Death of Queen* MARY *to the Concluſion of the Peace of* RYSWICK.

UPON the Death of Queen *Mary*, King *James*'s Party made ſome faint Puſhes to diſturb the Adminiſtration: but I ſhall confine myſelf to that Suggeſtion only, which was grounded upon the Management of the maritime Affairs. It was complained of in Parliament, that the ſending Admiral *Ruſſel* with ſo great a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, keeping him there for ſo long a Time, and directing him at laſt to winter in thoſe Parts, was contrary to the Intereſt of the Nation, the Occaſion of vaſt Sums being remitted into foreign Parts, and an Act of too great Complaiſance towards our Allies [a]. But upon a long and ſharp Debate, the Houſe of Lords ſaw Reaſon to juſtify this Meaſure by a very warm Addreſs to the Throne, in which they ſay, "That the ſending ſo great a Fleet into "the *Mediterranean*, and continuing it in thoſe Parts, has "been to the Honour and Advantage of your Majeſty and "your Kingdoms: and having ſpent ſome Time upon "Conſideration of the Condition of the Fleet both at home "and abroad, and of the great Increaſe of the naval Force "and Strength of our Neighbours, conceive it to be our "Duty to your Majeſty and the Kingdom, humbly to "repreſent, that the Honour and Safety of this Nation, "under the Providence of God, chiefly depends upon "your Strength at Sea. And whereas, by the long Continuance of this War, the Number of your Ships muſt "have been diminiſhed, and thoſe remaining greatly impaired, we think it of the higheſt Importance to your "Majeſty's Service, and the Security and Intereſt of your "People, that you would be pleaſed to give ſuch ſpeedy "and effectual Directions for the Repair and Increaſe of "your royal Navy, as may enable your Majeſty not only "to continue a Strength in the *Mediterranean*, during this "War, which may be ſuperior to that of our Enemies, "but likewiſe to maintain ſuch a Force here at home, "and in the *Weſt-Indies*, as ſhall be a Security for our "Coaſts and Plantations, and a Protection of our Trade, "and ſufficient both for the annoying of our Enemies, "and for the protecting and convoying all ſuch Stores "and Proviſions as muſt be ſent to the Fleet in thoſe "Parts, upon the effectual and timely providing whereof, "the Safety of that Part of your Majeſty's Navy does ſo "much depend."

This Addreſs, which was preſented in the Beginning of the Month of *March*, and to which the King returned a favourable Anſwer, ſatisfied the Minds of all the ſenſible Part of the Nation on this Head, and reconciled them to the Abſence of Admiral *Ruſſel*; to whom a conſiderable Supply was accordingly ſent with all Expedition: and on the Receipt thereof, he detached ſix ſtout Frigates on a Cruiſe, under the Command of Captain *James Killegrew*, to protect the *Levant* Trade, and to annoy the Enemy. This Squadron fell in with two *French* Men of War, the *Content* of 70 Guns, commanded by the Marquis *du Chaland*, and the *Trident* of 60 Guns, commanded by Count *d'Aulnoy*, on the 18th of *January* 1695, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, between the Iſland of *Pantalaria* and Cape *Bona*. The *Frenchmen* took the Frigates to be Merchantmen, and bore down upon them ſo far, that when they diſcovered their Error, it was too late for them to retreat. However, the Wind becoming calm, the *Engliſh* could not come up with them, to any Effect, before late in the Afternoon; for it was Four o'Clock, before Captain *Killegrew* in the *Plymouth*, could ſingly reach them. He engaged them both very gallantly for above an Hour, and was killed by a Cannon-ball. Then the *Falmouth*, commanded by Captain *Grantham*, attacked them, and kept them in play for another Hour, in which time their other four Companions came within Shot of the Enemy. This obliged the *French* to ſeparate, and run for it; and were purſued: the *Content* by the *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle* and *Southampton*; the *Trident* by the *Falmouth* and *Adventure*; the *Plymouth*, having loſt her Fore-top-maſt, and greatly ſhattered in her other Maſts and Rigging, was obliged to bear away for *Meſſina*. The Chace continued all Night, and part of the next Day; the *French* maintaining a running Fight all the Time; till at laſt, both Ships being diſabled, and many of their Men killed, amongſt whom was the Count *d'Aulnoy*, they ſtruck: the *Trident*, being leaky, and it blowing very freſh, the *Engliſh* ſent her to *Gorgona*, and carried the *Content* to *Meſſina*, where they arrived the 2d of *March*. The *Plymouth* had 14 Men killed, and 30 wounded, and there might be about twice that Number killed and wounded on board the reſt of the Ships [b]. The brave Captain *Killegrew* was interred at *Meſſina*, with all the Honours due to his Rank and Merit [c]. The News of this Action reached home much about the Time that the Lords preſented their Addreſs; which was a very fortunate Circumſtance for the Friends of the Court, who mentioned it on all Occaſions as a Fact, which fully ſupported their Arguments.

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[a] The French took a great deal of Pains to publiſh whatever was ſaid in England againſt this Meaſure; and indeed they had good Reaſon ſo to do, ſince all thoſe Arguments were in their Favour. The Engliſh Fleet giving Law to them in the Mediterranean, while our Squadrons bombarded their Ports on the Ocean, ſunk their Pretenſions to becoming a maritime Power ſo low, that it is no wonder they were deſirous of promoting the Views of that Party in England, which oppoſed Meaſures ſo fatal to their Glory.

[b] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 266, 267. Salmon's chronological Hiſtory, Kennet, Burnet, &c.

[c] When Captain Killegrew came up with the Content, the whole French Crew were at Prayers, and he might have poured in his Broad-ſide with great Advantage; which he refuſed to do, adding this remarkable Expreſſion, "It is beneath the Courage "of the Engliſh Nation, to ſurpriſe their Enemies in ſuch a Poſture."

The 5th of *February*, a Supply of Proviſions came from *England*, and in *March* the Admiral detached a ſtrong Squadron, under Rear-admiral *Nevil*, to cruiſe off of Cape *Spartel*, to intercept the *French*, if they ſhould attempt to ſend any Part of their naval Force through the *Streights*.

He was at liberty, as Winds and Weather might happen, to anchor in *Tangier-Bay*, or to ſtation himſelf Eaſtward of the *Streights* Mouth, and if he received not Orders to the contrary in 12 Days, he was to return to the Fleet in the Bay of *Cadiz*.

In the Beginning of *April* arrived the Land-forces under the Command of Brigadier-general *Stewart*; they conſiſted of his own Regiment, and thoſe of the Marques *Puizar*, Colonel *Brudenel*, and Colonel *Coote*, in all about 4500 Men, Officers included; and with the ſame Convoy came the remaining Victualers, and 12 Bomb-veſſels. The Fleet ſailed, and Cruiſers were ſent on ſeveral Stations, for Intelligence. The 5th of *May* Orders were ſent to the Commander of the *Turky* Convoy, at *Meſſina*, to continue there, in a ſailing Poſture, 'till he ſhould be re-inforced, and the 18th the Fleet arrived at *Barcelona*, and found the *Spaniſh* Affairs in *Catalonia* in the ſame declining Way in which they left them, notwithſtanding all the preſſing Remonſtrances, which had from time to time been made by our Admiral to the *Spaniſh* Court on that Subject. The 20th the Fleet ſailed again, and the next Day the Admiral gave Direction to Rear-admiral *Nevil*, that when he made a Signal, by an *Engliſh* Enſign at his Fore-top-maſt-head, he ſhould ſeparate from the Fleet. His Squadron conſiſted of five Third-rates, one Sixth-rate, two Fire-ſhips, a Brigantine, and an Advice-boat, of the *Engliſh*; and three Ships of War of the *States-General* of 72 Guns each. He was directed to take with him the Tranſport-ſhips, and to make all poſſible Diſpatch in getting the Soldiers on-board, and then to repair to the Rendezvous off of the Iſle of *Hyeres*; but if he found not the Fleet there, to come to *Barcelona*; and a Frigate was ſent off of the Cape of *Toulon*, for Intelligence of the Enemy's Proceedings. He had alſo Directions to apply himſelf to the Duke of *Savoy*, in order to be informed, whether, with the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet, he could undertake to invade any Part of the Dominions of *France*, or to aſſiſt in a Deſign that was then formed againſt *Toulon*. But his Highneſs being intent upon taking *Caſal*, declined entering upon any Meaſures of this Nature; and therefore Rear-admiral *Nevil* was forced to content himſelf with the Execution of the other Part of his Inſtructions, and rejoin the grand Fleet with the *Spaniſh* Troops under his Protection, which he very happily performed. This was one great End of ſending Admiral *Ruſſel* into the *Mediterranean*: For if, with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy*, he could have undertaken any Thing againſt *Marſeilles* or *Toulon*, it would have compleated the Ruin of the *French* Power at Sea. But the Duke was ſo bent upon the Conqueſt of *Caſal*, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other Enterprize. Admiral *Ruſſel*, as ſoon as he underſtood this, reſolved to give him all the Aſſiſtance poſſible in that Deſign, and by hindering the *French* from ſending any Succours, enabled him to make himſelf Maſter of the Place, which he could not otherwiſe have taken.

The 7th of *June* Orders were ſent to the *Turky* Convoy, to repair to *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, and the *Newcaſtle* and *Adventure* were ſent thither to join them. The Tranſports being likewiſe arrived in the Fleet, were diſpatched with a Convoy to *Barcelona*, and a ſmall Frigate was ſent to *Toulon* to get an Account of the Enemy's Ships in that Harbour.

The Fleet having watered at the Iſland of *Sardinia*, and the *Turky* Ships appearing, juſt as the Admiral was upon his Departure, he ordered them to *Alfaques*, on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, from whence they were afterwards ordered to *Cadiz*, and from thence to *England*, with ſome Ships appointed to ſtrengthen them.

The 19th of *July* the Fleet arrived off of *Barcelona*, and there the Admiral ordered a ſtrict Survey to be made, of the Condition the Ships were in. He thereupon repreſented to the Lords of the Admiralty, that the greateſt Part of the Firſt, Second, and Third-rates were in ſuch a Condition, as to require their going to *England* the firſt Seaſon of fair Weather; but that the *Sovereign*, *St. Andrew*, *Duke*, *St. Michael*, *Sandwich*, *Suffolk*, *Grafton*, *Edgar*, *Warſpight*, and ſome others, ought even at that very time, to be ſent home; for that, ſhould they be continued at *Cadiz* another Winter, it was his Opinion, they would hardly be able to ſwim; for which Reaſon he aſſured them, that he would rather take his Fortune with a ſmall Strength, than hazard the Nation's loſing ſo many Ships; and, without them, there would remain with him but 44 *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, from the Fourth-rate upwards.

In the mean time, the *Spaniards* continuing to be dilatory in all their Proceedings, the Admiral thought himſelf obliged to repreſent the whole Matter to the Court of *Spain*, and to let them know, how little they had complied with their Promiſes to him at *Cadiz*, and how ill he thought the King, his Maſter, was requited, for the Charges he had been at, and his Readineſs to ſerve *Spain*; declaring, that unleſs ſomething was immediately undertaken, he would depart, and leave *Spain* to her own Conduct and Councils. This obliged the Vice-roy of *Catalonia* to march to *Palamos*, a Sea-port belonging to *Spain*, then in the Hands of the *French*.

The Admiral reſolved to aſſiſt him in the Siege of that Place. The Manner of it being concerted with Brigadier-general *Stewart*; all the Long-boats in the Fleet were got ready, with a Lieutenant and two Gunner's Mates to each, to attend Sir *Martin Beckman*, upon the firſt Signal that ſhould be made, for Bombarding the Place. And the 9th of *Auguſt*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops, to the Number of about 4000, the former commanded by Brigadier-general *Stewart*, and the latter by Count *Naſſau*, were landed, without Oppoſition, and encamped near the Town: But they were not furniſhed with the Tents, and other Neceſſaries the *Spaniards* had promiſed, not ſo much as with Spades, Guns, and Ammunition. Notwithſtanding which, the Town and Caſtle were bombarded two or three Days after, and with ſo much Succeſs, though the Sea run high, that the better Part of both was beaten down, and the Remainder ſet on fire in ſeveral Places.

With this ended the Attempt: For a Veſſel, which the Admiral had ſent to the Coaſt of *Provence*, returning, brought two of the Inhabitants of *Toulon*[*], who poſitively affirmed, that the *French* had 60 Men of War ready to put to Sea: upon which the Admiral thought proper to re-embark his Troops to go in ſearch of the Enemy, and adviſed the *Spaniards* to raiſe the Siege.

The Troops being embarked, the Fleet proceeded to the Coaſt of *Provence*, where they met with ſuch tempeſtuous Weather, as rendered a Continuance there very hazardous; upon which the Admiral retired down the *Streights* to *Cadiz*, where arriving the latter End of *September*, he appointed Sir *David Mitchel*, then Rear-admiral of the Red, to take upon him the Command of Part of the Fleet. This Squadron conſiſted of eight Third-rates, and as many Fourth-rates, beſides ſmall Frigates, Bomb-veſſels, and others of the *Engliſh*; and ſeven *Dutch* Men of War, from 74 to 50 Guns; with Inſtructions to employ all, or Part of them, in ſuch Manner as he judged might be moſt proper for the Service; but to put himſelf under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, when he ſhould arrive, he being expected with a Squadron of Ships from *England*. And with the Remainder, *viz.* one Firſt-rate, ſeven Second-rates, one Third-rate, three Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, and three Fire-ſhips, beſides the *Dutch*, he ſailed for *England*, where he arrived at *Spithead* in *November*.

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[*] The French Writers gives us another Account of this Matter; they ſay, that the Duke of Vendôme, who commanded their Army in Catalonia, finding himſelf too weak to attempt the raiſing the Siege of Palamos by Force, had yet Addreſs enough to effect it by a Stratagem. He ſent a Letter by the Maſter of a Fiſhing-bark, directed to Mr. Nancias, Governor of that Place, acquainting him, that he might depend on ſpeedy Relief, the Fleet having ſailed from Toulon in the Beginning of September. The Maſter of the Fiſhing-boat had Orders to put himſelf in the Way of the Engliſh, which he did; and the Admiral being deceived by this Letter, ſailed immediately for the Coaſt of Provence. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 178. yet, ſuppoſing this Fact to be true, the French had no great Cauſe to boaſt; for Palamos was reduced to ſo miſerable a Condition, by being bombarded, that the Duke de Vendôme thought fit ſoon after to withdraw his Garriſon, and blow up the reſt of the Fortifications.

Let us now conſider what paſſed at home, and how thoſe Meaſures were proſecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the *French* in the Ocean. Our Attempts the Year before had not indeed anſwered the ſanguine Expectations of ignorant People, who imagined, that they were not to have left a Houſe ſtanding on all the *French* Coaſt; and, on the other hand, ſeemed but to juſtify too well what ſuch as were beſt ſkilled in maritime Affairs had advanced, as to the Impoſſibility of performing any great Services in the way of bombarding; yet it was reſolved, that this ſhould be purſued[a]. The great Men in the Cabinet, amongſt whom, at that Time, was the famous Earl of *Sunderland*, perhaps the ableſt Miniſter of his Time, thought themſelves better Judges of theſe Matters, than either the Seamen or the People; and while they were able to ſhew their own Force for the preſent, leſſen the *French* Power for the future, and give infinite Uneaſineſs to the whole *French* Nation, by ſuch Expeditions, the Expence of them, though conſiderable, was, in their Judgments, very far from being thrown away. They were, beſides, very ſenſible, that nothing could enable us, and our allies, to continue the War with any Proſpect of Succeſs, but our making ſuch Uſes of our Fleet, as might leſſen the viſible Superiority of the *French* King's Forces by Land. This had been effectually done by Admiral *Ruſſel* while he continued in the *Mediterranean:* for though he found it impoſſible to enable the *Spaniards* to do any thing, who had little or rather no Force at all, yet he had viſibly prevented the Loſs of *Barcelona*, and indeed of all *Catalonia*, which nothing but his Preſence could have kept, either this Year or the laſt, out of the Hands of the *French*; and the Bombardments of laſt Year had fruſtrated all the *French* Schemes, and kept their whole naval Force uſeleſs in their Ports, which had been otherwiſe employed to our Prejudice; it being better Policy to alarm and burn the *French* Coaſts, than to ſuffer them to alarm and burn ours.

The Command in Chief of thoſe Bombardments, was given to Lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, who repaired on-board the Fleet for that Service, lying at *Spithead* about the Middle of *June*. On his Arrival at *Spithead*, a Council of War was called, in order to conſider what ſhould be firſt undertaken; and, upon mature Deliberation, it was reſolved, that there was the greateſt Probability of ſucceeding againſt *St. Maloes*. But the *Dutch* Admiral, *Allemonde*, having acquainted Lord *Berkley*, that he had the King's abſolute Orders to conſider the Project for attacking *Dunkirk* before all others; this occcaſioned a freſh Delay. However, when it was propoſed that the *Dutch* ſhould act ſeparately in this laſt Undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full Reſolution taken to execute immediately the Deſign againſt *St. Maloes*[b]. The Manner reſolved upon, by a Council of War, for attacking the Place, was as follows:

1. That ſix *Dutch* Bomb-veſſels, and three *Engliſh*, ſhould batter the *Quince-Rock*, and the Fort called *d'Ambour*, five whereof were to attack the former, and four the other.

2. The other nine Bomb-veſſels were, at the ſame time, to batter the Town, to be ſupported therein, by ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Frigates, and other ſmall Veſſels; and ſo many Boats as could be ſpared were to go in with ſmall Anchors and Hauſers, to tow the Bomb-veſſels and Frigates, if there ſhould be Occaſion.

3. Two *Dutch* Ships were to cruiſe W. N. W. of the Squadron, or off of Cape *Frebelle*, and all the reſt to lye as near as conveniently they could.

His Lordſhip arrived on the 4th of *July* before that Neſt of Privateers, which, of all others, had moſt infeſted the Channel, and moleſted our Merchants, with the Squadron under his Command, and anchored in twenty Fathom Water, the *Quince-Rock* bearing S. E. by E. near five Miles diſtant, Cape *Frebelle* W. S. W. three Leagues and a half, and *Cancale-Point* E. by S. three Leagues. About three in the Afternoon, the Bomb and ſmaller Veſſels ſtanding cloſe in, five of the former began inſtantly to bombard *Quince-Fort* to the Weſtward, and the Battery raiſed by the Enemy to the Eaſtward, on point *Danbour*, between which is the Channel of the Town. The firſt Service was performed by Colonel *Richards*, who had three *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* Bomb-veſſels under his Command, and the latter was committed entirely to the *Dutch*, who employed therein four Bomb-veſſels for many Hours.

The next Morning at Four, the Squadron ſtood in, and the Frigates and Bomb veſſels were ordered as near the Town as poſſible, Captain *Bembow* went on-board the *Charles* Galley, and hoiſted a flame-coloured Flag; and immediately after, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Frigates, appointed to guard the Bomb-veſſels, entered the Channel, and came to an Anchor within a Mile and an half of the Town, having Colonel *Richards*, with the Bomb-veſſels, in a Line before them. About ſix the Bombardment began. All this time the Enemy fired very warmly from the Shore, from the Batteries on the great and little Bay, in the Iſland of *Danbour*, from *Fort-Vauban*, *Fort-Royal*, *Fort-Quince*, &c. their Gallies and Boats taking alſo the Opportunities of the Tides, and rowing ſometimes ſo near, as to gall with their ſmall Shot the Line of Bomb-veſſels. Yet, in ſpite of this Interruption, the Bombardment was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that about Eight o'Clock a great Fire broke out in the Eaſt-part of the Town, and vaſt Clouds of Smoak were ſeen aſcending in ſeveral Places. Lord *Berkley*, Admiral *Allemonde*, and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, came in their Boats to encourage the Seamen, and expreſſed much Satisfaction as to the Manner in which the Attack was diſpoſed. An *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fire-ſhip ſet the Wooden-fort on the *Quince* Rock on Fire, which burnt for two Hours; and about Four in the Afternoon, a great Fire broke out in the Weſt-part of the Town. By Seven in the Evening, the Bomb-veſſels had ſpent their whole Cargo of 9000 Bombs and Carcaſſes, and therefore the Signal was made to put to Sea. This Enterprize was executed by ſix *Engliſh* and four *Dutch* Men of War, nine Galliots, 14 flat-bottom Boats, and two Brigantines. The Loſs ſuſtained by the Enemy's Fire, was 60 Men killed and wounded; a Bomb-veſſel, called the *Terrible*, ſo ſhattered, that they were forced to ſet her on Fire; two Boats, and three or four Barks ſunk. The Bombardment laſted ſomewhat more than eleven Hours, with all the Succeſs that could poſſibly be expected, a great Part of the Place being burnt, and the Enemy reduced to the Neceſſity of blowing up ſeveral Houſes, to prevent the whole from being deſtroyed.

The next Place they reſolved to proceed to was *Granville*, (a pretty conſiderable Town in the lower *Normandy*) which they deſtroyed without the Loſs of a Man. The Lord *Berkley* being ſailed with the Fleet for *Jerſey*, the Care of this Attempt was committed to Colonel *Richards*, with eight Bomb-veſſels and eight Frigates, who came before it, the eighth, about Nine in the Morning, with five *Engliſh* and three *Dutch* Bomb-ſhips, and ſeveral Frigates, under the Command of Captain *Bembow*, who, within an Hour, ſet it all on Fire, and after having continued the Bombardment till Six in the Evening, left it in Flames. A Feint was then made of going to *Havre de Grace*; but, in the Evening, the Squadron bore away to the Fleet, which was now at Anchor in *Guernſey* Road; from whence they ſailed to *Portſmouth* to refit the Bomb-veſſels, and prepare for attacking *Dunkirk*.

The Squadron being come to the *Downs*, his Lordſhip received Orders there to take 400 Soldiers on-board; and Mr. *Meeſters* coming ſoon after with his Pilots, the Manner how *Dunkirk* was to be attacked, was determined in a Council of War, as follows:

1. To begin with bombarding the *Ris-bank* and Wooden-forts, with ſix or eight Bomb-veſſels, which were to ceaſe firing as ſoon as the Frigates and Machines came near the Forts.

2. Four *Engliſh* Frigates were firſt to go in, with *Dutch* Pilots, and to carry on two Fire-ſhips, with as many Machines, to be laid againſt the Wooden-forts. Theſe were to be ſupported by four Ships of the *States-General*, of about 50 Guns each, deſigned to anchor againſt and batter the ſaid Forts; and three ſmall *Dutch* Frigates, one *Engliſh* Brigantine, with an Advice-boat, were to go near in with the Fire-ſhips and Machines, in order to take up their Boats when the Men ſet them on fire.

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[a] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.

[b] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 293. Kennet, Burnet.

3. At the ſame time two *Engliſh* Frigates, two Ketches, and two Fire-ſhips, were to be ſent on the Back of the *Brake* to diſperſe the Enemy's ſmall Craft; two Machines, with as many Fire-ſhips, to burn againſt the *Ris-bank*; and a Brigantine, and four Well-boats, were to bring off their Boats.

4. Two Fire-ſhips, and as many Machines, were to be ready for a ſecond Attack upon the Weſtern Wooden-fort (if the firſt ſhould fail) to be ſupported by an *Engliſh* Frigate, two Men of War-pinks, and a Ketch; and the reſt of the *Dutch* Frigates were to be placed at an Anchor, Weſtward of the *Brake*, ready for any Service.

5. All the great Ships were to be poſted off of *Gravelin*; for it was the Opinion of the Pilots, that not any one, which drew above 15 or 16 Foot Water, could go out of the Eaſtern Paſſage with Safety.

The Squadron being arrived and joined, on the Coaſt, after ſome Difficulties, the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, early in the Morning, the Bomb-veſſels got under Sail, and ſtood in to bombard the Wooden-forts and the *Ris-bank*. About Nine they began to play very briſkly, being protected by the Frigates againſt the Enemy's ſmall Craft, which was very numerous, and lay partly under the Cannon of the *Ris-bank*. About One the Frigates, Brigantines, Well-boats, &c. with the Fire-ſhips and Machines, weighed, and went pretty near in, plying to and fro, within Shot of the Enemy's Forts and Gallies; and about Two, four Smoak-ſhips were ſent in, but without any Succeſs. The Bomb-veſſels fired till Five, at which time, they, with the Brigantines, &c. were ordered off, having only ſunk three of the Enemy's half Gallies, and done very little Damage; the Enemy having made ſuch Preparations, as rendered the Attempt altogether impracticable.

The *French* give a long and pompous Account of this Affair, and I think do the *Engliſh* more Honour than any of their own Relations; for they make the Miſcarriage of this Attempt, the Effect of the Courage and Conduct of ſeveral of their moſt experienced Sea-officers; whereas our Authors univerſally aſcribe it either to the Want of Skill in Mr. *Meeſters*, or to the Miſunderſtanding between him and ſome of the Sea-officers; which is the more probable, ſince he deſerted the Service in the Night, and could not be prevailed on to take any Share in the ſubſequent Attempt upon *Calais* [a].

Lord *Berkley*, notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, reſolved to proſecute his Orders, and coming before *Calais*, called a Council of War, in which it was determined to endeavour, firſt of all, to burn a Wooden-fort erected at the Entrance of the Pier-heads, which was furniſhed with 14 heavy Cannon; and with ſeveral other Batteries defended the Entrance of the Place in ſuch a Manner, that it was impoſſible any thing could be undertaken till theſe Obſtacles were removed. To this End, Colonel *Richards* was ordered to fill two Well-boats with the Materials of a Fire-ſhip, and to diſpoſe the Boats for making a formal Attack. Several Accidents prevented the Execution of this Deſign till the 17th of *Auguſt* in the Morning, when anchoring Eaſtward of the Town, the Bombardment began with ſuch Succeſs, that by Noon the Place was on fire in ſeveral Parts. About this time the Enemy's half Gallies came out, and ſtood along under the Shore, in order to break the Line of Bomb-veſſels; but the Frigates and Brigantines ſtanding in, put them into ſuch Confuſion, that they retired with great Precipitation, and with much Difficulty recovered the Pier-heads. The Bombardment was then continued, without any further Interruption, till about Five in the Afternoon, by which time 600 Shells were thrown into the Place. The Magazine and the *Ris-bank* was entirely burnt, ſeveral Houſes deſtroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular Circumſtance in our Favour, that, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the Enemy, and a prodigious Fire from their Batteries, we ſuffered very little Loſs; only Captain *Oſborne*, who commanded the *Aldborough*-Ketch, was killed by a Cannon-ball [b].

This was the laſt Attack of the Kind that was made this Year; and though, upon the whole, both the *Engliſh* and the Confederates reaped very conſiderable Advantages from their ruining in this Manner all the Enemy's Coaſts, while their Squadrons were ſhut up in their Ports, and in no Capacity to undertake any thing, yet, on the Return of the Fleet, the Council thought fit to examine into the Conduct both of the Officers and Engineers, who charged each other reciprocally with Want of Skill, or Want of Zeal; but upon a thorough Examination into the Matter, it was found, that their want of Unanimity was the greateſt Misfortune; and it appeared ſo plainly, that by proper Management the *French* Ports might be ruined, notwithſtanding the mighty Pains and immenſe Expence employed in fortifying them, that it was reſolved to proſecute the ſame Method.

Another Squadron, commanded by the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, lay off of the Iſles of *Scilly* to ſecure our Trade, and convoy our Merchant-ſhips. Biſhop *Burnet* gives this Nobleman the Character of an extravagant Man, both in his Pleaſures and Humours; and adds, he was ſlow in going to Sea; and, when he was out, he fancied the *French* Fleet was coming upon him, which proved to be only a Fleet of Merchant ſhips; ſo he left his Station, and retired into *Milford-Haven*; by which means that Squadron became uſeleſs, and our Merchants were great Sufferers by *French* Cruiſers and Privateers, and eſpecially the *Eaſt-India* Company, who loſt five Ships valued at a Million Sterling. This was Matter of great Diſcontent in the City of *London*, where the Merchants complained, that neither the Admiralty, nor the Government, took the Care that was neceſſary for preſerving the Wealth of the Nation.

The Admiralty excuſed themſelves by producing the Inſtructions given to the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, and other Officers; but, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, it appeared inconteſtably, that the true Source of our Loſſes in this reſpect, and of the *French* Succeſs, was their having ſo good Intelligence of all our Motions; whereas it never appeared, that with all the Money ſpent for this Purpoſe, we had any tolerable Accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their Diligence and Dexterity, and how far to our Indolence and Treachery, is what we ſhall not pretend to determine, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that in a Time of War no Money is ſo ill ſpared, as that which might be employed in gaining early Notice of an Enemy's Preparations; for though their Deſigns may, yet their Actions can never be hid [c].

To return to the Fleet left in the *Mediterranean*, Sir *George Rooke* was ſent to ſucceed Admiral *Ruſſel*, who by his Commiſſion was Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships in the *Mediterranean*; and, by his Inſtructions, he was required to annoy the Enemy on all Occaſions; to prevent their being furniſhed from theſe Seas with naval Stores and Proviſions; to take under his Command the Ships of War left at *Cadiz* by Admiral *Ruſſel*; and if he received certain Advice, that the *French* had paſſed the *Streights* with the whole, or Part of their Fleet, to follow them, or detach after them ſuch a Strength as might be proportionable to what they had.

The 16th of *October* Sir *George Rooke* arrived in the Bay of *Cadiz*, with the Fleet under his Command. The 21ſt he called a Council of War, where were preſent himſelf, Rear-admiral *Nevil*, and Captain *Bokenham*. They conſidered how the Ships bound to *Turky* might be moſt ſafely convoyed thither, and determined that their Guard ſhould conſiſt of four Ships of War, two for *Smyrna*, and two for *Scanderoon*, and that they ſhould be accompanied with a Squadron of four or five more, and two Fire-ſhips as far as Cape *Matapan*, the moſt ſouthern Promontory of the *Morea*, or higher if it ſhould be judged reaſonable: That then the Squadron ſhould return, and in their Way call at *Algiers*, after that croſs over to *Alicant*, and ſo along the Coaſt of *Spain*, unleſs they had Advice that the *French* had a ſtronger Force abroad.

Our united Force not being ſufficient to oppoſe the Enemy, all that could be propoſed, 'till it was re-inforced from *England*, was to protect the Trade: But, leſt the *French* ſhould appear at *Cadiz*, before this Reinforcement arrived, it was agreed, that the Ships ſhould be removed within

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[a] The Gazette, No. 3102. Burchett's Memoirs, p. 297. Hiſtoire Militaire, Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIV. &c.

[b] London Gazette, No. 3107. Burchett's Memoirs, p. 303. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 413. Kennet, Burnet.

[c] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 155. Kennet, Oldmixon, Preſent State of Europe, Life of King William.

Puntal Caſtles, and formed in three Lines [a]; which, indeed, was all that could be done, the Ships being generally but half manned, and the *Dutch* very foul.

Thus was our Squadron in a manner blocked up at *Cadiz*, when the Admiral received Advice that five *French* Ships, from 70 to 80 Guns, lay in *Lagos* Bay; upon which Rear-admiral *Mitchel* was detached with eight clean Ships, and two Fire-ſhips in queſt of them; but contrary Winds ſoon obliged him to bear up.

About the Middle of *February* the Admiral ſent home a Frigate for Inſtructions; but before the Return of it he received Orders from his Majeſty, dated the 27th of *January*; upon which he called a Council of War, where the Return of the Fleet to *England* was reſolved upon: And Sir *George* put to Sea about the Middle of *March*; but a Storm, in which ſeveral of the Ships Maſts were ſprung, their Sails blown away, and the greateſt Ships very much ſhaken, drove him back again into the Bay of *Cadiz*; from whence, however, he ſet ſail again ſoon after, and arrived in the *Engliſh* Channel the 22d of *April*.

This Year alſo furniſhes us with the Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, under Captain *Robert Wilmot* and Captain *Luke Lillington*, Commander of the Land Forces [b].

Captain *Robert Wilmot* was appointed Commander in Chief of a Squadron of Ships, compoſed of one Third-rate, three Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, and two Fire-ſhips. The 14th of *January* 1695, he received Orders to proceed from *Plymouth* with theſe Ships and 12 other Veſſels, appointed to tranſport Soldiers, Stores, and Proviſions towards *America*, where he was to take under his Command two Fourth and one Fifth-rate. It was to be a Secret till he came to a certain Latitude, where he was to open his Inſtructions, in the Preſence of a Council of War of all the Officers, both of the Fleet and Land Forces; "but (Col. *Lillington* ſays) "he broke his Orders, and opened his In-"ſtructions, no Body being preſent but he and I, and "made them up again, after having plentifully curſed "*Blaithwait*, and then made Signal for the Officers to "come on-board, to the opening of his Orders." His Inſtructions were:

1. To ſail to *Jamaica*.

2. To conſider with the Governor of that Iſland, at a Council of War, what might be done againſt the Enemy; and, if he ſhould think fit, he was ordered to proceed to *Petit Guavas* (a Town and Harbour in that Part of *Hiſpaniola* poſſeſſed by the *French*) according to ſuch Informations as could be gained of the Poſture of the Enemy; and to take with him ſo many of the Land Soldiers, and of the Militia of *Jamaica*, as the Governor ſhall appoint.

3. To order ſome of his Squadron to cruiſe off of *Petit Guavas*, and, by all other Ways, to intercept Supplies going to the *French* from *Europe*, or any of the Windward Iſlands.

4. Upon landing the Troops at *Petit Guavas*, or any other Part of the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, (if it ſhould be thought proper to do the ſame, at a Council of War) he was to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to reduce the Forts, *&c.* and to deſtroy the Sugar-works, Engines, and Plantations.

5. If *Petit Guavas* could be taken by our Forces, he was to diſpoſe Matters ſo, as that Poſſeſſion thereof might be kept.

6. To give Notice to the Commander in Chief of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, or the City of *St. Domingo*, of his Arrival near that Coaſt, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance by Shipping, and the Conjunction of the Forces, or Militia there, for deſtroying the Enemy on that and the adjacent Iſlands; to which End the ſaid Governor had received Inſtructions from the King of *Spain*, his Maſter.

7. But if, by the Readineſs of the Preparations, at *Hiſpaniola*, or Advices from the Governor of *Jamaica*, it ſhould be judged adviſeable, at a Council of War, to attack the *French* before his going to *Jamaica*, he was to do it.

8. If he gained Intelligence at his coming to *Jamaica*, or before his Arrival there, that the *French* were poſſeſſed of that Iſland, he was to endeavour to recover it, either by a Diverſion, or otherwiſe, as a Council of War ſhould judge moſt proper.

9. To hold Councils of War as often as there ſhould be Occaſion, to conſiſt of the Lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica*, himſelf, the reſt of the Sea Captains, and of the Colonel, Major, and Captains of the Regiment, when thoſe Perſons ſhould be on the Place, the Governor being to preſide if preſent, otherwiſe himſelf; and in his Abſence, and that of the Lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica*, the Colonel, or Commander in Chief of the Regiment.

10. If the Councils of War were held at *Jamaica*, there were to be added thereunto the chief Officers of the Militia, not exceeding ſix; yet in no other Caſe but when the Matters to be debated ſhould relate to the Defence of the Iſland: But the Governor was not to meddle with the Diſcipline of the Squadron; nor was the Commodore to ſend any of the Ships to cruize remote from the Iſland, without the Conſent of the ſaid Governor and Council, if it might be conveniently had.

11. The Spoil his Majeſty gave between himſelf, the Officers, Seamen, Soldiers, and Militia, except Guns, Ammunition, and naval Stores, according to the Diſtribution, which will be hereafter mentioned.

12. After he had done his utmoſt to annoy the Enemy, and for the Security of the Iſland, and remained thereabouts not longer than two or three Months, unleſs a Council of War judged it abſolutely neceſſary, for ſome ſpecial Services, he was to return to *England*, and to leave five Fourth-rates, and one Sixth-rate, for the Guard of *Jamaica*: But, in his Paſſage, (if the Seaſon of the Year ſhould not be too far advanced) he was to call at the *French* Settlements in *Newfoundland*, and endeavour to deſtroy their, and protect our Fiſhery; after which he was to do the like on their Veſſels on the *Bank*.

Laſtly, And ſince the Succeſs of this Expedition depended very much upon the good Agreement between him and the Commander in Chief of the Land Forces (which was, indeed, not only in this Caſe, but many others, found a very difficult Thing) he was enjoined to take care to prevent any unneceſſary Scruples or Difficulties on that Account.

The Diſtribution of the Prizes and Booty, that ſhould be taken in the Weſt Indies.

1. All Prizes taken at Sea were to be diſtributed according to an Act of Parliament in that Behalf: And of all the Booty at Land, a third Part was to be ſet aſide for the Lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica*, when Commander in Chief, on any Expedition, or to the Commander in Chief, for the Time being; the other two Thirds to be diſtributed among the Officers and Soldiers, as will be hereafter more particularly expreſſed.

2. His Majeſty's Part of all Prizes at Sea, was to be divided among the Seamen only, and the Booty at Land, among the Land-men.

3. But when the Land-men happened to be commanded on-board, upon any Expedition, or if in their Paſſage to the *Weſt-Indies*, the Tranſport-ſhips ſhould be engaged, and a Prize taken, ſuch Land-men were to be conſidered as Seamen, and their Officers on-board to receive a Share according to their Pay; and, in like manner, the Seamen, and their Officers, when on Shore, were to receive a Dividend according to their Pay.

4. That of all Booty taken in Service on Shore, wherein the Commander in Chief of the Squadron, for the Time being, ſhould aſſiſt with 400 Seamen, or more, the ſaid Commander in Chief was to have the Share allotted to a

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[a] Theſe three Lines were to be as follows: The firſt (to conſiſt of the largeſt Engliſh Ships) to lye from Puntal athwart the Channel, to the Creek's Mouth called Truccadero, next within the North-Caſtle: The ſecond (to be compoſed of the ſmalleſt Engliſh and Dutch Ships) along the Shoal, on the South-ſide of the Harbour; and the third (to be of the biggeſt Dutch Ships) to begin from the upper End of the ſecond Line, and to trench away athwart the Channel, to the Mouth of the upper Creek, which goes to Port-Real; and the ſmall Frigates, Bomb-veſſels, and Fire-ſhips, were to be poſted to the beſt Advantage, as the Wind and other Circumſtances might permit.

[b] They conſiſted of 1200 Men, commanded by himſelf, as Colonel, his Brother Jarvis Lillington as Major, and four Captains. Each Company had two Lieutenants, one Enſign, ſix Serjeants, ſix Corporals, two Drums and 200 private Sentinels, making 218 Men in a Company. The Train of Artillery conſiſted of 12 Pieces of Cannon, viz. two 18 Pounders, four 24 Pounders, and ſix Field-pieces, with two Mortars. The Stores were in all Things proportioned to the Deſign, and they had 2 Gunners and Firemen, 1200 ſpare Arms, 500 Barrels of Powder, with Plenty of all Manner of Ammunition and other Neceſſaries.

Colonel, and the Officers appointed by him to command thoſe Men, to be conſidered as Land-officers.

5. No Officer of the Militia was to be conſidered as a Colonel, who commanded leſs than 500 Men; nor as a Captain, if he had leſs in his Company than 50; unleſs ſuch Regiment or Company ſhould, after their proceeding on the Expedition, happen to be reduced by Sickneſs or Accident of War.

Two Thirds of the Booty taken at Land was to be thus divided.

To Field and Staff-officers.	*Shares.*
Colonel, as Colonel,	18
Lieutenant-colonel, as Lieutenant-colonel,	10½
Major, as Major,	7½
Captain,	10
Adjutant,	6
Chirurgeon,	6
Chirurgeon's Mates, 2 : 4 Shares each,	8
Quarter-maſter,	6
Total	72

One Company.	*Shares.*
Captain,	12
Two Lieutenants, each 6 Shares,	12
Enſign,	4½
Six Serjeants,	12
Six Corporals,	9
Two Drummers,	3
200 private Men,	200
Five Companies more, conſiſting of the like Number,	1262½
The Commiſſary of Stores and Proviſions, Pay-maſter of the Forces, Commiſſary of Muſters, and Judge-advocate,	12
Total	1599

To the Officers of the Ordnance.	*Shares.*
Enſign,	15
Maſter-gunner,	7½
Gunner's-mate,	4½
Twelve Gunners each, 3 Shares,	36
Fire-maſter,	7½
Six Bombardiers, each 3 ¾ Shares,	22½
Maſter-carpenter,	6
Three Mates, each 3 ⅔ Shares,	11
Chirurgeon,	6
	116
	1599
Total	1715

Two Thirds of the King's Part of the Prizes at Sea, were to be divided, after this Manner:

To the Captain,	3 Eighths.	To be divided equally amongſt them *.
Lieutenant and Maſter,	1 Eighth.	
Boatſwain, Gunner, Purſer, Carpenter, Maſter's-mate, Chirurgeon, Chaplain,	1 Eighth.	
Midſhipmen, Carpenter's-mates, Boatſwain's-mates, Gunner's-mates, Corporals, Yeomen of the Sheets, Coxſwain, Quarter-maſter,	1 Eighth.	
Doctor's-mates, Chirurgeon's-mates, Yeomen of the Powder-Room,	1 Eighth.	
Trumpeter, Quarter-gunner, Carpenter's Crew, Steward, Cook, Armourer, Steward's-mate, Gunſmith, Swabber, Ordinary Trumpeter, Barber, Able Seamen.	2 Eighths.	

Laſtly, ſuch Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, as ſhould happen to receive Wounds in any Action, where Booty or a Prize ſhould be taken, were to have double Shares, in Conſideration of their Wounds.

Purſuant to his Inſtructions, Captain *Wilmot* ſailed from *Plymouth* the 22d of *January*, and arriving in the old Road of *St. Chriſtopher's*, departed from thence the 28th of *March* for the *Savanna*, which lies at the Eaſtermoſt End of *Hiſpaniola*, intending, if the Governor of *St. Domingo* was ready to march to *Port de Paix*, to ſail on the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland, and aſſault it by Sea, which he could not have done, had he gone down to *St. Domingo*, or on the South-ſide; becauſe it would have been a great Hindrance to the Tranſport-ſhips, which ſailed very ill, and could not ſo well keep a Wind.

The *French*, at this Time, had 19 Privateers out of *Guadalupe* and *Martinico*, and three Ships of War, one of 44 Guns, another of 40, and the third a ſmall *Dutch* Ship, taken at *Camaret-Bay*; which Privateers were chiefly ſupported by ſuch Merchant-ſhips and Veſſels of ours, as they frequently took loaden with Proviſions for the Iſlands. Beſides, the *French* General had Notice of our coming ᵃ, and daily expected the Squadron at *Hiſpaniola*, where they had muſtered up all their Strength together, and this, notwithſtanding the great Care which was taken at home, for keeping the Expedition private.

When the Squadron arrived at *Savanna*, the Commodore met with a Letter from the Governor of *St. Domingo*, by which he aſſured him, that if he would come hither, he ſhould be aſſiſted in attempting the Enemy on that Coaſt; whereupon he ſailed with three Ships of War, and two Fire-ſhips, having ſent the Tranſports, with the Remainder of the Squadron, to the Gulph of *Samina*, on the North-ſide of the Iſland.

When he landed, he deſired the Aſſiſtance of the Preſident of *St. Domingo*, and delivered to him the King of *Spain's* Letters; but though he made at firſt a Shew of Readineſs to comply therewith, yet he ſoon raiſed inſignificant Scruples ᵇ: by which twelve Days-time was loſt; and then it was agreed, that he ſhould forthwith march, with 1700 of his Men, and 150 *Engliſh* to *Machaneel-Bay*, on

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* This is the Diſtribution, according to Burchett and Colonel Lillington's Account: But how could the King's Two-thirds be divided into Nine-eighths?

ᵃ Colonel Lillington obſerves, that Captain Wilmot was ſo far from carefully concealing the Deſign (as he ought to have done) that he took all the directeſt Methods in the World, to make his Arrival in thoſe Parts as publick as was poſſible; for both at Antegoa and Montſerrat, he took the Liberty, at his going on-ſhore, to tell publickly, both what he was come for, and whither he was going: But this was not all; for Captain Buttler, Commander of the Wincheſter, a Third-rate, ſailed along the Coaſt of Guadalupe, near to the Shore, and fired ſeveral Shot on-ſhore; which could not be otherwiſe looked upon, than as a Defiance, and a plain Intimation, that we deſigned to viſit them ſhortly, and conſequently muſt put them upon the neceſſary Preparations for their Defence.

ᵇ This Colonel Lillington denies, and calls it an Aſperſion thrown upon him by Mr. Burchett, and a notorious Falſhood, adding, that this Preſident or Governor was ready to comply with every thing which could reaſonably be expected, and forward enough to promote the Expedition; (though not in any great Readineſs when they came there) that what Mr. Burchett calls inſignificant Scruples, were nothing but a ſtrict Obſervance of his Duty and Inſtructions, by which he was tied down to concert Meaſures for this Expedition, with on the North-ſide of the Iſland, where the Squadron was to meet him [a].

Accordingly the Commodore proceeded to Cape *Francois*, [b] which was the very Windermoſt-ſettlement the *French* had; and when he had put on-ſhore the reſt of the *Engliſh* Forces, within three Leagues of the Cape, he moved forward, till he came within Gun-ſhot of the Fort, from whence the *French* fired very warmly at our Ships, and, in ſome meaſure, diſabled one of them, called the *Swan*.

It was concluded, that as ſoon as the Soldiers could march to one End of the Town, the Ships ſhould batter the Fort, whereon were mounted 40 Guns, and that the Seamen ſhould aſſault the Back of it, the Ground there being higher than the Fort itſelf; in order to which, a convenient Place was ſought for to land at; but they were repulſed: However, the next Evening they went with a greater Strength, and the Enemy imagining, that we then intended to land, they blew up the Fort, and burnt the Town, laying Trains of Powder to the Houſes, where any Plunder was, which had like to have done much Miſchief to our Men.

The next Day the Commodore ſent to the *Spaniſh* Admiral to know when he could be ready to go to *Port de Paix*, upon whoſe Anſwer it was agreed, at a Conſultation, that Major *Lillingſton* ſhould march thither with 300 *Engliſh*, in company with the *Spaniſh* Forces, it being (as they ſaid) about 14 Leagues off [c]; but what was thus determined not being put in Execution, and the Men being unruly, they ſtraggled up and down the Country for Plunder, by which Means ſeveral of them were loſt [d].

The Commodore not hearing from the Forces ſince they moved from Cape *Francois*, called a Council of War, and propoſed to land 400 Seamen to ſee if they could join them, for he had Reaſon to doubt they were in Danger. Accordingly, ſuch a Number of Men were landed about five Miles Eaſtward of *Port de Paix*, though they received ſome Oppoſition; yet they burnt and deſtroyed the Enemy's Plantations, to the Fort itſelf, to which the *French* retired; but not hearing any thing of the Land-forces, they came on-board the Ships at Night.

Soon after this, Captain *Wilmot* had Notice, that ſeveral of the Soldiers had ſtraggled near *Port de Paix* [e], whereupon

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with the Commander in Chief of the Land-forces, and with him only, and therefore would have nothing to do with Wilmot, but referred him to concert with the Spaniſh Admiral; that this affronted Wilmot, who ſo diſdained to talk with the Spaniſh Admiral, that he ſtudied always after to affront him; that in this Diſpute the twelve Days were loſt: for Wilmot would ſuffer nothing to be done: "And (adds he) had not I at laſt pre-"vailed wiih the Spaniſh Governor, to admit Wilmot into our Conſultations, and ſo reconciled the Matter, nothing had been done."

[a] Colonel Lillingſton ſays, the Agreement was, that he was to join his Regiment of 1200 Men, and the Commodore to add 500 Seamen to the 1700 Spaniards, for the Land-force; and that the Spaniards agreed to add three ſmall Men of War to our Fleet; which they did; and to avoid Scruples, the Spaniſh Admiral took down his Flag as ſoon as he came to the Engliſh Fleet.

[b] The Colonel ſays, that while they were on-ſhore, the Fleet rode in Samina-Bay, on the other Side of the Iſland: That they came to the Fleet the 22d of April; when, though he preſſed the Commodore to weigh, and ſtand away for the Cape, yet he loiter'd away ſix Days in the Bay, diverting himſelf with Women and Muſick.

[c] Here (ſays the Colonel) Mr. Burchett is pleaſed to impoſe upon the World again; for it was agreed to land a Party; (which was done, and conſiſted of 200, and not 300 Men, commanded by my Brother) but as it was not my Buſineſs, who commanded the whole Body, ſo I hope the World will believe, I knew my Buſineſs better than to march myſelf with a Detachment, and leave the reſt on-board. At Cape Francois, the French had a ſmall Fort, which they made a Shew of defending; near this Fort I reſolved to land with my whole Force, and the Spaniſh Army was to deſtroy the Country as they came by Land.

[d] The latter Part of this Paragraph, Mr. Burchett had given in his Memoirs, in the following Words: "Either (ſays he) the ſaid "Colonel thought it not proper to undertake this Affair, or, for ſome other Reaſons, it was laid aſide, and the Men ſtraggled up and down the "Country for Plunder, by which Means ſeveral of them were loſt;" which, in his larger Naval Hiſtory, he had altered: To this the Colonel anſwers: "This, as it is a notorious Forgery, ſo it is a ridiculous Story; for, firſt, I could not be ſaid to decline the Undertaking, for I ſent "my Major with this Party, and I need not trouble the World to tell them, how ridiculous I ſhould have looked, and how I ſhould have expoſed "even his Majeſty's Judgment, in ſending one ſo far who knew no better. For as, when on-ſhore, I was to command even the Spaniſh Generals, "ſo it would have been a ſenſeleſs Thing for me to have gone with a Party, and expect the Spaniards ſhould have been commanded by a Leader "of a Detachment: But to end all the Diſpute, I affirm it was never concluded nor deſigned, that I ſhould go myſelf; but my Major was ordered to "command this Party, which he did accordingly. As he was an experienced Officer, and had ſerved on all Occaſions, with an unblemiſhed Conduct, "for about twenty Years, ſo he knew better what his Duty was, than to let the Men ſtraggle in an Enemy's Country. They marched in Conjunc-"tion with the Spaniards, and under the ſtricteſt Diſcipline. Their Orders were to deſtroy the Country, and ruin the Plantations of the Enemy, and "this they obſerved; but with as much Conduct, and as much Obedience to their Officers, as could be deſired of old Soldiers, who knew their "Duty, and valued themſelves upon it." While this was doing (ſays my Author, p. 54. & ſeq.) I landed with the reſt of my Army at Cape Francois, and had all the Interruption and ill-natured Uſage in my Landing, as the Commodore was capable of. The Boats had no Officers to command them, which occaſioned great Confuſion and Delay; and the Landing-place was ſo contrived, that we had five Leagues and a half to march to a Place whither the Boats would have had but one League and a half to have rowed. The French, upon our landing, blew up their Fort, and retreated, carrying off what they could to Port de Paix. Here we found the firſt Experiment of Captain Wilmot's Management, purſuant to the Reſolution he told me he had taken, of minding his own Buſineſs, without any Reſpect to his Majeſty's Inſtructions. We had about five Miles to march when the Enemy blew up the Fort; but as ſoon as he perceived it, and that the Town was deſerted, he mann'd his Boats with 4 or 500 Seamen, and rowing on-ſhore, made ſuch quick Work, that when we came we found the Town plundered, and the Boats returned, with whatever was worth carrying on-board, one ſingle Seaman being left to guard the Flag he had ſet up: And now the Contrivance of landing us at ſuch a Diſtance was viſible. This Uſage had like to have ruined our whole Expedition: The Spaniards were ſo diſguſted at being thus tricked of their Share of the Plunder, that they were for returning, and my Men were all in a Mutiny on the ſame Account: and it was not without great Difficulty I appeaſed both for the preſent. The 22d of May I deſired a Council of War might be called, concerning a Diſtribution of the Plunder; but the Commodore, to prevent any Demand on him, came bluſtering on-ſhore, and ſwearing he would be revenged on the Spaniards, and threatened their Admiral, becauſe they had carried off all the Plunder; whereas it appeared, by the Confeſſion of our own Seamen, that the Spaniards were not ſuffered to lay their Hands on any Thing, till the Commodore's People had got all that was worth carrying away. Theſe Diſputes held four or five Days, and greatly exaſperated the Soldiers. In this Extremity I ſent to the Commodore to come a-ſhore, to another Council of War; but he refuſed it; and I was forced to promiſe my Men to ſee them ſatisfied, when all was over; upon which I joined the Spaniſh Army with 900 Men. We now directed our March for Port de Paix, whither the Commodore was deſired to follow with his Fleet, which he did; but refuſed to leave three or four Tranſport-ſhips to take in the ſick Men, which, if the Spaniſh Admiral had not ſhewn more Humanity than he, muſt all have periſhed, or fallen into the Enemy's Hands: And this is the Loſs, Mr. Burchett ſays, was occaſioned by the Men's ſtraggling up and down the Country for Plunder. I had now joined the Spaniſh Army, and was in full March for Port de Paix: And it was a very ſevere March of ſixteen Days, in which we ſuffered great Want. This was the time of which Mr. Burchett obſerves, the Commodore could not hear what was become of the Army. The truth is, he could not well hear of us, and we would have been very glad to have heard of him; but he was employed in plundering all along upon the Coaſt, without any Regard to the Deſign in hand. But Mr. Burchett, to bring in his Commodore doing ſomething, tells us, "He called a Council of War, and landed 400 Seamen," pretending he was ſolicitous for our Safety. For my part, I ſee nothing in all this but a premeditated Sham, to cover a moſt fooliſh and ridiculous Action. There was a pretty large Plantation about four Leagues from Port de Paix, which the Commodore had a great Mind to plunder; but, underſtanding the Owner of it had put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, he, for Form's ſake, called a Council of War, and it was reſolved tu land a Detachment of about 400 Men to attack this Place; but when the Owner offered them Battle, the Commodore, and his Army, thought fit to retire, without attempting any thing; and this is the true Hiſtory of their landing 400 Men to aſſiſt us: Nor is there one Word of Truth in their being oppoſed by an Ambuſcade, (this is left out in Mr. Burchett's larger Naval Hiſtory) and their deſtroying the Engliſh Plantations to the very Fort itſelf. Four or five Days after this, the Army being come within two Leagues of Port de Paix, the Gentleman who had defended his Plantation againſt the Seamen abandoned it, leaving four Pieces of Cannon in it; and as he, and his People, paſſed by the little Town of Port de Paix, they ſet Fire to it, and retired into the Fort; upon which Wilmot landed his Men, and, having very manfully plundered the Houſe, ſet Fire to it.

[e] In his Memoirs his Words are: The Commodore had Notice that the Army had ſtraggled up near Port de Paix, &c. To which the Colonel anſwers; I cannot but ſuppoſe this is a Phraſe of Mr. Burchett's own; for I am fully perſuaded he cannot produce one Voucher for this Intelligence. The Commodore had the firſt Notice from ourſelves, and we ſhould hardly have given ſuch an Account of ourſelves; and, beſides, the Enemy was not ſo inconſiderable, that we durſt ſuffer our Men to ſtraggle at all, but made a very regular March, though a very hard one, both for Officers and Soldiers. We came before the Fort the 13th of June, and ſending a Detachment to get News of the Fleet, they found it yet at Anchor, near the Plantation they had been plundering. The Commodore promiſed to come before the Place with his Ships the next Morning; but we heard nothing of him in two Days; at the Expiration of which, he came indeed with 400 Men, but left his Ships in their former Station. (Here the Colonel gives a large Deſcription of the Fort, and then proceeds.) This is the Fort we were to beſiege: We were in all but 2500 Men, fatigued, in want of Proviſions, and without our Train of Artillery, or any Inſtruments proper for a Siege. I was glad to ſee the Commodore, and eſpecially with ſo many Men, well armed; but, it ſeems, they were his Guard (being ſenſible the Land-forces owed him a Grudge) for he refuſed leaving them to aſſiſt us, as he did likewiſe to hold a Council of War, (becauſe he could not preſide on-ſhore) though he knew the haughty Anſwer Monſieur du Caſſe, the Governor of the Fort, had ſent when he was ſummoned to ſurrender; though he promiſed, indeed, the 400 Seamen ſhould join the Army, and the Cannon, Mortars, and Ammunition, be landed the next Day: And now the Commodore ſhewed himſelf in his own Colours again, and attempted, a ſecond Time, not only to ſeduce me to join with him in his illicite Practices for our private Intereſt, but to the Treachery (after they had done what they could do on the Iſland) of ſeizing and carrying off the three Spaniſh Men of War to Jamaica: "For (ſaid hr) the Dogs have a great many of the Negroes, and other Plunder; and, if you will conſent, we will make them pay us

upon he landed the like Number of Seamen again, in order to join them; and the next Day put on-ſhore the Cannon and Mortars, but there was not ſo much Diſpatch made in mounting them, as might have been expected [a].

It was now reſolved, that the Squadron ſhould ſail to the Weſtward of *Port de Pain*, where there was a commodious Hill to annoy the Enemy, much nearer than the firſt intended Battery, and there 10 Pieces of Cannon were mounted, which ſo much galled them, that, in a few Days, part of the inward Fort was beaten down, and many People, who retired thither, were killed [b].

The 3d of *July*, between the Hours of Twelve and One, the *French* ſallied out with about 300 Whites and 200 Blacks well armed; but the Commodore having Notice thereof by a *Negro*, detached 150 Men to receive them, being in a Readineſs with the reſt, both Seamen and Soldiers, (theſe laſt Words were not in the Memoirs) to join them upon Occaſion; by which Means many were killed, eſpecially their commanding Officers, and ſeveral taken Priſoners; and after this Defeat, our Forces immediately took Poſſeſſion of the Fort, wherein they found 80 Cannon mounted, with good Store of Powder and Shot [c].

The Colonel of the Land-forces was ſoon after deſired, to ſend his ſick Men to *Jamaica*, and to keep thoſe who were in Health, to aſſiſt in the intended Service at *Leogane* and *Petit Guavas*; but neither he, nor the *Spaniſh* General, thought it adviſeable, conſidering the Weakneſs of the Troops; ſo that the Fort was demoliſhed, and the Stores carried off. This done the Commodore ſailed to *Jamaica*, whence, having refitted the Ships, and put all Things into the beſt Order he could, he took his Departure for *England* the 3d of *September*, leaving behind him the *Reſerve*, *Hampſhire*, *Ruby*, and *Swan*; the laſt to bring home ſome Merchant-ſhips, when loaden, and the three firſt (being Fourth-rates) to guard *Jamaica* 'till farther Order; but ſuch Difficulties they met with in their Paſſage, not only by bad Weather, but the violent and uncommon Diſtemper which ſeized the Men, that it was almoſt next to a Miracle the Ships got home [d]. Captain *Wilmot*, the Commodore, with a great Number of the Officers died, and one of the Fourth-rates, for want of Men to trim her Sails, running on Ground, was loſt on the Shoals of Cape *Florida* [e].

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" well before we part with them." But meeting with the Return he deſerved: " Well (ſaid he) I ſee you will agree to nothing, you may take your " Courſe, and I ſhall take mine;" upon which he flung from me, and commanding his Men to Arms, departed with the Promiſe of ſending the Cannon, &c. the next Day. This Mr. Burchett calls landing 400 Men in order to join us.

[a] This (ſays the Colonel) Mr. Burchett avers, without any Authority: If he had ſaid, promiſed to do it the next Day, he had ſaid right. In order to detect this moſt ſcandalous Forgery, 'twill be neceſſary (continues the Colonel) to be a little more particular: The 15th of June the Commodore left us; we heard nothing of him till the 18th, and then he ſent ſome Powder and Ball on-ſhore. The ſame Night he ſent three ſmall Sakers, one Mortar, with a wrong Bed, and one 24 Pounder, with a Carriage for an 18 Pounder, and other Things wanting, ſo that he might as well have ſent none: And, inſtead of landing them as directed, they were put on-ſhore two Miles off, in three Foot Water; whence we were obliged to fetch them, without Horſes; but firſt we had a Road (or rather a Bridge) to make of Trees and Faſcines, over a boggy Ground, for half a Mile, all which Trouble, wilfully given us by the Commodore, coſt us twelve Days Labour, (a longer time than had been neceſſary to reduce the Place) and occaſioned the Sickneſs and Death of many of the Men. This was known to the whole Army. I wonder therefore at the Aſſurance of thoſe Men, who can publiſh to the World, that they were ſent the next Day, and that we did not take Care to mount them. From the 18th to the 26th of June, I ſent ſeveral Orders to our Commiſſary-general, John Murray, Eſq; and Meſſages to the Commodore; two Councils of War were likewiſe held, and the Reſolutions communicated to them; but to no Purpoſe; for the Commodore was inflexible, and the Commiſſary wholly acted by him. After all theſe Importunities, the Pieces were at length ſent, but no Tackle with them to hoiſt up the Guns; and one of the Carriages, which was ſent with a 24 Pounder, belonged to an 18 Pounder, which occaſioned the *Loſs* of four Days more, and ſeveral Letters to the Commiſſary.

[b] This Reſolution (ſays the Colonel) was taken without his Knowledge, and by a Council of War on-board, to which the Commodore, directly againſt his Inſtructions, did not ſummon him; and, by Authority of this Council of War, the Commodore broke into their Fire-arms; and the Deſign of all this, (ſays he) was, to endeavour, without the Help of the Army, to maſter the Fort on that Side, that he might ſecure the Plunder to himſelf; and by this Reſolution, which was taken the 25th of June, they accuſe the Colonel of having been dilatory in mounting his Mortars and Cannon, when, it is plain, by what has been ſaid above, he was then ſoliciting for them, but could not obtain them.

[c] The 3d of July, the Breach being wide enough, and the Baſtion laid quite open, I continued the Firing, and gave Directions to have 300 Granadoes and their Fuſees filled, and all Preparations to be made for a Storm; and this I ordered to be done in the Sight of ſome Priſoners, one of whom was ſuffered to eſcape: This had the deſigned Effect upon the Garriſon, though in a Manner we did not expect. About Two the next Morning, we heard a great Volly of Muſkets on the Side of the Fort, next the Sea, which was ſoon followed by another, and then by a confuſed Firing for a Quarter of an Hour. I detached my Brother, with about 250 Men, to ſee the Meaning of it: As ſoon as he came to the Commodore's Quarters, he found all in Confuſion, and many of his Men killed. The Governor of the Fort, it ſeems, expecting a general Storm, and reſolving not to ſurrender upon Articles, had packed up what they could carry, and reſolved to fight his Way through: Accordingly they were come very near the Camp of the undiſciplined Seamen, without being diſcovered, poured in a Volly of Shot upon them, and, having put them into Confuſion, faced them, till his whole Body, Men, Women, and Children, marched off. As ſoon as my Brother perceived how it was, he imagined the Fort was deſerted, and finding it ſo in reality, took immediate Poſſeſſion of it. He ſecured the Storehouſes, Governor's Houſe, and all Places where any thing of Value lay, and keeping his Men to their Arms, ſuffered none of them to plunder any thing. The Commodore had, by this Time, recovered himſelf, and finding my Brother in Poſſeſſion of his Expectations, with but few Men, followed him, with upwards of 500 Seamen, who, according to their Cuſtom, and the Commodore's Inſtructions, ſacrificed all to Plunder, and he himſelf, coming up to my Brother, clapped him on the Shoulder, and cried, " Now, Major, I am ſtronger than you;" and hereupon removing the Sentinels my Brother had ſet, every thing was carried away to the Ships, with a Dexterity very natural to Seamen. My Brother ſeeing how Things went, informed me of it, and deſired me to come to the Fort: I was far from being in a Condition to go; however, ſeeing how we were like to be uſed, I cauſed myſelf to be carried in a Hammock to the Fort: But Wilmot had done his Buſineſs, and as ſoon as he perceived I was coming, made off to his Boats, and got on-board his Ships, with all the Plunder his Men had got together. Thus the Commodore again cheated both our Men and the Spaniards; and though all the Men were exaſperated to the higheſt Degree, yet I being exceeding low, my Major likewiſe taken ſick, with almoſt all our Officers, and Abundance of Soldiers, we ſaw we were not in a Condition to do ourſelves Juſtice, I therefore ordered all our Cannon and Ammunition to be put on-board the Boats, in order to re-imbark; while the Spaniards were employed in demoliſhing the Fort, which they did effectually with all its Works. We took at this Fort, and Cape Francois, 133 Cannon, ſome Braſs, and ſome of Iron the beſt I ever ſaw: The Guns, Ammunition, and what was not portable by the Seamen, were ſhared between us and the Spaniards; and the very Stores of Sails, Cordage, Powder, and Ball, which remained for our Parts, were not worth leſs than 1500 l. and the Captain ſold Negroes at Jamaica to the Value of 5000 l. Mr. Burchett would have done Juſtice to the Nation, if he had told us in his Hiſtory, how many of theſe great Guns, and how much of theſe Stores, were delivered by the Commodore, or his Survivors, for his Majeſty's Uſe, either at Home or at Jamaica. I, for my Part, take upon me to aſſure the World, that I never yet heard of one Shilling, or the Value of it, received by any Soldier or Officer belonging to the Land-ſervice. My Sickneſs hindered me from knowing the Particulars of what was done, and how Things were diſpoſed of: But I think I am within Compaſs, if I ſay the Plunder carried off by the Commodore amounted to above 25000 l. Sterling: For the Truth whereof I refer to an Affidavit, whereby it appears he had Effects in his Ship of his own when he died, to the Value of 16 or 17000 l. for which his Wife is now ſuing Captain Butler. The Spaniards were no better pleaſed with the Commodore's Proceedings than I was; and though they behaved with an unuſual Civility, yet they were very ſenſible of the Abuſe, and therefore complained of our breaking our Articles with them; and this the Spaniſh General wrote me in a long Letter. The 10th of July (continues the Colonel) the Commodore ſent away the Experiment to Jamaica, and with her five Sloops laden with Plunder, and 330 Negroes. By the Spaniſh Governor's Letter, there were 10,000 Pieces of Eight in Money, beſides Abundance of wrought Plate. On the 17th, all the Troops and Artillery, Plunder and Priſoners, being put on-board, the Commodore weighed, and ſet Sail for Jamaica. The Damage we have done the Enemy, and the Booty recovered from them, were not ſo inconſiderable, as to be ſo meanly repreſented; for, in ſixty Days, we ruined the Plantations for 100 Miles, we demoliſhed two Forts, took Priſoners near 1000 Negroes, which every one knows are valued at 20 l. a Head: We took, in the two Forts, above 140 Cannon, with a great Quantity of Ammunition and naval Stores, and the Seamen got Plunder to the Value of 40,000 l. at leaſt. If the Booty was never delivered where it ſhould have been, and the King was cheated as well as we, I cannot anſwer for that. The Damage we did the Enemy, will never be repaired with 200,000 l. Sterling, beſides Time; and we diſplanted a whole Colony, leaving the Enemy ſcattered about in Holes and Woods, and the Spaniards Maſters of the whole.

[d] We arrived at Jamaica (continues the Colonel) the 23d of July, where the Commodore had his full Swing of doing what he pleaſed, and raiſed great Sums of Money from the Sale of his Plunder, which he veſted in Merchandizes for England, and took in the Goods privately on the back of the Iſland. He had taken a French Prize too; but of that we expected nothing, conſidering how we were uſed in the reſt. As ſoon as I had a little recovered my Health, I began to enquire after Things, and having particularly acquainted the Governor of Jamaica with the Commodore's Proceedings, by his Advice I took authentic Proofs of his Conduct, while People were living, who were Witneſſes of it, in order to call him to an Account when he came to England; in which the Governor himſelf was pleaſed to be aſſiſtant, meerly from an honourable Deſign of detecting Villany.

[e] It would be a moſt diverting Thing (ſays the Colonel) abating for the Diſaſter of it, and the Lives loſt in it, to hear a true Particular of the Loſs of the Wincheſter Man of War. If I am not miſinformed, there would come to light a great many hidden Circumſtances, very uſeful to the Nation in general, if the Loſs of that Man of War were enquired into; if due Examination were made, whether all the Stores and Guns that were pretended to be in her, were really on-board her; and if the Loſs of that Ship did not ſerve for a Colour to pretend the Loſs of many Things, which were otherwiſe diſpoſed of. How (concludes the Colonel) Mr. Burchett came by his Account, how he came to give it any Credit, and how ſo much Credit, as to abuſe all the reſt of the People concerned in it, are Queſtions he would do well to anſwer, before he can obtain the Reputation of an impartial and careful Hiſtorian.

The Year 1696 preſents us with the laſt and moſt vigorous Efforts of the *French* during this War: It was no leſs than an Invaſion of this Iſland, under a Pretence of reſtoring King *James*; by which *Lewis* was in hopes of forcing *England* to an Accommodation, or juſtify his making any Advances for a Peace, in caſe, after ſo bold an Attempt, he ſhould meet with more Diſappointments. His Encouragement for ſuch a Scheme was founded upon various concurring Incidents, by which the *Britiſh* Nation was greatly diſturbed at this Juncture. Such as the Uneaſineſs of the mercantile Part of the Kingdom, at their Loſſes in Trade, aſcribed to the bad Management of the Admiralty; the Diſcontent of the *Scots*, who were obſtructed in their grand Deſigns of eſtabliſhing the *Darien* Company in the *Weſt-Indies*, and an *Eaſt-India* Company alſo; the Affair of a general Coinage; and above all the univerſal Diſſatisfaction of the People, occaſioned by an epidemic Corruption ſpread almoſt through every Office in the Kingdom.

The *French* taking their uſual Advantage of their Neighbours domeſtic Diſputes, projected a Conſpiracy here, by means of a few ſecret Friends to King *James*, while they got every Thing ready for a formidable Deſcent. Their Preparation for it began at *Toulon*, even while Admiral *Ruſſel* remained in the *Mediterranean*; and the Intention was not diſcovered till *January* 1696, when moſt of our large Ships were laid up, and the reſt were employed in the Protection of the Trade up the *Streights*, or were refitting to be ſent into the *Mediterranean*. For in the Beginning of this Month Advice was brought, that an extraordinary Number of Victualers, eſcorted by 15 Sail of Men of War, were arrived at *Dunkirk*, that 500 Tranſports were in that Harbour, and that 20,000 Men had been brought with extraordinary Secrecy, from the neighbouring Garriſons, to invade *England*[a].

While theſe Preparations were making the *Royal Sovereign*, laid up at *Chatham*, in order to be rebuilt, took Fire accidentally, and was totally conſumed. This was the firſt great Ship that was ever built in *England*; ſhe was then deſigned only for Splendor and Magnificence, and was in ſome meaſure the Occaſion of thoſe loud Complaints againſt Ship-money, in the Reign of King Charles I. but being taken down a Deck lower, became one of the beſt Men of War in the World, and ſo formidable to her Enemies, that none of the moſt daring among them would willingly lie by her Side. She had been in almoſt all the great Engagements that had been fought between *England* and *Holland*; and in the laſt Fight between the *Engliſh* and *French*, encountering the Wonder of the World, ſhe ſo ſo warmly plyed the *French* Admiral, that ſhe forced him out of his three-decked wooden Caſtle; and chaſing the *Royal Sun* before her, forced her to fly for Shelter among the Rocks, where ſhe became a Prey to leſſer Veſſels, that reduced her to Aſhes. At length, leaky and defective herſelf with Age, ſhe was laid up at *Chatham*, in order to be rebuilt; but being ſet on Fire by Negligence, ſhe was, upon the 27th of this Month, devoured by that Element, which ſo long and ſo often before ſhe had imperiouſly made uſe of, as the Inſtrument of Deſtruction to others.

King *William* being thoroughly informed of the *French* Scheme, acquainted his Parliament therewith[b] in a ſet Speech, and received from both Houſes the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of their Reſolution to ſtand by him. Upon which the Privy Council ordered the following Account to be publiſhed in the *Gazette*[c], for the quieting of the Minds of the Subjects:

“By the great Mercy of God, a Diſcovery has been made of a moſt horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy, in which many wicked and traitorous Perſons were engaged to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty, when he went abroad. At the ſame Time, a Riſing was intended within the Kingdom, and an Invaſion from *France*; to which End, divers *French* Troops were drawn towards *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, and Tranſport-veſſels and Boats were got together at thoſe Places, of all which his Majeſty having received ſeveral concurring Informations and Advices, Orders were given for apprehending the Conſpirators. Many of whom have been already ſeized, and ſuch ſtrict Search is made after the reſt, that it is hoped few or none of them will eſcape the Hands of Juſtice. The Forces in *England* are in a Readineſs to march, and a conſiderable Body of his Majeſty's Troops in *Flanders*, lie ready to embark at *Oſtend*. Admiral *Ruſſel* is in the *Downs*, with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, who will be daily reinforced by other Men of War from the River and *Spithead*. And the Care that has been taken for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, will, we doubt not, with the Bleſſing of God, be ſufficient to diſappoint the Deſigns of our Enemies.”

And ſuch Diligence was ſhewn in the naval Armament[d], that Admiral *Ruſſel*, ordered on-board in the *Downs*, had under him one Firſt-rate, 12 Third, 24 Fourth, and three Fifth-rates, beſides Fire-ſhips, and the following Flags, *viz.* Lord *Berkeley*, Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Vice-admiral of the Red; Mr. *Aylmer*, Vice-admiral of the Blue; 12 *Dutch* Ships, under two Rear-admirals, who ſailed that ſame Day for the Coaſt of *France*. The Admiral came to an Anchor off *Gravelin*, with Part of the Fleet; and Lord *Berkeley*, with a Squadron under his Command, lay between him and *Dunkirk*. As the Admiral paſſed by *Calais*, he ſaw between 3 and 400 Veſſels of all Sorts for Embarkation, with their Sails to their Yards; and in *Flemiſh* Road were about 17 Men of War, great and ſmall; 13 of theſe Ships of War retired, as cloſe as they could, into the Pier of *Dunkirk*; and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with ſeveral Captains, were ſent to look on them, to ſee if there was any Poſſibility of burning them or not; but after a long Conſultation with Mr. *Meeſters* and the Engineers, it was declared to be impracticable; and thereupon the Admiral determined to quit that Station, and return into *Dover* Road, leaving a Squadron under Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, to watch the Motions of the Enemy[e].

The 23d of *March* three Bomb-veſſels joined Sir *Cloudeſley*: The 31ſt Admiral *Allemonde* came into the *Downs* from *Holland*, with ſix Men of War of the Line, and two Fireſhips.

The 1ſt of *April* ſeveral of our Ships came into the *Downs* from *Spithead*; and the next Day Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was ordered to return, with all the Bomb-veſſels, and ſuch ſmall Ships, as he ſhould think neceſſary, and attempt the burning of *Calais*, with the Tranſports and other Ships in that Harbour. The 3d between Noon and Night, about 300 Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Town, and among the Ships, which did conſiderable Damage, and ſet Fire to the Town in three or four Places, and to ſome Ships; but the Bomb-veſſels and Brigantines having received Damage in their Rigging, and the Mortars being all but two diſabled; and beſides, the Wind coming about, the next Day from S. S. E. to S. W. with hard Gales, it was thought convenient to return to the *Downs*; from whence Sir *Cloudeſley* appointed a Squadron, to endeavour to keep the *French* in at *Dunkirk*.

The 11th he received Orders to proceed with the Fleet to *Spithead*, and a Line of Battle was formed of all Ships, as either were with him, or might reaſonably be expected upon any preſſing Occaſion.

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[a] It was the Intention of Lewis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk 16,000 Men, who were to be commanded by King James in Perſon, and under him by the Marquis of Harcourt, then Lieutenant general, and afterwards Marſhal of France. This Embarkation was to have been eſcorted by two ſtrong Squadrons, under the Marquis of Neſmond and John du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather, and contrary Winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the Duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkley, and ſome other experienced Officers, were ſent over to diſpoſe the Malcontents here to perform their Part in this Undertaking. [b] On the 24th of February. [c] N°. 3161. [d] His Majeſty's Orders were, that all the Ships in the Rivers Thames and Medway, as well thoſe at the Nore, Spithead, Plymouth, and elſewhere, which could be got ready, ſhould be ordered to repair immediately to the Downs; and for the greater Expedition, Orders were given to thoſe at Portſmouth and Plymouth, to take the Men out of Merchant-ſhips, and to bring as many more, as they conveniently could, to other Ships in Want. The Civil Magiſtrates in Kent, and about Portſmouth, were alſo ordered to ſecure all ſtraggling Seamen, and to ſend them to the naval Commiſſioners reſiding neareſt to the Place where they ſhould meet with them; and the Commander in Chief in the River Medway, was likewiſe directed to haſten all the Ships, from thence and the Nore, to the Downs, as the Maſter Attendant on Float, was all Ships of War, Fire-ſhips, and other Veſſels fitting out in the River. All the Boats belonging to the Ships at the Nore and Blackſtakes, were ordered to impreſs Watermen, Bargemen, Lightermen, and others working on the River Medway: Beſides which general Orders were iſſued, to impreſs all without Diſtinction, except ſuch as were employed on neceſſary Services of the Navy, Ordnance, or Victualling; and there being an Embargo laid on all Merchant ſhips, it was ordered, that a third Part of the Men belonging to thoſe which were outward bound, ſhould be taken from them for the more ſpeedy putting the Fleet into a Condition to prevent the Enemy's Deſign. [e] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 325.

This Line [a] conſiſted of two Firſt-rates, five Second-rates, 22 Third-rates, and 17 Fourth-rates, of the *Engliſh*; and of the *Dutch*, four of 90, or 94 Guns, ſeven of 70, and ſix from 66 to 60; beſides eight *Engliſh* and five *Dutch* Fire-ſhips, with five of our ſmall Frigates, and ſeven Brigantines. Two Firſt-rates, the *Britannia* and St. *Andrew*, and a Second-rate, the St. *Michael*, were under Orders to proceed to him to the *Buoy of the Nore*, and joined him the 23d of *April*.

The *French* King, in the mean time, to keep up the Spirits of his People, and the better to embarraſs the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, ordered the *Toulon* Squadron to ſail for *Breſt*, and eight Men of War and two Fireſhips to join it from *Dunkirk*. Wherefore Sir *George Rooke*, being returned from the *Mediterranean*, was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief, and ordered on-board the Fleet at *Spithead*, with Inſtructions to proceed with the Fleet, and place himſelf in ſuch a Station, as he might judge moſt proper for preventing the Squadron expected from *Toulon*, with their Convoys, getting into any Port of *France*; and according to ſuch Intelligence as he ſhould get of their Proceedings, to remove to other Stations, for the more effectual Performance of that Service. Upon meeting them, or his being informed they were got into any Port, where he might attack them, he was to endeavour to do it. But if he received certain Advice, that they were got into *Breſt*, he was then to come with the Fleet to *Torbay*, and remain there 'till farther Order.

Sir *George* was not a little perplexed how to put theſe Orders in Execution, as well for want of Men, as on account of the ſmall Number of Ships under his Command: He, therefore, called a Council of War, to debate what could be done. It was reſolved, to proceed Weſt, 15 Leagues from *Uſhant*, and that, in their Paſſage, ſome ſmall Frigates and Brigantines ſhould be ſent for Intelligence, and particularly to diſcover whether the *Toulon* Squadron was got into *Breſt*. But yet the Council of War thought it convenient to repreſent, that ſince the Fleet was reduced to 37 *Engliſh* Ships, and 20 *Dutch*, of the Line of Battle, they would be of leſs Strength than the *Toulon* Squadron, and that of Monſieur *Neſmond*'s, if joined. However, to ſtrengthen them all that poſſibly could be, he was ordered to take with him three Third-rates, one Fourth-rate, and three of the Fire-ſhips which were appointed for foreign Convoys.

The 8th of *May* the Fleet being off of *Dartmouth*, the *Oxford* came in, whoſe Captain brought Intelligence, which he had that Morning received from the Maſter of a *Portugueſe* Veſſel, bound for *Rotterdam*, that a *French* Squadron of Men of War of 40 Sail, with four Flag-ſhips, had been ſeen, ſix Days before, in the Latitude of 45 Degrees, Cape *Finiſterre* bearing South about 40 Leagues diſtant, and that they were then ſteering N. N. E. with the Wind, W. N. W. And the 11th they had farther Intelligence, by the *Lime*, of their being paſſed the *Streights*.

The 14th the Fleet came on the Coaſt of *Uſhant*, and a Squadron of ſmall Veſſels, under the Command of Captain *Buzil Beaumont*, was ſent between that and the Main for Intelligence; but by the Captain of the *Foudroyant*, a *French* Man of War, taken by Captain *Norris*, the Admiral was informed, that the *Toulon* Fleet got into *Breſt* the 5th old Stile, being 47 Ships of the Line. This Intelligence being confirmed, and no room left to doubt of the *Toulon* Fleet, and Monſieur *Neſmond*'s Squadron being in *Breſt*, it was reſolved on the 18th, by a Council of War, to repair to *Torbay*, with the firſt ſoutherly or weſterly Wind.

Admiral *Evertzen*, with 12 *Dutch* Men of War, joined the Fleet the next Day, together with the *Sunderland* an *Engliſh* Fourth-rate, the *Fortune* Fire-ſhip, and Vice-admiral *Aylmer* in the *Elizabeth*, with the *Newark* and *Mary*, and between 30 and 40 Sail more, among which were the Bomb-veſſels and Tenders. At this Time the whole naval Strength was 115 Ships and Veſſels, 67 of them *Engliſh*, and 48 *Dutch*, whereof 85 were of the Line of Battle, of which 49 were *Engliſh*, viz. ſix Firſt-rates, eight Second-rates, 28 Third-rates, and ſeven Fourth-rates: Of the *Dutch*, there were 36, eight of which carried 90 Guns, 14 between 70 and 74, 11 of 64, and three of about 50; but ſeveral of their Companies were very ſickly, eſpecially thoſe which came from the *Streights*, inſomuch that there wanted full 4000 Men in our Ships. Therefore, as it was before determined, ſeveral Cruiſers being ſtationed between *Uſhant*, and the *Iſle of Bas*, the *Start* and *Uſhant*, and off the *Lizard*, the Fleet came the 23d to *Torbay*.

A Reſolution having been taken in the Privy Council, as to the bombarding the *French* Coaſts, Orders were ſent to Sir *George Rooke*, towards the latter end of the Month of *May*, to return to the Service of the Board, as one of the Lords of the Admiralty, it being intended to entruſt the Fleet, or at leaſt ſuch a Part of it as ſhould be employed in the before-mentioned Service, to the Care of the Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, who had behaved ſo gallantly the Year before. Before Sir *George* came on Shore, he had Intelligence that the *Mercury*, an Advice-boat, had counted a little above *Camaret* Bay, 70 Sail of *French* Men of War, all ready to come to Sea, with four Flags flying, and in the Bay five ſmall Ships more. Upon which, at his coming to Town, he made a Propoſal to the principal Secretary of State, for attempting them there.

The principal Secretary, who was the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, liſtened to the Propoſal, which was: "That the "Body of the Fleet ſhould lie in *Camaret* and *Bertheaume* "Bays, and a Detachment be made to ſuſtain the ſmall "Frigates and Bomb-veſſels, while they went in to do "what Miſchief they could. It was his Opinion, that thus "blocking up the Enemy's Fleet in their principal Port, "inſulting their Coaſts, and burning their Towns all at "the ſame time, would expoſe them exceedingly to the "World, make them very uneaſy at home, and give high "Reputation to his Majeſty's Arms. And all this he be"lieved might be done, if ſpeedily undertaken, with the "Aſſiſtance of ſome ſmall Frigates, which were much "wanted." If this Scheme had been immediately purſued, it might, in all Probability, have been executed with Succeſs. But after being laid before, and examined by, the Privy-council, it was at laſt ſent down to the Fleet, to be re-conſidered there by a Council of War; when Loſs of Time, and other Accidents, had rendered it leſs practicable, and therefore we need not wonder that it was rejected [b]. However, though it was judged that the Fleet could not ride, in either of thoſe Bays, out of Bomb-ſhot, it was reſolved, as ſoon as Weather would permit, to look into them, and endeavour to deſtroy what Ships they ſhould meet there. The Admiral turned it up accordingly as high as *Dartmouth*; but the Ebb being ſpent, and the Wind blowing hard at W. S. W. he was obliged to put into *Torbay*, where on the 19th, the *Dutch* Admiral received Orders, from the King, to ſend eight Ships of the Line to *Holland*.

The 24th the Fleet got out of the Channel, and in *Broad Sound*, one of our Ships took a *French* Privateer, which came from *Breſt* 14 Days before [c]. The 4th of *July*, the Fleet anchored about two Leagues from *Belle-Iſle*, and ſome of our Men, who had been landed the Day before at *Grovais* (or *Groy*) whither they had been ſent in the *Burford* and *Newcaſtle* Men of War, with a Fire-ſhip, burnt moſt of the Villages, and killed and brought off a great Number of Cattle without any Reſiſtance: And at *Houat*, one of the Iſlands called *Cardinals*, ſome of our Men being landed in the Barges and Pinnaces, brought off about 300 Head of Cattle, having burnt the Town of that Name. The next Day three more *Engliſh*, and two *Dutch* Men of War, with the Long-boats of divers other Ships, and 700 Soldiers and Seamen, which were ſent to join the *Burford* and *Newcaſtle* at *Grovais*, finiſhed what Captain *Fitzpatrick* had before begun; having deſtroyed there about 20 Villages more, and carried away 1300 Head of black Cattle and Horſes, with 20 ſmall Veſſels; and the Boats employed againſt *Houat* were ordered, at the ſame time, on the like Service againſt *Heydick*[a]. The 10 Men of War, at the *Iſle of Rhee*, under the Command of Sir *Martin Beckman*, who was ſent to bombard the Town of *St. Martins*, in the *Iſle of Rhee*, performed his Commiſſion very exactly, throwing, in the Space of one Night, 2230 Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Place, by which the beſt Part of the Town was burnt down, with all their Warehouſes, and the Goods contained in them; notwithſtanding the Place was very well fortified, and our Squadrons ſuſtained a very warm Fire all the time. On the 7th the ſame Squadron, which conſiſted but of 10 Men of War, bombarded *Ollonne*, and in the Space of a Night threw into it almoſt 2000 Bombs and Carcaſſes, which had ſuch an Effect, that the Town was ſeen to be on fire in 15 Places at once[b]. After this, the Admiral not finding it convenient to land on *Belliſle*, continued to alarm the *French* Coaſt till towards the latter end of the Month; and then, through Want of Proviſions, and the Weakneſs of the Fleet, occaſioned by making ſeveral Detachments, he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of returning to *Spithead*[c]; where he arrived on the 30th of *July*, and he had with him[d] ſix Firſt-rates, as many Second-rates, and four Third-rates, together with four Fire-ſhips, and ſome ſmall Veſſels; and from thence he came to Town; but before he left *Torbay*, the *Portland* brought in a Sloop of the Enemy's, whoſe Commander gave his Lordſhip an Account, that Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud* ſailed from *Breſt*, about 15 Days before (on what Deſign he knew not) with 16 Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips, victualled for five Months.

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[a] Burchett.

[b] Ibid. naval Hiſtory, p. 546. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, Hiſtory of the laſt War. Though this Propoſition did not turn to the Nation's Advantage, yet it was of ſome uſe to Sir George himſelf; when, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve, the Houſe of Commons enquired into the Conduct of the Fleet, and at the ſame time into his Behaviour.

[c] The Priſoners ſaid, all the great Ships were up in the River; that there were about 30 Sail in Breſt Water, cleaned, and going out in two Squadrons, one under the Command of Monſieur Chateau-Renaud, and the other with Monſieur Neſmond; whereupon it was determined to ſail, with the Fleet, to Belliſle, and from thence to ſend 10 Ships, to protect the Bombardment of St. Martins and Olonne.

Before the Admiral came to *Spithead*, he made ſhift to victual 10 Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, and two Fire-ſhips, which he put under the Command of Vice-admiral *Mitchel*, with Orders to cruiſe in the *Soundings*, for the Protection of the ſeveral Trades expected home.

As to the *Dunkirk* Squadron, ordered to ſail under the Command of *Du Bart*; Admiral *Bembow* was ordered to cruize off of that Port, and, if poſſible, either to fight him, or block him up. When *Bembow* came on the Coaſt, he found the Ships he was to command lying about 5 Leagues North from that Port, and going in with his Boat, into *Flemmiſh* Road, diſcovered the Enemy's Ships, being nine, ready to ſail. From the Circumſtances of Wind and Tides he expected them out of the North Channel, and, therefore, not having Ships enough to cover both, he ſpread what he had, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, before that Paſſage; but it being hazy the next Day, he found the Day following *Du Bart* had given him the Slip, and was got out of the Eaſt Channel.

Having notice, on the 20th, that *Du Bart* had been ſeen on the Weſt End of the *Doggar-bank*, the Rear-admiral proceeded thither; but the *Dutch* having no Orders ſo to do, refuſed to accompany him[e]. After ſome time ſpent in vain, in Search of him, in Company with five *Dutch* Men of War he met at Sea, he returned to *Yarmouth* Roads, from whence he ſailed with the Eaſt Country Trade, and arrived at *Gottenburg* the 30th of *June*; having detached neceſſary Convoys with the Ships bound to ſeveral Ports. Returning homewards in the Month of *September*, he had Sight of *Du Bart*'s Squadron, and chaſed him till he ſaw it was to no Purpoſe: However, he had the Satiſfaction ſoon after of joining four *Engliſh*, and 11 *Dutch East India* Ships, which came North-about, and thereby eſcaped the *French* Privateers, and luckily enough for them, even *Du Bart* himſelf, though they muſt have had Sight of his Squadron[f].

The 20th of *October* the Parliament met, and the 4th of *November* granted the Sum of 2,372,197 Pounds, for the Maintenance of 40,000 Seamen, and of the two Marine Regiments; and for the Ordinary of the Navy, and the Charge of the Regiſtry of Seamen. Towards the Beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, the Commons, in a grand Committee, having conſidered the State of the Nation, and taken Notice of the late Miſcarriages of the Fleet, ordered, the 4th of *November*, that Sir *George Rooke* ſhould attend the Houſe, to give an Account why the *French Toulon* Squadron was not intercepted in going into *Breſt*? The Admiral attended accordingly, and afterwards produced Copies both of his Journal, and of the Orders he had received from the Admiralty, which being examined, it was ordered, the 23d of *November*, that Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* ſhould lay before the Houſe Copies of all ſuch Orders as he received in order to the joining Sir *George Rooke*. Four Days after Sir *Robert Rich*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe of Commons Copies of all Orders ſent both to Sir *George* and Sir *Cloudeſley*, in Relation to the Fleet in general, between the firſt of *January*, 1696, and the Time the *French* got into *Breſt*; as alſo an Account of what Intelligences they received of the *Toulon* Squadron's fitting out, and their Motions towards *Breſt*. Much time was ſpent, in both Houſes, about this Affair; but after all it did not appear, that either of thoſe two Admirals had failed in their Duty[g].

Overtures were made all this Winter for a Peace on the Part of *France*; but that did not ſlacken the Attention of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry in their naval Armament. For, beſides their Watchfulneſs and Activity in *Europe*, Vice-admiral *Nevil* was diſpatched with a Squadron to watch *Du Ponti*'s Squadron, which was gone to attack the *Spaniards*. He was ordered to *Cadiz*, where he arrived on the 9th of *December*[h]; and not being able to gain any Intelligence of the *Spaniſh Flota*, nor of any *French* Fleet in thoſe Seas, he put to Sea again, purſuant to his Majeſty's Command: And when he had reached 50 Leagues S. W. by W. from *Cadiz*, he opened other Orders from the King, which commanded him to make all the Sail he could to the Iſland of *Madeira*, where he was to be joined with ſome Ships under Command of Captain *George Meeze*, who was appointed Rear-admiral in this Expedition. He plied about that Iſland 58 Days, before any Part of this additional Strength arrived, and even then no more joined him than the Rear-admiral, with his own Ship the *Briſtol*, and the *Lightning* Fire-ſhip. The others both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were ſeparated in a Fog[i], juſt as he left the *Iſle of Wight*; but the Place appointed for their *Rendezvous* being *Barbadoes*, the Vice-admiral put out to Sea, and ſtretched it away Southward, that ſo he might fall into the Way of a Trade-wind.

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[a] Upon a modeſt Computation, there were deſtroyed at leaſt 20 Villages, and 1300 Houſes; and near 1600 Head of black Cattle and Horſes were killed. The Engliſh took about 20 Barks, and a Veſſel from Newfoundland retook another Veſſel coming from the Iſlands of America, laden with Sugar, and one of our Frigates, taken by a St. Malo's Privateer. The Loſs the French made (ſays Biſhop Burnet) was not conſiderable in itſelf; but it put their Affairs in great Diſtraction; and the Charge they were at, in Defence of their Coaſt, was much greater than ours in attacking it. Father Daniel agrees with the Biſhop in the firſt, but paſſes by the latter. The French Gazetteer had the Vanity to turn this Expedition into Ridicule: He began his Relation in the following Manner: "The Engliſh are ſo extravagant in their Operations, that they confound even Reaſon itſelf, and "their Expeditions are ſo pitiful, that they beget nothing but Scorn and Contempt." And in another Place: "They (the Engliſh) will be little "feared for the future; ſince having attacked the weakeſt Part of our Coaſts, with their greateſt Strength, the very Powder they ſpent in theſe fruit-"leſs Expeditions amounts to much more than the Damage they have done us." But they were ſoon awakened out of theſe pleaſing Dreams, by Letters from the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, lamenting their great Loſſes; and eſpecially St. Martin's, where they allowed the Loſs to amount at leaſt to a 100,000 Crowns; and that three Parts in four of their Houſes were ruined.

[b] London Gazette, No. 4204. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 431. Life of King William, Preſent State of Europe.

[c] Burchett's naval Hiſtory, p. 547, 548.

[d] Ibid.

[e] They paid dear, ſoon after, for their Remiſſneſs: For Du Bart having met near the South End of the Doggar Bank, with five Dutch Men of War, and about 70 Merchant-ſhips bound to Holland, from the Eaſt Country, he took the former, and about 30 of the others; but ſet fire to four of the Frigates, upon the Approach of 13 Dutch Ships which gave him Chaſe.

[f] Burchett's naval Hiſtory, p. 551. The King having Advice, about this time, that the French were making great Preparations at Breſt, in Order to a Deſcent on this Kingdom, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ſent off of that Port, with a conſiderable Squadron of Ships; but ſoon after it was found that this Equipment was no other than a Squadron of Ships for Monſieur Ponti, with which he ſailed to Carthagena. In the Month of December Captain Jumper, in the Weymouth, cruizing on the French Coaſt, together with Captain Croſs in the Dover, engaged a French Man of War, called the Fougueux, commanded by the Chevalier d'Amfreville, and forcing her upon the Rocks ſhe ſunk. She had 40 Guns mounted, of which the lower Tire was Braſs, and 315 Men, of whom a 100 were ſaved, and the Reſt, with the Commander, drowned. That this Year, (ſc. March the 12th, 1696) his Majeſty, to encourage the Fidelity of his Seamen, and to provide for the better Reception and Maintenance of ſuch as ſhould be maimed and diſabled in his Service, granted a Commiſſion to ſeveral Perſons, for building and governing the Royal Hoſpital at Greenwich.

[g] Hiſtory of King William.

[h] A. D. 1696.

[i] Burchett.

Being the firſt of *April*, about 400 Leagues S. W. of *Madeira*, he ſent the *Briſtol*, a good Sailer, to *Barbadoes*, with a Letter to the Governor, deſiring him to diſpatch a Sloop, or ſome proper Veſſel, to *Martinico*, to gain Intelligence of Monſieur *Ponti*, or any other conſiderable Force the *French* might have in thoſe Parts.

The 17th of *April* he arrived at *Barbadoes*, where the *Dutch* and other *Engliſh* Ships, which were wanting, all joined him, excepting the *Blaze* Fire-ſhip, as did likewiſe a Sloop which had been ſent to *Martinico*; but without Intelligence. Upon which, the 28th, he bore away for *Antegoa*. The 3d of *May* he went on-ſhore to conſult with Colonel *Codrington*, Governor and Captain General of the *Leeward-Iſlands*. After which he held a Council of War of all the Officers both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. They agreed, that it was proper to ſail to *Punta de la Guada* on the N. W. of *Puerto-Ricco*, for the better Security of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; (for that was a principal Thing recommended to him by his Majeſty's Inſtructions) where it was uſual for them to ſtop and refreſh the Men; and there it was determined to remain 'till farther Intelligence could be got of the Enemy; for had the Squadron gone to *Jamaica*, they could not have beat it up to Windward time enough from thence to *St. Domingo* (which it was expected the *French* were preparing to attack) or any other Place on *Hiſpaniola*.

As ſoon as the Council broke up, he ſet ſail, and the next Day ſent one of the Frigats to *St. Thomas's* for a Pilot to conduct her to *Puerto-Ricco*, for Intelligence; from whence ſhe was to return to *Punta de la Guada*, the Place of Rendezvous.

The 8th of *May* the Frigate joined the Fleet again, and brought certain Intelligence that Monſieur *Ponti* ſailed from *Petit-Guavas* the 11th of *March*, O. S. with 26 Ships ſmall and great. This occaſioned a Council of War, where it was reſolved to proceed immediately to *Jamaica*.

The 15th of *May*, being off of the Eaſt-end of that Iſland, the Vice-admiral was informed of a Report, that the *French* Squadron was before *Carthagena*; whereupon, having watered at *Port-Royal* the 24th, he took Advantage, the 25th, of a ſmall Gale off of Shore, and got clear of the *Keys*, ſteering away S. E. by S. and S. S. E. for *Carthagena*.

The 27th, being about half Seas over, that Part of his Squadron, which was to Windward, made a Signal of ſeeing Ships ſtanding Weſtward; upon which he immediately tacked and ſtood after them, with a preſſed Sail, judging them to be either *French*, or the *Spaniſh* Galloons. The next Morning early, they were perceived to be 10 Men of War and two Fly-boats; and, continuing to give them Chace, the *Warwick*, a 50 Gun Ship, came up with one of them, and fired at her: But ſhe, being a better Sailer, got clear. Soon after the ſame Ship got up with one of the Fly-boats, and, taking her, found her to be laden with Powder, Cannon-ball, Shells, and one Mortar; and 100 Negroes, valued at 200,000 Pounds.

In the Afternoon four of our Ships, the *Briſtol*, *Trident*, *Goſport*, and *Newcaſtle*, being near them, Monſieur *Ponti* drew his Squadron into Order of Battle, and fired ſeveral Shot at the *Briſtol*: But his Vice-admiral, Monſieur *de Labbe*, with another of his Ships, left him, and made off, as the whole Fleet did towards Evening.

Our Fleet continued the Chaſe two Days and two Nights longer, ſometimes near, and ſometimes at a greater Diſtance, but could never reach them again [a]; which was chiefly occaſioned by our Ships, moſt of them loſing their Top-maſts, and ſplitting their Sails, with preſſing the Chace [b], tho' thoſe of the *French* ſtood firm.

The Vice-admiral, when he loſt the *French*, judged himſelf to be about 18 Leagues ſhort of *Carthagena*, the appointed Rendezvous, and therefore ſtood in for that Place. He brought to, towards Evening, within ſight of Land, where Rear-admiral *Meeze*, with ſix Ships more, which had likewiſe all their Sails blown away, joined him. He anchored the next Evening before *Bocca-Chiga* Caſtle, at the Entrance of *Carthagena* Harbour, where he found the *French*, having taken the Place, had diſmantled and quitted it; and that, what with *Ponti*'s plundering, and the ravaging of Privateers, who had been to glean his Leavings, the Inhabitants were in a diſtreſſed Condition, and had moſtly deſerted the Place. The Vice-admiral let the Governor know he was going that Night to Sea, becauſe he feared the Galloons might be in Danger; but that if the Wind ſhould hang out of the Way, he would ſpare him what Neceſſaries he could.

The next Day at Noon, the Wind coming Weſterly, the Vice-admiral weighed and ſtood Eaſtwards, leaving Orders for the Ships which were miſſing to follow him; and, on the 6th of *June*, diſcovering eight Privateers under the Shore of *Sambay*, he ſent the *Colcheſter*, *Goſport*, *Virgin-Prize*, and *Lightning*-Fire-ſhip to deſtroy them. The Enemy crowded all the Sail they could, in hopes of eſcaping, but only four were ſo lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, not far from *Carthagena*, her Crew taken by the Inhabitants, and compelled to work in the Repair of their Fortifications. Another was forced on Shore on *St. Domingo*, and beat to Pieces. The *Chriſt*, a fine Ship, commanded by Captain *Coſuy*, who had 250 Men on-board, and about 350,000 Crowns in Silver, was taken by a *Dutch* Ship; as was the *Flying-Hart* of the ſame Force and Value, commanded by Captain *Pierce*, by Captain *Dilkes*, and her Crew were brought into *England* [c].

The Vice-admiral ſtood over for Cape *Tuberon*, or *Petit-Guavas*; but not being able to fetch either of thoſe Places, proceeded for *Hiſpaniola*, where, having taken a Privateer of 24 Guns, and burnt another of 12, he anchored the 19th of *June*; and, by the Advice of Sir *William Beeſton*, Governor of *Jamaica*, ordered Rear-admiral *Meeze*, with nine Ships, to ſail for *Petit-Guavas*; who, before he arrived at that Port, made a Detachment of 900 Men from the Ships, 250 whereof he put into a Sloop, 100 on-board a Fifth-rate, and the reſt into the Boats; and when he came within 16 or 17 Leagues of the Place, he left the two Ships, with Orders to their Commanders not to appear in ſight, but to get in early next Morning: But finding he could not reach the Port himſelf that Night, he directed them not to come in till the next Day.

The 28th, at half an Hour after Three in the Morning, he landed with Colonel *Kirkby*, and the Captains *Lytcot*, *Holmes*, *Julius*, *Elliot* and *Moore*, and 400 Men, a Mile Eaſtward of *Petit-Guavas*, and then marched directly to the Town: The Sloop, with ſome of the Boats, which had on-board them about 100 of the Men, not being able to keep up with him. He thought the Place might with much more Eaſe be taken by Surprize, with thoſe Men he had, than by diſcovering himſelf, which he muſt have done by ſtaying for the reſt; and therefore entering it juſt at the Dawn of Day, he marched directly to, and immediately took the Grand Guard. When this was done, he ſent 100 Men to ſecure two Batteries of four Guns each; and while that was doing, moſt of the *French* quitted the Town.

No ſooner was the Sun up, than the Sailors were no longer to be kept from plundering; and in two Hours moſt of them were ſo drunk, that the Vice-admiral was obliged to ſet fire to the Place much ſooner than he intended, or he could not have depended on 50 ſober and ſerviceable Men. And thus both Officers and Men were deprived of the Reward they ſo juſtly deſerved for the Bravery and indefatigable Induſtry they ſhewed on this Occaſion.

Vice-admiral *Nevil* having provided his Ships with Wood and Water at *Hiſpaniola*, ſailed on the 29th of *June* to meet Rear-admiral *Meeze*, whom he joined next Day. They ſailed for *Jamaica*, that ſo they might get the Ships from thence, and proceeded directly for the *Havanna*, in ſearch of the Galloons, of which there was yet no certain Advice. The 11th of *July* he made the *Iſle of Pines*, the 13th came up with *St. Anthony's*, the Weſt-end of *Cuba*, and the 16th he got about a Range of Rocks, called the *Colleradoes*; but the Men were, at this Time, very ſickly, and the next Day Rear-admiral *Meeze* died; as did before, and after, the Captains *Lytcot*, *Holmes*, *Bellwood*, *Dyer*, *Stadley*, and *Foſter*, all Commanders of Men of War.

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[a] The Author of the Hiſtory of King William ſays, the Engliſh Vice-admiral Nevil, reckoning there was no Safety for the French, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of Bahama, ſlackened his Way, propoſing to get ſo much a-head of them as to hinder their Paſſage. Hereupon the French, at the cloſing of the Night, tacked about, and found the Succeſs of their Working the next Day; for they could reckon no more than 14 Ships following them, in a Line, and they not ſo nigh, by far, as the Day before, which made the French continue the ſame Board 'till they got within 20 Leagues of Carthagena, where they were on the 30th, and the next Day got clear of the Engliſh Fleet.

[b] It ſeems a little odd that our Ships ſhould ſuffer thus in their Topmaſts and Sails, and the French not. Mr. Burchett accounts for the former, by a Fault in the Manner of placing our Maſts, which, he ſays, hath ſince been rectified: But, for the latter, he ſays, if our Sails were made of as good Stuff, and worked up as well, he can ſee no Reaſon why they ſhould not have proved as durable as thoſe of the French, who, being chaſed, were obliged to put theirs to as great, or a greater Trial.

[c] Burchett, Lediard, Columna Roſtrata, &c.

On the 22d of *July* the Squadron arrived at the *Havanna*, where the Vice-admiral, in requital for his great Care and Vigilance, for the Safety of the Galloons, was not only refuſed Entrance into the Harbour, and what Water and Refreſhments he wanted, by the *Spaniſh* Governor, but when he let the General of the Galloons, which were then lying there, know, that the chief Intent of his Voyage was to ſecure them, and to convoy them to *Spain*, he was told, he had no ſuch Orders, and therefore could not accept of the Courteſy.

The true Reaſon, both of his and of the Governor's Conduct, might probably be, their Fear of having the Place of the greateſt Conſequence in the *Weſt-Indies*, and the richeſt Fleet of that Age (for there were fifty Millions on-board the Galloons) taken at once, ſince both had been in the Vice-admiral's Power, if he had once been admitted into the Haven [a].

This kind of Treatment, after the Pains he had taken to ſave the Galloons, and to ſerve the Crown of *Spain* on every Occaſion, broke the Vice-admiral's Spirits very much. He had always counted upon eſcorting the Galloons, and believed ſo acceptable a Service would entirely efface the Memory of former Misfortunes; but being diſappointed again, and reflecting on the little Service that with ſo ſtrong a Squadron he had been able to do his Country, it threw him into a kind of hectic Fever, which hung upon him till he arrived at *Virginia* on the 27th of *Auguſt*, and then he died, as much of Grief as of his Diſtemper, to the great Regret of all who knew him, as he was a Perſon of Courage, Prudence, and Integrity; who wanted not either Will or Abilities to do his Country Service, though his Fortune fell ſhort of his Zeal. By his Demiſe the Command of the Squadron devolved upon Captain *Robert Dilkes*, who, from *Virginia*, arrived ſafely in *England* on the 24th of *October*, 1697, with the whole Squadron, though poorly manned, and the Ships, many of them, foul and rotten. As for Monſieur *Ponti*, he ſailed for *Newfoundland*, where Captain *John Norris* (afterwards Sir *John Norris*) lay in the Harbour of *St. John's*, with a Squadron, conſiſting of four Fourth-rates, two Fifth-rates, two Sixth-rates, two Fire-ſhips, and two Bomb-veſſels, with a Hag-boat: But though Captain *Norris* had re-iterated Intelligence of this being Monſieur *Ponti's* Squadron returning with the Riches he had taken from *Carthagena*, and that his Ships were but weakly manned; and though the Commodore was convinced of the Truth of this Intelligence, and was for going in ſearch of them, yet he was over-ruled in ſeveral Councils of War [b], held on that Occaſion; and, upon a Perſuaſion, or Pretext, that this was a much ſtronger Squadron under the Command of Monſieur *Neſmond*, a Reſolution taken, not only to remain in the Harbour of *St. John's*, but to ſecure themſelves from any Attack from his Part, by laying Bombs a-croſs the Mouth of the Harbour, raiſing Batteries, and placing the Ships in a proper Poſture of Defence; and thus Monſieur *Ponti* eſcaped us a ſecond Time, though not ſo honourably for us as the firſt, that being probably owing to the Knavery, or, at leaſt, Neglect of the Purveyors for the Navy; but this, to an ill-timed Caution (if not worſe) of our own Officers.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, Commodore *Norris*'s Squadron (which was ſent to thoſe Parts, with ſome Land-forces, to recover *Hudſon*'s-*Bay*) might have fallen upon the *French*, and would probably have maſtered them; but as they had no certain Account of their Strength, ſo being ſent out upon another Service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them: So the *French* got ſafe home, and the Conduct of our Affairs at Sea was much cenſured; yet our Admiralty declared themſelves ſatisfied with the Account the Commanders gave of their Proceedings: But that Board was accuſed of much Partiality. On all ſuch Occaſions, the Unfortunate muſt expect to be blamed, and, to outward Appearance, there was much Room given either to cenſure the Orders, or the Execution of them. The King owned, he did not underſtand thoſe Matters: And *Ruſſel* (now made Earl of *Orford*) had both the Admiralty and the Navy-board, in a great Dependance on himſelf; ſo that he was conſidered almoſt as much as if he had been Lord High Admiral: He was too much in the Power of thoſe, in whom he confided, and truſted them too far; and it was generally believed, that there was much Corruption, as it was certain there was much Faction, if not Treachery, in the Conduct of our Marine. Our Miſcarriages made all People cry, that we muſt have a Peace; for we could not manage the War to any good Purpoſe: Since, notwithſtanding our great Superiority at Sea, the *French* conducted their Matters ſo much better than we, that we were Loſers, even in that Element where we uſed to triumph moſt. Our Squadron, in the Bay of *Mexico*, did very little Service; they only robbed and deſtroyed ſome of the *French* Colonies, and that ſent to *Hudſon*'s-*Bay* found it quite abandoned by the *French*; ſo that both returned home inglorious.

Though Mr. *Ponti* got ſo happily clear of this Affair, he met with another, which gave him more Trouble; for on the 14th of *Auguſt* 1697, he fell in with five *Engliſh* Men of War, two of 80 Guns, two of 70, one of 30, and a Fire-ſhip, under the Command of Captain *Harlow*, about 90 Leagues W. S. W. from *Scilly*. Our Ships diſcovered their Lights in the Night, and, about Eight in the Morning, Monſieur *Ponti* bore down on them, and they plied up to him. About Three, they began to engage at about Two-thirds Gun-ſhot, and the Fight continued very ſmartly for about two Hours, when the *French* tacked about, and took to their Heels, with all the Sail they could make; and though Captain *Harlow* purſued them two Nights and two Days, they proved too nimble for him, and had the good Fortune to eſcape this third Time, and carried the Spoil of the *Spaniards* into *Breſt*, without any farther Interruption.

It is not eaſy to account for M. *Ponti*'s bearing down upon Captain *Harlow*'s Squadron; nor can one readily apprehend,

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[a] See the Preſent State of Europe for the Month of September, 1697. Burnet, Kennet, &c.

[b] A Council of War at St. John's, July 24, 1697, at which were preſent,

LAND-OFFICERS.	
John Gibſon	No.
Thomas Dore	No.
Thomas Handaſyde	No.
Cliff. Brexton	No.
Griff. May	No.
Hugh Boyd	No.
Y. Smith	No.
Robert Dazyell	No.
H. Petit	No.
George Watkins	No.
Joſ. Hargrave	No.
ELEVEN.	No's all.

SEA-OFFICERS.		
Francis Dove		Yea.
Robert Stapilton		Yea.
James Littleton		No.
Charles Deſborow		Yea.
Cooper Wade		Yea.
John Roffey		No.
James Mighels		Yea.
Thomas Day		Yea.
John Cranby		Yea.
John Drake		No.
Nicholas Trevannion		No.
John Norris		Yea.
Thomas Smith		No.
THIRTEEN.	Yea's 8.	No's 5.

This whole Buſineſs was, in an enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, examined in the Houſe of Lords; when upon a full View of the Evidence, their Lordſhips came to the following Reſolutions. Die Lunæ, 17 April, 1699. 1. It is reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, that the Squadron commanded by Captain Norris, at St. John's in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Ponti's, upon the ſeveral Intelligences given, was a very high Miſcarriage, to the great Diſſervice of the King and Kingdom. 2. It is reſolved, that the joining the Land-officers in the Council of War, on the 24th of July 1697, was one Occaſion of the Miſcarriage in not fighting Ponti.

prehend, how the *Engliſh* Ships, juſt come out of Port, came to ſail ſo much worſe than the *French*. Some Myſtery there was in this, which was never revealed to the Public, though in all Probability ſomething might be diſcovered to the Lords of the Admiralty, which it was not proper ſhould come Abroad [a].

We are now to return to the naval Affairs in *Europe* for the Year 1697; for though the grand Buſineſs of this Year was the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, which was not concluded till *September*, though the Preliminaries were ſettled on the 10th of *February*, the naval Armaments ſtill continued.

On the 5th of *February*, Captain *Jennings*, Commander of the *Plymouth*, being cruiſing, together with the *Rye* Frigate, upon the *French* Coaſt, near *Forn-Head*, about Eight in the Morning, eſpy'd three Sail ſtanding towards him, and two of them came within two Guns-ſhot of him before he bore down upon them; when, not liking the Looks of him, they bore away: However, in leſs than an Hour, he came up with one of them, which, preſently after, ſpringing both her Fore-top-maſt and Main-maſt, upon the firing one Gun, was forced to ſtrike. This Ship was called the *New Cherbourg*, a Man of War of 36 Guns, and 150 Men. Captain *Jennings*, having left his Prize with the *Rye*, gave Chace to the other, and came up with her about One o'Clock; and, after an Engagement of near three Hours, took her likewiſe: She was called the *Dolphin* of *St. Malo*, commanded by the *Sieur de la Rue*, but was formerly the *Betty* of *Briſtol*, and, when ſhe was taken, carried but 28 Guns, and 196 Men, of which 33 were killed and wounded.

Before the King's Departure this Year for *Holland*, he was pleaſed to honour *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; then at the Head of the Admiralty, with the Title of Baron of *Shingey*, Viſcount *Barfleur*, and Earl of *Orford*: and placed Admiral *Rooke* at the Head of the Fleet; who, on his going onboard at *Portſmouth* [b], found it ſo badly manned and victualled, that it could not have ventured to Sea, had not the *Dutch* Fleet joined it [c].

The 25th of *June*, Vice-admiral *Mitchel* and Rear-admiral *Bembow*, joining the Fleet with the Ships under their Command, the Admiral had now with him 44 Ships of the Line, with which he got off of *Uſhant* the 28th. The 4th of *July*, Rear-admiral *Bembow*, who had been ſent to diſcover the Poſture of the Enemy at *Breſt*, brought an Account, that there were but 10 Ships ready for the Sea in that Port; upon which a Council of War was called.

It was reſolved to enlarge the former Station, from 10 to 40 or 50 Leagues, W. N. W. from *Uſhant*, thereby to cover the Channel, and ſecure the Trade; that nine *Engliſh* and four *Dutch* Ships of War, ſhould cruiſe, from 80 to 100 Leagues Weſt from *Scilly*, fourteen or ſixteen Days; and that, after the Fleet had ſtaid near a Fortnight in the aforeſaid Station, the whole ſhould Rendezvous in *Torbay*. Vice-admiral *Mitchel* commanded this Squadron, and it was made thus ſtrong, leſt he ſhould happen to meet with Monſieur *Neſmond* in his Cruiſe, or Monſieur *Chateau Renaud* in his Return to *Breſt*, in caſe he was then at Sea.

The 21ſt of *July* the Fleet was 10 Leagues off of the *Lizard*, having met with nothing but Privateers, and there the Admiral received Orders to leave a ſufficient Squadron off of *Breſt*, to keep in the *French* Ships, deſigned from thence with Monſieur *Chateau Renaud*, if not already ſailed, or to intercept them, ſhould they attempt to come out; but this could not be complied with, becauſe he had not together above 11 *Engliſh* Men of War, of which 10 were three-deck'd Ships, and but 10 *Dutch*, Flag-ſhips included; nor had they more than 21 Days Proviſions at ſhort Allowance, and not any Peaſe or Oatmeal.

The Admiral was therefore obliged to return to *Torbay*, where, on the 23d of *July*, he received a ſecond Order to ſend Ships off of *Breſt*, and others into the *Bay* [d]. Two Days after, Vice-admiral *Mitchel* came into the *Bay*, having ſent two Third-rates, and a Fifth-rate, to convoy the Trade to *Ireland*, and the *Dorſetſhire* and *Content* to convoy ſome other Ships to *Plymouth*; and being informed, that a conſiderable Number of Merchant-ſhips was expected in the Channel, he ordered another Detachment thither, under the Command of Captain *Harlow*. Another Squadron was ſent to the *Soundings*, but was ſoon forced in again by bad Weather; and the Admiral, in obedience to Orders ſent him, arrived at *Spithead* the 28th of *Auguſt*; having with him five Firſt-rates, four Second-rates, two Third-rates, two Fire-ſhips, two Hoſpital-ſhips, and two Yachts, together with 12 *Dutch* Ships of War, and as many Fire-ſhips.

In the Month of *September* Sir *George* detached Vice-admiral *Mitchel*, with a Squadron to meet and ſuſtain Vice-admiral *Neville*, who was expected home with the Galloons from the *Weſt-Indies*; but before he reached the Cape *St. Vincent*, he had notice of the Return of that Squadron, and did not, therefore, think proper to continue any longer at Sea [e]. He was afterwards ordered out again in *October*, when he performed nothing worthy of Remark, except the bringing in 15 *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships, which had loſt moſt of their Anchors and Cables, and muſt otherwiſe have been in great Danger of periſhing themſelves. Soon after he received the King's Orders to bring over the Czar from *Holland*, which he did, and was ſo acceptable to that great Prince, that, with the King's Leave, he attended him during the whole time he ſtaid in *England*, and had the Honour alſo to command the Squadron which eſcorted him on his Return to *Holland*, in his Way back to his own Dominions. His Behaviour towards that Monarch was ſuch as gave him entire Satisfaction, ſo that he retained a grateful Remembrance of it many Years after, when he came a ſecond time into *Holland*, by taking notice of many Points in naval Diſcipline, in which he was inſtructed by Admiral *Mitchel* [f].

Rear-admiral *Bembow* was alſo ordered to ſail from *Spithead*, on the 11th of *April* 1697, with a Squadron conſiſting of ſeven Third-rates, and two Fire-ſhips [g], and Inſtructions to protect the Trade of this Nation in every Inſtance in his Power, and to annoy the Enemy. His Station was between 50 and 48 Degrees and 30 Minutes, from 10 to 80 Leagues from *Scilly*. He met with nothing of Note till the 3d of *May*, when he gave Chaſe to five *French* Men of War, but could not come up with them. The 9th he ſaw nine Ships Weſtward, which proved to be ſome of our Men of War, bound with the Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, which, under the Command of Captain *Symmonds*, had been engaged with four *French* Men of War, who being on the 5th of *May*, with the *Norwich*, *Chatham*, *Sheerneſs*, *Seaford*, and the *Blaze* Fire-ſhip, in the Latitude of 49 Degrees and 30 Minutes, about 48 (another Account I have ſeen ſays 68) Leagues from *Scilly*, met with theſe *French* Ships, about Four in the Morning, with *Engliſh* Colours, the biggeſt of them mounting between 60 and 70 Guns, another of 50, the third 36, and the fourth of about 24. They bore right down upon him, upon which he fired a Gun for the *Seaford*, the Fire-ſhip, and his Convoys, which were to Windward, to join him, and, at Seven, the *French* taking in their *Engliſh* Colours, began to fire. The Fireſhip, by Reaſon of her ill ſailing, was ſoon taken by the two ſmaller Frigates and their Boats; while the two bigger took the *Seaford*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, and not 'till they had firſt ſhot down her Main-yard, and then her Main-maſt; but finding ſhe was not able to ſwim, they burnt her. The Fight continued very ſmartly for two Hours, and then the *French* gave over; but followed our Ships 'till the 8th, though not within Gun-ſhot: That Morning they bore down again, and engaged about three Hours, when leaving off they chaſed the Merchant-ſhips, which, at the Beginning of the Engagement, were taking the uſual Care for their own Security; and in this Action our Frigates were ſo much diſabled, that they were forced to bear up for *Plymouth* to refit. It was generally believed, that, had ſome of the ſtouter Merchant-men ſtood by them, they might have been Maſters of their Enemies.

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[a] See the following Advertiſement, which appeared firſt, Thurſday, Sept. 23, 1697, London Gazette, No. 3325. "Admiralty-office, Sept 21. "Whereas, the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, did receive a Letter by the Poſt ſigned A. B. which contains ſeveral "Things relating to the late Action of Captain Harlow: theſe are to give Notice, that if the Perſon who writ the ſaid Letter, will apply himſelf "to one of the Secretaries of the Admiralty, his Name ſhall not be make known, without his own Conſent, and he ſhall likewiſe be rewarded, "and preferred by their Lordſhips. William Bridgeman."

[b] In the Beginning of June.

[c] On the 10th of June.

[d] To comply with this, he ordered 11 Third-rates, and two Fire-ſhips, to be victualled for a Month; but was conſtrained to draw the Proviſions from the great Ships; ſo that, had there been never ſo preſſing an Occaſion for Service, it would have inevitably been prevented for want of a timely Supply of Proviſions; For which Reaſons, he ſoon after contradicted his Orders, and propoſed to the Lords of the Admiralty, that the Ships might repair to and victual at Spithead.

[e] Burchett's Memoirs, p. 392.

[f] Life of Peter the Great, p. 394.

[g] London Gazette, No. 3279. Mr. Burchett ſays April 10.

The Rear-admiral endeavoured to intercept the Enemy's Ships, but not having above 12 Days Proviſions, at ſhort Allowance, was obliged to repair to *Portſmouth*, for a Supply, not being able to reach *Plymouth*, having chaſed ſome Ships, which proved to be *Swedes*, to the Eaſtward of that Port.

After he was ſupplied with Proviſions, he received Orders from Vice-admiral *Mitchel*, the 21ſt of *May*, to proceed again into the *Soundings*, with four Third-rates, and two Fire-ſhips, victualled for a Month at ſhort Allowance, and from *Plymouth* he was to take the *Angleſey* and *Plymouth*, if ready, with three *Eaſt-India* Ships, which he was to ſee well into Sea. This, and ſome other little Services being performed, the 10th of *July* he received Orders to proceed to the Squadron, then commanded by Captain *Beaumont*, before *Dunkirk*. Being arrived there, he received two Orders, one, to purſue Monſieur *Du Bart*, and deſtroy his Ships if poſſible; and the other, to attend any Commands the King ſhould pleaſe to ſend him thither. The 30th the *Dutch* Rear-admiral, *Vandergoes*, joined him with 11 Ships; but he was not likely to be much the better for them, the Vice-admiral letting him know his Ships were foul, and not in a Condition for a Purſuit; and as ours were in the ſame Condition, no great Succeſs could be expected from them neither; nor indeed was any Thing performed worthy of notice. The 23d of *Auguſt*, at Five in the Morning, five of the *French* Ships, which were cleaned, and made fleet for that Purpoſe, got to Sea; and though they were purſued by our Squadron till Four in the Afternoon, and by the ſmall Ships till Six, they eſcaped, and nothing was done, but a ſmall Privateer taken of 10 Guns and 60 Men, which had been cruizing two Months in the North Seas. And thus ended this expenſive War at Sea, nothing remarkable happening afterwards.

As for the Loſs which *England* and *France* ſuſtained, during this War, in the Ships of their Royal Navies, it will have a much better Face on our Side than that of the *French*; for having collected the ſame, with as much Exactneſs as poſſibly I could, the Reader may find, in the following Account, both one and the other compared, by which it will appear, that the Enemy (conſidering the Magnitude of their Ships) were much the greater Sufferers.

An Account of the English *Ships taken by the* French *during the War, and what were burnt or taken of theirs.*

ENGLISH.

Number of Ships.		*Guns each.*	*Total of Guns.*
1	of	70	70
1	of	54	54
2	of	48	96
1	of	46	46
3	of	42	126
3	of	36	108
6	of	32	192
2	of	30	60
4	of	24	96
2	of	18	36
2	of	16	32
2	of	12	24
11	of	10	110
5	of	8	40
1	of	6	6
4	of	4	16
Total 50			Total 1112

FRENCH.

Number of Ships.		*Guns each.*	*Total of Guns.*
2	of	104	208
1	of	90	90
2	of	80	160
3	of	76	228
1	of	74	74
1	of	70	70
1	of	68	68
2	of	60	120
4	of	56	224
1	of	50	50
1	of	48	48
1	of	42	42
1	of	40	40
5	of	32	160
5	of	30	150
5	of	28	140
1	of	26	26
3	of	24	72
3	of	20	60
6	of	18	108
1	of	16	16
2	of	12	24
6	of	10	60
1	of	6	6
Total 59			Total 2244

The Number of Guns on-board the *French* Ships, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the *Engliſh*, were 1132, and moſt of them much ſuperior in their Weight of Metal.

Here we ſhall add ſome Reflections on the Conſequences of this long War, to the naval Power and Commerce of *England*.

Firſt then, with reſpect to our Navy, we have ſeen that the War opened with a very bad Proſpect; for though we had an excellent Fleet, a vaſt Number of able Seamen, and, perhaps, as good Officers as any in the World, yet the *French* got earlier to Sea than we did, appeared with a greater Force, and managed it better, though we acted then in Conjunction with *Holland*, and, according to the general Rule of political Reaſoning, ought to have had it in our Power to have driven the *French* out of the Sea. All this proceeded from the ſudden Change in our Government, which, perhaps, left many of our Officers diſaffected, and many more without having any proper Degree of Credit at Court. Want of Confidence between the Adminiſtration and the Commanders of our Fleets, is always deſtructive to our maritime Power. But when once the Government was thoroughly ſettled, and we acted cordially in Conjunction with the *States*, it ſoon became evident, that we were much more than a Match for *France* at Sea. Our Misfortunes at the Beginning of the War created Enquiries and Cenſures, which were, and always will be, followed with Victories; for when Officers find themſelves in Danger, for acting ill, they will endeavour to eſcape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private Profit, to that Duty which they owe the Public, with Impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad Road. This accounts for our Succeſs in the middle of the War, and the Declenſion of it afterwards, when the Board of Admiralty began to feel its own Strength, and the Management of naval Affairs was reduced to a Court ſyſtem, by which ſuch Men were ſure of Protection, as could be depended on in other Reſpects than their Commands in the Fleet[*]. On the whole, the *French* ſuffered much more in their maritime Power than we; and conſequently, if we conſider the Situation of both Nations, the Eaſe with which it was in our Power to repair our Loſſes, and the almoſt inſuperable Difficulties the *French* had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, we much conclude, that not only they, but the whole World, had full Evidence from thence, of their being no Way able to ſtruggle againſt the *Dutch* and us in a maritime War. To make this ſtill more apparent, obſerve, that King *William*, in his Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the Concluſion of the War, aſſerted our naval Force to be near double what it was at his Acceſſion[a]. Whereas I do not find in any of the *French* Hiſtorians, that they attempted to build new Ships during the Progreſs of the War, or to do any Thing more than finiſh ſuch as were then upon the Stocks, purchaſing, as Occaſion required, large Merchant-men, which they converted into Frigates. In this Light, therefore, we were Gainers by the War. But with reſpect to our Trade, it is certain, that we ſuffered infinitely more, not only than the *French*, (for that muſt have been expected) but than ever we did in any former War, where there was a nearer Balance between our Trade and that of the Enemy. This proceeded in a great meaſure from the Vigilance of the *French*, who made it their Choice, nay their great Monarch made it his Glory, to carry on the War in a piratical Way, on purpoſe to diſtreſs our Merchants, and excite a loud Clamour here for a Peace. Another Reaſon why our Commerce ſuffered ſo much, was that Spirit of Avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many Merchants to attempt making a ſudden Fortune by ſuffering their Ships to run, inſtead of waiting for a Convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal Cauſe of our Miſcarriages, was the Want of proper Attention at the Board of Admiralty, where Officers were generally heard with too much, and Merchants with too little Favour. To this we may add that Spirit of Rapine and Corruption which prevailed among the Sea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to conſider their Commiſſions rather as Powers given them to provide for themſelves and their Families, than as Truſts received for the Benefit of the Public. We muſt not forget the ill Conduct of our Governors abroad, who were likewiſe totally employed in amaſſing Fortunes, while the Strictneſs of the *French* Diſcipline obliged ſuch as had the Care of their Plantations, to pay a proper Regard to the public Service. But the principal Source of theſe Miſchiefs, was the Neceſſity both the *Dutch* and we were under of fitting out ſuch great Fleets every Year, whereby all our Seamen were in a manner employed in the publick Service; ſo that, on the one hand, the Merchants were forced to ſend their Ships to Sea worſe manned than formerly, and on the other, our grand Fleet, and annual Squadrons, required ſo many Ships, that it was impoſſible to furniſh the neceſſary Convoys for the Security of our Trade. At leaſt this was pretended; and the very Pretence, perhaps, was another Cauſe of our Loſſes. This, however, is out of doubt, that taking all together, our Traffic ſuffered exceſſively, our Merchants were many of them ruined; and though Enquiries into the Miſmanagements, which heightened theſe Misfortunes, were not proſecuted with that Vigour they might have been, yet ſuch Diſcoveries were made as produced an abſolute Diſtruſt of, and Diſtaſte againſt, ſuch as had the Direction of naval Affairs, a loud Clamour againſt the War, and an univerſal Deſire of Peace at any Rate[b].

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[*] It may poſſibly be thought, that I differ in my Sentiments here, from what I have ſaid elſewhere, as to Enquiries; and, therefore, I take this Opportunity of ſaying, that I would be underſtood ſo as to diſtinguiſh between proper Enquiries, and peeviſh Enquiries. I call proper Enquiries, ſuch as begin with Things, and end with Men: And I take ſuch to be peeviſh as preſume Things to be wrong, becauſe they were done by this or that Set

However it muſt be allowed, to the Honour of this Reign, and of this Adminiſtration, that though they managed the War badly, they gained by the Peace of *Ryſwick* all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth Article the *French* King engages his Word and Faith, not to diſturb the King of *Great Britain* in any of his Dominions, nor to aſſiſt directly or indirectly, any of the Enemies of the ſaid King, nor to give Shelter to any Rebels or Conſpirators againſt him. By the fifth, the free Uſe of Commerce or Navigation is reſtored between the Subjects of both Kings. By the ſeventh, all Places taken during the War, either in *Europe* or in *America*, are reſtored. As great Care was taken of our Allies, every Thing was ſtipulated for them which with any Shew of Juſtice they could deſire; ſo that by the Concluſion of this Treaty, the general Peace of *Europe* was reſtored.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE *and* COMMERCE, DISCOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Concluſion of the Peace of* RYSWICK *to the Death of King* WILLIAM *the* THIRD.

THE King opened the Parliament[c] with this remarkable Speech[d]:

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ The War which I entered into by the *Advice* of my “ *People*, is by the Bleſſing of God, and their zealous and “ affectionate Aſſiſtance, brought to the End we all pro“poſed, an *honourable Peace*; which I was willing to con“clude, not ſo much to eaſe myſelf from the Trouble or “ Hazard, as to free the Kingdom from the continuing “ Burthen of an expenſive War.

“ I am heartily ſorry my Subjects will not at firſt find “ all that Relief from the Peace, which I could wiſh, and “ they may expect; but the Funds intended for the laſt “ Year's Service, have fallen ſhort of anſwering the Sums “ for which they are given; ſo that there remain conſi“derable Deficiencies to be provided for.

“ There's a Debt upon the Account of the Fleet and the “ Army. The Revenues of the Crown have been antici“pated by my Conſent, for publick Uſes; ſo that I am “ wholly deſtitute of Means to ſupport the Civil Liſt; and “ I can never diſtruſt you'll ſuffer this to turn to my Diſ“advantage, but will provide for me, during my Life, “ in ſuch a Manner, as may be for my Honour, and for “ the Honour of the Government.

“ Our Naval Force being increaſed to near double what “ it was at my Acceſſion to the Crown, the Charge of “ maintaining it will be proportionably augmented; and “ it is certainly neceſſary for the Intereſt and Reputation “ of *England*, to have always a great Strength at Sea.

“ The Circumſtances of Affairs abroad are ſuch, that I “ think myſelf obliged to tell you my Opinion, that for “ the preſent *England* cannot be ſafe without a Land Force; “ and I hope we ſhall not give thoſe who mean us ill, the “ Opportunity of affecting that, under a Notion of a Peace, “ which they could not bring to paſs by a War.

“ I doubt not but you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Com“mons, will take theſe Particulars into your Conſidera“tions, in ſuch a Manner as to provide the neceſſary Sup“plies, which I do very earneſtly recommend to you.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ That which I moſt delight to think of, and am beſt “ pleaſed to own, is, that I have all the Proofs of my Peo“ple's Affection, that a Prince can deſire; and I take “ this Occaſion to give them the moſt ſolemn Aſſurance, “ that as I never had, ſo I never will, nor can, have any “ Intereſt ſeparate from theirs.

“ I eſteem it one of the greateſt Advantages of the “ Peace, that I ſhall now have Leiſure to rectify ſuch Cor“ruptions or Abuſes as may have crept into any Part of “ the Administration during the War; and effectually to “ diſcourage Prophaneneſs and Immorality: And I ſhall “ employ my Thoughts in promoting Trade, and advanc-

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of Men. In this Reign we had frequent Examples of both: Enquiries were ſet on foot in Parliament, and when they did not anſwer the Intentions of a Party, they were dropt: This, certainly, was very ſcandalous. On the other hand, Commodore Wilmot's diſgraceful Expedition, and ſeveral others of the ſame kind, were paſſed over without any Enquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very ſuſpicious Dealing in the Admiralty; who ought to have vindicated their own Uprightneſs, by juſtifying the Characters of ſuch as they employed, which appears to be the Judgment of Biſhop Burnet himſelf; who, though he loved the Miniſters, yet could not help ſeeing their Faults.

[a] See his Majeſty's Speech, Dec. 3. 1697, in Chandler's Parliamentary Debates. Upon carefully comparing the Liſts of the Royal Navy, this very clearly appears.

[b] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of King William, Preſent State of Europe.

[c] December 3, 1697.

[d] Parliamentary Debates, Vol. III. p. 92.

ing the Happineſs and flouriſhing Eſtate of the Kingdom.

“I ſhall conclude with telling you, that as I have with the Hazard of every Thing, reſcued your Religion, Laws, and Liberties, when they were in the extreameſt Danger; ſo I ſhall place the Glory of my Reign, in preſerving them entire, and leaving them ſo to Poſterity.”

This Speech ſeemed to be moſt acceptable to the Lords, who made an Addreſs to his Majeſty: “Congratulating his happy Return, accompanied with the Bleſſings of a ſafe and honourable Peace; which, next under God, they were ſenſible was owing to his Courage and Conduct: That after the Hazards and Labours he had ſo long ſuſtained for the Good of *Europe*, there wanted nothing but this to compleat the Glory of his Reign: They ſhould never be wanting in their Endeavours to aſſiſt his Majeſty in maintaining that Quiet which he had ſo glorioſly reſtored to theſe Kingdoms, and in contributing all they could to the Safety of his Perſon, and the ſecuring the Peace and Proſperity of his Government.”

His Majeſty, in return, aſſured their Lordſhips of his Kindneſs; and told them, *He hoped this Peace would be ſo bleſt, that they might long enjoy it.*

His Majeſty's Speech did more variouſly affect the Commons: Some thought ſome Expreſſions in it too magiſterial; others ſeemed to be offended at his Majeſty's putting them in mind of what he had done for the Nation; others again diſtruſted the great Promiſes of what he would do for them; and moſt began to be jealous of the Expreſſion, *That* England *could not be ſafe without a Land Force.* By which they underſtood that odious Thing a *Standing Army.* However, on *December* 9th, the Commons preſented this humble Addreſs to the King:

“WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, who have ſo frequently waited on your Majeſty with the Tender of our Aſſiſtance for carrying on the War, come now to congratulate your Majeſty upon the happy Concluſion of it, in a Peace ſo honourable and advantageous to the Nation, as ſufficiently juſtifies the Wiſdom of the Commons in adviſing, and your Majeſty's Conduct in the Proſecution of it.

“The Proſpect of the Benefits your People will receive from this Peace, is very pleaſing. The Honour your Majeſty has reſtored to *England*, of holding the Balance of *Europe*, gives your Subjects great Content. But what your Commons are moſt affected and delighted with, is, that your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon will now be ſecure from thoſe many and great Dangers to which you have ſo often expoſed it for our ſakes. Nothing being ſo evident, as that your Majeſty's Return in Safety, was a Bleſſing more welcome to your People than Peace, and received with greater Demonſtrations of Joy.

“We therefore, with Hearts full of Affection, Duty, and Gratitude, do aſſure your Majeſty, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, that this Houſe will be very ready to aſſiſt and ſupport your Majeſty, who, by putting a Period to the War, has confirmed us in the quiet Poſſeſſion of our Rights and Liberties, and ſo fully compleated the glorious Work of our Deliverance.”

The King anſwered thus:

Gentlemen,

Nothing that relates to the Peace pleaſes me ſo much, as the Satisfaction you have in it: And as you have aſſiſted me in the War, beyond all Expreſſion, I do not doubt but you will be as zealous in maintaining the Peace.

Standing Forces, however eſtabliſhed and regulated by Law, or however neceſſary to maintain the Peace, were thought *intolerable*; and therefore, upon entring into a Conſideration of his Majeſty's Speech, the firſt Reſolution of the Commons was on the 11th of *December*: *That all the Land Forces of this Kingdom, that have been raiſed ſince the 29th of* September 1680, *ſhall be paid and diſbanded.*

The *Eaſt-India* Company, which was ſettled now in *Scotland* under the Sanction of a *Scotch* Parliament, and with the Countenance of King *William*, gave ſuch Umbrage both to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, that they at laſt obtained a full Stop to that grand Scheme, though ſupported by very large Subſcriptions from *London*, *Hamburgh*, and *Amſterdam*. Therefore this new Company turned their Thoughts to gain a Settlement on the Iſthmus of *Darien*, and to convert themſelves into a *Weſt-India* Company.

But the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company could not ſo eaſily weather the Blow, which aroſe from a Project in the State, for raiſing its neceſſary Supplies, by granting a Patent to a new Company to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The old Company had ſuſtained ſo great Loſſes by the *Dutch* in *India*, and by the *Great Mogul*, as at the Revolution they were obliged to apply to Parliament for Relief: And as the War which immediately enſued added to their Misfortunes, their ruinous Condition put the Miniſtry upon the Project of making an Advantage of their Neceſſities, and to raiſe Money by granting Powers to a new Set of Merchants for that Trade. This ſpirited up the old Company to offer 700,000 l. at 4 per Cent. for the Service of the Government, for an excluſive Right to the Trade to *India*, which the Parliament had probably granted, had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer [a] interpoſed in behalf of a Body of Merchants headed by one Mr. *Shepherd* [b], who offered to raiſe Two-millions at 8 per Cent. on Condition the Trade to *India* might be ſettled on the Subſcribers, excluſive of all others: They alſo propoſed, that theſe Subſcribers would not be obliged to trade in a Joint-ſtock; but if any Members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a Charter ſhould be granted to them for that Purpoſe. The Houſe judged this new Overture not only to be more advantageous to the Government, but likewiſe very likely to ſettle this controverted Trade on a better Foundation than it was on before. A Bill was therefore, on *May* the 26th, ordered to be brought into the Houſe, for ſettling the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* on thoſe who ſhould ſubſcribe the Two-millions, according to the Limitations before-mentioned, and the following Reſolutions.

Firſt, “That every Subſcriber might have the Liberty of trading yearly, to the Account of his reſpective Subſcription; or might aſſign over ſuch his Liberty of trading to any other Perſon. *Secondly*, That his Majeſty be empowered to incorporate ſuch of the ſaid Subſcribers, as ſhould deſire the ſame. *Thirdly*, That the Powers and Privileges for carrying on the *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſhould be ſettled by Parliament. *Fourthly*, That the ſaid Subſcribers ſhould enjoy the ſaid eight Pounds *per Cent.* and Liberty of trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, excluſive of all others, for the Term of ten Years, and until the ſame ſhould be redeemed by Parliament. *Fifthly*, That every Perſon ſubſcribing 500 l. have a Vote; and no Perſon to have more Votes than one. *Sixthly*, That all Ships laden in the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhould be obliged to deliver in *England*. *Seventhly*, That no Perſon that ſhould be a Member of any Corporation trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhould trade otherwiſe than in the Joint-ſtock of ſuch Corporation of which he was a Member. *Eighthly*, That five Pounds *per Cent. ad valorem*, upon all Returns from the *Eaſt-Indies*, be paid by the Importer, to be placed to the Account of the Subſcribers, towards the Charge of ſending Ambaſſadors, and other extraordinary Expences. And *Ninthly*, That over and above the Duties now payable, a further Duty of one Shilling and Ten-pence *per* Pound Weight, be laid upon all wrought Silks imported from *India* and *Perſia*; to be paid by the Importer.” This Bill being accordingly brought into the Houſe, the old *Eaſt-India* Company preſented a Petition againſt it: To which the Commons had ſo much Regard, as to offer them to ſettle this Trade upon them, if they would accept it on the ſame Terms and Limitations, on which the others were contented to take it; and which the Parliament judged moſt advantageous for the Kingdom. But the Members of the old Company having rejected this Propoſal, the Commons, on *June* the 25th, paſſed the Bill in Favour of the new Adventurers.

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[a] Mr. Montague.

[b] See Debates in Parliament, Vol. III. p. 106 to 115.

The old *Eaſt-India* Company followed the Bill to the upper Houſe; where they were heard by their Council, Sir *Thomas Powis*, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*; who repreſented, “That this Bill invaded their Property, and ruined many Families. That in the Charters granted them by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* the Firſt, King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second, it was ſuggeſted that their Corporation was for the Honour of *England*, for the Increaſe of Navigation, and the Advance of Trade. That the ſaid Charters contained a Grant of the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the Company, excluſive of all others. That by ſome of them they were conſtituted the Lords Proprietors of *Bombay*, and of the Iſland of *St. Helena*. That by theſe Grants, they were induced to think they had a Right in Law to the Trade; at leaſt, that they ſhould have an uncontroverted Title to the Land: And that upon this Preſumption, and relying upon the public Faith and Credit of the Great-ſeal of *England*, they had expended above a Million in Fortifications, and acquired Revenues of 44,000 l. *per Annum*, and many Settlements and Privileges.

“That in the Year 1691, the Houſe of Commons had made a Reſolution, that the *Eaſt-India Trade ſhould be carried on in a Joint-ſtock, excluſive of all others.* That their Company was confirmed and ſettled by three Charters, granted by his preſent Majeſty, on the 7th of *October*, and 17th of *November*, 1693; and 28th of *September*, 1694. That upon the Security of theſe Charters, the Company conſented to a new Subſcription: That there was a-new ſubſcribed 744,000 l. and the Money brought during the ſitting of the Parliament; and that nothing was done, ſaid, or offered againſt his Majeſty's Charter of Regulations: So that upon the public Faith, (at leaſt tacitly given) 781 new Adventurers, of which many were Widows and Orphans, did ſubſcribe a large Part of their Subſtance to ſupport this Trade, during a hazardous War, for the Profit and Honour of *England*: And that the new Adventurers, thought they might, without any hazard, ſubſcribe on the Security of a Charter, which was ſo plainly deſigned by his Majeſty to preſerve the *Eaſt-India* Traffick, then in danger of being loſt. That on the 10th of *June*, after the Bill now depending before their Lordſhips was brought in, the Company did agree to ſubmit their preſent Stock to a Valuation of 50 l. *per Cent.* viz. 20 l. *per Cent.* for their dead Stock, and 30 l. *per Cent.* for their quick Stock, when they were contented to warrant at the ſaid Sums: And upon theſe Terms they offered to open their Books for new Subſcriptions, in order to raiſe the Two-millions. That afterwards, in order to aſcertain the Payments of the ſaid Two-millions, they had a general Court on the 20th of *June*; in which they agreed to an immediate Subſcription by private Adventurers of 200,000 l. to be paid at the firſt Payment, ſubject to make good the ſubſequent Payments; which Subſcription was accordingly made. That it has been the common Practice, in Farms, Bargains, and Offers of the like Nature, not to cloſe with a new Propoſal, till the firſt Bidder be aſked, whether he is able to advance further? And that notwithſtanding their Charters, and the Right they had to the Trade, they were early told, their Propoſal ſhould be oppoſed, though they offered the Two-millions in queſtion. And laſtly, that the Bill allowed Foreigners as well as the King's Subjects to ſubſcribe to the Two-millions, whereby they would be let into the Secrets and Myſteries of this Trade, which might produce Effects very pernicious to the general Intereſt of the Nation.

“To this the Council for the new Subſcribers replied, That in the Recital of their Charters, the old Company had omitted to give an Account of the Proviſo's inſerted therein; *viz.* That the reſpective Kings that granted them, reſerved a Power to make them void upon three Years Warning. That the King by his Charter could not grant the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, excluſive of all others; and that ſeveral Recoveries had been made againſt them at Law, for proſecuting ſuch pretended Right. That as the Crown has not a Power to grant ſuch a Right, ſo his preſent Majeſty had not, in fact, granted any ſuch Right excluſive. That when they mentioned the Reſolution of the Commons in 1691, they omitted their other Reſolution, *That it was lawful for all Perſons to trade to the* Eaſt-Indies, *unleſs reſtrained by Act of Parliament.* Neither did they take notice of the two Addreſſes made by the Houſe of Commons to the King in 1691 and 1692, to diſſolve the Company. That on the 14th of *November* 1692, Sir *Edward Seymour* declared to the Commons a Meſſage from his Majeſty, importing, that his Majeſty had required the *Eaſt-India* Company to anſwer directly, whether they would ſubmit to ſuch Regulations as his Majeſty ſhould judge proper and moſt likely to advance the Trade? And the Company having fully agreed to it, and declared their Reſolution in Writing, his Majeſty had commanded a Committee of his Privy-council to prepare Regulations; which they did, and offered them to the Company; but that notwithſtanding their Declaration of Submiſſion, they rejected almoſt all the material Particulars. So that his Majeſty finding that what poſſibly the Houſe of Commons might have expected, and indeed was neceſſary to preſerve this Trade, could not be perfected by his own Authority alone; and that the Company could not be induced to conſent to any ſuch Regulations as might have anſwered the Intentions of the Houſe of Commons, and that the Concurrence of the Parliament was requiſite to make a compleat and uſeful Settlement of this Trade, he had directed all the Proceedings in this Matter to be laid before them; and recommended to them the preparing ſuch a Bill, in order to paſs into an Act of Parliament, as might eſtabliſh this Trade on ſuch Foundations as were moſt likely to preſerve and advance it.” It was alſo urged againſt the old Company, that their Charter being become void by their Non-payment of the Tax impoſed upon them by Parliament, they obtained a new Charter the 7th of *October* 1693, by indirect Means, having that Year paid 80 odd Thouſand Pounds out of the Company's Stock, for ſpecial Service. That this Charter was conteſted before the Queen and Council, by thoſe they called *Interlopers*; upon the hearing whereof it was unanſwerably proved, That the King had not by Law a Power to grant the Trade to ſome Perſons, excluſive of others; and that the Company's Affairs were then in ſuch a Condition, that it would be a plain Cheat to others, that ſhould come in upon their Stock. They however, Law and Reaſon failing, had Recourſe to other Methods, and great Sums of Money were diſtributed (as it was acknowledged before a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament) to get another Charter; but that thoſe who were concerned to adviſe his Majeſty in point of Law, were ſo juſt to their Truſt, as to take care that no Right of Trade, excluſive of others, was granted: And alſo that the Company ſhould ſubmit to ſuch Alterations, Reſtrictions, and Qualifications, as the King ſhould make on the 29th of *September* 1693, following. And ſo on the 17th of *November* 1693, a new Charter of Regulations was made, and another the 28th of *September* 1694; wherein, amongſt other Things, was this Proviſo; *That if it ſhould appear to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that the ſaid two Charters, or any other Charters heretofore granted, ſhould not be profitable to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or to this Realm; that then, and from thenceforth, upon and after three Years warning to be given to the ſaid Company by the King*, &c. *the ſame ſhould ceaſe, be void, and determined.* That it appeared by the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in 1694, how this Charter was obtained, which had more in it of private Promiſes than public Faith: That it was not to be wondered, that the Parliament took no notice of the Matter, whilſt the new Subſcribers paid in their Money, when it was conſidered, that according to Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*'s Depoſitions, there were ſeveral Contracts, ſome to the Value of 60,000 l. on account of procuring a new Charter; and others to the Value of 40,000 l. on account of procuring an Act of Parliament. That by ſuch Means the Matter might be overlooked for a while, but it was not long before the Parliament took public Notice of it; and if the greater Affairs of the Nation had not been ſo urgent, and the Seſſion been ſo near an End, perhaps the Company might have had Juſtice done them then, and had been paſt complaining of any imaginary Injuſtice done them now. That therefore it was plain, that it was not for the Profit and Honour of the Nation, and to ſupport the Trade, that the new Subſcribers came in, but that they were deluded into it by a Charter obtained by indirect Ways, and by the Hopes of an Act of Parliament to confirm it, to be obtained in the ſame Manner. That the Trade would have been much better preſerved, and more to the Honour of the Nation, if no ſuch underhand Practices had been carried on. That if ſome Perſons, thinking themſelves to have a greater Reach than others, or being deceived by the old Company's making his Majeſty believe their Stock to be worth 750,000 l. and by afterwards ſharing 325,000 l. of the new Subſcribers Money among themſelves, or by the Perſons failing them, who had promiſed to get an Act of Parliament, or by Loſſes at Sea, or by what other Means ſoever it were, happened to fail in their Expectation, no body was anſwerable for it but themſelves; eſpecially ſince they had Warning enough by the Tranſactions before the Council.

It was alledged further, that in *Edward* the Third, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reigns, upon Complaint in Parliament of Patents granted for Monopolies, moſt of them were immediately revoked, and the reſt left to the Law. That in King *James* the Firſt's time, an Act of Parliament paſt, to make void a Charter for the ſole Trade to *Spain*, and another againſt all Monopolies. That though the Patents for ſome Trades with Joint-ſtocks (whilſt the Trades for which they were granted were in their Infancy) had been permitted for the Settling of a Trade, and till the firſt Adventurers have reaped ſome reaſonable Compenſation for their firſt Undertaking and Adventures; yet afterwards, when thoſe Trades have increaſed, and become great, the Wiſdom of the Nation has always thought fit to open a Way for the Kingdom to receive a general Benefit thereby. That *it never was eſteemed a Breach of the public Faith, or a Derogation either from the Credit of the Great-ſeal, or from the Honour of our Kings, to have their Patents annulled by Parliament, when the Grants were thought, by that grand Council of the Nation, not to be profitable, or to be* againſt *the* common Right *of the Subject*; and that no King or Queen thought themſelves bound in Honour or Conſcience, not to paſs an Act of Parliament to make void ſuch Patent. That the King being buſied in the many arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, cannot be ſuppoſed to know always what he might legally grant, and is oftentimes deceived in his Grants, and for that Reaſon, they are often annulled by the ordinary Courſe of Law; and ſo might this Company's Patent have been: For all Perſons having a Right by Law to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, unleſs excluded by Parliament, the King, by his Charter, could not grant to the Company any new Right to the Trade, beſides the Privileges of an incorporated Body; but that the Commons, juſtly bearing a high Veneration to his preſent Majeſty, who has run ſo great Hazards, and performed ſo glorious Atchievements for the Honour and Good of the Nation, had notwithſtanding taken care in this Bill, that nothing ſhould interfere with his Majeſty's Patent. That by this Patent, the old Company had indeed Power to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Privileges, but without any expreſs Clauſe to exclude others, or any Covenant, (as was in the former Charters from the Crown) that his Majeſty would not grant likewiſe to others, to trade thither during the Continuance of the ſaid Charters: So that even according to the Charters themſelves, all other Subjects of *England* had a Right to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and many actually traded thither, without any Hindrance. That though the old Company talked ſo much of their Dependance on the Security of their Charters, yet they themſelves were convinced, that their Right was not well founded, ſince they had formerly laid out ſo much Money to get an Act of Parliament to confirm their Charters, and had lately offered to lend 700,000 l. to the Government, to have the Trade to themſelves, excluſive of all others.

As to their offering afterwards to raiſe Two-millions, it was anſwered, that they made no ſuch Offer with an Intention that it ſhould take Effect, but only as an Amuſement to gain Time, and ſo to baffle the Bill; for when they agreed to ſubmit their Stock to the Valuation of 50 l. *per Cent.* they knew very well, that others did not value it at any thing near ſo much: And as to their ſubſcribing 200,000 l. ſubject to make good the ſubſequent Payments of the Two-millions, that it was only to obtain what they had been ſo long aiming at, *viz.* An Act of Parliament, excluſive of the Sum of 200,000 l. whereby the King would be defeated of a much more conſiderable Loan; others delivering us Subſcriptions for about 1,200,000 l. And finally, that the old Company heretofore thought it an Advantage to admit Foreigners into their Trade, and that many were actually now in the preſent Company, though they were pleaſed to argue againſt it.

The Lords weighed the Reaſons on both Sides, and chiefly conſidered that the old Company's Propoſal to lend the Two-millions, was like to prove ineffectual, by reaſon that ſome of their principal Members were known to have no great Affection for the preſent Government; ſo that upon mature Deliberation, their Lordſhips gave their Concurrence to the Bill, which, on *July* the 5th, received the Royal Aſſent.

The Bill being paſſed, the Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty for taking Subſcriptions toward the raiſing of Two Millions, and for ſettling a new *Eaſt-India* Company, laid open their Books at *Mercers-hall*, on *Thurſday* the 14th of *July* 1698. And ſuch was the Zeal which People of all Ranks, and even Foreigners, ſhewed on this Occaſion to aſſiſt the Government, and promote the Trade of the Nation, that on the *Saturday* following, the whole Sum, and ſomething above it, was ſubſcribed. Nay, 'tis very probable that Two Millions more had been ſubſcribed, had not the Books been ſhut up before the diſtant Corporations, private Men in remote Countries, and Merchants beyond Sea could remit their Commiſſions for the great Sums they intended to ſubſcribe. The Diſpatch of ſo great a Work in leſs than three Days time, after the Nation had borne ſo chargeable a War for ſo many Years, ſurprized and amazed all the World: And as it greatly mortified all thoſe who were joyfully aſſured that his Majeſty would be diſappointed of this Supply, ſo it gave our neighbouring Nations an aſtoniſhing Image, both of the Opulence of *England*, and the Strength of the Government. This Tranſaction, viewed in all its Circumſtances, is indeed ſo very ſtrange and wonderful, that the like is not to be found in Hiſtory, and it will be a hard Matter for Poſterity to believe it. This was owing to the Wiſdom of this Parliament, who had ſo much Skill in touching the Springs of the People's Affections, that notwithſtanding all the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, and all the Expence they had been at, they were prevailed with to advance this great Supply with ſuch incredible Expedition.

The new Company's Charter was dated on the 5th of *September* 1698, and thereby they were incorporated by the Name of "The General Society intitled to the Advantages "given by an Act of Parliament for advancing a Sum not "exceeding 2,000000, for the Service of the Crown of "*England*." Whereby the Sum total of all the Subſcriptions was made the principal Stock of the Corporation; and the new Company became inveſted with the ſame Privileges as were granted to the old Company by the Charter of King *Charles* II. However, the old Company was by the Act indulged with Leave to trade to the *Indies* until *Michaelmas* 1701.

The Fund of this new Company became ſo conſiderable, and Subſcriptions were carried on with ſuch Facility, that in leſs than two Years, the Company put to Sea 40 Ships equipped for its Commerce; which was double the Number employed by the old Company in the moſt flouriſhing Times of its Traffic; and they ſent annually, at leaſt, a Million Sterling in Specie to the *Indies*, whereas the old Company had never ſent above 500,000 l.

The two Companies ſubſiſted a few Years in a ſeparate State, when having a due Regard to their common Intereſts, and for the Prevention of ſeveral Inconveniences that might otherwiſe have happened, both to themſelves and the Nation in general, they agreed upon ſeveral Articles for their Union.

Accordingly, in the Year 1702, a new Charter of Union was granted to the two Companies by Queen *Anne*, under the Name of the *United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies*, which was eſſentially the ſame with thoſe of King *Charles* and King *William*; becauſe, by the Union, they adopted all the Regulations made for the Government of the old Company; ſo that the *united Company* ſhould rather be deemed the old Company continued, than a Corporation erected upon a different Eſtabliſhment. Which Charter being ſince expired, another, with new Powers, was granted them till 1730; and, in the 17th Year of King *George* II. was continued until the 25th of *March* 1780; when, on three Years Notice, and Repayment of the capital Stock borrowed by the Government, and the Annuities, the Company's Right to the ſole and excluſive Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* is to ceaſe and determine[a].

In the mean time the *Spaniards* ſhewed great Uneaſineſs at the *Scotch* Settlement on the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*; and even interpreted that Action to be a Breach of the Peace between them and *England*, both Nations being ſubject to the ſame Crown. For though it is well known, that narrow Tract, which unites the two great Continents of North and South *America*, was never conquered by the *Spaniards*, and the *Scots* made a Purchaſe of their Settlement from native Proprietors, and ſettled there by Conſent; ſuch was the Jealouſy of the *Spaniards* at the Arrival of their new Neighbours on that Continent, that it was reſolved, at all Adventures, to drive them away. And in order to this they began to take our Ships; which had its Effect: For the *Engliſh* Merchants ſuffering by theſe Meaſures, grew very uneaſy, and made warm Repreſentations to his Majeſty on this Subject, which produced private Orders to the Governors of *Jamaica*, and to other neighbouring Plantations, not only to avoid all Commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*, but even to deny them Proviſions. And as it was foreſeen that theſe Meaſures would naturally occaſion great Diſturbances in that Part of the World, it was found requiſite to ſend a Squadron thither to protect our Trade, to awe the *Spaniards*, and to hinder the Increaſe of Pirates[b].

Rear-admiral *Bembow* was made choice of to command this Squadron, which conſiſted of three Fourth-rates, the *Glouceſter*, the *Falmouth*, and the *Dunkirk*, and a ſmall *French* Prize called the *Germoon*. He was directed firſt to call at the *Leeward Iſlands*, and there to diſpoſe of Colonel *Collingwood*'s Regiment, as the Council at *Mevis* ſhould judge moſt proper; for, by the Death of General *Codrington*, the ſole Management of the Affairs of thoſe Iſlands devolved on them.

This being done, he was to bend his Courſe directly to *Jamaica*, and having remained there as long as it ſhould be judged neceſſary for the publick Service, he was to viſit *Barbadoes* and the *Carribbee Iſlands*, and ſo to employ the Ships under his Command, from time to time, as might be moſt proper, for the Defence of the Plantations and Trade, as aforeſaid.

And ſince the Government was informed, that one *Kidd*, who ſailed from *England* a conſiderable time before, on a private Account, in a Ship called the *Adventure-Gally*, with a Commiſſion, under the Great-ſeal, and Power to ſeize on Pirates, and their Effects, had ſo far broke his Inſtructions, and indeed the real and only Deſign of his Voyage, as to commit ſeveral notorious Piracies himſelf, the Rear-admiral was particularly charged to make diligent Enquiry after him, and to ſeize on, and ſecure his Perſon, together with his Men, Ship, and Effects, that ſo they might be brought to deſerved Puniſhment.

He ſailed from *Portſmouth* the 29th of *November*, and having put into *Madeira* for Wine and other Refreſhments, he reached *Barbadoes* the 27th of *February*. From thence he proceeded to *Mevis*, and ſteering his Courſe to the Continent, made the high Land of *St. Martha*, and ſo to *Carthagena*, and coming before *Boca Chica* Caſtle, he ſent his Men on-ſhore for Wood and Water, which though he aſked with great Civility of the *Spaniſh* Governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take[c]. This highly nettled the Admiral, who thereupon ſent his own Lieutenant to the Governor, with a Meſſage importing that he not only wanted theſe Neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for two *Engliſh* Ships that lay in the Harbour, and had been detained there ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by Force. The Governor anſwered him in very reſpectful Terms, that if he would leave his preſent Station, in which he ſeemed to block up their Port, the Ships ſhould be ſent out to him. With this Requeſt the Admiral, without the leaſt Heſitation, complied; but finding the Governor trifled with him, and that his Men were in Danger of falling into the Country-diſtemper, which doubtleſs the *Spaniſh* Governor forſaw, he ſent him another Meſſage, that if in 24 Hours the Ships were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an Opportunity of ſeeing what Reſpect an *Engliſh* Officer had to his Word. The *Spaniard*, however, did not think fit to make the Experiment, but ſent out the Ships within the time; with which the Admiral returned to *Jamaica*, where the Governor and Merchants entreated him to ſail to *Porto-Bello*, to demand Satisfaction of the *Spaniards*, for ſeveral Depredations which they had committed on their Ships, Goods, and Men. He ſailed accordingly, with the *Glouceſter*, *Falmouth*, *Lynn*, and *Saudadoes* Prize, and arrived there the 22d of *March*. Upon his Demand of Satisfaction, the Admiral of the *Barlovento* Fleet, at whoſe Inſtigation theſe Depredations had been chiefly committed, gave him a rough Anſwer, and alledged the Attempts of the *Scotch*, whoſe Intereſt he accounted to be the ſame with that of *England*, as a Reaſon for it. Then after many Altercations, and when the *Spaniards* ſaw that the Colony at *Darien* received no Aſſiſtance from *Jamaica*, the Ships were with much to do reſtored.

Admiral *Bembow* returned to *Jamaica*, where having Advice of the Arch-pirate Captain *Kidd*, he put to Sea in queſt of him; but without Succeſs. He then, at the Requeſt of the Council of *Mevis*, ſailed for the *Daniſh* Iſland of *St. Thomas*, which was become the Receptacle of Pirates, and to expoſtulate with the Governor about his ſetting up *Daniſh* Colours on *Crab Iſland*, belonging to *England*, and for harbouring Captain *Kidd*. However, as his Inſtructions would not warrant his uſing Force on this Occaſion, the Admiral could make nothing of this Expedition; and, therefore, towards the End of *October* he ſteered for *St. Domingo*, where he ſent in the *Maidſtone*[d], to demand an *Engliſh* Sloop taken by the *Spaniards*; but could not prevail for its Releaſe; ſo that he made the beſt of his Way for *Jamaica*, where he had an Account of the *South-Sea-Caſtle*, Captain *Stepney*, and the *Biddeford*, Captain *Searl*, one a Fifth, and the other a Sixth-rate being loſt on *Point Bayne,* near the Iſle of *Aſb*, in their Paſſage from *England* to *Jamaica.*

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[a] To the 2,000,000l. advanced by the new Company to William III. the United Company, in the 6th of Queen Anne, lent the Government 1,200,000l. more, which made their whole Loan amount to 3,200,000l. being what may properly be called the capital Stock of the Company: The firſt Loan of 2,000,000l. was ſecured by the Government out of the Duties upon Salt, and the additional Stamp-duties, granted in the 9th and 10th Years of William III. chargeable with the Payment of 160,000l. as a Yearly Fund for paying the Intereſt at 8 per Cent. but by the Act of the 3d of George II. this Annuity of 160,000l. was reduced to 128,000l. and transferred as a Charge upon the aggregate Fund; and in 1749, it was reduced to 3½ per Cent. until Chriſtmas 1757, and after that to 3 per Cent. But, beſides this 3,200,000l. there is 1,000000 more due by the Public to this Company, being lent by them at 3 per Cent. in the ſaid 17th Year of his preſent Majeſty. In regard to the Œconomy and Policy of this Company, all Perſons, without Exception, are admitted Members thereof, as well Foreigners as Natives, Men and Women; with this Circumſtance, that 500l. in the Stock of the Company, gives the Owner a Vote in the general Courts, and 2000l. qualifies him to be choſen a Director. The Directors are 24 in Number, including the Chairman and Deputy-chairman, who may be re-elected for four Years ſucceſſively. They have Salaries of 150l. a Year, and the Chairman 200l. The Meetings, or Courts of Directors, are to be held, at leaſt, once a Week; but are commonly oftener, being ſummoned as Occaſion requires. Out of the Body of Directors are choſen divers Committees, who have the peculiar Inſpection of certain Branches of the Company's Buſineſs; as the Committee of Correſpondence, Committee of Buying, Committee of the Treaſury, Committee of Warehouſes, Committee of Shipping, Committee of Accounts, Committee of Private Trade, Committee of the Houſe, and Committee to prevent the Growth of Private Trade.
This Company is not only granted an excluſive Privilege of Trade to the Indies, and other extraordinary Conceſſions from the Government, by their Charter, but there are ſeveral Acts of Parliament made in its Behalf, whereby all the Britiſh Subjects are reſtrained from going to the Eaſt-Indies, but in virtue of a Licence, granted by the Company, to ſuch who are called free Merchants, and trade in the Indies from Port to Port.—The Britiſh Subjects, likewiſe, are prohibited from procuring, or acting under any foreign Commiſſion, for ſailing to, or trading there; or from ſubſcribing to, or promoting any foreign Company, for trading there, under ſevere Penalties.

[b] Kennet, Burnet, State-tracts in the Time of King William, and particularly a little Treatiſe, entitled, An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the Miſcarriage of the Scots Colony of Darien, 8vo. 1700, which is not printed in the Folio Collection of Tracts before-mentioned.

[c] London Gazette, No. 3450.

[d] On the 22d of November 1699.

At *Jamaica* he found a Supply of Proviſions, and ſoon after received Orders, firſt [a] to conſult with the Governor what might be done for the publick Service, with the Ships under his Command; and, if he himſelf judged it practicable, he was to range along the Coaſt, between the Gulph of *Florida* and *Newfoundland*, to free thoſe Parts from Pirates; and then to return home.

He, therefore, left the *Saudadoes* Prize and *Germoen*, for the Service of the Iſland, in the Room of the two Men of War which were loſt, and with the *Glouceſter, Falmouth, Lynn, Shoreham, Maidſtone,* and *Rupert* Prize, ſet ſail for *New-England*; and being near the *Havanna*, ſent the *Falmouth* from thence to *England*, becauſe he thought her too weak to be truſted in the Seas about *New England.* He arrived the 20th of *April* 1700, on the Coaſt of *New-England*, where he got Advice, that Captain *Kidd* had been ſent to *England* from thence, ſome time before, by the Earl of *Bellamont* Governor of that Country, in the *Advice*, a Fourth-rate Frigate, with conſiderable Riches, though not the Moiety of his ill gotten Goods, the reſt having been lodged in the Hands of Perſons unknown.

On the 4th of *May* the King went to the Houſe, and paſſed ſuch Bills as were ready for the Royal Aſſent, among which, in one, Proviſion was made; "That 15,000 Men "be employed for a Summer and Winter-guard of the "Sea, for the Year 1699, which ſhould conſiſt of Sea-"men only." And then prorogued the Parliament, who in an Addreſs to his Majeſty concerning certain Miſmanagements [b] in the Navy, had repreſented that the *Straights* Squadron not ſailing 'till *September* laſt was prejudicial to *England*, and a great Miſmanagement. That the Orders made by the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the 12th of *September* 1695, giving *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; an Allowance of 10 Shillings *per diem*, from the Date of his Commiſſion, as Commander in Chief before *Salee*, in the Year 1684, 'till the Ship *Bonaventure* was paid off, over and above his Pay, as Captain of the ſaid Ship, was very unreaſonable, and a Miſapplication of the Publick Money. That the victualing any of his Majeſty's Ships, by others than by the Victualers appointed for that Service, or their Agents, was contrary to the Courſe of the Navy, and might be of ill Conſequence. That many and new unneceſſary Charges had, in an extraordinary Manner, been introduced into the Navy, which was a great Miſmanagement. That the Deductions of Poundage, taken by the Pay-maſters of the Navy for Slop-cloths; Dead-mens-wages, Tobacco, Cheſt at *Chatham*, Chaplain and Surgeon, was without Warrant, and ought to be accounted for. That it was inconſiſtent with the Service of the Navy, for the ſame Perſon to be one of the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, and Treaſurer of the Navy at the ſame time. And that the paſſing of any Account of Monies impreſſed for the contingent Uſes of the Navy, without regular Vouchers, or ſuch other Proofs as the Nature of the Service would admit, either with or without a Sign Manual, was contrary to the Rules and Methods of the Navy, and of dangerous Conſequence. All which they begged Leave to lay before his Majeſty, deſiring that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take effectual Care, that the Miſmanagements herein complained of might be prevented for the future.

This Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons was chiefly levelled againſt the Earl of *Orford*, who was both Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and who, it was believed, had been a great Gainer by his late Expedition in the *Mediterranean*; though it was likewiſe thought by many, that the Riches he acquired there proceeded from Preſents he received from the States he protected, and not from any under-hand Practices. However, his Lordſhip, ſeeing what a Storm was gathering againſt him, thought it Prudence to retreat, and lay down all his Employs: And thereupon a new Commiſſion of Admiralty paſſed, in which the Earl of *Bridgewater*, the Lord *Haverſham*, Sir *Robert Rich*, Sir *George Rooke*, and Sir *David Mitchel*, were conſtituted Commiſſioners. And thus Things were twiſted about, rather as the Intereſt and Influences of Parties required, than as was fitteſt for the public Service, which, though always pretended in Speeches and Addreſſes, yet this was ſo viſibly a Cloak for the pernicious Deſigns of Party, that we may ſafely aſſert, private Intereſt was never more conſidered than at this Time, when nothing was ſo much talked of as public Spirit.

The Appointments for the Sea-ſervice had been expended chiefly in ſending Admiral *Bembow*, as mentioned above; and Vice-admiral *Aylmer* into the *Mediterranean*, for the Security of the Trade to *Turky* and *Italy*, and to confirm the Treaties with the Governments of *Algiers, Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, which he performed very effectually; for, being a Man of a generous Temper, he executed all Things with ſuch Magnificence, and treated the Deputies ſent onboard him in a Manner ſo well ſuited to their Tempers, that they were eaſily drawn to do thoſe Things for him, which an Officer of another Diſpoſition would never have obtained [c]. It was intended too that he ſhould have ſecured the Galloons, in caſe the *French* attempted to ſeize them on the Death of the King of *Spain*, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no-body pretended to fix any Imputation on his Character in this reſpect, yet there was great Blame laid on the Board of Admiralty, for not fitting out this Fleet ſooner. This, among many other Things, made up Part of the Charge brought againſt the Management of the Navy by the Houſe of Commons, in their Addreſs to the King, recited above.

Captain *Andrew Leake*, and after him Captain *Stafford Fairborn*, were ſent to *Newfoundland* for the Security of our Fiſhery there, and to convoy our Ships from thence to *Portugal* and the *Mediterranean*, and back again.

Another ſmall Squadron was ſent to the *Eaſt-Indies*, under the Command of Captain *Thomas Warren*, for the greater Security of that rich Trade, and ſuppreſſing Pirates in thoſe Parts.

He, with others, jointly commiſſioned, under the Great-ſeal, had Power to treat with that Neſt of Sea-robbers, who were ſtrongly ſettled on the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, his Majeſty having iſſued his royal Declaration of Pardon, if they would ſurrender themſelves: But thoſe hardned Villains were ſo wedded to their looſe Life, that his Majeſty's gracious Intentions towards them prevailed but on very few to lay hold thereof; nor was it in the Power of our Ships of War to force them to it.

After theſe Ships had continued a long Time there, to the great Expence of the Public, and Captain *Warren* dying, they returned, under the Command of Captain *James Littleton*, who had the good Fortune to burn or deſtroy ſome of the Ships belonging to theſe Pirates in their lurking Holes.

As for Pirates in general, his Majeſty ſoon after iſſued his royal Proclamation, promiſing not only Pardon, but a Reward to ſuch as would diſcover their Ring-leaders, ſo as they might be apprehended, and brought to Puniſhment; nay, even ſuch as would voluntarily ſurrender themſelves were likewiſe aſſured of the King's Mercy; and this had, in a great meaſure, the deſired Effect; for though few or none came in, yet they grew ſo jealous one of another, that rarely any of them attempted to diſturb the Seas for many Years.

About the latter End of *March* of this Year [d], a Pirate of 20 Guns, and 120 Men, appeared upon the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and took two *London* Ships; but the *Shoreham*, one of his Majeſty's Ships, arriving there about the ſame time, Governor *Nicholſon*, with ſeveral other Perſons, went on-board her (ſhe being but weakly manned when ſhe arrived) and went in Purſuit of the Pirate, which they engagad, and after ten Hours Fight, took her, and retook her Prizes, with a ſmall Loſs.

Another ſmall Squadron was ſent before *Sallee*, in the Kingdom of *Fez*, under the Command of Captain *John Munden*, to cruiſe againſt the Pirates of *Barbary*, eſpecially thoſe of that Port. He was alſo empowered to negotiate a Truce with them, and Captain *George Delaval* was,

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[a] Burchett. [b] Hiſtory of King William III. [c] London Gazette, No. 3417. [d] 1700.

at the ſame time, employed to treat for the Redemption of our Captives, wherein he had very good Succeſs. There was a general Contribution throughout *England* for the Benefit of thoſe miſerable Chriſtians, many of whom ſuffered for a long Time, under the intolerable Hardſhips of Slavery; ſo that, by what was ſo collected, and what the Government advanced towards this charitable Deſign, a great Number received their Liberty, who were brought in a decent Proceſſion through the City of *London*, where a Sermon was preached to them, at the Church of *St. Mary le Bow*, ſuitable to the Occaſion.

Having mentioned *Kidd*, whoſe Piracies furniſhed the diſcontented Party with ample Matter for three or four Years, to degrade the Integrity of ſome of the beſt Men in the Adminiſtration, it will be neceſſary, before we proceed to the naval Tranſactions of another Year, to give an Abſtract of this Caſe.

There had been, for many Years, loud and very juſt Complaints of Piracies in the *Weſt-Indies*, which, for the Sake of the Profit made by purchaſing their ill-gotten Goods, had met with too much Encouragement from the Inhabitants of ſeveral of our Plantations. This induced King *William*, in the Year 1695, to declare the Earl of *Bellamont*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, and a Perſon of very great Worth and Honour, Governor of *New-York*, and of *New-England*, believing him to be a proper Perſon to reſtrain ſuch Miſchiefs, and in time to put an end to the Complaints made about them. After he was raiſed to this Station, and before he ſet out for his Government, he began to enquire, as to the moſt proper Methods, for extinguiſhing theſe Abuſes, and repreſented it to one Colonel *Levingſton*, a Gentleman of conſiderable Property in *New-York*, as a thing which nearly concerned the Honour of that Plantation. The Colonel mentioned to his Lordſhip, one Captain *William Kidd*, who was lately arrived from *New-York*, in a Sloop of his own, as a brave bold Fellow, who knew moſt of the Pirates Haunts, and might therefore be employed againſt them with great Probability of Succeſs. The Earl readily approved the Scheme, and knowing how much the King had the Buſineſs at Heart, mentioned it to his Majeſty, who applauded the Deſign, and recommended it to the Board of Admiralty. But the public Affairs being then in a perplexed Situation, and great Difficulties found in manning the Fleet, the Board, though they ſignified their Approbation of the Thing, thought fit to lay it aſide [a].

Colonel *Levingſton*, having exact Information of all that had paſſed, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the Earl of *Bellamont*, and offered an Amendment to his firſt Project. He obſerved, that this was a Thing which would admit of no Delay; and, ſince the Public could not immediately bear the Expence, or conſequently undertake the intended Expedition, it might not be amiſs if ſome few Perſons of Diſtinction ſhould venture on carrying it into Execution at their own Expence. This too was attended with much Difficulty, but at laſt it was agreed, that the Lord Chancellor, (then Lord *Somers*) the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, the Earl of *Romney*, the Earl of *Orford*, and ſome other Perſons, together with Colonel *Levingſton* and *Kidd*, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole Undertaking, ſhould raiſe 6000 l. for the Expence of the Voyage [b]. Captain *Kidd* had a Commiſſion in the common Form, to take and ſeize Pirates, and bring them to Juſtice, without any ſpecial Clauſe or Proviſo whatever. He knew none of the Adventurers but the Lord *Bellamont*, who introduced him to the Earl of *Orford*, and another Perſon carried him to the Earl of *Romney*. As for the reſt, he never ſaw them; and ſo little was there of Secrecy or Management in this Buſineſs, that he had no Inſtructions, either Public or Private; only the Earl of *Bellamont* gave him ſailing Orders, in which he was directed to act according to the Letter of his Commiſſion.

Captain *William Kidd* ſailed in the *Adventure*-galley, towards the End of the Year 1695, for *New-York*, and in his way took a *French* Prize. From thence he ſailed to *Madeira*, thence to *Bonaviſta* and *St. Jago*, from whence he proceeded to *Madagaſcar*, and from thence he cruized at the Entrance of the *Red-Sea*; but effecting nothing, he ſailed to *Callicut*, and took a Ship of 150 Tons; the Maſter, and three or four of the Crew, were *Dutchmen*, the reſt *Moors*: This Ship he carried to *Madagaſcar*; from thence he ſailed again, and about five Weeks after took the *Quedah-Merchant* of 400 Tons: the Maſter was one *Wright*, an *Engliſhman*. She had on-board two *Dutch* Mates, and a *French* Gunner; the Crew were *Moors*, in all about 90 Perſons [c]. The Ship he carries to *St. Mary's*, near *Madagaſcar*, and there he ſhared the Goods with his Crew, taking 40 Shares to his own Uſe. Here 90 of his Crew, who were 151 in all, left him, and went on-board the *Mocha-Merchant*, an *Eaſt-India*-Company-Ship, which had turned Pirate.

He and his Men burnt his own Ship, the *Adventure*-galley, at *St. Mary's*, and they all went on-board the *Quedah-Merchant*, and ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*. Being denied Succour at *Anguilla* and *St. Thomas's*, he ſailed to *Mona*, lying between *Porto-Rico* and *Hiſpaniola*, and there, by the Means of one *Bolton*, got ſome Proviſions from *Caracoa*. He bought a Sloop of *Bolton*, in which he loaded Part of his Goods, and left the *Quedah-Merchant*, with the reſt of the Goods, in truſt with *Bolton*, and 17 or 18 Men in her. In this Sloop he touched at ſeveral Places, and diſpoſed of a great Part of his Goods, and at laſt came to *Boſton* in *New-England*, where the Earl of *Bellamont* ſeized him, and what Goods he had left. His Lordſhip ſent Advice of his taking *Kidd* to *England*, and deſired that a Ship might be ſent to bring him home; but the *Rocheſter*, which was the Ship employed in this Service, being diſabled, was forced to return, which heightened the Clamour that had been already raiſed about this Tranſaction, and induced ſome warm Men to put a Queſtion in the Houſe of Commons, "That "the Letters Patent granted to the Earl of *Bellamont*, and "others, of Pirates Goods, were diſhonourable to the King, "againſt the Law of Nations, contrary to the Laws and "Statutes of this Realm, an Invaſion of Property, and "deſtructive to Commerce." This was carried in the Negative; but it did not hinder thoſe who ſupported the Queſtion, from charging Lord *Somers* and the Earl of *Orford* with countenancing Pirates; and, as ſoon as *Kidd* was arrived, a Motion was made, and carried in the Houſe of Commons, for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, that *Kidd* might not be tried till the next Seſſion of Parliament, and that the Earl of *Bellamont* might be directed to ſend home all Examinations, and other Papers relating to this Buſineſs; which the King promiſed very readily [d].

This Spirit was ſtill ſo prevalent in the Houſe of Commons, that even after making ſome Enquiries into this Fact, and having not only his Examination, but *Kidd* himſelf in their Power, whom they ordered to be brought to their Bar, and queſtioned him there; yet when they afterwards found an Opportunity of attacking the Earl of *Orford* and Lord *Somers* by Impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their Encouragement of *Kidd* as Part of the Charge. In the Articles againſt the Earl of *Orford*, they make the fifth and ſixth.

Theſe Articles were agreed to by the Houſe of Commons, on the 8th of *May* 1701, the very Day that *Kidd* was brought upon his Trial for Piracy at the *Old-Baily*, where he was convicted, with many of his Companions, and ſoon after executed; but could never be prevailed upon, as weak and as bad a Man as he was, to charge any of the noble Perſons, who were his Owners, with having any thing to do with his Proceedings. Yet even after his Death, the Commons, in an Impeachment by them preferred againſt *John* Lord *Somers*, charge him as Lord-keeper of the Great-ſeal of *England*, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Orford*, Firſt-commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and *Richard* Earl of *Bellamont*, Governor of *New-York* and of *New-England*, and others then in great Stations and in high Power and Authority, for ſealing a Commiſſion to one *William Kidd*, a Perſon of evil Fame and Reputation, ſince convicted of Piracy, and with procuring a Grant of Pirates Goods to be taken by the ſaid *William Kidd*, under colour of the ſaid Commiſſion, in truſt for himſelf and other Perſons, with Abundance more to the ſame Purpoſe, intended purely to hurt that Lord's Character, and render it impoſſible for his Majeſty to employ him longer in his Service; though his Lordſhip, conſcious of his own Innocence, took every Meaſure poſſible, to have this Matter brought to a fair, open, and ſpeedy Trial[a].

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[a] Biſhop Burnet, and Mr. Oldmixon, have both inſiſted pretty largely on this Matter.

[b] See an impartial Account of the Affair of Captain Kidd, 4to.

[c] This is taken from his Trial, and other authentic Accounts of him.

[d] Kennet, Burnet, Burchett, Oldmixon, Life of King William, &c.

Towards the End of the Year 1699, a private Treaty was diſcovered in the North, between the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the King of *Poland*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Wolſenbuttel*, to diſmember the *Swediſh* Monarchy during the Minority of *Charles* XII. This was an Alliance founded entirely upon Intereſt, for the *Swedes* had done nothing to deſerve this Treatment, and, therefore, upon the firſt breaking out of this Confederacy, his *Swediſh* Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to King *William* and the *States-General*, as Guarantees of the Treaties made for ſecuring the Tranquillity of the North, by preſerving there a proper Balance of Power. At firſt it was thought requiſite to interpoſe only our good Offices. But when the the King of *Denmark* over-ran *Holſtein*, and the King of *Poland* firſt attempted to ſurprize and then beſieged *Riga* in *Livonia*, it became neceſſary to take other Meaſures. In Conſequence of this Reſolution Sir *George Rooke*, Admiral of the Fleet, received Orders in the Month of *November*, to take upon him the Command of a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, which were to be joined by ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, and afterwards by the *Swediſh* Fleet in the *Baltick*, in order to compoſe theſe Differences. Sir *George* was not only to command our Ships of War, but thoſe of the *States-General*, at the Head whereof was Lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*; and having received ſuch Orders from his Majeſty, as were judged proper for the deſigned Expedition, he ſailed towards the Coaſt of *Holland*, to join the *Dutch* Ships, which were one of 94 Guns, four of 72, five of 64, two of 56, and one of 54, with two Fire-ſhips, and three Frigates: And our Squadron conſiſted of one Ship of 80 Guns, two of 70, and ſeven of 50, with two Frigates, and one Fire-ſhip, beſides Bomb-veſſels.

About the middle of *May* he arrived at the *Hague*, where conferring with the Penſioner, and the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, as alſo with Admiral *Allemonde*, and our Envoy Mr. *Stanhope*, it was determined, that the Place for joining the *Dutch* Ships, ſhould be off of *Egmont op Zee*, about three Leagues Southward of the *Texel*; but that, if they did not all arrive in eight Days, he ſhould proceed to *Gottenburg*, and leave Orders for the reſt to follow. From thence they were to ſteer their Courſe as a Council of War ſhould think moſt adviſeable, upon the Intelligence of the Readineſs of the *Swediſh* Fleet, and the Anſwer which the Miniſters of the King of *Denmark* ſhould make to the Declaration of his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and the reſt of the Guarantees, for adhering to the Treaty of *Altena*.

Admiral *Allemonde* joined Sir *George Rooke*, the 24th of *May*, off of *Scheveling*, with five Ships of the Line, a Frigate, a Fire-ſhip; and two Bomb-veſſels, and ſoon after Rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen* came to the Fleet, with the reſt of the *Dutch* Ships; upon which the united Fleet ſailed for *Gottenburg*, off of which Place they arrived the 8th of *June*. Here it was determined, in a Council of War, to advance towards the *Sound*, though they were informed the *Daniſh* Fleet was ſo ſtationed, that they might be able to make ſome Oppoſition, and ſo indeed they found them at their Arrival there. He found them to be 28 Sail, proper for the Line of Battle, and that they were ranged athwart the narrow Paſſage, under the Guns of their Caſtle of *Cronenberg*, oppoſite to *Helſingburg*; and here he received Aſſurance from Count *Watchmeiſter*, Admiral-general of *Sweden*, that he would take the very firſt Opportunity of joining him, with the Squadron under his Command.

Not long after a Signal was made, as had been agreed, from *Helſingburg*, that the *Daniſh* Fleet was under ſail, whereupon our Admiral weighed, and advanced into the *Sound*, to prevent any Miſchief which might otherwiſe happen to the *Swedes*; but the *Daniſh* Ships anchored again on this Side of the *Grounds*, not only to guard the Paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the *Swediſh* Squadron, which was now come down to the South Side of that Channel.

The Fleets continued in this Poſture for ſome time, and Sir *George Rooke* expected the *Swedes* would have puſhed through; but they having miſſed an Opportunity, which offered, he got under ſail, and came near to the Iſland of *Ween*, while the *Danes* plied towards him in a Line of Battle; but about Noon they anchored about three Leagues off, at the Entrance of the Channel which leads to *Copenhagen*, and the *Swedes* were on the other Side of the *Grounds*, at about the ſame Diſtance. The *Danes* then endeavoured to amuſe the Admiral with an Account of a Treaty, in hopes that, while it was negotiated, he would ſuſpend Hoſtilities; but he purſued the Spirit of his Inſtructions, which required him to promote, not a Negotiation, but a Peace; and, therefore, being informed that the *Swediſh* Fleet had paſſed the Channel of *Flinterena* on the 3d of *July*, he ſailed the next Day, and anchoring off *Landſcroon*, the *Swediſh* Fleet joined him on the 6th[b]; upon which the *Danes* retired into their Harbour, where they were very well ſecured; and though the united Fleets reſolved, in a Council of War, to bombard them; and four Bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and the ſame Night threw in about 140 Shells; yet either they could not, or would not, do them much Miſchief[c].

The Confederate Fleet conſiſted of 52 Ships of the Line; but as ſo great a Strength was not neceſſary to keep in the *Danes*, Part was detached for other Purpoſes, for there were ſent to *Gottenburg* a Fourth and a Fifth-rate of the *Engliſh*, and three Ships of the *States-General*, to cover the Forces which the King of *Sweden* intended to tranſport to *Tonnengen*, on the River of *Eyder*, and three *Engliſh*, with ſix *Swediſh*, together with three *Dutch* Ships, were ordered into the South Channel going into *Copenhagen*, with the Bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the *Daniſh* Fleet ſome Hours, but not with much greater Succeſs than before; nor did thoſe on our Side receive any Damage from their Shells, or the Shot from the Town, the Ships and the Pontoons.

Preparations were now making to beſiege the City in Form, and the young King of *Sweden* landed about the latter end of *July*, with a Body of Troops, for that Purpoſe. This quick Motion was intended to accelerate the Negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the deſired Effect; for the *Danes*, exceſſively alarmed at ſo unexpected a Proceeding, ſent Orders to their Plenipotentiaries at *Travendale*, to ſign the Preliminaries on the Terms propoſed by the Mediators; and this being ſignified to Sir *George Rooke*, he refuſed to let the combined Fleet cover any longer the Deſcent of the *Swedes*, there being enough already done to ſecure a Peace, which was ſigned on the 18th of *Auguſt* 1700, which left the King of *Sweden* at Liberty to act againſt the *Czar* and the King of *Poland*, who had both invaded his Dominions in this critical Juncture[d].

The Year 1700 was alſo remarkable for the Death of *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, on the 1ſt of *November* N. S. which involved *Europe* in a new War with *France*: *Lewis* XIV. having, contrary to the *Treaty of Partition*, acknowledged his Grandſon, the Duke of *Anjou*, King of *Spain*, by the Name of *Philip* V. under the Cover of a Will, procured about a Month before, from the half-dead Monarch of *Spain*.

His Majeſty, though he was highly concerned at theſe Proceedings of the *French* Court, forebore to ſhew his Reſentment, till he was in a Condition to revenge himſelf: And in this critical Juncture he diſſolved his Parliament, which had paſſed ſeveral Acts in regard to the Marine; particularly thoſe which had any regard to naval Affairs were the following: An Act for the more effectual

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[a] This Affair went off by the Lords appointing a Day for the Trial of the Peers, and the Commons refuſing to be preſent at that Trial, or to make any Proofs.

[b] The Swediſh Ships, which joined the Engliſh and Dutch, were three of 80 Guns, one of 76, one of 74, ſeven of 70, four of 64, one of 62, two of 56, three of 54, three of 52, and four of 50, with three Frigates, five Fire-ſhips, and one Bomb-veſſel, and with them there were three Admirals, two Vice-admirals, and three Rear-admirals; ſo that the whole combined Fleet conſiſted of 52 Ships, which might be reckoned of the Line, from 94 Guns to 52, beſides ſmaller Veſſels.

[c] Kennet, Burchett, Burnet, Le Clerc, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. &c.

[d] Preſent State of Europe, Life of King William, Le Clerc, &c.

Suppreſſion of Piracy; and an Act for the appointing Commiſſioners to take, examine, and determine the Debts due to the Army and Navy, and for Tranſport-ſervices; and alſo an Account of the Prizes taken during the late War. And by a Vote of the Houſe of Commons, addreſſed his Majeſty, that the whole double Pay, then allowed to the Officers of the Fleet, ſhould be retrenched according to the following Table, propoſed by the Lords of the Admiralty; by which near one Third of their Pay was taken away: and the ſame was approved of by his Majeſty in Council [a].

The whole Pay.	*Now allowed.*			*Propoſed.*		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
To the Admiral of the Fleet, *per Diem*,	6			5		
White,	4			3	10	
Blue,	4			3	10	
Vice-admirals,	3			2	10	
Rear-admirals,	2			1	15	
Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet,	2			1	15	
Captains of the Firſt-rates,	1	10		1		
Second	1	4			16	
Third	1				13	6
Fourth		15			10	
Fifth		12			8	
Sixth		10			6	
Lieutenants of Firſt-rates,		6			5	
Second		6			5	
Third		5			4	
Fourth		5			4	
Fifth		5			4	
Sixth		5			4	
Maſters of Firſt-Rates, *per menſ.*	14			9	2	
Second	12	12		8	8	
Third	9	7	4	6	6	
Fourth	8	12	4	5	12	
Fifth	7	15		5	2	8
Sixth	6	12		4	13	4

Surgeons to have their preſent Allowance of Sea-pay.

That over and above the Eſtabliſhment of Men to each Ship, there be allowed as Servants to the Flag-officers, as under, *viz.*

To the	Admiral,	50	Men for their Flags.
	Admirals of the White and Blue,	30	
	Vice-admirals,	20	
	Rear-admirals,	15	

To an Admiral Jack-flag, and to Vice and Rear-admirals wearing that Flag, the ſame Number as to thoſe of Squadrons.

That four Men of each 100, of the Ship's Company, be allowed to Captains, as Servants.

That all Volunteers and Midſhip-men extraordinary, and their Servants, be Supernumeraries.

That a competent Number of Sea-officers be always ſupported a-ſhore, ready for the Service, *viz.*

One Admiral of the Fleet, at £. 2 10 a Day.

One Admiral of the White, and another of the Blue, at £. 1 15 a Day each.

Three Vice-admirals, at £. 1 15 a Day each.

Three Rear-admirals, and the Captain to the Admiral, at £. 0 17 6 a Day each.

Fifty Captains, who have ſerved the laſt War, according to their Seniority, 20 of which at 10 s. and thirty at 8 s. a Day each.

One Hundred Lieutenants as above, 40 at £. 0 2 6. and 60 at £. 0 2 0. a Day each.

Thirty Maſters as above, 15 at £. 0 2 6. and 15 at £. 0 2 0. a Day each.

At which Rate the whole Charge will only amount to £. 18,113 per Annum.

That Sum to be placed on the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy, and to commence the 1ſt of *January* of this Year.

Only ſuch Officers as have been put in by the Admiralty or Navy-board to enjoy that Benefit.

None to be entitled to it, who have left the Service without Permiſſion, or been diſmiſſed for any Miſdemeanor.

No Officer, in the Merchant's Service, or other publick Employment, to enjoy that Benefit; but to be ready, at all times, on a Call.

Flag-officers and Captains to aſſiſt at fitting out Ships.

This Number to be always ſupplied by the next in Order, upon the Death or Removal of an Officer.

A new Parliament was called to meet on the 6th of *February*, which his Majeſty opened on the 10th, after a Prorogation of 4 Days, with a moſt gracious Speech, wherein, after recommending a Proviſion for the Succeſſion to the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line, he proceeds thus: "The "Death of the King of *Spain*, with the Declaration of his "Succeſſor to that Monarchy, has made ſo great an Alte"ration in the Affairs abroad, that I muſt deſire you very "maturely to conſider their preſent State; and I make no "doubt but your Reſolutions thereupon will be ſuch, as "ſhall be moſt conducing to the Intereſt and Safety of "*England*, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion in "general, and Peace of all *Europe*.

"I am obliged further to recommend to you, that you "would inſpect the Condition of the Fleet, and conſider "what Repairs or Augmentations may be requiſite for the "Navy, which is the great Bulwark of the *Engliſh* Na"tion, and ought at this Conjuncture moſt eſpecially to "be put into a good Condition; and that you would alſo "conſider, what is proper for the better Security of thoſe "Places where the Ships are laid up in Winter."

On the 14th, upon reading his Majeſty's Speech, the Commons came to this Reſolution; "That they would "ſtand by, and ſupport his Majeſty and his Government, "and take ſuch effectual Meaſures as may beſt conduce to "the Intereſt and Safety of *England*, the Preſervation of "the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of *Europe*."

The Houſe of Lords addreſſed his Majeſty much in the ſame Terms; and concluded, with requeſting his Majeſty; "That ſuch a Fleet might ſpeedily be fitted out, as he, "in his great Wiſdom ſhould think neceſſary, for the "Defence of himſelf and Kingdoms." Theſe Reſolutions gave great Weight to the King's Negotiations abroad: However his Majeſty thought it Prudence to keep the *French* at Bay, by a faint Negotiation; and, the better to cover his true Intention, acknowledged the Duke *d'Anjou*, and ſent him a Congratulatory Letter.

Yet a War was become neceſſary, notwithſtanding the King had done all in his Power to avoid it; as may be fairly collected from the Intention of the two *Partition Treaties*: for *Lewis* had not only broke through thoſe Engagements in favour of his Grandſon, but did proclaim the titular Prince of *Wales* King of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, on the Death of King *James* the Second [b].

In theſe Circumſtances, when Arms were again to decide the Diſpute, the firſt Care was taken of the Fleet, which his Majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the Enemy; his Majeſty being extremely ſenſible of the ill Conſequences that followed the Want of this ſalutary Precaution at the Beginning of the laſt War. Preparatory to this was the new Commiſſion of the Admiralty in the Spring of the Year 1701, at the Head of which was placed the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Man univerſally beloved and eſteemed. The Command of the Fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon Sir *George Rooke*.

The *French*, in the mean time, were making great Preparations in all their Ports on the Ocean, particularly at *Breſt* and *Dunkirk*; from which laſt Place there was an Appearance of a Deſign to invade *England*: Orders were therefore ſent to Rear-admiral *Bembow*, who commanded in the *Downs*, to uſe his utmoſt Diligence to fruſtrate any ſuch Deſign; and, in the Month of *February*, the Flag-officers were diſpatched to the ſeveral Ports, to haſten out the Ships, and to ſend them to the Rendezvous in the *Downs*. It was likewiſe, upon farther Conſideration, thought adviſeable to appoint *Spithead* for the Rendezvous, and to that Place Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* (then Admiral of the Blue) was ordered to proceed with the Fleet from the *Downs*;

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[a] On April 18, 1700.

[b] Who died on the 16th of September 1701, at St. Germains en Laye. Lewis proclaimed him contrary to the Opinion of his grand Council.

but firſt to leave a proper Squadron to look after the Ships at *Dunkirk*, which was put under the Command of Sir *John Munden*, who had, for ſome time, continued at *Sheerneſs*, and been very diligent in the Diſpatch of the great Ships from *Chatham*. And that the Fleet might be got together as ſoon as poſſible, Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, whoſe Flag was flying at *Spithead*, was ordered to detain all ſuch Ships as might touch there, either from the *Downs* or Weſtern Ports.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* arrived at *Spithead* the 15th of *April*, with 46 *Engliſh* Ships, and 10 *Dutch*, including ſmall Frigates and Fire-ſhips, from whence there were Squadrons ſent to *Ireland*, for conducting Troops from thence to *Holland*, and Cruiſers into the *Soundings*, and elſewhere, for Security of the Trade, while others were employed for Intelligence.

Sir *George Rooke*, the Admiral of the Fleet, went on-board the *Triumph* in the *Downs* the 2d of *July* (at which time his Majeſty was convoyed to *Holland* by Vice-admiral *Hopſon*) and arriving at *Spithead* the fourth, received Directions to follow the King's Orders. A few Days after he was joined by Rear-admiral *Munden*, with two Third-rates, ſix Fourth-rates, and one Fifth-rate; and then he formed his Line of Battle, which conſiſted of two Ships of 90 Guns, ſix of 80, thirteen of 70, eleven of 60, and ſixteen of 50, together 48, beſides ſmall Frigates, Fire-ſhips, Bomb-veſſels, &c. *Engliſh*: And of the *Dutch*, one Ship of 92, one of 90, two of 72, four of 64, one of 52, and ſix of 50 Guns, together 15, beſides Frigates, and other ſmall Craft. The *Engliſh* Flag-officers were, the Admiral himſelf, Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, Admiral of the Blue, Sir *Thomas Hopſon*, Vice-admiral of the Red, *John Bembow*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Sir *John Munden*, Rear-admiral of the Red. The *Dutch* Flag-officers were, Lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*, Vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and Rear-admiral *Waſſenaer*.

But the Want of Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, detained this Fleet at *St. Helens* till the Middle of *Auguſt*; and when he ſailed, the Admiral was obliged to put into *Torbay* on the 21ſt. In a few Days he put to Sea again, and got clear of the Land; but was driven back with ſome Damage in his Top-maſts and Sails by a Storm, to the ſame Bay. On the 29th the Fleet ſailed again, and reached the *Fournhead* near *Uſhant* on the 1ſt of *September*, cruiſed off that Cape till the Middle of the Month, and then returned to *Spithead* on the 20th of the ſame Month, having firſt, by Orders from the Lords-juſtices of the Kingdom in the King's Abſence, detached ſix Third-rates, nine Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, one Sixth-rate, two Fire-ſhips, a Store-ſhip, and an Hoſpital, of the *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *John Munden*, and 10 *Dutch* Ships, beſides Fire-ſhips, and ſmall Frigates, commanded by Baron *Waſſenaer*, to ſee the Squadron bound to the *Weſt-Indies* well in to Sea; which was done accordingly.

All this time the *French* made no Appearance at Sea; and whatever might be their original Intention for their Preparations of a military Force, and of the Number of Tranſports collected together at *Dunkirk*, they had not Spirit to carry any of their Schemes into Execution, though King *William* provoked them by cruiſing before their Harbours, and recalling his Ambaſſador, with Orders to take no Audience of Leave; and by ordering the *French* Secretary at *London* to depart the Kingdom by a limited Day [a].

Matters continuing in this uncertain Situation, his Majeſty, after compleating his Alliances with the Emperor, *Holland*, &c. returned for *England*, and arrived at *Whitehall* in a declining State of Health on the 4th of *November*; and only lived to explain his Sentiments, to a new Parliament [b], of the preſent Conduct of *France*; to exhort the *Britiſh* Nation to put itſelf into a Poſture of Defence againſt the Intrigues and Force of that perfidious People; and to point out the Manner of our Defence in theſe Words:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“I promiſe myſelf you are met together full of the juſt Senſe of the common Danger of *Europe*, and that Reſentment of the late Proceeding of the *French* King, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſs'd in the loyal and ſeaſonable Addreſſes of my People.

“The owning and ſetting up the pretended Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, is not only the higheſt Indignity offered to me and the whole Nation, but does ſo nearly concern every Man, who has a Regard for the Proteſtant Religion, or the preſent and future Quiet and Happineſs of your Country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to Heart, and to conſider what further effectual Means may be uſed, for ſecuring the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of all Pretenders, and their open or ſecret Abettors.

“By the *French* King's placing his Grandſon on the Throne of *Spain*, he is in a Condition to oppreſs the reſt of *Europe*, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual Meaſures be taken. Under this Pretence he is become the real Maſter of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on *France*, and diſpoſes of it as of his own Dominions; and by that Means he has ſurrounded his Neighbours in ſuch a Manner, that though the Name of Peace may be ſaid to continue, yet they are put to the Expence and Inconveniencies of War.

“This muſt affect *England* in the neareſt and moſt ſenſible Manner, in reſpect to our Trade, which will ſoon become precarious in all the valuable Branches of it; in reſpect to our Peace and Safety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould long continue; and in reſpect to that Part which *England* ought to take, in the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Europe*.

“You have yet an Opportunity, by God's Bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your Poſterity the quiet Enjoyment of your Religion and Liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, but will exert the ancient Vigour of the *Engliſh* Nation: But I tell you plainly my Opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this Occaſion, you have no Reaſon to hope for another.

“In order to do your Part, it will be neceſſary to have a great Strength at Sea, and to provide for the Security of our Ships in Harbour; and alſo, that there be ſuch a Force at Land as is expected in proportion to the Forces of our Allies.

“Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only Hopes of our Enemies, by your Unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common Father of all my People: Do you in like manner lay aſide all Parties and Diviſions; let there be no other Diſtinction heard of among us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the Proteſtant Religion and the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who mean a Popiſh Prince and a *French* Government.

“I will only add this, if you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee *England* hold the Ballance of *Europe*, and to be indeed at the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, it will appear by your right improving the preſent Opportunity.”

This Speech was extremely grateful to both Houſes, who, in their Addreſſes, expreſſed their particular Deteſtation of the *French* King's Proceedings, in owning and ſetting up the pretended Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, &c. and the Lords, in a ſecond Addreſs [c], levelled particularly againſt the Duke of *Anjou*'s Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Spain*, expreſſed themſelves in theſe Words:

“We eſteem it a good Fortune, in this time of public Danger, that the *French* King has taken thoſe Meaſures, which will make it impoſſible for him to impoſe any

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[a] The War was now the great Object of our Councils, as well as thoſe of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and Negotiations ſtill were carried on in Holland, as if both Parties had inclined to an amicable Determination of their Differences; which was, however, the Intention of neither. The Expectation of a Rupture made our Sea-officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon ſhewing their Mettle ſometimes a little too much. For Inſtance, the Marquis of Caermarthen's Yatch fired upon a French Ship in the Harbour of Rotterdam, to oblige her to ſtrike, which ſhe did immediately. The Commander of the Yatch not ſatisfied with this, ſent for the Maſter of the French Veſſel on-board, and obliged him to pay 12 Livres for the Shot. This was complained of by Count D'Avaux, the French Miniſter, in very high Terms; and it is very probable, that the States would have expreſſed their Diſlike of it at another Seaſon, but Things were then in ſuch a Situation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on theſe Accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time.

[b] Which met on the 13th of December 1701. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. III. p. 229, &c.

[c] On the 6th of January 1701-2.

" more upon the World, by Treaties ſo often violated: " Neither can he hope any longer to cover his ambitious " Deſigns, or juſtify his Uſurpations under the ſpecious " Pretences of Peace.

" Your Majeſty hath ſo juſtly repreſented the Danger to " which *Europe* is expoſed, by the *French* King's placing " his Grandſon on the Throne of *Spain*; your Majeſty is " ſo juſtly ſenſible, that under that Pretence he is become " abſolute Maſter of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; and " we are all ſo well apprized of the dangerous Conſequences " of this bold Attempt, that we think it moſt proper to " aſſure your Majeſty in your own Words, that we are " under the higheſt Impatience, that ſpeedy and effectual " Meaſures may be taken againſt the undoubted Ambition " of the *French* King.

" We take the Liberty, at this time, to aſſure you, we " are all willing and zealous to lay hold of this Opportu" nity, which the Bleſſing of God, and your Majeſty's " Care, have put into our Hands; reſolving to make our " utmoſt Efforts for our own Security, and the Support " of our Allies; deſiring of your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, " that no Time ſhall be loſt, nor any thing wanting on our " Part, which may anſwer the reaſonable Expectations of " our Friends abroad; not doubting but to ſupport the " Reputation of the *Engliſh* Name, when engaged under " ſo great a Prince, in the glorious Cauſe of maintaining " the Liberty of *Europe*."

The Commons, on their Part, added, that 40,000 Men ſhould be granted for the Service of the Fleet in the enſuing Year, and ſhewed ſuch an Inclination to enter heartily into all Meaſures neceſſary to render the grand Alliance effectual towards the Ends for which it was made, that the *French*, who little expected that ſuch a Spirit would be ſhewn in this Parliament, were much ſurprized, as eaſily foreſeeing that the new War would diſtreſs them much more than the old had ever done, becauſe it was like to be better managed.

Such vigorous Declarations gave great Satisfaction, and a War was not only found neceſſary, but reſolved upon, when Death deprived *Great-Britain* of her Monarch; who had been under a long Decline, but received his Death's Blow by an unlucky Fall from his Horſe; with which he lingered about a Fortnight, and died on the 8th Day of *March* 1701-2, having about ſix Weeks before [a] taken the Management of the Navy out of the Hands of Commiſſioners, and declared the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and foreign Plantations [b]; at which time the Shipping of this Kingdom was double what it was at his Acceſſion to the Crown, as may be more particularly ſeen by comparing the following Liſt of the Navy, taken at his Death, to that on P. 538.

At the Death of King *William*, the royal Navy conſiſted of;

Rates.	*Number.*		*Guns.*		*Men.*
1	7	carrying	702	and	5228
2	14		1260		8834
3	47		3451		21478
4	62		3226		16104
5	36		1170		4947
6	15		360		1650
Fire-ſhips	11				495
Bomb-veſſels	13				450
Yachts	15				336
Advice-boats	3				115
Brigantines	5				175
Sloops	10				335
Pink	1	In all about 300.			20
Ketch	1				50
Store-ſhips	3				123
Hulks	12				225
Hoys	16				75
Smacks	2				12
Hired Store-ſhips	3				132
Hoſpital-ſhips	7				335
	282		10469		61119

According to this Liſt, about 60,000 Men would compleatly man the whole royal Navy, (as it ſtood at this time) for their higheſt Complement, if Occaſion required; but as there are always ſome, and generally a pretty large Number, either Repairing, Rebuilding, or laid up, a much leſs Number ſerves.

The Care of King *William* was not confined to his martial and naval Affairs: Nor did he omit any Meaſure for diſtreſſing the Trade of the Enemy, and encouraging home Manufactures, as will appear more particularly from theſe Laws, enacted ſince the Death of Queen *Mary*.

1ſt, For preventing the counterfeiting and clipping the Coin [c] of this Kingdom, whereby, after the 1ſt of *May* 1695, none was to take or pay unclipped Money for more than the Value, or to have Filings or Clippings in their Cuſtody, under very ſevere Penalties: None but Goldſmiths were to ſell Bullion, and the ſame was not to be exported but by Certificate, being firſt ſtamped at *Goldſmiths-Hall*:

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[a] On the 18th of January.

[b] The Deſign of this Promotion was, to be rid of the Diſadvantages attending a Board: and this End it anſwered perfectly well; for his Lordſhip immediately ſent away Captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the Sea-ſtores, and the Merchants Effects, before the War broke out; as alſo two Hulks that had been left in that Harbour from the time of the laſt War, for the greater Conveniency of careening our Ships which remained in that Port. This the Captain with his ſmall Squadron, conſiſting but of three Frigates, effectually performed. His Lordſhip alſo took the like Care of our Trade in all other Parts; and by his extraordinary Prudence, remarkable Patience, and being very eaſy of Acceſs, gave much more Satisfaction to Merchants and to the Officers of the Fleet, than any of the Boards of Admiralty, ſince they were firſt introduced, had ever done.

[c] The grand Evil in Coin, the pernicious Practice of Clipping, was either not heeded, or wilfully neglected, whereby it grew to ſuch a Height, that 5 l. was ſcarce worth 40 s. beſides a great deal of baſe, counterfeit Money, clipped, the better to diſguiſe it. The Nation ſuffered unſpeakably by this Evil, both in carrying on the War, as well as Trade. The Supplies raiſed to maintain the Army, were rendered ineffectual, by the unequal Exchange, and exorbitant Præmiums, a Louis d'Or being, at that Time, worth 24 s. and a Guinea 30 s. The Dutch buying our Manufactures with Guineas, by which Profit they were able to ſell them Abroad cheaper than our Merchants: And not only the Dutch, but all Europe ſent their Gold hither to buy our Goods, and our Silver, at this exorbitant Price; ſo that the Nation was impoveriſhed, and in Danger of being undone, by Plenty of Gold. Melting down and exporting, had very much contributed to leſſen the Silver Specie, but Clipping was undoubtedly the principal Cauſe, which, during the unſettled State of the Nation for fifty Years, had been carried on with Impunity, by thoſe who drove a Trade in exchanging broad Money for clipped Money. It was thought neceſſary to give Encouragement to bring in milled Money, broad unclipped Money, or wrought Plate, and to prohibit the melting or exporting any Coin or Bullion, or the Uſe of Plate in Public-houſes; which laſt had a good Effect, and brought a great deal of Bullion to the Mint. In the mean time a Paper-prop ſupported the State, whilſt its Silver-pillars were removed, which laid the Foundation of our Paper-credit: But there was Gold too much, Neceſſity giving a Currency to Guineas, till Silver was ſupplied; and as ſoon as this was done in ſome meaſure, Guineas were lowered to 25 s. after the 25th of March 1696, and Half-guineas, double Guineas, and 5 l. Pieces in Proportion, under a Penalty, but not compelling any one to receive them at that Price. An Act was likewiſe paſſed for taking off the Obligation for coining Guineas, from the 2d of March 1695, till the 1ſt of January following, during which time no Guineas were to be coined at the Mint, and they were alſo forbid to be imported. The 10th of April 1696, they were brought down to 1 l. 2 s. and being now reduced ſo near the Standard, and the Nation better ſtock'd with the new Silver Money, Guineas were again coined, and it was made lawful to import the ſame. To bring in what Silver remained, for a further Supply of the Mint, all hammered Silver Money, clipped, or unclipped, brought thither between the 14th of November 1696, and the 1ſt of July following, was to be taken at 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce, and by Receivers and Collectors of the Taxes and Revenues, at 5 s. 8 d. the Ounce, and carried to the next Mint to be recoined. And after the 1ſt of December 1696, no hammered Silver Money, (except as aforeſaid) was to be current, otherwiſe than by Weight, at 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce; and for wrought Plate brought to the Mint, between the 5th of January 1696, and the 4th of November 1697, it was to allow 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce Sterling, and the Collectors of the Land-tax were impowered to receive that Tax in like manner, at the Rate of 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce, before the 1ſt of June 1697. After the 10th of January 1697, all hammered Silver Money was declared unlawful, and no Coin of the Realm, but might be brought to any of his Majeſty's Mints, in the Tower, or at the Cities of Briſtol, Exeter, Cheſter, Norwich, and York, before the 1ſt of March 1697, to be coined. And to prevent the Currency of clipped or counterfeit Money, any Perſon had Licence to cut or deface ſuch; or being otherwiſe diminiſhed, than by reaſonable Wear; or that by the Stamp, Impreſſion, Colour, or Weight, he ſhould ſuſpect to be counterfeit. And as the greateſt Security againſt counterfeiting the mill'd Money, was the Difficulty of being provided with Coining-preſſes, and Tools for that Purpoſe, it was made High-treaſon to make, or mend any ſuch, or any Dyes, Molds, or Tools for the ſame, or even to have any ſuch in Cuſtody, or to mark the Edges of counterfeit Coin, or to make Pieces reſembling the current Coin to be ſtamped, or to make any malleable Compoſition of mixed Metal heavier than Silver. From 1691, to the 14th of Auguſt 1697, there was brought to the London and Country Mints, 8,400,000 l. of clipped, light, and hammered Money; and, in all Probability, there might be a great Sum ſtanding out: And the milled Silver coined in King Charles the Second's, and King James's Reigns, about 2,200,000 l. ſo that all the Silver Money might be about 11,00000. The Gold Money then in the Nation was computed at 18,523,456 l. of which might be coined by King Charles and

Hall: And in caſe of ſeizing of Bullion intended to be exported, the *Onus Probandi* was to lie on the Claimer.

2d, For making or ſealing black Alamodes or Luſtrings [a], whereby it was enacted, that no Perſon or Perſons ſhall preſume to deal or ſell, buy or ſell again, or ſend beyond Sea, any black Alamodes [b] or Luſtrings, unleſs they have the Seal or Seals, Mark or Marks, which are already uſed for foreign Goods at the Cuſtom-houſe, or the Seal and Mark alſo uſed by the Luſtring Company, for the Goods manufactured by them in *England*, under the Forfeiture of all ſuch unqualified Goods; and alſo ſhall forfeit the Sum of 100 l. for every Offence: The Buyer diſvovering the Seller within 12 Months, to be diſcharged of the Penalty, and be entitled to 50 l. And alſo that there ſhall be 100 l. Penalty for counterfeiting the Mark.

3d, For granting an additional Duty upon all *French* Goods and Merchandize [c]; which is ſtill in force ſo far as relates to Frame-work-knitters, and enacteth [d], that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhall load or put on-board any Ship or Veſſel, any ſuch Frame or Frames [e], or any Part or Parcel thereof, in order to be exported beyond the Seas; upon Pain that the Perſon or Perſons offending herein, ſhall not only forfeit or loſe ſuch Frame and Frames, Parts or Parcels of Frames, which ſhall be ſo loaden and put on-board, in order to be exported beyond the Seas, as aforeſaid; but alſo the Sum of 40 l. of lawful Money of *England*, for ſuch Frame, or Part or Parcel thereof; half to the King, half to the Informer. And that all and every Perſon and Perſons whatſoever, which ſhall buy, ſell, diſpoſe of, or remove from Place to Place, any ſuch Frame or Engine, or any Parts or Parcels thereof, ſhall, within two Months next after ſuch Diſpoſal or Removal thereof, give notice in Writing to the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Frame-work-knitters within the City of *London*, or to their lawful Deputy or Deputies for the Time being, ſome or one of them, to whom, and what Place the ſame were ſo ſold, diſpoſed, or removed, upon Pain that every Perſon and Perſons offending herein, ſhall forfeit and pay for every ſuch Offence, the Sum of five Pounds.

4th, For the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wooll, and for the encouraging the Importation thereof from *Ireland* [f]. This Act continues that paſſed in the 1 *William* and *Mary*, c. 32. ſec. 2. and continued by another Act of the 4 and 5 *William* and *Mary*, with a few Alterations, namely, that from thenceforth it might be lawful to import *Iriſh* Wooll to *Whitehaven* in the County of *Cumberland*, *Liverpoole*, *Cheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Bridgewater*, *Minehead*, *Barnſtaple*, and *Biddiford* [g]: That all Certificates [h] given for the landing of Wooll from *Ireland*, or from one Port to another in *England*, ſhall be written upon Paper, and not upon Parchment; and that the Quantities therein expreſſed, ſhall not be obliterated, or interlined upon any Pretence whatſoever.

Be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that no Wooll, or any other of the Commodities aforeſaid, ſhall be laid or loaden on any Horſe, or other Carriage whatſoever; or ſhall be carried or conveyed by Land to or from any Place or Places within the ſaid Counties next adjoining to the Kingdom of *Scotland* [i], or within five Miles of the Sea-coaſt, but between Sun-riſing and Sun-ſetting, under the Penalty and Forfeiture of the ſaid Commodities, and of the ſaid Horſes, and other Cattle and Carriages employed in carrying the ſame [k]; and that no Ship or Veſſel ſhall export or carry the ſame into any Part beyond the Seas, under the Penalty and Forfeiture of the ſaid Commodities, Ship, and Veſſel, and treble the Value thereof, with treble Coſts of Suit [l]; and the Inhabitants of the reſpective Hundred, Port, or Place exempt, next adjoining to the ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland* [m], or to the Sea-coaſts, out of, or through which any Wooll, or any other of the Commodities aforeſaid, ſhall be ſo carried or exported, ſhall forfeit 20 l. if the ſaid Wooll ſo carried out or exported ſhall be under the Value of 10 l. but if it ſhall be of greater Value, then treble the Value thereof ſo exported or carried out of the ſaid Kingdom, as alſo treble Coſts of Suit. And that all Perſons who ſhall be aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting, in carrying or exporting any of the ſaid Commodities out of this Realm, as aforeſaid (being legally convicted thereof) ſhall ſuffer three Years Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainprize; the firſt three Perſons who have been aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting, in carrying out, or Exportation of Wooll, or any other of the Commodities, as aforeſaid, that ſhall inform thereof any Juſtice of the Peace in either of the ſaid ſeveral Counties aforeſaid, whereby the Puniſhment and Penalties appointed by this Act may be inflicted and recovered; the Party or Parties ſo diſcovering (not being Owner or Part-owners of the ſaid Wooll, or other Commodities aforeſaid) ſhall not ſuffer any of the ſaid Penalties or Puniſhment.

Every Action, Suit, Bill, Plaint, or Information, by virtue of this Act, ſhall be commenced and proſecuted within one Year after the Fact committed [n].

Provided always, that if any Perſon who is entitled to the Penalties and Forfeitures by this Act given, ſhall compound for any leſſer Sum than what is hereby given, the Perſon ſo compounding, ſhall for ſuch his Offence ſuffer five Years Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainprize.

And for the better preventing the Exportation of Wooll, and Correſpondence with *France*, it was further enacted, that the Lord High Admiral of *England* [o], or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral for the time being, ſhall, from time to time, direct and appoint one Ship of the Fifth-rate, and two Ships of the Sixth-rate, and four armed Sloops, conſtantly to cruize from off the *North Foreland* to the *Iſle of Wight*, with Orders for taking and ſeizing all Ships, Veſſels, or Boats, which ſhall export any Wooll, or carry or bring any prohibited Goods, or any ſuſpected Perſons.

5th, For the further Encouragement of the Manufacture of Luſtrings and Alamodes, and for the better preventing the Importation of the ſame [p]; whereby it was enacted, that Perſons who ſhall import any foreign Alamodes or Luſtrings from Parts beyond the Seas, without paying the Cuſtoms payable for the ſame at ſuch Importation, or ſhall import any Alamodes or Luſtrings prohibited by Law to be imported; or ſhall by Way of Inſurance, or otherwiſe undertake or agree to deliver, or in purſuance of any Undertaking, Agreement, or Inſurance, ſhall deliver, or cauſe to be delivered, any ſuch Goods or Merchandize; or ſhall knowingly receive or take the ſame into their Houſe, Shop, or Warehouſe, Cuſtody, or Poſſeſſion; ſuch Perſons ſhall and may be proſecuted [q], and obliged to give ſufficient Bail and Security, to anſwer and pay all the Forfeitures and Penalties incurred for ſuch Offence, in caſe they ſhall be convicted thereof, or to yield their Bodies to Priſon.

That all black Alamodes and Luſtrings, whereſoever manufactured, which ſhall be found not marked and ſealed with

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and King James, about 6,500,000l. But another Writer computes the unclipped hammered Money remaining in 1696, at calling in, 2,000,000l. and that from the firſt Coining of Guineas, there had been conſiderably above 7,000,000 coined, according to the Regiſters of the Mint, which will add near 3,000,000 more to the Account. In the Year 1700, there was ſuch vaſt Quantities of French Gold in the Nation, that the whole Trade was in a manner carried on with that Coin, though they wanted Sixpence of their true Value. The Quantity of it occaſioned a Report, that Count Tallard, the French Ambaſſador, had brought it over, and diſtributed it to ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons; whereupon the Council made an Order, the 5th of February, and a Proclamation followed, that the Louis d'Or, and Spaniſh Piſtoles, ſhould not go for above 17s. this brought them to the Mint, and 1,400,000 l. was coined out of them. Leake's hiſtorical Account of Engliſh Coin, p. 387, &c.

[a] 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 18. ſec. 28, 29, 30.

[b] See the Acts 5 & 6 W. & M. cap. 20. and the 8 & 9 W. III. cap. 36. and 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43. for the preventing the illegal Importation of Alamodes and Luſtrings.

[c] 7 & 8 Will. III.

[d] Sec. 8, 9.

[e] Invented for the better and more ſpeedy knitting, and making of Stockings, and other wearing Neceſſaries.

[f] 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 28, ſec. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14.

[g] The Ports named in the Act 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 10. ſect. 10. are only Biddiford, Barnſtaple, Minehead, Bridgewater, Briſtol, Milfordhaven, Cheſter, and Liverpoole; by which Whitehaven is omitted, and Milford added.

[h] By 1 W. & M. cap. 32. ſect. 4. Cocquets and Certificates ſhall be on Paper, and ſigned by three Officers.

[i] Repealed as to Scotland by the Act of Union.

[k] If hid and unentered within 15 Miles of the Sea, forfeited by 9 & 10 Will. III. c. 40. ſect. 6.

[l] See the Act 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 10. ſect. 4.

[m] Scotland void by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[n] Altered by 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 40. ſect. 9. to three Years.

[o] Great Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[p] 8 & 9 Will. III. c. 36. ſect. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[q] Capias, in the firſt Proceſs, ſhall iſſue for ſeveral Offences by the following Acts; 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 42. ſect. 8. for importing Alamodes and Luſtrings. 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 10. ſect. 20. for exporting Wooll. 9 Geor. I. cap. 26. ſect. 8. for trading to the Eaſt Indies without Licence. 8 Geor. I. cap. 18. ſect. 15. for running or receiving prohibited or uncuſtomed Goods.

with the Mark and Seal of the Cuſtom-houſe, or of the Royal Luſtring Company [a], ſhall be forfeited, and the Perſon in whoſe Poſſeſſion the ſame ſhall be found, ſhall incur all the Penalties contained in the Act 6 & 7 *W.* & *M.* cap. 18. [b]. That no Alamodes and Luſtrings ſeized and forfeited, ſhall be conſumed or uſed in this Kingdom, but ſhall be exported again, and not ſold otherwiſe than on Condition to be exported: And until ſufficient Security be given, that the ſame and every Part thereof ſhall be exported, and not landed again in any Part of *England* [c], Dominion of *Wales*, or the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; which Security ſhall be diſcharged by Certificate from the chief Magiſtrate or Officer of the Place or Port where ſuch Goods ſhall be landed, or by Oath made that the ſame were loſt at Sea, and not otherwiſe.

6th, For granting ſeveral Duties upon Coals and Culm [d], enacting, that the ſeveral Duties for Coals and Culm, ſhall be paid before Bulk of the Ship or Veſſel ſhall be broken, or any the Coals or Culm therein ſhall be unladen, and before any Meter, Meaſurer, or Weigher, in that Behalf appointed, or to be appointed, ſhall meaſure or weigh the ſame: Of all which Ships and Veſſels, and of the Coals and Culm therein imported or brought, due Entries ſhall be made in the Cuſtom-houſe, where ſuch Importation ſhall be made (if any Cuſtom-houſe be there) or elſe in the Cuſtom-houſe of the next Port or Place where ſuch Importation ſhall be; and in caſe any of the ſaid Coals or Culm ſo imported, brought, or carried by Sea, ſhall be unſhipped to be laid on Land, before the Duties aforeſaid ſhall be paid or ſecured; that then as well the ſaid Coals and Culm [e] ſo unſhipped, as alſo the Ship or Veſſel out of which the ſame ſhall be ſo unſhipped, with all her Guns, Tackle, Furniture, and Ammunition, ſhall be forfeited and loſt; and in caſe it ſhall appear, by Certificate or otherwiſe, that there was on-board any ſuch Ship or Veſſel a greater Number of Chalders or Tons of Coals or Culm, than for which the ſaid Impoſitions or Duties ſhall be anſwered and paid, as aforeſaid; that then, and in every ſuch Caſe, there ſhall be paid by the Maſter or Owners of ſuch Ship or Veſſel, for every Chalder or Ton of Coals or Culm ſo concealed, over and above the Impoſitions and Duties aforeſaid, the Sum of 10 s. for which, in caſe of Refuſal to pay the ſame, ſuch Ship or Veſſel, with the Tackle, Furniture, and Apparel thereof, or any Part thereof, ſhall and may be attached and detained by the Officer appointed to receive the ſaid Duties, or to meaſure or weigh the ſaid Coals or Culm, until Payment thereof; and to ſell the ſaid Ship or Veſſel, Tackle, Furniture, and Apparel, or any Part thereof, in caſe all the ſaid Impoſitions, Duties, or Payments beforementioned for the ſaid concealed Coals or Culm ſhall not be paid and ſatisfied, with reaſonable Coſts and Charges for ſuch attaching, detaining, or ſelling, rendering the Overplus.

7th, For prohibiting cut Whalebone [f], which after ſetting forth, that great Quantities of cut Whalebone fit for Uſe, were frequently imported, in ſhort Lengths and ſmall Parcels, by means whereof, not only his Majeſty was defrauded of the Duties laid thereupon, but the Merchants importing, and the Manufacturers employed in cutting of Fin Whalebone, were greatly prejudiced and diſcouraged; it was enacted, that if any Perſon or Perſons, Natives or Foreigners, Bodies politick or corporate, ſhall import or bring into this Kingdom of *England* [g], Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, any cut Whalebone, (other than in Fins only) he, ſhe, or they ſhall forfeit the Goods, and double the Value of the cut Whalebone ſo imported; one Moiety thereof to his Majeſty, and one other Moiety to him that ſhall ſeize or ſue for the ſame.

8th, For explaining and better Execution of former Acts made againſt Tranſportation of Wooll, Fullers-earth, and Scouring-clay [h], whereby it is enacted, That no Fullers-earth, or Scouring-clay, ſhall be exported upon any Pretence whatſoever; but that the Exporters [i], being legally convicted, ſhall be liable to the Forfeitures of one Shilling for every Pound Weight. And that all Owners of Wooll, ſhorn, or houſed, laid up, or lodged within ten Miles of the Sea-ſide, within the Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, ſhall be obliged to give an exact Account in Writing, within three Days after the Shearing thereof, of their Number of Fleeces, and where lodged or houſed, to the next adjoining Port, or Officer of his Majeſty Cuſtoms; and the like Notice, before they ſhall preſume to remove any Part or Parcel thereof, and to take a Certificate from the Officer, who firſt entered the ſame; upon the Penalty of forfeiting all ſuch Wooll as ſhall not be ſo entered, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of; and the further Penalties of three Shillings for every Pound Weight of all ſuch Wooll. And that no Perſon reſiding within 15 Miles of the Sea, in the ſaid Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, ſhall preſume to buy any Wooll, before they do enter into Bond with Sureties, that all the Wooll they buy ſhall not be ſold by them to any Perſon or Perſons within 15 Miles of the Sea [k]; and in caſe any Wool be found carrying towards the Sea-ſide, in the Counties aforeſaid, unleſs firſt entered, and Security given, the ſame ſhall be forfeited, and the Perſon or Perſons offending therein, ſhall alſo forfeit three Shillings for every Pound Weight of all ſuch Wooll. And that no Wooll removed from the Place where it was firſt lodged, after Shearing, within ten Miles, as aforeſaid, ſhall be lodged after the firſt removing within fifteen Miles of the Sea, in the Counties aforeſaid, upon Pain of forfeiting all ſuch Wooll, if found; but if carried away, then every Perſon or Perſons, who were the Owners of the ſaid Wooll, to forfeit for every Pound Weight the Sum of three Shillings. And that every Perſon that ſhall lay, or cauſe to be laid or hid any Wooll [l], within fifteen Miles of the Sea, and not entered, as aforeſaid, all ſuch Wooll ſhall be ſeized and forfeited.

9th, For the better Encouragement of the royal Luſtring Company, *&c.* [m] it was enacted, That no Alamodes or Luſtrings, ſhall be imported to any Port but *London*, nor without a Licence, under the Hands of three Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, who muſt mark and ſeal the ſaid Silks imported, and keep a Regiſter of the ſame, under the Penalty of the Forfeiture of the ſaid Silks, and the Penalty of 500 l. by thoſe concerned in their Importation, or who ſhall knowingly receive or ſell any ſuch Silks; and that Commanders of Men of War concerned in the Importation or landing of any ſuch Silks, ſhall, beſides the Penalty, be rendered incapable of ſerving his Majeſty. It was further enacted, That any Perſon who ſhall be convicted of counterfeiting the Marks or Seals, ſhall forfeit 500 l. and ſtand in the Pillory for the Space of two Hours; that there ſhall be a Penalty of 100 l. beſides the Forfeiture of the Goods, on all Perſons who ſhall buy Alamodes ſealed with counterfeit Seals, knowing thereof; that Cuſtom-houſe Officers delaying Proſecution, or who are proved aiding or abetting or conniving at ſuch Offences, ſhall forfeit 500 l. and be rendered incapable of holding any Office under his Majeſty: And that Perſons offending a ſecond time, ſhall pay double; provided always, That all Informations, Actions, and Suits, to be brought by any Informer for any Offence againſt this Act, ſhall be brought and commenced within two Years after the Offence committed; any former Law to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

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[a] Perſons ſelling black Alamodes, or Luſtrings, not having Cuſtom-houſe Mark, forfeit the ſame, and 100 l. 6 & 7 W. III. cap. 18. ſect. 28.

[b] By the Act 12 Geor. I. cap. 28. ſect. 28. No Information to be filed upon any Laws of the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, or Salt Duties, but in the Name of the Attorney-general, or ſome Officers of the ſaid Revenues.

[c] Great Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[d] 9 & 10 W. III. c. 13. ſect. 8, 9.

[e] By the Act 10 & 11 W. III cap. 21. ſect. 28. a Duty of 5 s. per Chaldron is laid on all Cinders made of Pit Coal, to be raiſed, levied, and collected, by ſuch Means, and under ſuch Penalties, &c. as are preſcribed with regard to Coals, by this Act of the 9 & 10 W. III. All Sea Coal and Culm ſhall be ſold, meaſured, and pay Duty by the Chaldron of 36 Wincheſter Buſhels to the Chaldron, by the Act 12 Ann. ſeſſ. 2. cap. 17. ſect. 11. See that Act, and the Act of the 3 Geor. II. cap. 26. ſect. 14. for the Dimenſions of the Buſhel, and the Manner of ſecuring the Standard, and making the Buſhel.

[f] 9 & 10 W. III. c. 23. ſect. 12.

[g] Great Britain by the Act of Union 5 Annæ.

[h] 9 & 10 W. III. c. 40. ſect. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

[i] May not be packed or loaded on any Horſe, &c. with Intent to be exported. See the Acts 12 Car. II. c. 32. 14 Car. II. c. 18. See the Proviſions as to the carrying Fullers-earth or Scouring-clay Coaſt ways, by the Acts 1 W. & M. c. 32. the 7 & 8 W. III. c. 28. and 5 Geor. I. c. 11.

[k] Wooll deſigned to be carried to any Part of the Sea-coaſt, with Intent to be conveyed Coaſt-ways, but not be loaded or carried within five Miles of the Place from whence it may be exported. But not to extend to hinder Wooll from being carried from the Place of Shearing to the Proprietor's Dwelling-houſe. See the Act 1 W. & M. c. 32. ſect. 2. & 3.

[l] By the 14 Car. II. c. 18. ſect. 9. no Wooll, &c. to be carried but in the Day time.

[m] 9 & 10 W. III. c. 43. ſect. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12.

10th, For preventing the Exportation of Wooll out of *Ireland* and *England* into foreign Parts; and for the Encouragement of the woollen Manufactures in *England*[a], whereby it is enacted, That no Perſon ſhall export out of *Ireland* into foreign Parts, (except *England*, i. e. *Great-Britain*) any the Wooll[b], Wooll-fells, Shorlings, Mortlings, Wooll-flocks, Worſted, Bay, or Woollen-yarn, Cloth, Serge, Bays, Kerſeys, Says, Frizes, Druggets, Cloth-ſerges, Shalloons, or any other Drapery, Stuffs, or woollen Manufactures whatſoever, made up or mixed with Wooll or Wooll-flocks; or ſhall directly or indirectly load, or cauſe them to be loaden upon any Horſe, Cart, or other Carriage; or load or lay on-board, or cauſe them to be laden or laid on-board in any Ship or Veſſel, in any Place or Parts within or belonging to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the Intent to export, tranſport, ſhip off, carry, or convey the ſame, or cauſe the ſame to be exported, tranſported, ſhipped off, carried, or conveyed out of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*; or with Intent or Purpoſe, that any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhould ſo export, tranſport, ſhip off, carry, or convey the ſame out of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, into any Ports or Places[c], (except to *Great-Britain*) under the Penalty of the Loſs of Goods, Ship, Veſſel, Boat, *&c.* and 500 l. for each Offender, beſides 40 l. by the Maſters and Mariners, Porters, Carriers, Waggoners, Boatmen, or other Perſon whatſoever, knowing ſuch Offence, and wittingly aiding and aſſiſting therein; one Moiety of all which Forfeitures to be paid to the Encouragement of ſetting up the Linnen Manufactures in *Ireland*, to be diſpoſed of by the Court of Exchequer there for that Uſe only: That any Perſon may ſeize, and bring to his Majeſty's next Warehouſe, all ſuch Wooll, *&c.* and alſo the Ship, Veſſel, *&c.* and that all ſuch Goods, as aforeſaid, as ſhall, from time to time, be exported from the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* into the Ports of this Kingdom, ſhall be ſhipped off, and entered at the Ports of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, *Youghall*, *Kingſale*, *Cork*, and *Drogheda*[d], in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, and at or from no other Port or Place within the ſaid Kingdom; nor ſhall the ſame be imported into any Parts of the Kingdom of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*, other than the Ports of *Biddiford*, *Barnſtaple*, *Minehead*, *Bridgewater*, *Briſtol*, *Milford-haven*, *Cheſter*, and *Liverpoole*: The Lord High Admiral of *England*, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of High Admiral for the time being, ſhall direct and appoint two Ships of the Fifth-rate, and two Ships of the Sixth-rate, and eight armed Sloops[e], conſtantly to cruiſe on the Coaſt of *England* and *Ireland*, particularly between the North of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, with Orders to take and ſeize all Ships, Veſſels, and Boats, which ſhall export any Wooll, with Intent to carry it into foreign Parts; and that the Lord High Admiral, or Commiſſioners, as aforeſaid, ſhall ſend a Liſt of all ſuch Ships and Sloops, and the Names of the Commanders, together with true Copies of their ſeveral Inſtructions that are or ſhall be given, to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms in *London*, wiithin ten Days after ſuch Orders, as aforeſaid, are or ſhall be given: And if any Commander, on this Station, ſhall neglect his Duty, or connive at or compound with any of theſe Offenders, he ſhall ſuffer ſix Months Impriſonment, forfeit all Wages, and Pay due to him, and be rendered incapable, for ever, of ſerving his Majeſty in the Navy.

11th, For preventing Frauds in the Importation of Tobacco, and for permitting the Importation of Pearl-aſhes[f], whereby it was enacted, That whereas the Importation of Tobacco in Bulk hath given abundant Opportunity to ill-diſpoſed Perſons to run the ſame on-ſhore, without paying his Majeſty's Cuſtoms due thereon, to the great Impairing of the Revenue, and the no leſs Prejudice of the fair Trader: For Remedy whereof, no Tobacco be brought or imported into this Kingdom in any Ship or Veſſel from any of his Majeſty's Plantations on the Continent of *America*, nor ſhipped in any of the ſaid Plantations in order to be ſo imported, otherwiſe than in Caſk, Cheſt, or Caſe only, each Caſk, Cheſt, or Caſe[g] whereof, ſhall contain 200 Weight of neat Tobacco, at the leaſt, and each Hundred thereof ſhall contain 112 Pounds, under the Penalties and Forfeitures of the Tobacco, and Six-pence for every Pound Weight thereof: Provided, That ſuch ſmall Quantities as ſhall be neceſſary for the Ship's Companies ſmoaking in the ſaid Voyage, ſhall not be deemed or conſtrued any Breach of this Act: And that it ſhall be lawful for any Perſon whatſoever, to import from *Germany*, Pearl-aſhes, being the Product of *Germany*, paying his Majeſty his Cuſtoms and Duties as Pot-aſhes.

12th, For the more effectual employing the Poor, by encouraging the Manufactures of this Kingdom[h], whereby it is enacted, That all wrought Silks, Bengals, and Stuffs, mixed with Silk or *Herba*, of the Manufacture of *Perſia*, *China*, or *Eaſt-India*; and all Callicoes painted, dyed, printed, or ſtained there, which are or ſhall be imported into this Kingdom, ſhall not be worn, or otherwiſe uſed within this Kingdom, but under ſuch Limitations as are herein after mentioned and expreſſed: That all ſuch Goods, whether the ſame ſhall be mixed, ſewed, or made up together for Sale, with any other Goods or Materials, or otherwiſe, which ſhall be found in any Houſe, Shop, or Warehouſe, or other Place whatſoever (other than in ſuch Warehouſes as ſhall be approved of by the ſaid Commiſſioners, as aforeſaid) ſhall be forfeited, and ſubject and liable to be ſearched for, and ſeized; and over and above the Loſs of the ſaid Goods, the Perſon or Perſons, in whoſe Cuſtody (knowing thereof) the ſame ſhall be found or ſeized, or that ſhall ſell or diſpoſe thereof to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall forfeit and loſe the Sum of 200 l. two third Parts thereof to ſuch Perſon or Perſons that ſhall ſue for the ſame: And for preventing all clandeſtine importing into this Kingdom any of the aforeſaid Goods, it was further enacted, No ſuch Goods ſhall be imported but only into the Port of *London*, and not thither without due Entry, under the Penalty of the Loſs of the ſaid Goods, and the Payment of 500 l.

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[a] 10 & 11 W. III. c. 10. ſect. 1, 2, 10, 16, 18.

[b] See the Acts 12 Car. II. c. 32. ſect. 4. 14 Car. II. c. 18. ſect. 2. 1 W. & M. c. 32. ſect. 2. 7 & 8 W. III. c. 28. ſect. 3. 9 & 10 W. III. c. 40. ſect. 1.

[c] The Ports of this Kingdom, into which Wooll, &c. may be imported, are limited by the ſect. 10. of this Act, Page 103.

[d] And from New-Roſs, by the 4 Annæ, c. 7.

[e] See the Act 5 Geor. II. c. 21. ſect. 2. whereby the Admiralty are to appoint three Ships of the Sixth-rate, and eight or more armed Sloops, with the Orders and Powers in that Act.

[f] 10 & 11 W. III. c. 21. ſect. 29, 30.

[g] By the Act 9 Geor. I. c. 21. ſect. 14. Tobacco exported in Caſks under 300 Weight, is not to be allowed any Drawback, except cut or rolled Tobacco.

[h] 11 & 12 W. III. 1. 10. ſect. 1.

A Liſt of the Captains *promoted ſince the Death of Queen* MARY, *according to their Seniority; their Ships; the Time of their Deaths, &c. with Remarks.*

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Richard Cotton	January 14	1694	Virgins Prize	died [a]	October 31	1705
Stephen Elliot	14	——	Maidſtone	died [b]	December 6	1701
Edmond Doiley	15	——	Play Prize	died [c]	Anno	1703
Richard Jackſon	February 6	——	Play Prize	died [d]	Auguſt 16	1695
Thomas Poulton	17	——	Charles Galley	died [e]	June 20	1699
Joſeph Welby	26	——	Lizard	drowned [f]	May 31	1696
Theophilus Hodgſon	March 16	——	Queenborough	drowned	May 6	1695
Anthony Tollet	23	——	Seahorſe	ſlain [g]	Anno	1711
Edward Durcley	25	1695	Charles Fire-ſhip	died [h]	July 30	1702
Valentine Bowles	April 3	——	Machine Fire-ſhip	diſmiſſed [i]	October 22	1698
John Worrel	9	——	Adventure	died [k]	Decemb. 16	1706
Vincent Cutter	15	——	Archangel, hired	died [l]	Anno	1710
Thomas Ekins	15	——	Ruby Prize	died	Anno	
John Edwards	24	——	Flame Fire-ſhip	died	March 2	1713
John Bennet	May 1	——	Coronation, hired	died		
Thomas Swanton [m]	8	——	Queenborough	died	January 18	172$\frac{2}{3}$
William Paſſenger [n]	20	——	Veſuvius Fire-ſhip	died	March 10	172$\frac{8}{9}$
John Fletcher, 24th	24	——	Hampſhire	drowned [o]	Auguſt 26	1697
John Ward [p]	27	——	Lime	died	Anno	
Timothy Bridge	June 2	——	Swan	diſmiſſed [q]	July 23	1709
Richard Culliford	9	——	Maidſtone	died [r]	May	1738
Samuel Whitaker	15	——	Lark	drowned [s]	October 22	1707
John Draper	18	——	Haſtings	drowned [t]	Decemb. 10	1697
Cheſt^r Moore	28	——	Mary Gally	died	April 29	1696
Daniel Reeves	28	——	Deptford	died	Sept. 23	1702
John Jackſon [u]	Auguſt 3	——	Smyrna Factor	died	Decemb. 25	1725
Thomas Day	5	——	Saudadoes	died [w]	Anno	1703
Thomas Kenney	9	——	Swan	ſlain [x]	Auguſt 4	1704
William Ruſſell	19	——	Play Prize	died [y]	June 30	1703
Charles Adamſon	Sept. 2	——	Suffolk Hagboat	died [z]	Febr. 27	1707
William Urry	5	——	Swallow Prize	diſmiſſed [aa]	Anno	1705
Thomas Thatcher	October 19	——	Biddeford	died	Auguſt 20	1697
Richard Sheerman	26	——	Oxford	died	Anno	1704
George Delaval [bb]	28	——	Oxford	died	June 22	1723
John Symonds	Decemb. 17	——	Vulture Fire-ſhip	died [cc]	January 19	1706
William Ripley	11	——	Royal Tranſport	died	Anno	
Joſeph Hickman	14	——	Firebrand Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
John Hooper	Decemb. 17	——	Penzance	died [a]	Sept. 16	1696
Richard Haddock [b]	20	——	Rye	died	Anno	1750
Samuel Halbert	23	——	St. Albans Prize	died	Anno	
John Groinge	27	——	Seaford	died	Auguſt 14	1696
Jame Northington	28	——	Virgins's Prize	drowned [c]	October 6	1697
John Drake	January 15	——	Seahorſe	died	Novemb. 22	1697
Thomas Long	27	——	Griffin Fire-ſhip	ſlain [d]	Decemb. 13	1710
Thomas Wilſhaw [e]	March 15	——	Roſe Guard-ſhip	died	Anno	1717
Thomas Pindar	April 11	1696	Mermaid	drowned	January 5	1698
Thomas Fiſher [g]	24	——	Jerſey	died [f]	March 17	1696
Robert Arris	28	——	Fortune Firuſhip	died	January 17	171$\frac{1}{2}$
Richard White	28	——	Mary Gally	died [h]	July 7	1700
Henry Wildie	May 1	——	Solebay	quitted [i]	Anno	1706
Richard Brown	4	——	Hawke Fire-ſhip	died [k]	Novemb. 12	1706
James Studley	23	——	Pearle	died [l]	Anno	1707
Nicholas Trevanion [m]	25	——	Dunwich	died	Nov. 17	1737
Francis Hoſier [n]	June 27	——	Winchelſea	died	Auguſt 25	1727
John Cooper	29	——	Penzance	died	Sept. 10	1728
Edward Hopſon [o]	July 24	——	Thunderbolt Prize	died	May 10	1728
Charles Strickland [p]	Auguſt 17	——	Lark	died	Nov. 11	1724
John Watkins	14	——	Seaford	ſlain [q]	October 14	1709
John Underdown	25	——	Guarland	died	Anno	
John Cranby	Sept. 25	——	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died [r]	Dec. 19	1702
Clemoon Cave	October 3	——	Eſſex Prize	died	Anno	
Thomas Lambert	20	——	Betty, hired	died	Anno	
Jonathan Watts	29	——	Sun Prize	died	July 25	1698
Thomas Smith [s]	Nov. 26	——	Suffolk Hagboat	died	June 22	1722
Nicholas Dyer	Decemb. 10	——	Dolphin	died [t]	June 4	1697
Joſeph Moore	January 8	——	Flame Fire-ſhip	died [u]	Anno	1705
George Walton [w]	19	——	Seaford	died	October 21	1739
Edward Cole	27	——	Strombolo Fire-ſhip	died [x]	Anno	
John Aldred	February 11	——	Owners Love Fire-ſhip	died	December	1740
Charles Omerodd	21	——	Lightning Fire ſhip	died	Anno	
Jonathan Span	25	——	Virgin Prize	died [y]	Anno	1712
John Kelling	March 3	——	Maidſtone	died [z]	October 20	1698
Edward Bugden	10	——	Jerſey	died	Anno	
William Johnſon	29	1697	Lizard	died	Auguſt 31	1699

[a] In the Reſerve in the Weſt Indies. [b] In the Eaſt-Indies in the Scarborough. [c] At Bath. [d] In the Weſt-Indies. [e] In England, killed by Mr. Cavendiſh in a Duel. [f] In this Ship caſt away near the Sound. [g] In the Aſſurance, engaging the French in the Channel. [h] In the Weſt-Indies. [i] From the Sheerneſs by a Court Martial. [k] In the Weſt-Indies, in the Crown. [l] In the Eſſex. [m] Appointed Commiſſioner of the Navy at Plymouth-yard 1715, Comptroller of the Navy March 17th 1717-18, and there died Member of Parliament for Saltaſh. [n] Appointed Commiſſioner of the Victualling in 1718-19. [o] In Hudſons-bay: the Ship was deſtroyed by the French. [p] Superannuated in 1705. [q] From the Kingſton by a Court Martial at Jamaica, for Cowardice, and never reſtored. [r] At Chelſea aged 89. [s] Second Captain of the Aſſociation under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, on the Rocks of Scilly. [t] Off of Waterford in Ireland, the Ship was loſt. [u] Was Superannuated in 1709. [w] In the Boyne. [x] In the Falmouth by the French, who took the Ship. [y] In the Experiment in the Weſt-Indies. [z] In the Greenwich. [aa] For Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, &c. was condemned to Death, but pardoned. [bb] Was Ambaſſador to the King of Portugal and Emperor of Morocco, in the Year 1711, appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue 1717-18, and was killed by a Fall from his Horſe 22d June 1723, at Seaton-Delaval in Northumberland. [cc] In the Jerſey at Barbadoes.

[a] In the Flamborough. [b] Appointed Comptroller of the Navy 1734, ſuperannuated on Account of his great Age 1749. He was Brother to Admiral Haddock. [c] In the Poole. [d] In the Bredah. [e] Superannuated. [f] At Antegoa. [g] Commiſſioner of the Victualling 1715, and there died. [h] In the Haſtings. [i] In the Cheſter. [k] In the Hazardous Prize at Sea, [l] On half Pay. [m] Knighted by Queen Anne, appointed Commiſſioner of Plymouth-yard 1426, and there died. [n] Appointed Rear-admiral of the White in May 1719, and died Vice of the White on-board the Bredah in the Weſt-Indies, in his Paſſage from the Baſtamentos to Jamaica. [o] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue May 1719, and died Vice of the White on-board the Leopard at the Grand Brue, on the Coaſt of New Spain near Carthagena. [p] Appointed Rear-admiral January 1722-3, and died Rear-admiral of the White. [q] Blown up in the Devonſhire engaging the French in the Channel. [r] In the Boyne in the Weſt-Indies. [s] Captain of Greenwich Hoſpital. [t] In the Lincoln at Jamaica, in the Squadron, with Vice-admiral Nevile. [u] In the Montague at Jamaica. [w] Rear-admiral of the Blue January 1722-3, knighted by King George the Iſt, and reſigned his Flag as Admiral of the Blue 1736, with a Penſion of £. 600 per Annum for Life, and died in the Year 1739. [x] In Bedlam mad. [y] In the Rupert at Jamaica. [z] In the Weſt-Indies.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commissioned for.	Died, Dismissed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Dismissed, &c.	
John Lapthorne	May 5	1697	Experiment	died	Anno	
John Aston	17	—	Peazance	died	Anno	
Salmon Morrice [a]	24	—	Royal Transport	died	March	174^{0}_{1}
Martin Gardner	27	—	Queenborough	died	Anno	
George Mohun	June 5	—	Lincoln	died [b]	August 28	1702
Henry Surle	5	—	Flame Fire ſhip	drowned [c]	August 22	1702
Robert Hughes [d]	28	—	Flamborough	died	March 1	172^{8}_{9}
Robert Dunbar	28	—	St. Paul Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	
Mark Noble	July 12	—	St. Vincent Fire-ſhip	died [e]	March 22	1701
John Balchen [f]	25	—	Virgin Prize	drowned [g]	October 4	1744
Humphry Blowers [h]	30	—	Dolphin	died	Sept. 20	1720
Henry Crofts	Auguſt 11	—	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died [i]	Anno	1701
Barron Harris	13	—	Lightning Fire-ſhip	died [k]	Anno	1726
William Bloys	27	—	Swan	died	Anno	
Hercules Mitchell	October 1	—	Phœnix Fire-ſhip	drowned [l]	Auguſt 11	1705
Tudor Trevor [m]	8	—	Dunwich	died	January 28	174^{0}_{1}
Samuel Martin	13	—	Biddeford	ſlain [n]	October 20	1705
Henry Fowles	28	—	Deal Caſtle	died [o]	Anno	1698
Richard Long [p]	Dec. 4	—	Ruperts Prize	died	Anno	1717
Christopher Coullsea	10	—	Speedwell	died [q]	Sept. 21	1698
Robert Belvin [r]	January 21	—	Trident	died	Anno	
William Dampier [s]	July 26	1698	Roebuck	died	February 24	1700
Collin Hunter	Sept. 4	—	Dolphin	diſmiſſed [t]	and died	1700
Edward Briſcoe	Nov. 8	—	Sun Prize	died	Anno	
John Oake	9	—	Queenborough	died [u]	January 12	1698
George Smith	21	—	Coventry	died [w]	Novemb. 2	1704
William Moſes	Dec. 13	—	Winchelſea	died	Anno	1740
Rupert Billingſley	January 12	—	Queenborough	died	Decemb. 15	1720
Bennet Allen	February 27	—	Maidſtone	died	Anno	1750
Edward Leechmere	March 16	—	Lynn	ſlain [x]	January 16	1703
Robert Buckingham	May 6	1699	Coventry	died [y]	Anno	1707
William Scalley	June 26	—	Glouceſter	died [z]	Sept. 26	1703
Thomas Mitchell	July 25	—	Falmouth	ſeperann.	Anno	1707
Edward Rumſey	Sept. 1	—	Lizard	ſlain [aa]	March	17^{19}_{20}
William Cock	Nov. 13	—	Harwich	diſmiſſed [bb]	Anno	1715
Bartholomew Clements	June 15	1700	Kinſale	died	Anno	
George Martin	July 8	—	Lizard	died	November	1732
Philip Cavendiſh [cc]	January 17	—	Feverſham	died	July	1743
William Power	17	—	Lime	died [dd]	Anno	170^{2}_{3}
Robert Watkins	28	—	Pearle	died	Anno	1732
Hon. Peregrine Bertie [ee]	March 3	—	Betty	died	Anno	1707
Rt. H. Jam. V. Durſley [ff]	April 2	1701	Sorlings	died	Sept. 2	1736
Thomas Hudſon	Dec. 21	—	Scarborough	died [gg]	25	1702
Hon. Henry Maynard [hh]	January 15	—	Charles Gally	died	Dec.	1742
Philip Boys	February 20	—	Defiance	died [ii]	January 20	1726
Stephen Martin [kk]	March 6	—	Mortar Bomb	died	Anno	1739

[a] Rear-admiral of the White 21ſt of April 1727, reſigned his Flag, Vice-admiral of the Blue in 1734, with a Penſion. [b] At Barbadoes. [c] Foundered at Sea in his Paſſage from Jamaica. [d] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue the 21ſt of April 1727, and died the 1ſt of March 1728-9, Rear-admiral of the Red. [e] In the Dunwich. [f] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue July 1728, Governor of Greenwich Hoſpital in March 1743-4, Admiral of the White, and knighted by King George in May 1744. [g] In the Victory, loſt at Sea, about the 4th of October 1744, not one Man ſaved. [h] Was ſuperannuated in 1698. [i] In the Goſport. [k] In the Falkland, in his Paſſage from Jamaica, where he had been Commodore from 1721. [l] In the Plymouth foundered at Sea. [m] Captain of Greenwich Hoſpital 1734, and Lieutenant-governor September 1737, and there died. [n] In the Blackwall, and the Ship then taken by the French. [o] In the Scarborough in the Eaſt-Indies. [p] Was Maſter Attendant, and Captain of a Hulk at Jamaica in 1701, called conjuring Dick Long, and very remarkable for foretelling Things. [q] In the Speedwell at Barbadoes. [r] Never took his Commiſſion as a Captain, but accepted to be a Purſer of a Firſt-rate. [s] Went on Diſcoveries in the Roebuck, who was caſt away on the Iſland of Aſſention. [t] Diſmiſſed from the Dolphin. [u] In the Queenborough. [w] In the Warwick in the Weſt-Indies. [x] In the Line, engaging a French Privateer. [y] In the Auguſt. [z] In the Ranelaugh at Leghorn. [aa] In the Pembroke engaging the French, who took the Ship in the Mediterranean. [bb] And ſince dead. [cc] Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital in 1721, appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue January 1728, Lord of the Admiralty March 1741-2, and died in that Poſt, and Admiral of the White, and Member of Parliament for Portſmouth. [dd] In the Yarmouth. [ee] Taken in the Ruby in 1707, carried into France and died there, he was ſecond Son to Robert Earl of Lindſay. [ff] Appointed Rear-admiral in 1708, Vice of the Red the 4th of November 1709, ſucceeded his Father as Earl of Berkeley 1712, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty the 30th of April 1717, Vice-admiral of Great Britain the 18th of March 1717-18, Knight of the Garter 1718, was removed from the Admiralty in 1727, and died in France, where he went for his Health. [gg] In the Pendennis at Port Royal Jamaica. [hh] By the Death of his Father Baniſter Lord Maynard, ſucceeded to the Title of Lord Maynard, March 2, 1717-18. [ii] By throwing himſelf out of a Window, at his own Houſe, being delirious. [kk] By the Death of Sir John Leake 1720, he aſſumed the Name of Leake, by Act of Parliament, 1721.

If we aſcend higher, and ſearch into the Memoirs of the naval Officers in the higheſt Rank, and read them without Partiality, there ſtill remains much Satisfaction to the inquiſitive Reader, before we finiſh the Hiſtory of this Reign. But as it would oblige us to enlarge this Work beyond the Bounds of a moderate Volume, with needleſs Repetitions of Facts, ſhould we enter into the Lives of all the Admirals; we ſhall only ſelect the Memoirs of the Admirals *Herbert*, *Legge*, *Ruſſel*, and *Berry*; thoſe of the Admirals *Bembow*, *Shovel*, *Delaval*, and *Rooke*, coming more properly under the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* ARTHUR HERBERT, *Admiral and Commander in Chief of the* ENGLISH *Fleet, created Baron* HERBERT *of* TORBAY, *and Earl of* TORRINGTON.

Mr. *Herbert*, the eldeſt Son of Sir *Edward Herbert* of *London*, Knt. deſcended from the *Herberts* of *Chirbury*, allied to the *Pembrokes*; having but a ſmall patrimonial Eſtate, his Father having ſuffered greatly in the Cauſe of King *Charles* I. tried his Fortune at Sea; and was diſtinguiſhed by the Duke of *York* ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, who, in the firſt *Dutch* War, promoted him to the Command of the *Pembroke* Man of War, then in the *Streights*; in which he gained great Repute by his Engagement with a *Zealander* of 34 Guns, and 180 Men, for ſeveral Hours ſo warmly, that the Enemy was glad to take the Advantage of the Night, and a fair Wind, to get clear of him into the Bay of *Cadiz* [a].

About ſix Weeks after, as he continued cruiſing in the *Streights*, he joined Rear-admiral *Kemptborne* with 16 or 17 Merchant-men under his Convoy, at the *Streights* Mouth, and arrived ſafe off *Portland*; where the *Pembroke* ran foul of the *Fairfax* in the Night, and ſunk at once; tho' Captain *Herbert*, and moſt of the Crew, were ſaved; and being taken up by another Ship in company, was landed at *Portſmouth*.

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[a] A. D. 1667.

He preſently got another Ship, and behaved both in that and in the ſecond *Dutch* War with great Magnanimity; was ſeveral Times wounded, and loſt an Eye in the Service: Towards the Concluſion of the ſecond *Dutch* War, he ſucceeded Sir *Fretchville Hollis*, who was killed in the *Cambridge* in the Battle of *Solebay*, and was ſo deſperately wounded, and his Ship ſo diſabled, that Prince *Rupert* ordered it home to refit.

In 1681 he was promoted to a Flag by the Stile of Rear-admiral of the Blue; and ſoon after he was entruſted with the Command of a Squadron to relieve *Tangier*, to curb the Inſolence of the *Algerines*, and to protect our Trade in the *Mediterranean*. He obliged the *Moors* to raiſe their Blockade, by favouring with his Sailors, landed at a proper Time and Place, the Sally of the beſieged; and by deſtroying their Ships, and otherwiſe diſturbing and diſtreſſing them by Sea, he forced the *Algerines* to ſubmit to equitable Terms.

He was ſoon after made a Vice-admiral, and was ſo greatly reſpected at Court, and beloved by the Sailors, that King *James* II. in the Beginning of his Reign, advanced him to the Rank of Vice-admiral of *England*, and made him alſo Maſter of the Robes [a]; no man, at that Time, appearing more deſerving of his Majeſty's Favour. But behold, on a ſudden, when *Herbert* was thought in the Zenith of his Prince's Favour, he was diſmiſſed from his Poſts and Employments for oppoſing the Repeal of the Text-act [b].

The Admiral being reduced to the State of a private Man, and with no very conſiderable Fortune to ſupport himſelf, and growing ſomewhat diffident of his Safety at home, retired, as other Patriots did about that Time, to *Holland*, where he was kindly received by the *States*, and by them promoted in their Fleet, as a Decoy for gaining over the *Engliſh* Seamen to their Service; which accordingly anſwered their Expectations: And as he was allowed to be a Man of great Experience and great Weight, and to have a perfect Knowledge of the *Engliſh* Fleet, and of the Commanders therein, the Prince of *Orange* admitted him into the moſt entire Confidence; and at laſt promoted him to the Title of Lieutenant-general, Admiral, and Commander in Chief of that Fleet, which brought the Prince of *Orange* over to *England*.

When that Prince publiſhed his Declaration, Admiral *Herbert* ſent the following Letter to the Commanders and Seamen of the *Engliſh* Fleet.

Gentlemen,

“ I have little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſſed “ in general Terms, beſides laying before you the dangerous Way you are at preſent in, where Ruin or Infamy “ muſt inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the “ Prince, in the common Cauſe, for the Defence of your “ Religion and Liberties; for ſhould it pleaſe God, for “ the Sins of the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſuffer your Arms to “ prevail, to what End can your Victory ſerve you, but “ to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the true Religion, “ in which you have lived, and your Fathers died, of “ which I beg you as a Friend to conſider the Conſequences, and to reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring “ on you, not only now, but in all After-ages, that by “ your Means the Proteſtant Religion was deſtroyed, and “ your Country deprived of its ancient Liberties; and if “ it pleaſes God to bleſs the Prince's Endeavours with “ Succeſs, as I do not doubt but he will, conſider then “ what their Condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo “ good a Deſign, where the greateſt Favour they can hope “ for is their being ſuffered to end their Days in Miſery “ and Want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good Men.

“ It is therefore, for theſe, and for many other Reaſons, “ too long to inſert here, that I, as a true *Engliſhman*, and “ your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the Prince “ for the Defence of the common Cauſe, the Proteſtant “ Religion, and the Liberties of your Country.

“ It is what I am well aſſured, the major and beſt Part “ of the Army, as well as the Nation, will do, as ſoon “ as Convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good an “ Action while it is in your Power, and make it appear, “ that as the Kingdom has always depended on the Navy “ for its Defence, ſo you will yet go further, by making “ it as much as in you lies the Protection of her Religion “ and Liberties; and then you may aſſure yourſelves of all “ Marks of Favour and Honour, ſuitable to the Merits “ of ſo glorious an Action. After this I ought not to add “ ſo inconſiderable a Thing, as that it will for ever engage “ me to be in a moſt particular Manner,

Aboard the *Leyden*
in the *Goree*.

Your faithful Friend,
and humble Servant,
AR. HERBERT.

When the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition was reſolved on, Mr. *Herbert* prevailed with him to put it off till the Autumn, when the *Engliſh* would not expect an Invaſion, and the *French* would not be able to march their Forces into *Holland*; and to ſail Weſtward, inſtead of ſteering for the *Humber*, as had been at firſt intended.

The Fleet arrived on the Coaſt of *England* on the 4th of *November*, and the next Day, by the Skill and Care of Admiral *Herbert*, the Troops were very ſoon landed, and by his Intelligence, with ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction in the Neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries. In a very few Days after, the good Effects of the Admiral's Letter appeared by the coming in of ſeveral Ships; the firſt of which was the *Newcaſtle*, lying at *Plymouth*, under the Command of Captain *Churchill* [c], and the Way being once broke, the Seamen declared in general for the Prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the Succeſs of this great Affair was owing to the Valour, Vigilance, and Prudence of this noble Perſon.

The Prince of *Orange*, ſoon after [d] his Advancement to the *Britiſh* Throne, placed Admiral *Herbert*, who was now at the Head of the Fleet, at the Head of the Admiralty alſo. He was immediately called out to Action, and gave ſignal Proofs of his Courage, Conduct, and Fidelity at *Bantry-Bay* [e]. He was in the hotteſt of the Service, himſelf had ſeveral of the largeſt of the Enemy's Ships upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which he continued to expoſe himſelf to encourage the Seamen Sword in Hand upon the Quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his Power to continue the Engagement, inſomuch, that many thought, that if the reſt of the Officers had done their Duty as well as he, they had given a better Account of the *French* than they did [f]: For which ſome Officers were called to a Court-martial, and broke. The King dined on-board his Ship [g], expreſſed great Satisfaction in his Conduct, and declared his Intention of creating him a Peer, as he afterwards did, on the 29th of the ſame Month, by the Title of Baron *Herbert* of *Torbay*, and Earl of *Torrington* [h]. The Houſe of Commons alſo were pleaſed to give him Thanks for the Service he had done the Nation in taking the firſt Opportunity to fight the *French* in *Bantry-Bay*, by their Speaker [i].

Admiral *Herbert*,

“ This Houſe hath taken Notice of the great Service “ you have performed in engaging the *French* Fleet: they “ do look upon it as one of the braveſt Actions done in “ this laſt Age, and expect it will raiſe the Reputation of

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[a] Columna Roſtrata.

[b] We have this Story at large in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, which we ſhall give in his own Words. “ So little Regard, ſays that Prelate, had the Chief-juſtice's neareſt Friends to his Opinion in this Particular, that his Brother Admiral Herbert, being “ preſſed by the King to promiſe that he would vote the Repeal of the Teſt, anſwered the King very plainly, that he could not do it, either in Honour nor Conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew he was a Man of Honour, but the reſt of his Life did not look like a Man that had great Regard “ to Conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his Faults, but they were ſuch, that other People, who talked more of Conſcience, were guilty of “ the like. He was indeed a Man abandoned to Luxury and Vice: But though he was poor, and had much to loſe, having Places to the Value of “ 4000 l. a Year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This made much Noiſe; for, as he had great Reputation for his Conduct in Sea-affairs, “ ſo he had been moſt paſſionately Zealous in the King's Service from his firſt ſetting out to that Day. It appeared by this, that no paſt Service would “ be conſidered, if Men were not reſolved to comply in every Thing.” Vol. I. p. 671.

[c] Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c.

[d] March 8, 1688-9.

[e] See Page 540.

[f] Impartial Account of ſome remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c.

[g] May 15.

[h] Burchett's naval Hiſtory, Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts.

[i] Martis 21°. die Maii, 1 W. & M.

“the *Engliſh* Valour to its ancient Glory. I do therefore, by the Command of this Houſe, return you their hearty Thanks for this Service, and deſire that you will communicate the like Thanks in their Name to the Officers and Seamen that ſerved under your Command, and to let them know that this Houſe will have a particular Regard of their Merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due Encouragement.”

Whereupon Admiral *Herbert* ſpake to the Effect as followeth.

SIR,

“I am in ſome Confuſion at this great and unexpected Honour, and the more, becauſe I want Words to expreſs my Senſe of it. The beſt Return that I think myſelf capable of making, is to aſſure this honourable Houſe, that, with my utmoſt Hazard, I will endeavour by my future Actions, to deſerve it, and will not fail to obey their Commands, in acquainting the Officers and Seamen who were with me, of the favourable Acceptation by this Houſe of their Service. And ſince the Houſe have ſo favourable an Opinion of their Actions, I would beg their leave to make an humble Motion, and I think it is a Thing becoming the Greatneſs of this Nation, and indeed has been the Care of almoſt all Nations, that have any Commerce at Sea: it is to aſſign ſome Place and Revenue for the Support of ſuch as are maimed in the Service and Defence of their Country. There is no ſufficient Proviſion made at preſent in this Kingdom, and indeed it is too great a Charge for the Crown. I therefore humbly move, it may be ordered by this Houſe, that an Act may paſs, that they may have a Support and Subſiſtence, after they have by Wounds been made uncapable of farther Service.”

Reſolved, That the Houſe will take Care to make a Proviſion for ſuch Seamen as are, or ſhall be wounded in their Majeſties Service, and for the Wives and Children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein; and that a Committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

And it is referred to Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Hales*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Sir *William Williams*, Mr. *Garway*, Mr. *Elwel*, Lord *Cooke*, Mr. *Holles*, Mr. *Papillon*, Mr. *Gwyn*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Sherrard*, Mr. *Bickerſtaff*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Mr. *Edward Ruſſel*, Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *Tho. Foley*, Sir *Duncan Colcheſter*, Mr. *Leveſon Gower*, Mr. *P. Foleys*, Sir *Henry Capell*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, Mr. *Cooke*, and Sir *Thomas Littleton*.

In 1690 he had the chief Command of the confederate Fleet, at which time no Officer ſtood ſo high in the Opinion of the Public: But the Clamour raiſed againſt him by the *Dutch*, ſupported by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and others of the *Dutch* Faction at Court, for the Loſs, or rather for what it was not in his Power to do, off *Beachy-head* on the 30th of *June* [a], threw him into Diſgrace with the Nation as well as the King, who committed him to the *Tower*, and to the Judgment of a Court-marſhal. But in the mean time his Lorſhip, being removed into the Cuſtody of the Marſhal of the Admiralty, he had not been there long, before he brought his Caſe into the Houſe of Commons. This was done by a Member's acquainting the Houſe, that this noble Peer was deſirous of being heard at their Bar, in reſpect to the Matter for which he was in Cuſtody. Opon this an Order was made for his Lordſhip's being brought thither the next Day, and the Serjeant at Arms was directed to ſerve the Marſhal of the Admiralty with a Copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, *November* the 12th, the Houſe being informed that his Lordſhip was in the Lobby, directed him to be brought in by the Serjeant, with the Mace, to a Chair ſet for him within the Bar, on the Left-hand of the Houſe as he came in; and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the Mace being laid upon the Table, his Lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the Back of the Chair uncovered, and was heard before the Houſe; after which his Lordſhip withdrew, the Mace attending him [b].

This is all we meet with in the Journal; but a Writer of thoſe Times aſſures us, that his Lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the Preſence of that Aſſembly, as not to be able to expreſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the Commons, that being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for Words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his Papers, which was allowed him. He then took Notice how early he had entered into his Country's Service, how many Years he had ſpent therein, and of his having ſpilled much Blood, as well as been deprived of his Eye, in their Quarrel. He proceeded next to the Loſs he had ſuſtained for ſupporting the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of *England* under King *James* II. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the Engagement with the *French* Fleet off *Beachy-Head*, in reſpect to which he excuſed his not fighting from the Want of Intelligence, Want of Ammunition, Shortneſs of Wind, Inequality of Numbers; and in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome Letters [c]; but all this was of little or no Uſe to his Lordſhip.

His Lordſhip therefore took his Trial on-board the *Kent* at *Sheerneſs*, and made ſo good a Defence, that he was acquitted with Honour [d]; and on *Thurſday*, *December* 11, he returned to Town in his Barge, with the *Union* flag flying, as bearing ſtill the King's Commiſſion of Admiral and Commander in Chief. He returned to his own Houſe, where he received the Compliments of his Friends, and the News, which could not ſurprize him much, that his Commiſſion was ſuperſeded.

He was almoſt the only Victim in that Reign, for he never received any Mark of Favour, much leſs enjoyed any Command afterwards [e]. He came, however, in a few Days to the Houſe of Peers, where he conſtantly attended the Buſineſs of the Nation for above twenty Years after this, without altering his Conduct in the leaſt, which is a manifeſt Proof that he was not governed by Prejudice or Caprice, but by Principle. He was always on the Side of the Crown, and very rarely in an Oppoſition to its Miniſters; ſometimes however he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the Reaſons of his Oppoſition might appear, and that the World might not aſcribe his Diſagreement with Men in Power, to Spleen. In Matters that related to the Navy, he was generally moſt forward, and, in reſpect to them, the Houſe heard him with Attention, and upon ſuch Occaſions he ſhewed himſelf commonly a Friend to ſtrict Diſcipline [f].

His Lordſhip was twice married, but never had any Children [g]; and after having ſpent the latter Part of his Life, in as much Privacy and Quiet, as he had done the former Scenes of it in Action, he breathed his laſt, *April* the 13th, 1716, in a good old Age, leaving the Bulk of his Eſtate to the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, merely out of Reſpect to that noble Perſon's ſteady Adherence to the ſame Cauſe, which the Earl of *Torrington* ſupported during his whole Life [h].

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* GEORGE LEGGE, *Baron of* DARTMOUTH, *Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet.*

George Legge, Eſq; was eldeſt Son of the famous Colonel *William Legge*, Groom of the Bedchamber to King *Charles* I. whoſe Fortune being greatly impaired by the Civil Wars, placed his Son *George* under the Care of that gallant Admiral Sir *Edward Spragg*, who had married the Colonel's Siſter. *George* was at this time [i] only 17; but he gave ſuch early Proofs of his Conduct and Courage, that in thoſe Days, when Merit was the Road to Preferment, he was raiſed without Envy, before he was 20 Years old, to the Command of the *Pembroke* [k].

During the Peace he applied himſelf ſo diligently to that Part of Mathematics, which is neceſſary for a good Soldier, that he attained to great Skill, as an Engineer; in which Character King *Charles* II. employed him, and then [l] gave him the Command of an independent Company of Foot.

In 1671, he was favoured with the Command of the *Fairfax*, and removed from that to the *Royal Catharine* in 1672,

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[a] See Page 546. [b] Journal Book of the Houſe of Commons, die Martis, Nov. 11. and die Mercur. Nov. 12, 1690. [c] See Page 549, &c. [d] See Page 548 to 552. [e] Kennet, Burchett, Burnet, Life of King William, Oldmixon, &c. [f] Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. 1. p. 436, 444. vol. 2. p. 5, 22, 29, 46, 72, 74, 430. [g] Peerage of England, printed for Abel Roper, London 1709, Octavo, p. 278. [h] Hiſtorical Regiſter of that Year. [i] A.D. 1665. A.D. 1667. [l] A.D. 1669.

1672, in which he ſerved with the higheſt Reputation, having beat the *Dutch* out, who boarded her while ſhe was ſinking, and after he had ſtopped her Leaks, brought her ſafe into Harbour; in which deſperate Service he received ſeveral Wounds. Towards the End of the ſame Year he was made Lieutenant-governor of *Portſmouth*, under his Royal Highneſs *James*, Duke of *York*; and in 1673, he was made Governor of that Place, and at the ſame time Maſter of the Horſe, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Duke[a]. In 1677, he was added as an Aſſiſtant in the Board of *Ordnance*, with a Salary of 300 l. *per Annum*; and the ſame Year was promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant-general of the *Ordnance*, and had alſo a Regiment of Foot beſtowed upon him.

Theſe extraordinary Marks of royal Favour were ſoon followed by ſtill greater Teſtimonies of Eſteem and Confidence, for in 1681, he was ſworn of the Privy Council to King *Charles* II. and in 1682, had a ſpecial Commiſſion to review all the Forts and Garriſons throughout the Kingdom of *England*, and was alſo conſtituted and appointed Commander in Chief. On the 2d of *December*, in the ſame Year, he was, by Letters Patent, raiſed to the Dignity of a Peer of this Realm, by the Title of Baron of *Dartmouth*, in the County of *Devon*.

The Secrecy with which it was neceſſary to conduct the Demolition of *Tangier*, induced the King[b] to make uſe of Lord *Dartmouth*, who was appointed Governor of *Tangier*, and General of his Majeſty's Forces in *Africa*, as well as Admiral of the Fleet, in order to enable him to execute his Inſtructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; ſo that on his return home, the King was pleaſed to make him a Grant of 10,000 l. as a Reward for that Service, beſides other Acknowledgments[c].

King *James* II. continued him in all his Poſts and Employments, and raiſed him alſo to Poſts of ſtill greater Conſequence, ſo that he was at once Maſter of the Horſe to the King, General of the *Ordnance*, Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, Captain of an independent Company of Foot, and one of the Privy Council. Theſe Employments he executed with ſo great Diligence and Reputation, that he ſtood as high in the Favour of the People, as he did in that of his Prince, and was always conſidered as the greateſt Encourager of Merit, and the moſt upright Man in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs, that the Age produced. He preſerved the Affection and Confidence of his Maſter to the laſt, and yet he was far from giving in to the King's fatal Inclinations to Popery and arbitrary Government.

When[d] the City of *Coventry* preſented King *James* II. with a large gold Cup and Cover, his Majeſty gave it immediately to his Lordſhip, with this Compliment; "I would have your Lordſhip," ſays he, "receive this Cup and Cover, as a Mark of the City of *Coventry*'s Concern for the Sufferings of your Father in it[e]." However the Jeſuitical Councils of that good natured Prince ſo far prevailed, that Sir *Roger Strickland*, a Papiſt, was preferred before him in the Fleet, till the King, alarmed with the Preparations in *Holland*, and the Diſturbances on-board the Fleet, occaſioned by *Strickland*'s Attempt to introduce Popiſh Chaplains, and Romiſh Officers, turned his Eyes towards Lord *Dartmouth*, for that Command of Admiral. How his Lordſhip conducted himſelf in that critical Juncture I have ſhewn before[f].

He ſubmitted to the Revolution, and lived quietly under the new Government; but his former Connections, and great Regard for the abdicated King, rendered him always ſuſpected of carrying on a ſecret Correſpondence with him, and was the Cauſe of his being committed to the *Tower* of *London*. During his Confinement a great Body of Sailors aſſembled, and expreſſed ſtrong Reſentment at the Report of his Lordſhip's being ill treated in Priſon; but the Earl being permitted to appear, he convinced them to the contrary; and they diſperſed immediately with a loud Huzza. However it is thought the Apoplexy, of which he died[g], on the 21ſt of *October* 1691, was the Effect of his Confinement. King *William* III. ordered, that all ſuch Marks of Reſpect ſhould be paid at his Funeral[h], as would have been due to him, if he had died poſſeſſed of all his Employments.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* EDWARD RUSSEL *Earl of* ORFORD, *and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet.*

Edward Ruſſel, Earl of *Orford*, was Grandſon of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, and ſecond Son of the Honourable *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; by *Penelope*, Daughter of Sir *Moſes Hill* of *Alleſbury* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Widow of Sir *William Brook*. He was born in the Year 1653, and educated to the Sea; and upon the Death of his elder Brother in 1674, ſucceeded to the Eſtate of the Family[i]. He was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of *York*; but upon the Death of the Lord *Ruſſel*, his Couſin-german, retired from Court[k]; and being extremely diſſatiſfied with King *James*'s Conduct in attempting to eſtabliſh arbitrary Power and the *Roman* Catholic Religion, he went over in 1688, to the Prince of *Orange*, upon pretence of viſiting a Siſter of his, who lived in *Holland*; and at the Requeſt of many Perſons of great Power and Intereſt in *England*, took the Opportunity of aſking that Prince, What might be expected from him in ſupport of the Liberties of that Kingdom? whoſe Anſwer was, That if he ſhould be invited over for that Purpoſe by ſome Men of the beſt Intereſt and Reputation in the Nation, he believed he might be ready by the End of *September* following. Mr. *Ruſſel*, on his Return to *England*, communicated the Deſign to the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Lord *Lumley*, and others, whom he engaged in it, and with whoſe Invitations and Letters, he and the Earl of *Shrewſbury* went over again to *Holland* in *September*; and in *November* following returned with the Prince of *Orange* into *England*.

King *William* III. made him one of his Privy Council; and in 1690, appointed him Admiral of the Blue[l]; then advanced him to the Command of the whole Navy, and made him Treaſurer of the ſame. On the 19th of *May* 1692, he gave a ſignal Defeat to the *French* Fleet under the Command of Monſ. *de Tourville* at *La Hogue*[m]. But this Victory might, it was imagined, have been carried much further; and the Admiral was cenſured by ſome Perſons on that Account, while he transferred the Blame to the Miniſtry at home, and particularly to the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State[n]. However in *November* following, he received the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons for his Conduct in that Action, as well as during the laſt Summer's whole Expedition[o].

Notwithſtanding this, his Majeſty thought proper to diſmiſs him from his Service in the Beginning of *February* 1692-3, though upon the ill Succeſſes of the Fleet the following Summer, Mr. *Ruſſel* was reſtored to his Poſt in *November* 1693. The Year following he ſailed for the *Mediterranean*, where his Fleet rode in Triumph, and ſhut up the *French* in the Harbour of *Toulon*; and by this Means the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Straits was added to that of the narrow Seas, a Check given to the victorious Arms of *France* in *Catalonia*, all the *French* Coaſts expoſed to the Inſults of the Confederates, and all the *Italian* Princes kept in Awe[p].

In 1695, the Admiral, by his Diligence, prevented the deſigned Invaſion of King *James*, who lay with a *French*

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[a] See the Memoirs of the Dutch War, p. 119. [b] A. D. 1683. [c] Particularly a Grant of a Fair to be held twice a Year, and a Market twice a Week, upon Blackheath, in the Pariſh of Lewiſham, in the County of Kent. The great Difficulty in executing his Commiſſion in Tangier, was to blow up all the Works there, without expoſing the Garriſon to the Moors; which Service he performed with equal Caution and Succeſs. [d] A. D. 1687. [e] This Story of his Father's Sufferings at Coventry, deſerves the Reader's Notice. The great Share Colonel William Legge had in the Favour of King Charles I. made him ſo obnoxious to the Rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the Earl of Derby, for being in Arms againſt them; and with that View they confined him in Coventry Goal. His Lady knowing their Cruelty, and having tried all her Intereſt with the People in Power in vain, at laſt contrived a very artful Method for making his Eſcape, which was as ſucceſsfully executed. With this View, ſhe hired an old Woman to lend him her Cloaths, which he put on, and having a Cloſe-ſtool-pan well filled between his Hands, the Smell kept the Keepers at ſuch a Diſtance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any Enquiries. After the Murder of King Charles I. he was much about the Perſon of the Duke of York, which inſpired his Majeſty with a great Tenderneſs for him and all his Family. [f] On Page 537, 538. [g] Aged 43. [h] He was buried near the Remains of his Father, in a Vault in the Little Minories Church. [i] Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 113. [k] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 763. [l] Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 561. Edit. 1706. [m] See the Account of this Battle and Victory, on p. 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564. [n] Kennet, p. 647, 648. [o] Burnet, Vol. II. p 94, 95. and Kennet, p. 654. See this Hiſtory, p. 564. [o] Kennet, p. 654, and Burnet, p. 103. [p] Kennet, p. 659, 664, 671.

Army ready to embark near *Dieppe*; for ſailing over to the Coaſts of *France* with the *Engliſh* Fleet under his Command, he ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy as defeated that Expedition [a].

Theſe and other eminent Services raiſed him, on the 7th of *May* 1697, to the Title of Baron of *Shingey* in the County of *Cambridge*, Viſcount *Barfleur* in the Duchy of *Normandy*, and Earl of *Orford* in the County of *Suffolk*. He was likewiſe appointed Vice-admiral of *England*, and twice one of the Lords Juſtices during his Majeſty's Abſence in *Holland*. But upon an Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, on the 3d of *April* 1699, concerning Miſmanagements in the Navy, which was chiefly levelled at his Lordſhip, he thought proper to reſign his Poſts [b]; and on the 9th of *May* 1701, was impeached by that Houſe of ſeveral high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, particularly for adviſing his Majeſty to enter into the Partition-treaty in 1698, and another in purſuance of it in 1699, which were repreſented as of the moſt dangerous Conſequence. He was charged likewiſe with taking great Grants from the King, and with Abuſes in managing the Fleet, and victualling it when it lay on the Coaſt of *Spain*; with ſeveral Orders given by him during his Command; and with procuring a Commiſſion for Captain *Kidd*, who had committed Piracies. The Earl put in his Anſwer in four Days; wherein he declared, that he had received but two Grants from the King; one a reverſionary Grant for ſome Houſes, the other a Grant of the Remainder of a groſs Sum amounting to about 2000 l. a Year. He opened the Affair of *Kidd*, in which he had acted legally, with good Intentions to the Public. He repreſented that his Accounts, while he commanded the Fleet, had been all examined and allowed. And he denied, that he had adviſed his Majeſty to the Partition-treaty, but, as far as he was any Ways acquainted with it, had objected to it, and given his Opinion againſt it [c]. Upon his Trial, *June* 23, 1701, his Lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted of the Articles charged upon him, and the Impeachment diſmiſſed. His Accounts were likewiſe, in 1703, juſtified by the Houſe of Lords. He was one of the Commiſſioners for the Union between *England* and *Scotland* in Queen *Anne*'s Reign, and of her Majeſty's Privy Council; and in 1709, upon the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Reſignation of the Office of Lord High Admiral, was offered that important Poſt, which he refuſed, but accepted of that of firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty [d], and held it till the Change of the Miniſtry the Year following. On the Deceaſe of that Queen, he was made choice of by King *George* I. to be one of the Lord Juſtices till his Arrival from *Hanover*; after which he was appointed of the Privy Council, and again made firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty. He died at his Houſe in *Covent Garden*, *London*, *November* 26, 1727, in the 75th Year of his Age. Biſhop *Burnet* ſtiles him [e] a Man of much Honour and great Courage, who had good Principles, and was firm to them.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* JOHN BERRY, *Knight*, *Rear-admiral of* ENGLAND.

Mr. *John Berry* was the ſecond Son of the Reverend Mr. *Daniel Berry*, Vicar of *Kneveſton* and *Molland* in *Devonſhire*, who was reduced to ſuch Want by the Fanaticks in the Times of Confuſion and Rebellion (being driven from his Living to make way for an independent Preacher, and plundered of all he had for the Support of himſelf and nine ſmall Children) that he died of Grief in the 45th Year of his Age. *John* was about ſeventeen at his Father's Death, and bound himſelf to Mr. *Robert Mering*, a Merchant and Part-owner of ſeveral Ships at *Plymouth*.

During his Apprenticeſhip, he went to Sea in his Maſter's Service, and was taken twice by the *Spaniards*, and ſuffered long Impriſonment: But to make up theſe Sufferings, his Maſter, who was greatly reduced in his Circumſtances, and had little or nothing for him to do, gave him up his Time.

Mr. *Berry* made the beſt of his Way to *London*; and by beating amongſt his Friends, got a Boatſwain's Birth on-board the *Swallow*-Ketch, commanded by Captain *Inſam*, ordered to the *Weſt-Indies* in company with two Frigates, which were both loſt in the Gulph of *Florida*; and the *Swallow* was obliged to cut down her Maſts, heave her Guns over-board, and all her Proviſions; in which Condition the Men lived only upon the Fiſh they caught, and Rain-water, for 16 Weeks, when they got into *Campeachy*; from whence, being victualled, they ſailed for *Jamaica*, whoſe Governor Sir *Thomas Middiford*, a *Devonſhire* Man, refitted the *Swallow* with eight Guns and Proviſions, and diſpatched her in queſt of a Pirate that infeſted thoſe Seas; and gave Mr. *Berry* the Title of Lieutenant.

They in three Weeks diſcovered the Pirate at Anchor in a Bay off the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. He had about 60 Men and 20 Guns; whereas the *Swallow* had but 40 Men and eight ſmall Guns. Captain *Inſam* having conſidered the Enemy's Strength, and compared it with his own, called up all his Men, and addreſſed them in theſe Words: "Gentlemen, the Blades we are to attack are Men at "Arms, old *Buccaneers*, and ſuperior to us in Number, "and in the Force of their Ship; and therefore I would "have your Opinion, whether—." "Sir," interrupted Lieutenant *Berry*, "we are Men at Arms too, and, which "is more, honeſt Men, and fight under the King's Com"miſſion; and if you have no Stomach for Fighting, be "pleaſed to walk down into your Cabbin." The Crew applauded this Motion, and declared, one and all, for Captain *Berry*; who undertook this Affair with great Diſadvantage. The Pirate rode at Anchor to the Windward, by which the *Swallow* was obliged to make two Trips under her Lee, in which ſhe received two Broadſides, and two Volleys of ſmall Shot, without returning a Gun. Mr. *Berry* then boarded her on the Bow, pouring in his Broadſide, which killed the Pirate 22 Men on the Spot: They then fought their Way to the Main-maſt, where they called to the Doctor and his Mate to get over-board, and hang by the Rudder; which they did, and ſoon after the Pirate was taken, having only ſeven Men left, and thoſe all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in *Jamaica*. On board the *Swallow* there was none killed but the Boatſwain's Mate. Nevertheleſs, the cowardly Captain brought *Berry* to a Court-Martial at *Jamaica*; but that only ſerved to illuſtrate his Character, and raiſe his Reputation. So that on his Return to *England*, the Government gave him the Sloop *Maria* of 14 Guns; with which, in the Space of 14 Months, he took 32 Prizes. He then was made Captain of the *Coronation* of 56 Guns, a hired Ship, and ſent to protect the Trade in the *Weſt-Indies*; where, being joined by eight large Merchant-ſhips converted into Men of War by the Governor of *Barbadoes*, he, as Commodore, ſailed to cover *Nevis* from the *French*, who at *St. Kit's* were fitting out 22 Men of War and Frigates, ſix large Tranſports of their own, and four *Dutch*, to conquer that Iſland.

As he turned the Point of *Nevis*, his Men were a little frighted at the blowing up of one of his beſt Ships, by an Accident, juſt as the *French* Fleet came in ſight; but the Commodore raiſed their Spirits with great Preſence of Mind: "Now, ſaid he, you have ſeen an *Engliſh* Ship "blow up; let us try if we can't blow up *Frenchmen*. "There they are, Boys! and if we don't beat them, they "will beat us." Having ſaid this, he immediately began the Fight with the *French* Admiral, and, after a briſk Engagement of upwards of 13 Hours, forced this mighty Fleet to fly for Shelter under the Cannon of *St. Chriſtopher's*, whither he purſued them, ſent in a Fire-ſhip, and burnt the *French* Admiral. Seeing her in Flames, he ſaid to his Seamen, "I told you in the Morning, that we ſhould burn a "*Frenchman* before Night; To-morrow we will try what "we can do with the reſt." But while he was refitting his Ships, the Enemy wiſely ſtole away; the *French* to *Martinico*, and the *Dutch* to *Virginia*.

The Havock made by the *French* and *Dutch* upon *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Antigua*, and *Mountſerrat*, and the Terror their Force in thoſe Seas ſtruck into the reſt of our Iſlands, obliged the Government at home to diſpatch a more powerful Squadron to ſtem the Current of their Succeſs; which

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[a] Kennet, p. 711, and Burnet, Vol. II. p. 167, 168. [b] Boyer's Life of King William III. Vol. III. p. 375, 376, 377. [c] Kennet, p. 806, 807, 819, and Burnet, p. 272, 273, 565. [d] Burnet, p. 537, 553. [e] Vol. I. p. 763.

Squadron ſailed under the Command of Sir *John Harman*, with Orders to ſend home Commodore *Berry*, who, on his Return to *England*, was greatly careſs'd, ſerved both in the *Channel* and *Mediterranean* with great Reputation, and was knighted for his gallant Behaviour at the famous Action in *Southwold Bay* [a], when he commanded the *Reſolution*, a 70 Gun Ship. In this Battle, the Captain obſerving that his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, then Lord High Admiral of *England*, was very hard preſſed, he left his Station, and came in to his Relief; where the Service proved ſo hot, that in leſs than two Hours he had no fewer than 120 Men killed, as many more wounded, and his Ship ſcarce able to float: Upon this he was towed out of the Line, ſtopt his Leaks, and fell into his Place again in an Hour.

Sir *John Berry* had the Command of the *Glouceſter* Frigate of 40 Guns, and was charged with the Embarkation of the Duke of *York* and his Retinue, when the Exigencies of the State made it neceſſary for that Prince to retire to *Scotland* [b]. And had the Duke liſtened to his Obſervation at the Mouth of the *Humber*, and laid to for a Night, which was oppoſed by the Pilot, who was the Duke's Favourite, it is probable they might have ſaved the Ship, which in three quarters of an Hour after ſtruck upon the Sand, called the *Lemon* and *Ore*, and was loſt. However, in the midſt of this Diſtreſs, Sir *John* preſerved his wonted Courage and Conduct, and made ſuch Diſpoſition for the Preſervation of his Charge, that, by ſtanding with his drawn Sword, in the Stern of the Long-boat, to hinder People crowding in, he ſaved the Duke, and ſuch of his Attendants as the Boat was capable of carrying off with Safety: Yet Sir *John* was obliged, according to the Rules of the Navy, to anſwer for this Loſs before a Court-Martial, though it was the Pilot's Fault. But this did not leſſen him in the Eſteem of his Patrons at Court, for he was ſoon after promoted to a Flag, and commanded as Vice-admiral, under Lord *Dartmouth*, at the Demolition of *Tangier*. In this critical Expedition, Sir *John* gave ſuch remarkable Teſtimonies of his Courage and Conduct, and took ſuch Care in bringing off all the *Engliſh*, and their Effects, that upon his return home, he was made a Commiſſioner of the Navy; in which Poſt he continued to the Day of his Death [c].

King *James* II. paid great Regard to his Judgment and and Counſel in Matters relating to the Management of the Fleet; and when it was known that the *Dutch* meditated an Invaſion, and a Fleet was fitted out to defend our Coaſts, Sir *John Berry* was appointed Vice-admiral, and hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Elizabeth*, a Third-rate, the Admiral, Lord *Dartmouth*, being in the *Reſolution*, and the Rear-admiral, Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, firſt in the *Montague*, and then in the *Edgar*. After the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, when Lord *Dartmouth* thought fit to leave the Fleet, the ſole Command of it devolved on Sir *John Berry*, who held it until it was laid up.

King *William* alſo held him in great Eſteem for his Abilities in maritime Affairs; but we do not find that his Majeſty gave him any profitable Poſt; Sir *John*, perhaps, being contented with his former Appointments, as Commiſſioner of the Navy, Governor of *Deal Caſtle*, and Captain of an independant Company: Nor could it ever be conjectured for what End, or from what Hand, it could happen, that he was poiſoned on-board one of his Majeſty's Ships, as he was paying ſome of them off at *Portſmouth*, in the Beginning of *February* 1691 [d]. His Corpſe, according to his own Direction, was carried from *Portſmouth* to *London*, and decently interred in the Chancel of *Stepney* Church, where a noble Monument [e] is erected to his Memory, all of white Marble, adorned with his Buſt in Alabaſter.

C H A P. IV.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS, *State of* TRADE and COMMERCE, DICOVERIES *and* LIVES *of eminent* SEAMEN, *from the Acceſſion of Queen* ANNE, *to the Union of* ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND.

THE Crown having, by the Act of Settlement, devolved to Queen *Anne* upon the Demiſe [f] of King *William* III. both Houſes of Parliament immediately aſſembled and recognized her Majeſty. The Commons unanimouſly voted a moſt loyal Addreſs; and the Lords, at the ſame time, deſiring a Conference, acquainted them, That whereas it had pleaſed Almighty God, to take to himſelf the late King *William* III. of glorious Memory, the Princeſs *Anne* being the only rightful and lawful Queen of theſe Realms, the Lords had thought fit to acquaint the Commons, that Orders were given, in the uſual Form, for proclaiming her Majeſty at Three of the Clock that Afternoon.

The Privy-council waited upon her Majeſty in a Body, whom ſhe received with a Dignity becoming her exalted Station, and with Aſſurances, that ſhe would purſue the Syſtem of her Predeceſſor for preſerving both Church and State, and for maintaining the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and in particular, that ſhe would carry on all Preparations which were making for oppoſing the great Power of *France*, which her Majeſty more copiouſly repeated to both Houſes of Parliament next Day; they continuing to ſit, agreeable to an Act made five Years before, providing for the Safety of the Nation, upon the King's Death.

Her next Step was to gain the Confidence of her Allies. The Earl of *Marlborough* was immediately diſpatched to *Holland*, to give the *States* full Aſſurance of her maintaining the Alliances which had been concluded by the late King, and of doing every thing which the common Concerns of *Europe* required. This was very acceptable, and raiſed the drooping Spirits of their *High-Mightineſſes*, who were ſtruck with a terrible Damp upon the News of King *William*'s Death.

In the Promotion of Officers [g], the Queen declared her Royal Conſort *George* Prince of *Denmark*, Generaliſſimo of all her Forces by Sea and Land; and the Earl of *Marlborough* Captain-general, and the Duke of *Ormond* Commander of the Land-forces, to be employed on-board the Fleet. She alſo appointed Lord *Godolphin* Lord-treaſurer, and the Earl of *Nottingham* and Sir *Charles Hedges* Secretaries of State.

The Earl of *Marlborough*'s Return from *Holland*, determined the Reſolutions of the *Britiſh* Court in regard to their Conduct, as Auxiliaries or Principles in the *French* War. There were ſome Objections made to the latter, which perhaps might be the moſt prudent and ſaving Method; but it was carried, and War was accordingly declared againſt *France* and *Spain* [h], with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament. The Lords, on the 5th of *May* preſented the following Addreſs to her Majeſty.

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, do return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks, "for laying before us the Convention made by your Majeſty with the *Emperor* and the *States-General*, in order "to a concurrent Declaration of War againſt *France* and "*Spain*, and of your Royal Intention to declare the War "accordingly; and beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that "we ſhall never be wanting to give your Majeſty our utmoſt Aſſiſtance, in the proſecuting ſo juſt and neceſſary "a War, on the good Succeſs whereof, under God, the "Welfare of theſe your Kingdoms, and the Liberties of "*Europe*, do entirely depend."

The Commons preſented their Addreſs to the ſame Effect, the Day before, containing theſe few Lines.

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[a] 28 May 1672.

[b] A D. 1682, April 8th.

[c] Memoirs of the Lord Dartmouth, cited in the former Life.

[d] Aged 56.

[e] Over his Head are the Arms of his Family, viz. in a Field, Gules, three Bars, Or; and on a white marble Table underneath, the following Inſcription: "Ne id neſcias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, Devonienſis, dignitate equeſtri clarus, mari tantum non imperator, de rege & patriâ (quod & barbari norunt) bene meritus, magnam ob res fortiter geſtas adeptus gloriam famæ ſatur, poſt multas reportatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci non potuit, fatis "ceſſit 14 Feb. 1691, baptizatus 7 Jan. 1635."

[f] March 8, 1702.

[g] April 17, 1702.

[h] May 4, 1702.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

“ We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects,
“ the Commons of *England*, in Parliament aſſembled, be-
“ ing highly ſenſible of your Majeſty's great and tender
“ Care for the Safety and Welfare of your People, do,
“ with one Voice, return your Majeſty our moſt humble
“ Thanks for your gracious Condeſcenſion in communi-
“ cating to us your Royal Intentions of declaring War, in
“ Conjunction with your Majeſty's Allies, againſt the
“ *French* King and his Grandſon; and we do heartily aſſure
“ your Majeſty, that we will, to the utmoſt, enable your
“ Majeſty to carry on the ſaid War.”

In the Promotions of Sea-officers [a], the Earl of *Pembroke* [b], who had executed the Office of Lord High Admiral with the greateſt Applauſe, was removed to give place to *George* Prince of *Denmark*, whom the Queen then appointed Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Iſlands of the ſaid Kingdoms, and of all other her Majeſty's Plantations, Dominions, and Territories, in Parts beyond the Seas, poſſeſſed by any of her Majeſty's Subjects: And on the 23d, his Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, appointed Sir *George Rooke* Vice-admiral of *England*, and Admiral of her Majeſty's Fleet, Sir *David Mitchel*, *George Churchil*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet, and *Richard Hill*, Eſq; to be his Council as Lord High Admiral of *England*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* had deſigned an Expedition under the Management and Command of Sir *John Munden*, which was intended for intercepting a Squadron of *French* Ships that were to ſail from the *Groyne*, in order to carry the new Vice-roy of *Mexico* to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. He ſailed on the 12th of *May* 1702, with eight Ships of the Third-rate, the *Saliſbury* a Fourth-rate, and two Frigates; when he was at Sea, he communicated his Orders to his Captains, which hitherto had been abſolutely ſecret. On the 16th he found himſelf on the Coaſt of *Galicia*; whereupon he ſent the *Saliſbury* and *Dolphin* to gain Intelligence, in which they failed. He then ſent them a ſecond time, and they brought off a *Spaniſh* Boat and a *French* Bark, with ſeveral Priſoners, who aſſerted, that there were 13 *French* Ships of War, bound from *Rochelle* to the *Groyne*, and therefore Sir *John* iſſued the neceſſary Orders for keeping his Squadron between them and the Shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. Theſe Orders were iſſued on the 27th, and the very next Day he diſcovered 14 Sail between Cape *Prior* and Cape *Ortugal*, cloſe under the Shore, to whom he inſtantly gave Chace; but they out-ſailing him very much, got into the *Groyne* before he could poſſibly come up with them. Upon this he called a Council of War; in which his Captains took into Conſideration,

1, “ The Intelligence from a Perſon who belonged to a
“ *French* Merchant-ſhip from *Rochelle*, and ſome *Spaniards*
“ taken from the Shore; the former affirming, that when
“ he came from *Rochelle*, he left there 12 Ships of War
“ in the Road, ready to ſail to the *Groyne* with the firſt
“ fair Wind; that one of them had 70 Guns, one 50,
“ and all the reſt 60; and that the *Faulcon* (a Fourth-rate
“ taken from us the laſt Year) was going thither before
“ them.

2. “ That the *Spaniards* are very poſitive the Duke of
“ *Albuquerque* was at the *Groyne* with 2000 Soldiers, and
“ that there were already in that Port three *French* Ships
“ of War of 50 Guns each, and 12 more expected from
“ *Rochelle*; and ſince both theſe Accounts ſo well agreed,
“ and it was judged there were 17 Ships of War in the
“ Port, that the Place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, and the
“ Paſſage thereinto very difficult, it was unanimouſly de-
“ termined, that they could not be attempted there, with
“ any Probability of Succeſs; and that, by remaining in
“ the Station, they could not have any Proſpect of doing
“ Service; ſo that it was judged proper to repair into the
“ Soundings for protecting the Trade.”

This Sir *John* accordingly did, about the Middle of *June*; but then the Squadron being much diſtreſſed for Proviſions, it was found neceſſary, on the 20th of that Month, to repair into Port.

The Return of this Squadron, without having effected any Thing, occaſioned a great Clamour; for though the Rear-admiral, and all the Captains in his Squadron, did unanimouſly conclude, that at leaſt 12 of the 14 Ships which they chaſed into the *Groyne*, were Men of War; yet it was afterwards known that there were no more than eight Ships of Force, and the reſt Tranſports for the Soldiers: It was therefore thought neceſſary to have this Matter thoroughly examined into by a Court-Marſhal. Accordingly his Royal Highneſs (who was now entered on the Office of Lord High-Admiral) iſſued his Orders for that Purpoſe to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Admiral of the White, who ſummoned a Court at *Spithead*, the 13th of *July*.

This Court ſat on-board her Majeſty's Ship the *Queen*, where were preſent Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Admiral of the White, Preſident; and the Captains following, *viz. Cole*, *Myngs*, *Leake*, *Greenhill*, *Turvill*, *Swanton*, *Good*, *Mayne*, *Kerr*, *Clarke*, *Ward*, *Cooper*, *Bridges*, *Maynard*, *Crow*, *Littleton*, and *Hollyman*.

Sir *John* was accuſed of wilfully permitting the Enemies Ships to eſcape him; of want of Courage to follow them into the *Groyne*; for calling off the *Saliſbury* Man of War when engaged; and for releaſing his *French* Priſoners.

With reſpect to the firſt Article alledged againſt him, *viz.* “ That after he had received Intelligence of the Ene-
“ my's Ships being daily expected, he did ſtand ſo far off
“ from the Land as 10 Leagues, or more, on the 27th
“ of *May* in the Evening, and did tack ſo late as four
“ in the Morning following; ſo that, by that Means, the
“ Enemy's Ships paſſed by his Squadron, and got into
“ the *Groyne*.”

The Court having ſtrictly inſpected and examined the Journals of the Captains, and other Officers of that Squadron, it appeared to them by the general Computation, that Sir *John Munden*, with his Squadron, was no more than about three Leagues from the Shore, off of Cape *Prior*, at nine at Night, when he ſtood off, and about ſeven Leagues, at three in the Morning, when he tacked again, and ſtood in; and in conſideration of its being hazy Weather, that there was no Anchoring on the Coaſt, and that Cape *Ortegal* (the Station to which he was making) was a proper Place for intercepting the Enemy's Ships; and that he ordered his Scouts, in a convenient Station for giving him Notice of their appearing: The Court was of Opinion, that there was no Miſmanagement, or Failure of Duty, with relation to this Particular.

2. “ For not following the Ships into the *Groyne*, and
“ not endeavouring to deſtroy them there.”

The Court having duly weighed the Motives which induced Sir *John Munden*, and the Captains, at their Conſultation, to deſiſt from attempting the ſaid Ships in the Harbour, they were of Opinion, That conſidering the Difficulties that muſt have attended the going in, and the Strength of the Place, it was not adviſeable, or practicable, to attack them after they were got into the *Groyne*.

3. “ For the calling off the *Saliſbury*, by a Signal, when
“ engaged with a *French* Man of War, on the 16th of
“ *May*, and not ſending ſome other Ships to her Aſſiſt-
“ ance: By which Means the ſaid *French* Ship might pro-
“ bably have been taken.”

To this Sir *John* anſwered, That the Ship which the *Saliſbury* gave Chaſe to, was ſtanding right in with his Squadron; and that, therefore, he had Hopes of her falling in with him by the Courſe ſhe ſteered; but when he perceived the *Saliſbury* was engaged, he ſtood to her Aſſiſtance, with his whole Squadron, and continued ſo to do till they had made the Land; and not being able to come up with her, did then purſue his Inſtructions, in keeping as much undiſcovered as he could, in order to gain Intelligence of the Enemy.

The Court being ſatisfied with his Account of this Matter, judged him not blameable in this Particular.

4.

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[a] May 21, 1702. [b] Who was actually preparing to go to Sea. A large Penſion was offered him; but his Lordſhip anſwered, with great Generoſity and public Spirit, that however convenient it might be for his private Intereſt, yet the accepting ſuch a Penſion was inconſiſtent with his Principles; and therefore, ſince he could not have the Honour of ſerving his Country in Perſon, he would endeavour to do it by his Example.

4. “ The ſetting on-ſhore the Men and Women taken “ in the *Spaniſh* Boat, which might have been exchanged “ for ſuch *Engliſh* as were under Confinement at the *Groyne*.

The Court having examined this Matter, it appeared, that thoſe who were thus taken were either Women, or innocent People, and no military Perſons amongſt them; and that, therefore, they thought what he did therein was conformable to Practice, in the like Caſes, and found no Reflection or Blame on this Occaſion.

And therefore the Court having fully and maturely deliberated on all theſe Circumſtances of the foregoing Allegations, were of Opinion, that Sir *John Munden* had fully cleared himſelf of the whole Matter contained in them, and (as far as it appeared to them) had complied with his Inſtructions, and behaved himſelf with great Zeal and Diligence in the Service; and accordingly the Court did acquit the ſaid Sir *John Munden* of the Particulars of this Charge. But this Acquittal raiſed ſuch an Outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broken.

The grand Fleet being fitted out with all Expedition, it was deſtined againſt *Cadiz*: And being joined by the *Dutch* Squadron, with a Quota of Troops on-board, Sir *George Rooke* hoiſted the Union Flag on-board the *Royal Sovereign* on the 30th of *May* 1702; and on the 1ſt of *June* his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark* dined on-board the Admiral, and took a View of the Fleet and Army, which was ſoon in a Condition to ſail. Beſides Sir *George Rooke*, there were the following Flags, *viz.* Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, who carried a Red Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head of the *Prince George*; Rear-admiral *Fairbourne*, who carried the White at the Mizen-top-maſt-head of the *St. George*; and Rear-admiral *Graydon*, who carried the Blue Flag in the ſame Manner in the *Triumph*. There were five *Dutch* Flags, *viz.* two Lieutenant-admirals, two Vice-admirals, and a Rear. The Strength of this Fleet conſiſted in 30 *Engliſh*, and 20 *Dutch* Ships of the Line, excluſive of ſmall Veſſels and Tenders, which made in all about 160 Sail. As to the Troops, the *Engliſh* conſiſted of 9663, including Officers, and the *Dutch* of 4138, in all 13,801. The *Engliſh* Ships of the Line were; the *Aſſociation*, *Monmouth*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridge*, *Prince George*, *Oxford*, *Yarmouth*, *Grafton*, *Cumberland*, *Lenox*, *Berwick*, *Triumph*, *Torbay*, *Pembroke*, *Northumberland*, *Barfleur*, *Stirling Caſtle*, *Burford*, *St. George*, *Expedition*, *Chicheſter*, *Swiftſure*, *Kent*, *Boyne*, *Bedford*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Ranelagh*, *Plymouth*, *Eagle*, and *Somerſet*. The 19th the Fleet weighed from *Spithead*, and came to an Anchor at *St. Helens*. The 22d Rear-admiral *Fairbourne*, and Rear-admiral *Graydon*, were detached, with 30 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, firſt to look into the *Groyne*, and if they ſaw any Squadron of *French* Ships there, to block them up; but, if they found none, to cruiſe off of Cape *Finiſter*, at 10 or 12 Leagues Diſtance, Northweſt; but the Body of the Fleet did not reach the *Start* 'till the 21ſt of *July*.

The next Day they got off of the *Deadman*, from whence continuing their Courſe croſs the Bay of *Biſcay*, with little Wind, northerly, they reached the Station for joining Rear-admiral *Fairbourne*, on the 30th. The laſt of *July* the *Lime* Frigate was ſent to the *Groyne*, in queſt of Admiral *Fairbourne*, and returned the 3d of *Auguſt*, with Advice, that neither he, nor any of the *French* Fleet, were in the *Groyne*. Sir *George* hereupon made a Signal for all the Flag and Land General-officers, to come on-board him to a Council.

About One in the Afternoon they bore away, and about Two the *Plymouth* came into the Fleet, with Advice, that Admiral *Fairbourne*, with his Squadron, was about nine Leagues S. W. from thence, and that Captain *Norris*, in the *Orford*, had taken three *French* Prizes, and the *Dutch* two. The 7th, the Admiral made the Signal for all the Cruiſers to come in, and ſent off the *Lime* Frigate for Intelligence. The next Morning the *Orford* came into the Fleet, from Admiral *Fairbourne*, as the Admiral himſelf did, with his Squadron, about Noon, after having been reduced to great Streights for Want of Proviſions. Soon after the whole Fleet made the Rock of *Liſbon*, towards which Place Sir *George* ſent the *Kent* and *Pembroke* Frigates. On the 9th they returned, and the Admiral and General having received all the Advice they could from Mr. *Methuen*, her Majeſty's Envoy at *Liſbon*, and the Prince of *Heſſe*, (the latter of whom, together with the Son of the former, arrived the 10th, with the *Adventure*, *L'Ayſtoff*, and *Lime*) concerning the State of *Cadiz*, a Council of War of Land and Sea-officers was called the 11th. The next Morning the Cruiſers brought three *Tartans* into the Fleet, and the *Iſabella* Yatcht brought Advice from *Liſbon*, that four *French* Men of War and four Gallies were in that Harbour.

The ſame Morning Sir *George* made his Signal to draw up in a Line of Battle, and ſteered away for *Cadiz*, which, by Noon, he had about ſix Leagues diſtant. About Five, the ſame Afternoon, the Fleet anchored in the *Bay of Bulls*, about two Leagues from *Cadiz*, *Rota* bearing N. by E. and *Cadiz*, E. N. E. The *French* Men of War, and the Gallies, which lay in the Bay, retired within the *Puntals*.

The next Day the Duke of *Ormond* ſent a Trumpet, with a Letter, to the Duke *de Brancaccio*, the Governor, whom the Duke had known in the *Spaniſh* Service, in the laſt confederate War: But in Anſwer to the Letter, inviting him to ſubmit to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; *Brancaccio* declared, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the Truſt that was repoſed in him by the King. On the 15th of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Ormond* landed his Forces in the *Bay of Bulls*, above a Mile on the Left of *St. Katherine*'s Fort, the Cannon of which fired on his Men all the while, but with little Execution. The firſt that landed were 1200 Grenadiers, led by Brigadier *Pallant*, and the Earl of *Donnegall*; they were obliged to wade to the Shore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time Captain *Jumper* in the *Lenox*, and ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* light Frigates, kept firing on the Horſe that appeared near the Coaſt, and they were ſoon after repulſed by the *Engliſh* Foot. The Duke of *Ormond*, as ſoon as the Troops were landed, ſent to ſummon Fort *St. Katharine*; but the Governor replied, he had Cannon mounted, with Powder and Ball ſufficient to receive him. On the 16th the whole Army marched to a Camp marked out for them near *La Rota*, a Town within a League of the Place, where they landed, from which moſt of the Inhabitants were fled; but ſtrict Orders being given againſt plundering, many of them returned; and had the *Spaniards* given due Attention to the Duke's Declaration, publiſhed at his firſt coming on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, they needed not to have been in any Conſternation.

The Duke of *Ormond* having left a Garriſon of 300 Men in *La Rota*, marched on the 20th of *Auguſt* towards Port *St. Mary*'s. Some Squadrons of *Spaniſh* Horſe, about 600 in Number, fired upon the Duke's advanced Guards, and killed Lieutenant-colonel *Gore*'s Horſe, amongſt the Dragoons, but retired on the Approach of the *Engliſh* Grenadiers, of whom a Detachment under Colonel *Pierce*, of the Guards, were ſent to take Fort *St. Katharine*, which they did, and made 120 *Spaniards* Priſoners of War. The Duke entered Port *St. Mary*'s, attended by moſt of the General-officers, *viz.* Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, Lieutenant-general; the Earl of *Portmore*, Sir *Charles Hara*, and Baron *Spaar*, Majors-general; Colonel *Seymour*, Colonel *Lloyd*, Colonel *Matthews*, Colonel *Hamilton*, and Colonel *Pallant*, now Brigadiers-general: And notwithſtanding the ſtrict Orders the Duke had iſſued againſt Plunder, there was a very great Failing in the Execution of them, for which Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, and Sir *Charles Hara*, were put under Arreſt. When they came to *England*, *Bellaſis* was diſmiſſed the Service; and though *Hara* eſcaped publick Cenſure, he did not private. Mr. *Methuen*, her Majeſty's Envoy in *Portugal*, in a Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, dated *Auguſt* the 1ſt, gave this wholeſome Advice concerning the Conduct of the Army: That the Point of greateſt Importance, was, to inſinuate to the *Spaniards*, and ſhew by their Proceeding, that they came not as Enemies to *Spain*, but only to free them from *France*, and give them Aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh themſelves under the Government of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It being found too difficult to approach *Cadiz* while the *Spaniards* were in Poſſeſſion of *Matagorda* Fort, over-againſt the *Puntal*, it was ordered to be attacked, and a Battery of four Pieces of Cannon erected againſt it; but upon every firing, the Guns ſunk into the Sands, and after a fruitleſs Attempt, the Deſign was given over, and the Troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with Intention to make the beſt of their Way home, agreeable to a Council of War, at which were preſent, of Sea-officers, Sir *George Rooke*, Admiral, Lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*, the Vice-admirals *Hopſon*, *Vandergoes*, and *Pieterſon*, and the Rear-admirals *Fairbourne*, *Waſſenaer*, and *Graydon*; and of Land-officers, his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, the Lord *Portmore*, Baron *Spar*, Sir *Charles O Haro*, and the Brigadiers *Paland*, *Hamilton*, and *Seymour*. The Debate was, whether upon the Conſideration of the Oppoſition, and Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards* in *Andaluſia*, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Difficulties which might be expected from the Seaſon of the Year, the Averſion which they might reaſonably expect to find from the People of any other Part of *Spain*, (which by the bye, their Behaviour at *St. Mary*'s was probably, in a great meaſure, the Occaſion of) and the Want of Intelligence, which the Army had been wholly deſtitute of, ſince they had been on-ſhore; and beſides, that the *Dutch* Troops could not be ſupplied with Proviſions from their Fleet for a longer time than a Month (for the Truth of which we refer to what has been ſaid above from Biſhop *Burnet*) that the Army would be greatly diminiſhed, by the Detachment to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, with Captain *Walker*, and the Inconveniencies which might ariſe from Sickneſs. Theſe Matters, being thoroughly debated, and the Queſtion put, whether, as the Reſult of theſe Conſiderations, it would be reaſonable to attempt a ſecond Landing in *Spain*, it paſſed in the Negative, the [Duke of *Ormond*, and Baron *Spar*, only diſſenting; upon which it was reſolved, that the Fleet ſhould take the firſt Opportunity, and make the beſt of their Way for *England*; and that the Rendezvous ſhould be at *St. Helen*'s, 'till they received farther Orders. The 19th the Fleet weighed Anchor again, and plied ſome Days with an eaſy and variable Wind. During this time, two Letters were ſent from Mr. *Methuen*, her Majeſty's Envoy at *Liſbon*, one to the Duke of *Ormond*, the other to Sir *George Rooke*, by which he aſſured them, that the King of *Portugal* would willingly aſſiſt in any Thing that ſhould be deſired, not only in that Port, but in any other Ports of his Dominions. A General-council was thereupon called, the 22d; but it was reſolved to adhere to their former Reſolution. The 23d the Diſpoſition was made for the Squadron to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, which being compleated, on the 24th the Admiral made his Signal for them to depart.

In the Way to *England*, the Admiral finding a Deficiency in the Fleet's Water, ordered Captain *Hardy* in the *Pembroke*, and the *Eagle*, *Sterling-caſtle*, and ſome of the Tranſports, to water in *Lagos-Bay*; himſelf proceeding for *England*. Theſe Ships entered the Bay the next Day [a]; and ſome of the Land-officers, with Mr. *Beauvoir*, a *Jerſey* Gentleman, and Chaplain of the *Pembroke*, went immediately a-ſhore for Refreſhment. But when they came to the Town, they could find no-body that could underſtand them [b], ſo that roving for ſome time from Place to Place, the Chaplain at length eſpying a Gentleman, who by his Countenance and Garb, ſeemed to be no *Portugueſe*, and addreſſing himſelf to him in the *French* Language, he proved to be the *French* Conſul, into whoſe Favour Mr. *Beauvoir* had ſo far inſinuated himſelf, that the other offered the Uſe of his Houſe, both for himſelf and ſome of his Friends. They lay there two Nights, in which time the Chaplain having an Opportunity of ſeveral Converſations with the Conſul; the latter boaſtingly magnified the Power of *France*, adding, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would have ſuch a potent Fleet at Sea next Summer, that neither the *Engliſh* nor *Dutch* ſhould dare to ſtir out of their Harbours; for the proving of which, he gave the Chaplain broad Hints of Mr. *Chateau-Renaud*'s being ſafe, not far off, with the Galloons.

On the 24th, in the Evening, the Chaplain being informed that there was a Gentleman come from *Liſbon*, bound for the Fleet, and that he deſigned next Morning to go on-board one of the *Engliſh* Men of War, his Curioſity led him to ſend to the Gentleman to acquaint him, that if he did not go on-board that Night, he would loſe his Paſſage, ſince the Squadron was to ſail away early the next Morning; and that, if he pleaſed to go off, he had a Boat at his Service, and he ſhould be welcome on-board the *Pembroke*. The Gentleman having accepted of the Invitation, and both of them now waiting on-ſhore for the Boat, Mr. *Beauvoir* aſked the Gentleman, What News? Great News anſwered the other, for *Chateau-Renaud* is at *Vigo*, with 30 Men of War, and 22 Galloons, being much the ſame Number the *French* Envoy had mentioned to the Chaplain, whoſe Curioſity increaſing, he enquired farther, who he was, and from whence he came? To which the Gentleman replied, He was both a *Spaniard* and a *German*, that he came from *Liſbon*, was ſent by the Imperial Ambaſſador, at that Court, to *Faros*, in order to go on-board the Fleet, which they ſuppoſed to be ſtill before *Cadiz*, but that coming thither, he found the Fleet had paſſed by: And that being informed, that an *Engliſh* Squadron was in *Lagos-Bay* he came to that Town to get him a Paſſage, and that he had two Letters, one for the Prince of *Heſſe*, and the other for Mr. *Methuen*, jun. which contained the Particulars of that important News, for the confirming of which he pulled them out of his Pocket, and ſhewed them Mr. *Beauvoir*. The latter being ſatisfied with the Truth of what the Gentleman ſaid, and at the ſame time knowing, that the Prince of *Heſſe* and Mr. *Methuen* were gone from on-board the Fleet for *Liſbon*, he had ſo much Preſence of Mind, as to conceal it from the Meſſenger, leſt he ſhould refuſe to go along with him, and ſo carried him on-board the *Pembroke*, where they found the Captain already a-bed; and the Meſſenger being tired with his long Journey, went alſo immediately to repoſe himſelf. However, the Chaplain, impatient of diſcovering what Intelligence he had got, bolted into the great Cabbin, awaked Captain *Hardy*, and having acquainted him with the News of the *French* Squadron and *Spaniſh* Galloons being at *Vigo*, the Meſſenger next Morning confirmed the ſame, and produced his Letters; but when he heard that the Prince and Mr. *Methuen* were gone by Sea to *Liſbon*, he was much ſurprized, and earneſtly deſired to be put on-ſhore, which the Captain agreed to.

Captain *Hardy* made what haſte he could with this News to the Fleet, with which he however did not meet until the 3d of *October*, and even then the Wind blew ſo hard, that he found it impoſſible to ſpeak with the Admiral till the 6th, when he informed him of what he had heard. Upon this Sir *George* called a Council of War immediately, compoſed of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-officers, by whom it was reſolved to ſail, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, to the Port of *Vigo*, and attack the Enemy.

The Fleet, purſuant to the Reſolutions of the Council of War, began to ſteer their Courſe for *Vigo*, and the Admiral having diſpatched two Frigates for Intelligence, they returned on the 9th of *October* at Night, with a Confirmation of Captain *Hardy*'s Account, adding, that the Enemy's Ships lay up the River in *Redondella* Harbour; and one of Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*'s Squadron coming into the Fleet the next Morning, with Advice, that the Admiral was off of Cape *Finiſterre*, there was Orders ſent him to join the grand Fleet: On the 11th in the Afternoon, the Fleet came to an Anchor at *Vigo*, the Weather having proved ſo hazy, that the Town never diſcovered them till they were juſt upon it; and though they fired very thick from that Place, yet the Confederates took little Notice of it. The *French* Admiral, Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud*, to give him his due Commendation, had taken all human Precautions to ſecure his Fleet.

The Paſſage into the Harbour was not above three Quarters of a Mile over, with a Battery of eight Braſs, and 12 Iron-guns on the North-ſide, and on the South was a Platform of 20 Braſs and 20 Iron-guns, as alſo a Stone Fort, with a Breaſt-work and deep Trench before it, 10 Guns mounted, and 500 Men in it. There was, from one ſide of the Harbour to the other, a ſtrong Boom compoſed of Ships-yards and Top-maſts, faſtened together with three-inch Rope, very thick, and underneath with Hauſers and Cables. The top Chain at each End was moored to a 70 Gun-ſhip, the one was called the *Hope*, which had been taken from the *Engliſh*, and the other was the *Bourbon*. Within the Boom were moored five Ships of between 60 and 70 Guns each, with their Broad-ſides fronting the Entrance of the Paſſage, ſo as that they might fire at any Ship that came near the Boom, Forts, and Platform.

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[a] On September 22, 1702.

[b] App. to Harris's Coll. Annals of Q. Anne.

As ſoon as the Confederate Fleet came to an Anchor, the Admiral called a general Council of Land and Sea-officers, where it was reſolved to attempt the forcing of the Harbour the next Morning.

It was concluded, that ſince the whole Fleet could not attempt the Enemy's Ships without manifeſt Danger of running foul upon one another, a Detachment of 15 *Engliſh* and 10 *Dutch* Men of War of the Line of Battle, with all the Fire-ſhips, ſhould be ſent in, with Orders to uſe their beſt Endeavours in deſtroying or taking the Enemy's Fleet, that the Frigates and Bomb-veſſels ſhould follow the Rear of the Detachment, and that the great Ships ſhould move after them and go in, if there ſhould be Occaſion, that the Army, at the ſame time, ſhould land and attack the Fort on the South of *Redondella*, and thence proceed on, where they might moſt effectually annoy the Enemy; that, becauſe it was not well known what Depth of Water there might be, the Attempt ſhould be made with the ſmaller Ships, and that to give the better Countenance to the Service, all the Flag-officers ſhould go in with the Squadron.

For the better Execution of the Reſolution taken in this Council of War, the Admiral ſpent a great Part of the Night in going from Ship to Ship in his own Boat, to give the neceſſary Orders, and to encourage both Officers and Seamen to do their Duty the next Day.

The firſt and Second-rates being all too big to go in, Sir *George Rooke* went out of the *Royal Sovereign* into the *Somerſet*; Admiral *Hopſon* out of the *Prince George* into the *Torbay*; Admiral *Fairbourne* out of the *St. George* into the *Eſſex*; and Admiral *Graydon* out of the *Triumph* into the *Northumberland*. A Detachment of 15 *Engliſh* and 10 *Dutch* Men of War, with all their Fire-ſhips, Frigates, and Bomb-veſſels, were ordered to go upon the Service[a].

The Duke of *Ormond* landed on the 12th in a ſandy Bay, about two Leagues diſtant from *Vigo*, on the South-ſide of the River, with between 2 and 3000 Men; and meeting with no Oppoſition in landing, his Grace ordered the Grenadiers under the Lord *Shannon*, and Colonel *Peirce*, to march directly to the Fort, which guarded the Entrance into the Harbour, where the Boom lay, which they executed with much Alacrity and Courage; and the Duke himſelf, at the Head of the reſt of the Forces, marched on Foot, over craggy Mountains, to ſuſtain the firſt Detachment; at the ſame time there appeared about 8000 Men between the Fort and the Hills, yet they made only a faint Shew of ſkirmiſhing at a Diſtance, and as the Grenadiers advanced, they retired; and the former, in like Manner, driving before them another Party of the Enemy, followed them to the very Fort, and bravely made themſelves Maſters of the lower Platform, whereon were 38 Pieces of Cannon. Hereupon Lieutenant General *Churchil*'s Regiment advanced on the Left, and took their Poſts as they ſaw moſt convenient: The Batteries being taken, though (as Mr. *Burchett* obſerves) the *French* and *Spaniards*, according to report, had near 20,000 Men at or near the Place; (and indeed, continues he, had not the Forts and the Battery, at the End of the Trench, being firſt taken, there would have been much more Difficulty found, in forcing the Boom, and burning the *French* Ships) the Enemy retired into an old Tower or Stone-caſtle, and from thence, for ſome ſhort time, fired briſkly upon the *Engliſh*; but the Grenadiers plying them warmly with their Grenadoes, and pelting them with their Fuzees, as ſoon as they appeared on the Wall, *M. de Sorel*, a valiant Captain of a *French* Man of War, who commanded in the Fort, having encouraged his Men to make a daring Puſh for their Lives, opened the Gates, intending to force his Way through the *Engliſh* with Sword in Hand; but the Grenadiers ruſhing immediately into the Caſtle, made themſelves Maſters of it, and took near 300 *French* Seamen, and 50 *Spaniards*, with their Officers, Priſoners at Diſcretion. A ſmall Party of the Enemy endeavoured to make their Eſcape through the Water, but were ſtopped by a Detachment of the *Dutch*.

When the *Engliſh* Colours were ſeen flying from the Fort, the Admiral gave the Signal to weigh. The Line was formed, and conſiſted of the following Ships:

Mary, *Grafton*, *Torbay*, *Kent*,	Vice-admiral *Hopſon*.	*Phœnix*, *Vulture*, Fire-ſhips.
Dordrecht, 7 *Provinces*, *Veluve*,	Vice-admiral *Vandergoes*,	One Fire-ſhip.
Berwick, *Eſſex*, *Swiftſure*,	Rear-admiral *Fairbourne*.	*Terrible*, *Griffin*, Fire-ſhips.
Ranelagh, *Somerſet*, *Bedford*,	Admiral *Rooke*.	*Hawke*, *Hunter*, Fire-ſhips.
Muyda, *Holland*, *Vine*, *Reygerſberg*,	Admiral *Callemberg*, Bar. *Waſſenaer*.	One Fire-ſhip.
Cambridge, *Northumberl.* *Oxford*, *Pembroke*,	Rear-admiral *Graydon*.	*Lightning* Fire-ſhip.
Gouda, *Alckmaer*, *Catwick*,	Vice-admiral *Pieterſen*.	One Fire-ſhip.

In all 24; though the general Account ſays 25.

The ſmall Veſſels and Bomb-veſſels, to be ready to ſail up the River upon a Signal made for ſo doing.

Aſſociation, } Ordered to batter the Forts, on each Side
Barfleur, } the River.

The Squadron advanced briſkly, and Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, in the *Torbay*, ſet them an Example of Intrepidity, bearing firſt towards the Boom; but when the Van was got within Shot of the Batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were neceſſitated to come to an Anchor again. However, a freſh Gale coming up, not long after, Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, in the *Torbay*, being next to the Enemy, immediately cut his Cables, clapt on all his Sails, and bearing up directly upon the Boom, amidſt all the Enemy's Fire, broke through it at once, caſt Anchor between the *Bourbon* and *L'Eſperance* (or the *Hope*) two *French* Men of War, and, with unparelleled Reſolution, received ſeveral Broadſides from them. The reſt of Vice-admiral *Hopſon*'s Diviſion, and Vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, with his Detachment, having weighed at the ſame Time, ſailed a-breaſt towards the Boom, to add the greater Weight and Force to the Shock; but being becalmed, they all ſtuck, and were obliged to hack and cut their Way through; but a freſh Gale blowing again, the *Dutch* Vice-admiral made ſuch good Uſe of it, that having hit the Paſſage, which the valiant *Hopſon* had made, he boldly went in, and made himſelf Maſter of the *Bourbon*. All this while Admiral *Hopſon* was in extreme Danger; for being clapt on-board by a *French* Fire-ſhip, whereby his Rigging was preſently ſet on-fire, he expected every Moment to be burnt; but it very fortunately fell out, that the *French* Ship, which indeed was a Merchant-man laden with Snuff, and fitted up in haſte for a Fire-ſhip, being blown up, the Snuff, in ſome meaſure, extinguiſhed the Fire, and preſerved the *Engliſh* Man of War from being conſumed. However, the Vice-admiral received conſiderable Damage in this Action: For beſides his having the Fore-top maſt ſhot by the Board, 115 Men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, moſt of his Sails were burnt and ſcorched, his Fore-yard burnt to a Coal, and his Larboard Shrouds, fore and aft, burnt to the Dead-eyes; inſomuch that tho' he preſerved the Ship, he was afterwards obliged to leave her himſelf, and hoiſt his Flag aboard the *Monmouth*[b]. At the ſame Time, Captain *Bokenham*, in the *Aſſociation* of 90 Guns, laid his Broadſide againſt a Battery of 17 Guns on the left Side of the Harbour, while Captain *Wyvell*, in the *Barfleur*, a Ship of the like Force, was ſent to batter the Fort on the other Side. Thus for a long while there was a conſiderable Firing of great and ſmall Shot on both Sides, till the *French* Admiral, ſeeing the Platform and Fort in the Hands of the victorious *Engliſh*, his Fire-ſhip ſpent in vain, the *Bourbon* taken, the Boom cut, and the Confederate Fleet pouring in upon him, he ſet fire to his own Ship, and ordered the reſt of the Captains under his Command to follow his Example, which was done in great Confuſion; yet could he not be ſo punctually obeyed, but that ſeveral Men of War and Galloons were taken by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* [a].

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[a] It is perfectly clear from his Manner of making this Attack, that Sir George Rooke had the Honour of his Country as much at Heart as any Man could have; and it is very ſtrange, that among ſo many Obſervations, no Body ſhould take Notice of the great Prudence ſhewn in the forming this Diſpoſition, and the Courage and Alacrity of the Admirals, in quitting the large Ships, that they might have a Share in the Danger, as well as in the Reputation, of this Action.

[b] Both Officers and Men, when they came home, were rewarded, ſome with Medals and Chains of Gold, and the reſt according to their reſpective Qualities.

This glorious and memorable Victory was obtained with a very inconſiderable Loſs on our Side: for excepting the Damage received as above, by Vice-admiral *Hopſon* [b], the *Kent* had only her Fore-maſt ſhot, and her Boatſwain wounded; the *Aſſociation* her Main-maſt ſhot, and two Men killed; the *Barfleur* had her Main-maſt ſhot, two Men killed, and as many wounded; and the *Mary* her Boltſprit ſhot. Of the Land Forces, two Lieutenants and about 40 Soldiers were killed, Colonel *Peirce* was wounded by a Cannon-ball from our own Men of War, in the Thigh, and Colonel *Seymour*, Colonel *Newton*, and Mr. *Talmarſh*, with about 30 private Men, were alſo wounded.

The number of Men killed, on the *French* Side, was much the ſame as that of the Allies; but they had near 400 Officers and Men taken Priſoners, among whom were Monſieur *d'Aliegre*, Commodore of a Squadron, the Marquis *De la Galliſſoniere*, Monſieur *De Sorel*, and ſeveral other Officers of Note. Count *De Chateau Renaud*, and the *Spaniſh* General, with ſome others, made their Eſcape; but *Don Joſepho Checon*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, was made Priſoner.

The Conſequence of this Victory was a vaſt Booty, both of Plate and other Things, the Value of which cannot well be computed. It has, however, been remarked [c]; that this Flota was the richeſt that ever came from the *Weſt-Indies* to *Europe*; that the Silver and Gold was computed at 20,000,000 of Pieces of Eight, of which 14,000,000 only had been taken out of the Galloons, and ſecured by the Enemy, (at *Lago* or *Lugo*, about 25 Leagues from *Vigo*) and the reſt was either taken, or left in the Galloons that were burnt or ſunk: And that the Goods were valued at 20,000,000 of Pieces of eight more, one fourth Part of which was ſaved, near two deſtroyed, and the other taken by the Confederates: Beſides the Ships already mentioned, and a great deal of Plate and Goods belonging to private Perſons; moſt Part of which was either taken or loſt.

It came under Conſultation [d], whether it was not adviſeable to leave a good Squadron of Ships, with the Land-forces, to winter at *Vigo*. The neighbourhood of *Portugal* would have made it eaſy for them to be furniſhed with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries. This might alſo encourage the King to declare himſelf, when there was ſuch a Force and Fleet lying ſo near him: It might, likewiſe, encourage ſuch of the *Spaniards*, as favoured the Emperor, to declare themſelves, when they ſaw a ſafe Place of Retreat, and a Force to protect them. The Duke of *Ormond*, upon theſe Conſiderations, offered to ſtay, if *Rooke* would have conſented; but he excuſed it; he had ſent home the Victualers with the Stores; and ſo he could not ſpare what was neceſſary, for ſuch as would ſtay there.

The Admiral ſent his Anſwer [e] to, and Opinion on, the Duke's Propoſals, by a Letter, in the following Words:

My Lord Duke,

"I have juſt now received the Favour of your Grace's "Letter, and am ready and willing to do every Thing I "can, that may contribute to the publick Service; and if "your Grace thinks it ſafe to remain in this Part of *Spain*, "with the Army, I will venture to leave five or ſix Fri-"gates with you; though I can hardly think thoſe Ships "ſafe any longer than they are at Sea, conſidering that the "*French*, who had ſuch Advantages, were not; and, I "believe, I can alſo leave your Grace ſix Weeks or two "Months Proviſions for the Army, which is the moſt I "can do, great Part of what was intended for that Pur-"poſe, having been ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*. If your Grace "has any Intentions to continue here, I believe it will be "beſt to let the Guns remain at the Fort, I ſhall order our "Boats to *Redondella* To-morrow in the Evening, to bring "off the ſick Men, and then your Grace will have time "to determine, whether to march to *Vigo*, or to the Place "you propoſe for embarking, the Day following: And "if you march to *Vigo*, I believe the Priſoners ſhould be "ſent to the other Side, that they may not reinforce that "Garriſon. As ſoon as the Frigates come in from Sir "*Cloudeſley Shovel*'s Station, I ſhall ſend an Expreſs to "*Liſbon*, to give Mr. *Methuen* an Account of our Succeſs "here, as I ſhall the *Pembroke* to *England*, on *Friday* "Morning. I am, &c.

"GEORGE ROOKE."

By this Letter one would not imagine the Fleet to have been ſo very deſtitute of Proviſions as the Biſhop makes it.

A *French* Hiſtorian very candidly owns, that by this Blow the Naval Power of *France* was ſo deeply wounded, as that ſhe never recovered it during the War [f].

There were certain Circumſtances attending this Succeſs of ours at *Vigo*, which heightened its Luſtre not a little. Our Stateſmen had all along kept their Eyes upon the Galloons, and had actually fitted out a Squadron on purpoſe to intercept them, under the Command of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*. Orders likewiſe had been ſent to Sir *George Rooke*, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, which never reached him; and

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[a] By the following Liſts, the Reader will ſee what French Ships of War, and what Galloons were in the Harbour of Redondella, before the Attack, and what were either taken or burnt.

French Ships in the Harbour of Redondella.

	Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Guns.	Men.
1	Le Fort,	Chateau-Renaud,	76	500
2	Le Prompt,	Beaujeu,	76	500
3	L'Aſſure,	D'Aliegre,	66	380
4	L'Eſperance,	M. de la Galliſſoniere,	70	420
5	Le Bourbon,	M. de Montbeau,	68	410
6	La Sirene,	M. de Mongon,	60	380
7	Le Solide,	M. de Chamelin,	56	350
8	Le Ferme,	M. de Boiſſier	72	450
9	Le Prudent,	M. Grand Pre,	62	380
10	L'Oriflame,	M. Tricumbankt,	64	380
11	Le Moderé,	M. L'Autier,	56	300
12	Le Superbe,	M. Bottevile,	70	450
13	Le Dauphin,	M. Du Pleſſis,	46	230
14	Le Voluntaire,	M. de Sorel,	46	250
15	Le Triton,	M. de Cour,	42	253

1. Burnt. 2. Taken, and ordered to be carried home. 3. Taken, and to be carried home. 4. Taken, but run a-ſhore, and bilged and ſunk. 5. Taken by the Dutch. 6. Taken, but run a-ſhore and bilged. 7. Burnt. 8. Taken, and to be carried home. 9. Burnt. 10. Burnt. 11. Taken. 12. Taken, but run a-ſhore and bilged. 13. Burnt. 14. Taken, but run a-ſhore and bilged. 15. Taken, and to be carried home. Frigates 2. L'Entreprenant 22 Guns, 130 Men. Captain Polignac burnt. The Choquante, 8 Guns, Captain St. Oſman, burnt. Le Favori, a Fire-ſhip, 14 Guns, Captain De Leſcallette, burnt. Three Gardes Marines, or Scouts, burnt.

Spaniſh Men of War and Galloons.

Commanders.	Ships.	Guns.
Don Man. de Valaſco, General,	Jeſus Maria Joſ.	70
Don Joſ. Checon, Admiral,	La Buffoona,	54
Don Fernando Checon,	La Capit. de Aſſogos,	54

Three Men of War, 178

Commanders.	Galloons:
Don Viſenti Alvarez,	Santo Chriſto de Mariacaja.
Don Franciſco Blanco,	Santo Chriſto de buen Viajo.
Don Alonzo Ipparrere,	Santa Cruz.
Don Coſmo Ant. Montag,	Noſtradama de Mercy.
Don Michael Camitee,	Santo Domingo.
Don Ignatio Aſconobritio,	La Trinidad.
Don Franciſco Baragand	Noſtra Senora de Mercedes.
Don Ant. Gomes de Aureſia,	St. Juan de Baptiſta.
	Philippo Quinto.
Don Juan Dungo,	Jalaſhe del General.
Don Ferbuſia Bernar. de Fera,	La ſacra Familia.
Don Alonzo Lopez,	Santa Cruz.
Don Martin Mogueera,	Santa Suſanna.

Of theſe 13 Gallions, which carried from 20 to upwards of 30 Guns each, four were taken by the Engliſh, five by the Dutch, and the reſt were all deſtroyed.

[b] The Queen not only conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood, but was graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle upon him a Penſion of 500 l. a Year for Life, with the Reverſion of 300 l. a Year to his Lady, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, on account of the prodigious Service he did in breaking the Boom at Vigo. This was publiſhed in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this Addition, that he was introduced to the Queen, when he received the Honour of Knighthood, by the Hand of his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England. See the complete Hiſtory of Europe, for the Year 1702, p. 452.

[c] Annals of Queen Anne.

[d] Burnet.

[e] Life of Rooke.

[f] See the compleat Hiſtory of Europe, for the Year 1702, p. 391.

and after all their Precautions, Sir *Cloudeſley*'s *Shovel*'s Squadron would ſcarce have been ſtrong enough to have undertaken ſo dangerous an Enterprize.

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* arrived the 16th of *October*, as the Troops were embarking, and the Admiral left him at *Vigo*, with a large Squadron, conſiſting of 19 Third-rates, 10 Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, a Pink, ſix Fire-ſhips, two Store-ſhips, and a Victualler; and with them remained likewiſe the Rear-admirals *Fairbourne* and *Graydon*; and with Orders to ſee the *French* Men of War and the Galloons rigged, and ſupplied with Men, that ſo ſuch of them as were our Prizes, might be brought to *England*; but to deſtroy thoſe he ſhould not have a Proſpect of bringing home, firſt ſaving ſo much of their Loading, Guns, and Rigging, as poſſibly he could: And as it was particularly recommended to him, to take the utmoſt Care to prevent Embezzlements, ſo was he directed to ſuſpend thoſe who ſhould be found guilty thereof; and, at his Return, to recommend to the Lord High-Admiral, for Encouragement, ſuch as had behaved themſelves honeſtly and diligently in this Affair. And there being a Report that ſeveral *French* Ships, richly laden, were expected from *Martinico*, he was directed to ſend three or four of his beſt ſailing Frigates, to cruiſe 20 Days off Cape *Finiſterre*, in order to intercept them; but they miſſed the wiſhed for Succeſs.

In a Week's time the *French* Men of War, and other Prizes, were put into the beſt Condition for their Paſſage home, that the Place would admit of, and all the Loading was taken out of a Galloon, which was on-ground, ſeized by one of our Ships, the *Mary*; as alſo of another Ship of 50 Guns, called the *Dartmouth*, taken from us the laſt War, and now made Prize by Captain *Wyvell*. This Ship he brought home, and ſhe was named the *Vigo*; for there was already one in the royal Navy, called by her former Name, the *Dartmouth*.

He alſo took out of ſome *French* Ships of War, which were on the Ground, 50 Braſs Guns, moſt of them from 50 to 60 Hundred Weight; which, with thoſe brought from the Shore, amounted to about 110; and, the Day before he ſailed, he ſet Fire to all the Ships and Veſſels that he could not poſſibly bring away.

The 25th of *October*, Sir *Cloudeſley* left *Vigo*; but it proving calm, he anchored in the Channel, between that Port and *Bayonne*, where, with a Flag of Truce, he ſent ſeveral Priſoners on-ſhore, and had ours returned in lieu of them. The next Day he got under Sail again, with Deſign to go through the North Channel; but the Wind taking him ſhort, he was obliged to ſtand through that, which lies to the South, where the Galloon, which was the *Monmouth*'s Prize, ſtruck upon a ſunken Rock, and immediately foundered; but there being ſeveral Frigates on each ſide of her, all her Men were ſaved except two. He was the very ſame Day joined by the *Dragon*, a 50 Gun Ship, commanded by Captain *Holyman*, which had been attacked by a *French* Man of War of much greater Force, and the Captain and 25 Men killed; but his Lieutenant fought her bravely, and at laſt brought her ſafe into the Fleet. In their Paſſage they had extreme bad Weather; and though the *Naſſau* had the good Fortune to make a very rich Prize which was coming from *Morlaix*, yet that Veſſel foundered the next Morning; and the Weather was then ſo bad, that the Squadron ſeparated, every Ship ſhifting for itſelf; though all had the good Luck to get ſafe to *England*, but in a very ſhattered Condition [a].

Having given a complete Narrative of the Tranſactions of the main Fleet, we ſhall now relate the particular Expeditions performed by detached Squadrons; of which that performed by Captain *John* (afterwards Sir *John*) *Leake*, comes firſt in order of Time.

On the 24th of *June*, 1702, he received Inſtructions from his Royal Highneſs to proceed to *Newfoundland* with a ſmall Squadron, in order to protect the Trade, annoy the Enemy, and bring the homeward-bound Ships under his Convoy. He ſailed in purſuance of theſe Inſtructions, and arrived in *Plymouth-Sound* on the 22d of *July*, where having gained the beſt Intelligence he could, as to the State of our own Affairs, and of thoſe of the Enemy, he ſo effectually purſued the Deſign on which he came thither, that by the End of *October* he found himſelf ready to proceed with the homeward-bound Ships for *England*, having taken 29 Sail of the Enemy, and burnt two. Of theſe three were laden with Salt, 25 with Fiſh, and one from *Martinico* with Sugar and Melaſſes, eight of which fell into the Hands of the *Exeter*, nine were taken by the *Medway*, four by the *Montagu*, as many by the *Litchfield*, three by the *Charles* Galley, and one by the *Reſerve*. Beſides which he burnt and deſtroyed all the Fiſhing-boats and Stages, *&c.* at *Trepaſſy*, *St. Mary's*, *Colonet*, *Great* and *Little St. Laurence's*, and the Iſland of *St. Peter's* at the Entrance of *Fortune-bay*, being all very conſiderable Eſtabliſhments of the *French* in *Newfoundland*, and of the greateſt Importance for carrying on their Fiſhery there, and breeding their Seamen. At the latter of theſe Places, there was a ſmall Fort of ſix Guns, which he totally demoliſhed. After all which Succeſs he ſailed home ſafely, though the Weather was bad, and arrived with the Squadron under his Command at *Portſmouth*, on the 10th of *November* in the ſame Year [b].

In this Expedition 51 Ships were taken and deſtroyed; whereof 29 were taken, amounting to 3235 Tons, and 207 Guns: Of theſe 16 were brought to *England*; ſix were ſent to *Liſbon*; five were ſold at *St. John*'s; one of 120 Tons and 12 Guns was left there for the Security of the Harbour, and another ſent to *France* with the Priſoners; the remaining 22 were burnt with their Cargoes. The Advantage of this Expedition would certainly have been more conſiderable, had the Commodore arrived ſooner at *Newfoundland*: But as he did not receive his Commiſſion till the 24th of *June*, and was obliged to convoy the Trade from *England* to *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, it was not poſſible he could make more way; and indeed it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, as he did not leave *England* before the 22d of *July*, that he could diſcharge his other Appointments ſo expeditiouſly as to gain the Coaſt of *Newfoundland* on the 26th of *Auguſt*; for which, and the great Service there performed, he was very graciouſly received by the Queen, and her royal Conſort the Lord High Admiral, on his Return to *London* [c].

The Port of *Dunkirk* alſo attracted the peculiar Attention of the Lord High Admiral. The famous de *Pontis* was ſtationed there by *Lewis* XIV. as it was given out, to annoy us and the *Dutch* more particularly; but rather to amuſe us, and to keep us in perpetual Motion; wherefore both Nations equipped certain Ships to block up that Port. On the Part of *England*, Captain *Bazil Beaumont* was ordered to Sea the ſame Day Captain *Leake* received his Inſtructions for *Newfoundland*. The *States-General* had for the ſame Purpoſe a much ſtronger Squadron under the Command of Rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen*, for Reaſons of great Importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the *French* kept ſeven or eight Ships there purely to amuſe us and the *Dutch*, and to keep us in perpetual Motion. According to the Informations we had here, the *French* were ſometimes ſaid to have a Deſign of intercepting our homeward-bound Ships from *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*; according to others, they meditated a Deſcent upon *Scotland*; and a great deal of Pains and Expence it coſt us, to guard againſt both theſe Deſigns. On the other hand the *Dutch*, who always piqued themſelves on having the beſt and earlieſt Intelligence, were thoroughly ſatisfied, that the *Dunkirk* Squadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true Scheme of the *French* was, to make a Deſcent upon *Zeland*; to which Purpoſe they had likewiſe Information, that a Body of 8000 Land-forces was aſſembled near *Oſtend*. Full of Apprehenſions on this Account, they reinforced their Squadron before *Dunkirk* to 18 Men of War of the Line, and ſent Vice-admiral *Evertſen* to command it. This Officer found himſelf ſo ſtrictly tied up by his Inſtructions, that he could not afford any Aſſiſtance to our Commodore, when in purſuance to Orders from home, he ſent to demand it. However, after ſeveral Months fruitleſs Attendance, and frequent Informations given to the Earl of *Nottingham*, that the *French* were at Sea, and gone here and gone there, it at laſt appeared, that Commodore *Beaumont* had been all the while in the Right, who affirmed in his Letters, that they never ſtirred out of the Harbour[a].

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[a] See the London Gazette, N° 3862, 3863, where it is ſaid, that the Remainder of the Fleet came in under the Command of Sir Stafford Fairbourne.

[b] See the London Gazette, N° 3861.

[c] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 55, 56.

Purſuant to his Orders, Captain *Beaumont* ſet ſail, and being off of *Dunkirk* the 28th of *June*, ſent a Sloop to the Admiralty, with an Account, that he had diſcovered eight large Ships in the *Flemmiſh* Road, which he imagined would put to Sea that very Spring-tide, and that being too weak to oppoſe them, he reſolved to join the *Dutch* Ships at *Schoneveldt*[b]. This he did the 29th, and acquainted Vice-admiral *Evertſen* what he had obſerved, deſiring him to add ſome of his Squadron to our Ships; but the *Dutch* being, at that Time, apprehenſive of a Deſcent upon *Zeland*, refuſed to comply with his Requeſt: However, they ſuffered Part of their Squadron to go a little farther Weſtward, to be readier to aſſiſt our Ships if the Fleet ſhould come out.

The 10th of *July* our Fleet was reinforced to ſeven Fourth-rates, and one Sixth-rate, and three *Dutch* Ships joined them five Days after, with a Promiſe, that a Rear-admiral, with 13 Ships, ſhould obſerve the *French*, who (they ſaid) were preparing, at *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*, not only their Ships of War, but Fireſhips, Pontoons, and other Neceſſaries, for a Deſcent[c].

Upon a Meeting of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Officers ſome time after, it was agreed, that Captain *Beaumont*, with ſeven *Engliſh* Men of War, and five *Dutch*, ſhould lye S. and S. by E. from *Dunkirk*, and ſtretch away S. W. and N. E. the better to keep the Enemy in, or to attack them if they got out. And that the *Dutch* Vice-admiral ſhould lye at or near the ſame Station, with the reſt of the Squadron.

The 26th of *July* the *French* were in Motion, and four of their Ships made a Feint of going out Weſtward, as did three others Eaſtward, but anchored about two Leagues each way from *Dunkirk* within the Sands. The next Day they weighed again, and kept under Sail for ſome Time, but attempted not to come out: And undoubtedly theſe Motions were only to amuſe us; for, in the Afternoon, they all returned into the Road again.

In the Beginning of *September*, the *States-General* having ordered three of their five Ships, which were with Captain *Beaumont*, to return to the *Texel*; and our Ships being expoſed to the bad Weather, common at this Seaſon of the Year; beſides, the *French* Ships not appearing any longer in the *Flemmiſh* Road, and it being reaſonable to believe (as it afterwards appeared to be ſo) notwithſtanding the Report of their being ſailed, that they were retired into the Baſon; Captain *Beaumont*, purſuant to Orders he received for that Purpoſe, left the *Worceſter* and *Saliſbury*, two Fourth-rates, with two *Dutch* Men of War, off of *Dunkirk*, and returned himſelf with the *Tilbury*, *Blackwall*, *Dartmouth*, and *King's-fiſher*, to the *Downs*.

Theſe Ships being re-victualled, two of them were ordered to cruiſe in the *Soundings*, and the Commodore to repair with the others to *Margate-road*; from whence, being joined with ſome other Ships, he convoyed the Yatchs to *Holland*, and back again to *England*, with the Earl of *Marlborough*, General of her Majeſty's Forces.

Various falſe Reports being afterwards ſpread, that the *French* were got out of *Dunkirk*, a Squadron was formed at the *Gun-fleet*, and put under the Command of Captain *Thomas Fowlis*, who was ordered, on the 18th of *October*, to proceed off of *Calais*, *Graveline*, and *Dunkirk*[d]. He had eight Fourth, and three Fifth-rates, with two Ships of the *States-General*, under his Command: But after having been at Sea, and followed his Inſtructions, till the 29th; and it appearing in that Time, that the *French* had never left their Harbours, he returned.

Before we conclude the Maritime Affairs for the Year 1702, there remains the Account of Admiral *Bembow*'s Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, begun in the Year preceding, and of his unfortunate Death. He left Sir *George Rooke* off of *Scilly*, the 2d of *September*, 1701, and on the 28th made *St. Mary's*, one of the *Azores*, or *Weſtern* Iſlands, were, calling the Flag-officers and Captains on-board, he communicated his Inſtructions to them. They hereupon came to a Reſolution to cruiſe between the Latitudes of 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes, and 35 Degrees, 30 Minutes, about 20 Leagues Weſtward of the ſaid Iſland, and not to go Eaſtward of it, till they could get better Intelligence; for procuring whereof the Vice-admiral ſent a Frigate to *St. Michael's*, and the *Dutch* detached two others to *St. Mary's*. Ours brought an Account, that the *Portugueſe* were under great Apprehenſions of a War, and that they daily expected their *Braſil* Fleet at the *Terceras*. The Captains of the *Dutch* Frigates (which returned the 4th of *October*) related, that on the 28th of *Auguſt*, O. S. there paſſed by *St. Mary's*, 32 Ships, Part of them the *Spaniſh* Flota, and the reſt *French* Ships of War, with a Rear-admiral; whereupon the Flag-officers were conſulted. But ſince they could not give entire Credit to the Report, it was agreed to ſtand as far Weſtward as *Flores* and *Corvo*, with the firſt Opportunity of an Eaſterly Wind, and to cruiſe between the Latitudes of 37 and 35 Degrees.

The 5th of *October* he ſet ſail, and continued ſailing till the 10th, when Sir *John Munden*, with his Squadron, parted from him, and made the beſt of his Way back again for *England*, while the Vice-admiral continued his Courſe for the *Weſt-Indies*, and arrived at *Barbadoes* the 3d of *November*, where he left a Fourth-rate, to follow the Governor's Orders, 'till another arrived from *England*.

The 8th he arrived at *Martinico*; and the next Day came to an Anchor in Prince *Rupert*'s Bay, on the North-Weſt of *Dominica*, where he ſupplied himſelf with Water, and other Refreſhments. From thence, arriving at *Mevis*, he found the *Leeward* Iſlands in ſo good a Condition, that they wanted no immediate Aſſiſtance from him, he left them, and proceeding to *Jamaica*, arrived there the 5th of *December*, and anchored in *Port-Royal* Harbour, where he found two Men of War, one a Fifth and the other a Sixth-rate[e].

Towards the latter End of *January*, Brigadier-general *Selwin* arrived at his Government of *Jamaica*, and with him one Fourth, one Fifth, and one Sixth-rate, a Bomb-veſſel, a Hulk, a Fire-ſhip, and three Veſſels with naval

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[a] Burchett's naval Hiſtory, p. 635. Memoirs of John du Bart, p. 315. London Gazette, No. 3857. In all Probability the French themſelves were the Authors of theſe Pieces of falſe Intelligence, on purpoſe to alarm us and our Allies, and to keep up the Reputation of this formidable Squadron. The Condition of their Marine, was ſuch as did not enable them to undertake any Thing of Importance; and indeed the whole Strength of the Dunkirk Squadron was altogether inſufficient for performing any of the Enterprizes that it was ſuppoſed to be deſigned for. In this, therefore, lay the Error of our Miniſtry, that they had not proper Intelligence as to the Force of that Squadron, for this would have rendered it impoſſible for them to have been played upon as they were.

[b] By this Sloop, Orders were ſent to him, to remain off of Dunkirk, if joined with the Dutch Ships, and that the French were ſtill in that Port: But leſt Accidents might have brought him into the Downs, Orders were, at the ſame time, ſent thither, directing him firſt to proceed to Yarmouth Roads, and then to uſe his beſt Endeavours to protect the Trade from Hamburg, the Eaſt-country, and Holland.

[c] This Account being received from Captain Beaumont, he was ordered to proceed to Leith in Scotland, in caſe Monſ. Ponti was gone to Sea with his Squadron, and that he had no Proſpect of coming up with him, for there was a Suſpicion, that he was deſigned to that Kingdom; but if he found him not there, nor Intelligence where he might meet him, he was to come to the Gunfleet, calling in at Newcaſtle, and the ſeveral northern Parts, for the Trade bound into the River: And by other Orders, dated the 4th of Auguſt, it was recommended to him, to take particular Care of the Merchant-ſhips from Ruſſia and the Baltick, laden with Stores, as well for the Navy as the Merchants Service.

[d] He was inſtructed, if he did not meet with the French Ships there, to ſtretch away Northward, for the Security of the Trades expected from the Eaſt-Country, Ruſſia and Hamburg, and was ordered to call in at ſome Place, about the Naeſe of Norway, for Intelligence: But if, when he came off of Dunkirk, he found the French Ships were gone in, he was to come to the Downs, with all the Squadron, except the Worceſter, and a Fifth-rate; which two Ships he was to leave off of the Port, to obſerve and bring him Intelligence of their Motion.

[e] The Inhabitants of this Iſland, expecting War, were providing the beſt they could for their Defence; and, about 20 Days before Mr. Bembow arrived, there were ſeen off of Cape St. Anthony, on the Weſt End of Cuba, five French Ships; but there being no certain News of the Flota, from the Havanna, he hired a Sloop, and ſent her to diſcover, whether they were ſtill there? Within few Days he had Notice from a Spaniſh Sloop, that the Flota was at La Vera Cruz, the Money ready to be put on-board; and that 12 French Ships of War lay at the Havanna, ready to convoy them home. In January he was informed, that this Squadron was augmented to 16; that Monſieur Coetlogon was made Captain-general, and Commander in Chief of the Spaniſh maritime Forces; and that the Flota was daily expected at the Havanna.

Ordnance ſtores. By theſe Ships, the Vice-admiral received Intelligence, that a *French* Squadron arrived at *Martinico*, about two Months before, and that they were conſiderably ſtronger than ours; upon which the Governor and Council of *Jamaica* provided two Fire-ſhips, at their own Expence, for their better Safety.

The Beginning of *March* the Vice-admiral got Intelligence, that Monſieur *Coetlogon*, with his Squadron, from the *Havanna*, had joined Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud* at *Martinico*, and that they were at Sea, which put *Barbadoes* under great Apprehenſions. Some time after, the Vice-admiral got Intelligence, that Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud* was in the Gulph of *Leogane*, with 30 Men of War, and had ſent 10 of his biggeſt Ships home. The Beginning of *May* he was joined by Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*; and about the Middle of this Month he had Advice, that the 17th of the preceding Month, 17 large Ships paſſed by *Comanagotta*, on the Continent, bearing towards the Weſt End of *Cuba*; but he had not a Force ſufficient to follow them, without leaving the Iſland in Danger. The *Falmouth*, *Ruby*, and *Experiment*, whom the Vice-admiral had ſent to cruiſe off of *Petit-Guavas*, returned with four Prizes (one of which, a very rich Ship, deſigned for *France*, was of 24 Guns, and could mount 40, with 190 Men) and brought Advice, that Monſieur *Chateau Renaud* was at the *Havanna*, with 26 Men of War, waiting for the Flota from *La Vera Cruz*. A Sloop from *Petit-Guavas* having, likewiſe, brought Information, that four Ships with Proviſions, were bound from thence for the *Havanna*, the Vice-admiral (having now Advice of the Rupture) ſent three Frigates to intercept them, but without Succeſs. The ſame Day he detached Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, with two Third-rates, three Fourth-rates, and a Fire-ſhip, to intercept Monſieur *Du Caſſe*, who, as he was informed, was expected at *Port Louis*, at the Weſt End of *Hiſpaniola*, with four Men of War, to deſtroy the Trade of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* for Negroes. The *Briſtol* Man of War took the *Gloriana*, a *Spaniſh* Man of War, and ſent her into *Port-Royal*. She was bound for *St. Dominge*, to carry a new Governor from thence to *Carthagena*. And on the 11th of *July* the Vice-admiral ſet ſail himſelf from *Port-Royal*, with two Third-rates, ſix Fourth-rates, one Fire-ſhip, a Bomb-veſſel, a Tender, and a Sloop, deſigning to join the Rear-admiral; but getting Advice, by the *Colcheſter* and *Pendennis*, that Monſieur *Du Caſſe* was expected at *Leogane*, he made for that Port; where arriving, the 27th, he ſaw ſeveral Ships at Anchor near the Town, and one, which was under Sail, was taken by his Boat. He purſued a Man of War of 50 Guns, but with 30 only mounted, which ran a-ſhore and blew up. The next Morning three other *French* Ships were taken (which together with a Sloop, were ſent to *Port-Royal*, with the *Colcheſter*) a fourth, of 16 Guns, was ſunk, and a Ship of 18 Guns being hauled under a Fort, which had 12 Guns mounted, the Boats were ſent in, and had not only the good Fortune to burn her down to the Ground, but brought off ſome others Ships, with Wine, Brandy, &c.

About this time Colonel *Dudley*[a], Governor of *Maſſachuſets-Bay* in *New England*, having ſent out from *Boſton* four ſmall Sloops, with about 50 Men in each, to cruiſe againſt the *French*, in the Space of a Month, they brought in four Sloops, and five other Veſſels, which they had taken from the Enemy, the leaſt being above 100 Tuns Burthen: And the Privateers, fitted out by the Merchants, were no leſs ſucceſsful; for, together, they took, in a few Weeks time, 14 Merchant-men, and three Privateers from the *French*.

At *Barbadoes* the War was no ſooner proclaimed between *England* and *France*, than the Gentlemen and Merchants of that Iſland fitted out a good Number of Privateers, to act againſt the *French*, 16 of them meeting together near *Guadalupe*, the Men landed on the Iſland, burnt a great Part of the Weſt End of it, and brought off a good Number of the Negroes. *Mevis* and *Antegoa* were likewiſe very ſucceſsful, with their Privateers, at this time.

The Admiral, after alarming *Petit-Guavas*, which he found it impoſſible to attack, ſailed for *Donna Maria-Bay*, where he continued till the 10th of *Auguſt*, when having received Advice, that Monſieur *Du Caſſe* was ſailed for *Carthagena*, and from thence was to ſail to *Porto Bello*, he reſolved to follow him, and accordingly ſailed that Day[b] for the *Spaniſh* Coaſt of *Santa Martha*[c], with two Third-rates, and four Fourth-rates, Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, (who had taken a *French* Man of War of 18 Guns, and two Sloops) being returned to *Jamaica*, with Inſtructions for the Safety of that Iſland.

On the 19th in the Afternoon, he diſcovered 10 Sail near that Place, ſteering Weſtward along Shore, under their Topſails. Upon this he made the uſual Signal for a Line of Battle, going away with an eaſy Sail, that his ſternmoſt Ships might come up and join them. Their Squadron conſiſted of four Ships, from 60 to 70 Guns, with one great *Dutch*-built Ship of about 30 or 40; and there was another full of Soldiers, the reſt ſmall ones, and a Sloop.

The Frigates being a long time in coming up, and the Night advancing, the Admiral ſteered along-ſide the *French*, having diſpoſed his Line of Battle in the following Manner: The *Defiance*, *Pendennis*, *Windſor*, *Breda*, *Greenwich*, *Ruby*, and *Falmouth*; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any Attack until the *Defiance* was got a-breaſt of the headmoſt. Before he could reach that Station, the *Falmouth* (which was in the Rear) attempted the *Dutch* Ship, the *Windſor* the Ship a-breaſt of her, as did alſo the *Defiance*, and ſoon after the Rear-admiral himſelf was engaged, having firſt received the Fire of the Ship which was oppoſite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windſor* ſtood no more than two or three Broadſides before they luft out of Gun-ſhot, inſomuch, that the two ſternmoſt Ships of the Enemy lay upon the Admiral, and gauled him very much; nor did the Ships in the Rear come up to his Aſſiſtance with that Diligence which might have been expected. From Four o'Clock until Night the Fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the Admiral kept them company all Night; and being of Opinion, that it might be better for the Service if he had a new Line of Battle, and led himſelf on all Tacks; he did ſo, and the Line of Battle[d] then ſtood thus:

		Guns.
The *Breda*,	Vice-admiral *Bembow* and Capt. *Fog*.	70
The *Defiance*,	Captain *Richard Kirby*.	64
The *Greenwich*,	Captain *Cooper Wade*.	54
The *Ruby*,	Captain *George Walton*.	48
The *Pendennis*,	Captain *Thomas Hudſon*.	48
The *Windſor*,	Captain *John Conſtable*.	48
The *Falmouth*,	Captain *Samuel Vincent*.	48

The next Morning at Break of Day, he was near the *French* Ships, but none of his Squadron, excepting the *Ruby*, were with him, the reſt of the Ships lying three, four, or five Miles a-ſtern. They had but little Wind, and though the Admiral was within Gun-ſhot of the Enemy, yet the latter was ſo civil as not to fire. About Two in the Afternoon the Sea-breeze began to blow, and then the Enemy got into a Line, making what ſail they could; and the reſt of the Ships not coming up, the Admiral and the *Ruby* plyed them with Chace-guns, and kept them company all the next Night[e].

On the 21ſt the Admiral was on the Quarter of the ſecond Ship of the Enemy's Line within point-blank-ſhot; but the *Ruby* being a-head of the ſame Ship, ſhe fired at her, as the other Ship did likewiſe that was a-head of the Admiral. The *Breda* engaged the Ship that firſt attacked the *Ruby*, and plyed her ſo warmly, that ſhe was forced to tow off. The Admiral would have followed her, but the *Ruby* was in ſuch a Condition, that he could not leave her. During this Engagement, the Rear-ſhip of the

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[a] Annals of Queen Anne, Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 79. Vol. II. p. 72. [b] On the 10th of Auguſt. [c] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, 1702, p. 657, where there is a very exact Account of his Proceedings, while on the Coaſt of Hiſpaniola. See alſo an Account of the Proceedings of Vice-admiral Bembow, in the Weſt-Indies, in the Appendix to the complete Hiſtory of Europe, for the Year 1702, drawn up from his own Journal. [d] Burchett, Oldmixon, and the Account cited in the laſt. [e] If the Ruby had deſerted Admiral Bembow with the reſt, he could have done nothing; but muſt have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his Captains aimed at; and if this could have been effected, they had in all Probability carried their Point, and the whole Blame had been thrown upon the Admiral, which ſufficiently demonſtrates the Merit of the Gentleman who commanded the Ruby, viz. the late Sir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his Turn by the other Captains; but when he came to be ſober, and to conſider the Matter better, diſcharged his Duty as became him.

Enemy's was a-breaſt of the *Defiance* and *Windſor*, but neither of thoſe Ships fired a ſingle Shot. On the 22d at Day-break, the *Greenwich* was five Leagues a-ſtern, though the Signal for Battle was never ſtruck Night or Day; about Three in the Afternoon the Wind came Southerly, which gave the Enemy the Weather-gage [a].

On the 23d the Enemy was ſix Leagues a-head, and the great *Dutch* Ship ſeparated from them. At Ten the Enemy tacked with the Wind at E. N. E. the Vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a Shot or two of them, and each gave the other his Broadſide. About Noon they took from the Enemy a ſmall *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Ann-galley*, which they had taken off the Rock of *Liſbon*; and the *Ruby* being diſabled, he ordered her for *Port-Royal*. About Eight at Night the whole Squadron was up with the Vice-admiral, and the Enemy not two Miles off. There was now a Proſpect of doing ſomething, and the Vice-admiral made the beſt of his Way after them; but his whole Squadron, except the *Falmouth*, fell a-ſtern again; at Twelve the Enemy began to ſeparate [b].

On the 24th, about Two in the Morning, they came up within call of the ſternmoſt, there being then very little Wind. The Admiral fired a Broadſide with Double-round below, and round and partridge aloft. About Three the Vice-admiral's Right-leg was broken to-pieces by a Chain-ſhot; he was carried down, but ſoon after ordered his Cradle on the Quarter-deck; and the Fight was continued till Day-light, when one of the Enemy's Ships of 70 Guns, was diſcerned to be very much diſabled; her Main-yard being down, and ſhot to-pieces, her Fore-top-ſail Yard ſhot away, her Mizen-maſt ſhot by the Board, all her Rigging gone, and her Sides bored to-pieces with our doubled-headed Shot.

The Admiral ſoon after diſcovered the Enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong Gale of Wind. The *Windſor*, *Pendennis*, and *Greenwich*, a-head of the Enemy, came to the Leeward of the diſabled Ship, fired their Broadſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the Southward: Then came the *Defiance*, fired part of her Broadſide, when the diſabled Ship returning about 20 Guns, the *Defiance* put her Helm a-weather, and ran away right before the Wind, lowered both her Top-ſails, and ran to the Leeward of the *Falmouth*, without any Regard to the Signal of Battle [c].

The Enemy ſeeing the other two Ships ſtand to the Southward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their Heads to the Northward. But when they ſaw thoſe Ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the Admiral, and ran between their diſabled Ship and him, and poured in all their Shot, by which they brought down his Main-top-ſail Yard, and ſhattered his Rigging very much, none of the other Ships being near him, or taking the leaſt Notice of his Signals, though Captain *Fogg* ordered two Guns to be fired at the Ships a-head, in order to put them in mind of their Duty. The *French* ſeeing Things in this Confuſion, brought too, and lay by their own diſabled Ship, remanned, and took her into tow. The *Breda*'s Rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lye by until Ten o'Clock, and being then refitted, the Admiral ordered his Captain to purſue the Enemy, then about three Miles to the Leeward, his Line of Battle-ſignal out all the while, and Captain *Fogg*, by the Admiral's Orders, ſent to the other Captains, to order them to keep the Line, and behave like Men. Upon this Captain *Kirby* came on-board the Admiral, and told him, "That he had better deſiſt; "that the *French* were very ſtrong; and that from what "was paſt he might gueſs he could make nothing of "it [d]."

The brave Admiral *Bembow*, more ſurprized at this Language than he would have been at the Sight of another *French* Squadron, ſent for the reſt of the Captains on-board, in order to aſk their Opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were moſt of them in Captain *Kirby*'s Way of thinking; which ſatisfied the Admiral, that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as *Kirby* phraſed it, There was nothing to be done, though there was the faireſt Opportunity that had yet offered. Our Strength was at this Time, one Ship of 70 Guns, one of 64, one of 60, and three of 50; their Maſts, Yards, and all Things elſe in as good Condition as could be expected, and not above eight Men killed, except in the Vice-admiral's own Ship, nor was there any Want of Ammunition; whereas the Enemy had now no more than four Ships from 60 to 70 Guns, and one of them diſabled and in tow. The Vice-admiral thought proper upon this to return to *Jamaica*, where he arrived with his Squadron very weak with a Fever induced by his Wounds, and was ſoon after joined by Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, with the Ships under his Command.

This is not the only Inſtance (ſays the Author of the *Life of Queen* Anne) wherein the Nation ſuffered by the Unſkilfulneſs, Treachery, or Cowardice of our Commanders at Sea, in the firſt Year of the Queen: Nor is it much to be wondered at, when in a preceding Reign that covetous Spirit had overſpread the Face of the whole Kingdom, when Men perfectly ſcrambled for the Revenues of the Crown, and made their private Fortunes out of the Nation's Treaſure; when Money, oftener than Merit, gained Admiſſion to a Command, no Wonder that ſuch Scoundrels as *Wade* and *Kirkby* were truſted with our Men of War.

Vice-admiral *Bembow* iſſued a Commiſſion to Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, and to ſeveral Captains, to hold a Court-martial for the Trial of ſeveral Offenders. The Court ſat at *Port-Royal* on *October* 6, 1702, when Captain *Kirkby*, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his Trial. He was accuſed of Cowardice, Breach of Orders, and Neglect of Duty; which Crimes were proved upon Oath, by the Admiral himſelf, 10 Commiſſion, and 11 Warrant-officers, by whoſe Evidence it appeared, that the Admiral boarded *Du Caſſe* in Perſon three times, and received a large Wound in his Face, and another in his Arm, before his Leg was ſhot off: That *Kirkby*, after two or three Broadſides, kept always out of Gun-ſhot, and by his Behaviour created ſuch a Fear of his Deſertion, as greatly diſcouraged the *Engliſh* in the Engagement: That he kept two or three Miles a-ſtern all the ſecond Day, though commanded again and again to keep his Station: That the third Day he did not fire a Gun, though he ſaw the Admiral in the deepeſt Diſtreſs, having two or three *French* Men of War upon him at a time; and that he threatned to kill his Boatſwain for repeating the Admiral's Command to fire. He had very little to ſay for himſelf, and therefore was moſt deſervedly ſentenced to be ſhot. The ſame Day Captain *Conſtable*, of the *Windſor*, was tried; his own Officers vindicated him from Cowardice, but the reſt of the Charge being clearly proved, he was ſentenced to be caſhiered, and to be impriſoned during her Majeſty's Pleaſure. The next Day Captain *Wade* was tried, and the Charge being fully proved by 16 Commiſſion and Warrant-officers on-board his own Ship, as alſo that he was drunk during the whole Time of the Engagement; he, making little or no Defence, had the ſame Sentence with *Kirby*. As for Captain *Hudſon*, he died a few Days before his Trial ſhould have come on, and thereby avoided dying as *Kirby* and *Wade* did, for his Caſe was exactly the ſame with theirs.

Upon the 12th came on the Trials of Captain *Vincent*, Commander of the *Falmouth*, and Captain *Fogg*, who was Captain of the Admiral's own Ship the *Breda*, for ſigning, at the Perſuaſion of Captain *Kirby*, a Paper, containing an Obligation on themſelves not to fight the *French*. The Fact was clear, and the Captains themſelves did not diſpute it. All they offered was in Extenuation of their Offence, and amounted only to this, that they were apprehenſive *Kirby* would have deſerted to the Enemy, and they took this Step to prevent it. But this Tale would have hardly paſſed on the Court-Martial, if the Admiral himſelf had not given ſome Weight to their Excuſes, by declaring, that however they might be overſeen in ſubſcribing that Paper, yet they certainly behaved themſelves very gallantly in the Fight. For the ſake of Diſcipline, the Court, however, thought fit to ſuſpend them; and yet, to favour the Captains, this Judgment was given with a Proviſo that entirely took off its Edge, *viz.* That it ſhould not commence till his Royal Highneſs's Pleaſure ſhould be known.

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[a] See Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, and the Account of the Proceedings of Vice-admiral Bembow.

[b] In this, all the Accounts we have, agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if theſe Captains had now returned to their Duty, moſt of Du Caſſe's Squadron muſt have been taken.

[c] It was upon full Evidence of this Fact, that Captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for Cowardice, though on other Occaſions he had behaved well. It was generally ſuppoſed, that he was the Author of this Scheme; at leaſt, he was charged with being ſo, by Wade and Conſtable.

[d] This was depoſed at the Trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the Officers of his own Ship preſſed the Admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an Apprehenſion, that theſe Captains, being become deſperate, might go over to the Enemy, to which the Admiral unwillingly conſented.

The Reflections he made on this unlucky Buſineſs, threw the brave Admiral into a deep Melancholy, which ſoon brought him to his End, for he died on the 4th of *November* 1702, as much regretted as he deſerved. The Command of the Squadron then devolved on Captain *Whetſtone*, who in this Expedition acted as Rear-admiral, and of whoſe Proceedings in the *Weſt-Indies*, we ſhall give an Account in its proper Place. In the mean time, it is requiſite that we ſhould follow the condemned Captains home, in order to put an end to this diſagreeable Narration. They were ſent from *Jamaica* on-board her Majeſty's Ship the *Briſtol*, and arrived at *Plymouth* on the 16th of *April*, 1703, where (as in all the Weſtern Ports) there lay a Dead-warrant for their immediate Execution, in order to prevent any Applications in their favour; and they were accordingly ſhot on-board the Ship that brought them home, and ſhewed at their Death a Courage and Conſtancy of Mind, which made it evident, that their Behaviour in the late Engagement, did not flow from any Infirmity of Nature, but from the Corruption of their Minds [a].

Notwithſtanding the advantageous Enterprize againſt *Vigo*, the Parliament, which met in *October*, though they returned them public Thanks for ſuch an important Service, appeared diſguſted with Sir *George Rooke* and Admiral *Hopſon* for the Miſcarriage of the Deſign upon *Cadiz*: But after the ſtricteſt Examination before the Houſe of Lords, they were both honourably acquitted.

Biſhop *Burnet* gives this Account. "A Committee of "the Houſe of Peers ſat long upon the Matter: They examined all the Admirals and Land-officers, as well as "*Rooke* himſelf, upon the whole Progreſs of that Affair. "*Rooke* was ſo well ſupported by the Court, and by his "Party in the Houſe of Commons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the Lords could do; ſome who underſtood "Sea-matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every Motion "during the Expedition, that he intended to do nothing "but amuſe and make a ſhew; they alſo concluded, from "the Protection that the Miniſtry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much Pains to ſhew, how "improper a Thing a Deſcent on *Cadiz* was, and how "fatal the Attempt muſt have proved: And in doing "this, he arraigned his Inſtructions, and the Deſign he "was ſent on, with great Boldneſs; and ſhewed little Regard to the Miniſters, who took more Pains to bring "him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The Lords of the "Committee prepared a Report, which was hard upon "*Rooke*, and laid it before the Houſe; but ſo ſtrong a "Party was made to oppoſe every Thing that reflected on "him, that though every Particular in the Report was "well proved, yet it was rejected, and a Vote was carried "in his Favour, juſtifying his Conduct." The Truth of this Matter is, that as Sir *George Rooke* knew nothing of his Orders until he came to execute them, ſo he was abſolutely free from Dependance on any Miniſter, and ſpoke what he thought with the greateſt Intrepidity. The main of his Defence was this, that his Orders were contradictory, that the chief of them required his bringing over the *Spaniards*, if poſſible, to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſt enjoined him to ſink their Ships and burn the Town, which he found ſcarce practicable; and if it had been more ſo, not at all eligible, ſince at firſt the Inhabitants did not diſcover any great Enmity: And if more had been done, it could only have ſerved to have made the *Spaniards* implacable; and after all, perhaps the Town might not have been taken.

Indeed the Fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was poſſible for the Service of the Nation, and had thereby afforded an Opportunity to our worthy Miniſter at *Liſbon*, Mr. *Methuen*, to draw over from his Alliance with the two Crowns, the King of *Portugal*, to the Intereſt of the Allies, and to conclude a Treaty of Commerce there; which, to ſay no more, has been of much greater Benefit to the Nation, than many, or moſt, of the Treaties that have been concluded ſince.

The Bickerings in Parliament about the Conduct of certain Officers, ſeemed rather to be grounded upon perſonal Pique than any Intention to obſtruct the Operations for carrying on the War; wherefore we find that the Supplies [b] for the Service of the Year 1703, were very chearfully granted, and raiſed with an Alacrity that enabled the Fleet to be both better provided, as to Expence and Manner, and to get earlier out to Sea than uſual.

The naval Promotions on this Occaſion [c] were the Advancement of the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, Vice-admiral of the White, to be Vice-admiral of the Red; *John Graydon*, Eſq; was made Vice-admiral of the White; *John Leake* [d], Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue; *George Byng*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; *Thomas Dilkes*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; and *Bazil Beaumont*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue [e].

Mr. *Leake* upon his Promotion to the Rank of a Rear-admiral was ordered to hoiſt his Flag at *Portſmouth* [f], and to provide for the Security of the Channel Trade: For which Purpoſe he diſpatched [g] Lord *Durſley* to cruize between the *Land's End* and the *Start* and *Lizzard*: And Captain *Allen* of the *Flamborough*, to cruize [h] between *Chicheſter* and the *Neſſe*, with particular Orders to prevent the running of Wooll, and the bringing over *French* Silks; and the *Swan* and *Fly* Brigantine, to cruize between *Folkſtone* and *Haſtings*, with the ſame Orders. On the 12th of *January* he was appointed Commander in Chief of all her Majeſty's Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth*: And on the 4th of *February* received her Majeſty's Orders for laying a general Embargo on all Shipping, for the more ſpeedy and effectual Manning the Fleet; it being ordered that no Ship cleared outwards ſhould proceed in her Voyage till it had furniſhed her Majeſty's Ships with one fourth of its Number of Men; and thoſe that had not cleared out ſhould furniſh half their Complements. On the 26th of *March* 1703, he ordered the *Suffolk* and *Rocheſter* Prize, to cruize between the *Iſle of Wight*; and the *Berry* in queſt of ſome *French* Privateers, that infeſted that Coaſt. And on the 6th of *April*, purſuant to ſpecial Orders from the Lord High Admiral, he directed the Searching of all *Genoeſe* Ships, that were ſuſpected of carrying Effects to the *French* and *Spaniards*, and upon juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion to bring them into Port, to be further examined, and proceeded againſt according to Juſtice [i].

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[a] See the London Gazette, No. 3907. Mercure hiſtorique, et politique, 1703. Vol. I. p. 335.

[b] The Supplies granted this Year, amounted to 3,517,957 l. 7 s. 2 d. which in thoſe Days was thought an immenſe Sum, though we have ſince ſeen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for Peace or War. The Beginning of this Year both Houſes of Parliament addreſſed the Queen; the Commons, in Anſwer to a Meſſage from her Majeſty, concerning an Augmentation of her Forces abroad, required by the Dutch; and the Lords, to thank her Majeſty for the Communication of ſeveral Letters and Memorials of the States General, for that Purpoſe: and the Commons having agreed, that 10,000 Men, Foreigners, ſhould be hired for this Augmentation, they made it a Condition and beſought her Majeſty, "That England might not be charged with the Pay of "ſuch additional Troops, but from the Day the States General ſhould put a Stop to all Poſts, Letters, Bills, and all other Correſpondence, Trade "and Commerce with France and Spain." And the Lords, in their Addreſs, acquainted her Majeſty, "That it was the Opinion of their Houſe, her "Majeſty's furniſhing her Quota of the Augmentation of Troops in the Low Countries would be ineffectual, unleſs all Correſpondence with France "and Spain, by Letters, or otherwiſe, be totally prohibited by the States General, and all other her Majeſty's Allies. This illicite and clandeſtine Correſpondence and Trade, carried on by the Dutch with the common Enemy, and which, notwithſtanding this Notice taken of it, was, as it has been ſaid, continued during the whole War, even to the furniſhing them with Arms and Ammunition, was of ſo great an Advantage to them, that ſome have ventured to ſay, they were Gainers by the War, while we, out of an Exceſs of Generoſity (but too common with us) were plunging ourſelves into Debts and Difficulties, to ſupport the common Cauſe, and ſcorned to take the Advantage of theſe under-hand Practices, to the Detriment of it, though to our own Impoveriſhment, and notwithſtanding we had the ſame Right to it as they. About this time the Dover Man of War brought into Kingſale a French Privateer of 32 Guns, called the Count de Thoulouſe, commanded by Captain Grandmaiſon Harrington, having on-board her two Captains more, ſix Lieutenants, eight Enſigns, and 285 Men; and this, after a ſharp Fight of ſix Hours, wherein the Privateer had four Men killed, and 20 wounded, without the Loſs of one Man killed in the Dover.

[c] March 1702-3. Life of Sir John Leake, p. 59.

[d] Who had been made a Rear-admiral on the 9th of December preceding.

[e] Gazette of March 15, 1702. No. 3896.

[f] December 23.

[g] December 28.

[h] January 4.

[i] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 59.

On the 12th of *April* Admiral *Leake* received Orders, from the Lord High Admiral, to proceed immediately with ſeven Men of War and two Fire ſhips for the Coaſt of *France*, and to cruize off of *La Hogue* for eight Days, to intercept ſix of the Enemy's Ships of 60 and 70 Guns each, expected to ſail from *Breſt* to *Dunkirk*. The Admiral obeyed; and having appointed Captain *Cole*, the ſenior Officer, Commander of the Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth* during his Abſence, with the uſual Inſtructions in ſuch Caſes; and in particular to execute the Dead-warrant lodged in his Hands for the Execution of *Kirby* and *Wade* for Cowardice and Treachery, ſhould they arrive at this Port from the *Weſt-Indies* before his Return; he ſailed from *Spithead* on the 16th, on the 21ſt came to an Anchor off Cape *La Hogue*, but weighed ſoon after, and kept plying to Windward, without any Tidings of the *French* Men of War, till the eight Days were expired; when, conformable to Orders, he returned to the *Engliſh* Coaſt. In his Paſſage he was joined by the *Wincheſter*, and two other Ships, with Orders from Sir *George Rooke*. Upon which the Admiral detached Captain *Wager* in the *Hampton-Court*, and five Sail more, to cruize between Cape *Barfleur* and the Iſle of *Baſſe*, for intercepting the Trade of Weſt *France*[a].

He arrived at *Spithead* on the 24th, where he met with Sir *George Rooke*[b]; and on the 3d of *May* iſſued Orders for bringing into ſome Port of *England*, all foreign Ships, having naval Stores ſuſpected to be bound to *France*, according to Directions ſent to him from the Lord High-admiral.

Sir *George* had formed a Deſign for ſurpriſing and taking the Ports of *Louis* and *Rochfort*, and took the Conduct of this Expedition upon himſelf, with 18 Ships of the Line. But what by waiting for the *Dutch* and other Obſtructions, the Time was ſo protracted, as to give the Enemy time to prepare for a vigorous Defence, which would fruſtrate his Intention; wherefore when this able Sea-officer was not permitted, after earneſt Solicitation, to proceed without the *Dutch*, and had good Reaſon to ſuſpect that his Scheme was known to the Enemy, he deſired leave to go to *Bath* for his Health; well knowing that it was too late for him to ſerve his Country, as intended. However, *George Churchill*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue, who was ordered to take the Command in Sir *George*'s Abſence, not coming in time, and Sir *George* finding himſelf better, he put to Sea[c]. In the Afternoon of the ſame Day, Vice-admiral *Leake* followed him with an Expreſs from the Lord High Admiral, and overtook him next Day in the Evening[d]. He found the Admiral ſick in-bed, who, nevertheleſs, did not neglect Buſineſs; and after appointing a Rendezvous for the *Dutch*, ſhould they arrive in time, he called a Council of Flag-officers[e], *viz.* Vice-admiral *Leake*, and Rear-admiral *Dilkes*, and his firſt Captain, Captain *James Wiſhart*, who peruſing the Inſtructions from her Majeſty, and the Intelligence received from *Breſt* of the Enemy's Preparations, together with a Project for a Deſcent in the Bay of *Verdon*, at the Mouth of the River of *Bourdeaux*, determined to ſend ſome Frigates through the *Race*, to gain farther Intelligence from *Breſt*, and to proceed with the Groſs of the Fleet to *Belle-Iſle* (it being judged unſafe to go farther ſo early in the Year) and that, from thence, ſome Frigates ſhould be detached as far as *St. Martin's*, to diſcover what the Enemy were doing in thoſe Parts: Accordingly next Day a Detachment was made of Captain *Robert Fairfax*, with the *Kent*, *Monk*, *Medway*, and *Dragon*, through the *Race*, to gain Intelligence. He ſteered along Shore, and paſſed within a Mile of *Conquet* Road, and afterwards ſtood in the *Sound* without *Breſt*, and to the Eaſtward of *Camaret*. In the former he diſcovered only ſmall Craft, and in the Harbour could only ſee ſix Sail ready for Sea, three from 60 to 70, and the other from 20 to 40 Guns: But he obſerved the Coaſt was fortified between *Conquet* and *St. Matthew's* Point, and near 30 Guns planted there. By a Fiſherman they took, the Admiral had however Advice, that the *Sunday* before, Monſieur *Coetlogon* ſailed from the Port of *Breſt*, with four three-deck'd Ships; that there were between 20 and 30 more in the Harbour diſarmed, and in the Road four Ships of War, and two Privateers, ready to ſail with Monſieur *D'Arteloire*. The Admiral conſidering that the ſame Wind which carried out Monſieur *Coetlogon*, had given Opportunity to the other *French* Ships in the ſeveral Ports of the *Bay* to ſail, concluded he could have but little Proſpect of doing any farther Service. He therefore, purſuant to his Inſtructions, called another Council of War the 12th, at which were preſent, beſides the Flag-officers and Captain *Wiſhart*, 17 other Captains. They conſidering again the Queen's Inſtructions, as alſo the Intelligence, particularly that from Captain *Fairfax*, concluded to ſail as far as *Belle-Iſle*, and that a Detachment ſhould be ſent from thence to *St. Martin's*, or elſewhere, for farther Advice of the Enemy; *Belle-Iſle* being appointed the Rendezvous, from the 16th to the 20th of *May*, and afterwards, in the Latitude of 46, and 47 Degrees S. S. W. from *Uſhant*.

The 15th, the *Medway* was ordered to chaſe a Sail at ſome Diſtance, which ſhe took[f]. The 17th, the *Wincheſter*, *Dover*, and *Litchfield*, joined the Fleet; and the former, being ſent with the *Ipſwich* to the Station off of *Uſhant*, retook the *Sarah*-Gally of *London*, laden with Sugar, Tobacco, and Logwood, from *Virginia*.

The 20th, the Admiral ſtood into the *Bay* with the Fleet, where he got Intelligence[g], that 26 *French* Men of War had been ſeen a few Days before ſtanding Weſtward, the Land about *Bourdeaux*, then bearing E. by S. near 15 Leagues off: Upon which a Council of War judged it convenient to proceed to *Belle-Iſle*; and that the Detachment deſigned to *St. Martin's*, ſhould not be ſent thither till they had more certain Intelligence.

The 24th, the Fleet arrived at *Belle-Iſle*, where nothing was to be ſeen but Fiſher-boats.

As the Admiral was going in, he ſent the Rear-admiral, with five Ships, to the S. E. End of the Iſland, to intercept any Veſſels which might attempt to come out that Way; as he did the *Berwick*, *Ipſwich*, and *Litchfield*, to the Iſland of *Gray* (or *Groavis*) to ſurprize any Shipping that ſhould be found riding off that Port; which laſt brought into the Fleet two ſmall Barks taken from amongſt 20, that were bound Southward from *Breſt*; ſome of the

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[a] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 60, 61.

[b] He arrived in the Downs the 12th of April, and there got Information, that her Majeſty's Ships, the Saliſbury and Adventure, had met with a Squadron of French Ships from Dunkirk, and (as it was feared) had fallen into their Hands. Upon this Rear-admiral Byng, with the Ranelagh, Somerſet, Torbay, Cambridge, and Wincheſter, was ordered to lye in wait, to intercept them in their Return to Dunkirk; and Rear-admiral Beaumont was ſent off of that Port, with his Squadron, for the ſame Purpoſe; but they had the good Fortune to get in, with their Prizes, before either of theſe Squadrons could get up with them. The Circumſtances of this Action were as follows: Captain Cotton, who commanded the Saliſbury, came with that Ship, and the Adventure, from Goree, in Holland, the 9th of April, and next Day, about One o'Clock, diſcovered ſeven Sail bearing down on him, with Engliſh Colours. Theſe Ships proved to be three French, and one Spaniſh Man of War, the other Privateers. The Saliſbury was conſtrained ſingly to engage with moſt of them, that the Trade and the Yachts might better ſecure themſelves, in one of which was the Earl of Winchelſea, who was returning from the Court of Hanover. The Adventure was a-ſtern, and the Saliſbury endeavoured to edge down all that poſſibly ſhe could, to aſſiſt the Tail of the Fleet, with which was a hired Store-ſhip, of conſiderable Force, named the Muſcovia-Merchant; but ſhe, without any Reſiſtance, ſtruck to the Enemy, and the Adventure, to ſave herſelf, ſtood away with all the Sail ſhe could carry; ſo that the Saliſbury bore the Brunt upwards of two Hours: She was boarded by two of the French Ships, which were bravely put off; but, ſoon after, Monſieur St. Paul, who commanded in Chief, lying on her Bow, ready to clap her on-board again, another on her Broadſide, the Milford (taken from us the laſt War) on one Quarter, and the Queen of Spain, a Ship of Oſtend, on the other, all of them making what Fire they poſſibly could, they diſabled their Maſts, Sails, and Rigging, diſmounted ſeveral of her Guns, and her Hull was very much torn. This, with the killing 18, and deſperately wounding both her Lieutenants, and 43 Men, together with the throwing Hand-grenadoes into her ſo thick, that they were not able to continue on the Deck, conſtrained the Captain to yield the Ship to them, which they afterwards fitted out, and employed againſt us. By this Account one would think the Adventure eſcaped; but De Larrey, who pretends the Engliſh had four Men of War, ſays, two of them, with four Merchant-ſhips, were taken.

[c] May 5, A. M. with the following Force; Two Firſt, four Second, 21 Third, one Fourth, three Fifth, and one Sixth-rates, with five Bomb-veſſels, 10 Fire-ſhips, and three Hoſpitals. Beſides theſe, there were already on the French Coaſt, under Command of Captain Charles Wager, one Third, three Fourth, one Fifth, and one Sixth-rates, who had taken a Ship of 14 Guns; but moſt of their trading Veſſels, as well as their ſmall Convoys, were eſcaped to Havre de Grace, Cherbourg, La Hogue, and the Ports along the Coaſt; and there were alſo one Second, four Third, and 10 Fourth-rates, deſigned for the Fleet, which had not then joined the Admiral.

[d] Sir John Leake's Life, p. 61.

[e] At about 15 Leagues from Uſhant.

[f] This Ship came from Pondicheri on the Coaſt of Cormandel, and was bound to Port-Louis, with her loading of Muſlins and Callicoes.

[g] By a Dutch Galliot.

Remainder were ſtranded, but the reſt, with their Convoy of 12 Guns, got into *Port-Louis*.

Hereupon, and conformable to the Intelligence obtained from the Priſoners, another Council of War was called of Flags and Captains in *Belle-Iſle* Road, on the 27th of *May*, in which it was reſolved, not to be adviſeable to divide the Fleet, by ſending a Detachment farther into the *Bay*, ſince there were ſo few Frigates, and even but two of them clean: And that, if the Enemy were weaker, they might go into their Ports at pleaſure; or, if ſtronger, attempt us to Advantage: So that it was determined, that the Detachment intended thither, and the Deſign of deſtroying the ſmall Embarkations at the *Iſle de Dieu*, ſhould be deferred till there could be a better Opportunity of effecting it, by a Squadron of clean Ships, with Sixth-rates and Brigantines, to ſuſtain the Boats on that Service; for there was neither Water nor Room enough for any Ships of Force to lie before the Fort.

It was alſo reſolved to put in Execution the Orders which the Admiral had received, by repairing to the Station S. S. W. from *Uſhant*, in Latitude 46, and 47 Degrees, the better to meet with any of the Enemy's Ships bound into or out of the *Bay*; and, in caſe of Eaſterly Winds, to ſtretch half a Degree more to the Southward; for that thereby they might have a Proſpect of meeting the *French* Squadron before mentioned, if not gone from *St. Martin's*. But if the Winds came Weſterly, it was judged moſt adviſeable, to proceed North, ſo as to keep the *Channel* open, and thereby be the better able to protect our Trade.

The ſame Day the *Dragon* took a Privateer of 16 Guns, ſix Patereroes, and 90 Men, at the South-eaſt End of the Iſland, laden with 650 Hogſheads of Sugar, and 15 Barrels of Indigo, from *St. Domingo*.

The 3d of *June*, the Admiral ſtood towards the appointed Station; and the 5th, received Orders, by the *Lime* Frigate, to detach two Ships for bringing our Trade from *Portugal*; upon which he ſent the *Northumberland* and the *Reſtoration*, two Third-rates, on that Service.

About this Time the Lord *Durſley* (now Earl of *Berkeley*) who commanded the *Litchfield*, a Ship of 50 Guns, coming from the Body of the Fleet, in the *Soundings*, met with a *French* Man of War of 36 Guns, and 260 Men, which his Lordſhip took, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, as he did likewiſe a *French* Ship from *Martinico* of 20 Guns, both which he brought with him to *Spithead*.

The 10th of *June*, the Admiral quitted the Station, bent his Courſe homewards, and the 21ſt he arrived ſafe at *St. Helen's*.

He had with him two Firſt-rates, three Second-rates, five Third-rates, four Fire-ſhips, the *William* and *Mary* Yatch, which attended on him, and an Hoſpital-ſhip, having ordered the *Medway* and *Dragon* to cruiſe between the *Lizard* and the *Ram-head*, and the *Monk*, *Lyme*, and *L'Ayſtoff*, on the Station he came from, to give any Ships, that might be ſent to him, an Account of his coming off.

When Sir *George Rooke* returned, he was ſtill ſo weak and infirm, that he aſked and had leave to go to *Bath*, his Superiors ſeeing no Reaſon to cenſure his Behaviour.

In the mean time our Negociations with the King of *Portugal* ended with his Acceſſion to the grand Alliance; and in Conformity to the Treaty ſigned at *Liſbon* between the Emperor, Queen *Anne*, the King of *Portugal*, and the *States-General*, which was brought to *London* on the 24th of *May* to be ratified, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was appointed to execute a grand Scheme founded on this Alliance, as appears from his Inſtructions, to hinder the Enemy's Fleet from paſſing the *Streights*, and to prevent their inſulting the *Portugueze*.

His Line of Battle [*] was as follows:

Frigates, &c.	Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Commanders.	Diviſions.
	3	*Berwick*	440	70	Capt. *Richard Edwards*.	
Flamborough,	4	*Wincheſter*	280	50	Capt. *Robert Hughs*.	
24 Guns.	3	*Ipſwich*	440	70	Capt. *William Wakeland*.	
Lightning Fire-ſhip.	3	*Dorſetſhire*.	500	80	Capt. *Edward Whitaker*.	
Mortar Bomb.	2	*Prince George*	700	96	J. LEAKE, *Eſq*; Capt. *Stephen Martin*.	Vice-admiral of the *Blue*.
	3	*Sterling-Caſtle*	440	70	Capt. *J. Johnſon*.	
	4	*Exeter*	360	60	Capt. —— *Stroarton*.	
	3	*Ruſſel*	500	80	Capt. *Iſaac Toronſond*.	
	3	*Bedford*	440	70	Sir *Thomas Hardy*.	
	3	*Cambridge*	500	80	Capt. *Richard Leſtock*.	
	3	*Orford*	440	70	Capt. *J. Norris*.	
Tartar, 32 Guns. *Terrible* Fire-ſhip.	2	*Triumph*	710	96	Sir CLOUD. SHOVEL. Capt. *James Stuart*.	Admiral.
	3	*Royal Oake*	500	74	Capt. *Jar. Elvis*.	
	3	*Eagle*	440	70	Lord *Hamilton*.	
	3	*Warſpight*	440	70	Capt. *Edm. Loades*.	
	4	*Litchfield*	280	50	Lord *Durſley*.	
	3	*Lenox*	440	70	Capt. *W. Jumper*.	
	2	*St. George*	680	96	Capt. *J. Jennings*.	
	3	*Eſſex*	440	70	Capt. *J. Hubbart*.	
Poſtillion,	3	*Monmouth*	440	70	Capt. *J. Baker*.	
10 Guns.	4	*Hampſhire*	280	50	Capt. *Tho. Stepney*.	
Fire-drake	3	*Swiftſure*	440	70	Capt. *Rob. Wyan*.	
Bomb.	3	*Hampton-Court*	440	70	Capt. *Charles Wager*.	
Paramour-Pink, 10 Guns.	3	*Ranelagh*	535	80	J. BYNG, *Eſq*; Capt. *Scaley*.	Rear-admiral of the *Red*.
	3	*Shrewſbury*	520	80	Lord *Crow*.	
	4	*Montague*	360	60	—— *Cleaveland*.	
	3	*Suffolk*	440	70	Capt. *Rob. Kirktown*.	
	4	*Dover*	280	50	Capt. *Nich. Trevanian*.	
	3	*Grafton*	440	70	Sir *And. Leake*.	
Lizard, 24 Guns. *Vulture* Fireſhip.	2	*Aſſociation*	700	96	*Sir* S. FAIRBOURNE. Capt. *Rich. Cannon*.	Vice-admiral of the *Red*.
Baſiliſk Bomb.	3	*Sommerſet*	520	80	Capt. *Richard Wyat*.	
	3	*Naſſau*	440	70	Capt. *Francis Dowe*.	
	4	*Pembroke*	360	60	Capt. *Rob. Arris*.	
	3	*Torbay*	500	80	Capt. *W. Coldwel*.	
	3	*Revenge*	440	70	Capt. —— *Car*.	

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[*] Annals of Queen Anne.

This was the Fleet ordered for Sir *Cloudeſley*'s Command; to which were joined 12 Ships belonging to the *States-General*. But ſeveral of his own Ships not being in a Condition to ſail with him from *Spithead*[a], he recommended their Equipment to the Zeal and Diligence of Sir *John Leake*, who on this Occaſion uſed ſuch Diſpatch, that notwithſtanding the almoſt unſurmountable Difficulties to mann the eight Men of War left behind, he by the 10th ſailed with five of them from *St. Helen's*, and had the good Fortune in 11 Days to join the grand Fleet at Sea in their Paſſage to *Liſbon*, two Days before it arrived at *Caſcais* Road, near the Mouth of the *Tajo*, or *Tagus*, the Place ordered for the Rendezvous of the whole Fleet, the other three being ordered to follow with the utmoſt Expedition[b]. Captain *Robert Bokenham*, who commanded her Majeſty's Ship the *Chatham*, of 50 Guns, being a-head of the Admiral, about Two in the Morning fell in with two *French* Ships of War, called the *Jaſon* and the *Auguſte*, which getting between her and the Body of the Fleet, ſhe engaged them at the Diſtance of about Piſtol-ſhot; but when it was broad Day-light, they ſeeing our Strength left her, and endeavoured to make their Eſcape; whereupon ſhe chaſed them, and coming within Gun-ſhot about Noon, they exchanged their Broadſides at each other; mean while ſeveral other Ships of the Fleet had an Opportunity of getting near them. At five in the Afternoon the *French* Ships ſeparated, and about Eight at Night the *Worceſter* of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain *Thomas Butler*, engaged the *Jaſon*, while the *Chatham* was in Fight with the *Auguſte*; but it proving little Wind, ſhe towed from her at ſome Diſtance. At Nine at Night the *Greenwich* came along-ſide of the *Auguſte*, and engaged her till One o'Clock, at which time ſhe being diſabled, and the *Medway*, another Ship of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain *James Littleton*, coming up, ſhe ſtruck, having 54 Guns mounted, and 420 Men, commanded by the Chevalier *Neſmond*; and being a very good Ship, not above twelve Months old, ſhe was added to our royal Navy.

The Inſtructions for the Service of this great Fleet (which together in *Caſcais-Bay*, were four Second-rates, 24 Third-rates, and ſeven Fourth-rates, four Frigates, one Pink, three Fire-ſhips, and three Bomb-veſſels; 14 *Dutch* Men of War, three Fire-ſhips, and three Bomb-veſſels) directed them, 1ſt, To proceed to the Coaſt of *France*, and lie off of *Peccais* and *Cette*, on the Coaſt of *Languedoc*; and if the Admiral ſaw any Perſons on ſhore, to obſerve if they made Signals, if not, to do the ſame to them, and finding them to be Friends, to ſend his Boat, for ſuch as ſhould deſire to come off to him, that ſo he might be informed of the Condition of the *Cevennois*[c], a People who had, for ſome time, taken up Arms againſt the Forces of the *French* King, in Defence of their Religion and Liberties. If he was ſatisfied, that they could convey to their Companions any Powder, Bullets, and Shoes (of the latter of which, it is ſaid, he had a conſiderable Quantity in the Fleet, and they in extream Want of them) he was to ſupply the ſame, as might be proper, and likewiſe to furniſh them with Money.

In the next Place, the Admiral was to enquire, whether it was feaſible to deſtroy the Salt-works at *Peccais*, and, in ſuch Caſe, to land ſo many Marine Soldiers as might be neceſſary, to join ſuch *French*, as would willingly co-operate in the Attempt.

2. This being done, or ſo much thereof as ſhould be found practicable, he was to proceed to *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and there obſerve, or make the Signals as aforeſaid, and if any Perſons were ready to receive him, to ſend for ſome of them, and concert the proper Methods of ſeizing on *Palermo*, and to aſſiſt in the Attempt with the Ships, and Bomb-veſſels, together with ſuch Marines as might be neceſſary, as well as by all other Ways that ſhould be judged expedient.

3. If he ſucceeded in this, and that he found it practicable to take *Meſſina*, he was in that, and in all other Things, to do his utmoſt towards aſſiſting thoſe People, in freeing themſelves from their Subjection to *France*, and the then *Spaniſh* Government, and reducing the Iſland to the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

4. Then he was to proceed to the Coaſt of *Naples*, and upon Signals made to him, to aſſiſt thoſe People in like Manner; and if he ſhould find any Part of the Emperor's Army there, he was ſo far to aſſiſt the Officer commanding thoſe Forces, in reducing *Naples*, or any Part of that Kingdom, as ſhould be thought adviſeable, and, in order thereunto, to land the Marines, ſupply them with Mortars and Cannon, out of the Ships and Veſſels, and in all Reſpects to do his utmoſt to aſſiſt the Emperor's Army, or any others declaring for the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

5. If, in his Way to *Sicily*, he judged it not proper to proceed himſelf to *Leghorn*, he was to ſend a Ship thither; and if there ſhould be found any Perſon there, by the Appointment of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, to confer with him, the Captain of ſuch Ship was to receive him, if he deſired it, that ſo an Account might be had from him, of the Deſigns of the ſaid Prince, and the Admiral himſelf be thereby the better enabled to aſſiſt in the Attempts againſt the Enemy; in order whereunto he was directed to correſpond with him, as he had Opportunities for it, and to comply with his Deſires in all Things, that be fit and proper, Regard being had to the Safety of the Fleet.

6. By other Inſtructions, dated the 4th of *May*, he was ordered to go with the Fleet, or to detach ſome Ships, to the Coaſt of *Barbary*, and (by Virtue of the Power given him under the great Seal) to authorize the Conſuls of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, or ſome Perſons belonging to the Fleet, or others, to treat with thoſe Governments, to conclude a Peace, upon Terms and Conditions, which were to be propoſed, and thereupon to make the uſual Preſents.

7. If he could prevail with them to make War againſt *France*, and that ſome Act of Hoſtility was thereupon committed, he was, on that Occaſion, to give ſuch farther Preſents as ſhould be judged proper: And in caſe of ſuch a Rupture, and that the *Dutch* Admiral had Orders to treat a Peace with thoſe Governments, he was to aſſiſt him in the Negotiation.

8. He was alſo ordered to diſpatch two Ships, or more, to *Leghorn*, ſome time before his Return, with Orders to the ſenior Captain, to make Uſe of all Opportunities of taking or deſtroying any of the Enemy's Ships, going into, or coming out of that Port, and to declare the Reaſon thereof to be, becauſe the Grand Duke had not ſtrictly kept the Neutrality, with relation to the *French*, nor done Right to her Majeſty's Subjects; for which Reaſon, the aforeſaid commanding Officer was to require an immediate Puniſhment of the Governor of *Leghorn*, by removing him from his Employments.

9. Farthermore, he was to require a poſitive Declaration and Aſſurance from the Great Duke, that no Seaman, her Majeſty's Subject, ſhould, for the future, be detained by him, againſt his Will, but permitted freely to embark onboard the Queen's Ships, or thoſe of her Subjects or Allies. And if, upon thoſe Demands, entire Satisfaction was not made, the Admiral was to return home by *Leghorn*, and, by all Ways practicable, to exact it.

10. If he detached any Ships into the *Adriatick* Seas, purſuant to other Inſtructions, he had or ſhould receive, he was to order their Captains, to take all Opportunities of deſtroying any *French* Ships or Veſſels, in the *Venetian* Ports, and to require from that State a Releaſe of her Majeſty's Subjects detained in their Ships, Gallies, or Dominions; and, in caſe of Refuſal, to endeavour to take their Subjects out of their Ships, and to detain them, 'till ours were cleared, otherwiſe to bring them to *England*. And he was farther to require of them immediate Satisfaction,

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[a] On the 1ſt of July, with 230 Merchant-men under his Convoy.

[b] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 64.

[c] The Cevennes is a mountainous Country in the South Part of France, Three-fourths of the Inhabitants of which profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion before the general Perſecution in 1685. And notwithſtanding their Submiſſion then, moſt of them had ſince ſhaken off the Yoke of Popery. Their Numbers, and the Situation of their Country, made the *French* Court more jealous of them, than of all the other Proteſtants in *France*, and conſequently they were more oppreſſed, to render them uncapable of recovering their Liberties. Extortions, Military Executions, and many horrid Barbarities, made them riſe, at length, in Defence of them. The general Concern which the Engliſh Nation expreſſed for the Sufferings of their Proteſtant Brethren, added to her Majeſty's natural Compaſſion, moved the Queen to reſolve in Council, that the Fleet which was going into the Mediterranean, ſhould endeavour to carry them a Supply of Arms, Ammunition, and Money.

and Reparation, for the Ship and Loading they ſuffered to be burnt, by the *French*, at *Malomocco*; or, if they refuſed, to do his beſt Endeavours, to make Repriſals on them.

11. By other Inſtructions, from her Majeſty, dated the 7th of *May*, he was farther ordered; that when he had ſeen the Merchant-ſhips as near to *Liſbon*, *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, and ſuch other Ports as might be neceſſary for their Safety, and allotted particular Convoys to *Smyrna*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Scanderoon*, he ſhould proceed, with the Remainder of the Fleet, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to the Coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and there call a Council of War of the Flags of both Nations, and alſo of the Colonels, and Commanders in Chief, of the Regiments of Marines and Land-forces, and with them conſider how he might beſt aſſiſt the Emperor's Forces in thoſe Parts; not only with the Ships, but the ſaid Marine Soldiers, Mortars, and Guns, in any Attempts the ſaid Forces of the Emperor, or others, in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhould make, and to join, and co-operate with them, in annoying the Enemy, according to what ſhould be agreed.

12. It was alſo recommended to him to take all Opportunities of attacking *Cadiz*, *Toulon*, or any Place on the Coaſt of *France* or *Spain*, as alſo their Ships, Gallies, or Magazines, provided ſuch Attempts might not interrupt the principal Service he was going upon.

13. If he got Intelligence that the *French* had any conſiderable Magazines near *Genoa*, and a Council of War ſhould agree, that by landing Marines at *Porto Spezza*, (a little Town belonging to the Republick of *Genoa*) or elſewhere, they might be deſtroyed, he was to further the Attempt, by giving all poſſible Aſſiſtance and Protection to the Men, in their Landing and re-imbarking, ſo far as the ſame might be conſiſtent with the Safety of the Ships.

14. He had Liberty to apply any Prize, Proviſions, or Stores, to the Uſe of the Seamen, with the Privity of the Prize-officer in the Fleet, but to keep an exact Account thereof.

15. If he ſhould want Water, or other Refreſhments, he was impowered to make a Truce, and to treat with the Enemy for a Supply; and he had Liberty to give Rewards to deſerving Perſons, for extraordinary Services done in the Expedition, out of the Money advanced for defraying the Contingencies of the Fleet.

16. It was recommended to him to treat the Subjects of the *Grand Signor*, and all other Princes and States in Amity with her Majeſty, or the *States General*, in a friendly Manner, and to take the beſt Care he could, that the *Dutch* did not moleſt any of our ſaid Allies, though not in Friendſhip with them. But if he happened to meet with ill Treatment from any neuter Nation, or that they aſſiſted the Enemy, and refuſed the like to him, when he might have Occaſion, he was to demand Satisfaction, and to take it by Force, if refuſed; though this was only to be done in his Paſſage down the *Streights*.

17. When he had performed ſuch Services as he was able, for the Intereſt of her Majeſty, and her Allies, he was to conſider, at a Council of War, the moſt proper time for returning home, and of the beſt Means of taking on-board the Guns, Mortars, ſmall Arms, and Ordnance-Stores, and alſo the Marine Soldiers, unleſs he ſhould find it neceſſary, and for the Service of her Majeſty's Allies, to leave the Guns, or Mortars, Carriages, ſmall Arms, or Ordnance-ſtores, or any Part of them on-ſhore. And he was alſo to conſider what Services might be done, by annoying the Enemy in his Return home; but to have a Regard to join the Ships detached for Convoy, or on particular Services, and to bring with him all the Trade that could be gotten together.

18. If he received good Intelligence, that any *French* Ships were in the *Adriatick* Sea, moleſting the Emperor's Convoys for *Italy*, and it ſhould be judged ſafe after the Detachments were made, he was empowered to ſend thither ſuch a Number of Ships, as a Council of War ſhould judge expedient, for burning or deſtroying the Enemy, in any Place or Port within that Gulph, except the Roads and Ports of the *Grand Signor*.

19. He was directed to communicate to the *Dutch* Admiral his Inſtructions, and to deſire him to do the like to him, as a Matter which might conduce very much to the carrying on the Service.

20. In Conſideration of the Diſtance, which might be between him and home, he was empowered to exchange Priſoners for ſuch of her Majeſty's Subjects as had been, or ſhould be, taken by Ships of the Enemy, or otherwiſe detained, and therein to proceed by the Rule directed to be obſerved in *England*, till a Cartel could be concluded, *viz.* Man for Man, and Quality for Quality; but yet it was left to his Diſcretion to do otherways upon any ſpecial Occaſion.

From *Caſcais* Sir *Cloudeſley* ſent Convoys with the Trade to the ſeveral Ports in *Portugal*, and added two *Engliſh* Frigates to the *Dutch* Convoy of the *St. Ubes* Fleet.

The 27th, the *Pembroke*, *Monmouth*, *Orford*, *Litchfield*, and *Hampton-Court*, which had been left behind at *Plymouth* to clean, and the 29th the *Naſſau*, joined the Fleet; which having watered, and got Wines and freſh Proviſions, ſailed the 31ſt from *Caſcais*.

Sir *Thomas Hardy* was ordered to go with his own Ship, the *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Montague*, and *Lizzard*, along the Chriſtian Shore, and call at *Lagos* for Intelligence, the Governor of that Place having Orders to impart what he could get.

Sir *Thomas Hardy* brought Intelligence [a], that 22 great Ships had paſſed by *Faro*, from *Weſt-France*, into the *Streights*, and that the Conſul there was informed, they had above 40 Ships of War at *Toulon*: And he brought a ſtout *Genoeſe* Ship into the Fleet, who could give no Account of the *French*. At the ſame Time Captain *Norris*, with four Ships more, received Orders to look into *Cadiz*, to diſcover what Ships were in that Harbour; who came in with ſome *Spaniſh* Boats, which reported that they had but eight (*Burchett* ſays twelve) *French* Gallies at *Cadiz* for the Security of that Port, but none of their Men of War on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts.

The Rendezvous, on leaving *Caſcais*, was appointed to be held in *Altea*-Bay, and the grand Fleet ſailed from *Caſcais* on the 31ſt of *July* with the Trade to *Turky*, &c. under its Convoy, and with a fair Wind, till they arrived off Cape *Spartel* [b], where a freſh *Levant* drove them along the Coaſt of *Barbary*: Here they were joined by the Scouts Captain *Hardy* and Captain *Norris*.

They ſteered for *Tangier*, and on the 9th of *Auguſt* about Noon, anchored in the Road, and were kindly received by the *Alcaid*, and permitted to buy freſh Proviſions. After three Days they departed, and got through the *Streights* on the 12th at Night with a Weſterly Wind: But the *Levant* blowing afterwards pretty freſh, they made but little Way; and the Fleet wanting Water, it was reſolved to ſtretch over to Cape *Honey* in *Barbary*, to get ſome Water. Upon their Arrival, a Boat was ſent with a Flag of Truce, to inform the Natives of the Reaſon of their appearing on their Coaſt, and to deſire leave to land for Water; but the *Moors* fired upon the Boat, killed one Man, and mortally wounded the Lieutenant of the *Tartar*. The Want of Water increaſing, and many Men dying through the exceſſive Heat, which the Calms had rendered more intolerable, a Council of War was held the 29th on-board the *Triumph*, to conſider of the moſt proper Place to put into; and *Altea*, in the Kingdom of *Valentia* in *Spain*, being reſolved upon, the *Eagle*, commanded by the Lord *Archibald Hamilton*, and the *Hampton-Court*, were ſent before. The Governor fired upon them from two Guns planted on a Tower; but they were ſoon ſilenced and diſmounted by the Shot from thoſe two Ships.

The 31ſt of *Auguſt* the whole Fleet came in ſight of the Place, and the *Flamborough* was ſent cloſe to the Shore to cover the Deſcent of the Regiment of Marines, who, to the Number of 2500 Men, landed without any manner of Confuſion, and were actually drawn up in Batalia upon the Shore, before half the Fleet was come to their Anchors. Brigadier-general *Seymour* landed with the firſt Detachment, and gave ſuch Orders, that never a more regular Deſcent was made in an Enemy's Country.

The Land-forces being thus got on-ſhore undiſturbed, formed a Camp near the Place; and a Meſſage was ſent to the Governor, that they did not come as Enemies, but as

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[a] Burchett.

[b] On the 4th of Auguſt.

Friends. The Governor anſwered, That he had a great Eſteem for the *Engliſh*; but, nevertheleſs, was ſorry he was not in a Condition to oppoſe their landing: That he would write to the Vice-roy of *Valencia*, and if his Orders ſhould be ſo, the Admiral muſt not take it amiſs if he ſhould fire upon his Men [a].

After this, the Admirals commanding in chief publiſhed a ſhort Manifeſto, and diſperſed it amongſt the *Spaniards*, ſetting forth, That purſuant to the Orders of her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and the *States-General*, they did not deſign to give the leaſt Diſturbance to the good Subjects of *Spain*, but to protect ſuch of them, who, remembering their ancient Obligations to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhould ſwear Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign the Archduke *Charles*, and endeavour to throw off the Yoke of *France*. And as they would give their Aſſiſtance to thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Nation that ſhould regard their Duty and true Intereſt, ſo they would deſtroy the Perſons, Houſes, and Goods, of ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the Efforts which ſhould be made, for the Deliverance of that valiant and glorious Nation of *Spain*, from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of *France*.

This Manifeſto had that good Effect, that the *Spaniards*, ſeeing no Injury was offered them, brought Plenty of all Refreſhments and Proviſions, for which they had ready Payment. They profeſſed a great Hatred to the *French*, appeared very well diſpoſed for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and drank to the Proſperity of the Archduke. The Ships being provided with Water and Proviſions, the Marines returned on-board again the 3d of *September*, and the ſame Evening the whole Fleet ſet ſail for *Leghorn*, where they arrived the 19th.

Ten Days before this, Captain *Jumper*, with the *Lenox*, *Ipſwich*, *Hampſhire*, and *Dover*, ſailed off of *Fermentara*, with the *Turky* Fleet under his Convoy, which were to keep company as far as their Way lay together, and then to ſeparate, two Men of War with the Trade to *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*, and the other two with that to *Scanderoon*.

The Ships being provided with Water and Proviſions, the Marines returned on-board the 3d of *September*, and the ſame Day the whole Fleet departed for *Leghorn*. A Council of War, of all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-officers, being aſſembled, the 29th of *Auguſt*, on-board the *Triumph*, wherein, among other Things, it was debated how to put the *Cevennois* Enterprize in Execution, Monſieur *Portales* was ſent for into the Aſſembly. Sir *Cloudeſley* told him, that the Seaſon being ſo far advanced, and the Gulph of *Narbonne* and *Lions* ſo dangerous, that they did not think it Prudence to hazard her Majeſty's Fleet on a Coaſt unknown, and which had ever been ſo dreadful to the *Engliſh* Seamen, that to avoid it they often choſe to go 100 Leagues out of their Way; that he was very ſorry he could not perform himſelf ſo great a Service to the brave *Cevennois* (whom he called Friends); but that, purſuant to the Reſult of their Conſultation, he would order two Men of War to go upon that Attempt, with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Money. And that if they had the good Fortune to ſpeak with their Friends, and to deliver them thoſe Things, it would be eaſy for them to concert Meaſures with the *Cevennois* for their farther Supply and Relief. Two Men of War, the *Pembroke*, commanded by Captain *Arris*; and the *Tartar*, by Captain *Cooper*, were appointed for this Service. Theſe two Ships ſailed a-head from the grand Fleet, when they left *Altea*, and made towards the Gulph of *Narbonne*, having the three *French* Gentlemen on board, and two *French* Pilots. The next Day, being the 4th of *September*, they took, near *Ivica*, a *French* Tartane of *Agde*, of about 80 Tuns, laden with Corn and other Commodities, from the Maſter of which they got Information that their whole Deſign was diſcovered, and that the *French* had taken Care to ſecure their Coaſts. This Account very much ſurprized the *French* Gentlemen, who now began to deſpair of Succeſs. It was ſaid, that this Diſcovery was unluckily made by ſome of the *French* Refugees ſent from *England* to inform the *Cevennois* of her Majeſty's Intention to aſſiſt them [b].

The 11th, the *Pembroke* and *Tartar* took three *French* Tartanes; and the 15th they entered the Gulph of *Narbonne*. The 17th they ſailed in ſight of *Narbonne*, *Vias*, and *Beſiers*; and when they came before *Agde*, Fort *Breſcon* fired four Guns to alarm the Country, which was preſently in Arms. Being come before *Cette*, two *French* Gallies made directly towards them, but ſoon plied their Oars to get into Harbour again. The ſame Day Captain *Arris* held a Conſultation on-board the *Tartar*; and, purſuant to the Reſolution there taken, the *Tartar* was ordered to go a-head, and advance as near the Shore as poſſible. The next Day ſhe ſtood in 10 Fathom Water, and the *Pembroke* in 13, at about two Miles Diſtance from Land, and there made the Signals as directed [c]. The 18th two ſeveral Conſultations being held on-board the *Pembroke*, and it appearing, by ſeveral Circumſtances, (to the Satisfaction of the *French* Gentlemen themſelves) that nothing more could be attempted, it was reſolved to make the beſt of their Way to the general Rendezvous; and, purſuant hereunto, they ſailed for *Leghorn*, where they arrived the 23d, and rejoined the grand Fleet, arrived there on the 19th.

Upon the Admiral's Arrival in *Leghorn* Road, the Town ſaluted him with five Guns, and ſent a-board the uſual Preſent, but Sir *Cloudeſley* took no Notice of the Salute, nor would he accept the Preſent from the Governor, inſiſting upon a royal Salute, as having the *Union Flag*; which, after three Days Conſultation with the *Grand Duke*, was agreed to, on promiſe that the Admiral would return Gun for Gun. Then the Citadel ſaluted him with 11 Guns, and Sir *Cloudeſley* anſwered with the like; after which he was complimented by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and received the extraordinary Preſents which had been prepared for the Count *de Thoulouſe* [d].

Count *Lamberg*, the Imperial Ambaſſador at *Rome*, having Notice of the Arrival of the Confederate Fleet in the Road of *Leghorn*, his Excellency haſtened thither. The 28th of *November* he went on-board the *Engliſh* Admiral, and acquainted him, that the Archduke of *Auſtria* had been declared and proclaimed King of *Spain* at *Vienna*, by the Name of *Charles* III. on the 12th of that Month, N. S. Upon which every one of our Flag-ſhips fired 21 Guns, and all the other Ships in the *Engliſh* Squadron fired 15 Guns each, and his Catholick Majeſty's Health was drank.

Count *Lamberg* ſent a Gentleman with Mr. *Jourdain*, one of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*'s Secretaries, to the *Dutch* Admiral, to notify the Archduke's Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Throne. He ſeemed ſurprized that the *Imperial* Miniſter ſhould not pay him a Viſit on that Account, as he had done the *Engliſh* Admiral: However, ſome Hours after he ordered his Ships to fire each 15 Guns; and then Count *Lamberg* gave him the Viſit on-board his Ship. Mr. Secretary *Burchett* ſays the Ambaſſador only rowed along-ſide of the *Dutch* Admiral, without going on-board at all; and that this was done before the *Dutch* fired.

The Fleet having got Water, and bought what Wine and Proviſions they could find, ſailed from *Leghorn* the 2d of *October* [e], and the 6th Captain *Swanton*, with the *Pembroke*, *Exeter*, *Tartar*, *Flamborough*, and one Fire-ſhip, was detached with Orders to go to *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, to renew the Peace with thoſe Governments, and thence to proceed to *Scanderoon*, to ſeparate and join Captain *Jumper*, and the other *Turky* Convoye. The 18th, Rear-admiral *Byng* was ſent with another Squadron of five Third-rates to *Algiers*, to renew the Peace with that Regency. The 22d, Sir *Cloudeſley*, with the Remainder of the Fleet, came into *Altea*-Bay. Having watered there, he ſailed the 24th, and the 27th got through the *Streights*.

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[a] Annals of Queen Anne.

[b] The Court of England having reſolved to give Relief to the Proteſtants in the Cevennes, two French Refugees were ſent by Land into France, to acquaint the Cevennois with the Queen's good Intentions, that they might concur in rendering them effectual. And leſt theſe two Perſons ſhould miſcarry, the Marquis de Miremont diſpatched a third Perſon for the ſame Purpoſe. The States of Holland had already ſent them not only Remittances of Money, but Officers, which latter however moſt miſcarried; and of all the Meſſengers ſent, either by the Engliſh or Dutch, none had the good Fortune to penetrate into the Cevennes, and return from thence, but the Marquis de Miremont's. Beſides theſe Perſons ſent by Land into the Cevennes, there were three French Gentlemen Refugees (Meſſieurs Portales, La Biliere, and Tempie) commiſſioned to go on-board the Engliſh Fleet, to be Witneſſes of her Majeſty's good Intentions.

[c] The three French Gentlemen finding the Signal was not anſwered, propoſed to the Captain to go themſelves, with a Boat well armed, to the Shore, in order to get Intelligence; which the Captain readily approving, the Boat was ordered to be got ready by Break-of-day the 18th, and the Tartar to go nearer the Shore to protect them: But at the appointed time it happening to be calm, and the two Gallies being got out of the Mole, and lying on their Oars, ready to intercept any Thing that durſt approach the Land, it was not thought adviſeable to venture the Boat.

[d] He was, it ſeems, expected there with the French Fleet before the Engliſh Fleet; but he never durſt ſtir out of the Harbour of Toulon as long as Sir Cloudeſley remained in the Mediterranean.

[e] Before he departed he wrote to the Great Duke, demanding Satisfaction, in her Majeſty's Name, as he was directed, who promiſed fair, but performed little.

The next Day Sir *Thomas Hardy*, with the *Bedford*, *Somerſet*, and *Lizzard*, under his Command, was ſent by the Admiral to *Tangier*, to carry ſome Papers on-ſhore relating to a Treaty with the Emperor of *Morocco*.

On the 27th, in the *Streights* Mouth, he met with an *Algerine* Man of War becalmed, which he immediately took under his Protection, till all the *Dutch* Ships were paſſed; in which he certainly performed the Part of an *Engliſh* Admiral, preſerved the Reputation of our Flag, did great Service to our Trade, and put it out of the Power of the *French* to practiſe upon thoſe piratical States, to our Diſadvantage, as they had done formerly.

On the 30th, the *Dutch* parted with the *Engliſh* to make the beſt of their Way home. The ſame Day Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* ſent five Ships, *viz.* two Third, a Fourth, and a Fifth-rate, with a Fire-ſhip, under the Command of Sir *John Leake*, to *Liſbon*, and then to *Oporto*, *Viana*, &c. to take under his Convoy thoſe Merchant-Ships which were bound for *England*; and having a fair Wind, and good Weather, in his Paſſage, arrived in the *Downs* the 17th of *November*[a].

On the 16th of *November*, the Fleet being off the *Iſle of Wight*, the *Dutch* crowded away for their own Ports, and left the Admiral to ſteer for the *Downs*, which he did; but before he made Land, Captain (afterwards Sir *John*) *Norris* in the *Orford*, a Ship of the Third-rate, together with the *Warſpight* of 70 Guns, and the *Litchfield* of 50, being a-head of the Fleet, gave Chace to a *French* Ship of War, and beginning to engage about Eight at Night, the Diſpute continued till two in the Morning, when having loſt her Fore-top-maſt, and all her Sails, and her ſtanding and running Rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe ſtruck. This Ship came from *Newfoundland*, was commanded by Monſieur *de la Rüe*, was named the *Hazardous*, and had 50 Guns mounted, with 370 Men, but had more Ports, and was larger than any one of our 60 Gun Ships; ſo that ſhe was regiſtered in the Liſt of our royal Navy[b].

This Expedition did not reflect much Honour upon the Nation, and therefore it created ſome Murmurs; but theſe fell where they ought; not upon the Admiral, who certainly did all that was in his Power, but upon thoſe who framed the Project, and gave the Admiral his Inſtructions, and were thought to have rather more Power than Parts.

While the grand Fleet was at Sea, Rear-admiral *Dilkes* performed a very acceptable Service to his Country on the *French* Coaſt. For the Lord High-admiral's Council having Intelligence that a conſiderable Fleet of *French* Merchant-ſhips, with their Convoy, were in *Cancall*-Bay, Orders were ſent to the Rear-admiral, who was then at *Spithead* with a ſmall Squadron, to ſail immediately in Purſuit of them, which he did on the 22d of *July*. The 24th, he ordered the Captain of the *Nonſuch* to ſtretch a-head of the Squadron, and ſtand as near *Alderney* as he could, and ſent his Boat aſhore to gain Intelligence. On the 25th, he ſtood towards the *Caſquets*, for the ſame Purpoſe, and at Six in the Evening anchored off of the South-weſt Part of *Jerſey*, from whence he ſent Captain *Chamberlain*, Commander of the *Spy* Brigantine, to the Governor, that he might learn from him the beſt Intelligence he could give.

The Governor ſent to him Captain *James Lamprier*, and Captain *Thomas Pipon*, who were well acquainted with that Coaſt, by whom being informed of a Fleet of about 40 Sail plying to the Windward, on the 15th, to get to *Granville*, the Rear-admiral, upon Conſultation at a Council of War with the Pilots, reſolved to ſail immediately, though the Tide fell croſs in the Night; that getting clear of the weſtermoſt Rocks of the *Minques*, he might attack the Enemy by Break-of-day the next Morning.

Accordingly the 22d of *July*, by Day-light, perceiving the Enemy at an Anchor about a League to the Weſtward of *Granville*, who upon their Approach got under Sail, and ſtood in for the Shore, the Rear-admiral followed them as far as the Pilots would venture, and found them to conſiſt of 45 Merchant-ſhips, and three Men of War. Being come within four Foot Water more than the Ships drew, he manned all his Boats, and the reſt of his Ships did the ſame. By Noon he had taken 15 Sail, burnt ſix, and ſunk three. The reſt ſtood ſo far into a Bay, between *Auranche* and Mount *St. Michel*, that in the Judgment of the Pilots, the Ships could not attack them. Hereupon, the 27th in the Morning, it was reſolved, at a Council of War, to go into the Bay with the *Hector*, *Mermaid*-Fire-ſhip, the *Spy*-Brigantine, a Ship of ſix Guns taken the Day before from the Enemy, a Ketch fitted as a Fire-ſhip, and all the Boats in the Squadron, which was performed between Ten and Eleven in the Morning, the Rear-admiral being preſent, accompanied by Captain *Fairfax*, Captain *Legg*, and Captain *Mighels*, as alſo by the Captains *Lamprier* and *Pipon*.

The Enemy had three Men of War, one of 18 Guns, which they burnt themſelves; one of 14 Guns, which Mr. *Paul*, firſt Lieutenant of the *Kent*, ſet on Fire, who in this Service was ſhot through the Lower-jaw, and had four Men killed; and a third of eight Guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the Merchant-ſhips were burnt and deſtroyed: So that, of the whole Fleet, only four eſcaped by getting under the Command of *Granville* Fort.

The Enemy, during this Attack, ſent ſeveral large Sloops from *Granville*, but with no Succeſs, the Rear-admiral having manned a Brigantine with 80 Men, and another Veſſel of ſix Guns with 40, who covered all the Boats. This laſt Veſſel unfortunately run a-ground, which obliged the Rear-admiral to burn her. On the Shore they ſaw above 5000 Men. In the Evening they returned, and anchored off of *Granville*, near the reſt of the Squadron and Prizes. To recompenſe this brave Action, and preſerve the Memory of it, a Gold Medal was coined and diſtributed to the chief Perſons concerned in it[c].

The Parliament, which met on the 9th of *November*, voted 40,000 Men, including 5000 Marines for the Sea Service, in 1704, at the Rate of 4 l. per Month, 13 Months in the Year, including the Ordnance for the ſaid Service. This Vote paſſed on the 25th of *November*: And in the Night between the 26th and 27th the Navy of *England* ſuffered the greateſt Damage by the moſt violent Storm that ever was known in that Kingdom, in the Memory of any Man living, or recorded in Hiſtory. It began between eleven and twelve o'Clock at Night, being W. S. W. with a Noiſe that reſembled Thunder at a Diſtance, attended with great Flaſhes of Lightning; and continued with an almoſt unrelenting Fury, 'till Seven the next Morning. It blew down a Multitude of Chimnies, Tops of Houſes, and even whole Buildings; tore up a great Number of Trees in *St. James*'s *Park*, the Inns of Court, *Moorfields*, and other Places, by the Roots, and broke off others in the Middle; beat down ſeveral Spires off of the Steeples; rolled up great Quantities of Lead, like Scrolls of Parchment, and blew them off of Churches, Halls, and Houſes. Several People were killed in their Beds, particularly Dr. *Kidder* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Lady; ſeveral others were wounded; but far more almoſt miraculouſly preſerved. A great Number of Veſſels, Barges, and Boats, were ſunk in the River of *Thames*, and the Arches of *London-Bridge* were ſtopped with the Wrecks of them. The Damage done in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, was conjectured to amount to 1,000,000 Sterling, and that of the City of *Briſtol* to little leſs than 150,000 l. This Calamity was not, however, univerſal, the northern Parts of this Iſland having felt but little of the Effects of it. To enumerate the Loſſes at Land and Sea, (belonging to private Perſons) would be endleſs, I ſhall, therefore, only particularize thoſe ſuſtained in the Royal Navy.

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[a] Biſhop Burnet gives this ſhort Account of this Expedition: It was reſolved (ſays he) to ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the Mediterranean: It was near the End of June before they were ready to ſail, and they had Orders to come out of the Streights by the End of September. Every Thing was ſo ill laid in this Expedition, as if it had been intended that nothing ſhould be done by it, beſides the convoying our Merchants Ships, which did not require the fourth Part of ſuch a Force. Shovel was ſent to Command. When he ſaw his Inſtructions, he repreſented to the Miniſtry (as well he might) that nothing was to be expected from this Voyage: He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his Orders: He got to Leghorn the Beginning of September. His Arrival ſeemed to be of great Conſequence, and the Allies began to take Courage from it; but they were ſoon diſappointed of their Hopes, when they underſtood, that by his Orders he could only ſtay a few Days there. Nor was it eaſy to imagine what the Deſign of ſo great an Expedition could be, or why ſo much Money was thrown away on ſuch a Project, which made us deſpiſed by our Enemies, while it provoked our Friends; who might juſtly think they could not depend upon ſuch an Ally, who managed ſo great a Force with ſo poor a Conduct, as neither to hurt their Enemies, nor protect their Friends. There was alſo (ſays the Biſhop in another Place) great Complaint through the whole Fleet of their Victualling. We loſt many of our Seamen, who, as was ſaid, were poiſoned by ill Food; and though great Complaints were made of the Victuallers before the Fleet went out, yet there was not ſuch Care taken to look into it, as a Matter of that Conſequence deſerved. The Merchants likewiſe complained that they were ill ſerved with Convoys; and ſo little Care had been taken of the Newcaſtle Fleet, that the Price of Coals roſe very high. It was alſo ſaid, that there was not a due Care had of our Seamen who were taken by the Privateers; many of them died by reaſon of their ill Uſage; while others, to deliver themſelves from that, went into the French Service. Thus all our Marine Affairs were much out of Order, and theſe Diſorders were charged on thoſe who had the Conduct of them.

[b] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 656. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, and compleat Hiſtory of Europe, for the Year 1703.

[c] London Gazette, Nº 3937, 3938.

A Liſt of the Ships caſt away in the Storm, with an Account of the Number of Men loſt.

1. The *Reſerve*, a Fourth-rate, Captain *John Anderſon*, Commander, loſt at *Yarmouth*. The Captain, the Surgeon, the Clerk, and 44 Men ſaved, and the reſt of her Company, being 175 drowned, Mr. *Burchett* ſays, not one Soul belonging to her was ſaved.
2. The *Vanguard*, a Second-rate, ſunk in *Chatham* Harbour, with neither Men nor Guns in her.
3. The *Northumberland*, a Third-rate, Captain *Greenaway*, loſt on the *Goodwin-Sands*, all her Company was loſt, being 220 Men, including 24 Marines.
4. The *Stirling-Caſtle*, a Third-rate, Captain *Johnſon*, on the *Goodwin-Sands*, 70 Men (of which four were Marine-officers) ſaved, the reſt, being 206, drowned.
5. The *Reſtoration*, a Third-rate, Captain *Emmes*, on the *Goodwin-Sands*, all her Company loſt, being 391.
6. The *Mary*, a Fourth-rate, Rear-admiral *Beaumont*, Captain *Edward Hopſon*, on the *Goodwin-Sands*, the Captain and Purſer on-ſhore, one Man ſaved, the reſt, with the Rear-admiral, drowned, being 269.
7. The *Mortar*-Bomb, a Fifth-rate, Captain *Raymond*, on the *Goodwin-Sands*, all her Company loſt, being 65.
8. The *Eagle*-Advice-Boat, a Sixth-rate, Captain *Boſtock*, loſt on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, all her Company, being 45, ſaved.
9. The *Reſolution*, a Third-rate, Captain *Liſle*, on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, all her Company, being 221, ſaved.
10. The *Litchfield*-Prize, a Fifth-rate, Captain *Chamberlain*, on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, all her Company, being 108, ſaved; and ſhe was afterwards got off again.
11. The *Newcaſtle*, a Fourth-rate, Captain *Carter*, loſt at *Spithead*, the Carpenter and 39 Men ſaved, and the reſt, being 193, drowned.
12. The *Veſuvius*-Fire-ſhip, a Fifth-rate, Captain *Paddon*, at *Spithead*, all her Company, being 138, ſaved; and ſhe was got off again.
13. The *Arundel*, a Fifth-rate, all the Men, being 115, ſaved.

Total of the Seamen loſt, 1519.

The *Aſſociation*, *Ruſſel*, *Revenge*, and *Dorſetſhire*, were drove from their Anchors at the *Gunfleet*, and, after having ſurmounted incredible Dangers, were almoſt miraculouſly ſaved. In the *Downs*, the *Naſſau* cut away her Main-maſt; the *Guardland* and *Dunwich* all their Maſts; and the *Poſtilion*-Prize her Main and Mizzen maſt. At *Spithead*, the *Firebrand* Fire-ſhip loſt her Main-maſt, the *Jefferies* Hoſpital-ſhip, her Rudder; and the *Burlington* all her Maſts. At *Yarmouth*, the *Lynn* and *Margate* were obliged to cut away their Maſts.

On this Occaſion the Houſe of Commons unanimouſly reſolved; "That an Addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, "expreſſing (among other Things) that they could not ſee "any Diminution of her Majeſty's Navy, without making "Proviſion to repair the ſame: Wherefore they beſought "her Majeſty, that ſhe would immediately give Direction "for repairing this Loſs, and for building ſuch capital "Ships as her Majeſty ſhould think fit. And to aſſure "her Majeſty, that, at the next Meeting, the Houſe "would effectually make good that Expence, and would "conſider of effectual Means for promoting Trade, for "manning her Majeſty's Navy-royal, and for encouraging "the Seamen. That, in the mean time, her Majeſty "would graciouſly think, of ſome Proviſion for the Families of thoſe Seamen, who had been loſt out of her Majeſty's Ships in the Storm, 'till the Houſe could provide "for the ſame."

On the 12th of *December*, the Queen publiſhed a Proclamation for a general Faſt, on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *January* following, which was kept with wonderful Strictneſs: In the *Gazette* of *December* the 16th, the Lord High Admiral, by an Advertiſement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the Companies of her Majeſty's Ships which were caſt away ſhould be paid that Day Month, which was done accordingly; and in the *Gazette*, No. 3978, appeared the following Order:

"Her Majeſty taking into Conſideration the great Loſs "ſuſtained by the Families of ſuch as, being in her Majeſty's Service at Sea, periſhed by the late Storm: Her "Majeſty, with the Advice of her Privy Council, is pleaſed "to order, as it is hereby ordered accordingly, that the "Widows and Families of ſuch Commiſſion and other Officers and Seamen as have periſhed by reaſon of the late "Storm, in her Majeſty's Service at Sea, be entitled to "her Majeſty's Bounty in the ſame Manner as if they had "been actually killed in Fight in her Majeſty's Service at "Sea, according to the Eſtabliſhment in that behalf. And "his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Lord "High Admiral, is deſired to give the neceſſary Directions herein accordingly."

The naval Tranſactions in *Europe* ended this Year, with a Convoy ſent under the Command of Admiral *Rooke*, to *Holland*, in *October*, for conducting *Charles* the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, lately proclaimed King of *Spain* by his Father, to *Liſbon*. Sir *George* was obliged to wait ſome time for the *Dutch* Men of War, which were promiſed to join his Convoy on this Occaſion; and, after a conſiderable Delay the united Fleet conducted his Majeſty, and his Tranſports, with Land-forces on-board, to *Spithead*, where they arrived on the 26th of *December*, where we ſhall leave our Fleet, 'till we relate what paſſed in *America*, ſince the Death of Admiral *Bembow*.

At the Death of that brave Seaman the Command in Chief devolved upon Captain *Whetſtone*; who having refitted the Fleet, with all poſſible Expedition, put to Sea, and cruized off *Hiſpaniola*; but returned to *Jamaica* without meeting with the Enemy. However, he made a ſecond Trip, in hopes of meeting a conſiderable Fleet of Merchant-ſhips, which were expected from *France*. He ſpent five Weeks in ſearch of them to no Purpoſe; and after looking into *Port Louis*, not finding any Thing there, he ſtood away for *Petit Guavas* and *Leogane*. When he arrived near this Port, he divided his Squadron, becauſe when Admiral *Bembow* attacked the Enemy here, their Ships eſcaped on one Side, as he entered on the other. He, therefore, ſailed weſtward with Part of his Ships, and ſent the reſt to the South. When theſe came in Sight, three Privateers, which were in every reſpect ready for Service, ſtood away northward; but the Rear-admiral forcing two of them a-ſhore, burnt them, and the other he took.

Captain *Vincent*, who commanded to the Southward, rowed in the Night into a Place called the *Cul de Sac*, where he found four Ships, one of which he burnt, another he ſunk, the third (which was a Conſort of the Privateers afore-mentioned) he towed out, and boarding the fourth, ſhe was blown up by the accidental firing of a Granado-ſhell.

From this Place the Rear-admiral ſailed to *Port de Paix*, but found no Shipping there; for the before-mentioned Privateers were all that the Enemy had in thoſe Parts, with which, and 500 Men, they thought to have made an Attempt on the North Side of *Jamaica*; and in theſe Ships were taken 120 Priſoners*.

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* Burchett's naval Hiſtory, Britiſh Empire in America, compleat Hiſtory of Europe, 1704.

In the mean time the Miniſtry at home ordered Sir *George Rooke*, in the Month of *September*, 1702, to detach from the *Mediterranean*, Captain *Hovenden Walker*, in the *Burford*, five more Third-rates, 10 Tranſports, and four Regiments on-board, for the *Leeward Iſlands*; he arrived in *Barbadoes*[a] in the Beginning of the Month of *January*; and there coming thither ſoon after ſix of our *Eaſt-India* Ships richly laden, he, by the Advice of a Council of War, ſent them home under the Convoy of the *Expedition*, a Third-rate, Captain *Knapp* Commander, who brought them ſafe to *England*.

From *Barbadoes* Commodore *Walker* ſailed to *Antigua*, where he joined Colonel *Coddrington*, who was about undertaking an Expedition to *Guadelupe*, in which Captain *Walker* was to aſſiſt him. They ſailed from *Antigua* the latter End of *February*; on the 12th of *March* General *Coddrington* landed with great Part of the Forces, but was ſo warmly received by the *French*, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if Commodore *Walker* had not ſent in the *Chicheſter*, which drove the Enemy from their Batteries, which our Men quickly entered. The next Day the reſt of the Soldiers, and 400 Seamen were landed, who attacked the North Part of the Town with great Fury, forced the Enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the Caſtle and Fort, which they defended to the third of *April*, and then blowing them both up, retired to the Mountains. After this our Troops ravaged all the Country, burnt the Town to the Ground, razed the Fortifications, carried the beſt of the Artillery on board, burſt the reſt, and with a very great Booty embarked without the Loſs of a Man[b]: More might have been done; but General *Coddrington* fell ſick, and was forced to return to *Nevis*; Colonel *Whetham*, upon whom the Command devolved, fell alſo dangerouſly ill, and was carried to *Antigua*. Then the Command of the Land-forces fell next to Colonel *Willis*, who, upon certain Information, that the *French* had landed 900 Men on the Back of the Iſland, called a Council of War, in which it was reſolved to embark the Forces. And it muſt be acknowledged, that this Service ſuffered not a little from ſome Diſputes that happened between the Land and Sea-officers; which is, generally ſpeaking, the Ruin of our *Weſt-India* Expeditions[c].

On the News of Vice-admiral *Bembow*'s Misfortune and Death arriving in *England*, it was reſolved to ſend another Flag-officer thither with a conſiderable Squadron. This Command, it is ſaid, was offered to Sir *Stafford Fairbourne*, who refuſed it; and then it was propoſed to Mr. *Graydon*, who, though Biſhop *Burnet* ſtiles him a brutal Man, made this Anſwer, "That it was his Duty to go where the "Queen thought proper to command him, and that he "knew no Difference of Climates, when he was to obey "her Orders." The Strength he was to take with him, conſiſting only of a Third, a Fourth, and a Fifth-rate; which laſt proved unfit for the Voyage, and therefore the *Montague* of 60, and the *Nonſuch* of 50 Guns, were ordered to ſee him 150 Leagues into the Sea[d]; with Inſtructions,

Firſt, To ſail to *Plymouth*, in the *Sheerneſs*, a Fifth-rate, and from thence to *Barbadoes*, with her, the *Reſolution* and *Blackwall*, the former a Third, and the other a Fourth-rate. There he was to take under his Command the afore-mentioned Ships, with Captain *Walker*, and ſuch others as he ſhould find at that Place; but if they were ſailed from thence, to repair to *Nevis*, or any other of the Plantations, where they might be met with, and thence proceed, in ſuch manner as ſhould be found moſt for the Service, upon its being conſidered at a Council of War of the Sea-captains, and the Chief, and other proper Officers, of the Land-forces; and if he attempted any Thing in the *Leeward-Iſlands*, that might occaſion his making any conſiderable Stay there, he was to ſend a Frigate to Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, with Orders to get himſelf ready, in all Reſpects, to ſail againſt his Arrival at *Jamaica*.

Secondly, He was not to ſtay longer in attempting any of the *French* Plantations, than the 20th of *May*, and then, (or before, if poſſible) to proceed, with all the Ships of War, and the Tranſport-ſhips, with Soldiers, Ammunition, and Stores, and ſuch Forces as the Commander in Chief of the Land-forces ſhould appoint, to *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*; and this he was forthwith to do, if he found that Captain *Walker*, with the Ships and Troops, had done what they were able againſt the ſaid *French* Plantations, and gone to *Jamaica* before he arrived.

Thirdly, When he came to that Iſland, he was to put the Ships of War and other Veſſels, into the beſt and moſt ſpeedy Condition for their return home; to cauſe to be received on-board them ſo many Land-ſoldiers as the Commander in Chief ſhould deſire, and to bring alſo to *England* ſuch Priſoners as ſhould be taken during the Expedition.

Fourthly, He was to conſider what two Ships of the Fourth-rate, one of the Fifth, and another of the Sixth, might be moſt properly left at *Jamaica*, and accordingly leave them there, with the Fire-ſhips provided by the Inhabitants, for the Defence of the Iſland.

Fifthly, Three other Ships he was to ſend with the Trade bound from *Jamaica* to *England*, as ſoon as they ſhould be ready to ſail, and he was ordered to leave two at the ſaid Iſland, to bring home the latter Trade, the Beginning of *Auguſt*.

Sixthly, Beſides theſe Detachments, he was to ſend two Fourth-rates to *Virginia*, to join ſome others at that Place, and to accompany the Trade from thence to *England*, at the time prefixed for their Departure.

Seventhly, This being done, he was, with the reſt of the Squadron, and all the Tranſport-ſhips with Soldiers, Victualers, Store-ſhips, and others, to make the beſt of his Way to *Newfoundland*, but to leave at *Jamaica* the Hulk and Stores, for the Uſe of ſuch Ships as might be ſent thither.

Eighthly, When he came to *Newfoundland*, he was to conſider, at a Council of War, of Sea and Land-officers, how the *French* might be beſt attempted and deſtroyed at *Placentia*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Land-forces, as well as at their other Settlements in thoſe Parts, and to govern himſelf accordingly; and if he found, that any of the Ships could be conveniently ſpared to attack the *French* Fiſhery on the *Bank*, he was to ſend them on that Service. But he was yet farther enjoined to repair to *Boſton* in *New-England*, if he judged, when he ſailed from *Jamaica*, he ſhould be too early at *Newfoundland*, and to take from that Government ſuch Soldiers as it might be able to furniſh, provided they could get Embarkations timely ready, not only to tranſport the ſaid Soldiers to *Newfoundland*, but back again.

Ninthly, When he had done his utmoſt at *Newfoundland*, and on the *Bank*, he was to appoint two Ships to convoy the Fiſhing-veſſels bound to *Portugal*; but to caution their Captains not to go into any Port, 'till they were thoroughly ſatisfied there was not a Rupture with that Crown; and having given theſe neceſſary Orders, he was to repair to *England*, with the reſt of the Squadron, without Delay.

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[a] While he lay at Barbadoes, there came into the Road a French Veſſel with a Flag of Truce, which he cauſed to be ſeized, as were Part of her Men alſo on ſhore, who being tried at a Court Martial one of them was condemned to die; for it plainly appeared that they came thither as Spies.

[b] There were ſome unlucky Circumſtances attended this Expedition. In the firſt Place when Captain Walker arrived, the Land-forces had no Powder, with which, however, they were furniſhed from the Fleet. When they came next to examine their Stores cloſely, it was found, that in 1000 Flints, there were not 50 fit for Muſquets, nor had they Mortars, Bombs, Pick-axes, Spades, or indeed any Thing proper and convenient for a Siege. But we muſt take care not to attribute this Miſmanagement either to Commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to Sir George Rooke, who ſent him, ſince they both acted in Obedience to Orders; the Commodore to thoſe of the Admiral, and the Admiral receiving his from the Miniſtry, who ought to have conſidered better what they were doing.

[c] The Governors of our Colonies have ſcarce ever been able to agree with the Commanders of our Squadrons; and with reſpect to this very Expedition, there were as warm Complaints made againſt the Commodore, as ever came from the Weſt-Indies: But he repreſented, that the Road of Guadalupe was exceſſively bad; that he found it impoſſible to procure Pilots; that ſeveral of the Ships loſt their Anchors, the Ground being foul, and the Water deep, ſo that ſome or other were daily forced out to Sea; and added to this, that the Troops were under exceſſive Difficulties, having no Guides to conduct them, and being under the utmoſt Want of Neceſſaries to ſupport them. Beſides, the Iſland was not abandoned, till the Expedition had coſt us pretty dear, as appears by the following Account of our Loſs. There were killed in the firſt Action, one Major, two Captains, ſix Lieutenants; and wounded, two Colonels, ſeven Captains, and nine Lieutenants; and three Enſigns died. 151 Soldiers were killed; 211 wounded; 72 died; 59 deſerted; and 12 were taken Priſoners.

[d] See Burchett's naval Hiſtory, the complete Hiſtory of Europe for 1702, Oldmixon, Life of Queen Anne, &c.

The 18th of *March*, being in the Latitude of 47 Degrees, and 30 Minutes, the Vice-admiral having with him the aforeſaid Ships and the Tranſports, with Brigadier *Columbine*'s Regiment, together with ſome Store-ſhips and Merchant-men, they ſaw four *French* Men of War to Leeward, two of about 60, one of 50, and the other of 40 Guns, which latter being not only the ſmalleſt, but the ſternmoſt, the *Montague*, commanded by Captain *Cleveland*, bore down to, and engaged her. The Vice-admiral made the Signal for a Line of Battle, and conſequently for the *Montague*'s coming off; but her Fore-top-ſail being ſhot to Pieces, ſhe could not be ſo quick in tacking, but that the other three Ships wore, and bearing down to the Ship that had been engaged, each of them gave the *Montague* a Broad-ſide, though without doing her much Damage. The *French* Ships (which were Part of Monſieur *Du Caſſe*'s Squadron that Captain *Bembow* had purſued, and were reported to be very rich) now made the beſt of their Way from ours, but were very foul.

As Vice-admiral *Graydon* had more than a ſufficient Force with him to have dealt with theſe *French* Ships, which (as it is ſaid above) were foul, and could not eaſily have eſcaped him, it occaſioned many Reflections, as did likewiſe the *Montague*'s bearing down ſingly. Mr. Secretary *Burchett* accounts for the former, by ſaying, that when it was deſigned the Vice-admiral ſhould proceed with the *Reſolution* and the *Blackwall* only, he had poſitive Orders, from his Royal Highneſs, not to interrupt his Paſſage, by chaſing or ſpeaking with any Ships whatever, which Orders were not afterwards revoked; becauſe (ſays the Author of the Annals of Queen *Anne*) contrary Winds had kept him much longer in *Plymouth* than was intended, and the Service on which he was bound very much required his Preſence, and the Regiment that was with him.

"His Orders (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) were preſſing, in " particular, that he ſhould not go out of his Way, to " purſue any of the Enemy's Ships, whom he might ſee. " Theſe he obſerved ſo punctually, that when he ſaw a " Squadron of four *French* Men of War, ſailing towards " *Breſt*, that were viſibly foul, and in no Condition to " make any Reſiſtance, he ſent indeed one of his Ships " to view them, who engaged them; but *Graydon* gave " the Signal to call him off, upon which they got ſafe into " *Breſt*. This was afterwards known to be *Du Caſſe*'s " Squadron, who was bringing Treaſure home from *Carthagena*, and other Ports of the *Weſt-Indies*, reported to " be 4,000,000 of Pieces of Eight. But though here " was a good Prey loſt; yet ſo careful was the Prince's " Council to excuſe every Thing, done by ſuch a Man, " that they ordered an Advertiſement to be put in the *Gazette*[a], to juſtify *Graydon*, in which it is ſaid, that pur" ſuant to his Orders he had not engaged that Fleet. The " Orders were indeed ſtrangely given, yet our Admirals " had never thought themſelves ſo bound down to them, " but that, upon great Occaſions, they might make " Stretches; eſpecially where the Advantage was viſible, " as it was in this Caſe: For ſince they were out of the " Way of new Orders, and new Occaſions might happen, " which could not be known, when their Orders were " given, the Nature of the Service ſeemed to give them a " greater Liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the Land" ſervice."

The Admiral proceeded according to his Inſtructions with all Expedition, and arrived at the Iſland of *Madeira* on the 10th of *April*, 1703; and from thence he ſailed to *Barbadoes*, where he arrived the 12th of *May*. The Day before came a Brigantine from *Guadalupe*, with Advice that Commodore *Walker* was there, and that both Seamen and Soldiers were in danger of being ſtarved for want of Proviſions. The Vice-admiral thereupon applied himſelf to the Agent-victualler, and having furniſhed himſelf with all the Beef, Pork, Bread, and Peaſe that could be got, he ſailed on the 17th. On the 20th he ran in with the Fort and Town of *Guadalupe*, and ſeeing it in Ruins, he ſailed inſtantly for *Antigua*, and from thence to *Nevis*, where he met with the Army and Squadron in the greateſt Diſtreſs; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the Ships of War to *Jamaica*, where they arrived the 14th of *June*[b]. The firſt Thing he did there, was to direct a Survey of the Ships under his Command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their Hulls, but in their Maſts, Stores, and Rigging; and at the ſame time very ill manned. This, together with ſome Differences that aroſe between the Admiral and ſome of the principal Perſons in *Jamaica*, determined him to ſail home as ſoon as poſſible; and accordingly, having left the *Norwich*, the *Experiment*, and the *Sea-Horſe* with the *Harman* and *Earl*-galley Fire-ſhips, together with two Sloops, to attend the Iſland; and the *Colcheſter* and *Sunderland* to convoy home the latter Trade, he ſailed for *Blewfields*, and proceeding from thence he fell in with *Newfoundland* on the 2d of *Auguſt*[c].

In the Evening of that Day there aroſe ſuch a Fog as had ſcarce ever been ſeen, for it laſted 30 Days compleat; and the Weather was ſo very dark, that it was difficult to diſcover one Ship from another: This occaſioned the Diſperſion of the Fleet, which could not be brought together again till the 3d of *September*, when the Vice-admiral thought it proper to conſult his Officers as to the principal Deſign of his Voyage, which was the attacking the *French* at *Placentia*, and thereby forcing them to quit *Newfoundland*. At this Council of War there were preſent, beſides the Vice-admiral, Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, and 13 Sea-captains; of the Land-officers, the Commander in chief Colonel *Rivers*, ſix Captains, and an Engineer. They took into Conſideration the Queen's Inſtructions to Brigadier *Columbine*, then deceaſed, and thoſe to Mr. *Graydon*, and finding all their Ships in a very ſad Condition, that they were thinly manned, and moſt of them ſick, already at ſhort Allowance, and the Soldiers being forced to drink Water in ſo cold a Climate, had their Limbs benumbed, and were ſcarce fit for Service; that the five Regiments were reduced to 1035 Men; that of 500 they were to receive from *New-England*, there came but 70, who were now reduced to 25, and thoſe in a manner diſabled: And that from the beſt Account, the Enemy at *Placentia* was judged to be not only ſuperior in Number, and conſequently able to make a good Reſiſtance, but that the Avenues to the Place were extremely difficult, the Grounds marſhy, and no Planks, or other Materials, for mounting the Guns on the Batteries. Theſe Difficulties and Obſtructions being maturely conſidered, together with the good Circumſtances the Enemy were in, and the Aſſiſtance they might have from their Privateers, and other Shipping then at *Placentia*, the Council of War were unanimouſly of Opinion, that to make an Attempt on that Place with the Ships and Forces at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, was altogether impracticable; and that, inſtead of any Probability of Succeſs, it might tend to the Diſhonour of her Majeſty's Arms[d].

This was the End of Vice-admiral *Graydon*'s unfortunate Expedition; in which, though it is certain on the one hand, that he did not do the Nation any remarkable Service, yet it is no leſs certain on the other, that in reſpect to protecting the Trade, and the reſt of the Things in his Power, he did all the Service he was able. But it was his Misfortune firſt to feel the Effects of other Mens Miſtakes, and next to be made anſwerable for them.

On his Return, the Houſe of Lords entered on an Enquiry into his Conduct; and, beſides their former warm Vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a Reſolution of addreſſing her Majeſty to remove him from all Employments, for impreſſing Servants in the *Weſt-Indies*; deſiring her, at the ſame time, to direct the Attorney-general to proſecute him for that Offence[e]. This had the deſired Effect: Vice-admiral *Graydon* (as to Service) was laid aſide, and his Memory has been loaded with the fouleſt Imputations; though there is great Reaſon to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjuſt, and that he ſuffered for Miſcarriages which it was not in his Power to avoid. In order to have a clearer Idea of this, we muſt conſider that he juſtified himſelf as to his not fighting the *French*, under his Orders, which were very preciſe upon that Head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he muſt have been anſwerable for all the Conſequences before a Court-Marſhal; while, on the other hand, the Lords, as the ſupreme Judicature, decided in this Caſe, on the Reaſon of the Thing; and becauſe, as they thought, the Neceſſity of Fighting ought, in his Judgment, to have ſuperſeded his Orders; yet, when he pleaded Neceſſity in Excuſe of impreſſing Servants, this would not ſerve his Turn; but he was puniſhed in that Caſe as ſeverely for making uſe of his own Judgment, as for a ſuppoſed Neglect of it in the other.

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[a] Of April 26, 1703. [b] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 605. This was certainly a very ſignal Service done to the Nation; ſince, if the Admiral had acted leſs vigorouſly in procuring a Supply, our Troops muſt neceſſarily have periſhed for Want. [c] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, Lediard, Oldmixon, Annals of Queen Anne, &c. [d] This is tranſcribed from a MS. Account of Admiral Graydon's Defence, in which are particular Certificates as to the Truth of each of theſe Facts. [e] See the Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

In all probability the Reſentment of the Houſe of Lords againſt this Gentleman, was ſharpened by their inſpecting cloſely into other Affairs relating to the Navy; in which, it muſt be confeſſed, they found Things very indifferently managed. As for Inſtance, Complaints had been made to the Lord High-admiral of bad Proviſions, by which the Seamen were poiſoned, as well as the Nation cheated; yet a Survey of the Proviſions complained of was delayed for three Months, which gave a great Opportunity for making ſuch Removes and Changes, as rendered the Proof of this Charge altogether impracticable. The Merchants complained that they were ill-ſerved with Convoys, and that ſo little Care was taken of the *Newcaſtle* Fleet, as occaſioned an exceſſive Riſe of Coals; the Neglect of providing for ſuch Seamen as were Priſoners in *France*, was likewiſe rendered very evident; as was the Danger of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, and the betraying our naval Councils to the *French*. Theſe were all digeſted into an Addreſs, which was preſented by the Houſe of Lords to the Queen; to which her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, that the Addreſs conſiſted of ſo many Parts, that ſhe could not then take notice of them. In the general, however, ſhe promiſed ſhe would conſider of them, and give ſuch Directions as ſhould be proper for the Safety and Welfare of the Nation.

The King of *Spain* landed[a] at *Portſmouth* the 26th of *December*: The Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring him to an Interview, which was to be at *Windſor*. Prince *George* met him on the Way, and he was treated with great Magnificence. The Court was very ſplendid, and much thronged; the Queen's Behaviour to him was very noble and obliging; the young King charmed all that were there: He had a Gravity beyond his Age, tempered with much Modeſty; His Behaviour was, in all Points, ſo exact, that there was not a Circumſtance in his whole Deportment that was liable to Cenſure: He paid an extraordinary Reſpect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due Greatneſs in it. He had an Art of ſeeming well-pleaſed with every Thing, without ſo much as once ſmiling, all the while he was at Court, which was only three Days. He ſpoke but little, and all he ſaid was judicious and obliging: He took leave of her Majeſty the Evening before his Departure, having made ſeveral Preſents to ſeveral Ladies attending her Majeſty's Perſon, and particularly to the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, to whom he, in a polite manner, gave his Ring from his Finger, ſaid to be valued at a thouſand Pounds: But theſe Largeſſes were ſufficiently retaliated by the Preſent, it is ſaid her Majeſty made him, of fifty Thouſand Pounds. To conclude, his Majeſty approved himſelf a moſt accompliſhed Prince, to a moſt diſcerning and polite Court.

And as his Catholic Majeſty expreſſed great Deſires to be with his new Subjects, and actually went to *Portſmouth*, and would have embarked on the 1ſt of *February*, had the Wind proved favourable; ſo Sir *George Rooke*, who was to command the Fleet that eſcorted him, and the Land-forces intended for his Service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the Expedition; for when he found the Tranſports were ready, and that it was impoſſible to have the intended Number of great Ships ſo early at Sea, he propoſed ſailing with a ſmall Squadron to *Liſbon*, and waiting there for a Reinforcement. This was a very wiſe as well as vigorous Step; for, according to the Informations our Court had received of the Deſigns of *France*, they intended to have a great naval Strength in the *Mediterranean*, which, if it came there earlier than our Reinforcement, would have been able to have ſhut up our ſmall Fleet then in thoſe Parts in the River of *Liſbon*, and have intercepted all our Trade homeward-bound; whereas if, according to Sir *George*'s Scheme, the Supply arrived early enough at *Liſbon*, our Fleet would be ſo ſtrong as to prevent the Junction of the *Breſt* with the *Toulon* Squadron, and to perform other requiſite Services on the Coaſt of *Spain*.

Contrary Winds detained this Fleet till the 12th; however their Paſſage proved ſo good, that without Loſs or Damage it arrived in *Liſbon* River on the 25th. In their Paſſage on the 21ſt, at Noon, being in the Latitude of 43 Degrees, and 50 Minutes, the *Antelope*, *Greenwich*, and a *Dutch* Man of War, parted from the Fleet, being ordered to convoy between 40 and 50 Sail of Merchant-ſhips to *Viana* and *Oporto*. The Fleet anchored below *Belem*, a League ſhort of the King's Palace.

Among other Debates about ſettling the Ceremonies, the Buſineſs of the Flag was conſidered, the King of *Portugal* deſiring, that upon his coming on-board in his Veſſel of State, and ſtriking his Standard, the *Engliſh Flag* might be ſtruck at the ſame Time; and that when his Catholic Majeſty, with himſelf, ſhould go off from the Ship, his Standard might be hoiſted, and the Admiral's Flag continue ſtruck till they were on-ſhore[b]. This Propoſal was made from the King of *Portugal* by the King of *Spain*; to which the Admiral replied, That his Majeſty, ſo long as he ſhould be on-board, might command the Flag to be ſtruck when he pleaſed; but that whenever he left the Ship, he was himſelf Admiral, and obliged to execute his Commiſſion by hoiſting his Flag. This, and ſome other Reaſons, ſatisfied the King of *Spain*, as well as his *Portugueſe* Majeſty; ſo that the Flag of *England* was no longer ſtruck than the Standard of *Portugal*.

All Things being ready, and the Ceremonies for the Reception of the King of *Spain* being adjuſted, the 27th his Majeſty on-board the *Royal Catherine*, Admiral, with the reſt of the Men of War, came up and anchored overagainſt the royal Palace, the Caſtles on both Sides the River continually firing. Between Four and Five in the Afternoon, the King of *Portugal*, accompanied by the two Princes, his eldeſt Sons, with ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Quality, embarked on a very noble Brigantine, rowed by 40 Men clad in Crimſon Velvet laced with Silver, attended by the reſt of the Nobility in Barges and Felucca's, and went on-board the *Royal Catherine*. When his Majeſty came by the Ship's ſide, he ſtruck his Flag; and when he came into the Ship, Sir *George Rook* ſtruck his Flag, and let fly his Streamer, and ſaluted him with 25 Guns, which was taken by the whole Fleet, and anſwered from on-ſhore. His *Catholic* Majeſty received the King of *Portugal* at the Ladder-head, which upon this Occaſion was made very commodious, and waited on him to his Cabbin, giving him the Right-hand whilſt he was in the Ship. After a ſhort Stay there, the two Kings went into the Brigantine. When they put off both Ships hoiſted their Flags, which had remained ſtruck while the King of *Portugal* was on-board the Admiral, and Sir *George* gave two Salutes of 25 Guns each, which was followed by the reſt of the Fleet. The King of *Spain* had the Right-hand on-board the Brigantine, and both Kings landed under a Triumphal Arch, which was erected at the Head of a very magnificent Bridge, built for that Purpoſe (adorned with ſeveral Triumphal Arches, which run a good way into the River from the Palace Gate. At landing, the King of *Portugal* gave his *Catholic* Majeſty the right, and, taking him by the Hand, led him along the Bridge to the Palace, and to the Royal Chapel, where *Te Deum* was ſung on account of his *Catholic* Majeſty's ſafe Arrival.

His *Catholic* Majeſty having now left the Fleet, we ſhall give our Readers an Account of his Bounty and Munificence to her Majeſty's Officers and Servants who attended him thither. To Sir *George Rooke* he gave a Sword, the Hilt of which was ſet with Diamonds, a Buckle for a Hatband, and a Hook to cock up a Hat, ſet with Diamonds;

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[a] Burnet's Annals of Queen Anne.

[b] Burchett.

to Captain *Wiſhart* his Picture ſet with Diamonds, and 200 Guineas; to Captain *Fletcher* the like Picture (but of leſs Value) and 100 Guineas; to Sir *George*'s Secretary 100 Guineas; to the Captains who carried over his Retinue, 100 Guineas, and a Gold Medal each; to the reſt of the Captains of the Men of War, 50 Piſtoles each, and 50 for their Ship's Company: But, in particular, to the Lord *Archibald Hamilton*, and Captain *Bertie*, each the like Picture as to Captain *Fletcher*, and 100 Guineas; to the Lieutenants ſuch a Medal as to the Captains, and 100 Guineas to be divided between them and the Maſters; to Colonel *Griffith*, of the Board of Green-cloth, his Majeſty's Picture; to Mr. *Lowman* a Ring of conſiderable Value, and 1000 Piſtoles for the reſt of the Officers of the Queen's Family who attended his Majeſty [a].

The Care of the *Dutch* Ships and Forces, which were not arrived at the Departure of the grand Fleet to *Liſbon*, was committed by Sir *George Rooke* to Vice-admiral *Leake*, who a little before his Departure on this Voyage was honoured with Knighthood. He was joined by the *Dutch* on the 21ſt of *February*, and taking all the Trade under his Convoy, he arrived in the *Tagus* on the 2d of *March*. On the 5th it was in a Council of War, (preſent the Admiral Sir *George Rooke*, Vice-admiral Sir *John Leake*, the Rear-admirals *Dilkes* and *Wiſhart*; and the *Dutch* Admiral *Callemberg*, and Vice-admiral *Waſſenaer*) reſolved, to detach 16 or 18 Sail to cruize between Cape *St. Vincent*, Cape *Spartel*, and Cape *St. Mary*, for 30 Days, unleſs it ſhould appear neceſſary for them to return ſooner, to protect the Commerce, and to intercept ſome of the Enemy's Ships. Accordingly Sir *George Rooke* ſailed for that Station on the 7th [b], leaving ſix Sail, two Fire-ſhips, and one Hoſpital, under the Care of Sir *John Leake* at *Liſbon*, with Inſtructions relating to Convoys to *Newfoundland* and to *England*, with the Trade and Tranſports, and to provide for the careening of ſuch Ships as might want it: But ſuch was the Situation of the naval Affairs at *Liſbon*, that there was neither Storehouſe [c] nor Hulk provided for the Uſe of the Navy. However Sir *John*, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, made ſeveral of the Squadron to ſupply the Place of Hulks, to careen the Ships that ſtood in need thereof.

When Sir *George* Rooke ſailed from *Liſbon*, it was the 9th before he could get clear of the River, and ſtretching away S. S. W. the next Day, a little before Noon, as he was hawling in towards Cape *St. Vincent*, he got Intelligence, by a *Dutch* Privateer, of three *Spaniſh* Ships of Force, and a ſmall *Dogger*, bearing, the Night before, South, and then, as the Captain judged, about 10 Leagues diſtant; upon which he detached ſome Ships to ſail S. by E. and S. S. E. himſelf ſtanding S. E. with the reſt. In the Evening, it was believed, they had a Sight of them, and, therefore, Rear-admiral *Dilkes* was ordered to continue the Chaſe, with the *Kent* and *Bedford* of 70, and the *Antelope* of 50 Guns. By Eleven he came up with them, and the *Panther*, which was the headmoſt of ours, engaged them; the *Suffolk* getting the Wind of them, did the ſame, as alſo the *Antelope*, and the *Dutch* Privateer; inſomuch, that the Ship of 60 Guns ſtruck, after exchanging ſeveral Broadſides. The Rear-admiral could not get his own Ship in reach of them until Noon, and then engaging the Commodore, which was a Ship of 60 Guns, ſhe ſtruck to him in a little time, having loſt half her Complement of Men, as the third did ſoon after, which was a Ship of 24 Guns; and in this Action the *Panther* had her Fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board; the *Suffolk* her Main-maſt; and the *Antelope*'s Maſts and Yards were wounded. The two Ships before-mentioned of 60 Guns, were Galloon Men of War, one called the *Porta Cæli*, and the other the *St. Thereſa*, and came from *St. Sebaſtians*, with Bombs, Guns, Iron Bars, *&c.* being bound for *Cadiz*, where (as it was reported) they were to be fitted out for the *Weſt-Indies*, the Commodore Don *Diego Bicuna*, having a Commiſſion to command all the Fleet deſigned thither; and in theſe Ships were taken near 700 Priſoners [d].

Two *Engliſh* Men of War, (the *Leopard* and *Charles* Gally) which were cruizing about the ſame time, forced a *French* Ship of 30 Guns a-ſhore, on a Sand-bank, near *Ayamont*. Another *Engliſh* Man of War, (the *Montague*) took a ſmall *Spaniſh* Ship near Cape *Spartel*, laden with Horſe-ſhoes, Nails, and Roſin; and a *Dutch* Man of War forced a very rich *Spaniſh* Ship a-ſhore, on the Coaſt of *Algarva*.

Sir *George* continued cruizing 'till he had Advice that the *Scanderoon* Fleet [e] was ſafe out of the *Streights*; after which he returned to the River of *Liſbon*, the 9th of *April*; where he received Orders from her Majeſty to proceed up the *Streights*; purſuant to which, the Manner of the Fleet's Proceeding was regulated, in a Council of War, the 18th. At this Council were preſent of the *Engliſh*, Vice-admiral *Leake*, of the Blue, and Rear-admiral *Dilkes*, of the White; and of the *Dutch*, Admiral *Callemberg*, Vice-admiral *Waſſanaer*, and Rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen*. Her Majeſty's Orders of the 24th and 28th of *March*, and Mr. Secretary *Hedges*'s Letter of the ſame Date, were read, whereupon it was determined, to proceed up the *Streights*, according to a Reſolution taken the 12th Inſtant; but if the *Portugueſe* Troops, deſigned, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, for *Catalonia*, could be embarked in eight or 10 Days, it was thought convenient to ſtay for them, and that Orders ſhould be left, for the Ships expected from *England*, to join the Fleet in *Altea Bay*; but not finding it there, to repair to *Algiers* for their better Security [f]. The 21ſt one Second-rate, four Third-rates, and two Fire-ſhips joined the Fleet from *England*; and ſoon after the Admiral detached the *Expedition*, *Exeter*, and *Advice*, with the Tranſports and Merchant-ſhips for *England*.

The 25th a Council of War was called, at the Deſire of the King of *Spain*, to conſider of a Paper delivered by the Almirante of *Caſtile*, which was dated *May* 6, 1704, N. S. by Order from his Catholick Majeſty, to Admiral *Rooke*, and the other Flag-officers of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet, that, in their Voyage to the *Mediterranean*, their chief Deſign ſhould be, to go to *Barcelona*, to execute there what had been reſolved on, and which would be of ſo great a Benefit, not only to the common Cauſe, but to the Succeſs of the Enterprize upon *Spain*, as well as eaſily put in Execution, according to what had already been repreſented to Admiral *Rooke*.

When at *Barcelona*, if Advice ſhould come from the Duke of *Savoy*, that *Nice* was beſieged, then the Admiral might go to the Relief of it, according to his Orders; but if no ſuch Advice ſhould come, that then the Enterprize upon *Barcelona* might be executed for the good of the common Cauſe, and without the Admiral's being wanting in his due Obedience to the Orders he had from her Majeſty of *Great Britain*.

But if his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould preſs to have the Fleet go up thither; and it might thereupon be judged neceſſary to appoint a Rendezvous, all that his Catholick Majeſty deſired was, that it might be at *Barcelona*, ſince even that alone would be of great Benefit to the Enterprize upon *Spain*, and conſequently very advantageous to the Allies.

The Almirante of *Caſtile* ſaid alſo, that his Catholick Majeſty deſired to know, if when the Fleet was on the Coaſt of *Piedmont*, and *Nice* not beſieged, nor that Coaſt invaded by Sea by the *French*, by what time it might return to execute the Enterprize upon *Catalonia*.

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[a] Compleat Hiſtory of Europe.

[b] This Detachment conſiſted of 22 Ships, of which were of the Engliſh, ſix of 70 Guns, one of 60, four of 50, one of 40, one of 32, and one of 24; and of the Dutch, one of 92 Guns, two of 72, one of 68, one of 64, one of 61, one of 60, and one of 36; and the Deſign was, purſuant to two Councils of War, of the 29th of February, and of the 5th of March, to cruize between Cape St. Vincent, Cape St. Mary's, and Cape Spartel, to give Countenance and Protection to our Commerce, to intercept any ſmall Squadrons of the Enemy's, paſſing from one Sea to the other, and, in particular, to way-lay Monſieur D'Arteloire in his Paſſage from Cadiz to the Weſt-Indies, and to prevent any Ships joining him at that Port.

[c] See the Life of Sir John Leake, p. 75, 76.

[d] See the London Gazette, 4008.

[e] A very happy Accident (ſays Biſhop Burnet) preſerved this Fleet from falling into the Hands of the Enemy. The French Fleet, in their Way from Breſt up the Streights, to join the Toulon Squadron, lay in Tunis-Bay, and nothing could have ſaved this rich Fleet, which had but three or four Frigates for their Convoy, from being taken, but that which happened, in the critical Minute in which they needed it. A thick Fog covered them all the whiſe, that they were ſailing by the Bay, ſo that they had no Apprehenſion of the Danger they were in, 'till they had paſſed it.

[f] Burchett.

He alſo demanded whether, when the Service of *Catalonia* being ended, (which it was ſuppoſed would ſoon be) the Fleet could proceed to the Coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, to give Life to his Catholick Majeſty's Party, in thoſe Kingdoms, and to the Diſpoſitions there might be in them, for the Benefit of the common Cauſe, and the univerſal Good.

In Anſwer to theſe Propoſals, it was reſolved, that the Fleet ſhould proceed to the Relief of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, according to former Reſolutions; but firſt ſail to the northward of the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, and if the Winds would permit, as near the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, as might be convenient, for gaining Intelligence; but that, if they met with certain Advice, that neither of the two Places before-mentioned were attacked, the Fleet ſhould ſtop at *Barcelona*, and give his Catholick Majeſty's Affairs all poſſible Countenance and Aſſiſtance, in thoſe Parts.

If certain Intelligence could not be gained, and that when the Fleet arrived at *Nice* or *Villa Franca*, it ſhould be found they were not beſieged, it was reſolved to return, without Loſs of time, to *Barcelona*, and as ſoon as the Service on the Coaſt of *Catalonia* ſhould be over, to act farther, as might be judged moſt advantageous, by a Council of War, for the Service of the King of *Spain*, and the common Intereſt; and the Flag-officers were likewiſe of Opinion, that four of the Ships expected from *England* might be ſufficient to convoy the Victualers and Tranſports to the Fleet.

In the Abſence of this Fleet the *French* were very aſſiduous in fitting out a great Squadron at *Breſt*, which obliged the Miniſtry to counteract its Intention, by equipping a ſtrong Fleet[a] alſo. This was done with all Expedition, and put under the Command of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Admiral of the *White*, who had under him Sir *Stafford Fairbourne*, Vice-admiral of the Red; and *George Byng*, Eſq; then Rear-admiral of the ſame Squadron. The Admiral was inſtructed, if he found the *Breſt* Squadron ſtill in Port, to ſend away the Trade, Store-ſhips and Victuallers, under a proper Convoy, to *Liſbon*, and to remain before that Port himſelf to endeavour to keep in the Enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and deſtroy them if they came out. But in caſe he found the *Breſt* Squadron already ſailed, then he was to call a Council of War, in order to judge what Strength might be neceſſary to be ſent to Sir *George Rooke*; and if it amounted to 22 Ships, then he was to ſail with them himſelf, that our Fleet might, at all Events, be ſtronger than that of the Enemy.

Sir *Cloudeſley* executed his Inſtructions punctually, and finding that a great Strength was neceſſary in the *Mediterranean* to oppoſe the *French*, he ſailed thither about the latter End of the Month of *May*. Thus it is eaſy to diſcern, how and why the Succours intended for Sir *George Rooke*'s Fleet were ſo long delayed, and what Care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time. Now let us obſerve how he extricated himſelf out of the Difficulties in which we left him at the laſt Council of War.

In the firſt place he ſignified to the Prince of *Heſſe*, who had the chief Direction of his *Catholic* Majeſty's Affairs, that if the Troops which were to make the Attempt on *Barcelona*, could be ſpeedily embarked, he was content to eſcort them, and to give all imaginable Countenance to his Majeſty's Affairs in *Catalonia*. In Compliance with this Offer, he ſailed accordingly with the Tranſports under his Convoy, and on the 18th of *May* he arrived before the City of *Barcelona*. A Prieſt and ſome others ſurrendered themſelves, and informed the Prince of *Heſſe*, that if ſome few Forces were landed, and a Shew made of a Bombardment, they would declare for King *Charles* III. and receive him into the Town. Upon this there landed, on the 19th of *May*, about 1200 Marines, 400 *Dutch* Foot, a Company of *Catalans*, and as many Volunteers as made up in the whole 2000 Men. They remained a-ſhore all Night; and the Prince finding nothing done, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* had bombarded the Place with ſome Effect, his Highneſs himſelf propoſed the re-embarking the Men, from an Apprehenſion of their being attacked by a ſuperior Force. The Truth is, that he had great reaſon to abandon this Deſign as he did, ſince, in the firſt Place, the Governor had diſcovered it, and had ſecured the Chiefs of the *Auſtrian* Party; and in the next, the Force he had with him was not at all proportioned to ſuch an Undertaking[b].

On the 21ſt of *May* the Admiral ſteered for the Iſles of *Hieres*, but in the Paſſage met with a Storm, which ſeparated his Fleet. On the 27th they joined again, and had Sight of a large *French* Squadron, which they rightly judged to be ſailing for *Toulon*; and therefore it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to chaſe them thither; and if it was not poſſible to prevent their getting into that Port, then to ſail for *Liſbon*, in order to wait for a Reinforcement, which was accordingly done[c]. On the 4th of *June* our Fleet paſſed through the *Streights* Mouth, and were joined two Days after by Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with his Squadron off of *Lagos*. A Council of War was then called, in order to conſider what Service ſhould be proceeded on. Several Schemes were propoſed, particularly a ſecond Attack on *Cadiz*, which was ſoon found to be impracticable for want of a ſufficient Number of Land-forces. At this Council of War the Admiral alſo was pleaſed to declare, that he was limited by his Inſtructions from attempting any thing without the Conſents of the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which was another Diſcouragement to the Service, becauſe thoſe Princes could ſeldom agree upon any thing; ſo that, except ſending ſome Ships to the *Terceras*, in order to protect the homeward-bound *Brazil* Fleet, there was nothing done, that I can find, which ought to be conſidered as the Conſequence of this Order.

Sir *George Rooke* being ſenſible of the Reflections that would fall upon him, if, having ſo conſiderable a Fleet under Command, he ſpent the Summer in doing nothing of Importance, called a Council of War on the 17th of *July*, in the Road of *Tetuan*, where having declared he thought it requiſite they ſhould reſolve upon ſomething, after a long Debate it was carried to make a ſudden and vigorous Attempt upon *Gibraltar*[d], for three Reaſons: *Firſt*, becauſe in the Condition the Place then was, there was ſome Probability of taking it; which, in caſe it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous Garriſon,

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[a] The Line of Battle. The St. George to lead with the Starboard, and the Revenge with the Larboard-Tacks on-board.

Frigates, Fire-ſhips, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſions.	Frigates, Fire-ſhips, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſions.	Frigates, Fire-ſhips, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſions.
	2	St. George	680	96			3	Boyne	500	80			3	Naſſau	440	70	
Bridgewater	4	Moderate	365	60	Vice-Ad. of the Red, Sir Stafford Fairbourne.	Roebuck.	3	Warſpight	540	70	Admiral of the White, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel.		3	Rupert	440	70	Rear-Admiral of the Red, George Byng, Eſq;
Lightning-Fire-ſhip.	3	Torbay	500	80		Vulcan Fire-ſhip.	4	Triton	280	50			3	Norfolk	500	80	
	3	Shrewſbury	540	80		William and Mary-Yacht.	3	Orford	440	70		Vulture-Fire-ſhip.	3	Ranelagh	535	80	
Terror-Bomb.	3	Eſſex	440	70			2	Barfleur	710	96		Star-Bomb.	3	Dorſetſhire	500	80	
	4	Glouceſter	365	60		Princeſs Anne Hoſpital.	2	Namur	680	96			4	Kingſtone	365	60	
	3	Royal Oak	500	76			4	Medway	365	60			4	Aſſurance	365	60	
	4	Monk	365	60			3	Swiftſure	440	70			4	Revenge	440	70	
							3	Lenox	410	70							
															11635	1514	

[b] There was certainly a very ſtrong Party in Barcelona for King Charles, and if they had had Courage enough to have declared on the firſt Arrival of the Fleet, and had marched out, and joined the Land-forces as ſoon as they had debarked, ſomething might have been done; but they continued conſulting and intriguing, till the Governor ſeized their Chiefs, and then they themſelves adviſed the Prince of Heſſe not to remain any longer before the Place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

[c] This is a Fact, in which Burchett, Oldmixon, the compleat Hiſtory of Europe, and all our Writers agree, as taking it from the Journals depoſited with the Secretary of the Admiralty: And therefore we may eaſily know what to think of the following Paſſage in Burnet's Hiſtory, which follows immediately the Account he had given of the Admiral's leaving Barcelona, to ſail for the Coaſt of Italy, in order to prevent the Siege of Nice, or to relieve it if it was beſieged. "Having Advice, ſays the Biſhop, "that the French made no Advances in that Deſign, he turned his Courſe Weſtward, and came in Sight of the French Fleet, ſailing from Breſt to Toulon, the Advantage he had was ſo viſible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: What Orders he had was not "known, for the Matter never came under Examination; they got to Toulon, and he ſteered another Way. The whole French Fleet was then together in that Harbour; for though the Toulon Squadron had been out before, it was then in Port."

[d] A Propoſal originally made to the Admiral and the Prince of Heſſe, by Sir John Leake. See his Life, p. 83.

riſon, would have been impoſſible. *Secondly*, becauſe the Poſſeſſion of that Place was of infinite Importance during the preſent War. *Thirdly*, becauſe the taking of this Place would give a Luſtre to the Queen's Arms, and poſſibly diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to favour the Cauſe of King *Charles*.

The Fleet, in purſuance of this Reſolution, got into the Bay of *Gibraltar* on the 21ſt of *July*, and the Marines, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to the Number of 1800, were landed under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe* on the *Iſthmus*, to cut off all Communication between the Town and the Continent. His Highneſs having taken Poſt there, ſummoned the Governor, who anſwered, that he would defend the Place to the laſt. On the 22d, the Admiral at Break-of-day gave Order, that the Ships which had been appointed to cannonade the Town, under the Command of Rear-admiral *Byng*, and Rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen*[a]; as alſo thoſe which were to batter the South-mole-head, commanded by Captain *Hicks* of the *Yarmouth*, ſhould range themſelves accordingly; but the Wind blowing contrary, they could not poſſibly get into their Places till the Day was ſpent.

In the mean time, to amuſe the Enemy, Captain *Whitaker* was ſent in with ſome Boats, who burnt a *French* Privateer of 12 Guns at the *Old Mole*. The 23d, ſoon after Break-of-day, the Ships being all placed, the Admiral gave the Signal for beginning the Cannonade, which was performed with very great Fury, above 15,000 Shot being made, in five or ſix Hours time, againſt the Town, inſomuch that the Enemy were ſoon beat from their Guns, eſpecially at the *South-mole-head*.

The Admiral hereupon conſidering, that by gaining that Fortification, they ſhould of conſequence reduce the Town, ordered Captain *Whitaker*, with all the Boats armed, to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which was performed with great Expedition: But Captain *Hicks* and Captain *Jumper*, who lay next the *Mole*, had puſhed on-ſhore with their Pinnaces, and ſome other Boats, before the reſt could come up; whereupon the Enemy ſprung a Mine, which blew up the Fortifications upon the *Mole*, killed two Lieutenants, and about 40 Men, and wounded about 60; however our Men kept Poſſeſſion of the great Platform, which they had made themſelves Maſters of; and Captain *Whitaker* landing with the reſt of the Seamen which had been ordered upon this Service, they advanced and took a Redoubt, or ſmall Baſtion, half way between the *Mole* and the Town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many of the Enemy's Cannon[b]. The Admiral then ſent in a Letter to the Governor, and at the ſame Time a Meſſage to the Prince of *Heſſe*, to ſend him a peremptory Summons, which his Highneſs did accordingly; and on the 24th, in the Morning, the Governor deſiring to capitulate, Hoſtages were exchanged; and the Capitulation being concluded, the Prince marched into the Town in the Evening, and took Poſſeſſion of the Land and *North-mole* Gates, and the Outworks. The Articles[c] were, in Subſtance, as follows:

1. That the Garriſon, Officers, and Soldiers, may depart with their neceſſary Arms and Baggage; and the Officers, and other Gentlemen of the Town, may alſo carry their Horſes with them; they may likewiſe have what Boats they ſhall have Occaſion for.

2. That they may take out of the Garriſon three Pieces of Braſs Cannon, of different Weight, with 12 Charges of Powder and Ball.

3. That they may take Proviſions of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, for ſix Days March.

4. That none of the Officers Baggage be ſearched, tho' it be carried out in Cheſts or Trunks: That the Garriſon depart in three Days, and ſuch of their Neceſſaries as they cannot carry out with Conveniency, may remain in the Garriſon, and be afterwards ſent for: And that they ſhall have the Liberty to make uſe of ſome Carts.

5. That ſuch Inhabitants and Soldiers, and Officers of the Town, as are willing to remain there, ſhall have the ſame Privileges they enjoyed in the Time of *Charles* II. and their Religion and Tribunals ſhall remain untouched, upon Condition, that they take an Oath of Fidelity to King *Charles* III.

6. That they ſhall diſcover all their Magazines of Powder, and other Ammunition, or Proviſion and Arms, that may be in the City.

7. That all the *French*, and Subjects of the *French* King, are excluded from any Part of theſe Capitulations, and all their Effects ſhall remain at our Diſpoſal, and their Perſons Priſoners of War.

They found the Town extremely ſtrong, with 100 Guns mounted, all facing the Sea, and the two narrow Paſſes to the Land; and it was well ſupplied with Ammunition; but the Garriſon conſiſted of about 150 (Mr. *Burchett* ſays 80) Men only. However, in the Opinion of Officers who have ſeen the Works, 50 Men might have defended them againſt Thouſands; and the Attack made by the Seamen, was brave almoſt beyond Example. We had only 60 Men killed, of which were two Lieutenants, and one Maſter; and 216 wounded, among whom were one Captain, ſeven Lieutenants, and a Boatſwain[d].

It is but Juſtice to the maritime Part of the Nation, to remark, that as this Deſign was contrived by the Admirals, ſo it was executed entirely by the Seamen, and therefore the whole Honour of it is due to them. I muſt likewiſe put the Reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the Seamen to take the Place, but the cannonading of it in ſuch a manner, as obliged the *Spaniards* to quit their Poſts; for the general Officers, who viewed the Fortifications after the Place was in our Hands, declared that they might have been defended by 50 Men againſt as many thouſands. The *French* indeed ſay, in order to diminiſh as much as poſſible the Glory of this Action, that the *Spaniards* had neither Garriſon nor Guns there; but this is far from being true, ſince there were above 100 Braſs Pieces mounted. After putting as many Men as could be ſpared into the Place, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, the Fleet ſailed to *Tetuan*, in order to take in Wood and Water.

The Fleet being watered, and ſtanding over again from the Coaſt of *Barbary*, towards *Gibraltar*, the Scouts of both Fleets, *Engliſh* and *French*, made Signals of ſeeing each other.

The *Engliſh* Admiral called a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved, to lay to the Eaſtward of *Gibraltar*, to receive the Enemy, who was to the Windward. But the *French* wanting their Gallies, moſt of which rendezvouſed at *Velez Malaga*, plied up to that Port for them, which delayed the Engagement, and gave our Fleet an Opportunity to get on-board 1800 Marines left at *Gibraltar*. As ſoon as this Embarkation was effected, the *Engliſh* Fleet plied to the Windward in Purſuit of the Enemy, all the 10th and the 11th, without being able to gain any Tidings of them, otherwiſe than by their Signal-guns. The 11th they drove a *French* Tender on-ſhore, near *Fingerole*, but her Crew quitted her, and ſet her on-fire.

The 12th, about Noon, they diſcovered the Enemy's Fleet and Gallies to the Weſtward, near Cape *Malaga*, going away large, and bore after them, in a Line of Battle, all that Night.

The 13th, in the Morning, they were within three Leagues of the *French*, who then brought to, with their Heads to the Southward, the Wind being Eaſterly, and, forming their Line, lay in a Poſture to receive them in their Diviſions. In the *Engliſh* Line, Sir *George Rooke*, with the Rear-admirals *Byng* and *Dilkes* were in the Center; Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* and Sir *John Leake* led the Van, and Vice-admiral *Callemberg*, with Rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen*, commanded the *Dutch* Ships in the Rear.

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[a] They were 12 Third-rates, and four Fourth-rates, with ſix Ships of the Dutch.

[b] It being Sunday, all the Women were at their Devotion, in a little Chapel, about four Miles from the Town; ſo that our Men were between them and their Huſbands, which was a very great Inducement to the Citizens to oblige the Governor to capitulate.

[c] Annals of Queen Anne.

[d] The Ships employed in battering of Gibraltar, were: ENGLISH. The Monmouth, Captain Baker; Suffolk, Kirton; Eſſex, Hubbard; Ranelagh, George Byng, Eſq; Grafton, Sir Andrew Leake; Nottingham, Whitaker; Montague, Cleaveland; Kingſton, Acton; Naſſau, Dove; Swiftſure, Winn; Berwick, Fairfax; Eagle, Lord Hamilton; Burford, Roſſy; Lenox, Jumper; Yarmouth, Hicks. DUTCH. —— Schryven; Catwick, Okkers; Emelia, Beckman; Veluve, Vanderduſſen; Utrecht, Bolck; Friſia, Middagter.

Though the *French* endeavoured, at leaſt, at firſt, to avoid the Battle, as we have ſeen above, yet they had, in many Things, the Advantage over our Fleet: They were ſuperior in Force, having, at leaſt, 10 three-deck Ships, more than the Confederates; all their Ships were clean and full manned; they had the Advantage of fighting on the Coaſt, and near a Harbour of their Ally; and had the Benefit of a large Number of Gallies. The Confederates, on the contrary, beſides the Remoteneſs of Ports and Succour, in caſe of adverſe Fortune, and the great Diſadvantage of ſuch a ſuperior Strength againſt them, were conſcious of many Defects, which the Enemy could not (and happy for us they did not) ſo well know. Such as the Fleets being thinly manned; a great Deficiency of Stores and Proviſions, both Naval and Military; one the Effect of a long Voyage, the other occaſioned by the great Expence of Ammunition at the taking of *Gibraltar*; and the Foulneſs of their Ships, of infinite Prejudice in a Day of Battle, ſince it would hinder them both from purſuing an Advantage, and from avoiding a Miſfortune: But, notwithſtanding all theſe Diſadvantages, the Confederates reſolved rather to ſeek, than to ſhun, an Engagement.

LIST *of the* Engliſh *Fleet in the* Mediterranean, *under Sir* GEORGE ROOKE.

Frigates, Fire-ſhips, &c.	Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſions.
	Somerſet,	Capt. *Price*.	500	80	
	Eſſex,	*Hubbard*.	440	70	
	Triton,	*Trevor*.	230	50	
	Dorſetſhire,	*Whitaker*.	500	80	
Charles-Gally, 32 Guns. *Vulture* Fire-ſhip.	*Ranelagh*,	GEORGE BYNG, *Eſq*; Capt. *John Cole*.	535	80	Rear-admiral of the *Red*.
	Torbay,	*Caldwell*.	500	80	
	Centurion,	*Herne*.	280	50	
	Kingſton,	*Acton*.	365	60	
	Firm,	*Wild*.	440	70	
	Grafton,	Sir *Andrew Leake*.	440	70	
Lark, 40 Guns.	*Naſſau*,	Capt. *Dove*.	440	70	
Newport, 24 Guns.	*Montague*,	*Cleaveland*.	365	60	
Hunter, *Phœnix*, } Fireſhips.	*St. George*,	*Jennings*.	680	96	
Jefferies, Hoſpital,	*Royal Catherine*,	*Sir* GEORGE ROOKE.	730	90	Admiral of the *Red*.
Hare, *Terror*, } Bombs.	*Eagle*,	Lord *Hamilton*.	440	70	
	Monmouth,	Capt. *Baker*.	440	70	
William & *Mary* Yacht.	*Panther*,	*Bartie*.	280	50	
	Shrewſbury,	*Crow*.	500	80	
	Bedford,	Sir *Thomas Hardy*.	440	70	
	Swallow,	Capt. *Haddock*.	280	50	
Tartar, 32 Guns.	*Suffolk*,	*Kitton*.	440	70	
Lightning Fire-ſhip.	*Royal Oak*,	*Elwis*.	500	76	
	Kent,	THO. DILKES, *Eſq*; Capt. *Harman*.	400	70	Rear-admiral of the *White*.
	Cambridge,	*Leſtock*.	500	80	
	Monk,	*Mills*.	365	60	
	Leopard,	*Culliford*.	280	50	
	Burford,	*Roſſy*.	440	70	
	Warſpight,	*Loades*.	440	70	
	Nottingham,	*Whitaker*.	365	60	
	Aſſurance,	*Hancock*.	440	66	
Roebuck, 40 Guns.	*Orford*,	*Norris*.	440	70	
Vulcan, *Griffin*, } Fireſhips.	*Barfleur*,	*Sir* CLOUD. SHOVEL. Capt. *Stuart*.	710	96	Admiral of the *White*.
Princeſs-Anne Hoſpital.	*Namur*,	*Mings*.	680	96	
	Swiftſure,	*Winn*.	440	70	
	Tilbury,	*Delaval*.	280	50	
	Lenox,	*Jumper*.	440	70	
	Newark,	*Clark*.	500	80	
	Antilope,	*Legg*.	280	50	
	Boyne,	Lord *Durſley*.	500	80	
	Prince George,	*Sir* JOHN LEAKE. Capt. *Martin*.	700	90	Vice-admiral of the *Blue*.
Garland, 50 Guns. *Firebrand* Fireſhip.	*Berwick*,	*Fairfax*.	440	70	
	Norfolk,	*Knapp*.	500	80	
	Tiger,	*Cavendiſh*.	280	50	
	Yarmouth,	*Hicks*.	440	70	
	Hampton-Court,	*Wager*.	440	70	
	Ships of the Line, 45.		20,045	3154	

Frigates	6
Fire-ſhips	7
Bomb-veſſels	2
Hoſpital	2
Yacht	1
Small Craft	18

Of theſe, four Ships of the Line of Battle were abſent upon Convoy, and conſequently there remained 41 Ships of the Line.

The *Dutch*, having ſent ſix of their Ships home ſome Days before, had but 12 left, *viz.* the *Dort*, *Guelderlandt*, *Union*, *Catwick*, *Nimeguen*, *Bavaria*, *Leuven*, *Damietta*, *Vliſſingen*,

Vliſſingen, Albemarle, Het Wapen van Uytrecht, and *Het Wapen van Frieſland* [a].

Thus the Confederate Fleet conſiſted together of 53 Ships of the Line, and 18 ſmall Craft; but the Admiral ordered the *Swallow* and the *Panther*, two Fourth-rates, with a Fifth-rate and a Sixth-rate, and two Fire-ſhips, to lay to the Windward of him, that if the Enemy's Van ſhould puſh through our Line with their Gallies and Fire-ſhips, they might give them ſome Diverſion.

LIST *of the* French *Men of War which were in this Engagement.*

VANGUARD; or, the *White* and *Blue* Diviſion.

Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Guns.	Men.
The *Eclatant,*	Monſ. *De Belle Fontaine,*	66	730
Iſle,	*De Mons,*	62	380
S. Philippe, V. A.	*D'Infreville,*	90	700
Heureux,	*Colbert St. Mar,*	70	450
Rubin,	*De Beneville,*	56	330
Arrogant,	*De Rherbief,*	62	350
Marquis,	*De Patonlet,*	60	350
Content,	*St. Maure,*	70	450
Fier, Admiral.	*De Vilette,*	88	800
Intrepide,	*Du Caſſe,*	84	600
Excellent,	*De la Roche Alard,*	62	350
Sage,	*De Monbaut,*	54	330
Ecueil,	*D'Argent,*	62	380
Magnifique, R. A.	*De Bel-Iſle,*	86	600
Monarque,	*Chabert,*	84	600
Perle,	*Le Mothure,*	54	300
16		1120	7700

CENTER, or, The *White* Diviſion.

Furieux,	Le Comte *De Blenac,*	60	350
Vermandois,	Monſ. *De Bethune,*	63	350
Lis,	Le Chevalier *De Villars,*	88	600
Etonnant, V. A.	Monſ. *Coetlogon,*	90	700
Orgueilleux,	*Du Palais,*	88	600
Eſperance,	*De Lagnion,*	50	330
Serieux,	*Champmelin,*	58	380
Fleuron,	*De Grancey,*	56	350
Vainqueur,	*Le Bailly de Lorraine,*	88	600
Foudroyant, Ad.	Le Comte *De Thoulouſe,*	104	950
Terrible,	Monſ. *De Relingue,*	104	900
Entreprenant,	*De Haut fort,*	60	350
Fortune,	*De Baigneux,*	58	350
Parfait,	Le Marq. *De Chateau-morand,*	74	470
Magnanime, R. A.	Monſ. *De Pointi,*	84	600
Sceptre,	Le Comte *De Bailly,*	88	600
Fendant,	Monſ. *De la Lucerne,*	58	350
17		1271	8300

REAR, or, The *Blue* Diviſion.

Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Guns.	Men.
Zelande,	Monſ. *De Ferville,*	60	350
St. Louis,	*De Beaujeu,*	60	380
Admirable, R. A.	*De Cepeville,*	92	675
Couronne,	*De Champigni,*	88	500
Cheval Marin,	*De Pontac,*	44	260
Diamant,	*Deroyne,*	58	350
Gaillard,	*Du Mont,*	54	330
Invincible,	*Roverois,*	70	450
Soleil Royal, Ad.	*De Langeron,*	102	850
Ardent,	*D'Aliegre,*	66	400
Trident,	*De Modeſne,*	56	350
Coureur,	*Philippeaux,*	60	380
More,	*De St. Claire,*	52	330
Thoulouſe,	*Du Quene Mon.*	60	380
Triomphante, V. A.	*De la Harteloire,*	92	750
St. Eſprit,	*Du Quene Gui,*	72	490
Henri,	*Servigni,*	66	400
17		1152	7625

FRIGATES.

Etoile,	Monſ. *Gonſon,*	30	190
Hercule,	*Rouvre,*	20	170
Andromede,	*Chamilli,*	8	85
Diligence,	*Maſmet,*	6	60
Meduſe,	*Roquemadere,*	28	150
Oiſeau,	*Figuiera,*	36	180
Galatie,	*Degorti,*	11	120
Sibille,	*Guittoſin,*	10	70
8		149	1025

FIRE-SHIPS.

Enflammé,	Monſ. *Convet,*	6	40
Dangereux,	*Du Gay,*	6	50
Turquoiſe,	*De Soutier,*	8	45
Croiſſant,	*Gabaret,*	12	50
Bienvenu,	*Rochambert,*	8	60
Aigle volant,	*Kervilly,*	6	35
Eſther,	*Canivine,*	6	35
Violeur,	*Renoix,*	10	45
Lion,	*Marquiſat,*	8	50
9		70	410

FLUTES.

Rotterdam,	Monſ. *Grand Maiſon,*	6	60
Portefaix,	*Le Quene.*	6	60
2		12	120

Total. Guns, in the Ships of the Line, 3533. Men, in the Ships of the Line, 24,155. Beſides the above-mentioned Men of War, Frigates, Fire-ſhips, and Flutes, there were 12 *French,* and 11 *Spaniſh* Gallies; in all, 92 Sail: 11 of the Gallies were placed on the ſecond Line of the White and Blew Squadron, under the Command of the Duke of *Turſis*; four under Command of the Marquis *de Roye,* behind the Count *de Thoulouſe,* in the Center, and the other eight, commanded by the Marquis *de Ferville,* behind the Marquis *de Langeron,* in the Rear.

The Account of this Battle cannot be better authenticated than from the Letter of Sir *George Rooke* to his Royal Highneſs; which contained, as follows.

On *Sunday* the 13th of *Auguſt* in the Morning, we bore down upon the Enemy, in Order of Battle, till a little after Ten o'Clock, when, being about half Gun ſhot from them, they ſet all their Sails at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch a-head, and weather us [b]; ſo that our Admiral was obliged to put the Signal out, and begin the Battle, which was continued with very great Fury on both Sides; but, about Two in the Afternoon, the Enemy's Van gave Way to ours, which was commanded by Sir *Cloudſley Shovel,* and led by Sir *John Leake*; as their Rear did to the *Dutch* towards Night [c]: But their Body being very ſtrong, and ſeveral of the Ships of the Admiral's, Rear-admiral *Byng's,* and Rear-admiral *Dilkes* Diviſion, being forced to go out of the Line for Want of Shot, the Battle fell very heavy on the Admiral's own Ship, the *St. George,* and the *Shrewſbury* [d]. This Want of Shot was occaſioned by our great Expence of it at *Gibraltar*; and though every Ship was ſupplied to have 25 Rounds two Days before the Battle, which was judged ſufficient, and would have been ſo, if we could have got ſo near the Enemy as the Admiral intended, yet every Ship, that was on that Service, wanted Ammunition before Night [a].

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[a] Annals of Queen Anne.

[b] But Admiral Shovel having diſcovered the Enemy's Intention, immediately clapped upon a Wind, and Sir George Rooke, foreſeeing what would be the Conſequence, if his Van was intercepted, bore down upon the Enemy, with the reſt of the Confederate Fleet, and put out the Signal for the Fight, which was immediately begun by Admiral Shovel.

[c] The Dutch, in the Rear, engaged the Enemy, with the greateſt Courage and Alacrity, and, being better provided with Ammunition, continued firing ſomething later than the reſt; but Night coming on, put a Period to the Diſpute on that Side alſo: But Monſieur De Rouvre one of the French Rear admiral's Seconds, was obliged to go out of their Line to ſtop his Leak, before the Fight ended.

[d] This being obſerved by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, he like a good and valiant Officer, immediately backed a-ſtern, and endeavoured to re-inforce the Admiral. This Act, both of Valour and good Seaman-ſhip, had two uſeful Effects; firſt, it drew ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships from our Center, which was ſo hard preſſed, by a great Superiority, both of Strength and Number, and drove them at length out of the Line; for after they had felt the Force of this Supply, from ſome of the Ships of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's Diviſion, which were a-ſtern of him, they found it not ſafe to advance along his Broadſide; but being clean, and better Sailers, they ſet their Sprit-ſails,

The Battle ended with the Day, when the Enemy went away, by the Help of their Gallies, to the Leeward. In the Night the Wind ſhifted to the Northward, and in the Morning to the Weſtward, which gave the Enemy the Wind of us. We lay by all Day, within three Leagues of one another, repairing our Defects, and at Night they filed, and ſtood to the Northward.

On the 15th in the Morning the Enemy was got four or five Leagues to the Windward of us; but a little before Noon we had a Breeze of Wind Eaſterly, with which we bore down on them till Four o'Clock in the Afternoon. It being too late to engage, we brought to, and lay by, with our Heads to the Northward, all Night.

On the 16th in the Morning, the Wind being ſtill Eaſterly, hazy Weather, and having no Sight of the Enemy, or their Scouts, we filed, and bore away to the Weſtward, ſuppoſing they would have gone away for *Cadiz*; but being adviſed from *Gibraltar*, and the Coaſt of *Barbary*, that they did not paſs the *Streights*, we conclude they have been ſo ſeverely treated, as to oblige them to return to *Toulon*, which may prevent any Attempt upon *Gibraltar* this Winter, the ſending any Succour into *Cadiz*, or the inſulting the Coaſt of *Portugal*, and conſtrain them to a Winter-paſſage to *Weſt-France*, if they intend any of their Ships thither this Year.

The Loſs on the Side of the *Engliſh* was found to ſtand thus:

Slain	687
Wounded	1632
Total killed and wounded, *Engliſh*	2319
Dutch	400
Total	2719

Commiſſion-officers ſlain; Captains, Sir *Andrew Leake*, and Captain *Cow*; Lieutenants four, and Warrant-officers two. Commiſſion-officers wounded; Sir *John Leake* was ſlightly wounded by a Splinter; Captains, *Mynge*, *Baker*, *Jumper*, *Mighells*, *Kirkſon*; Lieutenants 13; Warrant-officers 13.

The Loſs on the Side of the *French* was found to ſtand thus: Slain, a Rear-admiral, five Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and five Sea-enſigns. The Count *de Thoulouſe* himſelf wounded in the Forehead, Shoulder, and Thigh; the Count *de Religues* had his Leg ſhot off. The Marquis *de Herbault*, Intendant of the Fleet; Monſ. *du Caſſe*, Commodore of a Squadron; M. *de Chateau Regnault*; the Count *de Phelipeaux*; the Count *de Cominges*; M. *de Valincourt*; the Count *de Thoulouſe*'s Secretary; ſeven Captains, eight Lieutenants, and about 150 other Officers were wounded; as to the Loſs of private Men, it amounted in the whole to 3048.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, in his Account of this Engagement, ſays, the Action was very ſharp, and in his Opinion, the like, between two Fleets, had never been in his Time. Of the whole Fleet, he ſaid, there was hardly a Ship but was obliged to ſhift one Maſt, and many all; inſomuch that there were not three Spare-top-maſts left in the Fleet.

Sir *George Rooke*, in his Letter, with an Account of this Fight, ſays, He muſt do the Officers the Juſtice to ſay, that every Man in the Line did his Duty, without the leaſt Umbrage for Cenſure or Reflection; and that he never obſerved the true *Engliſh* Spirit ſo apparent and prevalent in our Seamen, as on this Occaſion.

Admiral *Callemberg*, in his Letter to the *States-General*, ſays, they ſpent ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Powder in this Fight, that they were obliged to have Cartridges filled during the Action.

Our Fleet having entirely loſt Sight of the Enemy, Sir *George* called a Council of War, in which it was determined to repair, with the Fleet, to *Gibraltar*; and having ſtaid eight Days there to refit, and ſupplied that Place with Men and Proviſions, he ſailed from thence the 24th of *Auguſt*. The 26th, being out of the *Streights* Mouth, he gave the neceſſary Orders to Sir *John Leake*, and then continued his Voyage, with thoſe Ships [b] which were in a Condition to come home. He arrived at *Spithead* the 25th of *September*, and the 29th waited on the Queen and Prince at *Windſor*, who received him very graciouſly.

The 9th of *October*, Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, and ſeveral of his Captains, went to *Windſor* to wait on her Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, by whom they were graciouſly received; and her Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Captain *John Jennings*, Commander of the *St. George*, for his ſignal Service in the late Sea-fight in the *Mediterranean*. Not long after the Queen conferred the ſame Honour on *George Byng*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red Squadron, and on *Thomas Dilkes*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White Squadron, of her Majeſty's Fleet.

However, it was a common Complaint at this Juncture, that we did not proſecute the War at Sea with ſo much Vigour as might be expected from a Nation ſo powerful on that Element: that the Enemy's taking our Ships was a Reproach on the Nation, which ought to fall under the Notice of Parliament. In anſwer to this, in the Houſe of Commons, it was ſaid, that though the Facts could not be denied, yet, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that the Board of Admiralty could not do more than the Supplies granted by Parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly ſaid by the Admirals and their Friends, who were very numerous.

The Houſe, which met on the 2d, having conſidered the whole Affair with great Attention, came, on the 7th of *November* 1704, to the following Reſolutions, *viz.* That 40,000 Seamen ſhould be allowed for the Year 1705, including 8000 Marines. On the 9th they reſolved, that 100,000 l. ſhould be allowed for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year; and that 40,000 l. ſhould be given to the Office of Ordnance for the Sea-ſervice, over and above the uſual Proviſion; and that 10,000 l. ſhould be given for making a Wharf and Store-houſe at *Portſmouth*. Theſe great and glorious Proviſions ſhewed, that the People were deſirous not to ſpare their Treaſure, where the Credit of the Crown and their own Intereſt were at Stake; yet, in the latter End of this, and in the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year, certain Enquiries were made in the Houſe of Lords, which did as great Honour to that Aſſembly, as they gave Pain to ſome in the Adminiſtration.

A great Clamour had been raiſed againſt the Prince's Council for not paying ſufficient Attention to the Merchants, and for having very little Regard to the Reſentment ſhewn by that Houſe againſt certain Perſons, and certain Proceedings. Lord *Haverſham*'s, and ſome other Lords warm Speeches, raiſed a great Heat; but before any

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ſails, and with their Boats a-head towed from him, without giving him the Opportunity of exchanging a ſingle Broadſide with them. Theſe were the Vice-admiral of the White, and the Rear-admiral of their White and Blue, with Part of their Diviſions: And though the Count De Thoulouſe was ſuſtained by the beſt Ships and Commanders in the Center, and aſſiſted by the greateſt Officers for Quality, Experience, and Courage, who were placed as Councellors near him, yet he ſhared, at length, the like Fate as his Van, and, about ſeven o'Clock, was obliged to tow out of Danger.

[a] There happened an Action in the Center, which deſerves a particular Mention: The Serieux, a Ship in the French Admiral's Diviſion, commanded by Monſieur Champmelin, thrice boarded the Monk, an Engliſh Ship, commanded by Captain Mills, who, with great Activity and Courage, every time cleared the Deck of the Enemy, and made them at laſt bear away: The ſame French Commander (as they themſelves own) had his Ship afterwards ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to quit the Line, as was likewiſe the Chevalier De Grancy, whoſe Ship was wholly diſabled. Monſieur De Roche Alard was likewiſe totally diſabled; and the Chevalier d'Oſmont, and Monſieur De Poulett, alſo, quitted their Line, for the ſame Reaſon. Captain Jumper did, likewiſe, eminently ſignalize his Valour in this Fight with his ſingle Ship engaging three of the Enemy's. About Seven in the Evening one of the French Admirals's Seconds advanced out of the Line, and began a cloſer Engagement with the St. George, commanded by Captain Jennings; but notwithſtanding that the St. George had already ſuffered much, ſhe met with ſuch rough Treatment, that ſhe had Difficulty enough to rejoin the Line, after the Loſs of both her Captains, and Abundance of her Men. But amongſt the Actions of other brave Commanders, we muſt not forget thoſe of the gallant Earl of Durſley, Commander of the Boyne, an 80 Gun-ſhip, who, though then but about 23 Years of Age, gave many memorable Inſtances of his undaunted Courage, ſteady Reſolution, and prudent Conduct. In general, all the Officers and Seamen of the Confederate Fleet fought with unparallelled Intrepidity and Reſolution, and had not the Center been ſo weakened, by the Loſs of the Service of thoſe Ships, which through Want of Ammunition, were forced to leave their Stations, 'tis highly probable that the Confederates would have obtained a more compleat and unconteſted Victory than they did.

[b] Burchett.

any Addreſs was made to the Queen, two Committees of Enquiry were appointed; one to inſpect the Books at the Admiralty-office, in order to ſee exactly what Conduct the Board had purſued, and the other to conſider what was done at Sea.

This was certainly a very clear and methodical Way of acting, and contributed to the laying open all the wrong Steps that had been winked at either on account of private Friendſhips, or the Prejudices of Party. In the firſt Place the Houſe obſerved, that 22 Ships had been employed to cruize the whole Summer, and they ſhewed, from their Accounts returned to the Admiralty-office, that they had performed their Duty ſo negligently, as not to have done more than from three Ships, commanded by active Captains, might juſtly have been expected. They likewiſe complained, that there were 10 Flags in Pay, three of which were not at Sea; that Mr. *Churchill* had not been at Sea in any one Year of this War; that Mr. *Graydon* had been a-ſhore all the laſt Year, and that he had been employed, notwithſtanding a former Addreſs for his Diſcharge; that Sir *James Wiſhart*, though a Rear-admiral, had the laſt Year been Sir *George Rooke*'s Captain; that Sir *John Munden*, though he had not done his Duty, had a Penſion of 319 l. a Year, &c.

Though the Queen could not be very well pleaſed with an Addreſs which reflected on the Supineneſs of her Royal Conſort, yet ſhe concealed her Diſlike, and anſwered, *Feb.* 5, "Your Addreſs contains many Obſervations, which I will "conſider particularly, and give ſuch Directions upon "them, as may be moſt for the Advantage of the public "Service [a]."

Thus, between the two Houſes, the Buſineſs of the Nation, with reſpect to naval Affairs, was very fully done. The Lords took care to correct, or at leaſt to point out, what was amiſs in paſt Tranſactions; and the Commons made ample Proviſion for the thorough Supply of whatever was neceſſary in Times to come. Yet in doing all this, ſome ſharp Expreſſions eſcaped, eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers, which certainly flowed rather from a Zeal to Party, than any Love to Juſtice; which gave ſuch Diſguſt to Sir *George Rooke*, that after all the Honours had been paid him, he declined any further Command, as deſiring that the Queen might be eaſy, and the Nation well ſerved, rather than that any Opportunities might be given him of adding either to his Reputation or Eſtate.

The Intention of the *French* King in fitting out ſo great a Fleet, was principally fixed on the Reduction of *Gibraltar*, before which the Court of *Madrid* had ordered 8000 Land-forces to encamp, and, if poſſible, to carry it by Storm; but this, in part, was fruſtrated by the Defeat off *Malaga*. However, it was no ſooner known that the Confederate Fleet was ſailed for *England*, and Sir *John Leake* was obliged to repair to *Liſbon* for Stores, &c. than the Scheme of a Siege took Place; imagining, it would be eaſy to ſurprize a weak and unprovided Garriſon, eſpecially as the Fortifications on the Land-ſide were hardly tainable againſt a regular Attack, and the *French* Fleet would be ſoon ready to cover their Deſign, and to block up *Gibraltar* by Sea.

Theſe Preparations were carried on with ſuch Vigour, that Sir *John Leake*, who was greatly embarraſſed at *Liſbon* for all Sorts of Neceſſaries to repair the Damages of his Fleet, received certain Advice, on the 1ſt of *October*, that *Gibraltar* was inveſted by Land: He afterwards received another Letter from Captain *Fotherby*, Commander of the *Lark*, by which he was informed, that on the 4th of *October* in the Evening, a Squadron of the Enemy's Ships, about 19 in Number, great and ſmall, came into *Gibraltar-Bay*, and that there was a Deſign of beſieging the Place, both by Sea and Land; for which Reaſon he was earneſtly preſſed to repair to their Relief.

While Sir *John* was making Preparations to this End, ſome other Ships joined him from *England* and *Holland*, and he ſoon after received another Letter from the Prince of *Heſſe*, with Advice, that the *French* having landed ſix Battalions, were ſailed Weſtward, and had only left ſix Frigates, from 40 to 20 Guns; and that they had opened their Trenches againſt the Town the 11th of *October*. It was hereupon reſolved, in a Council of War, as the Preſervation of that Place was of the higheſt Importance to the common Cauſe, to repair forthwith to the Relief of it [b]. Being arrived there, ſome Troops were landed; but upon Advice, that a *French* Squadron, of ſuperior Force to his, was preparing to attack him, they were all re-embarked, except the Gunners, Carpenters, and Marines. The *Engliſh* Ships, in the mean time, having loſt ſome of their Cables and Anchors, and the *Dutch* almoſt all theirs, and ſeveral Proviſions being wanting, the Squadron was under a Neceſſity of returning to *Liſbon*. He did this with a View only to refit, and to be in a better Condition to ſupply and aſſiſt the Garriſon in a ſecond Expedition, for which he had very prudently directed Preparations to be made in his Abſence. This enabled him to put to Sea again on the 25th of *October*, and on the 29th he entered the Bay of *Gibraltar* at a very critical Juncture; for that very Night the Enemy intended to ſtorm the Town on all Sides, and had procured 200 Boats from *Cadiz*, in order to have landed 3000 Men near the new Mole. But Sir *John Leake* entered ſo ſuddenly, that he ſurprized in the Bay two Frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 Guns, a Brigantine of 14, a Fire-ſhip of 16, a Store-ſhip full of Bombs and Grenadoes, two *Engliſh* Prizes; and a *Tartan*, and another Frigate of 30 Guns, which had juſt got out of the Bay, was taken by an *Engliſh* Ship that followed her [c].

The 2d of *November*, it was reſolved to land as many Men as could be ſpared for defending the Out-poſts on the Sea-ſide, as likewiſe to ſend ſome Men into the Town, which was done the 3d; and ſome Days after, a farther Re-inforcement, of 200 *Engliſh*, and 100 *Dutch*, were landed. The 19th and 20th, Sir *John* being moving his Station, made a Feint of landing ſome Troops, which drew the *Spaniſh* Cavalry down to the Shore, and gave him an Opportunity of killing a great Number of them with the Cannon of his Frigates, and the ſmall Arms from his Boats.

The 22d the *Centurion* came in from cruiſing, and brought with her a *French* Prize of 28 Guns, richly laden with Sugar and Indigo from *Martinico* [d]. Upon Advice, ſoon after, that Monſieur *Ponti* was coming out of *Cadiz*, Sir *John Leake* thought fit to order his Squadron out of the Bay, and to ſtand to the Eaſtward, in Sight of *Gibraltar*, that he might be the better enabled to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould be thought neceſſary.

The 7th of *December* the *Antelope*, with nine Tranſport-ſhips, came into the Bay of *Gibraltar* from *Liſbon*, and were followed the 9th by the *Newcaſtle*, with ſeven more [e];

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[a] This Addreſs of the Lords was preſented to the Queen on the 5th of February 1704-5. It ſhews how Enquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the Nature of our Conſtitution to lay before the Crown, and exhibit to the People true Repreſentations of the State of public Affairs, that Men may ſee how the Money goes, which is ſaid to be raiſed for their Service, and not look upon the Public as a bad Steward, that receives and pays without Account. By theſe Means the War was carried on much cheaper than our naval Armaments have been ever ſince; for, when Enquiries are frequent, Frauds ſeldom happen; but when theſe are either diſcouraged, made only for Form, or ſo turned as to ſerve the little Purpoſes of Parties, who under colour of diſcovering the Faults of a Miniſtry, mean no more than to become Miniſters themſelves: Things muſt go from bad to worſe, and a Spirit of plundering inſinuate itſelf through all public Offices.

[b] The Reſolution was to proceed thither with three Third-rates, nine Fourth-rates, and two Fifth-rates of the Engliſh, and ſix Ships of the Line of Battle of the Dutch.

[c] Burchett, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe. Not only our own Writers, but even the Marquis de Quincy acknowledges the Truth of this Fact; he likewiſe tells us of an Attempt made by 500 Men, who crawled up the Mountain, and appeared on the Back of the Town; which they had certainly taken, if they had been properly ſupported; but he ſays nothing of the Engliſh forcing them over the Precipice, and leaving their mangled Carcaſſes a melancholy Mark of their own Raſhneſs, and their Countrymens Cowardice; as may be ſeen by their Remains at this Day.

[d] The Captain of this Ship brought Advice, that he had ſtood in, as far as he could, into the Bay of Cadiz, and had obſerved that the Enemy were fitting out their Men of War with all poſſible Expedition, and that 15 Ships had already their Maſts and Sails up.

[e] In their Paſſage off of Cape Spartel, they fell in with Mr. Ponti's Squadron, conſiſting of 22 Men of War, which, as they put out Engliſh and Dutch Colours, they took to be Sir John Leake's Squadron, which they expected to meet thereabouts; and advancing to join them, were not undeceived till they were in the utmoſt Danger: They had the good Fortune, however, to get clear of the Enemy, with the Loſs only of one Tranſport; but the Greenwich and the Roebuck, with three Tranſports, were forced back to Liſbon.

having in all 1970 Men on-board. The 21ſt, purſuant to a Reſolution of a Council of War [f], the Garriſon being now re-inforced, and having obtained ſo many Advantages over the Beſiegers, (who, by the Accounts they had received, were reduced to the greateſt Miſery) that they thought themſelves in no great Danger, the Fleet ſet ſail, and arrived at *Liſbon*, in order to refit, on *January* 9, 1704-5.

The 29th of *January*, the *Tartar*-Pink, and the *Newport*, came into the Bay of *Gibraltar* with freſh Supplies; and the 5th of *February* were followed by the *Roebuck* and *Leopard*, with ſix Companies of the *Dutch*, and about 200 of the *Engliſh* Guards, with other *Engliſh* Troops, and ſeveral Neceſſaries from *Liſbon*. The 7th the *Tyger*, with a Tranſport, arrived with a farther Supply of Men and Ammunition.

The 14th Monſieur *Ponti* came into the Bay of *Gibraltar* with 14 Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips: Notice whereof having been given to Sir *John Leake* at *Liſbon*, who, in the mean time, had been joined by Sir *Thomas Dilkes* with five Third-rates, with which he had convoyed a great Number of Merchant-ſhips from *England*, he ſet Sail from thence the 6th of *March* [a]. The 10th, at half an Hour paſt Five in the Morning, being within two Miles of Cape *Cabretta*, he diſcovered five Sail making out of the Bay [b], to which he gave Chaſe, and they afterwards proved to be five *French* Men of War [c]. At Nine, Sir *Thomas Dilkes* in the *Revenge*, with the *Newcaſtle*, *Antelope*, *Expedition*, and a *Dutch* Man of War, got within half Gun-ſhot of the *Arrogant*, which they took, after ſome Reſiſtance; and the *Newcaſtle*'s Boat firſt boarded her after ſhe ſtruck. Before One, two of the *Dutch* Ships took the *Ardent* and the *Marquis*: The other two, the *Magnanimous*, and the *Flower de Luce*, in the firſt of which Monſieur *Ponti* himſelf was, made a ſtout Reſiſtance, and in ſpite of the *Engliſh* running a-ſhore to the Weſtward of *Marbella*, were burnt by the *French* themſelves.

Sir *John*, ſuppoſing the Remainder of Monſieur *Ponti*'s Squadron, which had been driven from their Anchors out of *Gibraltar*-Bay, to be in *Malaga*-Road, looked in there; but they, having heard the Firing, thought that no ſecure Harbour; and had, as it was believed, cut their Cables, and were retired to *Toulon*. Off of *Malaga*, three of her Majeſty's Ships, the *Kent*, the *Orford*, and the *Eagle* joined the Admiral; and three of our Frigates having driven a-ſhore two Merchant-ſhips, one of 300 Tuns, richly loaden from the *Weſt-Indies* near *Malaga*, and the other of 250, outward-bound to the *Weſt-Indies* near *Almeria*; they were burnt by the *French*; and the *Aſſurance* and *Bedford* took two *Settees*. Sir *John Leake* having thus relieved *Gibraltar* a ſecond Time by his Appearance only, though he could not afterwards reach the Bay till the 19th, he returned to *Liſbon*, where he arrived the 1ſt of *April* [d].

Marſhal *de Teſſe*, finding it abſolutely in vain to continue the Siege, formed a Blockade, and withdrew the reſt of his Troops. M. *Pointi* was well received at the Court of *France*, notwithſtanding his Misfortune, neither did the Marſhal *de Teſſe* meet with any Check on account of his Behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, ſince he had done all that Man could do, there having been thrown into *Gibraltar*, by the 15th of *March* New-ſtile, more than 8000 Bombs, and upwards of 70,000 Cannon-ſhot fired, though to very little Purpoſe [f].

In the mean time the Enquiries into the Management of the Navy at Home, brought about a Sort of thorough Change in the Admiralty. Sir *George Rooke*, you have heard, reſigned his Poſt, and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was appointed Rear-admiral of *England*, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet [g]; Sir *John Leake* was appointed Vice-admiral of the White Squadron, as Sir *George Byng* was of the Blue; Sir *Thomas Dilkes*, Rear-admiral of the Red; *William Whetſtone*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White, and Sir *John Jennings*, Rear-admiral of the Blue.

Sir *George Byng* was detached [h] with a ſmall Squadron of Cruizers into the Soundings; and Sir *Thomas Dilkes* was ſtationed off of *Dunkirk*. It was Sir *George Byng*'s particular Care to protect the Trade from the *French* Privateers, in conſequence of the new Regulations, which directed that a Flag-officer ſhould have the conſtant Direction of the Cruizers; and appeared in this Caſe to be a very wiſe Proviſion; for by the proper Diſpoſition of his Ships, he was ſo fortunate as to take from the Enemy a Man of War of 44 Guns, 12 Privateers, and ſeven Merchants-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the *Weſt-Indies* [i]. The Number of Men taken on-board all theſe Prizes was upwards of 2000, and of Guns 334.

PRIVATEERS.	Guns.	Men.
The *Thetis*, a Man of War of	44	250
Deſmaria	36	240
Philippo	22	220
Conſtable	30	210
Voler	28	210
Royal	26	200
Beringhen	24	160
Sanſpareil	20	135
Minerve	16	92
Marveilleux	14	85
Poſtboy	10	70
Bonaventure	10	70
Admirable	12	75

This gave ſuch a Blow to the *French* Privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the Channel all the Year after; but choſe rather to ſail Northward, in hopes of meeting with ſome of our Ships homeward bound from the *Baltick*.

The grand Fleet, under the joint Command of the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, conſiſting of 29 Sail of Line of Battle Ships, beſides Frigates, Fire-ſhips, Bombs, and ſmall Craft, was ordered for the *Mediterranean* Service. This Fleet departed from *St. Helens* on the 24th of *May*, and arriving at *Liſbon* on the 9th of *June*, ſupplied Sir *John Leake* with Stores and Proviſions for four Months. On the 15th it was reſolved, in a Council of War, of all the Admirals *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and Captain *John Norris*, to put to Sea with 46 or 48 Ships of the Line, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and diſpoſe them in ſuch a Station between Cape *Spartell* and the Bay of *Cadiz* [k], as might beſt prevent the Junction of the *French* Squadrons from *Toulon* and *Breſt*.

Sir *Cloudeſley*, leaving the Earl of *Peterborough*, with the Remainder of the Fleet, to take in the Land-forces, ſailed from *Liſbon* on the 22d, and at the Bar of the *Tagus* met with the Men of War and Tranſports which had been ordered from *Ireland* to join him at *Liſbon*.

The Earl of *Peterborough* had prevailed upon the Earl of *Gallway* to ſpare him two Regiments of Dragoons, in which, as well as in ſupplying them with Forage and other Neceſſaries, he met with great Oppoſition and Delay from the *Portugueſe*; and the Men of War detached from the Squadron, under Admiral *Byng*, being arrived the 15th, with the Tranſports and other Ships under their Convoy, having on-board ſeveral Things neceſſary for the Expedition, he prepared to depart.

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[f] It was reſolved to remain in Gibraltar-Bay while the Wind continued Weſterly, and with the firſt Eaſterly Wind to proceed to Liſbon, to clean and refit the Squadron. [a] He had then, under his Command, 23 Engliſh, four Dutch, and eight Portugueſe Men of War, having on-board an Engliſh and a Portugueſe Regiment, with a Dutch Battalion of freſh Troops. [b] A Gun being, at the ſame time, fired at them from Europa Point, the Admiral concluded the Garriſon ſafe, and therefore reſolved to purſue them. [c] The Magnanimous of 74 Guns; the Flower de Luce of 86; the Ardent of 66; the Arrogant of 60; and the Marquis of 56 Guns. [d] After this unlucky Accident (ſays the Marſhal de Theſſe, in his Letter to the French King, concerning Monſieur Ponti's Misfortune) ſeeing the Place was ſupplied a-new with Refreſhments, and all other Things, I gave Orders for an Intrenchment to be made; and I diſpatch the Engineer Renaud to repreſent to your Majeſty, as alſo to the Catholic King, the Impoſſibility of continuing the Siege. The Troops are fatigued; a great many of the Beſiegers are ſick, and Ammunition begins to be wanted. Accordingly the Siege was raiſed on the 22d, after it had laſted above five Months. Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon. The Gazette, No. 4116. [f] Memoires de la Torres, Tom. iv. p. 204. Quincy, &c. [g] In Conjunction with the Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, who was named firſt in the Commiſſion. [h] A. D. 1706. [i] See the Gazette, No. 4107. [k] On the 20th was held a Council of War of Engliſh Flag-officers only, wherein it was agreed not to detach any Ships during this Cruize. See Sir John Leake's Life, p. 155.

King *Charles*, who was reſolved to try his Fortune with the Earl and Sir *Cloudeſley*, embarked with the former on-board the *Ranelagh*, and they put to Sea the 17th of *July*; the Troops on-board, deſigned for a Deſcent, being by ſome computed to be 12,000 Men. They arrived, in a few Days, at *Gibraltar*, where his *Catholick* Majeſty, under Protection of the Confederate Fleet, firſt took Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom of *Spain*, and was received there as lawful Sovereign.

The Batallion of *Engliſh* Guards, and the three old Regiments, which had ſo valiantly defended *Gibraltar*, being embarked, and two new raiſed Batallions left in Garriſon there, the Fleet ſailed the 5th of *Auguſt*, and came to anchor the 11th, in *Altea* Bay, in order to water there. His Catholick Majeſty ordered a Body of Foot to be landed, as well to ſecure the Fleet's Watering, as to hinder the Sailors from committing any Diſorders: And the Earl of *Peterborough* cauſed a Maniſeſto to be diſperſed in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, to aſſure the *Spaniards*, that the Confederate Fleet was not come to take Poſſeſſion of any Place, in an hoſtile Manner, for the Uſe of her Majeſty of *Great Britain*, or the *States General*, nor to bring into that Country the uſual Calamities of War; but to defend and protect thoſe who ſhould ſubmit, in due Obedience, to their lawful Sovereign; but that, if by oppoſing theſe good Intentions, they brought Hoſtilities upon themſelves, they only would be anſwerable for them.

At the ſame time being informed that the *Spaniards* were every where in Arms, and had ſeized the Town of *Denia* for King *Charles*; the 12th of *Auguſt* the Fleet arrived in the Bay of *Barcelona*, where, as ſoon as the Fleet had anchored, the *Spaniards* began to fire from the Mole, and a Battery they had near the Sea, upon ſome of the Tranſport-ſhips, which ſtood in for the Shore. The next Day, the Prince of *Darmſtadt* having joined the Fleet[a], the Forces began to land in very good Order, and without any Oppoſition, between the Town and a Place called *Badelona*, at about three Quarters of a League Diſtance from the former, the Inhabitants lending them all poſſible Aſſiſtance. The 13th, all the Troops being landed, the City was inveſted, and as it was ſo large that the Forces from the Fleet could not guard all the Poſts, the Inhabitants aſſiſted them in ſecuring all the Avenues. However the Generals found the Place ſo well provided, that they almoſt deſpaired of Succeſs. The Sea-officers, on their Side, were indeed for bombarding and cannonading the Place from the Fleet, while the Approaches were made by Land.

The 27th the Earl of *Peterborough* ſent a Propoſal, by Brigadier *Stanhope*, that a Number of Seamen might be landed from the Fleet, to aſſiſt in the Attempt upon *Barcelona*, and it was determined by the Admiral, and the reſt of the Flag-officers, to land 2400 Men well armed, including thoſe already on-ſhore, the doing of which would reduce the Ships to their middle Complements, the *Dutch* Admiral agreeing alſo to aſſiſt with 600 Men: However, if the *French* Fleet approached, it was thought neceſſary, that thoſe Men, as well as the Marine Soldiers, ſhould immediately come on-board again. But as the King of *Spain* would by no means conſent to this, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to return with the firſt fair Wind to *England*, after the 20th of *September*. In the mean time it was agreed to purſue a Scheme formed by the Prince of *Heſſe*, for attacking Fort *Mountjuic* or *Montjoy*. This Action was begun on the 2d or 3d of *September*[b] with undaunted Bravery and wiſhed for Succeſs; but with the Loſs of the gallant Prince of *Heſſe*[c]; after whoſe Death the Aſſailants began to loſe Ground, 'till the Earl of *Peterborough*, being informed that the Forces had Orders from the commanding Officer to retreat, went in Perſon and rallied them. His Lordſhip being juſtly tranſported with Indignation at the Orders which had been given for the Troops to draw off, immediately countermanded thoſe Orders, and drawing his Sword, threw away the Scabbard, ſaying, "He was "ſure all brave Men would follow him." With that he put himſelf at the Head of the Detachments which were retreating, and ſo animated them by his Example, that they ſoon regained all the Ground they had quitted, his Lordſhip expoſing himſelf all the while to the greateſt Danger.

The 6th the Citadel, with all the Works belonging to it, ſurrendered, and Colonel *Southwell*, who commanded the firſt Attack with great Bravery, and had contributed very much to the taking of it, was made Governor of that Fortreſs.

After this Succeſs, the Siege was puſhed with great Vigour, the Trenches were opened the 9th, and Batteries raiſed for 50 Guns and 20 Mortars. His Catholick Majeſty having at length conſented to it, our Bomb-veſſels threw 412 Shells into the Town; and eight *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of Sir *Stafford Fairbourne*, being appointed to cannonade it from the Sea, while the Cannon from the Batteries and Fort continued to do the like on-ſhore, the Viceroy deſired to capitulate the 23d, and the Capitulation (which is of too great a Length to find place here) being ſigned the 28th, the Gate and Baſtion of *St. Angelo* was delivered up the ſame Day, and the whole City in a few Days after. The Surrender of this Capital of *Catalonia* ſo ſtrengthened King *Charles*'s Party, that the whole Kingdom, *Roſes* only excepted, ſubmitted ſoon after[d].

The Reduction of *Barcelona* has been conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary Events that fell out in this, or perhaps in any modern War; yet nothing but the Aſſiſtance given by our Fleet could poſſibly have reduced it[e]. When there wanted Men to carry on the Works, theſe were ſpared from the Fleet; ſo were Carpenters and Engineers. While our Army was before the Place, Captain *Loads* was ſent to reduce *Denia*, and Captain *Cavendiſh* to take *Terragona*, both which they affected. When Artillery was wanted, it was landed from the Fleet, and when Ammunition was wanted for this Artillery, all the 24 and 18 Pound Shot were landed for the Supply of the Batteries, except as much as would ſupply 30 Rounds; and when the City was taken, and a Garriſon eſtabliſhed there by King *Charles* the IIId, the Fleet landed 1800 Barrels of Gun-powder, eight Braſs Cannon, and all the three Pound Shot they had. On the 1ſt of *October* it was reſolved, in a Council of War, that Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* ſhould proceed for *England* with the beſt Part of the Fleet; that Sir *John Leake* [a], with a ſtrong Squadron, ſhould be left in the *Mediterranean*; that ſix Ships ſhould be left to attend the Earl of *Peterborough*, two more to remain at *Gibraltar*, and a Third and Fourth-rate to be employed at the Requeſt of his *Portugueſe* Majeſty in cruizing for the homeward-bound *Brazil* Fleet.

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[a] The Prince had been ſent before, with two Frigates, to enquire into the Poſture of Affairs in thoſe Parts, and of what Strength the City might be. His Highneſs put into Mataro, four Leagues from Barcelona, where having informed himſelf of what he thought neceſſary, and adviſed the People at Vich, who had declared for King Charles to come down, he rejoined the Fleet the Day after their Arrival.

[b] De Larrey ſays, that the Prince of Heſſe expected no Reſiſtance, the Officer who commanded in the Place having agreed with him to deliver the Fort into his Hands; but that the Viceroy, having diſcovered the Deſign, had hanged the Officer, and placed another in his Room, and that, therefore, he was obliged to attempt by Force, what he was in hopes to have attained by Stratagem. De Larrey Hiſt. de Fr. ſous Louis XIV.

[c] He received a Shot with a Muſket-ball, which paſſing through his Thigh, tore an Artery, and occaſioned a great Effuſion of Blood; but not to diſcourage his Men he marched on, as if he had not been wounded, 'till the vital Spirits of that great Heart being no longer able to ſupport him, he fell. He was immediately carried to a little Houſe which was near; but before his Wound could be looked into he expired. Annals of Queen Anne.

[d] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete Hiſtory of Europe for 1705. Life of Queen Anne.

[e] To convince the Reader of the Truth of this Aſſertion, let him read Part of a Letter written by Sir Cloudeſley to his Royal Highneſs the Lord High Admiral, dated October 12, 1705, containing an Account of what paſt in the laſt Days of this Siege.

"The 17th our Battery of 30 Guns was opened, and 14 of them began to play, with very great Execution, upon that Part of the Wall where the Breach was deſigned; the Earl of Peterborough came a-board, and repreſented to us the great Neceſſity he laboured under for Want of Money for ſubſiſting the Army, and carrying on the Siege of Barcelona, and the Services in Catalonia, and in very preſſing Circumſtances, deſired the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet; upon which our Flag-officers came to the incloſed Reſolution, to lend the Earl of Peterborough 40,000 Dollars out of the contingent and ſhort Allowance Money of the Fleet. The 19th we came to theſe Reſolutions, viz. To remain longer before Barcelona than was agreed on at firſt; to give all the Aſſiſtance in our Power, and to lay a Fire-ſhip a-ſhore, with 200 Barrels of Powder; and a further Demand being made for Guns for the Batteries, we landed 14 more, which made up in all 72 Guns, whereof 30 were 24 Pounders that we landed here, with their Utenſils and Ammunition. We continue to bombard the Town from the Sea, as our ſmall Store of Shells, and the weather will permit. The 20th a Demand was made for more Shot, and we called together the Engliſh Flag-officers, and came to a Reſolution to ſupply all the Batteries, with all the 24 and 28 Pound Shot, except a very ſmall Quantity, which was accordingly done. The 22d the Prince of Lichenſtein, and the Earl of Peterborough having deſired, at the Requeſt of his Catholick Majeſty that the Town of Lerida might, for its Security, be furniſhed with about 50 Barrels of Powder; and a further Supply of Shot being demanded for the Batteries a-ſhore, it was conſidered at a Council of War, and we came to the incloſed Reſolutions, viz. To furniſh 50 Barrels of Powder for Lerida, and to ſend ſo many more 24 and 18 Pound Shot a-ſhore, as would reduce the Engliſh to 30 Rounds, as likewiſe to be farther aſſiſtant upon timely Notice. The 23d at Night, our Breach being made, and all Things prepared for an Attack, the Town was again ſummoned, and they deſired to capitulate, and Hoſtages were exchanged; on our Side, Brigadier Stanhope, and on the Enemies, the Marquis de Rivera; and all Hoſtilities ceaſed." Captain John Norris (whom I take to have been the late worthy Sir John Norris) having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary Manner in the Attack of Fort Montjuic, King Charles III. was pleaſed to write a Letter in his Favour to the Queen, who knighted him, and made him a Preſent of 1000 Guineas.

In purſuance of theſe Reſolutions, Sir *Cloudeſley*, with 19 Ships of the Line, and Part of the *Dutch* Fleet, paſſed the *Streights* on the 16th of *October*, and arrived happily at *Spithead* on the 26th of *November* following, after a moſt glorious Sea Campaign [b]. But while the *Engliſh* Flag braved it over the Enemy in the *Mediterranean*, a great Part of our homeward-bound *Baltick* Fleet, with their Convoy, conſiſting of three Men of War, was taken by the *Dunkirk* Squadron. We had a Squadron under the Command of Sir *Thomas Dilkes*, to watch that Port, and another in the *Soundings*; yet Monſieur *de St. Paul*, who was accounted the beſt Seaman in *France*, and was lately promoted to the Command of that Squadron, found means to get out with his Squadron, conſiſting of five Men of War and five Privateers, and were joined at Sea by ſeveral other Privateers; on the 20th of *October*, O. S. they fell in with our *Baltick* Fleet, and having directed Monſieur *du Bart*, with one of the Men of War and the Privateers, to ſecure as many of the *Engliſh* Ships as poſſible, Monſieur *de St. Paul*, with the other three Men of War, attacked the Convoy, which made a very gallant Defence, but was at laſt forced to yield, and the Count *d'Illiers*, who commanded after the Death of Monſieur *de St. Paul* (who was ſhot in the midſt of the Action with a Muſquet-ball) carried our three Men of War, and 12 Merchant-ſhips, into *Dunkirk*. When the News was brought to *Lewis* XIV. at *Verſailles*, the Perſon who told it, thought the King received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that "there "were three *Engliſh* Men of War, and 12 Merchant-men, "carried into *Dunkirk*." "Very well," returned the King, with a Sigh, "I wiſh they were all ſafe in any *Engliſh* Port, if that would reſtore me Monſieur *de St. Paul* [c].

One Captain *Croſs*, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, gave her up to the *French* in the Channel, after a very ſlight Defence. He was tried by a Court-martial on-board the *Triumph*, on the 25th of *Auguſt*, Sir *George Byng* being Preſident, and having 12 Captains to aſſiſt him. It appeared there, that he ſhewed the utmoſt Signs of Fear, which intimidated the Men, and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the Enemy might have been repulſed, and the Ship ſaved. He offered in his Defence, that his Surgeon was ſick, and many of the Men were drunk, and would not do their Duty; but, upon a full Hearing, he was declared guilty of Neglect of Duty, and the Sentence pronounced upon him was, that he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable to ſerve her Majeſty in any Capacity, forfeit all the Arrears due to him, and remain a Priſoner for Life [d].

Our Succeſſes had been ſo great both by Sea and Land, during this Year, and there appeared ſo fair a Proſpect of humbling the Houſe of *Bourbon* in *Flanders*, and of driving them out of *Spain*, that when her Majeſty thought fit to recommend the *Spaniſh* War in a particular Manner to Parliament, the Houſe of Commons [e] voted 250,000 Pounds, for the Proſecution of thoſe Succeſſes; and for the whole Service of *Spain*, during the ſucceeding Year, they gave no leſs 726,740 Pounds; afterwards they voted for the ſupply of the Sea-ſervice, for the Year 1706, 40,000 Men, including the Marines; they then voted 120,000 Pounds, for the Ordinary of the Navy; 10,000 Pounds to the Office of *Ordnance*, for the Works at *Portſmouth*, and 18,298 l. 17 s. $\frac{1}{4}$, for Ordnance-ſtores and Carriages for the eight new Ships built to ſupply the Loſs of ſuch as periſhed in the great Storm [f].

But as neither the Number of Ships, nor the generous Supplies of Money, could execute the grand Intentions of the Miniſtry without a Complement of Seamen, who at this time were very ſhort; it appearing in the Month of *March*, that then near 12,000 Seamen were wanting to man her Majeſty's Navy, both Houſes of Parliament, ſeverally took that important Affair into Conſideration, and on the 14th the Commons, after ſome time ſpent therein, came to theſe Reſolutions. 1. That, in order to man the Navy for this Year, the Juſtices of Peace, and other Civil Magiſtrates, be impowered and directed to make Search after Seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the ſaid Juſtices and Civil Magiſtrates cauſe ſuch Seamen, when found, to be delivered to ſuch Perſons, as ſhould be appointed to receive them. 3. That a Penalty be laid on ſuch Perſons as ſhould preſume to conceal Seamen. 4. That a Reward be given to ſuch Perſons as ſhould diſcover and take up ſuch hidden Seamen. 5. That Conduct Money be allowed. 6. That Seamen being turned over from one Ship to another ſhould receive the Wages due on the former Ship. 7. That able-bodied Land-men be raiſed for the Sea-ſervice. To bring theſe Reſolutions to Effect, they ordered, that the Committee, to whom the Bill for the Encouragement and Increaſe of Seamen, *&c.* was committed, ſhould have Power to receive a Clauſe or Clauſes purſuant thereunto, and to receive a Clauſe for diſcharging of ſuch Seamen, and other inſolvent Perſons, as were in Priſon for Debt, and delivering them into her Majeſty's Service, on-board the Fleet: Which being paſſed into an Act, received the Royal Aſſent on the 19th. The ſame Day the Lords addreſſed her Majeſty on the ſame Subject, praying her to take it into her Royal Care, and employ proper Perſons to conſider of effectual Means to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Navy, in order to be laid before the Parliament the Beginning of the next Seſſion. Purſuant to which her Majeſty, a few Days after, cauſed a long Proclamation to be publiſhed, for the better putting in Execution the Act of Parliament aboveſaid.

The Admiralty having Intelligence that the *French* were diligently equipping their Ships of Force in every Port [h], and that the *Spaniards* had determined to ſend away their Galloons, from *Cadiz* to the *Weſt-Indies*, under a *French* Convoy, it was reſolved, by our Miniſtry, to order Sir *John Leake* to do all in his Power to prevent their ſailing; becauſe, could this be prevented, King *Philip* would, in all Probability, in a little time, be obliged to quit the *Spaniſh* Dominions for Want of Money; and it would be the only Way to reduce the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* to the Obedience of King *Charles*, could they be hindered of Supplies.

This Order from the Admiralty reached Sir *John Leake* at *Liſbon*; and upon further Intelligence from Mr. *Methuen*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*, that the *Spaniſh* Galloons were preparing to ſail out of the Harbour of *Cadiz* for the *Weſt-Indies*, it was reſolved, in a Council of War on the 16th of *February*, to proceed directly to *Cadiz* with all the Ships then ready, *viz.* nine Third-rates, one Fourth-rate, two Frigates, two Fire-ſhips, and one Bomb-veſſel, of the *Engliſh*; and of the *Dutch*, ſix of the Line of Battle, one Frigate, two Fire-ſhips, and a Bomb; and if they found the Galloons in the Bay, they were, if Wind and Weather would permit, to go directly in, and endeavour to take or deſtroy them. There were, at this Time, ſome Ships of War and Tranſports expected, with Forces from *England* for *Catalonia*, and it was determined, if they arrived in time, to take the former, and to leave the Tranſports at *Liſbon*, ſince it was not ſafe to ſend them up the *Streights*, without a Convoy capable to protect them [i].

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[a] And it was reſolved, that when the Ships deſigned to continue abroad, with Sir John Leake, were reduced to ſeven Weeks Proviſions, at ſhort Allowance, he ſhould proceed to Liſbon, to refit and victual them.

[b] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

[c] A private Letter from Paris, publiſhed in the Mercure hiſtorique, 1705, confirmed by Father Daniel, and other Hiſtorians.

[d] The Queen ſuffered this Sentence to be put in Execution, without any Mitigation, except as to his Impriſonment, to deter others from the ſame Crime.

[e] On the 5th of November.

[f] See the Votes of the Houſe of Commons for the Year 1705. According to a Liſt of her Majeſty's Navy of this Year, it appears, that it conſiſted of ſeven Firſt, 14 Second, 45 Third, and 63 Fourth-rates; together 129 of the Line: Forty Fifth, and 24 Sixth-rates; together 64 Cruiſers: Ten Fireſhips, nine Bomb-veſſels, 15 Yachts, two Store-ſhips, nine Sloops, three Advice-boats, five Brigantines, four Hoſpital-ſhips, 14 Hulks, four Smacks, two Ketches, and nine Hoys; together 86; in all 289 Ships, requiring 61,818 Men, and 10,831 Guns.

[h] To be ready by the 17th of April. Life of Sir John Leake, p. 173.

[i] Burchett.

On the 19th another Council of War was held, before which was laid a Memorial of the *Portugueſe* Miniſtry, directed to Mr. *Methuen*, in relation to the Homeward-bound *Brazil* Fleet; and ſtrict Inſtructions from the Lord High Admiral, for ſuccouring his Catholick Majeſty without Delay. Upon mature Deliberation, they remained fixed to their former Reſolves, with theſe Additions only, that as ſoon as they had executed their intended Deſign on the Galloons, they would make ſuch a Detachment as the *Portugueze* deſired; and that whenever they were joined with the Ships and Tranſports from *England* at *Gibraltar*, whither they intended to repair, they would inſtantly ſteer their Courſe for the Coaſt of *Catalonia*.

Meaſures for executing this grand Deſign were ſo well concerted, that every Body that wiſhed well to the Confederates, were big with Expectation of its happy Conſequences: And as it was too well known that there was a ſtrong Faction at the Court of *Portugal* in Favour of the *French*, Sir *John Leake*, to prevent any Intelligence of his Deſtination getting before him by Sea to *Cadiz*, obtained, by an Application made to the King by Mr. *Methuen*, an Embargo on all Ships and Veſſels. But as there is nothing weaker, or at leaſt nothing more ſubject to Diſappointment, than human Policy, ſo this Point that was thought ſo neceſſary to our Security, proved, by an Accident altogether unaccountable, the Ruin of our Deſign. Sir *John Leake* ſailed with the Fleet under his Command on the 24th of *February*; but, when he arrived before Fort *St. Julian*, the Duke *de Cadaval*, who commanded there, diſcharged firſt ſeveral ſingle Guns, and then fired the Cannon of a whole Baſtion upon him. This ſurprized the Admiral very much, who ſending to know the Reaſon of it, the Duke pretended that it was done in Purſuance of the Order of Embargo; as if the Court of *Portugal* could poſſibly intend to detain the Fleet of the Allies in their Harbour. This Diſpute hindered Sir *John*'s ſailing, ſomewhat more than 24 Hours; and in the mean time the *Portugueze*, who doubted whether the Embargo did not extend to the Fleet of the Allies, ſuffered five Merchant-ſhips, two of which were *Danes*, and were ſuppoſed to have given Notice of the Deſign, to go out of the Port the next Day after the Embargo was laid. So that when he had got the Height of Cape *St. Vincent*, he received Advice by two Ships from *Cadiz*, and taken, one by the *Northumberland*, the other by Vice-admiral *Waſſenaer*, that the Galloons were ſailed two Days before they left that Port (*viz.* on the 10th of *March*, N. S. or *February* 27, O. S.) with a very hard Gale at Eaſt; ſo that it is plain, that if he had ſailed on the 24th, he muſt have met them. He was likewiſe informed, that they conſiſted of 36 Sail, that is to ſay, 24 Galloons, and 10 or 12 *French* Privateers; from 40 to 56 Guns, which were ordered to ſee them ſafe into the Sea. Sir *John* ſteered after them, though with little Hopes of coming up, unleſs the Eaſt-wind had left them when they were at the Height of Cape *St. Vincent*[a].

Sir *John* finding it was to no Purpoſe to purſue them any farther, endeavoured to enter the *Streights*, but was detained in the Ocean by contrary Winds till the 30th of *March*, when he got to *Gibraltar*; having, ſome Days before, received Orders from the Earl of *Peterborough*, who was then at *Valencia*, to come with the Fleet off of that Coaſt, and ſending the ſmall Frigates, with the Men, Money, Ammunition, and Artillery, near to the Shore, or landing them at *Altea* or *Denia*, to repair with the great Ships towards *Barcelona*, and to endeavour to deſtroy a *French* Squadron of about 20 Men of War, then riding before that Town. Theſe Orders were quickened by farther Diſpatches from the Earl of *Peterborough*, and by a Letter from the King of *Spain* himſelf[b].

The King's Fears were far from being ill founded. M. *Teſſe* came before the Place with a numerous Army, and the Count *de Thoulouſe* landed Ammunition and Proviſion ſufficient for the Service of an Army of 30,000 Men for two Months; ſo that it is very evident, the *French* did all that could be expected from them by Sea; and if their Endeavours had been as well ſeconded on-ſhore, the Place had undoubtedly been loſt.

On the 3d of *April*, Commodore *Price*, with ſix *Engliſh* and as many more *Dutch* Men of War, joined Sir *John Leake*, who, in a Council of War held on the 6th, reſolved, in obedience to King *Charles*'s Letter, to ſail immediately to *Barcelona*. In purſuance of this Reſolution, he arrived on the 18th in *Altea* Bay, and the next Day had Intelligence, that Sir *George Byng*, with a Squadron from *England*, was coming up; three Days after they were joined by Commodore *Walker*, with his Squadron, as they had been the Day before by Sir *George Byng*; and then it was determined to ſail North of *Majorca*, and that each Ship ſhould make the beſt of her Way without ſtaying for the reſt. Upon the 26th the Earl of *Peterborough* came off from *Terragona*, with a Squadron of Barks, having 1400 Land-forces on-board; and when he came to the Fleet, hoiſted the Union-flag on-board the *Prince-George*, as Admiral and Commander in Chief.

The whole Confederate Fleet was now as follows:

With Sir *John Leake*, Two Second, ſeven Third, ſix Fourth, five Fifth, and one Sixth-rate.

Captain *Price*'s Squadron, Four Third, and two Fourth-rates.

Parted from *Ireland* under Command of Captain *Walker*, Four Third, and a Fourth-rate.

Sir *George Byng*'s Squadron, One Firſt, one Second, ſix Third, and ſix Fourth-rates.

Of the *Dutch* under Rear-admiral *Waſſenaer*, Thirteen Ships of 60 Guns.

Together 53 Ships of the Line, and ſix Frigates, beſides Tranſports.

The ſame Day Letters came from King *Charles* of the 23d, with very preſſing Inſtances for Relief. Within two Hours after, a freſh and fair Gale happily ſprung up, which brought the Fleet, with all the Forces and Recruits from *England* and *Ireland*, to an Anchor before *Barcelona* the 27th[c] in the Afternoon, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Inhabitants[d].

The Land-forces and Marines were immediately put on-ſhore, and the Admirals waited on the King, who received them in a Manner ſuitable to the imminent Danger they had juſt reſcued him from.

The Enemy continued the Attack on the 29th and the 30th; not with any Hopes of Succeſs, but to amuſe the beſieged. On the 1ſt of *May*[e], the Fire very much abated; and the next Day, with an univerſal Conſternation,

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[a] The Maſters of theſe two Prizes, owned to Sir John Leake, that they had Intelligence at Cadiz of his Deſign, and that this induced the Galloons to ſail as they did. Now, to underſtand this perfectly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the Order for the Embargo was obtained on the 22d. The two Daniſh Ships were permitted to ſail on the 23d. Sir John Leake, with his Fleet, was retarded, as we have related in the Text, on the Evening of the 24th, and did not ſail till late on the 25th.

[b] The King. Admiral Leake, "I take this Occaſion to acquaint you with the great Hazard to "which this Principality and my royal Perſon are expoſed; for, doubtleſs, To-morrow we ſhall be ſtreightened by the Enemy, being already blocked "up by a Squadron by Sea, and their Army having, by their ſpeedy Marches, gained ſome Paſſes almoſt in ſight of this capital City, in which we "might have retarded their Progreſs. I am reſolved not to leave this Place, although my Garriſon conſiſt of ſo ſmall a Number as 1000 Foot, and "400 Horſe, regular Troops, apprehending that if, in this Juncture, I ſhould leave this capital City, it would be loſt, and conſequently all the reſt, "which, in the laſt Campaign, was, by ſo many happy Succeſſes, reduced to my Obedience: for which Reaſons I have thought fit to venture all, "and undergo the Fatigues that attend a certain Siege; juſtly confiding in your known Zeal and great Vigilance for the common Cauſe; and not "doubting but that you have contributed all that has been poſſible to haſten the Succours, which I hope will, in a few Days, appear before this Place, "where your known Valour and Diligence may meet a glorious Succeſs, and thereby entitle yourſelf a-new to my royal Favour. I, the King. By "the Command of the King our Lord, Henry de Gunter. Barcelona, March 31, 1706."

[c] The 8th of May, N. S. This Relief appeared the more ſurprizing, and muſt have been conſequently the more grateful to King Charles, and all his faithful Subjects, ſince it prevented their Deſtruction but by a few Hours, the Enemy having made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for ſtorming the Place that very Night, when, conſidering the extreme Weakneſs of the Garriſon, their Succeſs could ſcarce be doubted. And all theſe briſk and extraordinary Meaſures, which appeared by the Event ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, were concerted as well as executed, by our Admirals only; the Earl of Peterborough, though he had been conſtantly before of a Sentiment directly different, when he ſaw them put in Practice, and foreſaw (as he eaſily might) their good Effects, very judiciouſly approved them. Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in Spain, p. 101.

[d] Sir George Byng and Sir John Jennings, with ſome others of the beſt Sailers, who got thither a few Hours before the reſt, diſcovered the Rear of the French Fleet making off in great Diſorder. For the Count de Thoulouſe having received an exact Account of the naval Force of the Allies, thought fit to ſail away with the French Fleet to Toulon.

[e] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 205.

King [a] *Philip* raiſed the Siege, and abandoned his Camp, in which were found 106 Pieces of Braſs-cannon, (the Author of the Life of Queen *Anne* ſays, near 200) being 40, 30, and 24 Pounders; 27 Mortars; moſt of them on Iron Carriages; 5000 Barrels of Gunpowder; 40,000 Cartridges ready filled; 500 Barrels of Muſket-ſhot, with great Quantities of Lead; 2000 Bombs; 10,000 great Royal-grenadoes; 12,300 Hand-grenadoes; 40,000 Cannon-balls; 8000 Spades and Shovels; 13,000 Sacks of Meal; vaſt Quantities of Rye, Oats, and Wheat; 10,000 Pair of Shoes; ſeveral Iron-mills; and other warlike Utenſils, not only undeſtroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a Preſent to the Beſieged, by way of Compenſation for the Trouble they had given them. Yet to us, the Cauſe of this is pretty evident [b]; the Marſhal ſaw himſelf under the Neceſſity of regaining the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, by a ſtrange Sort of a March, firſt into *Rouſſillon*, then round by the *Pyrenees*, and ſo through *Navarre*, which conſtrained him to leave his ſick and wounded in his Camp, with a Letter recommending them to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Clemency; and, I make no Manner of Queſtion, that he choſe to let Things remain as he did, that theſe helpleſs People might obtain the more Favour; which, though needleſs, when he had to do with an *Engliſh* General, was nevertheleſs humane in him.

This remarkable Event was attended with a total Eclipſe of the Sun; which appearing at the Inſtant of Time the Enemy decampt, did not a little increaſe their Conſternation, as if the Heavens concurred to defeat and put to ſhame the Deſigns of the *French*, whoſe Monarch had aſſumed the *Sun* for his Deviſe. At the ſame time the Confederates looked upon it as a happy Omen, and the *Catalans* were ſo encouraged, that as ſoon as the Obſcurity was over, ſome Thouſands of them purſued and harraſſed the Enemy in their Retreat, taking from them two Field-pieces and ſome Waggons [c].

The Admiral took to himſelf and his Officers the Honour of this great Exploit, which was one of the moſt important, and withal one of the moſt honourable, that happened throughout the War [d]. His moſt Catholic Majeſty, on the other hand, was no leſs ready in paying a juſt Tribute of Praiſe and Reſpect to his Merit; ſo that, if ever there was a Fact ſo well eſtabliſhed as to be out of all Diſpute, it is this, that *Barcelona* was relieved by Sir *John Leake* [e].

Barcelona being thus relieved, the Fleet ſailed from thence the 7th of *May*, with what Forces could be ſpared from the Service of *Catalonia*, and arrived on the Coaſt of *Valencia* the 13th, where the Earl of *Peterborough* being put on-ſhore, they were landed the next Day. The 19th it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to proceed to *Alicant*; but being got to the Length of *Altea*, two Gentlemen came off, and acquainted the Admiral, that the Inhabitants of *Carthagena* were diſpoſed, upon the Appearance of the Fleet, to declare for King *Charles* III. It was thereupon reſolved to proceed thither; and the Fleet arriving the 1ſt of *June*, the Place was ſurrendered the next Day [f].

The 7th the Fleet ſailed for *Altea* again to water; and while they were there, Sir *John Leake* having Information, that two Gallies were to go over to *Oran*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, with Money to pay that Garriſon, he ordered the *Hampton-Court* and *Tyger* to cruiſe off of that Place, and to endeavour to intercept them; but upon the firſt Sight of our Ships off of Cape *Palamos*, they came off to them, and declared for King *Charles*.

The 26th of *June*, Sir *John Leake* arrived with the Fleet before *Alicant*, which they found had a numerous Garriſon, commanded by Brigadier *Mahoni*, an *Iriſhman*, who declared he would defend it to the laſt Extremity. They ſtaid ſome Time till the Marines on-board the Fleet were reinforced by a Detachment of 150 *Spaniſh* Horſe, and 1300 Foot, commanded by Brigadier *Gorges*; and then their Forces were eſteemed far ſhort of what was neceſſary for the intended Service. However they were landed the 21ſt and 22d of *July*, and with them 800 Seamen, and the ſame Night the Town was bombarded. The next Day Sir *George Byng*, having hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Shrewſbury*, a Third-rate, anchored with her, and four Third-rates more, in a Line, ſo near the Town, that they ſoon diſmounted ſome of the 160 Guns they had facing the Sea, and drove the Enemy from them.

Sir *John Jennings* arriving the 24th with the Ships and Marines from *Carthagena* (the Garriſon of which Place the Earl of *Peterborough* had replaced with other Troops) the 28th, it was reſolved to ſtorm the Place Sword-in-hand; and a Draught of 40 Seamen out of every Ship being ordered to aſſiſt the Marines and Land-forces, their innate Valour, added to the Hopes of Plunder, carried them on to the Attack with ſo much Chearfulneſs and Vigor, that the Deſign was executed with Succeſs.

The Troops having, early in the Morning, made themſelves Maſters of the Suburbs, all the Boats being manned and armed, they repaired along the Side of the *Shrewſbury*, to receive Orders for ſuſtaining them, or to make any Attack on the Town [g]. At nine in the Morning the Ships made a Breach in the Round Tower, at the Weſt-end of the Town, and another at the Middle of the Curtain, between the Mole and the eaſtermoſt Baſtion; when the Land-forces marching up towards the Wall of the City, Major *Rapin*, of the Lord *Mohun*'s Regiment, who commanded the Grenadiers, advanced with 15 of his Men and a Serjeant, towards the Breach in the Round Tower, hoping to be the firſt Man in the Town. Whereupon all the Boats, under the Command of Sir *John Jennings*, went directly up to ſuſtain them; but before the Men landed, the Grenadiers were beaten back. However, the Boats proceeded, and all the Men getting on-ſhore, Captain *Evans* of the *Royal Oak*, mounting the Breach firſt, got into the Town, with two or three of the Boats Crews; Captain *Paſſenger*, of the *Royal Ann*, followed, and next to him Captain *Watkins* of the *St. George*, with ſome Seamen. Sir *John Jennings*, with the reſt of the Seamen and Forces, who were in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, moved on to ſupport them, who coming into the Town, ſecured the Poſts, and made proper Diſpoſitions till the reſt got in; when *Maboni*, retiring into the Caſtle, left them in Poſſeſſion, with the Loſs of a very few Men; amongſt whom was Lieutenant-colonel *Petit* of *Mobun*'s Regiment, killed by a ſmall Shot from a Window, as he was ſtanding Arm and Arm with Sir *John Jennings*, viewing the Ground for raiſing a Battery againſt the Town Wall.

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[a] The French had been five (Burnet ſays ſeven) and thirty Days before the Place. Their Army at firſt conſiſted of 20,000 Men, of which they loſt 5000. The Garriſon at firſt, till the Earl of Peterborough found Means to throw in a Supply, conſiſted of but 800 Men. Biſhop Burnet ſays, Philip himſelf was in the French Army, (but he was not once named in any Action) and continued there till the Retreat; and de Larrey ſays he was there from the Beginning of the Siege.

[b] The Accounts we have given of the raiſing this Siege, are taken from French Hiſtorians, who are certainly like to be beſt informed, and, with reſpect to the Stores left behind, moſt impartial; and this, we ſuppoſe, is ſufficient to ſatiſfy the moſt critical Reader, as to the Difference between our Computations and thoſe he may meet with in ſome other Hiſtories.

[c] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 205.

[d] This appears by Sir John Leake's Letter to the Prince's Secretary, dated at Barcelona May 1, 1706, in which, among other Things, he ſays, "The 27th of laſt Month I got to this Place, and in a lucky Time to reſcue it from falling into the Enemies Hands, for they expected to "have been ſtormed the next Night. Count Thoulouſe, with the Fleet under his Command, which conſiſted of about 28 of the Line, retired the "Night before; but if it had pleaſed God, that the Wind had continued that brought Sir George Byng to me, I believe I ſhould have been able to "have given you a much better Account of his Strength. This comes by Captain George Delavale, who is ſent by my Lord Peterborough, with the "King of Spain's, and his Lordſhip's own Letters to her Majeſty in the Faulcon, which Ship his Excellency has appointed Mr. Robert Delavale, "Brother to Captain Delavale, to command."

[e] See this well cleared up in his Life, p. 207, &c. But a more pregnant Proof of this cannot be had, than from the following Letter of his Catholick Majeſty, to Sir John Leake, before the Relief of Barcelona, indeed; but which evidently ſhews, that the King placed all his Hopes in our naval Force, and expected from Sir John Leake alone, that it ſhould be exerted for his Preſervation. This Letter, to ſay the Truth, is ſo honourable to the Britiſh Arms, as well as to the very worthy Man to whom it is addreſſed, that we thought fit to tranſcribe the whole, otherwiſe the laſt Paragraph might very well have ſerved our Purpoſe. "Sir, It is with no ſmall Satisfaction, that I have been "informed, from the Earl of Peterborough's Letters, of your happy Arrival upon the Coaſt of Valencia. I doubt not, but you have heard of the Loſs "of Montjuic, and of the Condition my Town of Barcelona is in, where I was willing to ſuffer myſelf to be beſieged, and to endure all the Hard-"ſhips and Accidents of War, to encourage both the Garriſon and my Subjects, by my Preſence, to make a long and vigorous Defence. It ſeems, "by the Enemy's Motions, they have already received Notice of your Approach; but inſtead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their Ef-"forts, and fire upon the Breach, which will be in a Condition to be ſtormed after To-morrow at fartheſt; and in all Appearance, they will make a "deſperate Attempt to render themſelves Maſters of this Town before the Fleet can arrive with the Succours. Hence you will judge of the indiſpen-"ſible Neceſſity there is, that you ſhould do your utmoſt Endeavours to relieve us without Loſs of Time, and bring the Fleet directly hither, toge-"ther with the Troops, to my Town of Barcelona, without ſtopping or diſembarking the Forces elſewhere (as ſome other Perſons may pretend to "direct you) for they can be no where ſo neceſſary as in this Town, which is at the very Point of being loſt for want of Relief. Wherefore I pray "God to have you in his holy Protection, and expecting the Pleaſure of ſeeing you as ſoon as poſſible, I aſſure you of my perfect Eſteem and Acknow-"ledgement. CHARLES. Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706. P. S. Sir, you will diſcern the Condition we are in by our Letters, and I hope you will "come as ſoon as poſſible to ſave us, of which you alone ſhall have the Glory. For the reſt I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's Letter."

[f] A Garriſon of 600 Marines was put into the Place, under the Command of Major Hedges, who was appointed Governor; and Sir John Jennings was left there to ſettle the Affairs of the City.

[g] Burchett's Annals of Queen Anne.

Next Day Brigadier *Gorges*, who commanded the Troops before the Place, ſummoned Count *Maboni* to ſurrender, which he abſolutely refuſed to do; but the Ships continuing to cannonade very briſkly, and a great Number of Bombs being thrown into their Works, the Garriſon, which conſiſted moſtly of *Neapolitans*, compelled the Governor to give up the Place, notwithſtanding all his Declarations to the contrary [a]. Brigadier *Gorges* took Poſſeſſion of it, and was appointed Governor [b].

While our Fleet was thus victorious on the Coaſt of *Spain*, the Affairs of King *Charles* in the inward Parts of *Spain* had been ſucceſsful beyond Expectation, and an entire Submiſſion of thoſe extenſive Dominions ſeemed to be out of all doubt, when his *Catholic* Majeſty, by the Advice of his *German* Miniſters, and contrary to that of his Friends and Allies, took the fatal Reſolution of going thro' *Arragon* to *Madrid*, and ſtopping at *Saragoſſa* in his Way thither, which overthrew all the Meaſures concerted in his Favour, and was alone the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes which enſued, and in the End loſt him that Monarchy.

On the 6th of *September* Sir *John* ſailed from *Altea*-Bay [c], and on the 9th anchored before *Ivica*. This Iſland, which is about 80 Miles in Circuit, abounds with Corn, Wine, Fruit, Salt, *&c.* and the Inhabitants being a trading People, were rather inclined to ſubmit to the Allies, than to remain under their old Government; and therefore on the firſt Summons they ſent Deputies to make their Submiſſion, which was readily accepted, and King *Charles* III. proclaimed [d]. On the 13th the Fleet ſailed for *Majorca*, and arrived on the 14th before *Palma*. This Iſland, which is one of the fineſt in the World, abounded with all the Neceſſaries of Life, well planted and well peopled, and ſo large as to be once accounted a Kingdom, was at this Time governed by the *Conde de Alcudia*, who was a Native of the Place. He was warmly in the Intereſt of King *Philip*, and when the Admiral ſummoned him, ſent him a *Spaniſh* Anſwer, "that he would defend the Iſland as long "as there was a Man in it." But upon throwing three or four Bombs into the Place, which did no great Miſchief, the Inhabitants roſe and forced the Viceroy to ſurrender.

Sir *John* having left a Garriſon of 100 Marines, with a Captain and Lieutenant, in the Caſtle of *Porto Pin*, and two Men of War to tranſport the Viceroy and his Adherents, who were deſirous to remove, ſailed the 12th from *Majorca*, and paſſed through the *Streights* the 21ſt. The 23d, being off of the Southward *Cape*, he detached Sir *George Byng*, purſuant to the Orders he had received from the Lord High-Admiral, with a Squadron towards *Liſbon* [e], and with the reſt of the Fleet proceeded on his Voyage home [f]. He arrived the 6th of *October* at *St. Helens*, came ſome Days after to *London*, and having waited on the Queen and her royal Conſort, received from them both that gracious and generous Reception, which his long, eminent, and ſucceſsful Services, had ſo well merited.

The Succeſs of our Arms was not leſs in *Flanders*; *Oſtend* was beſieged by the Confederates by Land; the Trenches being opened on the 19th of *June*, while Sir *Stafford Fairborne*, with his Squadron, cannonaded it by Sea; and at the ſame Time two Bomb-veſſels were ſent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great Execution. Sir *Stafford* likewiſe cauſed all the ſmall Frigates to run in as near the Town as poſſible, and to diſcharge their Broadſides; which they did with ſo little Damage to themſelves, and ſo great Hurt to the Place, that the People began to mutiny, and the Governor found himſelf (as he pretended) under a Neceſſity of capitulating [g]; which he did on the 25th. And thus the City of *Oſtend*, which had formerly held out ſo many Months, was taken in a Week.

They found in the Harbour two Men of War, one of 80, and the other of 50 Guns, and about 45 ſmall Veſſels more, which were not compriſed in the Capitulation.

F. *Daniel* ſays the Place was well defended by the Count *de la Mothe*; but above 10,000 Bombs having been thrown into the Place, which had made it a Heap of Ruins, the Menaces of the Inhabitants that they would revolt, a Miſintelligence between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Garriſons, and a Want of Arms for the Soldiers, obliged the Count *de la Mothe* at length to capitulate.

Beſides the other Ways which were this Year made uſe of to diſtreſs the common Enemy, it was thought expedient to attempt a Deſcent upon *France*; where the Perſecution of the Proteſtants, and the heavy Oppreſſion of all the Subjects, had prepared them to a general Inſurrection. The *States-General* readily concurred in this Deſign. About 10,000 Men, Land-forces, were to be employed in this Expedition, and commanded by the Earl of *Rivers* as General, and under him, by the Lieutenant-generals, *Earle*, and the Marquis *de Guiſcard*; and two Major-generals, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Mordaunt*.

The Command of the Fleet was given to Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, who hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Britannia*, at *Portſmouth*, the 18th of *July*. All the *Engliſh* Forces being embarked, the Fleet ſailed to *St. Helens* the 27th, where the Generals embarked the 30th, and lay in Expectation of the *Dutch* Squadron and Tranſports, which were detained by contrary Winds in the *Downs*. But on the 10th of *Auguſt*, the Wind being Eaſterly, and a briſk Gale, Sir *Cloudeſley*, with the whole *Engliſh* Fleet, ſet ſail in the Morning, believing the *Dutch* could not be far off, the Wind having been fair the Night before: But whatever was the Cauſe, they did not come to *St. Helens* till the 12th in the Morning, which fatal Delay proved the Overthrow of the whole Deſign. For, when they arrived there the 12th in the Morning, they were obliged to anchor a Tide, to get Intelligence of Sir *Cloudeſley*, and to take in freſh Water [h]. The *Engliſh* Fleet, in the mean time, appeared off of *Plymouth* that ſame Day, about Noon, and lay by till the Evening, but was not joined by the *Dutch* till the 14th in the Morning, when the whole Fleet, being come near the Mouth of the *Channel*, was forced into *Torbay* by a ſtrong Weſterly Wind, which continuing ſeveral Weeks in the ſame Corner, the Ships of the Firſt and Second-rates were laid up, and was the Occaſion of the Project of a Deſcent being laid aſide. Upon which the Marquis *de Guiſcard* and the he Lord *Mordaunt* left the Fleet; which was now ordered, with the Land-forces, for *Liſbon*.

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[a] Father Daniel ſays they did not ſurrender till forced by want of Water, and other Neceſſaries.

[b] Burchett, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Life of Queen Anne.

[c] When the Fleet came to Altea-Bay the 22d of Auguſt, it conſiſted of one Firſt-rate, two Second-rates, 12 Third-rates, one Fourth-rate, and three Fire-ſhips, of the Engliſh; and of the Dutch, 10 of the Line. The ſame Day Sir John Jennings ſailed to Liſbon with ſix Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, two Fifth-rates, and a Fire-ſhip, there to refit, and victual them for their intended Voyage to the Weſt-Indies; and the Earl of Peterborough gave Orders to Sir John Leake to repair to England, leaving Sir George Byng to command the Winter Squadron, but firſt to proceed to Ivica and Majorca, and oblige thoſe two Iſlands to ſubmit.

[d] Burchett, Oldmixon, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Annals of Queen Anne, Life of Queen Anne, &c.

[e] The Orders he left with Sir George Byng, were as follows, viz. To take under his Command one Firſt-rate, one Second-rate, 10 Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, one Fifth-rate, one Sixth-rate, and two Fire ſhips; and when he ſhould make the Signals, to repair with them to Liſbon, where having cleaned and refitted them, he was to appoint them to cruize in ſuch Stations as that they might be moſt capable of annoying the Enemy, and of guarding the Coaſt of Portugal, according to the Treaty with that Prince; but nevertheleſs to have them all in Readineſs to proceed, on any Service, with the Squadron of Dutch Ships, which were to join him from Holland. If the Earl of Peterborough ſhould deſire it, and he had no particular Orders from the Queen, or the Lord High Admiral, to put in Execution, he was either to proceed with a Part, or the whole Squadron, to the Coaſt of Spain, and to that of Catalonia, if the ſame ſhould be thought adviſeable by a Council of War; and if the Miniſters of England and Holland at Liſbon, or the Earl of Gallway, ſhould deſire it, he was to aſſiſt any of the Garriſons on the Sea-coaſt, not in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy, and to ſend Men, Ammunition, or Money to them; and from time to time to ſupply the Garriſon of Gibraltar with what they might ſtand in need of.

[f] He had with him the Prince George, a Second-rate, the Royal Oake, Hampton-Court, Dorſetſhire, and Grafton, Third-rates, and a Fire-ſhip, with ſix Dutch Men of War under Rear-admiral Waſſenaer, from whom, however, ſome Days after, he was ſeparated in a Storm.

[g] Burchett, Lediard, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Life of Queen Anne, Mercure Hiſtorique, &c.

[h] Annals of Queen Anne.

The Fleet was extremely late before it ſailed for the *Mediterranean*, *viz.* the 6th of *September*; and being in the *Soundings* on the 10th of the ſame Month, the *Barfleur*, a Second-rate, ſprung a dangerous Leak, which obliged the Admiral to ſend her home, and to take the Earl *Rivers*, and his principal Officers, into his own Ship the *Aſſociation*. Proceeding in their Voyage, they met with exceeding bad Weather, inſomuch that when the Admiral arrived in the River of *Liſbon*, he had with him but four Men of War, and fifty Tranſports; but he had the good Luck to find the reſt of the Fleet arrived before him, ſo that he began immediately to prepare for Action, and ſent two Ships of Sir *George Byng*'s Squadron to *Alicant*, with Money and Neceſſaries for the Army, then under the Command of the Earl of *Galway*, which was in very great want of them [a].

Soon after the King of *Portugal* died, which put Things in no ſmall Confuſion at that Court: And the Court of *Spain* at *Valencia* was in no leſs Diſorder, and not out of Danger, from the Superiority of the *French* and *Gallo-Spaniards*. It was therefore reſolved to proceed with the Forces to *Alicant*, according to the Deſire of the King of *Spain*, as ſoon as the Damages they received in their Paſſage from *England* could be repaired, and the Fleet ſupplied with Water and other Neceſſaries. They were to have departed the latter End of *December*; but the Evening before they intended to ſail, the General received Orders from *England* to the contrary.

In the Month of *December*, the Admiral having appointed ſome cruiſing Ships to proceed to Sea, as they were going out of the Mouth of the River, the *Portugueſe* Forts fired at leaſt 60 Shot at them, to bring them to an Anchor; which he perceiving, ſent Orders to our Captains to puſh their Way through, and accordingly they did ſo, without ſo much as returning one Shot at the Forts. The Court of *Portugal*, upon his repreſenting to them this barbarous Uſage, pretended that the Officers of the Forts had done it without Orders, for that they were only directed to fire at, and detain a *Genoeſe* Ship, whoſe Maſter was indebted to the King. But the Admiral being certainly informed, that this very Ship was, at the ſame time, lying before the Walls of the City of *Liſbon*, and that the Maſter of her was on-ſhore tranſacting her Buſineſs, he let them know, in a manner which became a Perſon in his Poſt thus affronted, That if they offered to attempt any ſuch thing again, (for they had done it before to Sir *John Leake*, as has been before related) he would not ſtay for Orders from his Miſtreſs, but take Satisfaction from the Mouth of his Cannon.

And here it may not be improper to take Notice of ſome very handſome Actions performed by ſome of the Ships which Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* thus ſent out to cruiſe; the *Romney* of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain *William Cony*, being with the *Milford* and *Fowey*, two Ships of the Fifth-rate, in *Gibraltar*-Bay, on the 12th of *December*, they had Intelligence that a *French* Ship of 16 Guns, which had about 30 Pieces of Braſs Cannon on-board, Part of thoſe that belonged to the Ships of Mr. *Ponti*, which Sir *John Leake* had forced on-ſhore, lay at an Anchor under the Guns of *Malaga*: Whereupon Captain *Cony*, with the Ship he commanded only, proceeded thither, (one of the Fifth-rates being diſabled, and the other having accidentally ſeparated from him) and notwithſtanding the continual Fire of the Town, took her, and brought her off.

The 26th following, he gave Chaſe to, and came up with another *French* Ship, which proved to be the *Content* of 64 Guns, which to ſecure herſelf got cloſe under a Caſtle, about eight Leagues to the Weſtward of *Almeria*; but Captain *Cony* anchoring, and ordering the *Milford* and *Fowey* to do the ſame, one a-head, and the other a-ſtern of him, they plied their Guns on her upwards of two Hours, when ſhe took Fire, and, after burning about three Hours, blew up, loſing thereby great Part of her Men. This Ship Monſieur *Villars*, who cruiſed with a *French* Squadon between Cape *Palos* and Cape *de Gates*, had detached, to bring out to him the aforeſaid Ship, with Braſs Ordnance, from *Malaga*.

On the 8th of *January*, between twelve and one at Night, Captain *Cony* diſcovered and gave Chaſe to another Ship, which was called the *Mercury*, carrying 42 Guns, and 215 Men, but was lent by the *French* King to the Merchants; which Ship ſubmitted to him, after the Commander was ſlain, and ſeveral of her Men were killed and wounded.

In the *Weſt-Indies* the *French* had a ſtout Squadron on the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. To counter-ballance this Force, Sir *William Whetſtone* was ordered to proceed to *Jamaica* with the Trade under a Convoy of ſeven Men of War. He arrived there on the 7th of *May*, and gaining Intelligence of the Strength and Station of the Enemy's Fleet, as alſo of ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships richly laden, expected from *New Spain*, he having appointed ſufficient Convoy for the homeward bound Trade, proceeded [b] with all Expedition to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. In the way, off of *Carthagena*, the *Briſtol* took a *French* Ship of 46 Guns and 370 Men; off the River *Grande*, he forced a Privateer, belonging to *Martinico*, a-ſhore, and to burn herſelf. And the Coaſt being thus alarmed, and no Proſpect of any immediate Service, he returned to *Jamaica*; but appointed three of the beſt Sailers to cruize 20 Days off *Anigada*, in the Windward-Paſſage, for the *French* in their Return home, it being the uſual time for them to go from *Petit Guavas*, *Port de Paix*, and other Places; but thoſe Ships joined him again without any Succeſs [c].

On his Return to *Jamaica*, he had Intelligence of a rich Ship bound from *Carthagena* to *Port Lewis*, and in order to take this, he detached the *Montague* and the *Hector*, who though they miſſed their intended Prize, brought in a *French* Ship of 24 Guns, laden with Sugar, Indigo, and Hides. Towards the latter end of the ſame Month, the Rear-admiral put to Sea, in order to cruize off *Hiſpaniola*, where he met with ſuch a Storm as forced him back to *Jamaica* in a very diſtreſſed Condition. While the Ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the *Montague* a 60 Gun Ship, was ſent to cruize on the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, where he met with two *French* Ships, one of 48, the other of 36 Guns, and the Captain bravely engaged them both till he loſt them in the Night. The next Morning he had ſight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the Engagement, but his Officers and Seamen were not in the Humour to fight, and ſo the *Frenchmen* eſcaped. The Captain (whoſe Name is not tranſmitted to Poſterity) on his Return to *Jamaica*, complained to the Admiral, and brought the whole Affair under the Examination of a Court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his Duty to the utmoſt of his Power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his Officers they were broke, as they well deſerved, and many of his Seamen puniſhed [d]. The Admiral in the mean time, to rectify this Miſtake as far as he was able, ſent two Fourth-rates, the *Briſtol* and the *Folkſtone*, in queſt of them; they fell in with them and their Convoy; they behaved very gallantly in ſeizing the defenceleſs Merchant-men; but though they had it abſolutely in their Power to have fought at leaſt, if not to have taken the Men of War, they let them ſlip through their Hands, with half the Fleet of Merchant-men; for which ſcandalous Neglect, the ſenior Officer, whoſe Name was *Anderſon*, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable to ſerve at Sea [e].

A little after theſe unlucky Accidents, while the Admiral was detained, for want of Stores, at *Jamaica*, the *Suffolk*, where his Flag was flying, by ſome unfortunate Miſtake or other, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the Gun-room, where moſt of the Men were killed, and 70 more in their Hammocks were ſo burnt, that moſt of them died.

The driving out the *Engliſh* from the *Leeward Iſlands*, was the Point the *French* had moſt in View, and having a very exact Account of our Condition there, the Governor of *St. Domingo*, M. *Iberville*, had Orders to aſſiſt in an Attempt that was to be made on *St. Chriſtophers*, by the Count *de Chavagnac*, with a ſmall Squadron of *French* Men of War, in the Month of *March*; where they burnt and plundered ſeveral Plantations; but when they came to attack the Caſtle, they were repulſed with Loſs. They did a great deal of Miſchief; but nothing comparable to what the *French* Writers ſay[a].

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[a] Burchett, Oldmixon, Life of Queen Anne, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1706, &c.

[b] 6 June 1705.

[c] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p 639.

[d] Burchett, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1706.

[e] Mr. Oldmixon, who was the Author of the Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 314, gives us the following Account. The Briſtol and Folkſtone, met with 10 Sail of Merchant-men, bound from Petit Guavas to France, under Convoy of two French Men of War, one of 24, and another of 30 Guns, out of which Captain Anderſon, Commodore of the Engliſh, took ſix Merchant-men, laden with Sugar, Cocoa, Cochineal, and Indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, Admiral Whetſtone held a Court-martial, and Captain Anderſon, with the other Officers, were condemned to loſe their Commiſſions for not engaging the French Men of War.

But unluckily for us, before Count *de Chavagnac* ſailed, Count *Ibervilla* joined him with his Squadron, ſo that they had now five ſtout Men of War, ſome Frigates, and 20 Sloops, with which they reſolved to attack *Nevis*. They landed in *Green-Bay* in the Evening of the 22d of the ſame Month, which was *Good-Friday*; and they puſhed their Succeſs ſo briſkly, that by the 24th, which was *Eaſter-Sunday*, the Inhabitants made a Capitulation, by which they promiſed to deliver up all their Negroes, and to procure a Number of Priſoners, equal to that of themſelves, to be ſet a Liberty in *Europe*, in Conſideration of their not being taken off the Iſland. Our Gazette ſays, that the *French* broke theſe Articles, by treating them barbarouſly, burning their Houſes and Sugar-works, and other Actions of the like Nature. But other Accounts ſay, that the Inhabitants could not comply with their Capitulation, becauſe the Negroes retired into the Mountains, ſtood on their Defence, and, when attacked, killed a great Number of the *French*. Upon this the Inhabitants came to a new Agreement on the 6th of *April*, in which they undertook to deliver to the *French*, in leſs than ſix Months, 1400 Negroes, or 140,000 Pieces of Eight; upon which the *French* retired, carrying off with them moſt of the Effects, and a great Number of Negroes, but fewer certainly than 7000, as a *French* Hiſtorian computes them[b].

In the mean time Rear-admiral *Whetſtone* ſailed with a few Ships from *Jamaica*, in hopes of attacking *Ducaſſe*, before he was joined by the Succours he expected. But this Deſign being defeated by bad Weather, he returned to *Jamaica* about the middle of *July*, and towards the latter end of the ſame Month was joined by Commodore *Ker*, with the Squadron under his Command. There being now ſo conſiderable a Force, the Admiral was very deſirous that ſome Thing ſhould be attempted capable of blotting out the Memory of paſt Miſtakes, and worthy of the *Britiſh* Nation. After mature Deliberation, it was reſolved to proceed to *Carthagena*, where they knew the Galloons were, in order to try what Effects King *Charles*'s Letters would produce, and whether the Governor might not be wrought upon by our Succeſſes in *Europe*, to own him for his rightful Sovereign in *America*. With this View Sir *William Whetſtone* and Captain *Ker* ſailed from *Jamaica* on the 8th of *Auguſt*, and on the 18th arrived before *Carthagena*, and ſent in a Packet to the Governor. At firſt he trifled a little, and gave evaſive Anſwers; but when more cloſely preſſed, he declared roundly, that he knew no other Prince than *Philip* V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time, in the Port, 14 large Galloons, lying cloſe in with the City, and unrigged. The Admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the Pilots declared, that any ſuch Deſign would be found impracticable, unleſs we were firſt in Poſſeſſion of *Bocca-Chica* Caſtle, and the other Forts, and even in that Caſe it was very doubtful whether Ships of ſo great a Size as theirs could get in[c].

Sir *William Whetſtone* being returned to *Jamaica* ſailed for *England* as ſoon as the Trade could be got ready[d]; where he arrived, the 23d of *December*, having left the Command of the Ships deſigned for farther Service in thoſe Parts, under the Command of Commodore *Kerr*, who ſtretched, with his Squadron, from *Jamaica* over to the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, appointing the Iſle of *Aſhe* for his Rendeavous.

His Deſign was upon a *French* Settlement called *Port St. Louis*, but finding it not practicable (the Pilots not being acquainted with the Entrance into the Port) it was determined to proceed to *Petit Guavas*, and the better to cover their Deſign, to go to the Northward of the Iſland *Guanava*. For this Purpoſe the Commodore ordered Captain *Boyce*, with the *Dunkirk*'s Prize, and all the Boats manned and armed, to endeavour the deſtroying of the Enemy's Ships, which might lie in the Bays of *Logane* and *Petit Guavas*; but this Attempt likewiſe miſcarrying[e], they returned to *Jamaica*, where a Mortality among the Men obliged them to lie, the Remainder of the Year, without doing any farther Service.

The Merchants, however, who ſuffered for want of Ships to protect them, loſing Abundance of Sloops, laden with Silver, upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, began to complain loudly of the Commodore's Conduct; and even went ſo far, as to ſend home an Agent, who had Inſtructions to lay the Matter before the Houſe of Commons, where, after a full and fair Examination, this Officer's Behaviour received a Cenſure, in conſequence of which he was laid aſide. In the mean time the Command in the *Weſt Indies* fell into the Hands of Sir *John Jennings*, who being directed to refit and victual at *Liſbon*, ſailed from thence the 15th of *October*; but contrary Winds preventing his reaching the *Maderas*, he bore away for *Teneriff*, and ſtood cloſe into the Bay of *Santa Cruz*[f]. The 4th of *November*, he arrived at *St. Jago*, the chief of the *Cape Verde* Iſlands, where he watered, and ſupplied his Ships with ſome freſh Proviſions. He ſailed again the 12th, arrived in *Carliſle Bay*, at *Barbadoes*, the 29th, and ſailed from thence the 5th of *December*, for the *Leeward Iſlands*[g]. On his Arrival at *Monſerat*, he ordered the *Mary*, *Roebuck*, and *Faulcon*, to run down the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, as low as *Carthagena*, and to join him at *Jamaica*, with what Intelligence they could get of the Galloons. Having touched at other of the *Leeward Iſlands*, and detached ſome of his Ships to the reſt, with the neceſſary Supplies, he arrived at *Jamaica* the 2d of *January* 1707, where he found Commodore *Kerr*'s ſmall Squadron refitting, but very deſtitute of Men, and got Information that the Galloons were ſtill at *Carthagena* unrigged.

From *Jamaica* Sir *John* ſent thither the *Mary*, with a Letter, and an Account of the Succeſs of her Majeſty's Arms, and of thoſe of her Allies, in *Spain*, to induce the Governor to a Submiſſion to King *Charles*, offering, in that Caſe, her Majeſty's Protection, and to convoy the Galloons to *Spain*; but he received the ſame Anſwer as had been given Commodore *Kerr*, with the Addition, that he had freſh Advices from *Spain*, which aſſured him the Scale was turned in Favour of King *Philip*, who was returned to *Madrid*, and had regained all the Towns which were in Poſſeſſion of his Enemies.

Upon this Refuſal, it was determined, in a Council of War the 17th, that the whole Squadron, excepting the *Northumberland* a Third-rate, which was diſabled by the Sickneſs of her Men, ſhould proceed to the Bay of *Carthagena*, which they did accordingly; but the Governor and General of the Galloons, perſiſting in their Reſolutions, Sir *John* departed thence, and having watered and fitted in *Blewfield*'s-*Bay*, at *Jamaica*, ſet ſail the 25th of *February*, and paſſing the Gulph of *Florida*, with a favourable Wind, arrived at *Spithead* the 22d of *April*[h]; being, likewiſe, followed by Commodore *Kerr*, who was ſucceeded by Commodore *Wager*, by Commiſſion from his Royal Highneſs the Prince. *March* 9, Commodore *Wager* ſailed from the *Nore*, and the 11th anchored in the *Downs*. Here he received his Inſtructions, and going the 29th on-board the *Expedition* at *Spithead*, he hoiſted his Pendant [a]. The 2d of *April* he gave out ſailing Orders, unmoored the next Day, and departed from the *Ram-head* the 11th.

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[a] Father Daniel, in his Journal of the Reign of Lewis XIV. p. 236, computes the Plunder of St. Chriſtophers at 3,000,000 of French Money, or 150,000 Pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; eſpecially, if the French retired in ſome kind of Conſternation; and that they did is pretty certain, ſince the Count de Chavagnac was queſtioned about it when he returned to France.

[b] The Gazette, No. 4241, Burchett, the compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1706, and the Britiſh Empire in America.

[c] Burchett, Lediard, Britiſh Empire in America.

[d] Before Sir William ſailed for England, the Cruiſers of Jamaica brought in there eight Prizes. One of them was a French Merchant, very richly laden, commanded by one Cordier, and taken by the Experiment Man of War, a Privateer of Jamaica being in Company.

[e] Some of the Boats ſtraggling from the reſt, alarmed the Coaſt, and thereby rendered the Attempt impracticable.

[f] He there diſcovered five Ships near to the Fortifications; upon which he ſent ſome of the ſmaller Frigates in to endeavour, by their Boats, to cut their Cables, and run them on-ſhore; but the French and Spaniards fired ſo hotly, from the Platforms they had raiſed, that it was not practicable to make any Attempt with the Boats, without laying ſome Ships, in ſuch Manner, with their Broadſides, that they might batter the Forts, they therefore deſiſted from the Attempt.

[g] Here, as well as at Barbadoes, he put on-ſhore the Guns and Ordnance-ſtores appointed for their better Security.

[h] A. D. 1707.

The 26th he arrived at *Madera*, and having taken in Wine for the Uſe of his Squadron, ſet ſail again the 3d of *May*. The 27th the Commodore detached the *Severn*, *Lynn*, and *Dolphin*, to give Notice to the Governor of *Barbadoes* of their Approach with the Fleet, and the 1ſt of *June* anchored with the whole Fleet in *Carliſle-Bay*. Having watered, the Fleet ſailed again the 5th [b]; anchored in *Five-Iſland-Road* in *Antego* the 10th; watered the 11th at *Montſerat*; arrived the 12th at *Mevis*, and ſailed again the next Day for *Jamaica*. The 20th, having before had Sight of Land, the Commodore detached the *Dolphin* to give notice to Captain *Kerr* of their Arrival, and the 22d the Fleet came to an Anchor at *Port-Royal* Keys.

The 26th of *Auguſt*, Captain *Kerr* in the *Breda*, with the *Sunderland* and *Hawke* Fire-ſhip, and 28 Merchant-ſhips, ſailed for *England*; and the 28th the *Experiment*, with three Merchant-ſhips, followed him. The ſame Day a Council of War was held [c], and purſuant to the Reſolution there taken, the Commodore, after having with much Difficulty, by reaſon of the Rains, got his Ships ready, ſet ſail the 28th of *November*, and ſent the *Severn* and *Dunkirk*'s Prize a-head. Theſe Ships joined him again the 4th of *December*, and brought him an Account that the Galloons were not ready to ſail. He afterwards received ſeveral Accounts of Monſieur *Du Caſſe*'s Squadron, which gave him Reaſon to apprehend he had a Deſign on *Jamaica*; he therefore left the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and ſtood over for *Jamaica*, where he arrived the 22d [d]; and there I ſhall for the preſent leave him.

Captain *Underdown*, Commander of the *Falkland*, being ſent this Year to annoy the *French* Fiſheries in *America*, he took two Ships, one of 30 Guns, and 110 Men, and another of 20 Guns, and 100 Men: He took and burnt one Ship of 20 Guns and 80 Men: The Enemy burnt two Ships themſelves, one of 32, and another of 26 Guns; he burnt 228 Fiſhing-boats; 470 Boats and Shalloways that were not employed in Fiſhery this Seaſon; 23 Stages, and 23 Train-fats were burnt; 77,280 Quintals of Fiſh, and 1568 Hogſheads of Train-oil were deſtroyed [e].

The *French* had long had their Eyes on our Northern Colonies, which were then in a very flouriſhing Condition; amongſt other Projects that M. *Iberville* had been furniſhed with, one was the attacking, and, as far as it ſhould be in his Power, deſtroying the Province of *Carolina*. Who having finiſhed his Deſigns in the *Leeward-Iſlands*, ſailed with ſix Men of War, and ſeveral Transports, for *South-Carolina*. He made a Deſcent in the Neighbourhood of *Charles-Town* with about 850 Soldiers and Seamen, and ſent an Officer to ſummon the Governor to ſurrender the City and Colony to the *French* King, telling him at the ſame time, that he would allow him but an Hour to conſider of it. Sir *Henry Johnſon* told him, that was much too long a Space, for that he did not want half a Minute to reſolve on doing his Duty; and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell thoſe that ſent him, that the *Engliſh* were not to be frightened with Words, for they ſhould ſoon find that they were able to return Blows.

Upon this followed an Attack, in which the *French* met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that they were glad to retreat with the Loſs of 300 killed, drowned, or taken; and among the latter 10 Officers, *viz.* their chief Commander at Land, his Lieutenant, three Captains of Ships, four Lieutenants, and a Maſter, who together offered 10,000 Pieces of Eight for their Ranſoms. One of the *French* Ships having ventured to make a Deſcent at the Diſtance of ſix Miles from *Charles-Town*, the Governor ſent a Detachment of Militia to the Aſſiſtance of the Planters, who were ſo lucky as to make themſelves Maſters of the Ship, with all its Crew, which conſiſted of about 140 Men [f].

We had not, however, as great Succeſs in bringing home the *Virginia* Fleet, Part of which fell into the Hands of the *French* Privateers, and the reſt were ſeparated by a Storm, but moſt of them arrived at laſt ſafe in the Weſtern Ports. The Merchants raiſed loud Complaints againſt the *Admiralty*, who had now, in a great meaſure, loſt their Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons; ſo that whatever Charges were brought againſt them, they had all the Encouragement that could be expected; and the Merchants were left at full liberty to produce their Witneſſes, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no Remedy to theſe Miſchiefs, yet it took the Weight off the Miniſtry, and gave the Nation general Satisfaction, as all Enquiries, ſtrictly and impartially proſecuted, ever muſt [g].

As we here propoſe to conclude the Fifth Book, which contains the Tranſactions of about eighteen Years, it is worthy of Obſervation, That the two Wars in which *England* was engaged with the *Dutch*, demonſtrated our mighty Power by Sea; and at the ſame Time puts us in mind of its mighty Expence; which, according to a Repreſentation to the Queen by the Houſe of Commons, was 45,558,725*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* ½, raiſed between *November* 1688, and *March* 8, 1701.

As to the Expences of Queen *Anne*'s War, we ſhall take Notice of them when we come to the Concluſion of it: At preſent let us obſerve, that one national End, with reſpect to *England*, *viz.* the Deſtruction of the *French* Power at Sea, was, in this laſt War particularly, in a great meaſure anſwered; for after the Battle of *Malaga*, we hear no more of their great Fleets: And though by this the Number of their Privateers was very much increaſed, yet the Loſſes of our Merchants were far leſs in the latter, than in the former Reign, which might be chiefly owing to a Series of Enquiries conſtantly carried on either in one Houſe of Parliament or the other [h].

The Succeſs of our Arms at Sea, and the Neceſſity of protecting our Trade, joined to the Popularity of every Step taken towards the increaſing our maritime Power, occaſioned ſuch Meaſures to be purſued in order thereto, as annually added to its Force. The great Storm in 1703, the Misfortunes that ſo many Squadrons met with in the *Weſt-Indies*, our ill Luck in regard to the *Dunkirk* Privateers, and in ſhort every other untoward Accident which fell out within this Period of Time, though it bore hard upon private Perſons, and was injurious to our Trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our Marine, inaſmuch as it gave a Handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. So that at the Cloſe of the Year 1706, not only the Number, but the Quality of the Ships of which the Navy was compoſed, was greatly ſuperior to what it had been from the time of the Revolution, or even before it.

The Oeconomy and Diſcipline of our Marine was alſo much mended, and thoſe Jealouſies in a great meaſure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greateſt Merit, during the preceding Reign. The great Encouragement given to the Sailors, by taking the utmoſt Care of the Sick and Wounded, exact and ſpeedy paying of Prize-money, and the many extraordinary Orders that from time to time were iſſued in their Favour, gave a mighty Spirit to our Sailors, and in a manner extinguiſhed that Prejudice which has ſince revived againſt going to Sea in a Man of War. Thus the Nation certainly throve by the War; that is, we grew conſtantly ſtronger, our Fleets more numerous and better manned; ſo that we were now much more capable of aſſerting our Claim to the Dominion of the Sea, than at any time ſince the War began[a].

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[a] The Ships then bound for the Weſt-Indies, under Commodore Wager's Command, were the Expedition, Kingſton, Portland, Severn, Scarborough, Dolphin, Greenwich, Lynn, and Deal caſtle; the three latter being Convoy to a Fleet of about 50 Merchant-ſhips, bound to Barbadoes, Virginia, &c. And the 1ſt of April his Tender joined him from the Downs, under the Convoy of the Bedford and the Berwick. Mr. Burchett, without naming the Ships, ſays he had under his Command, one Third-rate, four Fourth-rates, two Fifth-rates, and a Fireſhip.

[b] The Commodore had then with him eight Men of War, viz. the Expedition, Kingſton, Portland, Severn, Dolphin, and Scarborough, for Jamaica, the Deal-Caſtle to clean at Antego, and to return to Barbadoes, and the Swan to attend the Leeward-Iſlands, and obey Orders there.

[c] It was agreed, that for the Security of the Iſland of Jamaica, one Ship ſhould be left in Port-Royal Harbour, and another cruiſe on the Eaſt Part of it; that two Frigates ſhould be employed ſix Weeks, or two Months, or longer, if the Commodore thought fit, upon the Coaſt of Carthagena and Porto-Bello, againſt the Enemy's Privateers there (which had done great Damage to our Trade) and that the reſt of his Ships, viz. the Expedition, Windſor, Kingſton, Portland, Aſſiſtance, and Dunkirk's-Prize, ſhould proceed to Windward, and cruiſe ſix Weeks, or two Months, upon the Coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and in the Windward-paſſage; but that, if he received Advice of a French Squadron in thoſe Parts, or of the ſailing of the Galloons from Carthagena, it ſhould be conſidered, at a Council of War, what farther Meaſures to take.

[d] Monſieur Du Caſſe's Squadron, according to the Advice he had received, conſiſted of 10 Men of War, eight of them from 70 to 86 Guns, and ſeveral large Privateers, and he was in Expectation of 18 Ships more.

[e] Annals of Queen Ann.

[f] See the compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1706, p. 548, and the Mercurie hiſtorique, 1707, Vol. I. p. 99.

[g] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Life of Queen Anne.

[h] If the Parliament gave in one Seſſions, they enquired in the next, and it is impoſſible to mention any remarkable Expedition within the firſt ſix Years, which was not examined and cleared up by ſuch Enquiries; ſo that the People ſaw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the ſame time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their Induſtry what might maintain them happily, notwithſtanding theſe large, but neceſſary Expences.

Our Trade alſo throve under this War. The Inability of the *French* to protect the *Portugueſe*, gained us the Alliance of the King of *Portugal*, and the Advantages of the Gold Trade; without which it would not have been poſſible to have borne the Expences of the War: For, as Doctor *Davenant* juſtly computed, the running Caſh of this Kingdom, at the Time the Revolution happened, could not be above 18 Millions; at the Acceſſion of the Queen we had not ſo much; but at the time of concluding the Union, it was increaſed again very conſiderably, which muſt be attributed in a great meaſure to our *Portugal* Trade. We were at the ſame time very great Gainers by our Trade with the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*. Several *French* Authors complain, that their Colonies ſuffered much leſs from our Naval Force, than they did from the Loſs of this Trade. To which may be added, that the Act for giving a Bounty upon Hemp imported from our Plantations, and other Laws, were ſufficient Inſtances of the Inclination of the Miniſtry to promote Commerce and Navigation, as far as it lay in their Power: And from hence aroſe that mighty Spirit, which appeared amongſt our Merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their Schemes with ſuch Vigor, as kept a conſtant Circulation of Money through the Kingdom, and afforded ſuch mighty Encouragement to all Manufactures, as have rendered the Remembrance of thoſe Times grateful in worſe. Our Succeſſes abroad, our Victories by Land and Sea, the Reſpect paid to us by all the States of *Europe*, ſerved to heighten and ſuſtain this Spirit, which is at once the Source and Soul of Proſperity, and a Nation grows low and lifeleſs as ſoon as it is taken away.

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[a] It muſt be a great Satisfaction to be able to aſſert, that we had overcome all Difficulties; and inſtead of ſeeing the Navy of France riding on our Coaſts, ſent every Year a powerful Fleet to inſult theirs, ſuperior to them not only in the Ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the Sea; and this not by the Thunder of our Cannon, but by the diſtant Proſpect of our Flags; as at the raiſing the Siege of Barcelona, when the Son of the French King, and the famous Count de Thoulouſe, High-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took Shelter in the Harbour of Toulon. By this we not only ſecured our Trade in the Levant, and ſtrengthened our Intereſt with all the Italian Princes, but ſtruck the States of Barbary with Terror, and even awed the Grand Signior himſelf, ſo far as to prevent his liſtning to any Propoſitions from France. Such were the Fruits of the Increaſe of our naval Power, and of the Manner in which it was employed; and though ſome through Miſconception of the Advantages flowing from this Diſpoſition in thoſe Princes and States; and ſome again from a perverſe Humour, perhaps of objecting againſt whatever carried us into a great Expence, inveighed againſt ſending ſuch mighty Fleets into thoſe Seas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this War, ſuch Fleets were neceſſary; that they at once protected our Allies, and attached them to our Intereſt; and which is of greater Importance than all the reſt, that they eſtabliſhed our Reputation for maritime Force ſo effectually, that we feel even at this Day, the happy Effects of that Fame which we then acquired.

A Liſt of the CAPTAINS *promoted ſince the Death of King* WILLIAM III. *according to their Seniority; their Ships, the Time of their Deaths,* &c. *with Remarks.*

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
William Harding	March 23	1701	Dunwich	died	Anno	1708
George Cammock [a]	June 6	1702	Speedwell	diſmiſſed	Anno	1714
Richard Hughes [b]	19	——	Triumph			
John Carleton	July 6	——	Rye	killed [c]	Anno	1712
Robert Canning	Auguſt 22	——	Tartar	died	Auguſt 3	1726
Edward Raney	Sept. 14	——	Fire Drake Bomb	drowned [d]	October 12	1703
Robert Thompſon	26	——	Sunderland	died	Anno	1740
Charles Smith [e]	October 12	——	Greenwich	died	Anno	1749
Charles Fotheby	14	——	Mortar Bomb	died	Anno	1721
Thomas Mead	January 3	——	Burford	died	Anno	1740
Sir Charles Rich	12	——	Feverſham	died [f]	October 17	1704
Henry Lawrence	21	——	Mermaid	died [g]	Anno	1704
Beaumont Raymond	21	——	Mortar Bomb	died [h]	Anno	1717
Edward Windſor	February 12	——	Milford	diſmiſſed [i]	July 23	1709
Joſeph Taylor	15	——	Charles Gally	died	Anno	1739
Charles Layton	March 2	——	Greyhound	died	Anno	
Anthony Dearing	9	——	Arundel	died [k]	Novemb. 16	1706
William Fairborn	10	——	Burford	died [l]	October 5	1708
Jordan Sandys	12	——	Hector	died	Anno	1734
Joſeph Mighills	30	1703	Flambro	died [m]	Auguſt 30	1707
Hon. Algernʳ Grenville [n]	31	——	Garland	died	Anno	
Hon. Henry Mordaunt	April 9	——	Mary Gally	died [o]	February 24	1710
Thomas Mathews [p]	May 24	——	Yarmouth	diſmiſſed	Anno	1746
Henry Hobart	June 8	——	Ruby	died [q]	Anno	1711
Sampſon Brourne	25	——	Boyne	diſmiſſed [r]	Anno	1712
Charles Stuckley	July 1	——	Leoſtaff	died	Anno	
George Rogers	8	——	Jerſey	died [s]	Anno	1729
Humphry Pudner	10	——	Experiment			
Chriſtopher Elliot	21	——	Dunwich	died	Anno	
Jonas Hanway	July 29	——	Larke	died	Anno	1739
Peter Chamberlain	Auguſt 13	——	Oxford Prize	drowned [t]	June	1720
Thomas Champion	22	——	Sorlings	diſmiſſed [u]	Anno	
Edward St. Loe [w]	Sept. 9	——	Pendennis	died	April 22	1729
John Cow	27	——	Ranelaugh	ſlain [x]	Auguſt 13	1704
John Lowan	October 1	——	Content	diſmiſſed [y]	Anno	1705

[a] Went into the Service of Spain, was there made an Admiral in 1717, was afterwards baniſhed to Ceuta in Barbary, and there died in Miſery about the Year 1721. [b] Appointed Commiſſioner of Portſmouth-yard May 14, 1729. [c] In a Duel at Deal by Lieutenant Edward Wye, was then Captain of the Glouceſter. [d] In the Fire Drake Bomb caſt away. [e] Captain of Greenwich-hoſpital in 1722, and there died. [f] In the Feverſham. [g] Taken in the Coventry by the French 1704, and died a Priſoner. [h] At La Vera Cruz, in command of the Ship Royal Prince, in the Service of the South-ſea Company. [i] From the Portland by a Court-martial at Jamaica for Cowardice, &c. in not engaging the Galloons, and was never reſtored. [k] In the Arundel. [l] In the Centurion at Leghorn, [m] In the Lizard. [n] He was ſecond Son of Fulk Grenville, Lord Brooke. [o] At the Bath of the Small-pox, he was ſecond Son of Charles Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth. [p] Commodore to the Eaſt-Indies in 1721, Commiſſioner at Chatham January 1736-7, and from thence, in March 1741-2, was appointed at once Vice-admiral of the Red, and of the Blue 1743, Admiral of the White June 23, 1743, and Rear-admiral of Great-Britain, diſmiſſed by a Court-martial 1746, died in 1751. [q] In the Nottingham. [r] From the Newcaſtle, and never reſtored, died abroad in Obſcurity. [s] In Ireland. [t] In the Milford, caſt away on Cape Corientes, the N. W. End of Cuba. [u] And never more employed, and is ſince dead. [w] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue February 1728-9, and died on-board the Plymouth at Jamaica eight Days before his Commiſſion arrived; he was then Commodore there of a large Squadron. [x] In the Ranelaugh in an Engagement with the French Fleet off Cape Malaga. [y] And died in 1711.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commissioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Henry Partington	October 20	1703	Angleſea	died	January 11	$173\frac{4}{5}$
Henry Gore	29	—	Garland	died	April 14	1726
Walter Riddle	Decemb. 21	—	Mermaid	died	Anno	1739
George Dalman	January 19	—	Lyme	ſlain [a]	March 23	1705
John Trotter	February 7	—	Winchelſea	died	Anno	1746
Thomas Scott	March 2	—	Mary Gally	died [b]	Sept. 15	1725
Robert Harland	24	—	Severn	died	Anno	
Thomas Kempthorne [c]	31	1704	Roebuck	died	Anno	1736
William Coney	April 1	—	Sorlings	drowned [d]	October 22	1707
Charles Parſons	6	—	Haſtings	ſlain [e]	February 11	1705
Mathew Tate	21	—	Strombolo	ſuperannuat.	Anno	1711
Stephen Hutchins	25	—	Scarborough	died [f]	Anno	1709
George Fane	July 14	—	Lizard	died [g]	April 8	1709
Thomas Legg	Auguſt 15	—	Tartar	died [h]	February 28	1711
James Moneypenny	16	—	Kent	died	Anno	1723
Thomas Lawrence [i]	October 8	—	Bridgwater	died	Anno	1746
Philip Stanhope	Nov. 7	—	Haſtings	ſlain [k]	September	1708
William Harriot	14	—	Greyhound	died	Anno	1735
Hon. Charles Stewart [l]	Decemb. 1	—	Falcon	died	February 5	$174\frac{0}{1}$
George Saunders [m]	January 11	—	Shoreham	died	December	1734
George Paddon	17	—	Swallow Prize	diſmiſſed [n]	Anno	1714
George Fiſher	18	—	Tartar	died [o]	Auguſt 18	1705
William Jones	February 15	—	Dunwich	drowned [p]	Anno	1708
Edward Hicks	March 18	—	Adventure	died [q]	Sept. 25	1705
William Grey	April 29	1705	Winchelſea	died	Anno	
John Barter [r]	May 1	—	Goſport	died	Decemb. 13	1708
Francis Vaughan	29	—	Kinſale	drowned [s]	February 9	1706
Richard Lake [t]	Auguſt 20	—	Tartar	died	24	1709
John Caſtle	Sept. 17	—	Winchelſea	ſlain [u]	June 6	1706
Robert Coleman	25	—	Elephant Store-ſhip	died	Anno	1739
Thomas Man	Novemb. 1	—	Briſtol	died	April 19	1719
Thomas Gordon	17	—	Edinburgh	diſmiſſed [w]	Anno	1715
Francis Keſtel	Decemb. 12	—	Kinſale	died [x]	Sept. 16	1706
James Adlington	January 7	—	Folkſtone	died [y]	Anno	1710
William Jameſon	13	—	Experiment	died	Anno	
Henry Creamer	16	—	Garland	died	Anno	1710
Edward Vernon [z]	January 22	—	Dolphin			
Bartholomew Candler	27	—	Falcon	died [aa]	October	1722
John Cliſton	February 2	—	Dolphin	died	Anno	1723
Robert Jackſon	11	—	Sorlings	diſmiſſed [bb]	Anno	1715
George Martin	March 23	—	Charles Gally	died	Anno	
John Roberts	April 19	1706	Elephant Store-ſhip	died	Anno	1745
Richard Leſtock [cc]	29	—	Fowey	died	Decemb. 13	1746
Robert Delaval	30	—	Falcon	died [dd]	January 29	1707
George D'Oyley	July 10	—	Childs Play	drowned [ee]	Auguſt 20	1707
Rt. H. Geor. Ld. Forbes [ff]	16	—	Lynn			
John Paul	Septemb. 12	—	Mary Gally	died	Anno	
George Lumley	17	—	Dunwich	died [gg]	Sept. 20	1710
Henry Long	17	—	Dolphin	died [hh]	Decemb. 12	1723
John Williams	25	—	Experiment	died [ii]	Novemb. 6	1711
Galfridus Walpole [kk]	October 17	—	Feverſham	died	Auguſt 7	1726
Joſeph Winder	Decemb. 1	—	Arundel	died	March	$173\frac{5}{6}$
Archibald Hamilton	January 7	—	Lynn	died	Anno	1738
Charles Hardy, 1ſt	13	—	Strombolo Fire-ſhip	diſmiſſed [ll]	Anno	1715
Robert Bowler	28	—	Experiment	died	July	1734
William Faulkner	March 17	—	Torbay	died [mm]	February 28	1735

[a] In the Lyme engaging a French Ship in the Mediterranean. [b] In the Dragon at Jamaica, was then Commodore there. [c] Commiſſioner of Chatham-yard in 1722, and there died. [d] Caſt away in the Romney on the Rocks of Scilly, in company with Sir Cloudeſly Shovel. [e] In the Fowey Pink engaging the French. [f] In the Portland at Jamaica. [g] In the Leoſtaffe at New-York. [h] In the Angleſea at Barbadoes. [i] Appointed Captain of Greenwich-hoſpital September 1, 1743. [k] In the Milford at the taking Port-Mahon. N. B. was killed on-ſhore, and not at his proper Duty. [l] Son of Lord Viſcount Montjoy, was appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue June 20, 1729, died February 5, 1741, Vice-admiral of the White, and Member of Parliament for Portſmouth. [m] Knighted by King George I. in 1720, Commiſſioner of the Victualling in 1721, Commiſſioner of the Navy in 1727, appointed Rear-admiral in 1732, and died when Rear-admiral of the Red, and Member of Parliament for Queenborough. [n] Went into the Service of the Czar of Muſcovy, became an Admiral under that Crown, and there died. [o] In the Weſt-Indies. [p] In the Winchelſea. [q] In the Crown. [r] Was ſuperannuated in 1706. [s] In the Haſtings off Yarmouth. [t] Was Son to Sir John Lake. [u] In the Winchelſea, and the Ship taken by the French. [w] Went into the Service of the Czar of Muſcovy, who made him an Admiral, and there he died in April 1741. [x] In the Kinſale, Weſt-Indies. [y] In the Tilbury. [z] Appointed Vice-admiral of the Blue at once July 1739 (after having been Super-received by Lord Granard, Mr. Haddock, Mr. Hagar, and Sir Tancred Robinſon, Admirals) and went directly to Jamaica; he took Porto-Bello with the Burford, Hampton-Court, Worceſter, Stafford, Princeſs Loviſa, and Norwich, November 22, 1739, was appointed Vice of the White March 1741-2, and Vice of the Red 1744, Admiral of the White 1746; and though he was diſmiſſed for being too free in his Advice to the Board of Admiralty in 1746, he ſtill lives reſpected by his King and Country, and Member of Parliament for Ipſwich. [aa] In the Launceſton at Jamaica. [bb] And died October 27, 1726, in England. [cc] Appointed Rear-admiral of the White March 1741-2, Vice of the Blue 1743, Admiral of the White in 1746, and died of the Gout in his Stomach, having forfeited the Affections of all true Britons for his Behaviour under Admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean, of which hereafter. [dd] In the Falcon at Genoa. [ee] At St. Chriſtophers in a Hurricane, and the Ship loſt. [ff] Appointed Rear-admiral in 1734, and by his Father's Death ſucceeded him as Earl of Granard in 1734. Super-received as Vice-admiral of the Blue July 1739 by Mr. Vernon. [gg] In the Burlington in Soundings. [hh] Shot himſelf in London. [ii] Superannuated. [kk] Brother to Sir Robert Walpole, quitted the Sea-ſervice, and was ſuperannuated, and made Poſt-maſter-general in 1723, in which advantageous Poſt he died about three Years after. [ll] By Order of the Admiralty, and died in June, 1749. [mm] Captain of Greenwich-hoſpital.

BOOK VI.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to the BRITISH *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the UNION of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, to the Acceſſion of the Houſe of HANOVER to the Crown of GREAT-BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *during the Years* 1707, *and* 1708, *and the* TRANSACTIONS *of Captain* WOODES ROGERS, *in his Voyage round the World.*

THE firſt Attention paid by the Parliament to our Maritime Affairs after the *Union*, was their Proceedings upon a Repreſentation made to the *Commons*, of the great Hazard and Danger to which the Trade and Commerce of theſe Kingdoms were expoſed, by the Settlement of a great Number of Pirates on the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, from whence they could entirely command the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and, if ſuffered to continue, might in time ſpread the Ocean, and grow as powerful and hurtful, as the Pirates on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. The Marquis of *Carmarthen* offering, with a ſmall Squadron, to undertake to ſuppreſs them, the Houſe appointed a Committee to take the Matter into Conſideration, and the Houſe approving their Reſolutions, the 8th of *April*, it was reſolved to addreſs her Majeſty, "That ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to take it into her royal Conſideration, how the ſaid Pirates might be ſuppreſſed, and their farther Piracies, Robberies, and Depredations effectually prevented." The ſame Day it was reſolved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, That ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe her royal Endeavours to recover and preſerve the ancient Poſſeſſions, Trade, and Fiſhery in *Newfoundland*."

About the ſame Time[a], the Government received the melancholy Account of the Loſs of the *Reſolution* Man of War, which was attended with ſo many Circumſtances, which do Honour to the Commander, and all her Company, that it deſerves being tranſmitted as an Example to Poſterity.

The Earl of *Peterborough* ſailed from *Barcelona* the 13th of *March* for *Genoa*, together with a Gentleman ſent by King *Charles*, as his Envoy to the Duke of *Savoy*, on-board the *Reſolution* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Mordaunt*, his Lordſhip's Son; with whom ſailed, at the ſame Time, the *Enterprize* and *Milford* Frigates. The 19th, being within 15 Leagues of *Genoa*, they fell in with ſix *French* Men of War (whereof two were of 80, two of 70, one of 68, and the other of 58 Guns) who chaſed them; upon which his Lordſhip, with the *Spaniſh* Envoy, went on-board the *Enterprize*, got away in the Night, and ſailed for *Leghorn*. The *Milford* likewiſe made her Eſcape, and got to the ſame Port. The Enemy continuing to chaſe the *Reſolution*, one of their Ships came about ten at Night within Gun-ſhot of her, but did not begin to fire till the 20th about ſix in the Morning, by which time the reſt of the Enemy's Ships, they being all clean, and newly come out of *Toulon*, came up with her likewiſe. Then began a very ſharp Fight, which Captain *Mordaunt* maintained with great Bravery and Reſolution, till Half-an-hour after three in the Afternoon; at which time, finding no Poſſibility of getting clear of the Enemy, and his Ship being very much ſhattered, it was thought moſt proper to run her on-ſhore, which was done accordingly. The Enemy ſtill purſued her, and kept continually firing upon her, but finding by the Captain's returning the Fire, that he would not quit his Ship, they ſent out their Boats to burn her, but they were ſoon made to retire. The 21ſt, in the Morning, one of the Enemy's Ships of eight Guns, came very near her, with a Deſign to batter her; but ſhe being full of Water, and the Powder wet, it was reſolved to burn her, rather than ſhe ſhould fall into the Enemy's Hands; and accordingly by Eleven that Morning, all that Part of her which lay above Water was conſumed. The Captain and the Ship's Company got ſafe on-ſhore, with what was moſt valuable in her. He was wounded in the Thigh during the Engagement by a Cannon-ball, but not dangerouſly. The *Enterprize* and *Milford* were both attacked ſingly, as they were going into *Leghorn*, by a *French* Man of War of 40 Guns; but ſhe ſoon left them. Mr. Secretary *Burchett* places this Action a Year ſooner; but not only the two Authors above-mentioned, but ſeveral other Accounts I have ſeen, placing it here, I think it more reaſonable to follow many than one.

In the Year 1707, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* commanded in the *Mediterranean*, and Sir *John Leake* was wholly employed in the *Channel*[b]. The Confederate Fleet under Sir *Cloudeſley* lay now at *Liſbon*; from whence being informed of the Diſtreſs of our Army under the Earl of *Galway* for Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, he diſpatched Sir *George Byng* with one Firſt-rate, one Second-rate, ſeven Third-rates, one Fourth-rate, nine Ships of the *States-General*, and ſome ſmall Frigates and Fire-ſhips, to *Alicant*, on the 30th of *March*, to carry Supplies for its Relief; he promiſing to follow, as ſoon as poſſible, with the Remainder of the Fleet, which were one Second-rate, ſeven Third-rates, four Fourth-rates, four Fifth-rates, beſides Fire-ſhips, Bomb and other ſmall Veſſels. Sir *George* was ordered to put the Stores a-ſhore, and then employ the Ships under his Command, as might be of moſt Service to the Allies. But when he arrived off Cape *St. Vincent*, on the 15th of *April*, he received Advice from Lord *Galway* of his Defeat at *Almanza*, with Orders for him to meet him, and the Remains of his Army, at *Tortoſa* in *Catalonia*, where that Lord propoſed to make a Stand. This Service employed Sir *George Byng* almoſt the whole Month of *April*, and then he was in daily Expectation of being joined by Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* from *Liſbon*, either on that Part of the Coaſt of *Spain*, or at *Barcelona*, whither he was deſigned[c]. Thus all the great Things that were hoped for, from the Augmentation of our Forces in *Spain*, were abſolutely diſappointed; and this chiefly thro' the unaccountable Miſmanagement of that Prince for whoſe Service theſe expenſive and hazardous Expeditions were undertaken.

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[a] Annals of Queen Anne. Compleat Hiſtory of Europe.

[b] Life of Sir John Leake, p. 284.

[c] Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, Annals of Queen Anne, Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel.

The next Service we find the *Mediterranean* Fleet purſuing, was a Scheme propoſed by the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, and concerted at *London* between his Miniſters and the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon *Toulon*. As ſoon as the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* had begun their March towards that important City, Sir *Cloudeſley*, who was to aſſiſt with the Fleet in this Expedition, ſet ſail for the Coaſt of *Italy*, and the Beginning of *June* appeared off of *Genoa*. The 5th the Fleet came to an Anchor before *Final* [a], and the ſame Day a Council was held at *Turin*, from whence Sir *John Norris* (who had been ſent thither with Diſpatches from King *Charles*, the Earl of *Galway*, and Sir *George Byng*) ſet out two Days after, and brought word to Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, that Prince *Eugene* was coming to confer with him [b]. The latter End of this Month, the Fleet anchored between *Nice* and *Antibes*, at the former of which the Admiral had his firſt Interview with the Duke of *Savoy* [c]. The Paſſage of the *Var*, where the Enemy had intrenched themſelves, being reſolved upon, the laſt of *June*, four *Britiſh* Men of War, and one *Dutch*, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, attended by about 600 Seamen and Marines, in open Boats, ſailed into the Mouth of that River, and being advanced within Muſket-ſhot of the Enemy's Works, made ſuch a terrible Fire upon them, that their Cavalry and many of their Foot, who expected no Attack on that Side, quitted their Intrenchments. Sir *Cloudeſley* himſelf followed Sir *John Norris* to the Place of Action, and obſerving the Diſorder of the Enemy, commanded him to land with the Seamen and Marines, and flank them in their Intrenchments. This Service Sir *John* performed with ſo much Conduct, and his Men advanced with ſuch Valour and Reſolution, that the *French* fled in Confuſion from their Works, of which Sir *John* took Poſſeſſion, and opened a Way for the Duke of *Savoy*, who paſſed the River about half an Hour after, without any Oppoſition, where he expected to have found a moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance, and marched towards *Toulon*.

The Army of the Allies conſiſted of about 35,000 Men, all enured to Hardſhips, commanded by Officers of the greateſt Experience, and of the higheſt Reputation, ſupported by a numerous Fleet, commanded by an Admiral of known Courage and Conduct, who, upon all Occaſions, ſhewed the utmoſt Zeal for the Service, and particularly in this laſt Conference, where the Duke of *Savoy* having obſerved, that even after *Toulon* was taken, himſelf and his Army might find it impracticable to retreat; the Admiral replied, "I hope better Things from your royal Highneſs's "Fortune; but, if there ſhould be any Appearance of "ſuch a Thing's happening, your Highneſs may rely up"on me, I will take care to ſupply a ſufficient Number "of Tranſports to embark all your Troops." The Duke thanked him for his generous Offer; told him, he relied chiefly on the Aſſiſtance he expected from him, and that, if he would repair to the Iſlands of *Hieres*, he ſhould not long remain there before he had Advice of the Armies being in the Neighbourhood of *Toulon*, and that then he ſhould expect to ſee the Fleet in the Road [d].

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* with the Fleet under his Command ſailed for the *Hieres*, after having made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for ſecuring a ſafe and conſtant Intercourſe between the Army, and the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, upon which the Succeſs of the whole was thought to depend. It was the 15th of *July* before the Siege of *Toulon* was formed, and on the 17th Admiral *Shovel* landed, and aſſiſted at a Council of War, in which many Demands were made on the Fleet for the Service of the Army; and the Admiral promiſed all that was in his Power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred Cannon were landed from the Fleet for the Batteries, with 200 Rounds of Powder and Shot, and a conſiderable Number of Seamen to ſerve as Gunners; and Cordage, Nails and Spikes, with all other Things wanting for the Camp (for indeed they were but poorly furniſhed) were ſupplied from the Ships; ſo that Affairs had a very good Face till the 4th of *Auguſt*, when, early in the Morning, the Enemy making a vigorous Sally, forced moſt or all the Confederate Troops out of the Works, and took Poſſeſſion to the right, where they continued all Day, and upon their going off deſtroyed them, drawing away eight or ten Guns into the Town; in which Action there were killed and wounded on the ſide of the Duke of *Savoy*, above 800 Men, among whom were the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, and ſome other Officers of Diſtinction. This Attempt being made with ſuch Numbers, it put the Troops under great Apprehenſions, and the Generals were Opinion, it would not be proper to carry on the Siege, ſince while the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army decreaſed, the Enemy continually gathered Strength, inſomuch that, on the 6th of *Auguſt*, his Royal Highneſs deſired the Admiral would immediately embark the Sick and Wounded, and withdraw the Cannon, in order to his raiſing the Siege, which from this Time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His Royal Highneſs alſo informed him, that he purpoſed to decamp the 10th in the Morning, and deſired that the Fleet might accompany the Army as far as the *Var*; which being done, it was propoſed to carry the Duke, Prince *Eugene*, and the Troops which could be ſpared for Service in that Country, onboard the Fleet to *Spain*; but ſince there was not any thing determined in this Affair, the Admiral ſoon after ſhaped his Courſe down the *Streights* [e].

Thus ended an Expedition, attended with ſo much Charge, againſt the moſt conſiderable Port the *French* have in the *Mediterranean* [f]; and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* being not a little mortified at the Miſcarriage, though he contributed all in his Power towards reducing it, bent his Courſe homewards with one Ship of the Firſt-rate, two of the Second, ſeven of the Third, two of the Fourth, one of the Fifth, two of the Sixth, four Fire-ſhips, one Sloop, and one Yacht, leaving, at *Gibraltar*, Sir *Thomas Dilkes* with nine Ships of the Line of Battle, three Fifth-rates, and one of the Sixth, for Service on the Coaſt of *Italy*.

Coming into the *Soundings* the 23d (other Accounts ſay the 22d) of *October*, he had 90 Fathom Water; in the

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[a] The Fleet then conſiſted of 43 Men of War, and 57 Tranſports, ſeveral other Men of War and Tranſports having been ſent to Leghorn, and Genoa, to take on-board the Artillery and Ammunition deſigned for the Operations of War concerted with the Duke of Savoy.

[b] The Admiral went on-ſhore the 9th, and Prince Eugene arriving at Final the ſame Day, they had a Conference of four Hours.

[c] The Duke gave to all the chief Commanders of the Confederate Fleet the greateſt Marks of his Favour and Eſteem. The 29th Sir Cloudeſley had the Honour to entertain the Duke of Savoy, together with Prince Eugene, ſeveral other General-officers, and the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters, on-board the Aſſociation. They were received under the Diſcharge of all the Guns of the Fleet, which were drawn up into a Line for their Reception. At the Duke's Entrance into the Cabbin, he found a Guard of Halbardeers, and an Elbow-chair with a Velvet Canopy over it; and the Entertainment, which conſiſted of 60 Covers of the greateſt Rarities, was ſo noble and ſplendid, that his Royal Highneſs, in a Surprize, told the Admiral, "That "if he had paid him a Viſit at Turin, he ſhould ſcarce have had it in his Power to give him a more magnificent Reception." Dinner being over, a Council of War was held, wherein it was reſolved to force the Paſſage of the Var: And the Admiral undertook to deſtroy their Works next to the Sea; for he could place his Ships in leſs than Muſket-ſhot, ſo as to have them open to him. The 2d of July the ſame illuſtrious Gueſts were again entertained on-board the Admiral, where it was determined the Army ſhould march directly for Toulon.

[d] Thus far all Things went well, becauſe all Parties were agreed; but from this very Moment the Buſineſs began to be clouded. The Duke of Savoy, whatever the Reaſon was, did not make the Expedition he might have done; for though he began his march from the Var on the 3d of July, yet he did not arrive before Toulon till the 15th. But when he found it neceſſary to make his Retreat, he did it with much greater Expedition; for though he began it on the 12th, he reached the Var by the 19th.

[e] Many Reaſons were aſſigned for the raiſing this Siege; I ſhall mention only a few. It was ſaid, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel diſguſted the Duke of Savoy, by detaining the Payment of his Subſidies, which were due on his paſſing the Var. I apprehend, however, this Fact could not be true, ſince the Admiral ſailed the next Day; and therefore he muſt either have paid the Money, or his Royal Highneſs would not have ſtirred a Foot further. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Duke was afraid of getting to Toulon before the Fleet, and in that Caſe he would have wanted Proviſions: All our Gazettes contradict this, and ſay, that if he had arrived there ſooner, he muſt have taken the Place, and all the French Magazines. I think there are three ſubſtantial Reaſons which cannot be diſputed, and which ſufficiently account for the failing of this Deſign: Firſt, the Want of 12,000 Imperialiſts, which were ſent to Naples: Secondly, the Diſagreement betwixt his Royal Highneſs and Prince Eugene: Thirdly, the treacherous Correſpondence held by the Counteſs of Soiſſons, Siſter-in-law to the Prince, and the Duke's near Relation, of which we have an Account in the London Gazette, No. 4368.

[f] This Expedition was far from being fruitleſs: Beſides the great Damage the Enemy ſuſtained in their Shipping, the Burning of above 160 Houſes in Toulon, and the Devaſtations committed in Provence by both Armies, to the Value of 30,000,000 of French Livres; this Enterprize brought the farther Advantage to the common Cauſe, that it gave a great Diverſion to the Enemy's Forces, whereby their Army in Germany was weakened; the Duke of Orleans's Progreſs, after the Battle of Almanza, was retarded in Spain; the ſuccouring of Naples was prevented, and the Conqueſts of the Allies in Italy were ſecured.

Morning, and in the Afternoon he brought the Fleet to, and lay by, with a very freſh Gale at S. S. W. but hazy Weather. At ſix at Night he made Sail again, and ſtood away under his Courſes E. and by N. believing, as it is preſumed, he had the *Channel* open, and ſaw the Light at *Scilly*; ſoon after which ſeveral of the Ships made the Signal of Danger, as he himſelf did. Sir *George Byng* was not then half a Mile to windward of him, who ſaw the Breaches of the Sea, and ſoon after the Rocks of *Scilly* above Water; on one of which, known by the Name of the *Biſhop and his Clerks*, the Admiral ſtruck, and in leſs than two Minutes there was not any Thing of his Ship ſeen. The Ship where Sir *George Byng* wore his Flag, was providentially ſaved, chiefly by his own Preſence of Mind, in this imminent Danger, even when one of the Rocks was almoſt under her main Chains; and Sir *John Norris*, and the Lord *Durſley*, with very great Difficulty, diſentangled themſelves from the threatening Fate; beſides whom, ſeveral others run no ſmall Hazard among theſe dangerous little Iſlands [a].

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* having left Sir *Thomas Dilkes* at *Gibraltar*, as we have ſaid above, he ſailed from thence [b] the 5th of *October*, in order to join ſome other of our Ships coming from *Italy* with a conſiderable Tranſport for *Catalonia*. Being ſome Leagues Weſtward of *Barcelona*, an Expreſs brought him Letters from the King of *Spain*, from the Earl of *Galway*, and from Mr. *Stanhope*, deſiring him to call at that Place, his *Catholic* Majeſty having Matters of Importance to communicate to him. Putting in there, and having had a Conference with the King [c], he called a Council of War to conſider of his Majeſty's Propoſals, where it being reſolved, that he could not at preſent wholly comply with them [d], he ſet ſail again the 2d of *November*. He arrived at *Leghorn* the 19th, where he got Advice from *Genoa*, that all the Tranſports were ready to ſail for *Final*, to take in 8000 Foot, beſides ſome Horſe. There he propoſed to join them with his whole Squadron, being informed that the Enemy had a conſiderable Force at Sea; but being taken with a Fever, of which he died after ſome Days Illneſs, the Command of the Squadron devolved to Captain *Jaſper Hicks*, who was the next ſenior Officer; and who, after having convoyed the Tranſports to *Spain*, came to *Liſbon* with his Squadron the 7th of *March*. Here he received Orders to put the Ships under his Command into the beſt Condition he could, againſt the Arrival of Sir *John Leake* from *England*; of which hereafter.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this Year the Enemy had a conſiderable Force in the *Mediterranean*, which relieved their Party in the Iſland of *Minorca*, and did other Services in thoſe Parts; but it was in a manner by Stealth, and in the Abſence of our Fleet, which, as the Reader has ſeen, was then before *Toulon*. I ſhall conclude this Subject with obſerving, that how ill ſoever our Affairs went in *Spain*, it was owing entirely to the Diſputes amongſt our Land-officers, and the Miſmanagements induced thereby; for at Sea all Things went well, our Fleets and Squadrons did all that could be expected from them; and it ſeemed to be our Misfortune, that it was not in their Power to do all that was to be done [e]. If it had, we had certainly carried our Point, and King *Philip*, in ſpite of all the great Succours he received from his Grand-father, had been obliged to quit his Pretenſions to *Spain* and the *Indies*. But, as Biſhop *Burnet* has ſhewn, the *Auſtrian* Politics at this Juncture fell in with the *French*; and yet we continued to ſerved that auguſt Houſe, not only at the Expence of our Intereſt, but as it were in ſpite of their Teeth [f].

At the time that our Fleets were every where ſuperior to thoſe of the Enemy, our Trade ſuffered, in almoſt all Parts of the World, by their ſmall Squadrons of Men of War, as well as Privateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain Proof of the Weekneſs of the *French* Power; ſince it never can be conceived, that ſo haughty a Prince as *Lewis* XIV. would have ſtooped to this pyratical Way of carrying on the War, if he could have maintained it in a Manner more honourable [g]. Sir *Thomas Hardy*, who had commanded a Squadron in the Soundings a Year before, and who had this Year been employed on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, to protect the *Eaſt-India* Fleet, was, in the Beginning of the Month of *July*, ordered to eſcort the *Liſbon* Trade. Sir *Thomas*, purſuant to this Order, ſailed with the Squadron under his Command, and the outward bound Merchant-men. But being ſeveral times forced back by contrary Winds, it was the 27th of *Auguſt* 1707, before they got 93 Leagues off the *Lizard*. About half an Hour after Two that Afternoon, Captain *Kirktown*, in the *Defiance*, who was in the Rear of the Fleet, made the Signal of ſeeing ſix Sail, which being alſo ſeen about Three, right aſtern from the Maſt-head of the *Kent*; Sir *Thomas Hardy* brought too for the Rear, that were a great Way off, and ſpread very much, to come up with the Body of the Fleet, conſiſting in all of above 200 Sail [h].

Between three and four o'Clock, Sir *Thomas Hardy* perceiving, that the ſix Sail came up with him a-pace, notwithſtanding it was little Wind, and thereby judging they might be Seekers, made the Signal for the Ships that were to continue with him, to chaſe to Windward, and alſo chaſed himſelf with them, both to prevent theſe ſix Sail from taking ſome of the heavy Sailers, and to try to come up with them, in caſe they were Enemies. About Five, the ſix Sail were ſeen from the *Kent*'s Deck, making all the ſail they could before the Wind after the Fleet. Soon after, they ſhortened ſail, and brought too, to ſpeak with one another; whereupon, Sir *Thomas Hardy* believing them to be the *French* Squadron, mentioned in his Orders, made the Signal for the *Liſbon* Fleet to part, whilſt he, with his own Squadron continued to chaſe to Windward, the Enemy, who had formed themſelves in a Line of Battle. About Six the ſix Sail bore away, and ſtood to the Eaſtward of him, and he, with his Squadron, tacked after them, and continued the Chaſe till near ſeven o'Clock; but then conſidering that it was almoſt Night, that the ſix Sail were then hauled too, and almoſt in the Wind's Eye, he ſaw no Probability of coming up with, or keeping ſight of them, it being little Wind; and, therefore, he made the Signal for the Captains with him, to adviſe with them according to his Orders. The Reſult of this Conſultation (which was ſigned by 14 Captains) was, that Sir *Thomas Hardy* ſhould leave off Chaſe; and, leſt the Enemy, ſuppoſed to be *Guai Trouin*'s Squadron, of whoſe Strength he was informed by a Letter from the *Admiralty*, dated the 8th of *July* 1707, ſhould paſs by him in the Night, and fall upon the Trade, which could not be protected by the Convoys directed to be left with them; all the Captains unanimouſly agreed, that it was for her Majeſty's Service, to bear away, and keep Company with the *Liſbon* Fleet, till they got 120 Leagues at leaſt from the Land's End, according to his Royal Highneſs's Order. Sir *Thomas Hardy* complied with their Advice, and ſaw all the Fleet ſafe as far as he was directed. But, upon the Complaint of ſome Merchants, ſurmiſing that Sir *Thomas Hardy* had not chaſed the ſix Sail of *French* Men of War, a Court-martial was ordered to examine his Conduct therein. This Court, having ſifted every Circumſtance of this Affair, and heard the principal Officers of the Squadron upon their Oaths, declared their Opinion to be, that Sir *Thomas Hardy* had complied with his Royal Highneſs the Lord High-admiral's Orders, both with regard to the chaſing the Enemy, and alſo the protecting the Trade; and accordingly the Court did acquit the ſaid Sir *Thomas Hardy*, from the Charge brought againſt him. There never was, perhaps, a more juſt Sentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller Evidence, and yet Sir *Thomas Hardy* had his Conduct canvaſſed afterwards in every Place where it was poſſible to call it in Queſtion; which, in ſpite of all the Prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much to his Advantage; for he not only eſcaped all Cenſure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater Honour from the clearing up this Charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the Fleet, if no ſuch Accident had happened [a].

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[a] Beſides the Aſſociation, in which Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with many Officers and Gentlemen, and eight (ſome ſay nine) Hundred Seamen periſhed, the Eagle Man of War, commanded by Captain Hancock, with all her Company, underwent the ſame Fate. The Phœnix was loſt, but all her Crew was ſaved. The Romney and Firebrand Fire-ſhip ſtruck on the ſame Rocks, and the two Captains, with 25 of their Men, had only the good Fortune to eſcape. Some Accounts ſay, only the Captain of the Firebrand, with 24 Men, were ſaved. The Lord Durſley, Commander of the St. George, was almoſt miraculouſly ſaved; for his Ship was daſhed on the ſame Ridge of Rocks with the Aſſociation, and the ſame Wave which he ſaw, beat out Sir Cloudeſley's Lights, ſet his Ship a-float. Thus (ſays Biſhop Burnet) one of the greateſt Seamen of the Age was loſt, by an Error in his own Profeſſion, and a great Miſreckoning: for (as I have already obſerved) he had lain by all the Afternoon before, and ſet Sail at Night, believing, that next Morning he would have time enough to guard againſt running on thoſe Rocks. The Body of this brave Commnader was caſt on the Sands of the ſame Iſland where he ſuffered Ship-wreck, and had been ſtripped and buried three Days; but being taken up, embalmed, and brought to London, was magnificently interred in Weſtminſter-abbey the 22d of December at the Queen's Expence.

[b] He had with him ſeven Third-rates, three Fourth-rates, and one Fifth-rate of ours, and four Ships of the Line, with a Fire-ſhip of the Dutch.

[c] The King of Spain having been informed, that by his Inſtructions he was directed to return to Liſbon, about the Middle of January, to refit, repreſented to him how prejudicial it would be to the common Cauſe, and to himſelf in particular, if a Squadron did not conſtantly remain in the Mediterranean; and therefore propoſed his dividing the Ships he had with him, and that one Part might attend the Princeſs of Wolfembuttle, declared Queen of Spain, when he ſhould be ready to embark in Italy; another Part might ſtrengthen the Convoy from Italy, and the third endeavour to reduce the Kingdom of Sardinia; but that ſome Sbips might be firſt ſent to Italy, to take in a Body of Men for that Service.

[d] Upon conſidering the Condition of the Ships, as to Stores and Proviſions, it was judged abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould be at Liſbon by the Middle of January; nor was it thought that the Flag was at Liberty, by his Inſtructions, to divide the Squadron. But it was concluded, that if, when he came to Leghorn he ſhould find the Enemy had hot a Strength at Sea to moleſt the Convoy with the Troops deſigned to Catalonia, he ſhould then ſail to the Iſland of Sardinia, as his Majeſty had deſired.

[e] Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1707. Burnet, Burchett, Oldmixon, Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

[f] As this is a very extraordinary Aſſertion, I think myſelf obliged to cite Biſhop Burnet's own Words. "The Court of France finding they could not prevail on the King of "Sweden, made a public Application to the Pope for his mediating a Peace. They offered the Dominion in Italy to King Charles; to the States, "a Barrier in the Netherlands, and a Compenſation to the Duke of Savoy, for the Waſte made in his Country; provided that, on thoſe Conditions "King Philip ſhould keep Spain, and the Weſt-Indies. It was thought the Court of Vienna wiſhed this Project might be entertained; but the other "Allies were ſo diſguſted at it, that they made no Steps towards it. The Court of Vienna did what they could to confound the Deſigns of this Cam"paign, for they ordered a Detachment of 12,000 Men to march from the Army into Lombardy, to the Kingdom of Naples, &c."

[g] This Conduct of the French King, in the Situation his Affairs were then in, we muſt allow to be extreamly prudent. He found, that fitting out great Fleets was an Expence he could not bear; that the Allies were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and therefore it was requiſite to employ Ships in ſome other Method for his own Service, and his Subjects Advantage, which put him upon lending his Men of War to ſuch Merchants as were willing to fit them out for Privateers; and the Squadrons of Forbin, and Guai-Trouin, were equipped on this Account.

[h] Sir Thomas's Orders were dated the 2d of July 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound Ships that were ready to ſail, and ſee them ſafe about 120 Leagues beyond the Land's-end, and then to detach with them ſome Men of War, under the Command of Captain Kirktown; and himſelf, with the reſt of the Ships under his Command, to cruize in ſuch Station, or Stations, as ſhould be thought (upon adviſing with the ſeveral Captains with him) the moſt proper, for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Liſbon Trade. This Order further directed, that in caſe Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould, in his Paſſage from Spithead into the Soundiugs, get ſight of the Squadron of French Ships (which had been lately ſeen off the Lizard) he was forthwith to detach Captain Kirktown from him on his Voyage to Liſbon, as before directed; and he, with the reſt of the Ships under his Command, to give chace to, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to come up with, and take and deſtroy the ſaid Ships of the Enemy: but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to cruize in the Soundings, as before directed.

Towards the latter end of *April*, a large Fleet of Ships bound for *Portugal*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, and making in all a Fleet of 55 Sail, had a Convoy appointed them, conſiſting of three Men of War, the *Royal Oak* of 76 Guns, Captain *Baron Wylde*, Commander and Commodore; the *Grafton* of 70 Guns, Captain *Edward Acton*; the *Hampton-Court* of 70 Guns, Captain *George Clements*. They ſailed on the 1ſt of *May* from the *Downs*, and fell in, on the 2d, with the *Dunkirk* Squadron, commanded by *M. Forbin*, conſiſting of 10 Men of War, a Frigate, and four Privateers. The Commodore drew five of the ſtouteſt Merchant-ſhips into the Line, and fought bravely two Hours and a half; but then Captain *Acton* being killed, and his Ship taken, and the *Hampton-Court* ſoon after ſharing the ſame Fate, after having ſunk the *Saliſbury*, then in the Hands of the *French*, by her Side; the Commodore thought proper to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could, which it was not very eaſy for him to do, as he was immediately after attacked by three of the largeſt *French* Men of War, and had 11 Foot Water in his Hold. He diſengaged himſelf, notwithſtanding, and with great Difficulty, ran on-ſhore near *Dungeneſſe*, from whence he ſoon got off, and brought his Ship into the *Downs*. But while the Men of War were thus engaged, the lighteſt of the Enemies Frigates, and their Privateers, took 21 of our Merchant-ſhips, and carried them, with the two Men of War, into *Dunkirk*. The moſt extraordinary Thing that happened in this Engagement, was the Conduct of a Midſhip-man, on-board the *Hampton-Court*, who, while the Enemy were employed in plundering the Ship, conveyed Captain *Clements*, who was mortally wounded in the Belly, into the Long-boat, into which himſelf, and ſeven of the Sailors, crept through the Port-holes, and concealed themſelves, as well as they could, under the Thouls. The Enemy in the mean time, driving with the Flood, when they thought themſelves at a ſufficient Diſtance, they fell to their Oars, and had the good Fortune to get into *Rye* Harbour on the 3d of *May* [b]. This Affair made a very great Noiſe, the Merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the Admiralty to have acquainted Commodore *Wylde*, that the *Dunkirk* Squadron was at Sea; which, in all Probability, might have enabled him to have eſcaped this Misfortune [c].

The *French* King, as ſoon as he had Advice of this Engagement, promoted *M. Forbin* to the Rank of Chef d'Eſcadre, and gave him likewiſe the Title of Count [d], which he ſoon after merited by an extraordinary Exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The *Ruſſia* Fleet being this Year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir *Benjamin Ayloffe*, being then Governor, and ſome other principal Merchants, applied themſelves to the Admiralty, in order to know what Convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the Apprehenſions they were under, from the *Dunkirk* Squadron; they were told, that they ſhould have one Fourth, and two Fifth-rates, with which they were very much diſſatisfied. To make them in ſome meaſure eaſy, Sir *William Whetſtone* had Orders to convoy them beyond the Iſlands of *Shetland*. Accordingly the Fleet, conſiſting of about 50 Merchant-men ſailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his Inſtructions directed, by Admiral *Whetſtone*, who left them about three Weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their Voyage, under their proper Convoy. Some time after, Captain *Haddock*, who commanded, made a Signal of his ſeeing 11 Sail of the Enemies Ships, which ſome of the Fleet not regarding, but truſting to their good ſailing, 15 of them fell into the Enemies Hands, off the Iſland of *Kildine*, on the Coaſt of *Lapland*, on the 11th of *July*; and the reſt of the Fleet, conſiſting of about 40 Ships, with their Convoy of three Men of War, by the Favour of a hard Gale, and a thick Fog, got into *Arch-Angel* [e]; *M. Forbin* computes the Value of the Goods he preſerved, at 1,200,000 Livres.

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[a] The Preſident of this Council of War, was Sir John Leake, Knt. Vice-admiral of the White. It was held on-board her Majeſty's Ship the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portſmouth-harbour; and the Captains who, with the Preſident, ſigned his Acquittal, were, Hovenden Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meads, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this the Proceedings were laid before the Queen in Council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the Honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the Officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the Merchants, the Sentence was tranſmitted to the Admiralty, and there it was examined before his Royal Highneſs the Lord High Admiral, and the following Flag-officers, Admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairbourne, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wiſhart, who all approved the Sentence of the Court-martial, and gave their Opinion under their Hands. One would have imagined, that here the Thing muſt have ended, but it did not; for as ſoon as the Houſe of Commons ſat, a Motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould attend; which he did, and gave ſo clear an Account of his Conduct, that the very Members, who had promiſed to ſupport the Complaint, deſired it might be diſmiſſed.

[b] See the London Gazette, No. 4329.

[c] Theſe Facts depend upon the Repreſentations made by the Merchants to the Parliament, in the enſuing Seſſion, and the Anſwer to that Repreſentation, by the Council of the Lord High Admiral, in his Royal Highneſs's Name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the Admiralty ſhould have any treacherous Deſign; but, there is nothing more likely, than that ſome Under-officers of that Board, might ſend Copies of Letters, Orders for Convoys, and ſuch like Papers, at the Hazard of their Necks: as the very ſame Year Gregg did from the Secretary's Office, for which he ſuffered at Tyburn, and People very unjuſtly aſperſed his Maſter.

[d] Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. v. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. Forbin's Memoirs. In ſome of theſe Relations, the Number of Priſoners is computed at 1100, and the Value of the Prizes at 5,000,000 of Livres, that is about 250,000 l. Sterling; which is a little incredible, conſidering they took ſo few Ships; but, as the French had nothing to conſole them for their mighty Loſſes, but theſe little Advantages at Sea, we need not at all wonder, that they took ſo much Pains to magnify them.

[e] One Captain Nenyon Maſter, Commander of the Ship Nenyon and Benjamin, made Oath before the Houſe of Lords, that, on or about the 9th of July 1707, his Ship, with 11 or 12 others, were unfortunately taken in their Voyage to Archangel, by the Chevalier Forbin's Squadron, conſiſting of ſeven French Ships of War; that his Ship was the firſt taken, and he was immediately carried on-board Forbin, who demanded of him what Number of Ships for Convoy the Engliſh, bound for Archangel, had with them. He anſwered 12

Sail:

On the return of the *Dunkirk* Squadron, Count *Forbin* received Orders to join that which had been fitted out from *Breſt*, under the Command of M. *du Guai Trouin*, which he accordingly did, on the 8th of *October*; and they united on the 10th, fell in with the *Liſbon* Fleet, under the Convoy of the *Cumberland* of 80 Guns; the *Devonſhire* of 80 Guns; the *Royal-Oak* of 70 Guns; and the *Cheſter* and *Ruby* of 50 Guns, off the *Lizard*. The *French* were at leaſt 12 Sail of Line of Battle Ships. The Convoy diſpoſed themſelves in a Line, and thereby gave the Merchants-ſhips an Opportunity of eſcaping. M. *du Guai* attacked the *Cumberland* about Twelve at Noon, and with the Aſſiſtance of two other Ships, after an obſtinate Diſpute, carried her; the *Devonſhire* defended herſelf for a long time againſt ſeven, and 'till Evening againſt five *French* Ships; but then, by ſome Accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; 2 only, out of 900 Men, eſcaped; the *Royal-Oak*, made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and having ſet the *French* Ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. *de Bearnois*, on fire, got ſafe into *Kinſale* Harbour; the Count *de Forbin* took the *Cheſter*, and Meſſieurs *de Courſerat* and *de Neſmond* took the *Ruby*. As for the *Liſbon* Fleet, they very prudently ſaved themſelves during the Engagement.

The 30th of *December* Captain *Haddock*, Commander of her Majeſty's Ship *Ludlow-Caſtle*, got ſight off of the Long Sand of two Frigate-like Ships, which proved to be the *Nightingale* and *Squirrel*, formerly her Majeſty's Ships, but fitted out from *Dunkirk* as Privateers, and had each of them as many Men as the *Ludlow-Caſtle*. They both lay by 'till he came within Gun-ſhot of them, but then made ſail from him, before the Wind. At Eleven at Night he came up with the *Nightingale*, and took her; which as ſoon as the Captain of the *Squirrel* perceived, he ſheered off. The Captain of the *Nightingale* was one *Thomas Smith*, who had formerly commanded a Sloop in her Majeſty's Service, and was broke at a Court-martial for irregular Practices: Captain *Haddock*, who died lately an Admiral, and who commanded the Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, immediately before the laſt War, carried in his Prize to *Hull*, from whence he thought fit to ſend up all the *Engliſh* who were on-board the *Nightingale*, viz. Captain *Thomas Smith*, who commanded the Ship; *Charles Aiſlaby*, Lieutenant; Mr. *Harwood*, who acted as a Midſhip-man; an *Iriſh* Prieſt, and an *Engliſh* Sailor, who were immediately committed cloſe Priſoners for High-treaſon, and a Proſecution by the Attorney-general directed againſt them [a].

About this time News arrived of the Succeſs of Captain *John Underdown* in the *Falkland*, on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*; who with the Aſſiſtance of the *Nonſuch*, and Major *Lloyd*, at the Head of 40 Soldiers took the Duke of *Orleans*, and ſeveral others, as already mentioned on Page 658.

The 23d of *October* of this Year was memorable for the meeting of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*; which, after the Commons had choſen a Speaker, was adjourned to the 30th, when the Commons having preſented their Speaker, the Queen approved of him, and then adjourned them to the 6th of *November*, which Day her Majeſty made a Speech to both Houſes. The Commons ſoon after voted an Addreſs of Thanks to her Majeſty; but the Lords, inſtead of taking her Majeſty's Speech into Conſideration, according to Cuſtom, entered immediately into an Examination of the State of the Nation, and particularly of the ill Condition, and late Miſmanagements of the Navy. This Matter being taken into a more particular Conſideration, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the 19th, at which the Queen was preſent *incognito*, a Petition given in by the Sheriffs of *London*, and ſubſcribed by about 200 of the moſt eminent Merchants of the City, was read, complaining of the great Loſſes they had lately ſuſtained at Sea, for Want of Convoys and Cruizers, and begging a ſpeedy Remedy. A very warm Debate enſued, and ſeveral remarkable Speeches were made on that Account, which ended with the appointing a Committee to receive Propoſals for encouraging of Trade and Privateers in the *Weſt-Indies*, and reſolving to hear the Merchants farther in a grand Committee the 26th. The Commons had, about the ſame time, the ſame Matter under their Conſideration. They had ordered the 13th, a State of the Navy, from the Beginning of the War, and ſeveral other Accounts and Eſtimates to be laid before the Houſe. The 15th, a Petition from ſeveral Merchants of *London* was preſented to that Houſe, containing the ſame Complaints as to the Lords. The 17th, they voted the ſame Supply for the Navy as they had done for the foregoing Year. The 19th, they ordered ſome farther Eſtimates and Accounts to be laid before them relating to the Navy [b].

The 27th, the Commons, in a grand Committee, took into Conſideration the State of the Navy, and Trade of the Nation, and a great many Merchants were admitted into the Houſe, to make good the Allegations in their Petition [c]. Several Days were afterwards employed on the ſame Affair, the Complaints againſt Admiral *Whetſtone* and the Commodores *Edwards* and *Kerr* examined into [d], and many other Papers and Accounts were called for; the Lords likewiſe took theſe Matters under their Conſiderations, the 4th of *December*, and took ſeveral Reſolutions [e].

The 19th of *January* 1708, a Proclamation was publiſhed for encouraging Seamen and Landmen to enter themſelves on-board her Majeſty's Ships of War; and on the 26th, his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* appointed the Commanders of her Majeſty's Fleet [f]. The 7th of *February*, the Houſe of Lords preſented an Addreſs to her Majeſty, repreſenting the Allegations againſt Captain *Kerr* [g] to

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Sail: to which Forbin replied, he ſpake what was falſe, for there were only three Ships of War, Convoy to the Engliſh Fleet: Forbin then declaring, that he knew Admiral Whetſtone, with his Squadron, came no farther than the Iſle of Shetland, and then returned back again. This made a great Noiſe, and the more ſo, becauſe Admiral Whetſtone was a Man not well beloved, and People were very deſirous of fixing an Imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aſide; but it does not appear, that in this Inſtance they carried their Point.

[a] The making Examples of theſe Sort of Men, is a Thing of abſolute Neceſſity in time of War; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a falſe Kind of Pity, ever to let them eſcape. This Smith, and one Captain Rigby, who fled from hence for an infamous Crime, did us prodigious Miſchief, by their ſerving the French, during that War; and yet, when Rigby was taken, he was ſuffered to eſcape.

[b] Great Loſſes were made (ſays Biſhop Burnet) and all was imputed to the Weakneſs, or to a worſe Diſpoſition in ſome, who had Credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole Matter: For as the were entirely poſſeſſed of the Prince's Confidence, ſo when the Prince's Council were divided in their Opinions, the Deciſion was left to the Prince, who underſtood very little of thoſe Matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the Law for Errors or Miſcarriages. This Council was not a legal Court, warranted by any Law, though they aſſumed that to themſelves; being Counſellors, they were bound to anſwer only for their Fidelity. Not only the Prince, but the Queen likewiſe, concerned herſelf much in this Matter; and both looked on it as a Deſign levelled at their Authority. In the Proſecution of the Enquiry, it appeared, that many Ships of War were not fitted out to be put to Sea, but lay in Port neglected, and in great Decay; that Convoys had been often flatly denied the Merchants, and that, when they were promiſed, they were ſo long delayed, that the Merchants loſt their Markets, were put to great Charges, and, when they had periſhable Goods, ſuffered great Damage in them: The Cruizers were not ordered to proper Stations in the Channel; and when Convoys were appointed, and ready to put to Sea, they had not their ſailing Orders ſent them till the Enemies were laid in their Way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many Advertiſements, by which theſe Misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected by them, but thoſe who offered them had been ill treated for doing it.

[c] Mr. Heathcote (Son of Sir Gilbert) and Mr. Dawſon his Partner, two Ruſſia Merchants, made long and bold Speeches againſt the Admiralty, whom they charged with Malice, Fraud, and Ignorance, particularly in relation to the Ruſſia Fleet. Some Members, to curry Favour with the Court, endeavoured ſeveral Times to interrupt them; but Sir Richard Onſlow, Chairman of the Committee, deſired them to go on, which they did with great Freedom, and offered to prove what they advanced, both by Papers, and the Teſtimony of a great many Merchants there preſent. Annals of Queen Anne.

[d] They were convinced, that thoſe againſt the former, as well as againſt Sir Thomas Hardy, were groundleſs.

[e] By a Liſt of the royal Navy, publiſhed this Year, it appears to have been as follows: Seven Firſt-rates, 14 Second-rates, 45 Third-rates, and 64 Fourth-rates; 130 of the Line of Battle: Forty Fifth-rates, 26 Sixth-rates, and 9 Fire-ſhips; 75 for cruiſing: Sixteen Yachts, nine Bomb-veſſels, two Store-ſhips, nine Sloops, one Advice-boat, three Brigantines, two Ketches, 15 Hulks, 22 Hoys; 79 Small-craft: In all 284.

[f] They were as follows: Sir John Leake, Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, Sir George Byng, Admiral of the Blue; Sir John Jennings, Vice-admiral of the Red; Sir John Norris, Vice-admiral of the White; the Lord Durſley, Vice-admiral of the Blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, Rear-admiral of the Red; and John Baker, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White.

[g] The Allegations proved againſt him, were, that he had exacted large Sums for Convoy-money; and put Merchants to great Expences in freighting Ships, upon promiſing them Convoy, and afterwards refuſing it, which was the Occaſion of a Sloop, with great Wealth, being loſt.

to have been fully proved, and beſeeching her Majeſty to give ſuch effectual Orders as might prevent the like for the future. The 16th the Houſe of Commons addreſſed her Majeſty, on the ſame Account, and humbly deſired ſhe would be pleaſed not to employ the ſaid Captain *Kerr*, in her Service for the future; which Deſire her Majeſty, in Anſwer, declared ſhe would comply with. The 1ſt of *March* the Houſe of Lords preſented a very long Addreſs to her Majeſty, about the Miſmanagements of the Navy, and expreſſed themſelves thereupon in the true Spirit of Patriotiſm, and therefore I have placed it at the Bottom of the Page[b]. Her Majeſty received this Addreſs very graciouſly, and promiſed to pay all the Regard thereto, that the Nature of the Thing, and the Reſpect due to the Advice of the hereditary Council of her Kingdoms deſerved.

The Houſe of Commons alſo went into a grand Committee on the Affairs of the Navy, of which Sir *Richard Onſlow* was Chairman; they heard, with great Attentions, all the Merchants had to ſay, and carefully examined all the Evidence they could produce; and though there were ſome People who endeavoured to ſtop the Mouths of the Merchants, when they ran out into invidious Characters of the Officers, by whom they thought themſelves wronged, yet the Majority of the Houſe were inclined to hear their Sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both Lords and Commons concurred in carrying to the Throne ſuch Complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this View their Lordſhips, on the 7th of *February*, addreſſed the Queen to lay aſide Captain *Ker*[c]; and on the 26th of the ſame Month, the Houſe of Commons preſented an Addreſs of the ſame Nature againſt the ſame Perſon[d]. Theſe warm Proceedings had a proper Effect; they convinced ſuch as ſat at the Admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat *Britiſh* Merchants with Contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the Officers to know, that having Friends at the Board, or being tried, where no Evidence could reach them, would not always ſecure them from Puniſhment[e]. On the Complaints of the Merchants, however, againſt Sir *Thomas Hardy*, though proſecuted with great Heat, both Houſes concurred to vindicate him, which was ſufficient to encourage the Officers of the Navy to do their Duty; ſince where they could prove they had done this, it was moſt clear they ran no Hazard; but, if purſued by Clamour, were ſure to come off with Reputation[f].

Then there paſſed an Act for regulating Convoys and Cruizers; a further Term of fourteen Years and a half was granted to the *Eaſt-India* Company, in Conſideration of their advancing 1,200,000 *l.* for the public Service, there being granted in the whole, for the Year 1708, no leſs than 5,933,657 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* a Supply unheard off in former Times, and for a great Part of which we ſtand indebted to this Day. Of this upwards of 2,300,000 *l.* were intended for the Service of the Fleet, and great Things were expected, eſpecially ſince all Parts of the Iſland ſeemed heartily united in one Intereſt; and the carrying on the War, humbling *France*, and exalting the Houſe of *Auſtria*,

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[b] I ſhall cite here only their Lordſhip's Concluſion, after ſetting forth the Grievances complained of by the Merchants, the Anſwer by the Admiralty, and the Merchants Replication. "May it pleaſe your Majeſty. We having thus performed, what we take ourſelves to be indiſpenſibly obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciouſly accepted by your Majeſty, as coming from moſt dutiful Subjects, who ſincerely wiſh they may never have Occaſion hereafter to make Addreſſes to your Majeſty, but to congratulate your Succeſſes, or to return humble Acknowledgements for the Bleſſings of your Reign. We beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that none of your Subjects do exceed us in true Reſpect to his Royal Highneſs the Lord High Admiral. His great perſonal Virtues require it, and his near Relation to your Majeſty makes it our Duty. And as we do not mean, that any thing in this Addreſs ſhould in the leaſt reflect upon him, ſo we are very well aſſured his Royal Highneſs will never ſuffer other Perſons to protect themſelves under his Name, from a juſt Purſuit of ſuch Faults or Neglects, as immediately tend to the Ruin of Trade, and the Deſtruction of Britain. There cannot be a plainer Proof, that ſome Perſons employed by the Lord High Admiral, have made the worſt Uſe imaginable of the Truſt he honours them with, than in their preſuming to lay ſuch an Anſwer before the Houſe of Lords in his Name. For (not to take notice of the many Things which in the ſecond Report have been already laid before your Majeſty) throughout the whole Paper, there is not the leaſt Hope given, that for the future any better Care ſhall be taken of the Trade; on the contrary, the whole Turn of the Anſwer ſeems to be intended for expoſing the Complaints of the Merchants, rather than pitying their Loſſes. We are ſure nothing can be more remote from the Goodneſs and Compaſſion of the Lord High Admiral's Temper, and the tender Regard he has always ſhewn for your Majeſty's Subjects. May it pleaſe your Majeſty. It is a moſt undoubted Maxim, that the Honour, Security, and Wealth of this Kingdom, does depend upon the Protection and Encouragement of Trade, and the improving and right managing its naval Strength. Other Nations, who were formerly great and powerful at Sea, have by Negligence and Miſmanagement, loſt their Trade, and have ſeen their maritime Power entirely ruined. Therefore we do, in the moſt earneſt Manner, beſeech your Majeſty, that the Sea-affairs may always be your firſt and moſt peculiar Care. We humbly hope that it ſhall be your Majeſty's chief and conſtant Inſtruction, to all who ſhall have the Honour to be employed in your Councils, and in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful in what concerns the Trade and Fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular Charge to take care that the Seamen be encouraged, the Trade protected, Diſcipline reſtored, and a new Spirit and Vigour put into the whole Adminiſtration of the Navy."

[c] The Houſe of Lords, in their Addreſs, informed her Majeſty, that a Complaint had been lodged before them by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himſelf; and divers other Jamaica Merchants, againſt Captain William Ker, late Commander of a Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships at that Iſland, for refuſing to grant Convoys for their Ships to the Spaniſh Coaſt of America; and in particular, that the ſaid Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the ſaid Captain Ker the Sum of 600 l. as a Gratuity, if he would order one of her Majeſty's Men of War, under his Command, to go as Convoy to the Neptune Sloop, and Martha Galley, loaden with Woollen, and other Goods of her Majeſty's Subjects. That the ſaid Captain Ker, at that Time, ſeemed pleaſed with the Propoſal, and ſaid, the Windſor ſhould be the Ship; and ordered Mr. Wood to make what Diſpatch he could in getting the Galley and Sloop ready. On which Encouragement he got them ready to ſail, and bought 300 Negroes to put on-board them, and then acquainted Captain Ker therewith, and with the great Charge he was at in maintaining the Negroes, and his Fear of Sickneſs. Captain Ker then ſaid, he feared he could not ſpare a Man of War; but the next Day ſent Mr. Tudor Trevor, Captain of the Windſor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that Captain Ker ſaid, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered leſs than 2000, or at leaſt 1500 l. Whereupon Mr. Wood declared the Sum was ſo great, that the Trade could not bear it, and ſo the Sloop and Galley proceeded on the Voyage without Convoy; and in their Return, the Sloop loaded with great Wealth, being purſued by French Privateers, and having no Convoy, and crouding too much Sail to get from the Enemy, was unhappily overſet and loſt. The ſaid Mr. Thomas Wood alſo made another Complaint, that upon a further Application to the ſaid Mr. Ker, for a Convoy for three Sloops, bound for the ſaid Spaniſh Coaſts, he promiſed to give the Experiment Man of War, commanded by Captain Bowler, as a Convoy; for which the ſaid Mr. Wood agreed to give 800 l.; 400 l. part whereof was paid the ſaid Bowler, and the other 400 l. was made payable by Note to one Mr. Herbert, for the Uſe of Mr. Ker, which Note was ſent in a Letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's Hands. And, beſides that, as a further Encouragement for allowing the ſaid Convoy, M. Ker had an Adventure of 1500 l. in the ſaid Sloops, without advancing any Money. To this Complaint Mr. Ker put in his Anſwer, and both Parties were fully heard by themſelves, and their Witneſſes; and upon the whole Matter, the Houſe came to this following Reſolution, "That the ſaid Complaint of the ſaid Mr. Wood, againſt the ſaid Captain Ker, as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha Galley, as alſo in relation to the other three Sloops that went under the Convoy of the Experiment Man of War, hath been fully made out, and proved to the Satisfaction of this Houſe." The Queen gave only a general Anſwer to this Addreſs, but did not ſay poſitively that ſhe would comply with it.

[d] On the 26th of February, upon the Report of Sir Richard Onſlow from the Committee of the whole Houſe, the Commons came to three Reſolutions againſt Commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, viz. "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, laying before her the ſaid Reſolutions, and humbly deſiring, that her Majeſty will be pleaſed not to employ the ſaid Captain Ker in her Majeſty's Service for the future." This Addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, ten Days after her Majeſty declared that ſhe would comply with it.

[e] Upon a fair Computation, made about this Time, of the Loſs of Ships at Sea ſince the Beginning of this War, it was found; that the Loſs the French had ſuſtained in their Shipping, far exceeded that of Great-Britain, ſince we had only 30 Men of War taken, or deſtroyed, and 1146 Merchant-ſhips taken, of which 300 were re-taken. Whereas, we had either taken or deſtroyed 80 of their Ships of War, and taken or burnt 1346 of their Merchant men, including thoſe deſtroyed in the Weſt-Indies. By way of Supplement to this Liſt, it may not be amiſs to take Notice, that it appeared from the Lord High Admiral's Anſwer to the Report of the Houſe of Peers, there were 175 of the Enemies Privateers taken, as alſo the Re-captures by her Majeſty's Ship's of War, from the 4th of May 1702, to the 1ſt of December 1707, were 128; which amounted, by Appraiſement, to above the Sum of 82,975 l. and the Re-captures by Privateers, within that Time, to 38,054 l. both which Sums amount to 121,030 l. excluſive of Cuſtoms.

[f] Upon a Complaint to the Houſe of Lords of a Maſter of a Canary Ship, that Sir Thomas Hardy had refuſed to convoy him from Plymouth, their Lordſhips ordered Sir Thomas to attend the Houſe, who directed him to attend the Committee. The latter took Occaſion to examine likewiſe, the Papers relating to his Trial; and after they had read them, the next Day Sir Thomas Hardy, with two Merchants, and the Maſter of the Canary Ship, were called in before their Lordſhips; Sir Thomas having ſhewed his Orders to warrant his Refuſal of Convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and ſoon after Captain Philips, Deputy-uſher of the Black-rod came out to Sir Thomas, and told him, that their Lordſhips found he had fully juſtified himſelf, and done his Duty in every Reſpect; and therefore, that he was diſcharged from any further Attendance upon that Committee.

ſtria, were every where conſidered as the great Objects of our Care [a], as being eſſentially neceſſary to the Welfare of the Nation.

But before our Projects were thoroughly adjuſted, the *French* actually played off one of theirs, which put us into great Confuſion, and had like to have had much worſe Conſequences: This was the Attempt upon *Scotland* in favour of the *Chevalier de St. George*, which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleaſed to give the Perſon whom the Queen ſoon after diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the *Pretender*.

The true Scheme of the *French* King was to create a Diverſion, and if poſſible raiſe a Rebellion in *Scotland*, that by means of Trials and Executions, the Queen and her Miniſtry might be ſufficiently embarraſſed at home, and have the leſs Leiſure to proſecute their Views abroad; and from theſe Motives he ordered his Miniſters in all foreign Courts, to talk in very magnificent Terms of the Succours he gave to the King of *England*, as he thought fit to call him, that on the Rebound they might make the louder Noiſe in *Britain*, and induce us to believe our Danger the greater and more inevitable [b].

In this reſpect the *French* Politics had their Effect; for, on General *Cadogan*'s ſending over an Expreſs, diſcloſing the whole Deſign, the Queen, by Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, acquainted the Houſe of Commons therewith on the 4th of *March*, and received a very loyal Addreſs from them, as well as from the Lords.

The Admiralty, in the mean time, had fitted out a Fleet with ſuch incredible Diligence [c], that (without diminiſhing the Convoy provided for the *Liſbon* Fleet) [d] Sir *George Byng* and the Lord *Durſley*, ſailed from *Deal* towards the Coaſt of *Dunkirk* the 27th (Mr. *Burchett* ſays the 26th) of *February* in the Morning [e]. The ſame Day about Noon, Sir *George* came to an Anchor in *Graveling* Pits, and immediately after went into a ſmall Frigate, and ſailed within two Miles of *Flemiſh* Road for Intelligence [f]. The *French* were ſurprized when the *Britiſh* Fleet appeared off of *Mardyke*, and put a Stop to the Embarkation of the Troops. But the *French* King was ſo fully bent on the Deſign, that he ſent poſitive Orders to re-embark the Troops, and put to Sea with the firſt fair Wind.

The 6th of *March*, at four in the Afternoon, the *French* Fleet ſailed from the Road of *Dunkirk* [g]; but the Wind changing about Ten, they were obliged to come to an Anchor in *Newport* Pits, where they continued till the 8th in the Evening, when the Wind chopping about, they ſet ſail again, ſteering their Courſe for *Scotland*.

Sir *George Byng*, in the mean time, who came back with his Fleet into the *Downs* the 2d of *March*, and was conſiderably re-inforced [h], ſet ſail again the 6th, and on the 9th, at Ten in the Morning, being between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, he received Intelligence from Major-general *Cadogan*, from *Oſtend*, of the ſailing of the *Dunkirk* Squadron from the Pits of *Newport* [i]. He immediately purſued them, leaving Rear-admiral *Baker* with his Diviſion, and four other Men of War, to convoy ſuch Troops as might be thought neceſſary to ſend from thence to *Scotland* or *England*, and the 13th ſaw the *French* Fleet in the Mouth of the *Firth*, off of which Place he anchored the Night before.

Monſieur *Forbin* heard, it ſeems, the Signal for our Ships to come to Anchor, and knowing the Meaning of it, immediately ſent a Boat on-board of every Ship in his Squadron, ordering them to put out their Lights, and to ſail, one by one, out of the *Firth*, and ſteer a North-eaſt Courſe till they ſhould come off of the Town of *St. Andrews* [k]. This they did; but both Wind and Tide being againſt them, Sir *George* diſcovered them in the Morning, and purſuing them [l], took the *Saliſbury*, in which was a great Number of *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* Officers, and, among others, the Lord *Clermont*, Mr. *Middleton*, and the Lord *Griffin* [m]. When there was no farther Proſpect of coming up with the Enemy, they returned to *Leith*, where they remained till Sir *George* was informed of the Enemy's Return

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[a] Burnet, Burchett, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe, 1708, Annals of Queen Anne, Chandler's Debates, Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory.

[b] Hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. Tom. v. p. 478. Lamberti, Tom. IV. p. 379. Memoires de Forbin, which appear, from this Part of them, to be ſpurious.

[c] Sir John Jennings, Vice-admiral of the Red, was ordered to go down the River, and haſten the Ships fitting out to the Downs, as well as others in the River Medway. Captain Chriſtopher Myngs, at Portſmouth, had Orders to ſend away thoſe Ships which were at Spithead, and Sir George Byng was afterwards ordered thither to haſten them away, by two or three at a Time, and to take Men from thoſe in the Harbour or Merchant-ſhips. Rear-admiral Baker was ordered to proceed with the Ships at the Nore to the Downs; and every one of theſe Flag-officers had their farther Inſtructions how to proceed, as the Circumſtances of Things might require.

[d] It conſiſted of 12 Britiſh and five Dutch Men of War, under the Command of Sir John Leake.

[e] Sir George had under his Command 23 Britiſh, and three Dutch Men of War, and one Britiſh Fire-ſhip. Mr. Burchett ſays 24 Ships, viz. three Third-rates, 12 Fourth-rates, ſix Fifth-rates, and three Sixth-rates, beſides a Fire-ſhip. The Flag-officers then with him, were Sir John Jennings, the Lord Durſley, and John Baker, Eſq;.

[f] He had, from thence, a View of the Ships which lay there; he counted 27 in all, ſmall and great, all lying with their Top-ſails looſe, beſides what lay within the Heads above the Forts. And the next Day learned from a Fiſherman taken from the Shore, the Number and Strength of them; that about 10,000 Men were ready to embark; that they expected every Day Ships from Breſt; and that the Pretender was arrived at Graveling.

[g] They took the Opportunity of Sir George Byng's being forced from his Station by high Winds, and drove back to the Downs: Whether he, likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, repaired, that he might be ſupplied with ſuch Neceſſaries, as, in the Hurry of his firſt Departure, he could not be furniſhed with.

[h] He had now with him above 40 Ships of the Line, beſides Frigates and Fire-ſhips; having been joined by Captain Walker with ſome Ships from the Weſtward.

[i] Upon this Intelligence he called a Council of War, and according to the Reſolution taken in it, ſet ſail immediately in Purſuit of the Enemy, having firſt made a Detachment of a ſtrong Squadron, under the Command of Admiral Baker, with Inſtructions to convoy the Troops, which were embarked at Oſtend, and to look after the Ships ſtill remaining in the Road of Dunkirk.

[k] M. Forbin ſays, that while they were in the Firth of Edinburgh, they put out Signals, lit up Fires, and fired Cannon, to give Notice to the Friends of the Pretender to riſe in his Favour; but to no Purpoſe; not a Soul appeared; through Fear, ſays Father Daniel, of the Enemy's (the Britiſh) Fleet, and the numerous Body of Troops which were there.

[l] M. De Forbin ſays, that after he got Sight of the Engliſh Fleet, finding himſelf embayed, purſued, and having a Cape to double, he was ſenſible he ſhould not eſcape without a Stratagem; and he made uſe of the following, which ſucceeded: He directed his Courſe towards the Britiſh Fleet, as if his Deſign was to attack them; which they believing, lay by, and ranged themſelves in a Line of Battle: By this they loſt a great deal of time; and the French gained a better Height to double the Point, which, when they had done, they altered their Courſe, and ſtood away with all the Sail their Ships could bear.

[m] Of this Chace we have an Account in two Letters from Sir George Byng, from on-board the Medway. The firſt was of the 13th, as follows: "According to the Opinion we had framed, when we left the Station off of Dunkirk, it has proved, that the Enemy was deſigned for Edinburgh. This Morning we ſaw the French Fleet in the Mouth of the Firth (off of which Place we anchored the laſt Night) and ſent a Boat on-ſhore to the Iſle of May, from whence we had an Account, that the French came to an Anchor Yeſterday in the Afternoon. They ſent one Ship up into Leith-road, which had a Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head; they report a Blue one, but we are of Opinion that it is a Standard. The People of the Iſland ſay, that by the time that Ship could get up before the Town, they heard ſeveral Guns fire, which were in the Manner of a Salute (theſe Guns were ours for coming to an Anchor.) The Ship that went up Yeſterday, came down this Morning, and is now within two Leagues of us; ſhe appears to be a Ship of 60 Guns, but has now no Flag on-board. We ſaw this Morning, when they weighed, a Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head on-board of one of their Ships: They ſtand from us, and we bear after them with all the Sail we can." The ſecond was of the 15th, as follows: "We chaſed the Enemy to the Northward of Buccaneſs, ſometimes with reaſonable Hopes of coming up with them. The Dover and Ludlow-caſtle being the only clean ſailing Ships we had, they were the firſt that came up with Part of the Enemy's Squadron, paſſing by ſome of the ſmaller, to engage ſome of the larger Ships, and ſtop them till they could be relieved. They attack'd two or three of their Ships, among which was the Saliſbury; they did not part with them till more of our Ships arrived, but worked their Ship in a handſome Manner, to cut them off from the reſt of the Fleet; but in the Darkneſs of the Night they all got out of Sight, except the Saliſbury, who falling in among our head-moſt Ships, the Leopard entered Men on-board her. We were informed by the Officers who were taken, that there were 12 Batallions on-board their Squadron, commanded by the Count de Gacé, a Marſhal of France. The pretended Prince of Wales, Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the Macdonels, Trevanion, and ſeveral other Officers and Gentlemen, were on-board the Mars, in which alſo was Monſieur Forbin, who commanded the Squadron. The Number and Strength of their Ships are very near the Account we lately received from Dunkirk, nor were they joined by the Breſt Men of War: And they farther aſſure us, that ſome Ships which our Out-ſcouts fell in with off of Calais, were Privateers, and their Prizes, going into Dunkirk. The Morning after this Chace, we ſaw but 18 of the Enemy's Ships as far as we could perceive them from the Maſt-head, in the E. N. E. of us. Having no Proſpect of coming up with them, we lay off and on Buccaneſs all Day yeſterday to gather our Ships together; and this Day, it blowing hard at N. E. with a great Sea, judging the Enemy could not ſeize the Shore to make any Attempt, we bore up for this Place (Leith-road) which was thought moſt reaſonable, not only to ſecure, but to give Countenance and Spirit to her Majeſty's faithful Subjects, and diſcourage thoſe that could have Thoughts of being our Enemies.

turn to *Dunkirk*[a], (which was on the 25th of *March*[b]) and then, purſuant to Orders ſent him, returned to the *Downs*, from whence he came to *London*, and was graciouſly received by the Queen and his Royal Highneſs.

The Priſoners taken in the *Saliſbury*, being brought to *London*, the Lord *Griffin*, together with the Lord *Clermont* and *Charles Middleton*, Eſq; (two Sons of the Earl of *Middleton*'s) and Colonel *Wauchope*, were committed to the *Tower*, and about 20 *Iriſh* Officers to *Newgate*, for High Treaſon. Several Priſoners of Note were likewiſe brought from *Scotland*; but moſt of them, after Examination, were admitted to Bail[c].

The Miniſtry, apprehenſive of the fatal Conſequences of the Battle loſt by the Confederates at *Almanza*, were reſolved to employ the moſt vigorous Meaſures in the *Mediterranean*, in favour of King *Charles*. With this View Sir *John Leake* was appointed Commander in Chief of this Service, and in right of Seniority, was after the Death of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, promoted to be Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, by a Commiſſion dated *January* 8, 1707-8. But, to his great Mortification, was obliged, by the powerful Intereſt of Admiral *Churchill*, to accept of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, the moſt obnoxious Commander in the Navy, to be his Captain[d].

Sir *John*'s Sailing-orders were dated the 19th of the ſame Month, though there were neither Ships nor Men in a Condition to proceed on the intended Expedition[e]. However theſe Orders were repeated and made peremptory on the 2d of *February*, and after the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for a Line of Battle and a Rendezvous, the Fleet conſiſting of 25 Sail, a Frigate, a Fire-ſhip, and a Yatch, with a Vice and Rear-admiral, beſides the *Dutch* Convoy of five Sail, departed from *Spithead* on the 6th in the Afternoon, with the Tranſports and Trade; which all together, before he got clear of the Channel, amounted to 400 Sail[f]; and after many Delays of contrary Winds, *&c.* arrived at *Liſbon* on the 27th of *March*, where having landed the Regiments of *Barrymore* and *Paſton*, Sir *John* having here provided what Tranſports he could get for the Horſes, he ſet ſail the 28th of *April*[g], with the *Dutch* Vice-admiral *Waſſenaer*, from thence for the *Streights*[h].

The 11th of *May*, being on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, he had the good Fortune to intercept a *French* Convoy of about 90 Sattees and Tartans, bound with Wheat, Oil, and Barley to *Peniſcola*, for the Uſe of the Enemy's Army, of which he took about 70, and ſo diſperſed the reſt, that few arrived at their Port[i]. King *Charles* having received this welcome News, ſent a Felucca with Letters to the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Admirals, congratulating their Arrival and Succeſs, and deſiring that the Corn and other Proviſions might be diſpoſed of for his Magazines, which was granted.

The 15th, in the Morning, the Fleet came to an Anchor before *Barcelona*[k], and the Admirals, going on-ſhore, were received with great Marks of Eſteem by his Catholick Majeſty, who, the 18th, ſent them a Propoſal in Writing, containing ſeveral Heads[l]. The Admirals having returned a ſatisfactory Anſwer to all theſe Points, the Fleet ſailed from *Barcelona* the 19th, and the 28th arrived off of *Vado*[m].

The 17th of *June*, Sir *John Leake* having left his Fleet at *Vado*, arrived at *Milan*, where he was received with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem by her Catholick Majeſty, who, at his preſſing Inſtances ſet out the 24th, and the 2d of *July*, embarking on board the *Albermarle* near *Genoa*, for *Catalonia*, arrived at *Mataro*, near *Barcelona*, the 14th. The Queen landed the next Day, received the firſt Viſit from King *Charles* the 17th, and the 21ſt having made her publick Entry into *Barcelona*, the Marriage was, the ſame Day ratified, in the Church of *St. Mary*, by the Archbiſhop of *Terragona*.

Admiral *Leake* having concerted Matters at *Barcelona*, for the Reduction of the Iſland and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and, for that Purpoſe, taken a few Troops on-board the Fleet, commanded by the *Conde de Ciſuentes*, arrived before *Cagliari*, the Capital of the Iſland, the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, which, with the whole Iſland, ſoon ſubmitted to the *Conde*, who had been declared Viceroy for King *Charles*[n].

Sir *John Leake*, with the Aſſiſtance of Lieutenant-general *Stanhope*, was no leſs ſucceſsful in the Reduction of the Iſland of *Minorca*. He left *Cagliari* the 18th of *Auguſt*, and arrived before *Port Mahon* the 25th; from whence he ſent two Third-rates to *Majorca*, to haſten the Embarkation of the Troops which were to be forniſhed from that Iſland. They returned the 1ſt of *September*, with a ſmall Number of Sattees, laden with Materials of War for the Army; and the 3d the *Milford*, and three *Dutch* Men of War, with the Lieutenant-general, arrived, being followed by five Third-rates, and 15 Tranſports, with the Land-forces[o]. That and the following Day, the Troops were all landed; upon which the Inhabitants declared for King *Charles*. But the Enemy had yet three ſtrong Holds in their Hands[p].

It being ſoon after reſolved, in a Council of War, that Sir *John Leake*, with Part of the Fleet, after they had landed what was neceſſary for the Siege ſhould return to *England*,

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[a] In the mean time Sir George received Orders, the 23d, to ſend two Fourth-rates, and three Fifths, with the Priſoners into the River Humber, and the Downs. The Beginning of April, he received Orders to return himſelf to the Downs; accordingly, having appointed the Bonadventure, Mermaid, and Squirrel, to cruiſe on the Coaſt of Scotland, to prevent any illicit Correſpondence, he ſet ſail from the Coaſt of Scotland, and arrived in the Downs the 16th of April, with three Third-rates, 13 Fourth-rates, (of which the Saliſbury-Prize was one) two Fifth-rates, a Sixth-rate, and a Fire-ſhip, having appointed ſome Frigates to convoy Recruits from Scotland to Holland.

[b] Some of our Ships which were cruiſing near that Port, under the Command of Captain Griffin, got Sight of them (they being 14 in Number) one with a white Flag at Main-top-maſt-head. But they drawing into a Line of Battle when our Ships ſtood towards them, and being much ſuperior in Strength, ours kept their Wind, ſo that they got into the Harbour and landed the Pretender.

[c] When the News firſt came to London of Sir George Byng's having Sight of the French Squadron, near the Frith at Edinburgh, it was thought every Ship of them would be deſtroyed; but theſe too early Hopes being diſappointed, the Admiral was blamed and railed at, as if he had been deficient in his Duty; others pretended to ſay, that he had actually taken the Pretender, and might have taken the whole Fleet; but that he had private Orders from the Queen, to let both him and them eſcape. But the Houſe of Commons after having examined into the Number and Condition of the Ships employed in this Expedition, laying nothing to his Charge, ſufficiently removed all Objections againſt his Conduct. It is certain, and Monſieur Forbin himſelf owns it, that the French Fleet conſiſted of the beſt ſailing Runners and Privateers that could be found in Dunkirk.

[d] Sir John Leake's Life, p. 300.

[e] Ibid. p. 301.

[f] Ibid. p. 303, 304, 309.

[g] He had then with him one Second-rate, 12 Third-rates two Fourth-rates, a Fire-ſhip, Bomb-veſſels, and as many Tranſports as could carry 1500 Horſes, together with 12 Dutch Ships of the Line of Battle; having before appointed Cruizers off the Terceras and the Streights Mouth. And ordered thoſe Ships, which were not ready, to follow him.

[h] The Burford and Naſſau, two Third-rates having been ſent to land the Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Morocco, in their Return met and engaged, off of Cape Spartel, a Ship of 50 Guns, called the Happy-Return. (formerly taken by the French from us). They likewiſe forced a Privateer of 24 Guns on-ſhore, which the French burnt, and took another, with a Letter of Marque of 30 Guns.

[i] The Admiral, according to a Reſolution taken in a Council of War, had detached before ſome light Frigates for Barcelona, to notify the Arrival of the Fleet; and one of them, a Britiſh Frigate, having taken a French Frigate of 24 Guns, had notice that the Enemy's Convoy was very near; whereupon the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were made for intercepting it. The next Day, the Convoy conſiſting of three Men of War (one of 44, another of 40, and another of 32 Guns) and 90 Barks, coming in Sight, the Britiſh Frigates bore down immediately upon the Enemy's Men of War, which abandoning their Barks, and endeavouring to make their Eſcape, came in View of the Confederate Fleet, which ſeeing ſeven Men of War, concluded they were Enemies, and thereupon the Admiral made a Signal to give them Chaſe; but as the great Ships could not follow them near the Coaſt, the French made their Eſcape in the Night. The Vice-admiral of the White, who ſailed on the Left, with his Diviſion, perceiving the Barks near the Coaſt, ſent his Long-boats, and ſmall Ships, and took ſeveral of them. The next Morning they ſaw ſome of them diſperſed, which were likewiſe taken by the Long-boats; and ſome Barks of Catalonia, coming out of their Harbours, at the ſame time, to have a Share in the Booty, 69 of them were taken, and the reſt diſperſed. Annals of Queen Anne.

[k] Here he found the Defiance, Northumberland, Sorlings, and Faulcon, the laſt of which, mounted with 32 Guns, had ſharply engaged a French Frigate of 32 Guns, and loſt her Captain and 40 Men in the Action.

[l] He in particular deſired, that they would leave a ſmall Squadron to cruize on the Coaſt of Catalonia, becauſe it was not improbable that the French would endeavour to ſend a new Convoy from Provence and Languedoc, to Spain. This was agreed to, and five Britiſh, with two Dutch Men of War appointed for that Service.

[m] From thence Vice-admiral Waſſenaer went, ſome Days after to Turin, to confer with the Duke of Savoy, and haſten the March of the Troops, which were to be embarked for Catalonia; and Admiral Leake ſent Sir John Norris to Milan, to make the ſame Inſtances, and, at the ſame time, to compliment King Charles's Conſort.

[n] The Viceroy at firſt inſiſted upon extravagant Terms; but on the throwing of a few Bombs into the City, the Inhabitants ſoon compelled him to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

[o] They were about 2600 Men, 1200 of which were Britiſh, including the Marines, 600 Portugueſe, and the reſt Spaniſh.

[p] Ciutadella, to the Weſtward of the Iſland, and the Capital of it; Fort Fornelle, to the Northward; and three ſtrong Forts, which defended the Entrance into Port Mahon.

England[a], he ſet ſail the 6th[b], leaving Sir *Edward Whitaker*, with his Squadron, before *Port Mahon*. Being informed, off of *Gibraltar*, that ſome *French* Men of War from *Cadiz* had taken ſome of our Merchant-men near Cape *Spartel*, and carried them into that Port, he left a Squadron to cruize in that Station, and purſuing his Voyage arrived at *St. Helens* the 19th of *October*.

Sir *John Leake* being departed, Sir *Edward Whitaker* made Preparation for attacking the Caſtles of *Port-Mahon*; but while the Artillery, and all Things neceſſary were putting on-ſhore, he ordered Captain *Butler* in the *Dunkirk*, and Captain *Fairborne* in the *Centurion*, to go and batter Fort *Fornelle*, that the Tranſports might ſafely ride into the Harbour of that Name. They anchored before it the 9th, and, after ſome Reſiſtance, obliged the Garriſon, of about 50 Men, to ſurrender Priſoners of War[c]. The 11th, at the Sight of a Detachment of our Troops, and two of our Men of War, the Garriſon of *Cintadella*, conſiſting of 100 *French* Men, and 100 *Spaniards*, ſurrendered likewiſe. The 17th they began to play from their Batteries on the two middlemoſt Towers, and the Line they ſupported; and having beat down the former, and made ſome Breaches in the latter, they attacked and took the Lines by Storm, notwithſtanding the Enemy's Fire from the three Forts, with the Loſs only of Captain *Stanhope* of the *Milford* Gally, the General's Brother, and about 40 Men killed and wounded. The Enemy beat a Parley the next Morning, and the Capitulation being agreed to, the General took Poſſeſſion of this important Place the 19th.

In the Caſtles and Forts they found about 100 Pieces of Cannon, 3000 Barrels of Powder, and all Things neceſſary for a good Defence. The Garriſon, conſiſting of about 1000 Men, half *French* half *Spaniards*, were to be tranſported to their reſpective Countries: But the former were detained, by Way of Reprizals, for the Garriſon of *Xativa*, treated by the *French* in the ſame Manner. Thus we became poſſeſſed of *Port Mahon*, the Advantage of which to our Fleets, when in the *Mediterranean*, we have ſufficiently experimented, and ſhall do more, ſhould the happy Peace we have ſo long enjoyed ever be turned into a War with *France* and *Spain*, ſince we are ſtill in Poſſeſſion of it, according to this Author, who wrote about the Year 1720.

Port-Mahon being thus reduced, Sir *Edward Whitaker* departed thence the 29th of *September*, with his Squadron, for *Leghorn*, from whence he ſent a Convoy to *Naples*. He continued ſome Weeks on the Coaſts of *Italy*, as well to endeavour to intercept the Pope's Gallies, and others expected from *France*, with a conſiderable Number of Men and Arms, as to countenance the Negotiations of the Marquis *de Prie* at the Court of *Rome*[d].

The 27th of *November* Sir *Edward Whitaker*, at the preſſing Inſtances of the King of *Spain* and General *Stanhope*, ſet ſail from *Leghorn* to *Barcelona*, where arriving, it was his Catholick Majeſty's Requeſt, that he might again return to *Italy*, to convoy the Troops deſigned from thence for *Catalonia*, and the Tranſports with Corn from *Majorca*; as likewiſe to ſee them to *Sardinia*, for a farther Supply, and for Horſes to mount the Cavalry. Sir *Edward* returning accordingly, with the *Britiſh* Squadron to *Leghorn*, received Advice there, that Matters were adjuſted at *Rome*, that the Pope had owned *Charles* III. King of *Spain*, and that 3000 Men would be ready to embark at *Naples*, as ſoon as he arrived.

While theſe Conqueſts were making in the *Mediterranean*, Lord *Durſley*, who commanded a Squadron in the *Soundings*, having ſeen the outward-bound Trades well into the Sea, proceeded to the Coaſt of *Ireland*, whence he ſent Captain *Owen*, with the *Eaſt-India* Ships to *Plymouth*, and his Lordſhip himſelf, joining the Trade from *New England*, he accompanied them off of *Scilly*, and ſent them from thence to *Plymouth* likewiſe, with two Ships of War, beſides their proper Convoy. The 26th of the ſame Month, his Lordſhip chaſed three Ships which he diſcovered near the Land's End, of betwe|n 40 and 50 Guns. But his Ships being moſt of them foul, and the *French* clean, they ſtood away for their own Coaſt and eſcaped.

We alſo read in the Annals of Queen *Anne*, of an Expedition under the Direction of General *Erle*, on the Coaſt, in which Sir *George Byng*, as Admiral, and the Lord *Durſley*, as Vice-admiral of the Blue, commanded a Squadron; this Expedition Mr. *Burchett* has wholly omitted; I ſhall but juſt mention a Word or two of it. The 27th of *July*, the Squadron, with ſome Tranſports, and the Troops deſigned for this Expedition, ſailed from *Spithead*; and the next Day came to an Anchor off of *Deal*. The 29th they ſtood over to the Coaſt of *Picardy*, as well to alarm, as to amuſe the Enemy, and to be ready for farther Orders. The 1ſt of *Auguſt* the Fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next Day in the Bay of *Boulogne*, where they made a Feint of landing the Troops. The 3d they ſtood in pretty near the Shore, to obſerve the Condition of the Enemy. The 4th they weighed, but anchored again about Noon, in the Bay of *Eſtaples*. Here a Detachment of Troops was landed; but the Project on-ſhore, which this Deſcent was to have countenanced, being laid aſide, an Expreſs brought new Orders from *England*, upon which the Troops were re-embarked. The 7th they ſtood over again to the Coaſt of *England*, and being joined by more Tranſports in *Dover* Road, arrived the 11th in the Bay of *La Hogue*. The 12th they deſigned to have landed; but, upon viewing the Coaſt, they found ſo many Troops brought together, to oppoſe a Deſcent, and ſo many Forts and Batteries on the Shore, that it was deemed impracticable. The 14th the Fleet ſet ſail again for the Weſtward; but the Wind coming about the next Day, they altered their Courſe, and lay before *Cherbourg*, but found no Proſpect of doing any Thing there. The ſame Day the Lord *Durſley*, in the *Orford*, with ſix other Men of War, and the Marines, ſailed to the Weſtward, to cruize in the *Soundings*. The 17th, the reſt of the Fleet returned to the Bay of *La Hogue*; but the Men growing ſickly, and Proviſions falling ſhort, Sir *George Byng* returned to *Spithead* on the 28th. And thus ended this Expedition, which ſerved only to amuſe the Enemy, and alarm the Coaſt.

The 27th of *October* commenced the Trials of Captain *Richard Edwards*, Captain *John Balchen*, and Captain *Baron Wild*, on-board the *Royal Anne* at *Spithead*; the two firſt for loſing their Ships, and the laſt for not doing his Duty, by breaking the Line, and not obeying the Orders of the Commander in chief; which laſted till Night. Captain *Edwards* of the *Cumberland* was honourably acquitted, as to the doing his Duty, both as Commodore of the Squadron, and Captain of the ſaid Ship: Captain *Balchen* of the *Cheſter* was acquitted; but Captain *Baron Wild*, of the *Royal Oak*, was caſhiered the Service, and declared incapable of ſerving her Majeſty at Sea for the future.

The 28th of *October* this Year, died his Royal Highneſs *George* Prince of *Denmark*, Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, &c. in the 56th Year of his Age. The Deceaſe of this Prince, as Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, &c. neceſſarily occaſioned ſome Alterations at Court. His Royal Highneſs having been for ſome Years pretty much indiſpoſed, the Affairs of the Admiralty were for the moſt part adminiſtered by his Council; but their Power expiring with him, the Queen took the Management of thoſe Affairs into her own Hands for the preſent. Her Majeſty, however, ſoon thought fit to eaſe herſelf of that Burden, by appointing *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, which Office he had diſcharged with univerſal Applauſe in the Year 1702. The Parliament meeting on the 16th of *November*, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, in a grand Committee upon the Supply, that the ſame Number of Men for the

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[a] It was reſolved, that the Ships deſigned for England ſhould leave behind them all the Marine Soldiers, above the middle Complement of each of them, that they ſhould ſpare the Soldiers as much Bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their Cannon ſhot, except what might be neceſſary for their own Defence. Burchett. [b] He was to take with him one Second-rate, and ſix Third-rates of ours, and eight Dutch Ships of the Line; but he ſent away two Britiſh and two Dutch Men of War, with the empty Tranſports before hand, in order to their being diſcharged. [c] They found in the Harbour a Tartane, laden from Marſeilles, and a great deal of Corn, with 12 Guns in the Fort; and to this Harbour all our Tranſports, with the Bomb-veſſels, which before had no ſecure Place to ride in, were ſent. Annals of Queen Anne. [d] Three Ships were employed off of Longone, off the Iſland of Elba, which the Imperialiſts propoſed to attack; but altered their Reſolution; two of our Ships purſued ſome of the Pope's Gallies, which were paſſing by Leghorn; but there being little Wind, they got away by the Help of their Oars.

Sea-ſervice be employed, with the ſame Allowance, and the ſame Sum be given for the Ordinary of the Navy, for the Year 1709, as had been granted for the foregoing Year.

The Merchants of *Briſtol* this Year revived their ancient Thirſt after *Diſcoveries* for the Improvement of Commerce, by fitting out the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* to cruiſe in the *South-Seas*, under the chief Command of *Woodes Rogers*, Captain of the *Duke*, aſſiſted by Captain *William Dampier* as Pilot, who had been twice round the World before, and thrice in the *South-Seas*; and by *Thomas Dover*, a Doctor of Phyſic, and of great Skill in maritime Affairs, *&c.* as his ſecond Captain. The firſt Captain of the *Ducheſs* was *Stephen Courtenay*, and the ſecond was *Edward Cooke*.

The Crews of both Ships were collected from various Nations as well as Trades, and amounted to 333 Men. The Burthen of the *Duke* was 320 Tons, and ſhe carried 30 Guns; the *Ducheſs* 260 Tons, and 26 Guns.

On the 18th of *September*, they took a *Spaniſh* Bark of 25 Tons off of the *Canaries*, bound from *Oratava* to the Iſland of *Forteventura*, with 45 Paſſengers, among whom was the Guardian of the aforeſaid Iſland, an honeſt merry Friar, who took his Glaſs chearfully, and made no Scruple of drinking a Health to King *Charles* III.

On the 19th, ſtanding in for *Oratava*, they ſent the Maſter of the *Spaniſh* Bark aſhore, with two or three other Priſoners, to agree about her Ranſom: He was accompanied by Mr. *Carleton Vanburgh*, Agent for the Owners on-board the *Duke*, who went againſt the Will and Judgment of Captain *Rogers* upon this Errand; in conſequence of which Obſtinance, a Flag of Truce came off the Iſland in the Morning of the 20th, with a Letter directed to the Captains *Rogers* and *Courtenay*, and ſigned by *J. Pouldon*, Vice-conſul, *Bernard Walſh*, *J. Croſſe*, and *G. Fitzgerald*, ſignifying, that Mr. *Vanbrugh* ſhould be detained aſhore till the Bark was reſtored, to keep which was not only againſt a private Contract entered into between *Spain* and *England* relative to the *Canaries*, but would be of the greateſt Detriment, as well to the trading Subjects of both Crowns, as to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants reſiding on theſe Iſlands, of whom would be exacted a tenfold Satisfaction.

To this Epiſtle the Captains agreed to anſwer, that, in keeping the Bark, they acted up to their Inſtructions; that they knew nothing of any private Article in favour of the Ships of theſe Iſlands; and that, if Meaſures were not taken to ranſom her, and reſtore Mr. *Vanbrugh*, they would bring their Guns to bear upon the Town the enſuing Day, and afterwards carry the *Spaniſh* Priſoners (for the Maintenance of whom, as well as themſelves, they were ſufficiently victualled) to the *Engliſh* Settlements whither they were bound; for they judiciouſly concealed their Intentions of cruizing in the *South-Seas*.

September the 22d, Mr. *Croſſe*, one of the *Engliſh* Merchants who had ſigned the above-mentioned Letter, came off to them in a Boat, bringing with him Mr. *Vanbrugh*, together with ſome Wine, Hogs, Grapes, and other Neceſſaries, to ranſom the Bark: At the Deſire of that Gentleman, whatever could be recovered of the Effects belonging to any of the Priſoners were returned to them, particularly the Croſſes, Reliques, and Books of the Friars; and to the merry Guardian of *Forteventura*, Captain *Rogers* made a Preſent of a Cheeſe. On the 24th, a Committee was held on-board the *Duke*, wherein Mr. *Vanbrugh*'s Complaints againſt Captain *Rogers*, for ſomething which he ſuppoſed wrong in this Treaty, were judged to be groundleſs, and the Captain unanimouſly acquitted.

September the 25th they paſſed the Tropic; and on the 30th anchored in the Bay of *St. Vincent*.

October the 1ſt, they ſent a-ſhore their empty Caſks to be cleanſed and filled with Water, of which, as well as Wood, there is in this Place great Plenty. On the 3d, it was agreed to diſpatch *Joſeph Alexander*, their Linguiſt, with a very reſpectful Letter to the Governor of theſe Iſlands, praying Leave to traffic, as being Subjects of *Great Britain*, and Allies to the Crown of *Portugal*. During their Stay in this Place their Linguiſt deſerted, but for what Reaſons were never known. The Deputy-governor, who was a Negro, came on-board the *Duke*, bringing with him Limes, Oranges, Tobacco, Potatoes, Bonanoes, Muſk-melons, Water-melons, Fowls, Hogs, and Brandy, for which he was paid in Prize-goods of little Value, and was very well ſatisfied. Here was alſo made, in a Committee held on-board the *Ducheſs*, certain Regulations relative to Prizes and Plunder; and Meaſures were taken to prevent the Sailors from ſelling their Cloaths to the Negroes and Natives of theſe Iſlands, for Brandy and other Trifles.

The 14th they had Sight of the Land of *Brazil*, and on the 18th came to Anchor in the Middle of the Entrance of the Iſland of *Grande*, in 11 Fathom Water, there being but little Wind. On the 20th, two Boats, in one of which was a Lieutenant, in the other Mr. *Dampier*, were diſpatched to the Watering-place, to ſee that it was clear of Enemies. Here they found a *Portugueſe* Boat, that complained they had been lately robbed by the *French*. In the Evening a Pinnace with Captain *Cooke* and Lieutenant *Pope* was diſpatched to *Angre de Reys*, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Noſtra Seniora de la Conceptione*, a Village about three Leagues diſtant, with a Preſent of Butter and Cheeſe to the Governor, and a Requeſt of his Friendſhip. As they came near the Shore, the Inhabitants miſtaking them for *French*, fired on them ſeveral times, but did them no Damage, entreating their Pardon when they diſcovered their Miſtake; and a Friar, who entertained them very civilly, for the Governor was gone to *Rio de Janeiro*, a City 12 Leagues farther off, told them they had very lately been plundered and abuſed by the *French*.

On the 3d of *December* they left the Iſland of *Grande*, and ſteered for *Juan Fernandez*, where Captain *Rogers* arrived on *January* 31, 1708-9. On the 2d of *February*, ſeeing the Coaſt was clear, and no Sight of any Ships in the Bay, Captain *Dover* and Mr. *Frye*, with ſix armed Men, ventured to go aſhore in the Yaul, which not returning in haſte, was followed by the Pinnace well mann'd; they both came back towards Evening, and brought with them a Man clothed with Goat's-ſkin, who appeared wilder than the Goats themſelves: He ſeemed very much rejoiced at getting on-board, but at firſt could not ſpeak plainly, only dropping a few Words of *Engliſh* by times, and without much Connection; however, in two or three Days he began to talk, when he obſerved that his Silence was involuntary; for that having been four Years and as many Months upon the Iſland, without any human Creature with whom to converſe, he had forgotten the Uſe of his Tongue, and having been ſo long inured to Water, and ſuch inſipid Food as he could pick up, it was ſome time before he could reconcile himſelf to the Ship's Victuals, or to the taking of a Dram.

This Man was a Native of *Largo*, in the County of *Fife* in *Scotland*; his Name was *Alexander Selkirk*; and Captain *Dampier*, to whom he was well known, giving him the Character of a good Seaman, he was appointed a Mate on-board the *Duke*. He had belonged to a Ship called the *Cinque Ports*, commanded by one *Stradling*, who, upon ſome Difference, ſet him aſhore here, where he had been before to Wood and Water, leaving him a Firelock, with a Pound of Powder, Ball, a Knife, a Hatchet, a Kettle, ſome mathematical Inſtruments, a Bible, and two or three other uſeful Books, with a ſmall Quantity of Tobacco, Bed, Bedding, &c. At firſt the Terror and Lonelineſs of the Place ſunk deeply on his Spirits, but in time he became inured to it, and got the better of his Melancholy. He had erected two Huts, one of which ſerved him for a Kitchen, the other for a Dining-room and Bed-chamber; they were made of Piemento-wood, which ſupplied him alſo with Fire and Candle, burning very clear, and yielding a moſt refreſhing fragrant Smell; the Roof was of long Graſs or Ruſhes, and his Wainſcotting the Skins of Goats, near 500 whereof he had killed during his Reſidence here, and caught above 500 more, which he marked on the Ears, and then ſet at liberty.

When his Ammunition was exhauſted, he catched them by running; and ſo practiſed was he in that Exerciſe, that the ſwifteſt Goat upon the Iſland was ſcarcely a Match for him; and Captain *Rogers* informs us, that during the Stay of his People upon this Iſland, Mr. *Selkirk* went often out with the Dogs to hunt Goats, whom he always diſtanced, and frequently tired quite out. On his being firſt abandoned here, he reliſhed his Food, which was boiled Goat's Fleſh and Craw-fiſh, but indifferently, for want of Salt; however, in time, he got the better of his Nicety of Palate, and was well enough pleaſed with the Seaſoning of the Piemento-fruit, which is not unlike the Black-pepper of *Jamaica*. When his Cloaths were worn out, he made for himſelf a Covering of Goat-ſkin, joined together with Thongs, which he had cut with his Knife, and which he run through Holes made with a Nail inſtead of a Needle; he had a Piece of Linen by him, of which he made a ſort of Shirt to put next his Skin, and this was ſown in the ſame manner. He had no Shoes left in a Month's time; his Feet having been ſo long bare, were now become quite callous; and he was ſome time on-board before he could wear a Shoe, his Feet ſwelling conſiderably under the Reſtriction. The Rats at firſt plagued him very much, growing ſo bold as to gnaw his Feet and Cloaths while he ſlept; however he ſoon taught them to keep a greater Diſtance, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Cats that had been left aſhore by the Ships; of theſe and a few Kids he made Pets, and uſed to divert himſelf by dancing the Hay among them, and teaching them a thouſand Tricks. Mr. *Selkirk*, on his coming to *England*, ſupplied *Daniel Defoe*, who was pillory'd, with his Memoirs, in order to digeſt them for Publication; but that honeſt Writer ſtole the Materials, which he gave to the Public under the Name of *Robinſon Cruſoe*.

February 13, it was agreed, in a Council of the Officers, to ſail for the Iſland of *Lobos de la Mar*; and which-ever Veſſel arrived there firſt, was to leave Directions for her Conſort how to proceed, buried in a Glaſs-bottle at the Depth of 20 Yards, at certain Spots which they named. The next Day they weighed Anchor with a fair Gale at S. S. E. and Mr. *Vanbrugh* was the Day after received again in his old Birth on-board the *Duke*. On the 4th of *March* every Man was put to an Allowance of three Pints of Water *per* Day, that their Stock might hold out, they being reſolved to keep out to Sea, in hope of taking ſome good Prizes from *Lima* or elſewhere: According to which Expectation, on the 16th of *March* they ſpied a Sail, and the *Ducheſs* being neareſt, took her, of about 16 Tons, belonging to *Payta*, and bound to *Cheripe*, with a ſmall Sum of Money on-board to purchaſe Flour. The Maſter's Name was *Antonio Heliagos*, a Muſtee, begotten between an *Indian* and a *Spaniard*. His Crew conſiſted of eight Men, one of them a *Spaniard*, one a Negro, and the reſt Indians: From theſe they learned that there had been no *French* Ships in theſe Seas for upwards of ſix Months; and that the *French* were ſo hated at *Lima*, that it was as much as a *Frenchman*'s Life was worth to be ſeen in the Streets.

After they had manned the Prize with *Engliſh* Sailors, they haled off cloſe on a Wind for *Lobos*, having Shot within it; and had they not been better informed by the Crew of the Prize, might have endangered their Ships by running in farther, becauſe there are Shoals between the Iſland and the Main.

The Priſoners told them there had been no Enemy in thoſe Parts ſince Captain *Dampier*, which was four Years ago. They likewiſe informed them, that Captain *Stradling*'s Ship, the *Cinque Ports*, who was *Dampier*'s Conſort, foundered on the Coaſt of *Barbacom*, where he, with ſcarce more than ſix or ſeven of his Men, were ſaved; and being taken in their Boat, had been kept ever ſince Priſoners at *Lima*, where they lived much worſe than poor *Selkirk*, whom they had left aſhore on the deſolate Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, had done.

March the 17th, they came to Anchor betwixt the two Iſlands of *Lobos de la Mar*, together with their Prize, which on the following Day they prepared to fit out as a Cruiſer, under the Command of Mr. *Stratton*, calling her the *Beginning*. On the 20th, having manned her with 32 Men, and ſtocked her with Proviſions, ſhe put to Sea; and on the 26th the *Ducheſs* brought in a Prize which they had taken in company; her Burthen was 50 Tons, with a Cargoe of Timber, ſome Cocoa-nuts, and Tobacco, which latter was diſtributed among the Crews of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*. On the 30th, having cleaned and refitted the laſt Prize, they gave her the Name of the *Increaſe*, and then removed the Sick of both Ships on-board her, under the Care of a Doctor, and Mr. *Selkirk*, as Maſter.

On the 2d of *April* Lieutenant *Frye* was diſpatched in the *Pinnace* after a Prize which came then in ſight; he ſoon brought her in; ſhe proved the Ship before ſpoken of, commanded by Mr. *Morrel* and his Brother; her Burthen was 500 Tons, and beſides her Cargo, ſhe had on-board 50 Negroes, and many Paſſengers bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, with a fine Stock of freſh Proviſion; the Command of this Veſſel was given to Mr. *Frye*: And the Day following the *Beginning* took a Prize of 35 Tons Burthen, bound from *Guiaquil* to *Chancay*; by which Veſſel they were adviſed that there was a *Spaniſh* Biſhop at *Payta*, who would ſoon paſs the Road wherein they now lay in his Way to *Lima*. In conſequence of which Information, the Cruizers were diſpoſed in ſuch Stations as ſeemed to bid faireſt for ſhortening his Lordſhip's Voyage.

April the 15th the *French*-built Prize, which they had ſo long expected, appeared in ſight, and being attacked by the Boat and the *Pinnace*, repulſed them, having killed two Men, one of whom was Captain *Rogers*'s Brother; he was ſhot through the Head; however, ſhe ſtruck ſoon after to the *Ducheſs*. She had 500 *Spaniards*, and 100 *Mulattoes*, *Negroes*, and *Indians* on-board; but they had ſet the Biſhop a-ſhore, together with his Treaſure and Attendants, about ten Days before, at point *St. Helena*.

On the 17th all the Men intended for the Deſcent upon *Guiaquil*, to the Amount of 201, were put on-board the Barks, each having a Ticket delivered to him, ſetting forth to what Company he belonged, and his particular Station; a Meaſure which was thought abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the Men from ſtraggling; it had been before agreed upon, that the Command of this Affair ſhould be by Turns divided between Captain *Dover*, Captain *Rogers*, and Captain *Courtney*; Captain *Dover* to have the Lead at landing, by way of Compliment, as he was part Owner of the Concert-ſhips, and a Man of good natural Parts, much improved by Experience. As there were 300 Priſoners in Cuſtody, Irons were put on-board the Duke, and the other Veſſels, in order to intimidate them, the Men left to guard them being not much more than one-third of that Number. Captain *Frye* and Captain *Cooke*, to whom the Care of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* were committed, were directed to keep out at Sea for 48 Hours, to prevent their being diſcovered by the Enemy; and afterwards to wait the Event of the Expedition at *Punta Arena*, off which Place Captain *Rogers* and his Barks, together with Captain *Courtney*, came to anchor about Ten at Night; where taking to their Boats with 40 Men, they made for *Puna*, an Iſland covered with Swamps, and over-run with Mangroves.

On the Evening of the 19th, they approached nearer the Town of *Puna*, where they expected there was a Look out for them, diſpoſing themſelves to avoid being diſcovered, in ſuch a Manner, that they had the Appearance of drift Timber upon the Water. With the Break-of-day of the 20th, they got up cloſe with the Town, ſecuring all the Canoes; but notwithſtanding the Alarm was ſpread, by an *Indian* who eſcaped them, they ſecured the Lieutenant-governor of the Town, and with him about 20 People, by whom they were aſſured, that the Inhabitants of *Guiaquil* could have no Intimation of their being ſo near; thoſe who had fled from *Puna* having taken Refuge in the Woods. In this Town they found a Paper ſent from *Lima*, Copies of which it ſeems were diſperſed all along the Coaſt, giving Notice of Captain *Dampier* being in thoſe Seas; however, they were pretty well ſatisfied that they ſhould be able to execute all they deſigned, before any Forces from *Lima* ſhould reach this Quarter, ſufficient to oppoſe them.

Captain *Rogers* left Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Dampier* at *Puna* about Two in the Afternoon of the 20th, and went in queſt of the Barks; admiring they did not come in ſight, they being now a Tide and half behind. He carried with him the Lieutenant-governor of *Puna*, and went with the great Launch and Pinnace, deſigning to join Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Dampier* again, who were to lie all Night in the River, to prevent being diſcovered by any Advice going up before them to *Guiaquil*.

Captain *Rogers* was not aboard above half an Hour before low Water, and had juſt time to embark Captain *Dover*,

ver, and part of his Company in the Launch, and as many more as they could carry in their Pinnace, to get before the Barks up the River. They rowed till Twelve at Night, when judging it High-water, they came to a Grapling.

At Day-break they ſaw a Bark above them in the River. They thought it to be a Stranger, and ſent out their Pinnace to her. By Eight o'Clock they were on-board her, and found it to be their own Bark; which the honeſt Pilot had brought ſo high the laſt Tide. They had no Sight of the *Ducheſs*'s Bark, ſince they had left her the Night before. About Ten they came up to Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Dampier*, who told them they had kept a good Look-out, and that nothing had paſſed them up the River. About Noon it was High-water. They lay with the Boats under the Mangroves all the Ebb, and the Bark off in the River. They were now about half-way up to *Guiaquil* from *Puna*, and might have gone farther, but that there was a Plantation or Farm near at hand, which would have diſcovered them, and alarmed the Town, ſhould they have gone higher before Night.

April the 2d it was very hot, and they were peſtered and ſtung grievouſly by the Muſketoes, as they lay under the Mangroves. At ſix in the Evening, the Barks and Boats made way up the River; by twelve at Night they were in ſight of the Town with all their Boats, in which were 110 Men. They now ſaw a very great Fire on the Top of an adjoining Hill, and Lights in the Town. In half an Hour they were a-breaſt of it, and ready to land, but delayed awhile, as the Lights appeared to increaſe not only on the Hill, but in and about the Town. They enquired of their *Indian* Pilots, whether it was any Saint's Day, or what might be the Occaſion of it? and were anſwered, that it muſt be an Alarm. It was ſtill very dark, and whilſt they lay driving on the River, it being juſt High-water, they heard a *Spaniard* on the Shore talking loudly that *Puna* was taken, and that the Enemy were coming up the River. This made them conclude it was an Alarm. Immediately after they heard the Bells, together with the Noiſe of Voices, and then a Volly of ſmall Arms and two great Guns. Above an Hour was ſpent in Debate between Captain *Dover*, Captain *Courtney*, and Captain *Rogers*, whether they ſhould land. The Lieutenants in all the Boats were conſulted, but they differed in Opinion, and few were for landing in the Night.

It drew near Two in the Morning, and the Ebb run ſo ſtrong, that the great Boat and Yaul could not row up to land; ſo that it being too late to attempt the Town, Captain *Rogers* adviſed them to fall down the River out of ſight, to meet their Barks, and land with the Morning Flood. Upon this all the Boats drove down with the Ebb, about a League below the Town, where they lay till Day-break, and ſaw their Bark, Mr. *Glendall* Commander, brought by the honeſt *Indian* Pilot a Mile above them; they having paſſed him in the Night. They rowed back to him, and recruited their Men as well as they could. There they found the Water freſh, and drank of it. The Bark lay againſt a Wood of tall Trees cloſe by the Shore, and they kept a File of Muſketeers with their Arms pointing into the Wood, with Orders to fire if they ſaw any Men; who accordingly kept firing a Muſket now and then to prevent Ambuſcades. About Three their Yaul and Launch came aboard, for they could not row back with them to the Bark till the Tide ſlackened. At Ten they ſaw the *Ducheſs*'s Bark come in ſight; Captain *Rogers* immediately ordered the Anchor to be got up to fall on the Town, which was about two Miles from them; but Captain *Dover* oppoſed it, preſſing that they might have a Conſultation with as many of the Officers as were preſent, and to lie in the Boat a-ſtern of the Bark; that what was debated might not be over-heard by the reſt of the Company. They were accordingly immediately aſſembled, and Captain *Dover* inſiſted on the Difficulty of attempting the Enemy, now they had been ſo long alarmed, alledging they ſhould but throw away their own and their Mens Lives, or elſe weaken themſelves ſo much, that they ſhould be unable to execute any Thing of Conſequence during the Remainder of the Voyage; that the Town appeared large, and conſequently was better able to reſiſt, than they were to maintain, the Attack; and though the *Spaniards* in theſe Parts had no extraordinary fighting Character, yet if they armed the Mullatoes, as they generally did on the like Occaſions, the Attempt might be found very deſperate. He concluded, that their beſt Method would be to ſend a Trumpeter, with Propoſals to the Enemy to trade with them for the Cargoes of Negroes and other Goods aboard their Prizes; that an immediate Meeting ſhould be appointed, the Prices for the Negroes and Goods fixed, and Hoſtages given them for the Performance within a limited Time; and obſerved, if they agreed to theſe Meaſures, there was no Need of landing.

This Propoſal Captain *Rogers* oppoſed with the beſt Arguments he could think of, urging the Neceſſity of an immediate Deſcent, leſt the Enemy gaining Time by their Delays, might ſend off their Wealth, and ſtrengthen themſelves, ſo as to bid Defiance to all Attempts. The Majority ſiding with Captain *Rogers*, the Deſcent was at once agreed upon, and by way of Compliment to Captain *Dover*, who was a Part-owner in the Ships, he was appointed to lead the Attack, agreeing in caſe he took the Town, to give the Watch-word that Night; as Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Rogers* were to relieve him by Turns. But this Reſolution did not hold, for Captain *Dover* reflected on Captain *Rogers*, telling that he ſhould be anſwerable for all the Damage the Owners might ſuſtain from this ill concerted Expedition. By theſe Reflections, and ſome other Peoples Indifferency, which manifeſted Heart-burnings and partial Diviſions among the Men, Captain *Rogers* had Reaſon to doubt of his Succeſs; wherefore he thought it beſt to give in to Captain *Dover*'s Meaſures, and to ſend Propoſals to the Enemy by two of their Priſoners, for whoſe Return within an Hour, the remaining Priſoners ſhould become bound; and this Proceeding was thought better than ſending two Trumpeters, nor was there one Man who ſeemed diſpleaſed at it.

In conſequence of theſe Meaſures, the Captain of the *French* built Prize, and the Lieutenant-governor of *Puna*, were ſent on-ſhore in a Boat, with a proper Commiſſion, and a ſtrict Charge to return within the Hour. In the mean while the Bark ran up and lay at Anchor oppoſite to the middle of the Town.

As they ſailed up, they ſaw four Barks put off from the Town, to go higher up the River, in purſuit of which, they diſpatched their Boats well manned and armed, to which the Enemy ſoon ſurrendered and were brought off. Mean while the two Priſoners returned from the Town, with a *Spaniſh* Officer, who ſaid, that at his Return, the Corregidore or Governor, with another Gentleman, would come off and treat.

Wherefore he was ſoon put a-ſhore, and immediately after came off the Corregidore, with another Gentleman, whom Captain *Dover* and Captain *Rogers* met in their Boat with a Linguiſt, and carried a-board one of the Barks, that had been taken endeavouring to eſcape up the River.

April the 22d nothing was done, but ſecuring the Barks and treating with the Governor. Several of the Priſoners affirmed, that they did not doubt to find Credit here, and that they would alſo traffic; ſo that there were now Hopes of more Profit by ſelling their Cargoes and Negroes, than by ranſacking the Town. The Corregidore agreed for the Goods at 140 Pieces of Eight per Bale, one with another, and talked of the Price for other Things.

About Five in the Afternoon he deſired to go a-ſhore, that he might prevail with the other Gentlemen to agree with him, and promiſed to return to confer with the three Commanders on-board one of their Prizes, at Eight in the Evening. They ordered their Linguiſt to get Candles lighted, and the beſt Entertainment they could provide; but the Time being elapſed, and he not appearing, it gave them great Reaſon to ſuſpect they were tricked; therefore they ſent their Boats again above the Town, and alarmed them afreſh in the Night. Their Centinels hailed a Boat after Midnight which came on-board them with one Gentleman, who ſaid he was ſent by the Corregidore with a Preſent of two Bags of Flour, two Sheep, and two Hogs ready killed, two Jars of Wine, and two of Brandy; and to aſſure them, the Governor would have been with them, according to the Appointment, had not one of the chief Merchants concerned been abſent; but he would come off in the Morning by ſeven o'Clock, and requeſted them to believe he was a Man of Honour; for though he had been conſiderably reinforced ſince he left them, and more Men were continually coming into the Town, he reſolved to diſcharge his Promiſe of Yeſterday; and therefore hoped they would forbear any Hoſtilities above the Town, becauſe the Women and Children were there in Sanctuary, with little or no Wealth to prompt them to plunder.

The three Commanders returned their Compliments to the Corregidore, and their kind Thanks for his Preſent, obſerving that they were ſorry they had nothing to oblige him with by way of Return; but deſired he might be told from them, that they all wondered at his not keeping his Word, and ſtill depended that he would convince them he was a Man of Honour, by meeting them at ſeven o'Clock the next Morning; otherwiſe the Treaty was at an end.

They were all uneaſy till Seven in the Morning, when they ſaw a Flag of Truce on-board one of the new Ships, where ſuppoſing the Governor to be, they manned their Pinnace, and ſent their Linguiſt to give their Promiſe, that if the Corregidore came on-board the Prize, he ſhould be at Liberty to return. Upon this Invitation, he came aboard with three Perſons more, and they ordered their two Frigate-barks to go cloſe under the Shore, next the beſt Part of the Town, and that every Thing ſhould be kept in Readinaſs for landing, in caſe they ſhould break off the Agreement. The firſt Propoſals made by the three Captains, were, that 50,000 Pieces of Eight ſhould be paid by way of Contribution for the Town, and the two new Ships that lay near the Shore, together with the ſix Barks: Beſides which, the Governor was to oblige himſelf to buy off the Cargoes of Negroes, *&c.* belonging to the Prizes, at certain ſtipulated Prices to be paid within the Term of nine Days; to the latter the *Spaniards* agreed, offering to leave two Hoſtages with Captain *Dover*, &c. till they had performed it, which were not thought ſufficient; but they would not give near that Sum demanded for the Town and Ships, alledging, that they had Men and Arms ſufficient in the Town and in the Ships, to protect them.

The Captains concluding from their Delay, that they only wanted to gain Time, informed them that they could ſeize the Ships in a Minute, or ſet them on fire; that they did not fear taking the Town at Pleaſure; that they looked upon it as much their own as if it was in their Poſſeſſion, and that they muſt have the Money, or good Hoſtages; otherwiſe before Night they would ſet not only the Ships, but *Guiaquil* in a Blaze.

By Noon the Corregidore, and the other Gentlemen, agreed with them to buy both Cargoes, and to give Hoſtages for 40,000 Pieces of Eight for the Town, the two new Ships and the Barks; but neither of them were to ſign this Agreement till it was confirmed by the chief Men of the Town a-ſhore, which the Corregidore was to procure in an Hour's Time.

April the 23d, about One in the Afternoon, the Governor was put a-ſhore in Captain *Rogers*'s Pinnace. Some of the Men inſiſted on ſtopping him, becauſe not long before an *Indian* came in a Canoe from the Shore, to know whether the Governor had agreed, as his Men were in Readineſs to begin the Fight, in caſe he had not, waiting for nothing but his Orders. This Meſſage was delivered in Captain *Rogers*'s Hearing, and occaſioned Diſputes about keeping the Corregidore Priſoner. Thoſe who were for it, urged, that if he went a-ſhore, the Enemy would certainly fight them; and that as he had broke his Word the Night before, he was not now to be truſted; but Captain *Rogers* oppoſed the detaining him, becauſe he had given him his Honour to the contrary. At laſt it was agreed he ſhould be ſent a-ſhore.

The three Gentlemen however ſtaid as Hoſtages, at the Corregidore's Requeſt, never doubting but the Agreement would ſoon be ratified.

The Time allotted for Anſwer being paſt, a Meſſenger from the Town came to inform them they could raiſe but 30,000 Pieces of Eight, and did not mention a Word of the Trade; ſo they ſent their Linguiſt and one Priſoner with this laſt Meſſage, that if in half an Hour, three more good Hoſtages, for the 40,000 Pieces of Eight agreed on, were not ſent down, they would ſtrike the Flag of Truce, land, give no Quarter, and fire the Town and Ships. In the mean time they ſaw the *Spaniards* quit the two new Ships, and they took Poſſeſſion of them. Their Meſſenger returned, and in half an Hour, three Men more from the Town came to the Bank, oppoſite the Captain's Barks, holding out a white Handerchief, as if to parley again. Their Reſolution, they ſaid, was to give 32,000 Pieces of Eight, and no more: To which Propoſal the *Engliſh* replied, they had done treating, and bid the *Spaniards* a-ſhore retire forthwith, and keep out of their Shot, as they valued their Lives.

They all at once ſtruck their white Flag, and let fly their martial Colours. Captain *Rogers* then ordered two Guns, of about 600 Weight each, mounted on Carriages, into the great Launch, and filled their three Boats with Men in order to land: He afterwards went himſelf in one Pinnace, Captain *Courtney* in another, and Captain *Dover* in the Launch, the three Boats carrying about 70 Men. They towed the Launch a-ſhore: The third Lieutenant carried aboard the Bark, with 10 Men, to play their Guns into the Town as they landed; where the *Spaniards* made a formidable Show when compared to their little Army.

As ſoon as they landed, every Man fired on his Knee at the Brink of the Bank, then loading, advanced, and called to their Bark to forbear firing for fear of hurting their own Men: Notwithſtanding they ſtill kept loading and firing, the Enemy made but one Diſcharge, and retired back to their Guns, where their Horſe drew up a ſecond time: The *Engliſh* at laſt came up to their firſt Houſes, and as they opened the Streets ſaw four Guns pointed at them before a ſpacious Church; but as ſoon as ever they came in Sight, the Horſe moved off with Precipitation. This encouraged Captain *Rogers* to call to his Men to run and ſieze the Guns, he himſelf advancing with about 10 Men within Piſtol-ſhot of them; which Boldneſs ſo intimidated the Enemy that, after one general Diſcharge, they took to their Heels and left their Pieces to fall into the Hands of Captain *Rogers* and his Followers, ſome of whom poſſeſſed themſelves of the Church, where they took about a Dozen Priſoners. Many more of the *Engliſh* coming up with Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Dover*, Captain *Rogers* remained to ſecure that Poſt with a few Men, while the reſt marched to the other End of the Town. From the time they landed, to the time they ſeized the Guns, and took Poſſeſſion of the Church, which lay above a Furlong from the Water-ſide, was not more than half an Hour. Captain *Dampier* was now poſted, with 25 Men, at the Guns, which were turned on the Enemy, who quickly evacuted the Town. By this time the remaining Part of the *Engliſh* were landed, and marched after Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Dover*. All the Men in general behaved with great Courage; but, like Sailors, would be kept under but little Command as ſoon as the firſt Piece was fired; however, after the Attack, they kept handſomely together, and forbore hard drinking.

Captain *Rogers* overtook Captain *Dover* and Captain *Courtney* at the other End of the Town, where he left Captain *Courtney* to keep guard at a Church, and then *Rogers* returned to his firſt Poſt, whilſt *Dampier* with his Men went to reinforce *Dover* and *Courtney*.

Thus they were in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Town by Sunſet, and made a proper Diſpoſition of their Guards, having met no Oppoſition after the Enemy quitted the great Church. In the Evening *Rogers* went on-board the Barks, ſettled a good Watch, and then returned a-ſhore to the Church.

Captain *Dover* now ſet the Houſes that fronted the Church on fire, which burned all Night and the next Day. There was a Hill near his Quarter, and thick Woods within a Muſket-ſhot of the Church, where the Enemy were almoſt continually popping at him during the whole Night; and the next Day ſome few Parties made their Appearance, but retired on receiving a Volley of ſmall Shot.

The Enemy might have done *Dover* great Miſchief in the Night had they been courageous, ſince his Friends were not near enough to aſſiſt him; for as the Town was long, the whole could not be kept without dividing the Men into Parties at great Diſtances; but his firing the Houſes covered the worſt Part of his Quarters that Night, and was of much Service to him. Captain *Courtney* relieved him at

Day-break, and then both quitted theſe Quarters, as being too much expoſed to the Enemy.

An *Indian* that was taken Priſoner, told *Rogers* that he knew of much Money up the River in Bark-logs and Houſes; upon which 21 Men were detached out of the *Engliſh* Companies, and ſent in a Boat up the River. *Rogers* would fain have ſent both Pinnaces to ſeize that Wealth, as they had found little or none in the Town; but the others would by no means conſent to it, leſt the Enemy might engage them the next Morning in the Abſence of their Boats and Men. *Rogers* deſired that *Courtney*'s Boat might go, becauſe the largeſt, and ſhe was accordingly manned out of both Companies.

In the Morning the *Engliſh* began with Iron Crows, and other Inſtruments, to break open the Churches, and all the Store houſes, Cellars, &c. which Action was ſoon done to very little purpoſe, for ſcarcely any Thing of Value was left in the Town, but Flour, Peaſe, Beans, and Jars of Wine and Brandy. They began to carry theſe to the Water-ſide, but having hot, wet, and unhealthful Weather, and their Men being fatigued, they became ſo weak that they could not work well at this new Employment. They fain would have had the boarded Floor of the Church taken up, to look amongſt the Dead for Treaſure, but Captain *Rogers* would not ſuffer it, becauſe of a contagious Diſtemper that had ſwept off a great Number of People here not long before.

They found but two of the Enemy killed in the Town, and one Priſoner, who was wounded in the Head; but on further Enquiry were told that 15 of them were killed and wounded, among whom was the chief Gunner, an *Iriſhman*. On the Side of the *Engliſh* two Men were wounded.

April the 24th the *Engliſh* kept their Colours flying on the Tower of the Church, *Dover* keeping guard there all the Day, whilſt *Rogers* and *Courtney* took care to have every Thing that they found uſeful carried to the Water-ſide.

They then ſent the Lieutenant of *Puna*, and another Priſoner, into the Country, with Propoſals to ranſom the Town, a great Part of the Enemy being in the Woods about a League from them. The Priſoners returned in the Evening with an ambiguous Anſwer, but deſired they might be permitted to go again in the Morning, in hope to prevent the burning of the Town.

About Ten at Night the Boat that they had ſent up the River returned, having been away about 24 Hours. It had proceeded ſeven Leagues, and 16 of the Men landed at ſix ſeveral Places, the other five kept the Boat, having a Swivel-gun to defend themſelves. At one Place they ſeparated, and four of the Men rambled ſo far into the Woods to look for Wealth, that, after three Hours Search, they could not find the Way back to the reſt; but by Accident they met again and got to the Boat. One of the Men was ſhot through the hinder Part of the Neck by the Enemy, but the Wound was not dangerous, and none of the reſt were hurt. They chaſed 35 Horſemen, that were well armed, coming to aſſiſt the Inhabitants of *Guiaquil*. They reported the Houſes up the River to be full of Women, particularly at one Place, where there were above a Dozen handſome, well-dreſſed young Women, from whom they took ſeveral Gold-chains and Ear-rings; but were otherwiſe ſo civil to them that the Ladies offered to dreſs Victuals for them, and brought them a Caſk of good Liquor. Some of their largeſt Gold-chains were concealed, and wound about their Middles, Legs, and Thighs; but the Ladies in theſe hot Countries, being thinly clad with Silk and fine Linnen, the Men, by preſſing on the Outſide of their Apparel, felt their Chains, and by their Linguiſt modeſtly deſired them to take them off with their own Hands and ſurrender them. This is mentioned as a Proof of the Sailors Modeſty.

They called at this Houſe for Proviſions as they returned down the River; and having been ſo civil at firſt, their fair Land-ladies expreſſed no Uneaſineſs or Surprize at a ſecond Viſit. They had taken a large empty Bark in their Progreſs, but abandoned her, and brought down with them, in Gold-chains, Ear-rings, and Plate, to the Vaule of 1000 Pounds, with a Negroe that had been ſerviceable in diſcovering Part of the hidden Treaſure; but they all agreed, that the want of another Boat loſt them much more than they got; for whilſt they ſearched on one Side, the Canoes and Bark-logs croſſed the River in their Sight, carrying many People with their Subſtance out of Reach, which they could not prevent, not having another Boat to purſue them.

They alſo informed Captain *Rogers*, that in the Places where they had been above the Town, they had ſeen more than 300 armed Horſe and Foot in ſeveral Parties, ſo that they apprehended the Enemy's Deſign was to gain Time, by pretending to ranſom, till they were capable of attacking them with vaſt Odds. But the *Engliſh*, for fear of being ſurprized, agreed to aſſemble in a Body at every Alarm, which was beat ſeveral times a day on the ſight of any large Parties, tho' it in ſome meaſure retarded their Buſineſs.

Five Jars of Powder, ſome Matches and Shot, a good Quantity of ordinary Arms, three Drums, and ſeveral Swords and Lances were found in the Church, where Captain *Rogers* picked up the Corregidore's gold-headed Cane, and another with a Silver Head; for among the *Spaniards* none carry a Cane but the chief Officers, and of thoſe none under a Captain muſt wear one with a Silver or Gold Head.

After Captain *Dover* had quitted his Poſt, in the Morning one of his Men came to tell him that the Enemy was coming down the Hill. On this the Alarm was given, and Part of the Men being left with the Guns, Captain *Rogers* marched with the reſt, and met Captain *Courtney* with Part of his Company on the Bridge, retiring. He reported, that the Enemy was numerous, and well armed, in the North End of the Town. *Rogers*, however, deſired that they might join and march againſt them; to which *Courtney* conſented; and, their whole Force not exceeding 70 Men, they went forward; but the *Spaniards*, not chuſing to face them, retired into the Woods as they advanced, from whence they ſometimes aſſailed them with firing Shots, which the *Engliſh* returned at random, none of them being hurt.

Courtney and *Rogers* not agreeing with regard to keeping Poſſeſſion of that End of the Town, they marched back again, and took what they liked beſt along with them, and carried it aboard their Barks.

April the 25th, about one in the Afternoon, the Priſoners returned with an Offer of 30,000 Pieces of Eight as a Ranſom for the Town, Ships, and Barks, to be paid in twelve Days, which the Captain did not approve of, nor would they have ſtaid for a much larger Sum, being well apprized of the Enemy's having diſpatched an Expreſs to *Lima*, to expedite the expected Succours, unto the Arrival of which it was their Deſign, if poſſible, to have delayed the Concert-ſhips. The next Morning the three Captains agreed upon ſending this final Anſwer, *viz.* that the Town ſhould be ſet on-fire by three in the Afternoon, if ſufficient Hoſtages for the Payment of 30,000 Pieces of Eight, within ſix Days, were not immediately delivered: In the mean time a Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be granted, and the *Spaniards* be at liberty to come down to *Puna* to trade for Negroes and the reſt of their Cargoes.

A *Frenchman* belonging to Captain *Rogers*'s Company, who had been ſent with ſome others to ſtrengthen Captain *Courtney*'s Quarters, ſtanding Centinel at Night, ſhot one of the Sailors dead. This Accident was occaſioned by a ſevere Order that had been given at their Quarters, to ſhoot every Perſon in the Night, who did not anſwer on being challenged, which the Deceaſed could not do, as being ignorant of *French*, in which Language the Centinel had called out to him.

In the Afternoon an Officer and nine Men were engaged at the North-end of the Town with a Party of *Spaniards*, whom they chaſed into the Woods; but following them too far, were attacked by others, and one of the *Engliſhmen* was ſhot through the Calf of his Leg, and another received a Shot whilſt he was endeavouring to re-charge his Piece, upon the Middle of the Pole-ax that hung by his Side, which made an Impreſſion on the Iron, and bruiſed the Part immediately under it, but it proved a piece of Armour well-placed. The other Man, who was wounded in the Leg, by his Irregularity and Hard-drinking, fell into a Fever that carried him off. Captain *Courtney*'s chief Lieutenant, having his Piſtols hanging at his Side, one of them unluckily diſcharged itſelf againſt the Outſide of the thickeſt Part of his Leg, and left a Bullet in the Fleſh, but without endangering his Life. Theſe Accidents, and the increaſing Boldneſs of the Enemy, influenced Captain *Courtney* to draw off with his Company to the Quarters of Captain *Rogers*.

At Night they all lay in the Church, round which they kept Centinels within a Muſket-ſhot of each other, with a Charge to challenge each other every Quarter of an Hour, to prevent their being ſurprized in the Night; every Man keeping his Arms and Ammunition in exact Order, and being ready to riſe at the leaſt Alarm, for the Enemy were continually popping at them from the Woods; the Weather was very hot and faint, the Streets were deep and ſlippery, and the Way to the Water-ſide very bad; all which Circumſtances contributed greatly to incommode them.

April the 26th, about two in the Afternoon, the Priſoners returned from the Enemy's Camp with two Horſemen, who told them that their laſt Propoſal was agreed to; and that the Lieutenant-governor of *Puna*, who had been very inſtrumental in the Concluſion of it, together with an old Gentleman, on-board one of the Barks, were to remain as Hoſtages for the Performance of it: And theſe Meſſengers added, that if theſe two Gentlemen were not thought ſufficient Security, they themſelves were alſo ready to remain Priſoners; which Offer was refuſed, and they were permitted to return to their Camp, with their Meſſenger, who was to bring back their Agreement ſigned, which was worded as follows:

“ Whereas the City of *Guiaquil*, lately in Subjection to
“ *Philip* V. King of *Spain*, is now taken by Storm, and
“ in Poſſeſſion of the Captains *Thomas Dover*, *Woodes Rogers*,
“ and *Stephen Courteney*, commanding a Body of her
“ Majeſty of *Great-Britain*'s Subjects: We, the under-
“ written Perſons, are content to become Hoſtages for the
“ ſaid City, and continue in the Cuſtody of the ſaid Cap-
“ tains *Thomas Dover*, *Woodes Rogers*, and *Stephen Courtney*,
“ till 30,000 Pieces of Eight ſhall be paid to them
“ for the Ranſom of the ſaid City, two new Ships, and
“ ſix Barks; during which Time no Hoſtilities ſhall be
“ committed on either ſide between this and *Puna*; the
“ ſaid Sum to be paid at *Puna* in ſix Days from the Date
“ hereof, and then the Hoſtages to be diſcharged, and all
“ the Priſoners to be delivered immediately; otherwiſe
“ the ſaid Hoſtages do agree to remain Priſoners till the
“ ſaid Sum is diſcharged, in any other Part of the World.
“ In witneſs whereof, we have voluntarily ſet our Hands
“ this 27th Day of *April*, Old Stile, in the Year of our
“ Lord 1709.”

The two Hoſtages lay this Night at the *Engliſh* Quarters, and next Morning were put on-board a Ship, while the *Engliſh* drew off from the City, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, leaving the *Spaniards* at liberty to return to their Houſes. Captain *Rogers*, who brought up the Rear with a few Men, picked up many Piſtols, Cutlaſſes, and Pole-axes, that the Men dropped through Lazineſs as they marched, which ſhewed that they were grown weary of a military Life, and that it was time to depart. Their hardeſt Taſk was to get the Guns down to the Water, the Earth being ſo ſoft that they who helped to carry them ſunk half-leg deep. To make it as eaſy as poſſible, a Frame of Bamboe Canes was contrived, under which ſix Men could ſtand and bear an equal Weight on their Shoulders. Though they were large Four-pounders, the Gun and the Frame did not exceed 1500 Weight; but had not the Priſoners helped them, they would not have been able to perform their Work.

April the 27th, in the Afternoon, every thing was ſettled on-board the Barks as well as they could; the Men were ſeparated on-board the Prizes, where the *Engliſh* had put moſt of their Goods and Plunder, being about 230 Bags of Flour, Beans, Peas, and Rice, 15 Jars of Oil, about 160 Jars of other Liquors; ſome Cordage, Iron-ware, and ſmall Nails, with about four Half-jars of Powder, a Ton of Pitch and Tar, a Parcel of Cloathing and Neceſſaries, and about 1200 Pounds in Plate, Ear-rings, *&c.* 150 Bales of dry Goods, four Guns, and about 200 *Spaniſh* ordinary uſeleſs Arms and Muſket-barrels, a few Packs of Indigo, Cocoa, *&c.* with about one Ton of Loaf-ſugar. Abundance of Goods were left in the Town, beſides Liquors of moſt Sorts, and Sea Stores; with ſeveral Warehouſes full of Cocoa, divers Ships on the Stocks, and two new Ships unrigged, lying at Anchor in the Bay.

About Two in the Afternoon, a *Dutchman* that had been miſſed the Day before, roſe out of his Brandy-wine fit, and came on-board. This was the only Man, ſince the taking *Guiaquil*, who had ſo much tranſgreſſed by drinking.

About Eight in the Morning, the *Engliſh* ſet ſail with all their Barks, and at parting made what Show and Noiſe they could with Drums, Trumpets, and Guns, and thus took leave of the *Spaniards* very chearfully, but not half ſo well pleaſed as if they had taken the Town by Surprize; for they were well aſſured from all hands, that at leaſt they ſhould have then got above 200,000 Pieces of Eight, Gold and Silver Plate, wrought and unwrought, beſides Jewels, and a much greater Plenty of Neceſſaries, though the Place had not been poorer for 40 Years, by reaſon that a ſudden Fire, about 18 Months before, had deſtroyed the better half of the Town.

A Mile below the Town Captain *Rogers* took his Leave of the Barks, with the Pinnace double manned, deſigning to get before them to the Ships at *Point Arena*. The Day came on very hot, and they ſaw many Alligators in the River.

April the 28th they reached *Puna*, and met Mr. *Duck* and Mr. *Hatley* in the *Beginning*; and an empty Bark which they had taken, the *Spaniards* having run a-ſhore, and left her at Anchor off *Point Arena*. The People who had been left behind, began to be concerned at the Delay of their Companions, who had ſent them no News, and the Scarcity of Water had made them give the Priſoners but a Pint a-day for ſome time paſt; they had alſo been forced to ſink a ſmall Prize they had taken coming from *Payta*, to prevent the Priſoners running away with her, not having Hands enough to ſpare for manning her.

By Day-light Captain *Rogers* got a-board, where he found all the People overjoyed at his Return again, after 12 Days Abſence, on an Undertaking ſubject to ſo many fatal Accidents, all which he had happily ſurmounted. *Cook* and *Frye* had been, during that Time, very uneaſy. They had uſually given the Priſoners Liberty by Day, but kept their Arms always ready, and the After-part of the Ships to themſelves. At Night they ſhut them up in the Forecaſtle, or between Decks; but aboard the Prize, which was not ſo ſecure, they put them in Irons every Evening, and let them out in the Morning, but never ſuffered any Correſpondence between the Priſoners in the ſeveral Ships, by which means they neither knew their own Strength, nor the Weakneſs of their Maſters, any further than in the reſpective Ships.

Roger Booth, one of the *Ducheſs*'s Men, who had been ſhot through his Windpipe, died the 20th Inſtant: *William Eſſex*, a ſtout Sailor, died the 24th, ſo that out of both Ships four good Men were loſt in this Expedition. Mr. *James Stratton*, a Quarter-maſter belonging to the *Ducheſs*, that was wounded by a Muſket-ball in the Thigh, was now out of Danger. The Wounded in thoſe Parts are more frequently attended with Fevers, and other dangerous Accidents, than in *Europe*. *April* the 29th Captain *Cooke* diſpatched the *Havre de Grace*'s Boat, well manned, in Purſuit of a Veſſel that came in ſight about Three in the Afternoon, which immediately ſurrendered upon being hailed, and proved to be a Bark of about 30 Tons Burthen, with ſix Men on-board beſide the Maſter. She was laden with Beans, Peaſe, Quinces, Marmalade, Sugar, Plumbs, Apples, Onions, Pomegranates, *Guiaquil* Cheeſe, 270 Sacks of Flour, 200 Sugar-loaves, and ſome dried Beef. They had been out ſeven Days from *Pulania*, where they had left ſome ſtout *French* Ships, and where Orders had lately been received from *Lima*, warning the Magiſtracy to keep a good Look-out, as an *Engliſh* Squadron was ſoon expected in thoſe Seas, but againſt what particular Place they bent their Deſigns, was not yet diſcovered. From this Intelligence it appeared, that the Arrival of the Concert-ſhips in theſe Seas, was not yet generally known.

From this Time, to the 2d of *May*, they impatiently expected the ſtipulated Ranſom from *Guiaquil*, but as yet to no Purpoſe; ſo that they began now to think the Corregidore meant to diſappoint and delay them till Succours ſhould arrive from *Lima*; while the Hoſtages repined at their Fate, hardly hoping any other Deſtination than that of being carried Captives to *England*: However, they were in ſome meaſure relieved from theſe uneaſy Reflections about Evening, by the Arrival of a Boat from the Town with 22,000 Pieces of Eight, in part Payment of the Ranſom; which Boat they immediately returned with a Meſſage to the Corregidore, acquainting him, that they intended to ſail the following Day; and, that if Care was not taken to ſend the Remainder of the Money before their Departure, they would carry the Hoſtages away with them. In a ſhort time after, Captain *Courtney* took charge of the *Havre de Grace*, and fell therewith down to the *Punta Arena*, whither Captain *Rogers* agreed to follow him the next Morning, waiting only to take on-board ſome Sheep, Hogs, black Cattle, with Plantains, Cocoas, Water, Sails, and ſome other uſeful Commodities which ſtill remained on-ſhore. Before his Departure he ſet the Lieutenant-governor of *Puna* a-ſhore, having made him a Preſent of four ſick Negroes, and a damaged Bail of Goods: Captain *Rogers* alſo behaved extremely well to ſeveral other Priſoners, particularly to a hearty old Prieſt, whom he here ſet at Liberty.

On the 5th in the Morning, Captain *Rogers* went on-board the *Havre de Grace*, and, with the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Morel*, and a ſkilful *Indian* Pilot, brought her off from the Edge of a Shoal, where ſhe was threatned with ſome Danger, but happily there was little or no Wind abroad. Captain *Courtney* now began to manifeſt great Uneaſineſs, that the Concert-ſhips ſhould delay ſo long here, affirming, tho' there was no Foundation for the Suppoſition, that they would fall a Prey to the Armament preparing certainly againſt them at *Lima*, and inſiſted therefore that they ſhould immediately hoiſt Sail, and quit this Station; in which Propoſition he was ſeconded by the Majority of Officers, notwithſtanding it was plain that they might reap great Advantages from trading with the People of *Guiaquil* and *Puna*, who began now to be in ſome meaſure reconciled to them, as appeared on the Morning of the 8th, when, with a Boat that brought 3500 Pieces of Eight in Plate towards the Ranſom, there came a Gentleman who brought with him ſome Goods on Purpoſe to traffic, and aſſured them, that *Don Pedro de Sinfuegos*, who had been their Priſoner, and was worth Money, with many more of the Inhabitants, were preparing to follow his Example. However, Captain *Courtney* carried his Point, and the Majority of Voices being for ſteering towards the *Gallapago* Iſlands, they ſet ſail the next Morning, taking with them the Hoſtages, the two *Morels*, the *Indian* Pilots, and a young Gentleman belonging to *Panama*; all the other Priſoners were ſet a-ſhore, and Captain *Rogers* got again on-board his own Ship the *Duke*, as did *Courtney* on-board the *Ducheſs*.

On the 11th of *May*, on-board the *Duke*, above twenty Men fell ſick of a malignant Fever, and near fifty on-board the *Ducheſs*, among whom was the Captain himſelf, and the Number of diſeaſed on-board both Ships hourly increaſed.

On the 22d, Mr. *Hatley*, with five Men on-board one of the Prize Barks, together with a Galloon, another of the Prize Ships, were miſſing; nor was there any Sign of their returning, though Lights were kept all Night at the Topmaſt-head of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, and Guns inceſſantly fired; whereupon Captain *Rogers* went in ſearch of them with the *Duke*, the *Havre de Grace*, and the *Bark*, and came up with the Galloon in a few Hours, near the Eaſt Iſland, but could gain no Intelligence of poor Mr. *Hatley*, whom they gave up for loſt.

On the 6th of *June*, a Ship of 90 Tons Burthen, ſtruck to the *Ducheſs*, after a ſhort Chace; ſhe was called the *St. Thomas de Villa Nova*, and *St. Demas*, *Juan Navarro Navaret*, Commander, and bound from *Panama* to *Guiaquil*; there were about 40 People on-board, including *Don Juan Cardoſo*, who was going to *Baldivia*, of which Place he was Governor, and 11 Negroe-ſlaves: The Priſoners knew nothing of the Concert-ſhips being in thoſe Seas, but were alarmed, as were alſo many of the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh* Colonies, with a Report, that Lord *Peterborough*, with a formidable Fleet under his Command, would ſoon make a hoſtile Appearance in this Part of the World.

June the 7th, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, they dropped Anchor in 30 fathom Water, about a Cable's Length from the Shore, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland of *Gorgona*: And the Day following the Boats of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* ſeized a Bark which was watering to the Southward; ſhe was called the *Golden-Sun*, Burthen 35 Tons, *Andros Enriques* Maſter, with 10 *Spaniards* and *Indians*, a few Negroes, and ſome Gold-duſt, and a Gold-chain of about 900 l. Value, wherewith they intended to have purchaſed Salt and Brandy at *Guiaquil*, whither they were bound, from a Creek within this Iſland, to which the Veſſel belonged. In the Evening, a Council of all the Officers, Captain *Rogers* excepted, he being indiſpoſed, was held on-board the *Ducheſs*, wherein, after the Priſoners had been examined, it was reſolved, from their Accounts of its Situation and Conveniencies, to ſteer for the Iſland of *Malaga*, where, leaving the Ships in a ſafe Road, they were to row up the River in their Boats, till they could ſurpriſe ſome Canoes, as better adapted to ſtem the Tides of the River, and in theſe they were to proceed to the Gold-mines of *Barbacore*, or *St. Juan*, where they might be certain of a conſiderable Booty, as the *Spaniards* in that Quarter had not the ſmalleſt Intimation of an Enemy's being ſo near. As Captain *Rogers* had before agreed to conſent to whatever they ſhould reſolve, about Twelve of the ſame Night they hoiſted ſail for *Malaga*; but *Rogers*, upon receiving the Report of their Deliberations, took upon him to diſcourſe with Mr. *Morell*, and ſome other Priſoners, of whoſe Knowledge he was well ſatisfied concerning the Place of their Deſtination; and from theſe he learned, that whoever had adviſed the Council to ſuch Meaſures as they were now intent on purſuing, either meant to betray them to Ruin, or elſe were very ignorant in thoſe Affairs with which they pretended to be well acquainted; for the Iſland of *Malaga* was not only barren and unfrequented, but the Road extremely narrow, and full of Shoals, with a Tide ſo very ſtrong, that if the Ship got over, which ſhe could only do at Spring-tides, ſhe ran a Chance of being forced from her Birth, and run a-ſhore. Beſides, they aſſured him that the Banks of the River were well inhabited all the Way up to *St. Juan*, by a Race of People ſtrongly attached to the *Spaniards*, who would take every Meaſure they poſſibly could to annoy an Enemy, which they might do with Eaſe and Safety, with their poiſoned Arrows, from the Covert of the Woods: Moreover, the Channel was ſo narrow, that by felling Trees a-croſs it, they might effectually bar the Retreat of the Invaders, and cut them all off. This Information made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon Captain *Rogers*; he ſhuddered at the Danger into which his Coadjutors were inconſiderately running, and immediately ſent for Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Cook*, to whom the Truth of his Remonſtrances appeared ſo very plain, that they immediately changed their Courſe, and bore away for *Gorgona*, where they determined to careen, and to fit up the *Havre de Grace* as a 20 Gun-ſhip, manned out of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, to act as a third Concert with them, under the Command of Captain *Cook*.

June the 13th they came to Anchor near the Shore of the Iſland, in 40 Fathom Water, and after having held a Committee, in which they filled up two Vacancies cauſed by Death; the *Ducheſs* was appointed to careen, and the *Duke* to lie on-guard, for fear of being ſurpriſed by the Enemy. As ſoon as ſhe was turned out, the *Duke* was careened in turn; and in about fourteen Days they were once again in prime Order for Sea, to the great Surprize of the *Spaniſh* Priſoners, who declared, that careening one of the King's Ships at *Lima*, where there were all kind of Neceſſaries, and Artificers ready to lend Aſſiſtance, took up generally ſix Weeks. *June* the 28th they put all their Sick a-ſhore, with two Doctors to attend them, in Tents built for that Purpoſe; here they recovered pretty faſt, although the *Spaniards* had repreſented this as very unwholeſome Air. The following Day the *Havre de Grace*, now called the *Marquis*, was brought a-ſhore, and laid in the Sand, in order that her Bottom might be cleaned; and as her Sails were quite worn out, and her Maſts and Yards rotten, there was a Neceſſity for rigging her quite a-new, the Woods on the Iſland affording ſome Trees that ſerved pretty well for Maſts, excepting that they were a little too heavy.

On the 2d of *July* they found ſome Maria-wood, the Qualities of which are not very different from thoſe of Oak; and this proved very ſerviceable. Their Encampment was a fine Picture of Induſtry; for Neceſſity made every Sailor apply to ſome Trade or other, as Rope-making, Sail-making, Block-making, Smiths and Carpenters-work, *&c. &c.*

July the 3d the Prize-flour, though much damaged by Rats, was made up in 36 Caſks; and the *Engliſh* Bread that was left, appeared to be eaten by Worms, as hollow as a Honeycomb. When the *Havre de Grace*, otherwiſe the *Marquis*, was fitted up, ſhe cut a good Figure in the Water, and the Captains ordered Liquor to be diſtributed among all the Men, that they might drink Succeſs to her, and their Owners Health. The next Thing to be done, was to fit out Mr. *Selkirk*'s Bark, to carry the Priſoners over to the Main, they being 72 in Number, who, had they been diſmiſſed before, might have alarmed the Coaſt.

On the 9th, in a Committee held on-board the *Duke*, it was agreed, that Captain *Dover*, Mr. *Robert Frye*, and Mr *William Stratton*, ſhould have the Care of tranſporting them, with 45 brave Sailors under their Command; which Reſolution was ſtraightway put in Practice. The two *Morells*, *Don Antonio*, and *Don Juan Cardoſo*, were now diſmiſſed, and at their Departure ſeemed well ſatisfied with the Treatment they had met with; the latter was particularly ready to acknowledge this, as he had been very ill uſed by a *Jamaica* Privateer, which he had ſome time before fallen in with, in the North-Sea, not far from *Porto-bello*: This Gentleman, the Reader may recollect, was bound, when taken, to *Baldivia*, of which he was Governor; he was a lively genteel Man, about 35 Years old, and had been a Colonel in the *Spaniſh* Service. The *Morells* promiſed, provided the Concert-ſhips would wait for them, to return in a Day or two, with as much Money as they could raiſe towards purchaſing ſuch Prize-goods as remained on-hands, which, moſt of them being only valuable in this Quarter, the Captains declared they would otherwiſe burn, together with the Galloon in which they were contained, which was a mere Burthen to them, and they had not more than ſufficient Room on-board the three Concert-ſhips, for ſuch Commodities as were much more neceſſary. On the 17th in the Morning, the two *Morells*, and ſome other Gentlemen, came off in a large Canoe, and purchaſed ſome Goods, at Rates ſo very reaſonable, that they intreated they might be permitted to come again with as much more Money as they could raiſe; a Requeſt which was not in the leaſt diſpleaſing to the Captains, as long as there was no apparent Danger of an Enemy that could hurt them.

On the 18th a Negroe, who had been bitten by a ſmall ſpeckled Snake, died in leſs than 12 Hours, notwithſtanding the Doctor exerted his utmoſt Skill to ſave him. On the 25th, the *Duke* ſpared 35, and the *Ducheſs* 26 Hands, being 61 white Men, beſides 20 Negroes, to man the *Marquis*, Captain *Edward Cook* Commander, Mr. *Charles Pope* ſecond Captain; and it was agreed unanimouſly, that her Officers ſhould be every way upon a Footing with thoſe of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs*, pay and ſhare, *&c.* all alike. The following Night her Crew were alarmed, by her having ſprung a-leak, which made eight Inches Water in an Hour; but the Carpenter ſoon found and ſtopped it. On the 27th the Canoes returned with Mr. *John Morell*, who ſaid his Brother would come on-board the following Day, with as much Money as he could poſſibly raiſe to traffic; and it now was plain, that they had held off ſo long, hoping the Cruizers would have parted with the Goods for little or nothing, as they could not carry them to any other Market, but finding themſelves deceived, they were determined to make the beſt Bargains they could, being firmly perſuaded they would never have another Opportunity of purchaſing Goods at ſo eaſy a Rate.

July the 27th Mr. *Morell*, together with his Brother, came on-board again with what Money he could get; he told the Captains, that the Country being much alarmed, he had much ado to get leave to come to them; that the Governor *Barbacore* was at the Water-ſide, at the Head of more than 200 Men, as well to prevent them from being traded with, as to hinder their landing; and that all the Shore was lined with Men aſſembled for that End. The Cruizers had taken out of the Galloon 320 Bales of Linen, Woolen, Silks, *&c.* beſides Boxes of Knives, Sciſſars, Hatchets, *&c.* They found a-board her a great Quantity of Bones in ſmall Boxes, ticketed with the Names of Saints, ſome of which had been dead 7 or 800 Years; with an infinite Number of Braſs Medals, Croſſes, Beads, and Crucifixes, religious Toys in Wax, Images of Saints made of all Sorts of Wood, Stone, and other Materials, to the amount of 30 Tons, with 150 Boxes of Books, in *Spaniſh*, *Latin*, &c. all which Things had been brought from *Italy*, and were deſigned for the Jeſuits of *Peru*.

On the 29th, a Committee for the Regulation of Plunder was held on-board the Duke, wherein it was agreed, "That looſe Jewels, all Kinds of Womens Trinkets, Gold-" rings, excepting ſuch as might be found in Goldſmiths " Shops, ſhould be deemed Plunder; as alſo all Sorts of " Ship-plate, and ready-made Clothes; beſides which, to " Mr. *James Stratton*, in Part amends for his Smart-mo-" ney, was allowed 40 Rupees; to *William Davis* and " *Derrick Derrickſon*, were given 20 Rupees each, a Rupee " being of about half a Crown Value; to the Boat's Crew " that engaged the *Marquis* when taken, one Bale of Serges, " one of Linen, and two of Bays, to be by them ſold " where they ſhould think proper; and to each of the " Men, who went up the River laſt, beyond *Guiaquil*, in " the *Ducheſs*'s Pinnace, a Suit of Clothes, over and above " their reſpectives Shares."

Theſe Rewards were diſtributed by way of encouraging the Men to behave gallantly for the future: Notwithſtanding which Generoſity of the Commanders, a dangerous Mutiny was ſet on foot a few Days after, which might have proved of the worſt Conſequence, had it not been diſcovered by the Steward of the *Ducheſs*, who chanced to overhear the Ring-leaders holding a Council upon the Manner in which they were to proceed: Above 60 of them had bound themſelves in certain Articles, which they had reſpectively ſigned, to ſtand by one another till they had obtained Juſtice, as they termed it, in regard of the Plunder, which they imagined unfairly diſtributed.

At firſt, four of the principal Contrivers of this deſtructive Scheme, among whom was the Tranſcriber of the Articles, were taken into Cuſtody, and laid in Irons: However, they were ſoon after ſet at Liberty, upon their expreſſing ſome Contrition for their Crime, aſking Pardon, and promiſing to behave better for the future. The Captains thought Mildneſs the beſt Meaſure, as Circumſtances then appeared; for to have proceeded rigorouſly againſt a few, when ſo many were concerned, might have been attended with the worſt Conſequences. Every Thing ſeemed to move once again in its proper Sphere, and the Men unanimous in the common Intereſt, after being harangued by Captain *Rogers*, who aſſured them that they ſhould be ſatisfied to the utmoſt in every legal Demand whatſoever; promiſed them an Increaſe of their reſpective Shares of Plunder; and concluded with pathetically remonſtrating to them the Danger of encouraging ſuch Conſpiracies as this that had been ſo lately premeditated.

Auguſt the 6th, in a Council of the principal Officers of the three Ships held on-board the *Ducheſs*, they bound themſelves by Oath, never to quit Company while there was a Poſſibility of their keeping together.

On the 7th, it was agreed to give up to Meſſrs. *Morell* and *Navarre* their reſpective Ships, with ſome Negroes, and ſuch of the Goods as were not immediately vendible; and this was accordingly done directly. Some Ladies, who were on-board *Navarre*'s Ships, and about whom there had been found a good Booty, acknowledged at their Departure, the great Civilities they had received during their being detained; and certainly good Uſage to the fair Sex, eſpecially if they are young and handſome, is a great Virtue in a Privateer's Crew.

Gorgona is three Leagues in length, North-eaſt and South-weſt, but narrow. It is about ſix Leagues from the Main, full of Wood and tall Trees, one of which is called

Palma Maria, fit enough for Maſts, and from which a Balſam Iſſues, that is efficacious in ſeveral Diſorders.

Some of the *Duke*'s People caught here an ugly Creature, of the middle ſized Monkey-kind, the Hair of it thick and long, the Eyes, Noſe, and Features little, the Face more wrinkled and deformed than that of a Monkey, the Ears not ſo large, the Teeth long and ſharp, the hinder Parts clumſy, and the Body thicker in Proportion, with a very ſhort Tail, and inſtead of five Claws like Fingers, as a Monkey has, this Animal had only three on each Paw, with the Claws longer and ſharper. One of them was allowed to climb up one of the Mizen-ſhrouds, and it was two Hours in getting to the Maſt-head, a Taſk which a Monkey would have performed in leſs than half a Minute. It walked a ſlow and equal Pace, as if all its Movements had been directed by Clock-work. The *Spaniards* call it, not improperly, a Sloth; they ſay it feeds on the Leaves of a certain lofty Tree, and when it has cleared all about it, before it can get down, and reach another; it grows lean and becomes almoſt ſtarved.

Our Navigators ſaw few Land-birds here, the Monkies being great Deſtroyers of their Eggs.

Auguſt the 25th the two Barks were ordered firſt into the Bay of *Tecames*, and the Concert-ſhips came to anchor near them in a few Hours; it was here Sir *Francis Drake* took the very valuable Plate Prize in 1578; and here alſo in 1594, Sir *Richard Hawkins* was made Priſoner by the *Spaniards*. Mr. *White* the Linguiſt, having ventured a-ſhore with ſome Sailors, without Orders, had like to have paid for his Diſobedience, for the *Indians* attacked them from an Ambuſcade with Fire-arms, Bows, Arrows, and Lances; and they were obliged for their Preſervation from Deſtruction to the Shade of Night, and the Shelter of a Wood: However they came to an Agreement the following Day, through the Mediation of a Friar taken in the laſt Prize; and the *Indians* having accepted of a Preſent of three Images of Saints, and a feathered Cap, intended as a Preſent to the Wife of their Chief, they waſhed off the red Paint wherewith they were daubed, and which, when worn by them, denotes their Intentions to be hoſtile, ſending ſeveral Bows and Arrows as a Gift, in return to Captain *Rogers*.

They now behaved very quietly, pointing out to the Boat's Crew that went in ſearch of Water, where the freſheſt was to be had; and not ſcrupling to come on-board and view the Ship; one of them particularly, who was quite naked, was ſo charmed with the Sight, that he was ſcarcely to be perſuaded out of the great Cabbin, in which he ſtretched himſelf, and lay a long while as if indulging in the Eaſe it afforded; however at laſt he was content to depart, and ſeemed vaſtly ſatisfied with a good Draught of Brandy, and a Piece of old Bayes given him by Way of Garment. The 26th the Boats returned laden with Water, and brought a Letter from the Friar, who acted as Governor of the Village, ſetting forth, that the Inhabitants were ready to exchange all Sorts of freſh Proviſions, as Cows, Hogs, Plantains, *&c.* for Bayes and other Goods to be ſent aſhore for that end; by which Means they were ſoon well ſtocked with Proviſions, although not ſufficient for the whole Voyage, they being ſoon after obliged to bear away for the *Gallapagoes*, to take in a Supply of Turtle. Before they quitted *Tecames*, they ſet the Friar, who had acted as their Plenipotentiary, a-ſhore, at his own Requeſt; giving him, by way of Acknowledgment for his good Behaviour, a black Female Slave, of whom he appeared fonder than became his Function; they alſo ſent to the Friar or Prieſt of the Village, a Male Slave, and a Piece of Bays, in requital for his Kindneſs; and diſpoſed of the uſeleſs Negroes, four Bales of Bayes, and one Piece of Camblet, to Signior *Navarre*, whom they parted with here, he promiſing to remit 3500 Pieces of Eight in return to *Jamaica*, by the Way of *Porto Bello*, on their Owners Account. They now put all their Priſoners into an unrigged Bark, leaving them at Liberty to run her a-ſhore at high Water, and ſet ſail about Six in the Morning of the 31ſt, with a freſh Gale at South South-weſt, taking with them only two of the Hoſtages that they had detained on account of the Non-payment of the Ranſom of *Guiaquil*, and whom they reſolved to carry with them to *England*.

September the 8th the three Concert-ſhips made the *Gallapago* Iſlands, where they continued taking in Turtle and Salt, of both which here are great Plenty, till the Morning of the 17th.

On the 2d of *October* the Land of *Mexico* bearing North-eaſt at about 10 Leagues diſtance, ſome of the Men began to grow faint and ſickly; however they were recovered by bleeding; their Diſorder certainly aroſe from their ſcanty Allowance of Bread, it being but one Pound and a Quarter per Day among five Men, and their principal Food otherwiſe being Turtle, which, though as freſh Proviſion it is a Preſervative againſt the Scurvy, cannot be deemed a Strengthener. *October* the 4th they came up with the *Tres Marias* Iſlands, where they remained till the 24th to cut Wood and take in Water and Turtle; though it was not without Difficulty they found a Stream that was wholeſome, all Springs which they met, two excepted, from which they ſupplied themſelves, being not only bitter, but ſtrong Purgatives, occaſioned by ſome neighbouring Mineral or bitter Roots. Theſe Iſlands lie in Latitude 20 Degrees 45 Minutes, or thereabouts.

November the 1ſt, being in Latitude 22 Degrees 55 Minutes, they diſcovered the Land of *California*, bearing about eight Leagues diſtant Weſt and by North; here very ſtrict Orders were made againſt Gaming; on the 17th ſome *Indians* were diſcovered at a Diſtance on a Bark-log, as it were viewing the Ship, which they ſeemed fearful of approaching, but were at length prevailed upon by a Preſent of a Knife and ſome Bays, for which they returned ſome Deer-ſkins, two live Foxes, and a couple of Bladders of Water; they were quite naked, and entirely unacquainted with the *Spaniſh* Tongue, whence it was plain they had no Communication with the *Spaniards*, and appeared to be Strangers to the *European* Manner of trafficking. Some of the Ship's Crew ventured a-ſhore on the 19th on Bark-logs, for the Sea was too high for them to attempt landing out of Boats; the Natives in a very good-natured Manner aſſiſting them as much as in their Power lay, wiping the Water from their Faces with their Hands.

They all now began to deſpair of meeting with the *Manila* Ship this Year, a Month being elapſed ſince the common time in which ſhe was wont to paſs this Way: But to the general Joy ſhe was diſcovered on the 21ſt of *December*; and on the 22d, ſhe ſtruck to the *Duke*, after a ſhort Engagement, wherein ſhe loſt nine Men, and had many more wounded; the only Damage the *Duke* ſuſtained, was, that Captain *Cooke* was ſhot in the Cheek, whereby his Jaw was broke, and one Sailor, a *Welchman*, was ſlightly bruized. This Ship was commanded by Sir *John Pichberty*, a gallant *Frenchman*, to whom the Buccaneers in a few Days after gave his Liberty, together with the Bark laden with Prize Goods, for which they accepted his Bills upon *London* for 6000 Dollars. On-board this Veſſel the two *Guiaquil* Hoſtages were alſo permitted to embark.

This Ship had 193 Men on-board; ſhe mounted 20 Guns and 20 Pateraroes; and came out of Port with a much ſtronger Veſſel of 900 Tons, with which the Buccaneers came up in ſome few Days after, but were obliged to quit her after a flying Fight that continued near two Days.

January the 1ſt, the Bark with *Pichberty*, the Hoſtages, *&c.* turned out of Port *Segura*, where they then all lay, ſteering for *Acapulco*, being ſupplied with a ſufficient Stock of Proviſions and Water: And Captain *Pichberty*, together with his Officers and Chaplain, having all their Books, Clothes, and Inſtruments reſtored to them; a Piece of Civility by them gratefully acknowledged.

In a Day or two after, Captain *Dover* was by a Majority of Officers, in a full Committee appointed Commander of the Prize, which was named the *Batchelor-Frigate*; and againſt this Nomination, *Woodes Rogers*, who had but an indifferent Opinion of Captain *Dover*, when conſidered in the Light of a Naval-officer, entered a ſolemn Proteſt, which was alſo ſubcribed to by the *Duke*'s principal Officers; whereupon, to prevent the Diſorders that might enſue from Heart-burnings and the Encouragement of Diſputes among each other, a new Committee aſſembled, wherein it was reſolved that Captain *Dover* ſhould continue on-board the Prize, with the Title of Chief-captain, but without

out any Power in regard to ſailing, engaging, or other Affairs immediately reſpecting the Ship, the Care of which Buſineſs, devolved equally upon Mr. *Stratton* and Mr. *Frye*; wherewith *Rogers* and his People were well ſatisfied, and Unanimity was again reſtored.

It was next agreed, as their Buſineſs in thoſe Seas was now pretty well over, and they ſhould think of returning to *Europe*, that in caſe of a Separation, the Place of Rendezvous ſhould be at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*.

January the 11th, they weighed from Port *Segura*, intending for *Guam*, having but a ſlender Stock of Proviſions and Liquors, the moſt of which they had got on-board the *Batchelor-Frigate*; and the daily Allowance among five Men, reckoning 24 Hours in the Day, was a Pound and a half of Flour, and a ſmall Piece of Meat, with three Pints of Water each to drink, and to ſerve for dreſſing Victuals alſo.

January the 16th, on rummaging the *Batchelor-Frigate*, there was on-board her ſuch a timely Supply of Bread, that ſhe was able to afford to the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* each 1000 Pounds Weight, and to the *Marquis* 500; in return for which Aſſiſtance, ſhe received two Caſks of Flour, one of Beef, and one of Pork. On the 28th the Steward miſſed ſome Pork, and the Thief being diſcovered he was tied to the Main-geers, where every Man upon the Watch gave him a ſtroke with a Cat of nine Tails. He would not have been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, but that there was an abſolute Neceſſity for it at this Time, there not being more than 31 or 32 Days Proviſion on-board.

February the 14th, to keep the Men in Spirits, their Allowance was increaſed, for that Day, with half a Pound of Bread or Flour to every Meſs; and the Captain having put them on drawing Valentines, afterwards allowed them to toaſt their Miſtreſſes Healths in a Can of Punch. On the 17th, a Piece of Captain *Rogers*'s Jaw-bone, which had lodged in his Throat ever ſince he had been wounded, was happily extracted; in conſequence whereof he was much eaſier than before.

March the 10th they made the Iſlands of *Serpana* and *Guam*, and came to Anchor near the latter in 12 Fathom Water, having been all Day viewed by different Prows which paſſed by them with prodigious Celerity, but would not be induced by any Means to come on-board. As there was a Neceſſity, and that an abſolute one, for procuring a freſh Supply of Proviſions here to prevent their ſtarving; it was determined, if poſſible, to get ſome People off the Iſland on board, to detain as Hoſtages, in caſe the Governor ſhould prove averſe to granting them Aſſiſtance. They accordingly laid hold of two *Spaniards*, who hailed them and came on-board, ſuppoſing the Buccaneers, from their Anſwer, to belong to *New Spain*. One of theſe was detained by Way of Hoſtage, while the other was ſent a-ſhore with two Linguiſts, carrying a Letter to the Governor of the Place, implying, That all they demanded was Liberty to deal in a peaceable Manner for Proviſions and Refreſhments, for which they would not only pay immediately, but demean themſelves in every other Reſpect like Friends; and threatning, in caſe of Refuſal, to act openly as Enemies; a Preceeding which they would rather avoid, though confident of Succeſs.

In the Morning of the 11th the Pinnace was ſent a-ſhore with a Flag of Truce, to the Crew of which the Natives behaved with great Cordiality, promiſing a plentiful Supply of Proviſions in caſe of the Governor's Permiſſion, a Grant whereof appeared about Noon in a Letter brought on-board by the two Linguiſts and three *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, who gave freſh Aſſurances of the Governor's Readineſs to do every Thing in his Power to ſerve them. A ſuitable Anſwer to which polite Declaration was ſtraightway diſpatched to his Excellency, with the Thanks of the Crews of the four Ships, ſigned by all the Captains.

On the 13th every Ship was ſupplied with Limes, Oranges, Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreſhments, beſides one Bullock a-piece; and an Entertainment was provided on-board the *Batchelor* for ſeveral of the *Spaniſh* Gentry, at which the Officers of all the Veſſels were preſent, Captain *Rogers* not excepted, though he was hoiſted up and down in a Chair.

On the 16th they went a-ſhore, by Invitation, to the Governor's Houſe, where they were received by 200 Men in Arms, and all the principal People of the Iſland, being entertained with 60 different Diſhes, and at their Departure preſenting his Excellency with two Negroes in handſome Liveries, 20 Yards of Scarlet Cloth-ſerge, and ſix Pieces of fine Cambrick.

On the 17th they got in their Dividend of Proviſions, being 60 Hogs, 99 Fowls, 24 Buſhels of *Indian* Corn, 14 Bags of Rice, 44 Baſkets of Yams, and 800 Cocoa-nuts. The next Day they got ſome live but lean Cattle; and having acknowledged the Governor's Kindneſs in Writing, beſides paying every Body very handſomely for whatever they had bought, they got under ſail on the 21ſt: And we ſhall leave them getting clear of this Iſland, to give a ſhort Deſcription of the Soil, Products, and Situation.

The Iſland of *Guam* is about 40 Leagues round; the Anchoring place is on the Weſt Side, and about the middle there is a large Cove, with ſeveral Houſes built after the *Spaniſh* Taſte, with Accommodations for the *Acapulco* Ship, the Settlement being made here on Purpoſe for that Ship to recruit at in her Way to *Manila*. There are about 300 *Spaniards* on this and the neighbouring Iſlands, and moſt of the Natives are Converts to their religious Principles. Here were at this time eight Fathers, ſix of whom taught School, beſides performing their Offices as Clergymen. They had Schools alſo taught by *Mullatoes* and *Indians*, who had learned the *Spaniſh* Language, which is underſtood by moſt of the Natives. There is a Range of Iſlands from hence to *Japan*, among which are ſeveral that abound with Gold.

April the 14th, being in 20 Degrees North Latitude, or thereabouts, they came ſo near three Water-ſpouts that one of them was near breaking over the *Marquis*, but was happily diſperſed by a Couple of lucky Shots from the *Ducheſs*. On the 23d the *Marquis* and the *Batchelor* were damaged in their Rigging by a violent Storm which had laſted four or five Days, and they both being but indifferent Sailers were a dead Weight upon the Voyage, the Fatigues whereof increaſed to the *Duke*'s Crew by their being obliged conſtantly to ply at the Pump, on account of a Leak onboard, which could not as yet be ſtopped.

Having coaſted for ſeveral Days along the high Lands of *New Guinea*, with ſeveral Iſlands in Sight, they made *Bouton* on the 25th of *May*; for which Iſland the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* each hoiſted out her Pinnace, which ſoon returned with Plenty of Cocoa-nuts, and reported that the Inhabitants, who ſpoke the *Malayan* Language, were very civil and hoſpitable.

May the 29th, it was determined to ſend Captain *Dampier*, attended by Mr. *Vanbrugh*, Mr. *Connoly*, and the Linguiſt, by way of Deputation, to the King, deſiring a Supply of Refreſhments, and proffering very ſufficient Payment. Theſe Gentlemen were received by him very courteouſly, and he appeared well ſatisfied with the Samples which they ſhewed him of ſuch Goods as they choſe to give in Barter, and was alſo highly pleaſed with a Biſhop's Mitre, which was ſent him as a Preſent. The Inhabitants began now to flock on-board faſt enough, with Cocoa, Fowls, Corn, and every Sort of Refreſhment. *June* the 1ſt they ſupplied themſelves with Wood and Water, and the Pinnace returned from the Town, but with a blind Account of the Proceedings of the Officers; preſently after Captain *Dampier* came a-board with a ſmall Quantity of Proviſions, by way of Preſent to the Commanders.

Captain *Rogers* did not approve of the Delays made by the King, with Reſpect to the Proviſions, a large Quantity of which he had amaſſed, and wanted to diſpoſe of at a very exorbitant Rate, detaining Mr. *Vanbrugh* till his Demands were complied with; however he was obliged to give him up, otherwiſe Captain *Rogers* would have impriſoned his Linguiſt, who was a *Portugueſe*, and of ſuch Uſe to his Majeſty, in all commercial Matters, that he could not poſſibly ſpare him. Mr. *Vanbrugh* and he parted very good Friends, but could not prevail with him to furniſh a Pilot to conduct them through the Streights at any Rate: As to his keeping up the Price of Proviſions, they were the leſs uneaſy on that Score, having being furniſhed with as much as they ſhould want, for at leaſt three Weeks before hand, by the Country People.

During their being on this Iſland, a dangerous Munity, which had ſpread from the *Duke* to the *Ducheſs*, and infected ſeveral of the Officers, was happily diſcovered, otherwiſe it might have ruined the whole Voyage; and the Ringleaders being laid in Irons, were divided on-board the different Ships.

On the 8th of *June* they weighed Anchor, and the following Day came up with a *Dutch* Veſſel bound for *Maccaſſarts*, a *Dutch* Settlement on the South Part of *Celebes*. The Maſter, who was a *Malayan*, promiſed not only to pilot them through the Streights, but even to *Batavia*, for a ſmall Gratuity, provided it was kept ſecret from the *Dutch*; and the Captain readily conſented to grant all his Demands, this being a very happy Incident in their Favour, as they were thereby enabled to avoid the *Brill*, the *Bunker*, and other Shoals very dangerous to Shipping; the ſhunning of which properly is beſt known to the *Holland* Traders. On the 15th they ſaw a Number of Fiſhing-boats, which all kept aloof, the High-land of *Japara*, on the Coaſt of *Java*, bearing diſtant from them five Leagues Weſt and by South. On the 17th they hailed a *Dutch* Ship of 600 Tons and 50 Guns, which confirmed to them the Death of Prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the Continuance of the Wars in *Europe*. On the 20th they entered the Road of *Batavia*, and came to Anchor in ſix or ſeven Fathom Water, among upwards of 30 Sail of Ships. On the 22d the Commanders waited on the Governor, who having examined and approved of their Commiſſions as private Ships of War, promiſed to yield them all the friendly Aſſiſtance poſſible; but he was not over exact in keeping his Word, for it was a great while before they could get a Veſſel to careen upon, which at laſt they obtained; and on the 23d of *July* they hove down upon *Horn* Iſland: Proviſions were diſpoſed of to them at an extravagant dear Rate, and when an Audience of the Governor was wanted, which was on many Occaſions neceſſary, it was not obtained without much Difficulty, ſuch as bribing the Guards, or his Secretary; nor was it always that this Method prevailed: And we cannot help obſerving, that it has been almoſt always the Caſe at the *Dutch* Settlements, where the chief People generally receive our Ships with a Face of Friendſhip, while underhand they treat them like real Enemies.

Captain *Rogers* recovered his Health very ſlowly at *Batavia*, where during his Stay, a large Muſket-ball, which the Surgeon hitherto had miſtaken for a Piece of his broken Jaw, was cut out of his Ceeck, and ſeveral Splinters were extracted from his Foot and Heel: Several of the Men were carried off by Fluxes, which drinking the Waters of the Iſland is apt to give; however, they corrected its ill Qualities with Plenty of Arrack and Sugar, the former being eight Pence per Gallon, the latter one Penny per Pound.

October the 12th, having ſtocked themſelves with Proviſions, manned the Ships with their full Complement, and the Officers and Men being furniſhed with ſuch Neceſſaries as they moſt needed, for which a full Committee of the three Ships had ordered them ſufficient Money, they ſet ſail for the *Cape of Good Hope*, taking the Opportunity of the firſt Land-breeze. *October* the 17th, having wooded and watered at *Java Head*, within *Prince*'s *Iſland*, they proceeded on their Voyage, and on the 28th of *December* came to Anchor in the *Cape* Harbour, ſaluting the *Dutch* Fort with nine Guns, which returned them a Compliment of ſeven. Here they waited for a Convoy of the *Dutch* Fleet to *Europe* till the Beginning of *April*, though Captain *Rogers* ſtrongly oppoſed this Delay, judging it better for one or both Ships to run over to *Brazil*, there to diſpoſe of their moſt periſhable Commodities, and afterwards to make for *Briſtol* through the North Channel; but the Majority of the Committee carried it againſt him: And though there was a very troubleſome Leak on-board the *Duke*, Captain *Courtney*, and moſt of the other Officers, denied their Conſent to her being careened, without which it was ſcarcely poſſible to come at the Leak; ſo that *Rogers* was forced to truſt himſelf at Sea in a very indifferent Condition. *April* the 5th, the *Dutch* Admiral hoiſted a blue Flag, and looſened his Fore-top-ſail, as a Signal to unmoor; and falling down to *Penguin* Iſland, lay by for all the Ships. The Day following the Fleet, conſiſting of 16 *Dutch* and nine *Engliſh* Ships, weighed from *Penguin* Iſland with a freſh Breeze at South South-eaſt.

July the 23d they all arrived in the *Texel*, whereat the *Dutch* fired all their Guns, and the *Engliſh* ſaluted the Commodore and Flag with ſeveral Rounds of Cannon.

On the 24th, after Dinner, Captain *Rogers* went up to *Amſterdam*, where he bought up ſome Proviſions for the Ship; and the 1ſt of *Auguſt* they diſcharged the Men they had ſhipped at *Batavia* and the *Cape*. At *Amſterdam* they were met by one Mr. *Halledge*, and ſome others of their Owners, who made them draw up an Abſtract of their Voyage, and ſwear to it before a public Notary, leſt the *Eaſt India* Company ſhould pretend they infringed upon their Rights in touching at any of their Settlements.

Matters being thus adjuſted, they weighed Anchor from the *Texel* on the 22d of *September*, and on the 1ſt of *October* came to their Moorings in the *Downs*, where they were viſited by ſome of their Owners; and on the 14th they came up as far as *Eriff*, where they began to unlade their Cargoes, in hope ſoon to enjoy the Comforts of Eaſe in *Old England*, as the Fruit of ſo perilous and well-conducted a Voyage.

While the private Ships of War alarmed and plundered the *Spaniards* in the *South-Seas*, Commodore *Wager*[a], having returned from the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola* to cover *Jamaica* from any Attempts, ſuſpected to be in Agitation by the *French* Admiral *Du Caſſe*; and being informed by certain Advice, that *Du Caſſe* was ſailed for the *Havanna* in order to convoy home the Galloons, determined to endeavour to intercept them[b]. The Commodore underſtood perfectly the Rout of the Galloons; he knew that they were to ſail from *Porto-Bello* to *Carthagena*, and from thence to the *Havanna*; and as he was very ſenſible that it was to no purpoſe to attempt them after they had joined *Du Caſſe*, he was reſolved to try if it was not poſſible to intercept them in their Paſſage from *Porto-Bello* to *Carthagena*. With this View he ſent Captain *Humphrey Pudner*, in the *Severn*, to watch the Enemy's Motions in *Porto-Bello*; and on the 5th of *February* it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to go over to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. In conſequence of which Reſolution, the Commodore ſailed a few Days after to the *Keys*, where he was joined by ſeveral other Ships and Sloops[c]; who informing him that the *Spaniſh* Galloons were ſailed from *Carthagena* for *Porto Bello*, a Council of War was called the 14th[d], and the 16th the Commodore ſailed with ſuch Ships as were ready, leaving Directions how and where the reſt ſhould join him. The 25th they came to an Anchor off of the Iſle of *Pines*, where they filled Water and cut Wood. However, this Advice was contradicted by Captain *Pudner*, who, ſtationed near *Porto Bello*, acquainted him that the Galloons, with the King's Money, could not ſail before the 1ſt of *May*. Purſuant to a Reſolution hereupon taken at a Council of War, the Commodore ſet ſail again the 24th, to return to *Jamaica*, and ſent Captain *Pudner* Advice of his ſailing, but gave out it was only to cruiſe.

The 6th of *April*, the Commodore anchored at *Port-Royal* Keys, and gave Orders for a Supply of Proviſions, as well as that all the Ships ſhould be in a Readineſs for the Sea. Proviſions being taken in the 13th, a Council of War was held[a], and purſuant to a Reſolution there taken, the Commodore ſet ſail the next Day.

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[a] See Page 658.

[b] It is certain, that under his Convoy they might have been abſolutely ſafe, ſince he had double the Strength of the Engliſh Fleet in thoſe Seas; and therefore, we may very well admire, that Commodore Wager ſhould ever form a Deſign upon theſe Treaſure-ſhips, and much more that he ſhould ſucceed in it, in ſpite of all the Vigilance and Care of M. du Caſſe, at once the moſt able and moſt active Sea-officer in the French Service. Hiſtoire militaire, Tom. vi. p. 124.

[c] One of the Sloops returning, brought with her a Prize which ſhe had taken off of Port St. Louis, by which he had Information, that the French Squadron, conſiſting of 10 Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, ſailed from Port St. Louis to the Havanna the 18th of December. Another Privateer-ſloop ſent in a ſmall Ship of two Guns, taken off of Hiſpaniola, laden with Indigo, and ſome Money.

[d] This Council of War was held upon Information that the Spaniards had Notice of their being in that Neighbourhood; and it was therefore reſolved to ſail directly for Jamaica; that if any additional Strength of Ships could be had, ſufficient to attack the Spaniſh Ships in the Harbour, they might proceed on that Service; they being, in the mean time, aſſured the Spaniards would not ſail, till they knew the Coaſt clear for them, and that before they could have any Advice, they might return.

The Beginning of *May*[b], being off of the *Baru*, the Maſts of the *Expedition* were much damaged by Thunder. The 17th, the *Portland* joined them from the *Baſtimentos*, and brought Advice that the Galloons were ready to ſail[c].

The 23d, the *Anne* Sloop joined the Commodore from the *Baſtimentos*, and brought a Letter from Captain *Pudner*, with Advice that the Galloons, being 13 Sail, were at Sea, coming for *Carthagena*[d]. The 27th, the Commodore, hearing nothing of the Galloons, began to apprehend they had given him the Slip, and were gone for the *Havanna*[e]. But on the 28th of *May*, about Noon, the Galloons, in all 17 Sail, were diſcerned from his Top maſt-head, bearing S. and S.S.W. between the *Baru* and *Friend*'s Iſland. The Commodore immediately reſolved to attack them with his ſmall Squadron. It was calm till three, and then a ſmall Gale ſpringing up at N. and N. N. E. fair Weather, he bore down upon them, and was in hopes of being near them before Night: But they, finding they could not weather the *Baru*, tacked and ſtood to the northward with an eaſy Sail. They did not endeavour to eſcape, not believing he would dare to attack them on ſuch unequal Terms; but drew into a ſort of Line of Battle[f].

The Commodore had before been informed, that the three Admirals (which had always worn Flags till now) had all the Money. He therefore thought if he could get them three, it would be the beſt Service. Accordingly he called to the *Kingſton*, which was near him, to attack the Vice-admiral, and ſent his Boat to the *Portland* to engage the Rear-admiral, while he himſelf made up to the Admiral, and engaged her.

It was juſt Sun-ſet when the Commodore began to engage the Admiral, and in about an Hour and a half, it being then quite dark, ſhe blew up, he being then along her Side, not half Piſtol-ſhot from her; ſo that the Heat of the Blaſt came very hot upon them, and ſeveral Splinters of Plank or Timber came on-board of them on fire; but they ſoon threw them over-board[g]. After the Blaſt, it being then very dark, the Enemy's Ships began to ſeparate; ſo that the Commodore, with all his Endeavours, could keep Sight of but one, which ſeemed to be the biggeſt, and proved, as he expected, to be the Rear-admiral.

About Ten o'Clock the Commodore came up with the Rear-admiral, and not ſeeing which Way ſhe lay with her Head, he happened to fire his firſt Broad-ſide into her Stern, which ſeemed to have diſabled her from making Sail; and being then to Leeward, he made a-board to get to Windward. He had neither ſeen nor heard any thing of the *Kingſton* or the *Portland* all this while; but now, by the firing of his Guns, and his Lights, they joined him, and aſſiſted in taking the Rear-admiral, who called for Quarter about Two in the Morning, the Moon juſt then riſing[h].

The Commodore ſent his Captain, *Long*, on-board the Prize, who ſent the Rear-admiral (the *Conde de la Vega Froride*) with ſome of the Officers, on-board the *Expedition*, and let the reſt remain there till they had an Opportunity to diſpoſe of them, a convenient Number of Men having been ſent on-board to ſecure them. The Commodore ſtaid himſelf upon Deck till Day-light, to ſee, if he could, which Way the reſt of the Enemy's Ships were gone; and before Sun-ſet he ſaw one large Ship on his Weather bow, and three Sail on his Weather-quarter, lying with his Head to the N. and N. E. little Wind; upon which he made Signal for the *Kingſton* and the *Portland* to chaſe[i] to windward, not being able himſelf to make ſail, being much diſabled; and, as he had a great Part of his Men in the Prize, ſo were there no leſs than 300 *Spaniſh* Priſoners on-board his own Ship[k].

On *Sunday* the 30th, the Wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the *Kingſton* and *Portland* had left off Chaſe; but he made the Signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of Sight, the Fire-ſhip ſtill continuing with him; and he having lain by ſome time, not only to put the Prize in a Condition of ſailing, but to refit his own Rigging[l], made Sail eaſtward on the 31ſt, when the *Kingſton* and *Portland* joined him, and gave him an Account that the Ship they chaſed was the Vice-admiral; to which, as they ſaid, they came ſo near, as to fire their Broadſides into her; but were ſo far advanced towards the *Salmadinas*, a Shoal off *Carthegena*, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the Commodore great Uneaſineſs, and determined him to call the Captains of theſe Ships to Account; but, in the mean time, he ſent them Orders to take or deſtroy a Galloon of 40 Guns, which he underſtood, by a *Swediſh* Ship that had been trading at *Baru*, had taken Shelter in that Iſland. She was juſt coming out of Port, as the *Kingſton* and *Portland* appeared; upon which her Crew ran her aſhore, ſet her on Fire, and blew her up, ſo that nothing could be got out of her, as our Captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the Commodore afterwards, was true.

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[a] It was reſolved, that what Ships could be made ready, which, at moſt, were only the Expedition, Portland, Kingſton, and a Fire-ſhip, ſhould go over to the Spaniſh Coaſt, and watch the Motions of the Galloons; and off the Baru was thought the propereſt Place to lye at, till they got Intelligence.

[b] The Author of the Annals of Queen Anne ſays, that the Commodore being off of Carthagena the 2d of May, diſcovered a Sloop coming from the Southward, by which he got Intelligence, that there were 13 Galloons, and three Fire-ſhips, lying at Porto-Bello, ready to ſail. Annals of Queen Anne.

[c] This Month Captain Coleby, Commander of a Privateer-ſloop, with about 100 Men, meeting with 14 Sail of Brigantines and Sloops, laden with valuable Goods, going from the Galloons at Porto-Bello to Panama, under Convoy of the Duke of Anjou's Guard-ſhip, with between 70 and 80 Men, bravely fought the Guard-ſloop, and two others, which ſtood by her for two Hours, and took her and ſix more. The Spaniards offered Captain Coleby 180,000 Pieces of Eight, for the Ranſom of the Sloops, which he refuſed, brought five of them into Jamaica, and the other two, after he had taken the Goods out, he gave to the French and Spaniards to carry them a-ſhore.

[d] The Sloop had himſelf ſeen them off of Cape St. Blaſs coming to the Eaſtward. Upon this Advice the Commodore thought it adviſeable to lye pretty near the Harbour's Mouth, and being informed by Captain Pudner, that the Spaniards had got a Brigantine and a Sloop for Fire-ſhips, thought proper to keep this Sloop ſome Days, and employed her to ſtand off and on near the Shore.

[e] This was an Affair of prodigious Conſequence; for, firſt, the Galloons had not returned to Europe for ſeveral Years, and conſequently were extravagantly rich. This very Squadron, that was attacked by Commodore Wager, had on-board 48,000,000 of Pieces of Eight, The Spaniards and French depended entirely upon this Supply, their Caſh and Credit being abſolutely worn out, ſo that their Mint-bills were at 30 and 40 per cent. Diſcount. It was for theſe Reaſons, that Care was taken to ſend ſo ſtrong a French Squadron into the Weſt-Indies, and under the Command too of an Officer, who, beſides his high Reputation in every other Reſpect, was the beſt acquainted of any Man with thoſe Seas.

[f] The Admiral had a White or Spaniſh Pendant, at her Main-top-maſt-head in the Center; the Vice-admiral the ſame Pendant at her Fore-top-maſt-head in the Rear; and the Rear-admiral the ſame Pendant at her Mizzen-top-maſt head in the Van; about half a Mile from one another, and other Ships between them. Of the 17 Sail, two were Sloops, and one a Brigantine, which ſtood in for the Land. There were likewiſe two French Ships among them, one of about 30, and the other 24 Guns, which, running away, had no Share in the Action; the reſt were Spaniards. Burchett.

[g] It was believed that the Ship did not blow all up into the Air, becauſe there was little or no Blow; but rather that the Ship's Side blew out; for it cauſed a Sea that came into the Commodore's Ports. She ſunk immediately with all her Riches, which muſt have been very great.

[h] She lay at that Time ſo like a Log in the Water, that they could not prevent ſhooting a-head, their Braces being ſhot, and were obliged to tack three Times, which was a great Hindrance to them. While the Commodore lay along Side of the Rear admiral, and was engaged with her, the Vice-admiral paſſed by him upon the other Tack, being very near running him on-board. He gave him a Broadſide in paſſing by, which the Commodore returned, and was in Hopes the Kingſton and the Portland would have laid hold on her; but they let her paſs.

[i] The Commodore having ſunk the Admiral, taken the Rear-admiral, and been eight or nine Hours in almoſt continual Action, might now reaſonably expect ſome Reſpite, and that others would likewiſe do their Part: Nevertheleſs, if we may be allowed to judge by his Vigilance and Application in the Service, before the Diſcovery of the Galloons, Readineſs in the Purſuit when diſcovered, his Activity, Courage, and Perſeverance in the Fight, there is no Reaſon left to doubt, but he would, with the ſame Alacrity, now have purſued the Vice-admiral, and given as good an Account of her, if the Circumſtances of Things would have admitted of it; but, beſides, that his Ship was pretty much damaged in her Sails and Rigging, a great Part of his Men was on-board the Prize, and not a little Confuſion with them and the Priſoners; all which rendered it impoſſible for him to continue the Purſuit. But had Captain Bridges in the Kingſton, and Captain Windſor in the Portland, bore away after the Vice and Rear-admirals, according to the Commodore's firſt Orders, or laid hold of the Vice-admiral, when ſhe paſſed cloſe by them, as I have obſerved above, or now continued the Chace, with the Diligence it afterwards appeared they might have done, neither of the Admirals could well have eſcaped, and it is more than probable ſome other of the Galloons muſt have fallen into their Hands.

[k] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1708, Annals of Queen Anne, Pointer's Chronol. Hiſtory, &c.

[l] Her Mizzen-maſt was gone, both her Top-maſts unſerviceable, and her lower Maſts wounded. It appeared that ſhe had 44 Braſs-guns mounted, and the Priſoners, who were about 300, ſaid there were eleven more in the Hold. It is uncertain what Number of Men they had killed and wounded, the Priſoners varying in their Report. The Commodore, on his Side, had but ſix Men killed, and 11 wounded, in both theſe Actions.

Two Days after, the Commodore examined the Priſoners concerning the Strength and Riches of the Galloons [a]; and in few Days, the Wind blowing hard, and Water growing ſhort for ſo great a Number of People, he bore up to put his Priſoners on-ſhore, which he did the 9th of *June*, together with the Rear-admiral (at his earneſt Requeſt) at the *Great Baru*, keeping only as many *Spaniards* as were neceſſary to carry the Prizes to *Jamaica*.

On the 8th of *July*, the *Expedition*, *Kingſton*, and *Vulture* Fire-ſhip, brought the Prize ſafe into *Port-Royal* Harbour, where the Commodore ſoon after arrived. He found, at his Return, the new Act of Parliament for the Diſtribution of Prizes; and though he had before permitted the Sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the Prize was taken, yet now he appointed Agents, in Obedience to that Act of Parliament, and ordered Captain *Long* to deliver up near 30,000 *l.* worth of Silver and Effects that he had taken between Decks, in order to ſatisfy the Sailors of the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. He likewiſe took care to diſpatch proper Intelligence to *England*, that Ships might be fitted out to cruiſe for the Galloons that had eſcaped; and on the 23d of *July*, he held a Court-marſhal on the two Captains who had done their Duty ſo indifferently in the late Engagement [b].

The 24th, the *Monmouth*, *Jerſey*, and *Roebuck*, arrived with ſome Merchant-ſhips from *England*, and brought the Commodore a Commiſſion of Rear-admiral of the Blue, in Conſideration of former Services. Accordingly the next Day the Rear-admiral hoiſted his Blue Flag at the Mizen-top-maſt-head. Captain *Edwards* alſo brought the Rear-admiral Orders, to ſend home with him, the *Expedition*, *Windſor*, *Aſſiſtance*, *Dolphin*, *Dunkirk*'s Prize, and *Vulture* Fire-ſhip, with which he complied; and by the latter End of *September* they all ſailed for *England*, the *Dunkirk*'s Prize excepted; which Frigate, not being in a Condition to be truſted home in the Winter, the Rear-admiral ſent her out on a ſhort Cruize, with the *Monmouth* (the Ship in which he was to hoiſt his Flag) under the Command of his firſt Lieutenant, and the *Expedition*, Captain *Purvis*, and they brought in two *French* Merchant-ſhips, one of 100, the other of 150 Tons, loaden with Wine, Brandy, and other Goods, from *Rochelle* to *Petit Guavas*; but cruiſing ſoon after, on the North-ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, the *Dunkirk*'s Prize chaſed a *French* Ship until ſhe ran on-ſhore near *Port François*, and following her too near, the Pilot not being well-acquainted, ſhe ſtruck upon a Ledge of Rocks, where, being a very weak Ship, ſhe ſoon bulged: Captain *Purvis*, with ſome of his Men, got upon a ſmall Key, or uninhabited Iſland, within Shot of the *French* Ship; and though ſhe had 14 Guns, and 60 Men, and fired ſmartly upon them, yet having his own Boats, with a Canoe he had taken, and having made a Stage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the *French* demanded Quarter, and ſurrendered the Ship, upon Agreement that her Commander and Men ſhould be put on-ſhore; and with this Ship Captain *Purvis* arrived at *Jamaica*, with all his Company except 21, who refuſed to aſſiſt in the Attempt, believing it altogether impoſſible to ſucceed therein [c].

In *January* 1709, the Rear-admiral having appointed the *Portland* to ſee ſome Merchant-ſhips through the Windward Paſſage, ſhe returned with a *French* Prize taken near Cape *St. Nicholas*, worth about 6000 *l.* Captain *Vernon* of the *Jerſey*, took likewiſe, in *January*, a *Spaniſh* Sloop laden with Tobacco, and retook from the *French* Sloops a *Guinea* Ship with 400 Negroes. Captain *Hardy*, of the *Roebuck*, brought in a Brigantine, partly laden with Indigo, taken in at *Petit Guavas*, and bound to *Port François*.

Captain *Hutchins*, Commander of the *Portland*, having been ſent by the Rear-admiral, on the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, with the trading Sloops, and arriving off of the *Baſtimentoes*, near *Porto Bello*, got Advice the 15th of *April*, that there were four Ships at Anchor there. He ſtood in the next Morning, upon which they drew into a Line, and hoiſted *French* Colours; and he judged two of them to be about 50 Guns, and the other about 30 each. He diſpatched a Canoe to gain Intelligence what theſe Ships were, and the 22d got the Advice he wanted [d].

The 25th, Captain *Hutchins* ſailed from the *Sombles*, and the 27th anchored at the *Baſtimentoes*; and having Advice by his Boat, the 1ſt of *May*, that the two largeſt, being *Guinea* Ships, were ſailed the Night before, he weighed and ſtood Northward, and on the 3d, about Noon, they both being to the Windward, bore down to him, and as they paſs'd gave him ſome Guns, and then wore, as if they intended to engage that Evening. About ſix he tacked, and keeping Sight of them all Night, between ſeven and eight in the Morning he came up within half Piſtol-ſhot of one of them, called the *Mignon*, but was obliged to engage her to Leeward, becauſe he could not carry out his Lee-guns, though both of them did. After he had been very warmly engaged with the *Mignon*, the other Ship, called the *Coventry*, got on his Lee-bow, and fired at his Maſts very briſkly; but Captain *Hutchins* finding he had the better of the *Mignon*, he plied her very warmly, till his Main-top ſail Yard was ſhot in two, and then they got a-head of him. However he ſpliced his Rigging, repaired the Damages as faſt as he could, followed them with all poſſible Diligence, and about three in the Morning perceived that Boats paſſed very often between the two Ships. By reaſon of Calms, he could not come up with them till the 6th, but by ſeven that Morning, was cloſe up with the *Coventry*; and then he engaged, the *Mignon* firing at a Diſtance, but did little or no Damage. His Deſign was to have boarded her, but when he came near her, he found ſhe was too well manned for him to run that Hazard; ſo he plied her with his great Guns. Between Ten and Eleven he brought the *Coventry*'s Main-maſt by the Board, and then, her Fire decreaſing, ſhe ſtruck about half an Hour after Twelve[a].

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[a] They ſaid the Admiral was a Ship of 64 Braſs-guns, with 600 Men, called the St. Joſeph, and had on-board, as ſome ſaid, 5,000,000 of Pieces of Eight; but, according to others, 7,000,000 in Gold and Silver; that the Vice-admiral mounted 64 Braſs-guns, and had between 4 and 500 Men, with four, or, as ſome ſaid, 6,000,000 of Pieces of Eight: And that the Rear-admiral was mounted with 44 Guns, having, as I have ſaid above, eleven more in the Hold, and between 3 and 400 Men; but that upon ſome Difference between the Admiral and him at Porto-Bello, Orders were given that no Money ſhould be ſhipped on board her; ſo that 13 Cheſts of Pieces of Eight, and 14 Pigs or Sows of Silver, which were privately brought on-board in the Night, and belonged to ſome of the Paſſengers, was all the Treaſure which was on-board, except what others might have about them, or were in Trunks, of which they could give no Account. This is the Account the Priſoners gave. Several Relations, publiſhed ſoon after this Time, make the Riches of the Admiral and Vice-admiral to have been far greater, the former at leaſt 30, and the latter 20,000,000 Pieces of Eight; they all, however, agree, that the Rear-admiral had no regiſtered Money on-board, and what the real Amount of the Money and Goods delivered to the Agents was, excluſive of what was of Courſe plundered, in the Confuſion of the Surrender, we ſhall ſee hereafter. The other Spaniſh Ships had little or no Money on-board, but were chiefly laden with Cocoa, as the Rear-admiral was; and but one of them was of any conſiderable Force, being of 700 Tons Burthen, and having 40 Braſs-guns, and 140 Men; but the two French Ships had about 100,000 Pieces of Eight on-board.

[b] In the London Gazettee, No. 4476, we have the following Account of the Proceedings of this Court-martial. At a Court-martial held on board her Majeſty's Ship Expedition, at Port-Royal in Jamaica, the 23d of July 1708. Preſent, Charles Wager, Eſq; Commander in Chief of a Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships in the Weſt-Indies, PRESIDENT. Captain Barrow Harris of the Aſſiſtance, Captain Tudor Trevor of the Windſor, Captain Humphrey Pudner of the Severne, Captain Steven Hutchins of the Scarborough, Captain Henry Long of the Expedition, Captain Abraham Tudor of the Dolphin; all duly ſworn according to an Act of Parliament. Captain Simon Bridges, Commander of her Majeky's Ship the Kingſton, was tried for not having performed his Duty, in a late Action with the Spaniſh Galloons, on the Coaſt of Carthagena in New-Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May laſt; and it did appear, by Evidence upon Oath, that the ſaid Captain Simon Bridges, through Miſconduct, did not uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to engage, and take the Enemy, on the 28th of May laſt, at Night; and that he did, too negligently, purſue the Chaſe of the Spaniſh Vice-admiral the 29th and 30th; and that he left off Chaſe when within Gun-ſhot of the ſaid Ship, doubting the Pilot's Knowledge, and bearing near the Shoal, called Salmadinas, though the Pilot offered to carry the Ship within the ſaid Shoal, after the ſaid Vice-admiral; but no Want of perſonal Courage being alledged againſt him, this Court does only find him guilty of the Breach of Part of the 12th, and Part of the 14th Articles of War, and for the ſaid Offence, do diſmiſs him, the ſaid Captain Simon Bridges, from being Captain of her Majeſty's Ship Kingſton. Captain Edward Windſor, Commander of her Majeſty's Ship the Portland, being tried for not doing his Duty, in a late Action with the Spaniſh Galloons, on the Coaſt of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May laſt; it did appear, by Evidence upon Oath, that the ſaid Captain Edward Windſor was ſlack in his Duty, by not bearing ſo near the Enemy, as to keep ſight of ſome of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at Night; that upon chaſing the Enemy, next Day, by Signal from the Commodore, he left off Chace, and bore down to the Kingſton, in the Evening, when he ought not to have done ſo; and that on the 30th, when the Kingſton and Portland chaſed the Vice-admiral of the Galloons, near the Salmadinas, he ſhortened ſail before he came up with the ſaid Ship, ſo far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into theſe Miſtakes through Want of Judgment, and having too great a Regard to Captain Bridges, of the Kingſton, as a ſenior Officer. This Court having duly conſidered the whole Matter, do find him guilty of the Breach of ſome Part of the 12th, and Part of the 14th Articles of War; and for the ſaid Offence, do diſmiſs him, the ſaid Captain Edward Windſor, from being Captain of her Majeſty's Ship Portland.

[c] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe, the Life of Queen Anne, &c.

[d] The two biggeſt appeared to be the Coventry (formerly taken from us) and the Mignon, both from Guinea, one of the other a French Trader of 36 Guns, and the fourth a Dutch Ship, which they had taken at the Baſtimentoes; and that the two Guinea Ships were ready to ſail, and the other two ſailed the Day after his Appearance there. Annals of Queen Anne.

About the latter End of *May*, the Rear-admiral, at the earneſt Requeſt of the Merchants, ſent the *Severn* and *Scarborough* to *England* with the Trade. Little or nothing elſe of Moment happened during Rear-admiral *Wager*'s Stay at *Jamaica*: And he, having received Orders to return to *England*, arrived at *St. Helens* the 20th of *November*, leaving the Command of the Ships which remained at that Iſland, with Captain *Tudor Trevor*.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *in the Years* 1709 *and* 1710.

LORD *Durſley*, who was ordered to cruize in the *Soundings*[b], returned to *Plymouth* about the Beginning of *January*, without finding any real Object to diſplay his Skill and Courage upon. But his Stay in Port was very ſhort; for we find him again at Sea on the 14th of *February*, with one Third-rate, and three Fourth-rates; which on the 17th were joined by two Fourth rates, and one Fifth-rate. The *Medway* and *Dartmouth*, Part of this Squadron, took two Privateers of 12 Guns each off the *Start*; and on the 22d of *February*, his Lordſhip having only with him the *Kent*, *Plymouth*, *Monk*, and *Litchfield*, fell in with 11 Sail, 12 Leagues from *Scilly*. This happened about Three in the Morning, and their Lights being ſeen, his Lordſhip made the Signal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without Danger of falling amongſt the Enemy; for this proved to be M. *du Guai Trouin*'s Squadron. However, through the Darkneſs of the Weather, his Lordſhip miſſed them; and then ſtretching away for *Plymouth*, Captain *Stuart* of the *Dartmouth*, whom his Lordſhip had ſent in, a little before with a Prize above-mentioned, informed him, that he had been chaſed by nine large Ships off the *Lizard*, and that they were the ſame, in his Judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged Captain *Tollet*, in his Paſſage from *Ireland*[c]: Of which Action we have the following Account from the Captain's own Papers.

On the 25th of *February*, Captain *Tollet* in the *Aſſurance*, of 70 Guns, with the *Sunderland* of 60, *Hampſhire* and *Angleſea* of 50 Guns, each ſailed from *Cork*, and being joined by the *Aſſiſtance*, a 50 Gun Ship likewiſe, with the Trade from *Kingſale*, continued his Voyage for *England*. On the 2d of *March*, about Five in the Morning, being then eight Leagues S. S. W. off the *Lizard*, he ſaw four Sail ſtanding after him. About Seven, they came within Random-ſhot; whereupon he made the Signal for drawing into a Line of Battle, and another for the Merchant-men to bear away, for their Security; ſome of them, with the *Angleſea* and *Sunderland*, having before loſt Company. About Eight, the Enemy bore down in a Line, and when they were come within Muſket-ſhot, they hoiſted *French* Colours. The *French* Commodore, who was in a Ship of 70 Guns or upwards, came ranging along the Larboard-ſide of the *Aſſurance*, and fell aboard her, ſo that they engaged Yard-arm and Yard-arm, for the Space of almoſt half an Hour; during which the *Frenchman* plied Captain *Tollet* ſo warmly with ſmall Shot, that they cut off moſt of his Marines and Seamen, that were quartered on Deck. They then put off, and fell on-board again on the Lee-ſide of the *Aſſurance*, firſt ranging on her Bow, and then on her Quarter, while ſhe fired her Upper-deck, and Part of her Lowerdeck Guns, with ſuch Vigour, that ſhe obliged the Enemy to ſheer off, and ſtand away a-head towards the Merchantmen. The three other Ships, which were of 40 or 50 Guns, then came ranging along the *Aſſurance*, firing ſeveral Broad ſides into her, and after that, bore away as the former. The Damage ſhe received was very great; her Sides were ſhot through and through in a great many Places; her Shrouds and Back-ſtays cut to Pieces, as likewiſe her Main and Falſe-ſtay; which, if not timely ſeen, had occaſioned the Loſs of her Maſt. Her Fore-ſail and Foretop-ſail were torn to Pieces; her beſt Bower cut away; one of the Flukes of the Spare-anchor ſhot off, and her ſmall Bower, by the Enemies boarding, drove through her Bow. All poſſible Diſpatch was made in fitting her Rigging, which, with the bending of a new Fore-ſail, and Foretop-ſail, took up ſome time. After which, the Ships of War all bore down to ſecure what Merchant-ſhips they could, expecting to have engaged the Enemy again; but they declined it. The Captain of the *Aſſurance*, who had been four Months ſick, and had been carried upon Deck in a Chair, was wounded: The firſt Lieutenant was ſhot in the Leg, which he got dreſſed, and then returned to his Charge upon Deck; the ſecond Lieutenant was killed; as were ſeveral *French* Officers, whom they brought from *Ireland*: But more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the *Aſſurance* had 25 killed, and 53 wounded, and ſome of theſe died of their Wounds; for the Enemy making their chief Attempt on her, ſhe had been ſeverely treated, the *Hampſhire* had only two killed, and 11 wounded: The *Aſſiſtance*, eight killed, and 21 wounded, among the latter was Captain *Tudor*, her Commander, who died afterwards of his Wounds[d]. M. *du Guai Trouin*, who commanded the *French* Squadron, had Abundance of Men killed and wounded, and took only five Merchant-men, which it was believed he ſent into *Breſt*. In the Memoirs, which go under his Name, it is acknowledged, that our Officers did their Duty extremely well; that not only his own Ship was very roughly handled by Captain *Tollet*; but alſo, that the *Amazon*, and the *Glory*, that were with him, met the like Reception from the *Hampſhire* and the *Aſſiſtance*. As to the five Prizes, he ſays, that two of them were ſent to *St. Malo*'s, one got into *Calais*, and the other two foundered on the *Engliſh* Coaſt[e].

Lord *Durſley*, on the 20th of *March*, ordered three Ships to cruize off *Breſt*, to gain Intelligence, and in the mean time, the *Saliſbury* took a *French Weſt-India* Ship, richly laden; but the moſt valuable Part of her Effects were immediately taken out, becauſe ſhe proved ſo leaky, that it was ſuſpected ſhe might founder at Sea. On the 29th, his Lordſhip had Orders to ſee the *Liſbon* Fleet of Merchant-men ſafe into the Sea; but his Lordſhip having received certain Intelligence, that M. *du Guai Trouin*, was then cruizing at the Diſtance of about 35 Leagues from *Scilly*, his Lordſhip propoſed to leave the Trade and Tranſports, under the Protection of ſome *Dutch* Men of War, that were expected from *Portſmouth*, and reſolved to go himſelf in ſearch of the Enemy; but theſe *Dutch* Ships of War not arriving in time, his Lordſhip thought it better to comply with his Orders; and having ſeen the *Liſbon* Fleet as far as he was directed, he had ſcarce parted from them, on the 9th of *April*, before he diſcovered the *Achilles*,

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[a] Her firſt Captain was killed, and the ſecond wounded, and about 70 Men killed in both the Enemies Ships, the Mignon's Men being put into the Coventry, and no more left in her, than to carry her into the firſt ſafe Port. The firſt Captain of the Mignon was on-board the Coventry, having received many Wounds a-board his own Ship, which was ſo much diſabled, that they judged ſhe could not proceed to France, having not 20 Men on-board her, beſides Negroes; which was the Cauſe they removed the Money, which was a-board her, into the Coventry. In this Action, Captain Hutchins had no more than nine Men killed, and 12 wounded; having not above 220 on-board, Servants included, beſides 12 Negroes, when he began the Attack. The Money he found amounted to about 20,000 Pieces of Eight, a great Part of which was found about the French Seamen. See London Gazette, No. 4547.

[b] See Page 669.

[c] Burchett, complete Hiſtory of Europe, Annals of Queen Anne, Life of Queen Anne, &c.

[d] In the London Gazette, No. 4521, is a Letter from on-board the Aſſurance, with an Account of this Tranſaction, dated in Hamoze, March 3d, and therein, the Engagement is expreſsly ſaid to have happened the Day before.

[e] Memoirs de Monſieur Guai Trouin. The French Journals of thoſe times acknowledge the ſame Thing, and own, that their Ships were very roughly treated; and that, if our Squadron had been ſtronger, it would have been difficult for them to eſcape.

les, commanded by M. *du Guai Trouin*, and the *Glory*, who the Day before, had taken the *Briſtol* Man of War, a 50 Gun Ship; his Lordſhip immediately gave them chace, recovered the *Briſtol*, which, by a Shot in her Bread-room, ſunk ſoon afterwards; but all the Men, except 20, were ſaved. The *Achilles* much ſhattered, eſcaped by her ſwift ſailing, but the *Le Gloire*, a *French* Man of War of 44 Guns and 312 Men was taken; his Lordſhip having about 70 Men killed and wounded in the Action. On the 26th of *April*, two ſmall Ships were taken, and on the 7th of *May*, a Privateer carrying 14 Guns, and 100 Men; but the Proviſions through all the Ships then growing very ſhort, his Lordſhip found it neceſſary to return to *Plymouth* on the 13th, with his Squadron, which conſiſted at that time of one Third, and ſeven Fourth-rates, and there received the unwelcome News, that her Majeſty's Ship the *Sweepſtakes*, of 32 Guns, had been taken by two *French* Privateers, each of which was of greater Force than that Frigate [a].

There arrived about the ſame time Advice, that four *French* Men of War had attacked ſome *New England* Ships, laden with Maſts, under the Convoy of Captain *Walter Ryddel*, in the *Falmouth*, a Ship of 50 Guns, about 24 Leagues from *Scilly*. This happened on the 18th of *May*; and the *French* Commodore, a 60 Gun Ship, attempting to board the *Falmouth*; Captain *Ryddel* ſaved him the Trouble, by filling his Head-ſails, and laying her on-board under her Boltſprit, directly athwart her Hawſer, and at the ſame time raked her fore and aft, with his Cannon. The Enemy continued in this Poſture about an Hour and half, during which time, he entered many Men, but they were repulſed. However, the Number of Men on-board her being much greater than thoſe in the *Falmouth*, it occaſioned various Turns: But, at length, he thought fit to retire, having firſt cut all the Laniards of the *Falmouth*'s Fore and Mizen-ſhrowds, believing it might prevent her following to reſcue the Convoys, which the Enemy ſtood after. Notwithſtanding this, Captain *Ryddel* made ſail after him with ſuch Diligence, as enabled him, notwithſtanding the bad Condition he was in to preſerve them all, and to bring them ſafe into *Plymouth*. In this Action the *Falmouth* had 13 Men killed, and 56 wounded. The Captain himſelf was wounded in the right Leg, and had ſeveral other Hurts; and the ſecond Lieutenant, and Mr. *Lawſon*, a Volunteer, were ſhot through the Body; the *Falmouth* had 20,000 Pounds *New England* Money on-board her at the time of the Engagement [b].

About the ſame Date is recorded the glorious Action of Captain *Camock*, who was ordered out of *Kingſale* in queſt of two *French* Privateers, which had entered *Bantry-Bay*, and ſurprized the *Ruth* of *London*, a *Weſt-India* Ship, valued at 25,000 *l.* Captain *Camock* met one of them with their Prize at the Mouth of *Beerhaven*, ſteering for *France*. He preſently retook the *Ruth*; and after a whole Night's Chace, having loſt Sight of the Privateer, entered *Bantry-Bay*, and took the other Privateer with 30 Men, moſt of them *Iriſh*, on-board, whom he ſent to *Cork* Jail to be tried for High-treaſon [c].

The Affairs this Year in the *Mediterranean*, were conducted by Sir *George Byng*, Sir *Edward Whitaker*, and Vice-admiral *Baker*. Sir *George Byng*, Admiral of the *Blue*, was appointed to carry the Queen of *Portugal* to *Liſbon*. Her Majeſty being arrived at *Portſmouth* from *Holland*, under Convoy of a *Britiſh* Squadron, commanded by Rear-admiral *Baker*, went on-board the *Royal Anne* the 6th of *October* 1708; and the next Morning the Fleet, commanded by Admiral *Byng*, ſailed from *Spithead*, arrived the 14th at *Caſcais*, and the 16th went up the River of *Liſbon*, where her Majeſty was received with great State and Magnificence. The firſt thing the Admiral did, was to order Cruizers in proper Stations, to protect the *Portugal Brazil* Fleet, and our Trade, in and about the *Streights* Mouth; and then to ſend ſome *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Ships [d] to convoy home the Tranſports arrived from the *Mediterranean*. About the Middle of *November*, he received Orders to proceed to *Port-Mahon*, and to winter in the *Mediterranean*, leaving Sir *John Jennings* at *Liſbon* [e]. The 27th of *December* he got under Sail [f], and the 12th of *January* 1709, after having ſuffered much by tempeſtuous Weather, which had ſeparated his Squadron, he arrived at *Port-Mahon*, where he found the moſt of his Ships arrived before him.

Here he diſpatched Order to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, who was on the Coaſt of *Italy*, to join him, which he did on the 19th of *February*, with about 3500 Men, Land-forces; General *Stanhope* being arrived the 14th. With theſe Troops, and the General, he put to Sea [g], with a Deſign to relieve the Caſtle of *Alicant*. The 5th of *April* he arrived in that Bay; but, after ſome Attempts, finding the Relief of that Place impracticable, the 7th, the General ſent a Flag of Truce on-ſhore, with Propoſals for ſurrendering the Caſtle, which being agreed to, the Garriſon was embarked.

The Admiral Sir *George Byng*, now proceeded towards *Barcelona* [h], and in his Way landed General *Stanhope*, with the Troops, at *Terragona*; at *Port Mahon*, he was joined by Sir *John Jennings*, whom he had ordered to meet him there [i]. Having diſpatched ſome Ships for *Genoa* and *Final* [k], he ordered Sir *John Jennings* to guard the Corn-ſhips to *Barcelona*, where Sir *George* joined him the 8th of *June*, with the reſt of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, and there Sir *Edward Whitaker* likewiſe arrived with his Squadron from *Italy*, and above 2000 Recruits for the Army.

The whole Fleet being now together, a Council of War was called, to conſider how it might be beſt employed; and the Reſolution was, that Sir *John Jennings* ſhould return to guard the Coaſt of *Portugal* [l]; and Sir *George Byng* ſail to a Station 10 Leagues South of *Cape Toulon*, to intercept the Enemy's Trade, and as much as poſſible to alarm them. They both ſailed together, and Sir *George* arrived before *Toulon* the 21ſt of *June*, where having cruiſed ſome time, he returned to *Barcelona* Road.

There were now two grand Schemes propoſed, one for the Reduction of *Sicily*, at which Sir *Edward Whitaker* was to command, and the other an Attempt on *Cadiz*, on which the Admiral propoſed to proceed himſelf, with General *Stanhope*; but both Deſigns came to nothing, partly becauſe the *Dutch* could not aſſiſt at them for want of Proviſions, and partly becauſe the Ships were required by the King of *Spain* for ſo many particular Services, that it was impoſſible to keep a ſufficient Body together. Our Ships were however, after their being cleaned at *Port-Mahon*, very ſucceſsful, in taking a great Number of Prizes [m].

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[a] London Gazette, No. 4531. All our public Accounts call the French Man of War taken in this Engagement, le Gloire; but it appears from the French Writers, that the true Name of it was, le Glorieux. In the Account publiſhed by the Admiralty, it appears, that the Briſtol, Captain Gore, was taken in her Paſſage from Plymouth to Liſbon, after a very warm Diſpute, in which ſhe had 70 Men killed and wounded. The French Man of War was taken by Captain Thomas Matthews, in the laſt War, Admiral and Commander in chief in the Mediterranean.

[b] See the London Gazette, N° 4545. Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Burchett's Annals of Queen Anne: But all theſe Accounts are taken from that in the Gazette.

[c] London Gazette, N° 4544. Compleat Hiſtory of Europe.

[d] They were three Third-rates, which were in the worſt Condition for continuing abroad, which were joined by four Ships of War of the States-General. Burchett.

[e] He was ordered to leave, with Sir John Jennings, two Third-rates, and one Fifth-rate, and to ſend to him ſuch Ships as were over and above the 16, which were to remain under his Command.

[f] He had with him one Firſt-rate, five Third-rates, two Fire-ſhips, an Hoſpital-ſhip, a Store-ſhip, and the Arrogant-Hulk. He left Orders with Sir John Jennings to appoint the firſt Ships he ſhould have clean, to guard the Mouth of the Streights, and ſent two Third-rates, two Fourth rates, and a Fifth-rate, a-head to Alicant, to aſſure the Governor of the Caſtle of his Aſſiſtance.

[g] He took 11 Ships of the Line of Battle with him, left ſome to clean and refit, and employed others on Services deſired by the King of Spain: So that he was not yet able to ſend any Ships to Sir John Jennings.

[h] He firſt detached ſome Ships to cruiſe for the Turky Fleet, and others with Tranſports for Corn to Barbary.

[i] Sir John was off of Gibraltar the 21ſt of May, with 16 Men of War, Britiſh and Dutch, and about 40 Tranſports laden with Corn, as alſo with Proviſions and Stores for the Fleet, and arrived at Port-Mahon the 28th.

[k] They were the Suffolk, Humber, and Ipſwich, with ſome others, under Command of Sir Edward Whitaker; and their Orders were firſt to proceed to Leghorn, for a Supply of Proviſions, and then to tranſport the German Recruits from thoſe Places for Barcelona.

[l] With one Second-rate, four Third-rates, five Fourth-rates, and three Fifth-rates.

[m] They took 22 loaden with Corn, three Ships from Turky, three from Marſeilles, and three from Carthagena, the Dutch having ſeized on three more. The Antelope and Worceſter having been cruiſing up the Levant, took three French Merchant-ſhips, and when Sir Edward Whitaker appeared with his Squadron off of Roſes, he diſcovered there about 40 Embarkations, which were employed to tranſport Proviſions to the Enemy's Army in the Ampourdan, 30 of which he took, whereby they were put to no little Streights for Want of the Supplies they hoped for by Sea.

Sir *George* being arrived at *Gibraltar*, and not finding there the Squadron he expected under Rear-admiral *Baker* [a], with the Troops intended for the Attempt on *Cadiz*, that Deſign was wholly laid aſide; and it was reſolved, at a Council of War, that Sir *Edward Whitaker* ſhould remain with a Squadron in the *Streights* [b], and Sir *George* return to *Great-Britain*; purſuant to which he paſſed the *Streights* the 22d of *September*, and arrived at *Spithead* the 25th of *October* [c].

The Command in the *Mediterranean* being devolved on Sir *Edward Whitaker*, by the Departure of Admiral *Byng*, he continued on the Coaſt of *Roſes* till the 16th of *Auguſt*, ſailed from thence to *Barcelona*, convoyed the Tranſports, Store-ſhips, and Victuallers from thence to *Port-Mahon*, afterwards to *Algiers*, returned to *Port-Mahon*, and arrived at *Barcelona*, with a Supply of Corn, the 28th of *September*. Returning to *Port-Mahon* to refit, he ſailed again the 11th of *November* for *Leghorn* for Proviſions, and in his Way, lying off of *Toulon*, he took ſeveral Barks. Having joined Admiral *Baker* at *Port-Mahon*, he put to Sea again, and the Beginning of *January* 1710, arrived in the Road of *Leghorn*, where he found the *Dutch* Rear-admiral with all his Ships; and here he received an Account from Captain *Evans* of the *Defiance*, of a ſharp Engagement he had with two *French* Ships, the 8th of *November* of the foregoing Year [d].

Sir *Edward Whitaker* having, ſome time after, received Directions to return to *England*, he appointed Vice-admiral *Baker* to guard the Tranſports up the *Arches* to fetch Corn for the Uſe of the Forces in *Catalonia* [e]. He left *Port-Mahon* the 27th of *March*, arrived at *Liſbon* the 4th of *April* with three Third-rates; and having ſtaid there ſome Time for the Trade, ſailed the 29th, and arrived in the *Channel*, in company of the *Dutch Liſbon* Fleet and their Convoy, the 1ſt of *June*.

Vice-admiral *Baker* obeyed his Orders received from Admiral *Whitaker*, and convoyed the Corn-ſhips ſafe back to *Barcelona*; and off the *Phare* of *Meſſina*, the *Fame*, Captain *Maſters*, and the *Suffolk*, Captain *Cleveland*, gave Chace to four Ships, one of which was the *Galliard* of 56 Guns, and four Sattees; but they all eſcaped except two Ships; the *Galliard*, which mounted no more than 38 Guns, was taken by Captain *Cleveland*, and one more Ship which was taken by Captain *Maſters*. After the Vice-admiral had ſeen his Charge ſafe into *Barcelona*, he proceeded and joined Sir *John Norris* at *Tarragona*, on the 24th of *June* 1710.

Sir *George Byng*, in his Return from the *Mediterranean*, having obtained an exact Account of the Strength, Station, and Deſigns of M. *du Guai Trouin*, ſent an Account of it to the Lord High-admiral, who immediately diſpatched it to the Lord *Durſley*, who was juſt returned from cruizing for a Corn Fleet, which the *French* expected from the *Baltick*. His Lordſhip's Inſtructions were, to give the Enemy all the Diſturbance he could, and to take particular Care of the *Weſt-India* Trade, the intercepting of which was principally deſigned by M. *du Guai Trouin*. On the 8th of *October* his Lordſhip ſailed from *Plymouth*, with one Third-rate, and two Fourths, having before detached Captain *Vincent* with ſix Ships, to ſecure the *Weſt-India* Fleet; and ſoon after his Lordſhip joined that Detachment, by which he effectually prevented the *French* from ſucceeding in their Deſign. On the laſt of *October*, his Lordſhip being then off *Scilly*, took a large *French* Ship from *Guadalupe* [f], and a ſmall Privateer. Three Weeks after he met with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, and having ſufficiently ſtrengthened their Convoy, detached two Frigates for Intelligence, into the Road of *Breſt*, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further Service.

His Lordſhip being then Vice-admiral of the Red, detached, on the 9th of *December*, Captain *Hartnol*, in the *Reſtoration*, with four other Ships, to cruiſe 15 or 20 Leagues Weſt of *Scilly*, in order to protect ſome *Eaſt-India* Ships and their Convoys from *Ireland*; and, on the 2d of *January* 1710, was going from *Plymouth* with ſeven clean Frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the Way with Sir *John Norris* towards *Liſbon*, his Lordſhip, after complying with this Order, remained in his appointed Station till he was forced from it by foul Weather; which however gave him an Opportunity of taking a *French* Privateer of 20 Guns, and retaking the *St. Peter* of *Dublin*, a rich Ship, of which the Enemy had made themſelves Maſters off Cape *Clear*. His Lordſhip, conſidering that the *Eaſt-India* Trade were not yet arrived from *Ireland*, appointed three Ships of his Squadron to ſee them ſafe from thence. On the 21ſt of *February*, the *Kent* brought into *Plymouth* a ſmall Privateer, and a *French* Merchant-ſhip; as the *Reſtoration* and *Auguſt* did the next Day four more, which were bound from *Nantz* to *Martinico*; and not many Days after, his Lordſhip appointed the *Reſtoration* and *Auguſt*, to ſee two *Eaſt-India* Ships well into the Sea; but, by contrary Winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of *March* the *Montague* took a Privateer of 10 Guns; and his Lordſhip having ſeen the *Eaſt-India* Ships, and thoſe bound to the *Iſle of May*, 150 Leagues from *Scilly*, returned to *Plymouth* the 9th of *May*; ſeven Days after which, the *Lyon*, *Colcheſter*, and *Litchfield*, brought in four Prizes, two of them Privateers, the others Merchant ſhips; when his Lordſhip, leaving the Squadron, came to Town.

The chief Accidents that happened in our naval Affairs in 1709, may be reduced to theſe: In the latter end of *June*, her Majeſty's Ship the *Fowey* of 32 Guns, was taken in the *Mediterranean*, by two *French* Men of War of greater Strength [g]. On the 23d of *September*, Captain *Hanway*, in her Majeſty's Ship the *Plymouth*, of 60 Guns arrived at *Plymouth*, with a *French* Man of War, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain *Hanway* was bound to *Plymouth*, in order to repair ſome Damages he had received; and about ſeven Leagues, N. W. by N. from the *Deadman*, he ſaw this Ship, and chaſed her two Hours, before he came up with her; as ſoon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great Vigour, and after a ſharp Action, which laſted above an Hour, he obliged her to ſurrender. The *French* Ship was called *L'Adriad*, had been fitted out from *Dunkirk*, commanded by the Sieur *Jacques Caſhard*, having 40 Guns mounted (but had Ports for 48) and 260 Men on-board; ſeveral of the Men belonging to the *Plymouth* being ſick on-ſhore, Captain *Hanway* could make uſe of no more Guns in this Action, than the Enemy's Ship had mounted. The Captain of the *French* Veſſel, with 14 other Officers and Seamen, were killed in the Engagement,

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[a] Theſe Troops were embarked about the Middle of Auguſt; but being long detained on the Coaſt of England by contrary Winds, did not make the Coaſt of Portugal till the Beginning of October; and then, by Directions of the Earl of Galway, ſailed directly for Barcelona with the Forces he had on-board.

[b] The 29th of July, Sir George gave him Directions to uſe his beſt Endeavours, with ten Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, three Fifth-rates, and one Sixth-rate, to protect the Coaſt of Catalonia, in Conjunction with ſuch Dutch Ships as ſhould be appointed to join him; and by cruiſing off of the Coaſt of Roſes, or thereabouts, to prevent the carrying of the Enemy any Supplies of Proviſions or Ammunition, and ſo to diſpoſe of the Ships under his Command, from time to time, that they might intercept their Veſſels with Corn from the Levant, and the Coaſt of Barbary.

[c] Having with him one Firſt-rate, two Third-rates, and two Fourth-rates; the Eſſex and the Firme, with a Sloop and two Bomb-veſſels, being ſent before with the empty Tranſports and other Veſſels.

[d] The Defiance, Captain Evans, and the Centurion, Captain Mighill, met with two French Men of War, of about equal Force, between Almeria and Malaga, with which they began to engage about Eight in the Morning, and continued the Fight till about Twelve at Noon. The Conflict was very warm on both Sides; the Defiance had 25 Men killed, and 65 wounded; and the Centurion fared no better: Beſides, their Rigging was ſo diſabled, and their Maſts and Yards ſo much gauled, that they were not in a ſailing Condition. However, the French leaving them about Noon, they made the beſt Speed they could after them till towards Evening, the leaſt of them having the other in Tow; but then they ſheltered themſelves in the Port of Malaga, having, as it was ſaid, loſt 100 Men. Burchett.

[e] Vice-admiral Baker was ordered, with nine Ships of the Line of Battle, a Frigate and a Fire-ſhip, to proceed with ſeveral Tranſport-ſhips, to a proper Height, and thence ſend two Dutch Ships with thoſe deſigned to Tarente, and then accompany the other Tranſports as far as Cape St. Angelo, where he was to leave them to a Fourth and a Fifth-rate, to ſee them as far up the Arches as ſhould be neceſſary, and when they were all loaden, to ſee them back to Port-Mahon or Barcelona, according as the Winds might permit.

[f] According to ſome Accounts, this was a very conſiderable Prize, no leſs than a Ship of 40 Guns, with a Cargo worth 100,000 l. Indeed this Lord took ſo many, and ſo rich Prizes, that I do not wonder ſome of our Writers grew weary of ſetting them down; for I obſerve, that ſometimes active Officers are not the greateſt Favourites.

[g] Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 648. See Taubman's Hiſtory, before cited.

gagement, and 60 wounded; of the *Plymouth*'s Company, the Captain of a Company of Marines on-board, and ſeven Men were killed, and 16 wounded[a]. In the latter end of the Month of *October*, the *Weſt India* Fleet, being about 150 Leagues off the *Lizard*, met with a violent Storm, by which they were ſeparated from five Ships of War, appointed for their Convoy; the *Newcaſtle*, which was one of them, being ſo ſhattered, that ſhe loſt her Mainmaſt, and with much Difficulty got to *Falmouth*; ſoon after the *Hampſhire* and the *Glouceſter* were attacked by the Squadron of M. *du Guai Trouin*, and made a gallant Defence, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of Force; which, however, gave the Ships under their Convoy, an Opportunity to eſcape. At laſt, after ſeven Hours Fight, the *Glouceſter*, a 60 Gun Ship, and juſt rebuilt, was taken; but the *Hampſhire* obliged the Enemy to ſheer off, and in a very ſhattered Condition, got into *Baltimore*[b]. On *Chriſtmas-Day*, the *Solebay* Man of War, with eight Merchant-ſhips under her Convoy, bound to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, were unfortunately loſt upon *Boſton-Knock*, and only two Boats full of Men ſaved, out of all the Ships[c].

The Earl of *Pembroke*, finding the Care of the Fleet a Load too heavy for him to bear, though he had diſcharged his Office of Lord High-admiral to the general Content of all Parties, very prudently and virtuouſly reſolved to lay it down. A great deal of Pains were taken to divert his Lordſhip from this Reſolution, but to no Purpoſe; he thought the Buſineſs might be better done by one who had greater Experience in maritime Affairs; and thereupon, this high Office was offered to that gallant Sea-officer the famous Earl of *Orford*, who abſolutely refuſed it, though he was willing to accept a Share in the Direction of the Admiralty. Her Majeſty, therefore, in the Beginning of the Month of *November*, thought proper to direct a Commiſſion, whereby ſhe conſtituted and appointed *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Dodington*, and *Paul Methuen*, Eſqrs. Commiſſioners, for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, in the room of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on whom the Queen beſtowed a Yearly Penſion of 3000 Pounds per Annum, payable out of the Revenue of the Poſt-office, in Conſideration of his eminent Services[d]. Soon after this Alteration, there followed a Promotion, *viz.* On the 12th of *November* 1709, her Majeſty being pleaſed to appoint a Gentleman, who had been long laid aſide, *viz. Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet; the Lord *Durſley*, Vice admiral; and *Charles Wager*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; Sir *John Jennings*, Admiral; Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Vice-admiral of the White; and Sir *John Norris*, Admiral; and *John Baker*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue[e].

The Parliament met, and granted 6,184,166*l.* 7*s.* in order to the raiſing of which, a Lottery was eſtabliſhed of 1,500,000*l.* of which 600,000*l.* was ſubſcribed, on the 20th of *January*, being the firſt Day the Books were opened, and all the reſt in leſs than ſix Weeks[f]. This was ſufficient to ſhew the Strength of public Credit at that time, as alſo the Diſpoſition of the Commons, to continue the War till the Ends of it were anſwered; but the *French* King, who, by publiſhing to all the World the mighty Offers of Peace that he had made to the Allies, and dreſſing up in the ſtrongeſt Colours the hard Conditions which the Allies would have impoſed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impoſſible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Tranquillity of *Europe*, raiſed great Compaſſion among the neutral Powers, excited Diviſions among the Allies, and cauſed great Jealouſies and Heart-burnings, both here and in *Holland*. This did not hinder our Miniſtry from purſuing their former Schemes; but, it was reſolved, ſince there was no immediate Occaſion for great Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, to recal Sir *Edward Whitaker*, and to leave Admiral *Baker*, with a ſmall Squadron to protect the Trade, and obey the Orders of King *Charles* III[g].

Admiral *Aylmer* being in the *Soundings*, with ſeveral of her Majeſty's Ships, and a great Number of outward-bound Merchant-ſhips, with their Convoys, and having ſeen them about 68 Leagues W. off the *Lizard*, in the Latitude of 48 Degrees and 13 Minutes, the 29th at Noon, he diſcovered 13 Sail in the N. E. of him, upon which, he ordered the *Kent*, the *Aſſurance*, and the *York*, to chaſe a-head, himſelf, with the reſt of the Ships, following them, with a preſſed Sail, all Night; but the Weather proving hazy, the next Morning he could ſee but one Merchant-ſhip a-head, the *York* a great Way to the Windward, and three more to the Leeward, at a great Diſtance[h].

Soon after the *Kent*, commanded by Captain *Robert Johnſon*, came up with the largeſt of theſe Ships, which proved to be the *Superbe*, a Man of War of 56 Guns, which after about an Hour's Engagement he took[i].

The grand Fleet deſtined for the *Mediterranean*, this Year, (1710) was committed to the Direction of Sir *John Norris*, who ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 12th of *January*, and arrived at *Port-Mahon* the 13th of *March*[k], where he joined Sir *Edward Whitaker*, and the *Dutch* Rear-admiral *Somerſdyke*; and from thence he ſent three *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* Ships to *Barcelona*, with the Public-money, Recruits, *&c.* And four Third-rates, which were in the worſt Condition to remain abroad, he ſent home[l].

While he was at *Port-Mahon*, he received Advice, that the *Pembroke* of 64 Guns, and the *Falcon* of 32, had been taken by three *French* Men of War of 70, 60, and 54 Guns[m]: And that two of our Men of War, the *Warſpight*, Captain *Crow*, and the *Breda*, Captain *Long*, had taken a *French* Man of War, called the *Moor*[n].

The 7th of *April*, Sir *John* ſailed from *Port-Mahon*, and the 11th arrived at *Barcelona*[o]. Little was done, except carrying the Viceroy to *Sardinia*, and appointing Ships to ſeveral Stations, to protect the Trade, and cruiſe upon the Enemy, 'till the 1ſt of *June*, when Sir *John* ſet ſail, with four *Engliſh* and ſix *Dutch* Ships, and two Imperial Regiments,

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[a] See the London-Gazette, No. 4593.

[b] Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 649. Father Daniel places the Loſs of this Ship, which, he ſays, carried 72 Pieces of Cannon, and 450 Men, on the 6th of Nov. N. S.

[c] Remarkable Accidents at Sea, p. 35.

[d] See Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat Hiſtory of Europe, Life of Queen Anne, Pointer's chronological Hiſtory.

[e] Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, Pointer's chronological Hiſtory.

[f] Hiſtory Europe for 1710, Pointer's chronological Hiſtory. Theſe immenſe Grants of Parliament, ſtruck the French prodigiouſly; for while their Credit was low, or in a Manner quite gone, ours was in its Zenith. And without queſtion, if ever our Credit ſhould fail, either in reſpect to Money, or the Reputation of our Government, the French will gain as great an Aſcendency over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a Point worthy of ſtrict Conſideration here, becauſe in France it is but too well underſtood already.

[g] The ſeveral Sums granted for his Service: In 1703, 215,692l. 2s. In 1704, 320,481l. 11s. In 1705, 476,727l. 15s. 10d. In 1706, 726,740l. 15s. 10d. In 170 , 998,322l. 11s. 10d. In 1708, 1,248,956l. 12s. 2d. ½. In 1709, 1,217,083l. 4d. In 1710, 1,276,035l. 16s. 2d. Total 6,486,040l. 5s. 2d. ½.

[h] By the Maſter of a Merchant-ſhip, taken by the Aſſurance, the Admiral had an Account, that the Ships he had ſeen the Day before were 14 Merchant-ſhips bounds for the Bank of Newfoundland and Martinico, under Convoy of the Superbe, a French Man of War of 56 Guns, and the Concord of 30, and that the Ship a-head, which our Cruizers were purſuing, was the former of them. Burchett's Life of Queen Ann.

[i] The Superbe was a noted Sailer, which had taken ſeveral Prizes from us, and had been often chaſed to no Purpoſe; but had now been three Months off of the Ground; ſhe was a beautiful Ship, but 18 Months old, and better manned than the Kent; but, by the Bravery and Conduct of Captain Johnſon, was obliged to ſtrike, after both Ships were very much ſhattered She was afterwards regiſtered in our Royal Navy. Burchett's Life of Queen Anne.

[k] He had, in his Paſſage, ſeen the Virginia, and Weſt-India Trades, with their Convoy, well into Sea.

[l] The Ships which could remain abroad, under Sir John Norris's Command, were, at this Time, diſpoſed as follows: Two Fifth-rates ordered to Liſbon to clean, and to join him at Port-Mahon; one Third and one Fifth-rate, ſent by Sir Edward Whitaker to Oran in Barbary, to convoy ſome Corn-veſſels to Barcelona, and another Frigate on the like Errand to Algiers. Five Third-rates, one Fourth, one Fifth, one Sixth-rate, and a Fire-ſhip, were with Vice-admiral Baker, in and about the Arches, which, with two Dutch Ships, were to convoy Corn from thence, as we have ſeen above One Third, and one Fourth-rate, ordered by Sir Edward Whitaker, to cruiſe in the Phare of Meſſina, and one Sixth-rate ſent by him to Genoa. A Fifth-rate was going to Sardinia, and a Fourth, with two Fifth-rates to Genoa, to fetch General Stanhope, and the Money for the Army; and four Third-rates, two Fourth-rates, three Bomb-veſſels, and two Hoſpital-ſhips were going with Sir John Norris to Barcelona.

[m] They defended themſelves bravely, and did not ſurrender, 'till Captain Rumſey, of the Pembroke, was killed, 140 of her Men killed and wounded, her Mizen-maſt ſhot by the Board, and all her Rigging torn to Pieces, and Captain Conſtable of the Falcon wounded in the Right-ſhoulder, (yet did not leave his Poſt) a great Number of her Men killed and maimed, and the Ship very much diſabled.

[n] The Breda firſt came up, and had a ſhort, but warm Diſpute with her, in which her Commander was killed; but as ſoon as the Warſpight came up cloſe under her Quarter, and was ready to board her, ſhe ſtruck

[o] He was there informed, by his Catholick Majeſty, that he had Advice the Enemy intended to attempt Cagliari, with 20 Gallies, five Ships, other ſmall Veſſels, and about 3500 Men, who, thereupon, deſired him to endeavour to fruſtrate this Deſign.

ments; to hinder the Deſcent intended by the Enemy on the Iſland of *Sardinia*. The 2d, they came before *Baſtia* in *Corſica*, where a little *French* Ship, coming from the *Archipelago*, upon the Approach of our Fleet, retired under the Cannon of that Place. The Admiral ſent in ſome Boats, which brought her off, but the Men eſcaped. The 5th, they came into the Bay of *Terra Nova* in *Sardinia*, where they took four of the Enemy's Tartans[a]; and having ſucceeded here to their Wiſh, and finding no farther Danger of a Rebellion on that Side, the Troops they had landed were re-embarked the 7th.

The Admiral now reſolved to go in queſt of the Duke of *Turſis*, who, he was informed, was gone into another Gulph, on the other Side the Iſland, to land the reſt of his Forces. The 8th, they got into the Canal of *Bonifaccio*; but the Duke was ſailed the Night before from thence, and was retired into the Gulph of *Ajazzo*, in *Corſica*, whither they followed him. They got into that Gulph the next Day, but found he had again given them the Slip, and was retired with his Gallies. He left however eight large Barks, with 5 or 600 Soldiers on-board, and the greateſt Part of his Ammunition, Artillery, and Proviſions; the Men got on-ſhore and eſcaped, but all the reſt fell into the Hands of our Squadron[b]. The Deſign of the Enemy being thus defeated, the Fleet ſet ſail again for *Barcelona*, where they arrived the 18th.

The Inhabitants of the *Cevennes* having given the King of *France* a great deal of Diſturbance, and having Numbers of their Countrymen in foreign Service, it was propoſed to the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, that notwithſtanding the Miſcarriage of former Attempts, ſomething ſhould be again undertaken in their Favour: And to enforce this Advice, it was obſerved, that the *Camiſars*, then in Arms, were within 15 Leagues of *Montpellier*, and that it was poſſible to land our Troops at *Port Cette*, within a ſingle League of that City. Upon this, the Miniſtry themſelves, conceiving ſuch an Expedition might diſconcert the Enemies Deſigns in *Spain*, or at leaſt facilitate King *Charles*'s Enterprizes in *Catalonia*, reſolved to ſend a Gentleman to *Spain*, thoroughly inſtructed as to the whole of this Affair, with Orders to propoſe it to General *Stanhope*, and Sir *John Norris*, upon whoſe Approbation, and the Conſent of the King of *Spain*, the Deſign was to be immediately put in Execution, by the Fleet then on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*.

On the Arrival of this Gentleman from *England*, General *Stanhope*, who was a very enterprizing Officer, eagerly embraced the Scheme, and prevailed upon King *Charles*, to permit a Body of Troops, though indeed it was but a very ſmall one, to embark on-board the Fleet. This Reſolution being taken, was communicated to Sir *John Norris*, who on the 6th of *July*, held a great Council of War, in which it was reſolved, to ſend an Expreſs to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to embark the Forces immediately, that an Affair of ſuch Importance might not ſuffer by Delay. The Command of theſe Troops, which conſiſted of no more than the Regiment of Colonel *Stanhope*, and 300 Men from *Port-Mahon*, were commanded by Major-general *Seiſſan*, a Native of *Languedoc*, and a very good Officer. The Fleet ſailed from *Barcelona* on the 9th, and arrived before *Cette* on the 19th. The next Morning, by break of Day, the Troops, which were but 700 Men, and who had landed the Evening before, without any Oppoſition, marched directly towards the Town. Sir *John Norris* appointed ſome Ships to batter the Fort at the Mole-head, upon which the Inhabitants retired to the Church, and ſoon after, both Town and Fort ſurrendered; as in the Evening of the next Day, did the Town of *Agde*; ſo that now we had firm Footing in the Enemy's Country: And this Expedition had a more promiſing Appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken againſt *France*; our only Miſfortune was, that there were ſo few Men ſpared for ſo important a Deſign[c].

On the 17th, Major-general *Seiſſan* received Advice, that the Duke of *Roquelaure* was advancing with 400 Dragoons, and 4000 Militia, to ford the Lake, and repoſſeſs *Cette*; upon which the Major-general thought proper to leave 140 Men to ſecure the Bridge of *Agde*, and marched with the reſt of the Forces to oppoſe the Enemy; writing at the ſame time to the Admirals *Norris* and *Sommelſdyke*, to deſire them to ſend all the Boats of the Fleet, with as many Men as they could ſpare, into the *Etang*, or *Lake*, to attack the Enemy in their Paſſage through the ſame; which was done accordingly. The Duke of *Roquelaure*, ſeeing his Deſign prevented by theſe Precautions, returned to *Meze*, and the Admirals and General detached a Major, with 150 Men, to reinforce the Detachment left to ſecure the Bridge of *Agde*; but, at the ſame time Advice came, that this important Poſt had been abandoned upon a falſe Alarm. Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved to prevent the Enemy, and to return to *Agde* with Shallops by Sea, in order to regain that Poſt; but the very Moment that this was to be executed, a ſtrong Wind happened to come quite contrary, which obliged them to abandon that Deſign, and direct all their Care to ſecure *Cette*. In ſhort, the Duke *de Noailles* arrived at *Agde* the ſame Day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the Defence of the Mountain of *Cette*, and poſted there the few Troops they had in the Vineyards, ſurrounded with a ſlight Wall; but with Orders to retire, yet not before the Arrival of the Enemy. The Officer, who commanded 50 Men, did not rightly apprehend this Order, or elſe he was ſurprized; for ſcarce had a few *French* Dragoons fired upon our Men, before they ſurrendered to them at Diſcretion. The other Troops retired in Diſorder, though the neceſſary Diſpoſitions had been made to ſupport them in their Retreat, and the ſeveral Officers did all that could be expected from their Courage and Experience to rally the Troops. While theſe were re-embarking on the 17th, a Captain was left in the Fort, with 50 Men to guard the ſame. It was not acceſſible, but on the Side of the Mole, and was defended by two Pieces of Cannon in the Place that leads to it; and beſides, the Enemy had no Boats. The Shallops were juſt by the Fort the whole Morning; but Admiral *Norris* had no ſooner put off to go on-board his Ship, but the Enemy ſent word to the Captain, that if he did not immediately ſurrender the Fort, he muſt expect no Quarter. Whereupon the Officer let down the Bridge, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion, even before the Troops were re-embarked. The Duke *de Roquelaure* ſent them back the Captain who had ſo ill defended the Fort, in exchange for a Burgher, who had been releaſed before; but the Captain was ſet aſhore again, and told, that ſince he had been ſo complaiſant to M. *de Roquelaure*, as to deliver up the Fort to him, it was but reaſonable he ſhould be near the Duke's Perſon, and treated according to his Merit[d].

This Expedition being thus ended, Sir *John Norris* ſailed again the 19th, and having ſhewn himſelf off of *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*, ſtood into the Road of *Hieres*, where they found a *French* Ship of 50 Guns arrived, richly laden, from *Scanderoon*, lying under the Cover of three Forts. Some *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Frigates, under the Command of Captain *Stepney*, were ordered in to attack her, who beat the Men out of her, and one of the Forts; but while the Boats were boarding her, ſhe unhappily took Fire, by means of a hidden Train the Enemy had left, and blowing up, killed or wounded 35 of our Men.

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[a] Theſe Tartans had landed 400 Men and 60 Officers, under the Command of the Count de Caſtillo, who had taken the Town of Terra Nova; but upon landing ſome Troops, under General Brown, they all ſurrendered at Diſcretion, together with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, Natives of the Place.

[b] The Duke imagined, as Corſica was ſubject to the Genoeſe, a neutral State, our Ships would not, as they termed it, have violated the Laws of Nations; but he did not conſider that the Genoeſe were the Aggreſſors, in ſuffering this Armament to be made in their Dominions, and him, their Subject, to command it.

[c] Oldmixon, Burnet, Political State for the Year 1710, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the ſame Year.

[d] Father Daniel gives us a very pompous Account of this Buſineſs: The Allies, ſays he, appeared before Port de Cette, with 25 Men of War, and immediately made themſelves Maſters of the Place. The Duke de Roquelaure, who commanded in Languedoc, had but three Troops of Horſe, and therefore he ſent directly to the Duke de Noailles for Aſſiſtance, who, in the Space of three Days, brought 900 Horſe, and 1000 Grenadiers into the Neighbourhood of Agde; from whence they forced the Enemy to retire immediately, with the Loſs of 300 or 400 Men. He confeſſes, however, that it was an Affair of great Conſequence, ſince, if the Engliſh had become Maſters of that Port, they would have been able to ſupport the Rebels in France, which muſt have brought the greateſt Miſeries upon that Kingdom. The moſt extraordinary Thing he tells us is, that the French loſt only one Granadier, and a few Horſes: But even this was too much for other French Writers to own, and therefore, they leave out the Horſes, and tell us, that the Grenadier killed himſelf, his Piece going off as it was ſlung at his Back.

The 14th of *Auguſt*, Sir *John Norris* came off of *Port-Mahon*, and the 17th arrived in the Road of *Barcelona*. A Deſign on the Coaſt of *Valencia* was next projected; but on account of ſeveral Hindrances, not being put in Execution, the *Britiſh* Fleet returned to *Port-Mahon*, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral ſailed homewards. The 30th of *October*, the Ships being cleaned, Sir *John* proceeded down the *Streights*, and on the 6th of *November* took three *French* Ships from *Newfoundland*. The 9th, he arrived at *Gibraltar*, from whence he returned with the *Turky* Convoy, and arrived again at *Port-Mahon* the 5th of *December*, ſtrengthened the *Turky* Convoy with five Men of War, as high as the Channel of *Malta* [a].

The Affairs of *America* within this Period, took a different Turn. The *Sieur de Saintovide*, the King's Lieutenant at *Placentia*, took the Fort of *St. John*, on the Eaſt-ſide of *Newfoundland*, by Scalade, in which Action the Governor was wounded and made Priſoner, as were the Soldiers of the Garriſon, conſiſting of about 100 Men. This, my Author ſays, happened on the 1ſt of *January* 1709, and the next Day informs us, that the Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour, built on a Rock, and extremely well fortified, ſurrendered alſo; and the Garriſon, conſiſting of 60 Men, were made Priſoners of War. This Affair muſt have been attended with very bad Conſequences for the preſent; but, as we ſhall ſee, theſe were not only remedied in the ſucceeding Year, but the *French* Settlements, in their Turn, were in a manner totally deſtroyed [b].

For as this Misfortune greatly affected our Merchants, it alſo created great Diſquiet to the Miniſtry, and put them under a kind of Neceſſity of providing againſt any new Clamours, which they were ſenſible would be ſet up, in caſe the *French* were not effectually rooted out in a Place which ſo nearly affected our Merchants, and upon which their Commerce with *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, ſo much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the beſt manner poſſible for ſo important an Undertaking, they made choice of two Officers of great Worth and Experience, one to command the Squadron, the other the Land-forces that were to be put on-board it. The former of theſe was Captain *George Martin*, and the latter Colonel *Francis Nicholſon*, who was ſent to *Boſton* in *New-England*, in order to provide every thing neceſſary for the Expedition, and to draw together ſuch Forces as could be ſpared from that Colony, ſo as that they might be able to embark as ſoon as the Squadron ſhould arrive. This Squadron conſiſted of the *Dragon*, a 50 Gun Ship, commanded by Captain *George Martin*; the *Falmouth*, of 50 Guns, by Captain *Walter Ryddel*; the *Leoſtoff*, of 32 Guns, by Captain *George Gordon*; the *Feverſham*, of 36 Guns, by Captain *Robert Paſton*, and the *Star* Bomb-ketch, by Captain *Thomas Rochfort*; to which was afterwards added, the *Cheſter*, of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain *Thomas Matthews*.

Captain *Martin* arriving in *New-England*, found all Things properly adjuſted for the Execution of this Enterprize againſt the *French* Settlements, without Delay; in conſequence of which, he proceeded from *Nantaſket* Road the 18th of *September*, with the *Dragon*, *Falmouth*, *Leoſtoff*, *Feverſham*, and *Star* Bomb-veſſel, the *Provence* Gally, two Hoſpital-ſhips, 31 Tranſports, and 2000 Land-forces, having ſent the *Cheſter* before, to endeavour to intercept any Supplies which the Enemy might attempt to ſend to *Port-Royal*; and on the 24th in the Afternoon, he anchored at the Entrance of the Harbour. A council of War was called, and purſuant to what was agreed, the ſmall Embarkations and Boats were got ready to receive the Men, and put them on-ſhore [c].

Things being in this Situation, on the 25th of *September*, about Six in the Morning, Colonel *Vetch*, and Colonel *Reading*, with 50 Men each, together with Mr. *Forbes* the Engineer, went on-ſhore to view the Ground for landing the Troops; and ſoon after Colonel *Nicholſon* himſelf, with a Body of Men, actually landed, the Enemy firing at the Boats in which they were, from their Cannon, and Mortars, but with no great Succeſs. Colonel *Vetch*, with 500 on the North-ſide, ſo lined the Shore, as that he protected the landing of the Cannon, Ammunition, and Stores, and the Mortar being fixed on-board the Bomb-veſſel, ſhe driving up with the Tide-of-flood, within Cannon-ſhot of the Fort, both that Day and the next, bombarded the Enemy therein, which did in a great meaſure induce them to capitulate ſooner than otherwiſe they would have done; not but that they were very much galled in the Attempts made on them, and the warm Fire from the Artillery on-ſhore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the Bomb-veſſel was not able to throw any Shells, by reaſon of hard Gales of Wind. At a Council of War, held on the 1ſt of *October*, two Letters which were received from Monſieur *Subercaſe* directed to Colonel *Nicholſon*, were taken into Conſideration, together with the Anſwers which he had made thereunto; and the Preliminaries being agreed on, the Governor marching out of the Fort with the Garriſon [d], our Troops took Poſſeſſion of it ſoon after, with Drums beating, and Colours flying; where hoiſting the Union Flag, they,

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([a] To prevent the Impropriety of continuing the Account of Sir John's Expedition, which did not end till the October in 1711, we ſhall add what remains thereof by way of Note.)

And then attempted to annoy the Enemy in the Bay of Roſes, where he met with ſuch a Storm as drove the Reſolution on-ſhore, on the Coaſt of Catalonia near to Barcelona, where ſhe was loſt, notwithſtanding all imaginary Care to prevent it, and the reſt of the Fleet was forced into the Harbour of Port-Mahon. Burchett, Burnet, Lediard, Oldmixon, Annals of Queen Anne, &c. His Catholic Majeſty's Affairs had now taken a new and unfavourable Turn, and therefore, his Majeſty wrote in very preſſing Terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to ſail over to the Italian Coaſt, to bring with the utmoſt Expedition, ſuch Troops as could be ſpared from thence for his Service. Sir John ſailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the Bay of Vado; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion, and Lime, made the Signal of ſeeing four Ships; upon which the Admiral ordered the Naſſau and Exeter to give them chace, and upon hearing a great firing of Guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelſea to their Aſſiſtance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the Road, and Captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an Account, that in Conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had the Day before, engaged four French Ships, from 60 to 40 Guns, for above two Hours, and then the French crouded all the Sail they could, and made away; the Severne being diſabled, returned with the Lime into Vado Road; but Captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the Chace, though he had his Right-arm ſhot away, about 40 Men killed and wounded, and his Ship much torn by the Enemy's Shot. The Exeter, commanded by Captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and after a briſk Engagement of above two Hours, took her; but he was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a Year before, that was, while in our Service, a 60 Gun Ship, but at this time ſhe mounted no more than 50. Sir John having given the neceſſary Directions for embarking the Troops on-board 120 Tranſports, in order to eſcort them to Barcelona, received Advice, while he was waiting for a Wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port-Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. He ſailed from Vado for Port-Mahon in April; but was forced by a Storm into the Road of Araſio, where, with great Difficulty, he procured Forage for the Horſes, and where he lay Wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the Troops on the 8th, where, having conſulted with the Duke of Argyll, and taken Care to ſend a ſtrong Squadron to Genoa for the public Money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turky Trade, and with that View, ordered Captain Cornwall to eſcort them to Gibraltar, or Liſbon, and there wait for his Arrival. This being performed, he followed them as ſoon as the King of Spain's Affairs would permit; and ſailing with them under his Convoy from Liſbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Iſle of Wight, the 8th of October 1711, with four Ships of the Third-rate, ſeven of the Fourth, three of the Fifth, two Bomb-veſſels, two Store-ſhips, and an Hoſpital-ſhip; and from thence held on his Courſe to the Downs, leaving the Command of the Fleet that continued in the Mediterranean, to Sir John Jennings.

[b] Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIV. per Pere Daniel, p. 246, 257. He informs us, that there were waſt Quantities of Artillery and Ammunition found in theſe two Forts, which is a little improbable; but that our Settlements were in a great meaſure ruined, ſeems to be confirmed, by ſeveral of our own political Pamphlets, publiſhed this Year.

[c] This Expedition, which was one of the moſt fortunate that we had undertaken in this Part of the World, owed its Succeſs in a great meaſure to the Conduct of Colonel Francis Nicholſon, who maintained a perfect Agreement with Commodore Martin, and the reſt of the Sea-officers, who, on their Part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the Uſe of the Troops, and ſupported them very cordially upon all Occaſions, with their Boats and Men. Another Thing that contributed not a little to this happy Event was, the Troops being ſeaſoned that were ſent upon this Expedition, and having Officers well acquainted, not only with their Duty, but with the Climate, and the Situation of Places; which in Affairs of this Nature, are Circumſtances of the utmoſt Conſequence.

[d] This Capitulation is worth the Reader's Notice, in as much as it contains the Terms upon which we were put in Poſſeſſion of the Province of Acadia, as the French call it, or, as we ſtyle it, the Province of Nova Scotia. The Articles were, 1. That the Garriſon ſhall march out with their Arms and Baggage, Drums beating, and Colours flying. 2. That there ſhall be a ſufficient Number of Ships and Proviſions to tranſport the ſaid Garriſon to Rochel, or Rochfort, by the ſhorteſt Paſſage; where they ſhall be furniſhed with Paſſports for their Return. 3. That I Colonel Nicholſon, may take out ſix Guns, and two Mortars, ſuch as I ſhall think fit. 4. That the Officers ſhall carry out all their Effects of what ſort ſoever; except they do agree to the ſelling of them, the Payment of which to be bona fide. 5. That the Inhabitants, within Cannon-ſhot of the Fort of Port-Royal, ſhall remain upon their Eſtates, with their Corn, Cattle, and Forniture, during two Years, in caſe they are not deſirous to go before; they taking the Oaths of Allegiance

they, in honour of her Majeſty, called the Place *Annapolis-Royal*; and a ſufficient Number of Men being left therein, the Ships and Troops proceeded to *New-England*, as ſoon as all Things neceſſary were ſettled; from whence Captain *Martin* departed, not long after, in order to put in Execution the remaining Part of his Inſtructions, and prepare for his Return to *England*.

Theſe were not all the Miſfortunes that befel the *French* in this Part of the World, for our Men of War and Privateers took this Year near 50 of their Ships. The *Portland* and the *Valeur* took, in their Paſſage to *Newfoundland*, two very rich Prizes, value 30,000 l. But not long after, the *Valeur* was ſurprized in Harbour, and taken by the *French*, and, in the Month of *Auguſt*, Captain *John Aldred* in the *Rocheſter*, Captain *Humphry Pudner* in the *Severn*, and Captain *George Purvis* in the *Portland*, viſited all the *French* Harbours on the North-ſide of *Newfoundland*, and in a manner totally deſtroyed them. Of all theſe Tranſactions, however, the accurate Father *Daniel* ſays not one Word; and indeed, as to the latter part of this Relation, Mr. *Burchett* is ſilent alſo, though it was certainly of very great Conſequence to the Trade and Intereſt of *Great-Britain* [a].

In the midſt of this Succeſs, there happened at home a total Change in the Miniſtry, in which the Earl of *Orford*, having reſigned his Place of firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, the Queen appointed Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Doddington*, Eſq; *Paul Methuen*, Eſq; and *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of *Great-Britain*. But this Commiſſion did not continue long in this Situation, for in the Month of *December*, Sir *James Wiſhart*, and *George Clarke*, Eſq; were appointed Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in the room of *George Doddington* and *Paul Methuen*, Eſqrs. [b] The new Parliament met on the 25th of *November*, and on the 27th the Commons choſe *William Bromley*, Eſq; of *Worceſterſhire*, for their Speaker. The Queen, in her Speech from the Throne, recommended the carrying on the War in very warm Terms; and the Commons, in their Addreſs, promiſed her Majeſty to take proper Care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of *December*, they voted 40,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice for the Year 1711, and 120,000 *l.* for the Ordinary of the Navy; on the 10th of *February* they voted that the Sum of 5,130,539 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* be granted for Payment of the Debts of the Navy, and for Services performed by them on account of Land-forces to *Michaelmas* 1710, excluſive of the Regiſter-office; and on the 20th of the ſaid Month, they reſolved, that 103,303 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* be granted for the Uſe of ſuch Proprietors, or Inhabitants only, of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers*, who were Sufferers by the *French* Invaſion, and who have ſettled, or ſhall re-ſettle their Plantations in the ſaid Iſlands [c].

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *from the Concluſion of the Year* 1710, *to the Death of Queen* ANNE.

FATHER *Daniel* begins his Account of this Year's Tranſactions at Sea, by relating an Advantage the Sieur *Saus* had over our *Virginia*-Fleet of 22 Sail, convoyed by two Men of War, of which the latter, with ſix Merchant-ſhips only, eſcaped, and two were run a-ground, and loſt on the *Engliſh* Coaſt; the remaining 14, he ſays, were taken, and carried into *Dunkirk*, and other Ports. He adds, that ſix *Engliſh* Men of War, three of which were of 80 Guns, two of 60, and one of 34, haſtened to their Reſcue; but that he deceived them by a falſe Courſe in the Night, and ſo eſcaped.

About the latter End of *January*, Sir *John Leake*, Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*, was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, in the room of *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; and Sir *Thomas Hardy* was made Rear-admiral of the Blue Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet.

The 2d of *May* of this Year, Mr. *Harley*, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, firſt propoſed to a Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, then ſitting on Ways and Means, the Scheme he had formed, to ſatisfy all public and national Debts and Deficiencies, by incorporating the Proprietors of the former, to carry on a Trade to the *South-Seas*. Some Reſolutions were immediately taken thereupon; and, purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, a Bill was brought in the 17th, which having paſſed both Houſes, had the Royal Aſſent the 12th of *June*. This was the Beginning of the *South-Sea* Company, which has ſince been ſo famous, not only in *England*, but throughout all *Europe*; and has been the Occaſion of ſo much Good, and at the ſame time of ſo much Evil, that the Hiſtory of it will hardly paſs in future Ages for any more than mere Fiction and Fable.

The ſame Day Sir *Thomas Hardy*, being appointed to command a Squadron to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy at *Dunkirk*, hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Canterbury*; and ſailing from the *Downs* the 21ſt [d], arrived off of *Dunkirk*. He ſent three Ships into *Flemmiſh*-Road, who forced two Privateers of 20 Guns each, and a Dogger of eight Guns, into the Port. The 1ſt of *June* three of his Cruiſers brought in eight ſmall Prizes.

The 26th the *Advice*, a ſmall Fourth-rate, commanded by the Lord *Duffus*, was chaſed near *Yarmouth* by ſeveral *French* Privateers, and obliged to ſurrender to their ſuperior Force [e]. The 17th of *July*, the *Dartmouth* and *Whiting* Sloop run one of the *French* coaſting Convoys, of 16 Guns, on ſhore; and the 31ſt, the *Hampſhire*, *Cruizer*, and *Diſcovery*, brought into the *Downs* five Prizes, which they met off of Cape *Antifer* [f].

The 8th of *Auguſt*, Sir *Thomas Hardy* being in *Yarmouth*-Roads, received Orders to convoy the outward-bound *Ruſſia*-Fleet to the Northward [g], and then return to the *Downs*.

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legiance and Fidelity to her ſacred Majeſty of Great-Britain. 6. That a Veſſel be provided for the Privateers belonging to the Iſlands of America, for their Tranſportation thither. 7. That thoſe that are deſirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, ſhall have leave by the neareſt Paſſage. 8. That the Canadians, or thoſe that are deſirous to go thither, may, during the Space of one Year. 9. That the Effects, Ornaments, Utenſils of the Chappel, and Hoſpital, ſhall be delivered to the Almoner. 10. I promiſe to deliver the Fort of Port-Royal into the Hands of Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; for the Queen of Great-Britain, &c. within three Days after the Ratification of this preſent Treaty; with all the Effects belonging to the King, as Guns, Mortars, Bombs, Balls, Powder, and all other ſmall Arms. 11. I will diſcover, upon my Faith, all the Mines, Fougaſſes, and Caſemates. 12. All the Articles of this preſent Treaty ſhall be executed, upon good Faith, without Difficulty, and ſigned by each other at her Majeſty of Great-Britain's Camp, before Port-Royal Fort, the 2d Day of October, in the 9th Year of her Majeſty's Reign, Annoque Domini, 1710. FRANCIS NICHOLSON, SUBERCASE. Memorandum. The General declared, that within Cannon-ſhot of Port-Royal, in the 5th Article aforeſaid, is to be underſtood, three Engliſh Miles round the Fort, to be henceforward called Annapolis-Royal; and the Inhabitants within the ſaid three Miles, to have the Benefit of that Article. Which Perſons, Male and Female, comprehended in the ſaid Article, according to a Liſt of their Names given in to the General by Mr. Allen, amount to 481 Perſons.

[a] An Account of the Execution done by this Squadron.

Harbours Names.	French Ships Names.	Men.	Guns.	Tons.	
La Couche,	La Comteſſe d'Evereux,	75	16	200	taken.
Ditto,	La Couronne,	70	14	200	burnt.
Carouze,	Le Marquis du Bay,	20	28	400	taken.
Ditto,	Le Compte de Bonrepos,	120	23	400	burnt.
Ditto,	L'Aigle Noire,	70	12	200	taken.
Petit Maitre,	François Maire,	80	18	250	Ditto.
Great St. Julian,	François de la Paix,	120	30	400	Ditto.
Little St. Julian,	St. Pierre,	90	20	290	Eſcap'd.
Ditto,	———	30	12	—	Ditto.

All the Fiſh, Oil, Stages, Vatts, Boats, Fiſhing-tackle, &c. of the above-mentioned Ships, fell into our Hands, and were either taken or deſtroyed by us. And the two Ships which eſcaped, left even their Anchors and Cables, and ſome of their Sails behind.

[b] Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Salmon, Continuation of Rapin, Life of Queen Anne.

[c] Votes of the Houſe of Commons, Chandler's Debates, compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1710 and 1711, Life of Queen Anne, Pointer.

[d] His Squadron conſiſted of four Fourth-rates, two Fifth, and two Sixth-rates.

[e] He defended her, with great Bravery, 'till his Sails and Rigging were almoſt torn to Pieces, many of his Men killed and wounded, and himſelf had received eight Wounds.

[f] About the Middle of this Month, Sir George Byng was made Admiral of the White.

[g] Here he waited for the Dutch Squadron, and ſome Ships with the Tranſports from Ireland; but they not coming ſo ſoon as was expected, the 6th of February, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to put to Sea, with ſuch Tranſports and Troops as were ready, and to leave Orders for the reſt to follow.

Downs. Being returned, he received Orders to proceed Weſtward, and arrived at *Plymouth* the 23d of *October*.

Sir *John Jennings*, Admiral of the White, being appointed to command the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, ſet ſail from *St. Helens* the 7th of *January*, and arrived at *Liſbon* the 23d [a]. The 20th of *March* he arrived at *Barcelona*, and having appointed ſeveral Convoys, ſailed for *Port-Mahon*, where he was joined, the 19th of *May*, by Vice-admiral *Baker*, with the greateſt Part of the Squadron.

Sir *John Norris* arriving, in the mean time, the 8th of the ſame Month at *Barcelona*, and being deſired to remain there with ſome Ships, Sir *John Jennings* found him there the 1ſt of *June*. From thence the Admiral proceeded off of *Toulon*, and the Coaſt of *Provence*, to endeavour to intercept the Enemy's Convoy with Corn from the *Levant* [b]; but returned ſoon after to *Barcelona*, where, upon Orders received, relating to Sir *John Norris*, it was determined he ſhould return to *Great-Britain* [c]. There being, at this Time, likewiſe a Neceſſity, that the Ships, under the Command of Sir *John Jennings*, ſhould repair to *Port-Mahon*, as well to refit, as to get a Supply of Proviſions, he ſailed from *Barcelona* the 13th of *July*, and arrived there the 18th [d]. Sir *John Norris* ſailed the 26th, and Sir *John Jennings* having refitted, and ſupplied his Fleet with what was wanting, returned to *Barcelona* [e].

The 16th of *September* the King of *Spain* embarked at *Barcelona*, and being attended by the Admiral with 24 Men of War, arrived the 21ſt in *Vado-Bay*, and was the 1ſt of *October* landed at *San Pietro di Arena*, a Suburb of *Genoa* [f]; from thence the Admiral ſailed to provide ſome Cables and other Stores to *Leghorn* [g]. The 2d of *November* he ſailed thence, and in two Days arrived in *Vado-Bay*: The 10th, ſome Troops being embarked, were ſent under Convoy of five Men of War, and two Fire-ſhips, commanded by Captain *Swanton*, with three *Dutch* Ships for *Barcelona*, with Orders, after they had ſeen the Tranſports in ſafety, to join the Admiral at *Port-Mahon*, where he arrived, after his Ships had ſuffered very much in a Storm, on the Weſt-ſide of *Minorca* [h].

The *Weſt-Indies* were this Year (1710) left to the Charge of Commodore *Littleton*, who, with a ſtrong Squadron, in the Month of *November*, took all the Care that was poſſible to obtain proper Intelligence of the Motions of the Galloons, which were ſtill at *Carthagena*; and at the ſame time, he neglected nothing that the Merchants thought requiſite, either for the Security of their Trade in thoſe Parts, or for the ſafe Convoy of ſuch Ships, as from time to time were ſent home: So that during his Stay at *Jamaica*, there were few or no Complaints, but every body ſtudied to mind his own Buſineſs, and to diſcharge, when called upon, his Duty in the public Service. The Deſire of taking the Galloons, was what principally occupied the Thoughts of the Commodore; and as he was frequently perplexed with falſe Intelligence, he ſtationed the *Nonſuch* and the *Roebuck* on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, giving Orders to Captain *Hardy*, who commanded the former, to diſpatch the *Roebuck* to *Jamaica*, with any certain Intelligence he could obtain, either as to the Time when it was propoſed the Galloons ſhould ſail, or the Strength of the Convoy that was to accompany them. Theſe Orders were faithfully executed, though very little Intelligence, except that the Galloons had as yet no Convoy, could for many Months be procured. In *May* 1711, the Commodore received an Account from the Maſters of ſome Veſſels from *Madeira*, that M. *du Caſſe*, with a Squadron under his Command, had been ſeen from that Iſland. Soon after a *Spaniſh* Sloop was taken, in which was a Letter from the Governor of *Carthagena*, expreſſing his Hopes that Mr. *du Caſſe* would ſhortly arrive with ſeven Sail of ſtout Ships, in order to convoy the Galloons. Upon this the Commodore immediately ſent an Advice-boat to recal the *Nonſuch*, and in the mean time began to prepare for an Expedition, reſolving not to loſe this Opportunity of attacking the *French* Squadron, and having a Chance for making Prize of ſome of the Galloons [i].

The *Jerſey*, commanded by Captain *Vernon*, was then cruizing to the Windward of *Jamaica*, and having taken a *French* Ship belonging to the Port of *Breſt*, which carried 30 Guns, and 120 Men, he carried her into *Jamaica* on the 23d of *May*. The Captain of this Veſſel informed the Commodore, that he had been trading on the Coaſt of *New-Spain*, from whence proceeding to *Port Louis* in *Hiſpaniola*, where he put on-ſhore the Money he had taken, he was ſailing from thence to *Petit Guavas*, in order to take in there a Cargo for *France*, when he fell into the Hands of Captain *Vernon*. He added, that he ſailed from *Port-Louis* on the 20th, in company with M. *du Caſſe*, who was gone for *Carthagena*; and that his Squadron conſiſted of one Ship of 74 Guns, another of 60, one of 50, one of 24, and one of twenty; but Captain *Hardy* arriving on the 27th, aſſured Mr. *Littleton* that two Ships of the *French* Squadron, one of which was the *Gloucester* of 50 Guns, formerly taken from us, and another of 44, arrived at *Carthagena* ten Days before, and waited for M. *du Caſſe*, who deſigned, as ſoon as the Galloons could be ready, to ſail with them for the *Havanna*, and from thence to *Cadiz*. Upon this Captain *Vernon* was ſent over to the Coaſt of *New-Spain*, and returning on the 4th of *July*, reported, that on the 28th of *June* he had looked into the Port of *Carthagena*, where he ſaw 12 Ships, ſix rigged, and ſix unrigged, and five Sloops; the ſix Ships that were rigged, he informed the Commodore, were the *St. Michael* of 74 Guns, the *Hercules* of 60, the *Griffin* of 50, two ſmall Frigates, and the Vice-admiral of the Galloons, which carried 60 Guns; and that of the Ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper End of the Harbour, preparing for Sea, one of which he believed to be the *Minion* of 50 Guns, and another of 40, the reſt to be trading Veſſels [k].

Upon the 15th of *July*, the Commodore ſailed with one Third-rate, four Fourth-rates, and a Sloop [l], for *Carthagena*; and arriving on the Coaſt of *New-Spain* on the 26th, he diſcovered five Ships to the Leeward, which he chaſed into *Boca Chica*, at the Entrance of *Carthagena* Harbour. Upon this he ſtood off to Sea the greateſt Part of the Night; but ſtretching into the Shore next Morning, chaſed four Ships, and about ſix came up with the Vice-admiral of the Galloons, and a *Spaniſh* Merchant-ſhip; and as M.

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[a] Here he found, that Sir John Norris, with the Ships under his Command, was gone to Vado, to guard the Troops from thence to Catalonia.

[b] The Emperor Joſeph dying the 6th of April, the Admiral received Order, while he was off of Toulon, if the King of Spain ſhould think fit, on this Account, to return to his hereditary Countries, to carry him to Genoa, or where elſe his Majeſty ſhould deſire; as likewiſe, to aſſiſt Naples, in caſe any Commotion ſhould happen there, at this Juncture. In Obedience to this latter Order, he ſent two Third, one Fourth, and one Fifth-rate, with two Dutch Ships thither, as he had done before three Ships to Genoa, to ſtrengthen the Convoy bringing Money from thence to Barcelona.

[c] It was determined to ſend with him, three Third-rates, three Fourth-rates, and two Fifth-rates, with the empty Store-ſhips, Victualers, and Tranſports.

[d] The Turky Fleet appearing off of that Port, the next Day Captain Cornwall, Commodore of that Convoy, was ordered to ſail with Sir John Norris.

[e] The Admiral had there with him, one Second, five Third, and a Fourth-rate, with ſeven Dutch Ships; one Fourth, and two Fifth rates were cleaning at Port-Mahon; two Third, and one Fifth-rate were gone thither for Money; two Fourth-rates were ordered for Genoa, and from Naples were expected two Third, one Fourth, and one Fifth-rate, with three Dutch Frigates; ſo that the whole Force in the Mediterranean, conſiſted of one Second-rate, nine Third-rates, five Fourth-rates, and four Fifth-rates, with ſeven Dutch Ships, and three Frigates of the ſame Nation; together 29 Sail.

[f] He went directly for Milan, and from thence, without making any conſiderable Stay any where, for Germany. The 4th of December, N. S. he arrived at Augſburg, the 19th made his Publick-entry at Frankfort, and was crowned Emperor three Days afterwards, with the uſual Solemnities. I had an Opportunity of ſeeing all the Ceremonies of the Election, which laſted 48 Days, and of the Coronation, ſome of which were noble and magnificent.

[g] The 18th of October, the Superbe and the Tartar, the former commanded by Captain Monepenny, and the latter by Captain Ogle, brought in two rich Prizes coming from the Levant.

[h] The Night before the Admiral came in, Captain Mighils, in the Hampton-Court, with the Sterling-Caſtle, Nottingham, Charles-Galley and Lynn, fell in with two French Men of War, the Thoulouſe and the Trident. The Hampton-Court, coming up with the former, took her after ſome Reſiſtance; but the latter, having the Advantage of little Wind, got away with the Help of her Oars. The Hampton-Court's Maſts, being very much wounded in the Fight, came all, the next Day, by the Board; ſo that ſhe was towed in by the Stirling-Caſtle. About the ſame time, the Reſtoration, a Ship of 70 Guns, was loſt on the Back-ſide of the Mallora, off of Leghorn; but all her Officers and Men were ſaved.

[i] Burchett, compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1711, Life of Queen Anne, &c.

[k] Burchett, Hiſtory of Jamaica, Annals of Queen Anne, compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1711, Pointer, &c.

[l] The Commodore hoiſted his Broad-penant in the Defiance; and the Ships that ſailed with him were the Saliſbury, Saliſbury-Prize, Jerſey, Nonſuch, and Jamaica-Sloop In their Paſſage, the Saliſbury-Prize ſprung her Main-maſt, which occaſioned ſome Delay, till it could be ſecured, and then they proceeded; Captain Vernon, in the Jerſey, having been ſent, while the reſt of the Squadron lay by, to look into Carthagena.

du Caſſe had taken moſt of the Money out of the Galleon, having ſome Suſpicion of the commanding Officer on-board her, ſo was this very Carrack the ſame, which had eſcaped from Mr. *Wager*, as hath been before related; and coming from *Carthagena*, in company with ſome *French* Ships of War, it happened ſhe was ſeparated from them, and believing our Ships to be thoſe with M. *du Caſſe* (as her Commander ſaid) lay by the greateſt part of the Day, and when Mr. *Littleton* came near, hoiſted *Spaniſh* Colours, and a Flag at the Foretop-maſt-head, ſo that between Five and Six at Night, the *Saliſbury* Prize, commanded by Captain *Robert Harland*, engaged her; ſoon after which, the *Saliſbury*, commanded by Captain *Francis Hoſier*, did the ſame. The Commodore being within Piſtol-ſhot, was juſt going to fire into her, when they ſtruck their Colours; and the *Jerſey*, going after one of the Merchant-ſhips, took her; but the *Nonſuch* chaſing the other, ſhe eſcaped in the Night. The Vice-admiral of the Galloons, being wounded by a ſmall Shot, died ſoon after. There was but little Money in the Galloon, except what was found in ſome Boxes which belonged to private Perſons. She had 60 Braſs Guns mounted, and 325 Men; and the Ship which the *Jerſey* took, was a Veſſel belonging to the Merchants, of about 400 Tons, and 26 Guns, laden for the moſt part with Cocoa and Wool. The Priſoners, by the Deſcription given to them of the Ships which were ſeen by the Commodore the Day he came off of *Carthagena*, aſſured him, they were thoſe with M. *du Caſſe*, and that he had been out of *Carthagena* but two Days, being ſeparated from the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral and nine Merchant-ſhips, the Day after he came out; and ſince Mr. *Littleton* was well aſſured that he intended to touch at the *Havanna*, it was determined to cruiſe a little to Leeward of Point *Pedro Shoals*, as the moſt proper Place for intercepting, until ſuch time as further Intelligence could be gained from Captain *Hook* of the *Jamaica* Sloop, who was ſent over to the Coaſt with ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners [a].

In the Month of *Auguſt*, there being ſome Trade ready to proceed to *Great-Britain*, the Commodore ſent the *Nonſuch* as their Convoy. The *Jerſey* returning to *Jamaica* the 17th of *October*, brought in a Ship ſhe had taken on the North-ſide of *Cuba*, of about 100 Tons, loaden chiefly with Indigo and Sugar. The 25th of *November*, a *French* Man of War of 44 Guns, called the *Thetis*, taken by the *Windſor* and the *Weymouth*, was brought into *Jamaica*. The 6th of *December*, the *Weymouth*, Captain *Leſtock*, brought in a ſmall Privateer of ſix Guns and 40 Men, belonging to *Puerto-Ricco*. The Commodore ſent with the homeward-bound Trade, the *Angleſey*, *Fowey*, and *Scarborough*, the latter of which was taken by the two former on the Coaſt of *Guinea* from the Enemy, who had taken her from us ſome time before. In *January* following, the *Medway* Prize brought in a *French* Sloop bound to the *Havanna*, laden with *Madeira* Wine, Flour, and Cocoa. The 20th of *February*, the *Saliſbury* brought in a *French* Merchant-ſhip of 150 Tons, laden with Sugar from Cape *François*, on the North-ſide of *Hiſpaniola*; and the *Jerſey* run a *French* Ship of about 20 Guns a-ſhore, where ſhe beat in Pieces.

The Year 1711 alſo furniſhes us with an Expedition againſt the *French* Settlements of *Quebec*, &c. in *North-America*. Sir *Hovenden Walker* was entruſted with the Fleet for this Service, and the Line of Battle, given out by him, when he ſailed from *St. Helens*, was as follows [b].

The *Torbay* to lead with the Starboard, and the *Dunkirk* with the Larboard Tacks, on-board.

Small Frigats and Veſſels.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	Torbay,	Capt. *Moody*,	500	80
	Monmouth,	*Mitchel*,	400	70
	Sunderland,	*Gore*,	365	60
	Diamond,	*Liſle*,	190	40
	Devonſhire,	*Arris*,	520	80
Bedford-Gal.	*Edgar.*	Sir *H. Walker*, Admiral. Capt. *Soanes.*	440	70
Baſil. *Gran.* } Bombs.				
Experiment.	*Humber*,	*Culliford*,	520	80
	Montague,	*Walton*,	365	60
	Kingſton,	*Winder*,	365	60
	Swiftſure,	*Cooper*,	400	70
	Dunkirk,	*Butler*,	365	60

With this Fleet were ſent 31 Tranſports, having on-board,

	Men.
Brigadier *Hill*'s Regiment,	701
Colonel *Windreſs*'s Regiment,	700
Colonel *Clayton*'s Regiment,	700
Colonel *Kane*'s Regiment,	700
Lieut. Gen. *Seymour*'s Regiment,	702
Colonel *Kirke*'s Regiment,	700
Colonel *Diſney*'s Regiment,	800
Recruits for ſundry Regiments,	300
	5303

all under the Command of Brigadier *Hill*, with the Commiſſion of General of all her Majeſty's Land-forces in *North-America*.

Beſides theſe Tranſports, were an Hoſpital-ſhip, a Ship to carry the Cloathing, one Veſſel with Ordnance-ſtores, four with Ammunition, two with Bomb-ſhells, and a Tender with General *Hill*'s Proviſions. In all 56 Sail.

For the better Security of the Tranſports in ſailing, it was ordered, that the *Edgar* ſhould lead, and the *Torbay* bring up the Rear; the *Diamond* and *Devonſhire* be on the Starboard, *Experiment* and *Montague* on the Larboard-bow, the *Dunkirk* and *Monmouth* on the Starboard, *Sunderland* and *Bedford*-Galley on the Larboard Body of the Fleet, the *Swiftſure* on the Starboard, *Humber* and *Kingſton* on the Larboard-quarter. When the Flag was ſhifted to the *Humber*, then ſhe led; the *Edgar* was in the *Dunkirk*'s, and the *Dunkirk* in the *Humber*'s Birth.

In reſpect to this Deſign upon *Quebec*, it ſeems to have been principally under the Direction of the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, then Mr. Secretary *St. John*, by whoſe Intereſt Sir *Hovenden Walker*, Rear-admiral of the White, was appointed to command in chief; and General *Hill*, who was Brother to Lady *Maſham*, was appointed Commander of the Land-forces that were to be employed in this Deſign.

The Inſtructions given by her Majeſty to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, required him, as ſoon as the General and Troops were embarked, to proceed to *Boſton* directly, without touching at any Place whatſoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach in his Paſſage, a Ship of War with the Artillery, Stores, Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries, to *New-York*; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to ſend them from *Boſton*. On his Arrival at that Place, he was to take the *Leopard* and *Saphire* under his Command, and, in caſe the General thought it neceſſary, he was to aſſiſt him in exchanging the Garriſon of *Annapolis Royal*, and in tranſporting the Old Garriſon, with Stores, back to *New England*.

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[a] This Account is taken from the Commodore's Letter, dated on-board the Defiance, in Port-Royal Harbour, Auguſt 13, 1711. He ſays, in the ſame Letter, that he had but one Man killed, and ſix wounded in the Engagement; and though neither he, nor any of our Hiſtorians, inſiſt much on the Value of this Capture, yet a Dutch Writer informs us, that the two Prizes, with the Effects on-board them, were worth 100,000 l. About this Time the French formed a Deſign of attacking the Leeward-Iſlands, and this with the natural Strength of their own Colonies; for which Purpoſe they aſſembled in the Month of May and June, about 2000 Men in Martinico; theſe they embarked on-board the following Veſſels, viz. a large Ship of 30 Guns, a Hag Boat of 24 Guns, two Merchant-ſhips, and nine Privateer Sloops. They put to Sea on the 10th of June, with an Intent to land on the Iſland of Antigua; but they were ſcarce clear of their own Iſland, before they met with her Majeſty's Ship the Newcaſtle, commanded by Captain Bourn, who attacked them ſo briſkly, that, notwithſtanding it was a Calm, and they lay in ſuch a manner, as that it was impoſſible for him to bring his Broadſide to bear upon them, yet, after an Action of three Hours, in which the French loſt 64 Men, he obliged them to relinquiſh their Deſign, and to take the Opportunity of the firſt little Breeze that ſprung up, to return into one of the Ports of their own Iſlands. Unwilling, however, abſolutely to abandon their Deſign, they refitted their Veſſels, and beat up for Voluntiers, and on the 16th landed near 1500 Men on the Iſland of Montſerrat; they debarked theſe Troops about Twelve at Night, and began to plunder the adjacent Country; but being informed that Captain Bourn ſailed from thence that very Day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in ſuch a Hurry, that they left 15 or 20 of their Men behind them, who were made Priſoners by the Inhabitants of the Iſland, and ſo ended this Project, through the Courage and Conduct of this worthy Commander. The French, however, did not eſcape totally unchaſtiſed for this Miſchief, for Captain Liſle, in her Majeſty's Ship the Diamond, having Notice of their Situation, and ſuſpecting that ſome of their Tranſports would very ſoon put to Sea, he kept cruiſing, together with the Panther, and another of her Majeſty's Ships, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Coaſt, and in a ſhort time took three of them, beſides other Prizes, ſo that the Enemy were effectually cured of their Inclination to make Deſcents for this Year. See Captain Bourn's Letter, dated from Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes, July 17, 1711, and two Letters from Captain Liſle, the firſt dated July 22, and the ſecond July 30, 1711; the former from Antigua, and the latter from St. Chriſtopher's, in the London Gazette, No. 4906.

[b] Sir Hovenden's Walker's Journal.

He was, when at *Boſton*, to take under his Care, all Tranſport-veſſels, Ketches, Hoys, Boats, and other Neceſſaries provided in *New England*; and as ſoon as the Forces from hence, and thoſe raiſed there, ſhould be on-board, he was to ſail with them all into the River of *St. Lawrence*, up to *Quebec*, in order to attack that Place; and being arrived, to make a proper Diſpoſition of the Ships for that Purpoſe, as well of ſuch as might be fit to employ before the Town, as others, upon conſulting with the General, to paſs that Place, and proceed up the River towards the Lake, not only to prevent any Communication with *Quebec*, but to protect the Canoes and Boats, with the Forces from *New York*; to which end, he was empowered to convert ſome of the ſmall Veſſels ſent from hence, or *New-England*, into Frigates, ſuitable to the Navigation of the upper Part of the River, and to man and arm them accordingly.

At *New England*, or elſewhere, he was to aſſiſt the General with Veſſels and Boats proper for landing the Forces, and embarking them again, but more eſpecially upon his Arrival at *Quebec*, or for tranſporting them from Place to Place. He was alſo ordered to ſend to the General ſuch Marine Soldiers, as ſhould be on-board the Squadron, when he ſhould demand the ſame, which he was to have the chief Command of while employed on-ſhore; beſides which, he was to aſſiſt him with ſuch a Number of Seamen, Gunners, Guns, Ammunition, and other Stores, from the Ships, as he ſhould demand for the Land Service, which Seamen were to aſſiſt in drawing and mounting the Cannon, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found neceſſary.

He was ſtrictly required to loſe no time in proceeding to *New England*, and from thence, to the River of *St. Lawrence*; nor in putting in Execution the Service of *Quebec*: But that on his Part, all Expedition ſhould be uſed in the Reduction of the Place, and of the Country of *Canada*, or *New France*, and in the ſeaſonable Return of the Squadron and Tranſports.

He was further inſtructed; which ſhews, that this Deſign had been thoroughly conſidered, in caſe of Succeſs, to leave ſuch a naval Force as he thought proper in the River of *St. Lawrence*, and to make uſe of any of the Enemy's Ships that might be taken, to bring into *Europe* ſuch Governors, regular Troops, religious Perſons, or others, whom the General, by his Inſtructions, was directed to ſend away from *Canada*, with whatever Neceſſaries for their Tranſportation he ſhould think requiſite. Theſe Services being taken care of, he was to take on-board the General, if he ſhould think fit to return, and ſuch of the Forces as ſhould not be found neceſſary to leave in *Canada*; and if the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he was to proceed to attack *Placentia*, in *Newfoundland*, in ſuch a manner as General *Hill* ſhould direct; and this Service being over, he was to order ſuch Ships of War as did not properly belong to his Squadron, to their ſeveral Stations, directing the Maſters of the Tranſports, which he ſhould have no further Occaſion for, to go and ſeek Freight, either upon the Continent of *America*, or in the Iſlands, in order to eaſe the Public of the Charge of them, and for the Benefit of the *Britiſh* Commerce [a].

On the 29th of *April* 1711, Sir *Hovenden Walker* ſailed with the Men of War and Tranſports under his Command, but coming off the *Start* the 1ſt of *May*, a weſterly Wind obliged him to put into *Plymouth* [b], from whence he ſailed again in two Days time, and continued his Voyage very happily towards *New-England*, where he arrived on the 24th of *June*, without any other Accident than that of two of his Captains diſobeying his Orders, *viz.* Captain *Soanes*, of the *Edgar*, and Captain *Butler* in the *Dunkirk*; they had both chaſed without Signal, and left the Fleet, notwithſtanding the ſtrict Injunction of the Admiral, grounded on his Inſtructions to the contrary. As Captain *Soanes* had joined the Fleet again the next Day, he was only mulcted three Months Pay; but Captain *Butler*, having never been ſeen by the Fleet till their Arrival at *Nantaſket* near *Boſton*, was diſcharged and diſmiſſed from his Command [c].

The Admiral was far from meeting in *New-England* with that hearty Zeal for the Service which he expected, for being obliged to take up a great Quantity of Proviſions for the Service of the Fleet and Tranſports, he found the utmoſt Difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic Papers inſerted, or annexed by way of Appendix to his Account. From theſe it appears, that the Perſon who was depended upon for that Service, not only refuſed it, but endeavoured to ſerve his private Intereſt, at the Expence of the Public, by buying up great Quantities on his own Account, in order to vend them again to whoever ſhould undertake to ſupply the Fleet; ſo that by the Slowneſs of the Colony, and the Avarice of this particular Perſon, the whole Expedition was ruined. The Admiral and General did all that was in their Power, by Memorials and Solicitations, to remedy this Inconvenience; but to little or no Purpoſe, ſince the Inhabitants were extremely ſenſible of their own Intereſt, and deaf to every thing elſe. General *Nicholſon* came to *Boſton*, and gave all the Aſſiſtance that was in his Power, and ſo did ſome other public-ſpirited Perſons, without which it had been impoſſible for the Fleet and Forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave *Boſton* before the 30th of *July*, when, with a few Pilots on-board, who profeſſed their own Ignorance, and went againſt their Will, Sir *Hovenden Walker* ſailed for *Quebec* [d].

On the 14th of *Auguſt* he reached the *Bird-iſlands*, which lie about 250 Leagues from Cape *Anne*, and having ſent the *Cheſter*, *Leopard*, and *Saphire*, to cruiſe between *Placentia* and *Cape-Breton*, on an Iſland oppoſite to *Newfoundland*, expecting their joining him in his Paſſage to *Quebec*, the former of which Ships had taken, and ſent into *Boſton* before he ſailed thence, a Ship of about 120 Tons, and 10 Guns, that had 70 Men on-board, whereof 30 were Soldiers for the Garriſon of *Quebec*. The *Leowſtoff*, *Feverſham*, *Enterprize*, and *Triton*'s Prize, all ſmall Frigates which were ſtationed at *New-York* and *Virginia*, he ordered to join him off of *Cape-Breton*, being empowered by her Majeſty's Orders ſo to do, if he ſhould find it neceſſary; and this he the rather did, becauſe of the Uſe they might be to him in his Proceeding up the River to *Quebec*, which Navigation moſt of the People with whom he had ſpoken, repreſented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, which mounted 80 Guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which Reaſon he ſent them home, and ſhifted his Flag on-board the *Edgar*,

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[a] Beſides theſe Inſtructions, the Admiral was furniſhed with Copies of thoſe ſent to the reſpective Governors of Maſſachuſets-Bay, and New Hampſhire; the additional Inſtructions ſent to the Governor of New York, as well as thoſe to Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; and the Governors of Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, Providence, and Pennſilvania, that he might be convinced, the Adminiſtration had taken all the Care in their Power, that he might not fail for want of proper Aſſiſtance, or be in any Doubt as to what was or was not in the Power of ſuch Perſons, as he in the Courſe of his Expedition might have Occaſion to apply to; which, without Doubt, was very uſeful, and highly proper in his Circumſtances. [b] The following Letter from Lord Bolingbroke to the Admiral, evidently proves, that Miniſter had this Deſign as much at Heart, as any Man in his Station could have.

"Sir, The Wind being come about to the South, I take it for granted, that this Letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the uſual Bane "of our maritime Expeditions. You muſt allow me to tell you, that the Queen is very uneaſy at the unaccountable Loſs of Time in your Stay at "Portſmouth; and if the Devonſhire could not be refitted ſooner, you ought rather to have left her behind, than delay your ſailing. If the Tranſ-"ports were the Occaſion of this Misfortune, the Commiſſioners, or Maſters of them are to blame, and ſhould be complained of. I take it for granted, "if you continue any time Wind-bound, that you will be ſtopt for good and all; that the whole Expence and Trouble will be thrown away; and that "we ſhall make as little of our Fleet this Year, as we have done in former Summers. In caſe Providence will carry us forward in ſpite of our Teeth; "I hope the laſt Delay will be a Warning to you, and that you will improve to-day, inſtead of depending on to-morrow. If any Thing is to be or-"dered, or done here, let me know by Expreſs, and there ſhall be as much Expedition uſed, as I wiſh there had been at Portſmouth. I have ſent to "Coleby, to go wherever you are driven back, that this Part of the Service may have the due Care taken of it. I am Sir, &c. Whitehall, May 1, "1711." [c] The Sentences of theſe Court-marſhals are in the Appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's Account; where in that of Captain Thomas Butler it is ſaid, that he ſeparated from the Fleet on the 28th of May, in order to chaſe a ſmall Ship, which he took, and applied the Produce for his own private Advantage, by which he was guilty of a poſitive Breach both of Orders and Diſcipline. [d] See Sir Hovenden Walker's Account. Burchett, compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1711. Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

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Edgar, a Ship of 70 Guns, General *Hill* removing into the *Windſor*, which carried 10 leſs; but ſince he had Information, that a Ship of 60 Guns, and another of 30, were expected from *France* very ſuddenly, he ordered the aforeſaid Ships, *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, to cruize on the Opening of the Bay of St. *Laurence*, until the laſt of *Auguſt*, and then to purſue their Voyage home. He had very fair Weather until he got into the Bay. The 18th of *Auguſt*, when he was off of *Gaſpé* Bay, near the Entrance of the River *Canada*, it blew freſh at N. W. and for fear the Tranſports ſhould be ſeparated, and blown to Leeward, he anchored in the Bay, where ſtaying for an Opportunity to proceed up the River, he burnt a *French* Ship that was fiſhing, not being able to bring her off [a].

On the 20th of *Auguſt*, the Wind veering Weſterly, the Admiral had Hopes of gaining a Paſſage, but the next Day in the Afternoon, it proved foggy, and continued ſo all Night, and the Day following, with very little Wind till towards Evening, when there was an extreme thick Fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impoſſible to ſteer any Courſe with Safety, having neither ſight of Lands, nor Soundings, or Anchorage; he, by the Advice of the Pilots then on-board him, both *Engliſh* and *French*, who were the beſt in the Fleet, made the Signal for the Ships to bring to with their Heads Southward, at which time it was about Eight at Night, believing, that in that Poſture they ſhould not come near the North-ſhore, but rather have driven with the Stream in the mid Channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their Heads Southward, and the Winds Eaſterly, in two Hours time he found himſelf on the North-ſhore among the Rocks and Iſlands, at leaſt 15 Leagues farther than the Log-line gave, where the whole Fleet had like to have been loſt; the Men eſcaping the Danger with the utmoſt Difficulty, but eight Tranſport-ſhips were caſt away, and almoſt 900 Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen periſhed [b].

After this Diſaſter, Sir *Hovenden*, in his Letter to Mr. *Burchett*, Secretary to the Admiralty, writes, "A *French* " Pilot I had on-board, who had been 40 Voyages in that " River, and 18 in Command, told me, that whenever " it happened to be foggy, ſo as not to ſee the Land, no " Man could ever be able to judge the Currents, or ſteer " by any Courſe; that he himſelf had loſt two Ships, and " was once caſt away upon the North-ſhore, when he " thought himſelf near the South; and that the Currents " were ſo uncertain, that when People might believe them- " ſelves upon the North, they would find themſelves on " the South-ſhore, and ſo on the contrary, as we by diſ- " mal Experience found: By all which it appears, that " Things have been wonderfully miſrepreſented, by thoſe " who have pretended to perſuade us in *Great-Britain*, " that Fleets might ſail up the River to *Quebec*; and this " plainly demonſtrates, that the People of *Boſton* knew " nothing of what they propoſed, when they laid Schemes " for ſuch an Expedition [c].

" After this unhappy Diſaſter, and plying two Days " with very freſh Gales, between the Weſt and the South, " to ſave what Men and other Things we could, I called " a Conſultation of the Captains of the Men of War; and, " upon Enquiry of the Pilots, who had been forced on- " board the Men of War by the Government of *New-Eng-* " *land*, and duly examining into every thing, they all " judged it impracticable to get up to *Quebec* with a Fleet; " and it has been the Opinion of every Body, both *Engliſh* " and *French*, that had we been at that Time, or ſince, " higher up that River, with the hard Gales we have had, " all the Ships muſt inevitably have been loſt.

" After the Conſultation, having ſent the *Sapphire* to " *Boſton*, to give an Account of our Miſfortune, and the " *Montague*, to find out the *Humber* and *Devonſhire*, and " ſtop all Things coming to *Quebec*, and leaving the *Leo-* " *pard*, with ſome Sloops and Brigantines, to take any " Men off the Shore that might be there, and try to ſave " ſome Anchors left behind, I proceeded to *Spaniſh*-River, " the Place appointed for our Rendezvous. Great Part of " the Fleet got in there the 4th, but not all till the 9th [d].

" The 7th, the *Leopard* coming in from the River, and " the *Kingſton* alſo the following Day, I called a Council " of War of the Sea and Land-officers, by Conſent of the " General, and propoſed, to their Conſideration, our pre- " ſent Circumſtances, and whether it was practicable to " undertake any Thing againſt *Placentia*, which every " Body very much inclined to; but our Proviſions, in " general, being reduced to 10 Weeks ſhort Allowance, " and of Bread much leſs, being but a bare Quantity " neceſſary to return to *England*, it was unanimouſly agreed, " that we could undertake nothing, but return, as ſoon as " ready, to *Britain*, having no Proſpect of a Supply of " Proviſions from *New-England*, and the Seaſon of the " Year being too far advanced for the ſafe Navigation in " theſe Parts of the World.

" The *Enterprize* and *Triton*'s Prize came in here the " 10th; I ſent the former to *Annapolis*, with the Troops " detached by the General for that Garriſon, which, when " he has done, and ſeen the Ships from thence ſafe to " *Boſton*, he is to return to his Station. The *Triton*'s " Prize I have directed to cruiſe for the *Sapphire*, in her " Return from *Boſton*, to deliver her my Orders for her " remaining to attend the Garriſon left at *Annapolis*; and " I ſent the ſame Orders by the *Enterprize*. I have or- " dered the Marines, that were left at that Garriſon, to be " brought to *Britain* by the firſt Opportunity.

" The *Leopard* comes with this Packet, and the Men of " War with me are the *Edgar*, *Swiftſure*, *Monmouth*, *Wind-* " *ſor*, *Montague*, *Dunkirk*, *Kingſton* and *Sunderland*. I am,

Sir,

Edgar, in Spaniſh-River-Bay, Sept. 12, 1711.

" *Your moſt obedient*,
" *humble Servant*,
" Hovenden Walker.

In his Voyage home, he met with no Accidents, that either retarded his Paſſage, or added to the Miſfortunes he had already met with; but arrived ſafely at *St. Helens* on the 9th of *October* 1711, with the Fleet and Tranſports under his Command. On the 13th, the Soldiers having all had their Quarters aſſigned them, and the Tranſports being directed to the ſeveral Ports, where the Regiments were to embark, the Admiral, having had leave for that Purpoſe, ſet out for *London*. On the 15th, the Admiral's Ship,

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[a] Sir Hovenden's Account, p. 121.

[b] The Admiral has publiſhed the following Account of the Ships and Men that were loſt by this unlucky Accident.

Ships Names. Transports.	Men loſt.	Men ſaved.	Regiment.
Iſabella Anne Katherine	192	7 or 8	Colonel Wendreſſe.
Smepna Merchant	200	30	———Kaine,
Samuel and Anne	142	7 or 8	Lieut. General Seymour.
Nathaniel and Elizabeth	10	188	——— Ditto.
Marlborough	130	30	Colonel Clayton.
Chatham	60	40	——— Windreſſe,
Colcheſter	150	180	Lieut. General Seymour,
Content, Victualler		15	
	884	499	

[c] This Project was firſt formed, upon Colonel Nicholſon's Arrival from New England, with the four Indian Chiefs or Kings; and his Return, with a Lieutenant-General's Commiſſion, and the taking of Port-Royal, were the Fore-runners of it. The Caſe of the Admiral, in the mean time, was very hard, I never heard, or could find, that any Thing was laid to his Charge, as contributing to the Miſfortune, or the leaſt Blame laid on his Conduct, and yet, after the Miſcarriage, many loud and invidious Clamours were raiſed in general, without deſcending to Particulars, againſt him; he had the Miſfortune to incur the Diſpleaſure of ſomebody, and not only was ſtruck out of the Liſt of Admirals, but out of the Half-pay Liſt too. There may have been ſome Circumſtances unknown to me, that may have occaſioned his Diſgrace; but upon a View of what has come to my Knowledge; I (ſays Mr. Lediard) have not been able to forbear thinking him hardly uſed, eſpecially ſince (if I miſtake not, in the Year 1725) I had an Opportunity of being acquainted with him, in Hamburg and Hanover, and found him a Gentleman of Letters, good Underſtanding, ready Wit, and agreeable Converſation; and withal the moſt abſtemious Man living; for I never ſaw, or heard, that he drank any Thing but Water, or eat any Thing but Vegetables.

[d] The ſame Day a French Bark, a Coaſter between Quebec and Placentia, was taken by a New-England Tranſport, and brought into the Fleet: And, the ſame Afternoon, Captain Walton, in the Montague, brought in a French Privateer-ſloop, which he had taken.

Ship, in which he had hoiſted his Flag, the *Edgar*, a Third-rate of 70 Guns, blew up at *Spithead*, by which ſeveral Hundred Seamen were loſt, with all Sir *Hovenden Walker*'s Furniture, Stores, and public Papers, Books, Draughts, Journals, Charts, *&c.* with all the Officers original Demands, Supplies, and Receipts; which was certainly a very great Miſfortune to him, and ſuch a one, as did by no means deſerve to be heightened by any groundleſs or malicious Reflections; which, however, were not ſpared upon that melancholy Occaſion. That very Evening Sir *Hovenden* waited upon Secretary *St. John*, who expreſſed an extraordinary Concern on the Miſcarriage of the Expedition. On the 19th, the Admiral was introduced to the Queen at *Windſor* by the Duke of *Shrewſbury*; when her Majeſty received him very kindly, gave him her Hand to kiſs, and told him, ſhe was glad to ſee him [a].

As the Parliament ſat very late in this Summer, ſo great Pains were taken to diſcover as many Overſights in the Conduct of the late Miniſtry, and that in as many Branches of the public Buſineſs, as it was poſſible. Amongſt theſe, the Commons, on the 4th of *June* 1711, thought fit to introduce the Affairs of the Fleet in the following Terms. "With regard to the Debt of the Navy, we find that one great Diſcouragement and Burden, which that Part of the Service has lain under, has been from a Liberty that has been uſed of diverting ſeveral Sums iſſued to that Service, and transferring them to other Purpoſes, for which they were not intended; particularly, that the Sum of 606,806 l. 7 s. 7 d. belonging to the Navy, has been paid for Proviſions ſupplied to Land-forces. This unjuſtifiable Proceeding has been a Diſcouragement to the Seamen, occaſioned the paying extravagant Rates upon Contracts, and has very much contributed to ſink the Credit of the Navy.

"To this we may add, the many notorious Embezzlements, and ſcandalous Abuſes, which appear to have been practiſed, as well in the Management of your Majeſty's Brewhouſe, as in the Contracts for furniſhing the Navy with Beer. We have already preſumed to addreſs your Majeſty, that ſeveral Perſons, whom we diſcovered to have been guilty of thoſe Frauds, ſhould be proſecuted at Law for their Offences, and we entirely rely upon your Majeſty's moſt gracious Aſſurance, that thoſe Proſecutions ſhall be effectually carried on: but we muſt alſo, upon this Occaſion, beg leave, further to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the Commiſſioners appointed to take care of the victualling your Majeſty's Navy, have been guilty of great Negligence and Remiſsneſs in their Duty: For the Inſtructions, which go along with that Commiſſion, are ſo well adapted to the preventing thoſe very Abuſes which have been committed, that nothing but a notorious Miſmanagement in that Office, and an inexcuſable Neglect in purſuing thoſe Inſtructions, could have given way to the great Loſs the Public has ſuſtained in that Part of the Service [b]." To this the Queen was pleaſed to give a very gracious Anſwer [c].

This Seſſions of Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of the ſame Month; and though during its Receſs the new Miniſtry had been laying the Foundation of a Peace, yet, at their own Requeſt, when the Parliament met again in *December*, the Commons came to a Reſolution, that 40,000 Seamen, including 8000 Marines, ſhould be employed for the Sea-ſervice, and that 180,000 l. ſhould be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy. They likewiſe granted all that was required for the Service of the War, and made Proviſions for raiſing the mighty Sum given for the Services of that Year, and which amounted to no leſs than 6,656,967 l. very early, and with a remarkable Chearfulneſs.

Sir *John Leake* was now at the Head of the Admiralty, and in that Quality managed the Buſineſs of the Board in the Houſe of Commons; and as the Seaſon for Action advanced, he received a Commiſſion to command again in the Channel, as he had done the Year before; and the Command of the Squadron in the *Soundings* was left to Sir *Thomas Hardy*, whoſe Proceedings we ſhall next reſume as a proper Introduction to the Operations of the Year 1712. The rather, becauſe the grand Fleet did little more this Year than convoy a Body of Troops, commanded by Lieutenant-general *Hill*, who were ſent to take Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*; which Service ended, they returned into the *Downs*.

The 4th of *January* 1712, the Commons took into Conſideration the State of the War, and having examined the ſeveral Treaties laid before them, came the next Day to ſeveral Reſolutions [d].

On the 8th [e] of *January* of this Year, Sir *Thomas* ſailed from *Plymouth* with ſix Men of War, and came off of *Uſhant*; then croſſing the Bay for Cape *Finiſterre*, he cruiſed between the Latitudes of 43 and 45 North, and 30 and 40 Leagues Weſting from the ſaid Cape [f]. The Beginning of *Auguſt* he chaſed a *French* Squadron of ſix Ships, and a *Tartan*: Of theſe he took the Chief [g], the *Windſor* engaged another, which blew up [h], the *Berwick* took two more [i], the *Ruby* took a fifth [k], and the other two eſcaped.

Vice-admiral *Baker* having been detached by Sir *John Jennings* from *Port-Mahon* to the Coaſt of *Portugal*, with a Squadron [l] to protect the *Portugueſe* Trade, received there Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty to convoy the Store-ſhips, Victuallers, and Tranſports, bound to *Port-Mahon* for Supply of the Fleet off of Cape *Spartel*, or into the *Streight*'s Mouth, and thence to ſend two Men of War with them to *Gibraltar*.

Purſuant hereunto he ſailed from *Liſbon* the 8th of *February* 1712. The 16th he chaſed a Ship about 12 or 13 Leagues from Cape *St. Mary*'s, which run on-ſhore, and ſunk on a Bank, as they afterwards found when the Weather ſuffered them to look nearer into Land [m].

The 22d he came up with ſome Ships under the *Barbary* Shore, and took one of them [n], but the reſt eſcaped. The 8th of *March* he returned to *Liſbon*, but put to Sea again the latter End of *April*, as well to ſee the *Portugueſe* outward-bound *Eaſt-India* Ships to the *Maderas*, with two Frigates, as to cruiſe, with five Ships, for the Security of their homeward-bound *Brazil*-Fleet; Captain *Maurice* being, in the mean time, to cruiſe with a ſmall Squadron about the *Streight*'s Mouth.

The 6th of *May* the Vice-admiral arrived in the Road of *Fayal* [o]. He afterwards continued cruiſing off of the *Tercera's* till the 11th of *September*, when he got Advice by the Commander of a *Portugueſe* Frigate, who had left the *Brazil*-Fleet three Days before, that he believed they might arrive that Day at *Angra*, the chief Town of the Iſland; but ſoon after a violent Storm aroſe, which very much ſhattered his Ships, and drove them ſo far away, that he could not fetch the Iſland again; he therefore made an eaſy Sail for *Liſbon*, and when he came off the Rock, found they were arrived the very Day before he made the Land; and as the Ceſſation of Arms was ſoon after concluded, the Squadron of Ships under his Command was called home [a].

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[a] See Sir Hovenden's Walker's Account, p. 155, 156. Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 781. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 685.

[b] Harley, in the Houſe of Commons, led them to enquire into ſome Abuſes in the Victualling the Navy: They had been publickly practiſed for many Years, ſome have ſaid ever ſince the Reſtoration. The Abuſe was viſible, but connived at, that ſeveral Expences might be anſwered that Way: Some have ſaid, that the Captains Tables were kept out of the Gain made in it. Yet, a Member of the Houſe, who was a Whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the Houſe; and a Proſecution was ordered againſt him; but the Abuſe goes on ſtill as avowedly as ever. Here was a Shew of Zeal, and a ſeeming Diſcovery of fraudulent Practices, by which the Nation was deceived. Burnet's Hiſt.

[c] Chandler's Debates, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1711, Life of Queen Anne, &c.

[d] The following, which more particularly regards the Navy, was the firſt: "That the States-General have been deficient in their Quota's for the Sea-ſervice, in Proportion to the Number of Ships provided by her Majeſty, ſome Years Two-thirds, and generally more than half their Quota." And the 10th, "That the Condition for prohibiting all Trade and Correſpondence between Holland and France, on which the Troops of Augmentation were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, has not been obſerved by the States-General."

[e] The 6th of January of this Year, the York brought into Plymouth a Privateer of 28 Guns; and two Days after the Kingſale, a Fifth-rate, came into that Port, which had engaged a French Frigate of 44 Guns an Hour and a half, near the Iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, and had ſuffered very much in her Maſts, Yards, and Rigging.

[f] The 3d of February, he took the Peter-Gally, of about 120 Tons, from St. Domingo; the 13th he took a Privateer from Dunkirk, and the 21ſt another ſmall Prize.

[g] It was the Griffin, of 44 Guns, and 250 Men, commanded by the Chevalier d'Aire, bound with Bale-goods to La Vera Cruz, a rich Prize, which would ſufficiently have recompenced the Captors; but it being pretended, that the Queen's Paſs was granted for her, though they had it not on-board when taken, after long ſoliciting on both Sides, Sir Thomas was obliged to quit his Claim for a Sum of Money far ſhort of her Value.

[h] This Ship was the St. Eſprit, of 36 Guns, and 175 Men, bound with Bale-goods to Cadiz. They reſiſted very ſtoutly for near an Hour; but, as the Captain (who with 36 Men were ſaved) ſaid, was juſt going to ſtrike when ſhe blew up.

[i] One was the Adventure of Havre de Grace, carrying 12 Guns and 40 Men, bound to Newfoundland; but the Maſter producing the Queen's Paſs, ſhe was permitted to proceed on her Voyage; the other was the Incomparable, of 16 Guns, deſigned for Martinico.

[k] She was likewiſe called the Ruby, and was bound to St. Domingo.

[l] He had with him five Third-rates, one Fourth, and two Fifth-rates.

[m] When they ſaw her, the Portugueſe had rifled her of all they could of her Loading, which conſiſted of Sugar, Cocoa, Snuff, Hides, and (as it was reported) the Value of 20,000 Dollars in Plate. She was a Patache to the Galloons, and carried 60 Guns; the Vice-admiral demanded Satisfaction of the Portugueſe, but could never obtain any Redreſs.

[n] She had 26 Guns, but her People threw eleven of them over-board; her Loading was chiefly Salt, with ſome Wooll and Cochineal, for Martinico.

[o] He had taken a Ship of Monſ. Caſſard's Squadron, of 22 Guns, bound to Canada with Wine and Brandy.

Sir *John Jennings*, at this Time, commanded the grand Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; and in the Month of *May* joined the *Dutch* Vice-admiral with the Tranſports, having on-board 6,500 Men, which were put on-ſhore in two Days time; and his Imperial Majeſty, and Count *Staremberg*, preſſing the Neceſſity of carrying the Cavalry over from *Italy*, it was reſolved the Admiral ſhould return to *Vado*, from whence he ſailed with the Tranſports on the 27th of *July*, and arrived at *Barcelona* on the 7th of *Auguſt*, where, ſoon after, he received the Queen's Orders for a Suſpenſion of Arms, both by Sea and Land, and a Letter from the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, directing him to ſuffer a great *French* Corn-fleet to paſs unmoleſted, every Ship of which he muſt otherwiſe have taken; from this Time, though the Admiral was no longer concerned in military Operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, ſince he tranſported the Empreſs with her Retinue, from *Barcelona* to *Genoa*, eſcorted 30,000 Men at two Embarkations, from *Catalonia* to *Naples*, and afterwards carried over the Duke and Ducheſs of *Savoy*, from *Villa-Franca* to their new Kingdom of *Sicily* [b].

In the Summer after Sir *Hovenden Walker* was returned to *England*, it was thought neceſſary to diſpatch him with Expedition to relieve Commodore *Littleton*'s ſmall Squadron ſtill in the *Weſt-Indies*. Sir *Hovenden*, with his Squadron [c], ſet ſail the 28th of *April* from *St. Helens*, and arrived at the *Maderas* the 20th of *May* [d]. The 24th of *June* he arrived at *Antegoa*, where he found the *Diamond* and *Experiment*, two Fifth-rates, which had taken a conſiderable Prize. The 6th of *July* he arrived at *Jamaica*, where Commodore *Littleton* (who ſome time after departed with the *Defiance*, and the Trade for *England*) gave him an Account how the Ships, which had been under his Command, were diſpoſed of in ſeveral cruiſing Stations [e]. The 15th the *Saliſbury* and the *Defiance* came in with a Prize, and the *Saliſbury-Prize* with another [f].

The 4th of *Auguſt* the *Weymouth*, and the *Trial*-ſloop, came in from the Bay of *Campeche*, and brought with them a *French* Ship, which the latter had taken in their Paſſage in the Latitude of 28 Degrees [g]. The Day before, Captain *Thompſon* of the *Auguſt*, had ſent in a Prize which he had taken. The 29th there happened a very terrible Hurricane at *Jamaica*, which did conſiderable Damages both to the Shipping and Houſes [h].

Nothing of Moment happened after this at *Jamaica*, till the Proclamation for a Ceſſation of Arms was likewiſe brought into thoſe Parts; upon which Sir *Hovenden Walker*, having received Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty to repair homewards, departed accordingly, and arrived off of *Dover* the 26th of *May* 1713.

The Eſtimate of the War in the Year

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1702	3,706,494	02	10½
1703	3,898,066	13	10¾
1704	4,444,947	04	01½
1705	5,087,783	07	01
1706	5,693,529	08	10¾
1707	6,180,413	18	02¼
1708	6,381,926	06	01
1709	6,713,645	05	04½
1710	6,734,043	09	11¾
1711	6,851,468	16	07¾

The Balance of Ships taken and deſtroyed on either Side during this War.

ENGLISH *taken or loſt.*

Guns.	Ships.	Total of Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	8	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
30	1	30
28	1	28
24	11	264
22	1	22
	38	1596

FRENCH *taken or loſt.*

Guns.	Ships.	Total of Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	1	48
40	1	40
36	2	72
34	1	34

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[a] The late celebrated Doctor Swift criticiſes upon thoſe Articles in the grand Alliance, by which we were bound to take ſo much Care of the Concerns of the King of Portugal, very freely.—By two Articles of that Treaty, (ſays he) "beſides the Honour of being Convoys and Guards in ordinary "to the Portugueze Ships and Coaſts, we are to gueſs the Enemies Thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's Word, whenever he hath a Fancy "that he ſhall be invaded. We are alſo to furniſh him with a Strength ſuperior to what the Enemy intends to invade any of his Dominions with, "let that be what it will. And until we know what the Enemies Forces are, his Portugueze Majeſty is ſole Judge what Strength is ſuperior, and "what will be able to prevent an Invaſion, and may ſend our Fleets, whenever he pleaſes, upon his Errands, to ſome of the furtheſt Parts of the "World, or keeping them attending upon his own Coaſts, till he thinks fit to diſmiſs them. Theſe Fleets muſt likewiſe be ſubject in all Things, "not only to the King, but to his Vice-roys, Admirals, and Governors, in any of his foreign Dominions, when he is in an Humour to apprehend "an Invaſion, which I believe is an Indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered Nation. In the defenſive Alliance with this "Crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are Parties with them, the ſame Care, in almoſt the ſame Words, is "taken for our Fleet to attend their Coaſts, and foreign Dominions, and to be under the ſame Obedience. We and the States are likewiſe to furniſh "them with 12,000 Men at our own Charge, which we are conſtantly to recruit, and theſe are to be ſubject to the Portugueze Generals."

[b] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1712 and 1713, Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

[c] This Squadron conſiſted of one Third-rate, two Fourth-rates, three Fifth-rates, and a Sixth-rate. He arrived off of Plymouth the next Day, having about 100 Merchant-ſhips in his Convoy; and the Day following, the South-Sea Caſtle, Captain Temple, chaſed and took a Privateer of 14 Guns, and 100 Men.

[d] He had then with him, the Monmouth, Auguſt, Centurion, Scarborough, Roebuck, and Jolley, together with the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime, being Convoy to the Barbadoes-Trade, having parted with the Litchfield and South-Sea Caſtle, and the Trade bound to Portugal, 14 Leagues from Cape Finiſterre, which then bore S. E. and by S.

[e] Here Sir Hovenden was informed, that Captain Mabbot of the Mary-Galley, and Captain Ryddel of the Falmouth, had met with two French Ships on the Coaſt of Guinea, which, after a ſharp Engagement, eſcaped out of their Hands, Captain Mabbot, with his Lieutenant and Maſter, being killed in the Action. Here he likewiſe had afterwards Notice, that the Star Bomb-veſſel was loſt upon the Iſland of Heneago.

[f] The firſt they took out of the Harbour of Santa-Martha, where the French had ſunk her by boring a Hole in her Bottom; ſhe was loaden with Bale-goods.

[g] The Priſoners taken in this Ship, gave an Account, that ſoon after Sir Hovenden Walker ſailed from Antegoa, Monſ. Caſſard, with eight Men of War, and 17 or 18 Sloops, with about 5000 Men, had taken that Iſland, and Montſerrat; that they had been at, and plundered St. Jago, one of the Cape-Verd Iſlands; and had attempted the Dutch Settlements at Surinam, but were repulſed. This indeed was only the Report of French Priſoners, but it afterwards appeared in Part true; for though they had attempted Antegoa in vain, they had plundered Montſerrat, and then quitted it, upon the Approach of the Engliſh Men of War, with ſome Precipitation; had taken St. Jago, and attacked Surinam without Succeſs. Some Accounts ſay likewiſe, they did great Damage on the Iſlands of Mevis and St. Chriſtopher's. According to all Appearances, they deſigned a ſecond Attempt on Antegoa, and the Ships that were ſtationed in thoſe Parts omitted nothing that could contribute to a vigorous Defence of it; after which they went even in ſearch of the Enemy; but all farther Action, on either Side, was prevented by the Arrival of the Queen's Proclamation for a Ceſſation of Arms. It has been obſerved, that Monſ. Caſſard's Invaſion of Monſerrat happened near two Months after the Duke of Ormond's having refuſed to join in Action with Prince Eugene againſt the French, and was therefore thought impolitic, if not ungrateful, to a Nation to which they were at that Time ſo much obiiged; but the Court of France thought fit, it ſeems, to diſown it, upon Complaint made; though no Satisfaction was ever made, nor was Monſ. Caſſard ever queſtioned or blamed on that Account.

[h] Moſt of the Men of War, if not all, were either driven on-ſhore, loſt their Maſts, or were otherwiſe diſabled.

FRENCH *taken or loſt.*

Guns.	Ships.	Total of Guns.
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	8	192
20	3	60
	52	3094
		1596
The Loſs of the *French* exceeded ours, — — —		1498

This Liſt is excluſive of what *Spaniſh* Ships we took and deſtroyed.

It has likewiſe been obſerved, that the *French* Privateers had much leſs Succeſs in this War, than in the former, ſeveral Hundred of them having been either taken or deſtroyed by our Frigates.

If we had this Succeſs at Sea during this War, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* were every Year of it deficient in furniſhing the Quota they were by Treaty obliged, what may we not ſuppoſe we might have done, if they, on their Side, had proportionably aſſiſted in weakening the common Enemy.

By a Computation given by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the Deficiency of their Ships of the Line, was every Year as follows:

1702 inſtead of	44	33
1703	44	22
1704	44	18
1705	47	20
1706	46	15
1707	43	27
1708	43	25
1709	42	11
1710	37	13
1711	35	11

So that, one Year with another, they were ſhort of furniſhing half the Number of Ships of the Line which they ſhould have done. And this Deficiency was not only an Obſtruction to farther Conqueſts, which might probably have been made on *France*, but was a great Weakening of the *Britiſh* Navy, by our being obliged to continue our Ships, in greater Numbers, in remote Seas, and at unſeaſonable Times of the Year; and a great Prejudice to our Trade, our Ships, which ſhould have been employed as Convoys and Cruiſers, being abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply their Deficiencies.

However, the *Dutch* endeavoured to ſhew, that they were not culpable in anywiſe, and for this Purpoſe printed the following Liſt; in which the firſt Column conſiſts of the Year; the ſecond of the *Engliſh* Men of War; the third of the Ships of the *States-General*, according to Mr. *Burchett*'s Account; and the fourth of the ſame Ships according to their own. This Paper having been printed in part, in the *Daily-Courant* of *Monday*, *April* 7, 1712, the Houſe of Commons came to a Reſolution thereupon, and committed Mr. *Samuel Buckley* for printing it, who remained in Cuſtody during the Remainder of the Seſſion.

1702	74	33	55
1703	79	22	50
1704	74	18	56
1705	79	20	56
1706	78	15	54
1707	72	27	49
1708	69	25	53
1709	60	11	50
1710	62	13	43
1711	59	12	40

There happened no further naval Armaments within the Compaſs of this Reign, except the ſending a Squadron into the *Mediterranean* under the Command of Sir *James Wiſhart*; the Deſign of it, without queſtion, was to execute what remained to be executed of the Peace; and as his Catholic Majeſty was at that Time intent on the Reduction of *Catalonia*, the *Engliſh* Fleet rendered him ſome Services; which, however, made a great Noiſe at home; for, as the *Catalans* had been originally brought into the War by the Perſuaſion of the Queen's Miniſter, and upon repeated Promiſes of her Majeſty's conſtant Support of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould afford any Countenance, much leſs Aſſiſtance, to the Enemies of that brave People, who ſtill conſidered themſelves as the Allies of *Great-Britain*. It is true that many plauſible Things were offered in Excuſe of this Conduct. It was ſaid, that her Majeſty had done all that lay in her Power, to procure for thoſe People the Continuance of their ancient Privileges; and that, though ſhe had not abſolutely ſucceeded in this, yet ſhe had procured them an Equivalent for their antient Privileges, which was ſharing thoſe of *Caſtile*, and particularly that of being capable of having a Concern in the Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*; from which all other Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great meaſure owing to the Faults of the *Catalans* themſelves, that her Majeſty's Interpoſition did not ſucceed to the full; ſince while ſhe was applying in their Favour to King *Philip*, they actually declared War againſt him, which put it out of her Majeſty's Power to ſolicit for them any longer. It was likewiſe alledged, that the Emperor might have ſtipulated Conditions for them, under the Guaranty of her Majeſty, in his proviſional Treaty for the Evacuation of that Province: So that, upon the whole, it ought to be underſtood, that whatever Mercy theſe People received, flowed from the Care taken of them by the Queen; whereas the many and great Miſeries they ſuffered, were abſolutely the Effects of their own Perverſeneſs and Obſtinacy.

Her Majeſty did not long ſurvive the Peace, which was ſigned at *Utrecht* on the 11th of *April*, N. S. 1713, for ſhe departed this Life of a lethargic Diſorder, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* in the Morning, in the Year following, having in the Spring before conſtituted the Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *William Drake*, Sir *James Wiſhart*, *George Clarke*, Eſq; and Sir *George Beaumont*, Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral, *&c.*

And tho' this Peace was afterwards voted by the Parliament to be injurious to the Nation, a certain Author[*], in the Year 1715, beſides the local Advantages gained thereby of *Minorca*, *Gibraltar*, *Nova-Scotia*, *St. Kits*, Demolition of *Dunkirk*, &c. undertakes to prove it to be the beſt Meaſure that could be taken, and to ſhew the Advantages ariſing to *Great-Britain* ſince the Peace, by the Increaſe of the Navigation and Exportation of the Manufactures and Produce of *England* only, as follows, *viz.*

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[*] A ſhort State of the War and Peace, printed by J. Morphew, 1715.

Of Woollen Manufactures from *England* to *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Eaſt*-Country, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Streights*, *Italy*, *Turky*, *Jamaica*, *New-England*, *New-York*, and *Weſt-Indies*, beſides great Quantities carried to other Places, of which a particular Account cannot yet be had.

Species of Goods.	*The Amount of the Exportation of Woollen-Manufactures to the ſeveral Places aboveſaid, for the Years* 1709, 1710, *and* 1711.	*For the Years* 1712, 1713, *and* 1714.	*The Increaſe of the Years* 1712, 1713, *and* 1714, *more than the Years* 1709, 1710, *and* 1711.
Bays	127,492 ½	158,903 ½	31,411 pieces
Cloth of all Sorts	107,888	152,642	44,754 cloths
Cottons	273,017	525,227	252,210 goads
Kerſies	59,884 ⅔	83,110	23,225 ⅓ pieces
Perpets and Serges	8,250,805 lib.	8,643,505 lib.	392,700 lib.
Flannel	990,451 yards	1,213,949 yards	223,498 yards
Stockings	81,472 dozen	96,939 dozen	15,467 dozen
Stuffs	3,186,031 lib.	5,586,968 lib.	2,400,937 lib.
Says	495,457 ditto	619,262 ditto	123,805 ditto
Northen Dozen	19,385 ditto	52,151 ditto	32,766 ditto
Hatts	25,383 dozen	39,373 dozen	13,990 dozen
Lead	37,557 tons	41,383 tons	3,826 tons
Manufactures.			
Spaniſh Wool imported into *England*,	13,986 bags	20,388 bags	6,402 bags
Cochineal imported	177,785 lib.	220,667 lib.	42,882 lib.
Fiſh.			
Red Herrings	115,819 barrels	235,492 barrels	119,673 barrels
White ditto	7,897 ditto	15,459 ditto	7,562 ditto
Pilchards	23,737 hogſh.	60,565 hogſh.	36,828 hogſh.
Salmon	260 barrels	870 barrels	610 barrels

The Fiſh herein ſpecified, is all excluſive of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Fiſhing.

Memorandum, The Fiſhing-ſhips and Fiſhing-boats to *Newfoundland*, are greatly increaſed ſince the Peace.

An Account of the Groſs and Net Produce of the Cuſtoms, from Chriſtmas 1708, *to* Chriſtmas 1714, *viz.*

		Groſs Receipt.			*Net Produce.*		
In the Year	1709	2,306,784	08	10 ¼	1,342,833	14	04 ½
	1710	1,945,792	06	02 ½	1,177,810	05	06 ½
	1711	2,248,679	17	02 ½	1,202,040	12	09 ½
	1712	2,191,348	19	06 ¾	1,396,633	03	11 ¾
	1713	2,488,968	09	07	1,454,868	17	06
	1714	2,705,029	10	10 ¼	1,765,695	04	02 ½
		13,886,603	11	06	8,339,881	18	04 ¾

Net Produce of the Year 1709	1,342,833	14	04 ½
Ditto 1714	1,765,695	04	02 ½
Increaſe in the Year 1714, more than the Year 1709	422,861	9	10 ¾
Increaſed the three laſt Years in Peace, more than the three preceding Years in time of War	894,512	12	11 ¾

Merchant or Freight Shipping.

Ships from all Ports of England, *cleared from the* Cuſtom-Houſe.

From the Year 1709 to 1710——3550 Ships.
1711——3750
1712——4267
1713——5807
1714——6614

Increaſed in the Years 1713 and 1714, being the two Years ſince the Peace, more than the two Years 1710 and 1711, in time of War in Number 5121 Ships, in Bulk 300,000 Ton.

Memorandum, That the Exchange and Benefit of Trade, from the ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, hath been ſo much to the Advantage of *England* ſince the Peace, as hath occaſioned the great Coinages of Money at the *Mint*, as will appear by the following Account.

There was coined, and ready for Coinage, in Gold and Silver, in the *Mint* in two Years, ending at *Lady-day* laſt 2,435,000 *l.* whereas the Coinage in time of War was inconſiderable.

Engliſh Wool in the War was ſold at 15 *s.* per Todd, and now at 18 *s.*

Cape Briton Iſland was reſtored to *France* by a Treaty made 1632, and confirmed by another Treaty 1667, by another 1686, by another 1697.

In *Newfoundland* the *French* are not permitted to fiſh in any Part formerly poſſeſſed by *England*, nor even in that Part which was poſſeſſed by *France* before the Treaty, and which is now yielded to *Britain*, but are confined to fiſh only in the uninhabited Part of the Country, and are not permitted to cut Timber, nor Wood for building Cook-rooms, Stages, Flakes, Boats, *&c.* and the Liberty they have of fiſhing will therefore be impracticable.

A LIST *of the* CAPTAINS *promoted since the Union, according to their Seniority.*

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Nicholas Haddock[a]	April 6	1707	Ludlow-Caſtle	died	Sept. 26	1746
Rt Hon. Ken Ld. Duffus.	7	—	Portſmouth	diſmiſſed[b]	Anno	1715
Robert Clark	May 28	—	Crown	ſlain[c]	March 1	1708
John Hagar[d]	June 12	—	Charles-Galley	reſigned	In	1739
John Chilley	July 18	—	Mermaid	died[e]	September	1734
Abraham Juder	Auguſt 5	—	Dolphin	ſlain[f]	March 2	1708
Walter Piggot	Novemb. 13	—	Bridgwater			
John Cockburne	14	—	Looe	died[g]	May	
John Shales	21	—	Rye	died[h]	April 24	1720
James Hamilton	Decemb. 26	—	Larke	died[i]	Decemb. 22	1708
Tancred Robinſon[k]	January 8	—	Goſport	reſigned	Anno	1742
Michael Sanſon	14	—	Lyme	died[l]	November 3	1711
Robert Johnſon[m]	February 3	—	Experiment	drowned[n]	Anno	1722
Robert Studley	11	—	Ditto	died[o]	Anno	1717
Francis Peircy	12	—	Winchelſea	died[p]	February 18	1741
Henry Blinſtone	28	—	Lynn	died	Anno	1739
Chaloner Ogle[q]	March 14	—	Tartar	died	April 11	1750
John Mihill	31	1708	Chicheſter	died	Anno	1746
William Maſam	May 17	—	Falcon	died[r]	October 2	1708
Joſiah Roydhouſe	June 14	—	Elephant Store-ſhip	died	Anno	
Edward Holland	July 23	—	Scarborough	died[s]	February 9	172$\frac{8}{9}$
Cæſar Brooks	24	—	Aſſiſtance	ſlain[t]	March 2	170$\frac{8}{9}$
Henry Lawſon	31	—	Pearle	died[u]	Anno	1734
Samuel Mead	Septemb. 20	—	Sweepſtakes	diſmiſſed[w]	April	1709
John Goodall	Sept. 25	—	Milford	died[x]	February	172$\frac{8}{9}$
Richard Rouzier	October 22	—	Falcon	died	Anno	1746
George Ramſay	11	—	Diamond	died		
Iſaac Cook	18	—	Garland	died	Novem. 26	1724
Charles Conſtable	18	—	Chicheſter	died[y]	Anno	1716
John Hemmington[z]	Novem. 12	—	Experiment			
George Nicholes	17	—	Arrogant	drowned[aa]	January 5	1708

[a] Appointed Rear-admiral in May 1734, and Vice-admiral of the Blue in March 1741-2, Admiral of the Blue, 23 June 1744, and in that Rank died, as it is generally thought, of Grief, for being tied up by Inſtructions, which he apprehended were injurious to his Country.

[b] Went into the Swediſh, and after into the Muſcovy Service, and died in Exile.

[c] In the Adventure in the Weſt-Indies, and the Ship taken by the French.

[d] Appointed Rear-admiral in December 1734, and reſigned on account of his bad State of Health, and died March 1747-8.

[e] Maſter Attendant at Woolwich, to which he was appointed in 1716.

[f] In the Aſſiſtance engaging the French Fleet in the Soundings.

[g] In the Lark at Barbadoes.

[h] In the Hampſhire at Palermo in Sicily.

[i] In the Weſt-Indies.

[k] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue 1736, and by his Father's Death became a Baronet 1736, reſigned his Flag as Rear-admiral of the White in March 1741-2.

[l] In the Moor in England.

[m] Knighted by King George I. in 1719.

[n] At the Cape of Good Hope in the Aiſlabie Eaſt-India Ship, coming home a Paſſenger, being turned out of the Exeter by Mr. Mathews in the Eaſt-Indies.

[o] Was ſuperannuated, being blind, 1715-16.

[p] At Rocheſter on Half-pay.

[q] Knighted by King George 1723, for his Conduct and Bravery in deſtroying Roberts the Pyrate and his Crew on the Coaſt of Guinea, was appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue 1739, Rear of the Red March 1741, Vice of the Blue 1743, Vice of the White 1744, Appointed Admiral of the Blue 23d June 1744, Admiral of the White 15th July 1747, Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet 1749.

[r] Shot himſelf in the Mediterranean.

[s] At Iſleworth in Middleſex.

[t] In an Engagement with the French.

[u] In the Dublin-Yatch at Dublin.

[w] Taken by the French in the Sweepſtakes 16th April 1709, for which he loſt this his Poſt of Seniority, but was commiſſioned for the Succeſs February 16th 1713-14, and there he takes his Poſt again.

[x] In the Feverſham at Jamaica.

[y] In the Roebuck at Barbadoes.

[z] Appointed a Rear-admiral on Half-pay 1747.

[aa] In the Arrogant, who foundered at Sea, and all the People loſt.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
James Gunman[a]	Dec. 20	1708	Lyme			
Coningeſby Norbury	January 12	—	Larke	died	July	1734
James Stewart[b]	14	—	Greyhound			
Charles Vanbrugh	February 21	—	Feverſham	died[c]	November	1740
Robert Trevor	March 2	—	Royal-Ann Galley	died[d]	April	1741
William Clarke	8	—	Hector	died	Anno	1739
Nicholas Smith	8	—	Enterprize	died	Anno	1738
William Ockman	8	—	Folkſtone	died	Anno	1740
Nicholas Eaton	11	—	Winchelſea	died	April 5	1729
John Sapsford	18	—	Suffolk Hagboat	died	Anno	1741
Charles Brown[e]	18	—	Strombolo	died	March	1753
Charles Guy	23	—	Nightingale	died		
George Gordon	April 9	1709	Loweſtaffe	died	Anno	1732
Thomas Jacobs	26	—	Sweepſtakes	died	Anno	1748
George Purvis[f]	May 22	—	Coventry	died	March	174$\frac{0}{1}$
Nathaniel Hubbard	27	—	Fortune Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1736
Robert Paſton	June 8	—	Feverſham	drowned[g]	October 17	1711
Thomas Beverley	10	—	Strombolo	died	Anno	1722
William Houlding	15	—	Adventure	died	Anno	1731
Edward Storey	17	—	Charles-Galley	died	Anno	1732
Charles Hardy (2d)[h]	28	—	Shoreham	died	Nov. 27	1744
Francis Drake	Auguſt 31	—	Hunter Fire-ſhip	died	Anno	1726
Toby Liſle	Sept. 2	—	Succeſs Store-ſhip	killed[i]	Anno	1719
Thomas Reynolds	21	—	Coventry	died	Anno	
James Herbert	30	—	Looe	died	Anno	
Ralph Sanderſon	October 17	—	Mary-Galley	died	Anno	
Sir John Charleton	Nov. 10	—	Goſport	died[k]	September	1742
Caleb Wade[l]	18	—	Adventure	died	Anno	1732
Beaumont Waldron	Decemb. 14	—	Looe	died[m]	March 20	1719
Andrew Ley	January 26	—	Bedford-Galley	ſuperan.[n]	Anno	1712
Robert Chadwick	February 23	—	Towey	died[o]	Anno	1719
John Furzer	March 16	—	Shoreham	drowned[p]	Anno	1721
Shenſham Maſter	22	—	Ludlow Caſtle	died[q]	June 62	1724
Ambroſe Cole[r]	24	—	Ditto	died	October 27	1711
Jeth Jermy	April 25	1710	Antelope	died[s]	Anno	
William Collier	May 10	—	Mermaid	died[t]	December	1736
William Baſille (1ſt)[u]	Auguſt 29	—	Roebuck	died	Anno	1711
William Elford[w]	October 10	—	Hector	died	Anno	1722

[a] Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital 1744.

[b] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue March 1741-2, Vice-admiral of the Red 23d June 1744, Admiral of the White 15th July 1747, Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet in 1750.

[c] Member of Parliament for Plymouth.

[d] In the Chicheſter at Carthagena in the Weſt-Indies.

[e] Commodore at Jamaica in 1738, appointed Commiſſioner at Chatham March 1741-2, and there died.

[f] Commiſſioner of the Navy 1734, and died in that Poſt, was then Member of Parliament for Alborough in Suffolk.

[g] In the Feverſham off Cape Breton, near Canada River, and moſt of the Men loſt.

[h] Knighted by King George the IId. appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue March 1741-2, Lord of the Admiralty in December 1743, Vice-admiral of the Red 23d June 1744, Member of Parliament for Portſmouth.

[i] In a Duel at Antegua.

[k] In England, was then Member of Parliament for Bridgnorth in Shropſhire.

[l] Maſter Attendant at Portſmouth.

[m] In the Gibraltar in the Channel.

[n] And ſince dead.

[o] In the Guernſey in Portſmouth Harbour.

[p] In the Hind, who was caſt away off the Iſle of Jerſey, and moſt of the Men drowned.

[q] In the Ranelaugh.

[r] Was ſuperannuated,

[s] In the Fubbs Yatch.

[t] In the Lynn at Barbadoes.

[u] Commiſſioner of Plymouth.

[w] See his former Poſt the 31ſt of Auguſt 1691.

NAMES.	Seniority.		Ships Names, First Commiſſioned for.	Died, Diſmiſſed, or Slain.	Time when Died, Diſmiſſed, &c.	
Phill. Vanbrugh	Novemb. 27	1710	Speedwell	died	July	1753
Robert Pearſon	Dec. 25	——	Portland	died	Anno	
John Gray	26	——	Folkſtone	died	Anno	17 6
Charles Boyle	27	——	Strombolo	died [a]	Anno	1720
Francis Cooper	27	——	Scarborough	died	Anno	1733
Thomas Mabbot	February 2	——	Mary-Galley	ſlain [b]	March 9	1711
Walter Roſs	2	——	Garland	died	Anno	
Mathew Elford	March 5	——	Experiment	died	Anno	1733
John Fletcher (3d)	17	——	Roebuck			
Covil Mayne	May 16	1711	Dolphin	died	May	1746
Auguſtine Rouſe	June 27	——	Dunkirk	died [c]	Anno	1714
John Pully	October 11	——	Launceſton	died [d]	July 2	1715
Arthur Feild	22	——	Ormond	died [e]	October 24	1726
James Dalzell	February 13	——	Seahorſe	ſlain [f]	Anno	1712
John Temple	March 24	——	South-Sea-Caſtle	died	Anno	$173\frac{3}{4}$
Edward Hook	June 24	1712	Garland	died	Anno	1746
William Cawley	July 11	——	Feverſham	died	Anno	
William Sanderſon (Sir) [g]		——	Peregrine	died	Anno	1742
Thomas Hughes		——	Medways-Prize	died		
Thomas Dennett	Take Poſt by general Order January 1,	——	Glaſcow	died	Anno	
John Barr		——	Penzance	died	Anno	1742
William Graham		——	Sun-Prize	died		
Richard Davis		——	Maidſtone	died [h]	Anno	1718
John Wood		——	Sun-Prize	died	Anno	1718
Mathew Campbell		——	Dunbar-Caſtle	died [i]	Anno	1723
Charles Poole		——	Newport	died	January	$173\frac{7}{8}$
John Codner	Take Poſt by general Order January 1,	1712	Deal-Caſtle	died [k]	Anno	1714
William Loyde		——	Dunwich	drowned [l]	May 12	1723
Chriſtopher Parker [m]		——	Speedwells'-Prize			
Richard Girlington		——	Triton's-Prize	died	December	1743
Charles Grey		——	Flamborough	died	Anno	1714
Thomas Graves [n]		——	Dunwich			
Ezekiel Wright		——	Nightingale	died	Anno	1736
George Fairly [o]		——	Hind	died	March 25	1729
Arthur Jones		——	Lizard	died [p]	Anno	1731
Thomas Howard		——	Flamborough	died [q]	April	1734
John St. Loe [r]		——	Valure			
James Campbell		——	Squirrel	died [s]	November	1718
Sir Edward Blackett		——	Phænix			
Robert Harwood		——	Queenborough	died [t]	March	$174\frac{7}{8}$
William Baſille (2)		——	Seahorſe	died	Anno	
Thomas Wharwood [u]	Take Poſt by general Order January 1,	——	Biddeford	died	Anno	1746
William Haddock		——	Queenborough	died [w]	October 27	1726
Tyrwit Cayly [x]		1712	Roſe	died	Anno	1752
Thomas Davers [y]		——	Seaford	died	Sept. 16	1746
William Owen		——	Solebay	died [z]	Auguſt 14	1722
John Shorter		——	Gibraltar	died	Anno	1723
Edward Nurſe		——	Fox	died	Anno	
Mungs Herdman		——	Blanſord	died [aa]	Anno	1727
John Briſcoe		——	Succeſs	died [bb]	Anno	$171\frac{3}{4}$
Thomas Marwood		——	Greyhound	died [cc]	Sept. 5	1731
Sir Hugh Middleton		——	Medways-Prize	diſmiſſed [dd]	Anno	1728
Hercules Baker [ee]		——	Fox	died	November	1744
Charles Arundall		——	Seahorſe	died	Anno	1723
Edward Falkingham [ff]	February 26	——	Weymouth			
John Pace	27	——	Triton's-Prize	died	Anno	1739
Chriſtopher O'Brien [gg]	April 11	1713	Succeſs Store-ſhip	died	February	$174\frac{3}{4}$
Francis Hume	July 24	——	Triton's-Prize			
Samuel Mead	February 16	——	Succeſs	died	Anno	1725

[a] In the Worceſter in the Baltick.

[b] In the Mary-Gally, on the Coaſt of Guinea, in engaging a French Ship.

[c] In the Saphire in Scotland.

[d] In the Launceſton in the Mediterranean.

[e] In the Superbe at the Baſtimentos near Porto-Bello.

[f] In engaging a French Privateer, was going with the Articles of Peace Abroad.

[g] Knighted by King George on-board the Peregrine 1714, appointed Gentleman-uſher of the Black-rod, and created a Baronet July 19, 1720.

[h] In the Solebay in the Downs.

[i] At Leith.

[k] In the Deal-caſtle at Jamaica.

[l] In the Hawk-ſloop's Boat, which he then commanded off of Harwich.

[m] Appointed a Rear-admiral on half Pay in 1747.

[n] Appointed Rear-admiral on half Pay in 1747.

[o] Diſmiſſed from the Hind in 1714, was employed again, and allowed to take Poſt March 10, 1715, was afterwards diſmiſſed from the Hawk-ſloop Auguſt 30, 1724.

[p] In the Phœnix at Barbadoes.

[q] In England on half Pay.

[r] Appointed a Rear-admiral on half Pay in 1747.

[s] In the Wincheſter.

[t] In England on half Pay.

[u] Commiſſioner at Deptford in June 1744.

[w] In the Nottingham at the Baſtimentos near Porto-Bello.

[x] Commiſſioner of the Victualling in 1747.

[y] Appointed Rear-admiral of the Red December 1743, Vice admiral of the White June 23, 1744, Vice of the Red 1745-6, and died at Jamaica with that Flag on-board the Cornwall.

[z] In the Ipſwich Guardſhip at Portſmouth.

[aa] In the Hampſhire, by a Fall from a Horſe at Deal.

[bb] In the Succeſs.

[cc] In the Lime at Jamaica.

[dd] From the Pearl by a Court-martial.

[ee] Treaſurer of Greenwich-hoſpital, and ſo died Member of Parliament for Hythe, one of the Cinque-ports.

[ff] Commiſſioner of the Navy in 1743.

[gg] Went into the Muſcovite Service, with Leave, in 1737, returned in 1742, died Captain of the Royal-George at Chatham.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Vice-admiral* BENBOW.

There was this peculiar in this Gentleman's Character, that he never procured any Addition of Fortune or Honour to himſelf, but where ſome Good reſulted from it to his Country.

He was deſcended from the ancient and honourable Family of the *Benbows*, in the County of *Salop*; which, though now ſunk in Point of Riches and Credit, is ſtill remembered with Honour, as it deſerves to be, ſince the Misfortunes of the Family were owing to their Firmneſs and Fortitude, and their unſhaken Adherence to the good old *Engliſh* Principles of Loyalty and Patriotiſm. When King *Charles* I. repaired in Perſon to *Shrewſbury* on the 20th of *September*, 1642, and the ſame Day made public Declaration, that he did not carry on this War from a Thirſt of Blood, or of Conqueſt, or of Power; but from a Deſire of preſerving his own juſt Rights, and thoſe of his People; among others, who joined his Majeſty, were *Thomas Benbow*, and *John Benbow*, Eſqrs. both Men of Eſtates, and both Colonels in the King's Service, and the latter was the Father of our Admiral.

When his Majeſty's Affairs were thrown into abſolute Confuſion, and he was traitorouſly murdered, ſuch Gentlemen as had ſerved in his Army, retired into the Country, and lived as privately as they could. But, when King *Charles* II. marched from *Scotland*, towards *Worceſter*, the two *Benbows*, amongſt other Gentlemen of the County of *Salop*,

Salop, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the ſupport of their Sovereign, were both taken Priſoners by the Rebels. That unfortunate Battle was fought *September* 3, 1653; and ſoon after a Court-martial was appointed to ſit at *Cheſter*. Colonel *Thomas Benbow* was ſentenced to Death for being in the King's Service, and was ſhot on the 19th of *October* 1653, at *Shrewſbury*.

Colonel *John Benbow* made his Eſcape, after a ſhort Impriſonment, and lived privately in his own Country till after the Reſtoration, when he was far in Years, and yet ſo much to ſeek for a Livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a ſmall Office belonging to the Ordnance in the Tower, which juſt brought him an Income ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his Family without Danger of ſtarving. In this Situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the firſt *Dutch* War, the King came to the Tower to examine the Magazines. There, his Majeſty caſt his Eye on the good old Colonel, who had now been diſtinguiſhed by a fine Head of grey Hairs for 20 Years. The King, whoſe Memory was as quick as his Eye, knew him at firſt Sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. "My old "Friend, Colonel *Benbow*," ſaid he, "what do you here?" "I have," returned the Colonel, "a Place of 80 Pounds a "Year, in which I ſerve your Majeſty as chearfully, as if "it brought me in 4000." "Alas!" ſaid the King, "is "that all that could be found for an old Friend at *Worceſter*? Colonel *Legg*, bring this Gentleman to me to-"morrow, and I will provide for him and his Family, as "it becomes me." But, ſhort as the time was, the Colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim, the Effects of this gracious Promiſe; for the Senſe of the King's Gratitude and Goodneſs ſo overcame his Spirits, that, ſitting down on a Bench, he there breathed his laſt, before the King was well out of the Tower. And thus, both Brothers fell Martyrs to the royal Cauſe, one in Grief, and the other in Joy.

His Son *John*, of whom we write, was bred to the Sea; but not in ſo low a Station as a Waterman's Boy, becauſe, even in King *Charles* II's Reign, he was Owner and Commander of a Ship called the *Benbow-Frigate*, and made then as conſiderable a Figure as any Man concerned in the Trade to the *Mediterranean*. No Man was better known, or better reſpected by the Merchants upon the *Exchange*, than Captain *Benbow*. It does not, however, appear that he ever ſought any Preferment in that whole Reign; but it was owing to a remarkable Accident, of which I ſhall give the Reader the beſt Account I can, becauſe it gave riſe to all his future Fortunes, and is withal, as extraordinary a Story in itſelf, as perhaps ever appeared in any Hiſtory [a].

In the Year 1686, Captain *Benbow*, in the *Benbow-Frigate*, was attacked in his Paſſage to *Cadiz* by a *Sally* Rover, againſt whom he defended himſelf, though very unequal in the Number of Men, with the utmoſt Bravery, till at laſt the *Moors* boarded him; but were quickly beat out of his Ship again, with the Loſs of 13 Men, whoſe Heads Captain *Benbow* ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a Tub of Pork-pickle. When he arrived at *Cadiz*, he went a-ſhore, and ordered a Negro Servant to follow him, with the *Moors* Heads in a Sack. He had ſcarce landed, before the Officers of the Revenue enquired of his Servant what he had in his Sack? The Captain anſwered, "Salt "Proviſions for his own Uſe." That may be, anſwered the Officers; but we muſt inſiſt upon ſeeing them. Captain *Benbow* alledged, that he was no Stranger there; that he did not uſe to run Goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was ſuſpected. The Officers told him, that the Magiſtrates were ſitting not far off, and that if they were ſatisfied with his Word, his Servant might carry the Proviſion where he pleaſed; but that, otherwiſe, it was not in their Power to grant any ſuch Diſpenſation. The Captain conſented to the Propoſal; and away they marched to the Cuſtom-houſe, Mr. *Benbow* in the Front, his Man in the Center, and the Officers in the Rear. The Magiſtrates, when he came before them, treated Captain *Benbow* with great Civility; told him, they were ſorry to make a Point of ſuch a Trifle; but that ſince he had refuſed to ſhew the Contents of his Sack to their Officers, the Nature of their Employments obliged them to demand a Sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were ſalt Proviſions, the ſhewing them could be of no great Conſequence one way or other. "I told you," ſays the Captain ſternly, "they were ſalt Proviſions for my own Uſe. *Cæſar*, throw "them down upon the Table; and, Gentlemen, if you "like them, they are at your Service." The *Spaniards* were exceedingly ſtruck at the Sight of the *Moors* Heads, and no leſs aſtoniſhed at the Account of the Captain's Adventure, who, with ſo ſmall a Force, had been able to defeat ſuch a Number of Barbarians. They ſent an Account of the whole Matter to the Court of *Madrid*, and *Charles* II. then King of *Spain*, was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he would needs ſee the *Engliſh* Captain, who made a Journey to Court, where he was received with great Teſtimonies of Reſpect, and not only diſmiſſed with a handſome Preſent, but his Catholic Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to write a Letter in his Behalf to King *James*, who, upon the Captain's Return, gave him a Ship, which was his Introduction to the royal Navy [b].

After the Revolution, Captain *Benbow* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral ſucceſsful Cruizes in the Channel, where he was employed at the Requeſt of the Merchants, and was commonly made choice of to command the Squadrons employed in bombarding the *French* Ports: Upon ſuch Occaſions, he was always preſent in his Boat, as well to encourage, as to inſtruct, the Seamen and Engineers, always enforcing his Commands by his Example [c].

Such Diligence and Activity recommended him to the Favour of King *William*; to whoſe perſonal Kindneſs, founded on a juſt Senſe of Mr. *Benbow*'s Merit, he owed his being ſo early promoted to a Flag; after which he was generally employed as the moſt experienced Seaman in the Navy, to watch the Motions of the *French* at *Dunkirk*, and to prevent, as far as it was poſſible, the Depredations of *Dubart*; in which, he ſhewed ſuch Diligence, and did ſo great Service, by preſerving our Merchant-ſhips, that he eſcaped the ſlighteſt Cenſure, when Libels flew about, againſt almoſt every other Officer of Rank in the whole Fleet. The Truth was, that the Seamen generally conſidered Rear-admiral *Benbow*, as their greateſt Patron; one, who not only uſed them well, while under his Command, but was always ready to interpoſe in their Favour, as far as his Intereſt went, when they were ill treated by others. There was, at that time, a warm Diſpute as to the Expediency of preferring mere Seamen, or, as they were then called, Tarpaulins, or Gentlemen in the Navy: Admiral *Benbow* was conſulted more than once by the King, upon that Subject, and always gave it as his Opinion, that it was beſt to employ both; that a Seamen ſhould never loſe Preferment for want of Recommendation, or a Gentlemen obtain it, barely from that Motive. He was alſo a great Enemy to Party Diſtinctions, and thought a Man's Merit ought to be judged from his Actions at Sea, rather than from the Company he kept on-ſhore; and for this Reaſon he lived upon good Terms with the Admirals of different Parties, who were all of them ready to teſtify, upon any Occaſion, his Courage and Conduct.

It has been ſhewn in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, of what Service he was in 1697, when he ſaved the *Virginia* and *Weſt India* Fleet from falling into the Hands of the *French* Privateers, for which he received the Thanks of the Merchants. He would likewiſe have ſucceeded in reſtraining *Dubart* from going out of *Dunkirk*, if the *Dutch* Rear-admiral *Vandergoes* had been in a Condition to aſſiſt him, or if the Lords of the Admiralty had been inclined to have taken his Advice.

King *William* having formed a Deſign of doing ſomething very conſiderable in the *Weſt-Indies*, thought fit to ſend a ſmall Squadron of three Fourth-rates into the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Rear-admiral *Benbow*, who had private Inſtructions from the King, to make the beſt Obſervations he could on the *Spaniſh* Ports and Settlements, but to keep as fair as poſſible with the Governors, and to afford them any Aſſiſtance, if they deſired it: Of which Expedition the Reader will find a particular Account in our Vth Book. The great Ends of his Commiſſion remained altogether unanſwered, not through any Fault of the Admiral, but for want of a ſufficient Force, either to engage the *Spaniards* to confide in him, or to perform any thing conſiderable, in caſe the *French* had ſent a ſtrong Fleet into that Part of the World, as it was then expected they would have done. This Affair was complained of in Parliament, where the Smallneſs of the Squadron, and the ſending it ſo late, were very ſeverely reflected upon; tho' at the ſame Time great Compliments were paid to Admiral *Benbow*'s Courage, Capacity, and Integrity, by both Parties; and when he returned home two Years after, he brought with him authentic Teſtimonies of his having done the Merchants and Planters all the Services they could either expect or deſire; ſo that he was received with the moſt cordial Friendſhip by his Majeſty; who, as a Mark of his royal Favour, was graciouſly pleaſed to grant him an Augmentation of Arms, by adding to the *three bent Bows*, which he and his Family already bore, as many *Arrows* [a].

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[a] See the compleat Hiſtory of Europe for 1710, Life of Queen Anne, and Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts.

[b] Mr. Calton, the Admiral's Son-in-Law, relates this Account from his Father's Papers.

[c] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

The whole Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* being changed by that time Admiral *Benbow* came back, the King, under an abſolute Neceſſity of entering upon a new War, put the Fleet into as good Condition as it was poſſible, and gave the Command of it to Officers that might in all reſpects be depended upon. Mr. *Benbow* was declared Vice-admiral of the Blue, who was at that Time cruiſing off *Dunkirk*, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an Invaſion. Soon after it being determined to ſend a ſtrong Squadron to the *Weſt-Indies* under the Command of an Officer, whoſe Courage and Conduct might be ſafely relied on, and whoſe Experience might give the World a good Opinion of the Choice made of him for this Command; upon the right Management of which, it was believed, the Succeſs of the War would in a great meaſure depend; Mr. *Benbow* was thought of by the Miniſtry, as ſoon as the Expedition was reſolved: but the King would not hear of it, alledging, that *Benbow* was in a manner juſt come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but Difficulties; and that therefore, it was but juſt ſome other Officer ſhould now take his Turn. One or two were named, and conſulted; but either their Health, or their Affairs were in ſuch Diſorder, that they moſt earneſtly deſired to be excuſed; upon which the King ſaid merrily to ſome of his Miniſters, alluding to the Dreſs and Appearance of theſe Gentlemen, "Well then, I find we muſt "ſpare our Beaus, and ſend honeſt *Benbow*." His Majeſty accordingly ſent for him upon this Occaſion, and aſked him whether he was willing to go to the *Weſt-Indies*, aſſuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiſs, if he deſired to be excuſed. Mr. *Benbow* anſwered bluntly, "That he did not underſtand ſuch Compliments; that he "thought he had no Right to chuſe his Station; and that, "if his Majeſty thought fit to ſend him to the *Eaſt* or "*Weſt-Indies*, or any where elſe, he would chearfully ex"ecute his Orders, as became him." Thus the Matter was ſettled in very few Words, and the Command of the *Weſt-India* Squadron conferred, without any Mixture of Envy, on Vice-admiral *Benbow*.

He departed from *England* in the Month of *September*, 1701, and arrived firſt at *Jamaica* at the Cloſe of the Year, where he made ſuch juſt and wiſe Diſpoſitions for ſecuring our own Trade, and annoying that of the Enemy, that the *French* ſaw, with great Amazement, all their Schemes defeated; but in a few Weeks time the Scene began to change, for the Vice-admiral had firſt the News of M. *Chateau-Renaud*'s Arrival at *Martinico*, with a Squadron much ſtronger than his own; and ſoon after, Information that this Squadron had been joined by the Marquis *de Coetlogon* from the *Havanna*, which alarmed the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica* exceſſively, becauſe we had no Force capable of reſiſting this *French* Fleet, in caſe their Commanders were determined to act offenſively [b].

He ſailed from *Jamaica* on the 11th of *July*, with two Third-rates, ſix Fourths, a Fire-ſhip, Bomb, Tender and Sloop, in hopes of meeting Rear-admiral *Whetſtone*; but miſſing him, he failed not, however, firſt to give the utmoſt Diſturbance to the *French* Settlements in *St. Domingo*, and then ſailed in ſearch of *Du Caſſe*'s Squadron, which he came up with and engaged, on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *Auguſt*, and fought him bravely for five Days, and had, in all Probability, gained a compleat Victory, had it not been for the Treachery or Cowardice of his Captains, as may be collected from the following Letter wrote to him by the *French* Admiral, immediately after his Arrival at *Carthagena*; the Original of which is ſtill, or was very lately, in the Hands of Admiral *Benbow*'s Family.

"SIR,

"I had little Hopes, on *Monday* laſt, but to have ſup"ped in your Cabin; but it pleaſed God to order it "otherwiſe; I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly "Captains who deſerted you, hang them up; for, by—, "they deſerve it. Yours, DU CASSE."

The firſt Care the Admiral had after his Return to *Jamaica*, was to provide for the Officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late Engagement; and next, to bring thoſe to Juſtice, who had ſo baſely betrayed their Truſt; of which we have given a particular Account. After the Court-marſhal was over, the Admiral lived near a Month, for that Court ſat on the 6th of *October*, and the Admiral died on the 4th of *November* following. He was all that time extremely ſenſible of his Danger, and never entertained any flattering Hopes of recovering. Yet, during that long Illneſs, he ſupported his Character as an *Engliſh* Admiral, with the ſame Firmneſs he had ſhewn during the Engagement, giving all the neceſſary Orders for protecting the Trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect Health; and in the Letters he wrote home to his Lady, he diſcovered much greater Anxiety for the Intereſt of the Nation, than for his private Fortune, or the Concerns of his Family.

The Vice-admiral left behind him a numerous Poſterity of both Sexes; but his Sons dying, all of them without Iſſue, his two ſurviving Daughters became Co-heireſſes; and of theſe, the eldeſt married *Paul Calton*, Eſq; of *Milton*, near *Abington*, in the County of *Berks*.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* Sir RALPH DELAVAL, *Knt. Vice-admiral of the* Red, *and Joint-admiral and Commander in chief of the Fleet.*

Sir *Ralph Delaval* was the Son of a worthy Gentleman in *Northumberland*, diſtinguiſhed for his Loyalty to King *Charles* I. and King *Charles* II. and came very early into the Navy, under the Protection of the Duke of *York*, who treated him with great Kindneſs, and took care he ſhould not loſe his Turn in Preferment; ſo that at the Revolution he was Captain of the *York*, a Third-rate Man of War. He concurring heartily in that great Change, King *William* ſoon promoted him to the Rank of Rear-admiral of the Blue, and at the ſame time conferred upon him the Honour of Knighthood. In this Station he ſerved under the Earl of *Torrington*, in the famous Battle off of *Beachy-Head*, in which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets were beat by the *French*, on the 30th of *June* 1690, but without any Impeachment of his own Character, either in point of Courage or Conduct, as appears plainly by his being appointed Preſident of the Court-martial, which tried the Earl, and which ſat on-board the *Kent*, on the 10th of *December*, in the ſame Year. The Share he had in that Affair ſubjected him to the Hatred of a certain Set of Men ever after; but he was immediately after declared Vice-admiral of the Blue by King *William*, in which Station he ſerved the next Year under Admiral *Ruſſel*; and in the Winter of the ſame Year was appointed to command a Squadron in the *Soundings*, where he punctually executed his Orders, and thereby hindered the *French* from relieving *Limerick*, which much facilitated the Reduction of the Kingdom of *Ireland* [c].

In 1692 he was appointed to ſerve under Admiral *Ruſſel*, and declared Vice-admiral of the Red, and entruſted with a large Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, with Orders to cruize for our homeward-bound Fleet from the *Mediterranean*, and then join the main Fleet, which he performed on the 13th of *May*, at *St. Helens*; which was then juſtly conſidered as a very ſignal Service. It was about this Time that the Addreſs of the Fleet, mentioned on Page 557 of this Hiſtory, was preſented.

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[a] Burchett, Burnet, Chandler's Debates.

[b] Memoires Hiſtoriques, pour 1702. Complete Hiſtory of Europe. London Gazettes, &c.

[c] Burchett's Memoirs. Life of King William.

In the glorious Battle of *La Hogue*, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, as Vice admiral of the Red, did his Duty with great Reputation [a], and afterwards did remarkable Service in deſtroying ſome of the Enemy's largeſt Ships [b].

Admiral *Ruſſel* being diſplaced, *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Knts. were appointed Joint-admirals of the Fleet, which was reputed one of the greateſt the Maritime Powers had ever ſent to Sea. But the Iſſue of this Armament not anſwering the Expectations of the Nation, the two former were ſuſpected of a ſecret Inclination, of which we have given a more particular Account in our Fifth Book.

The Buſineſs ended in laying Mr. *Killegrew* and Sir *Ralph Delaval* aſide; and, to ſpeak my Sentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the Effect of Party Spirit, as the laying aſide Admiral *Ruſſel* was the Year before.

Sir *Ralph Delaval* lived thenceforward privately, as a Country Gentleman, upon his own Eſtate, which was very conſiderable, and troubled not himſelf with public Affairs. He died in the Beginning of the Month of *January* 1707; and on the 23d of the ſame Month, was buried with great Solemnity in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, with the Reputation of a great and gallant Officer, and of a generous hoſpitable Man, though he was ſo unfortunate as to paſs nine Years of his Life in an obſcure Retirement, and that too in a Seaſon when his Service might have been moſt uſeful to his Country [c].

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, *Knt. Rear-admiral of* ENGLAND, *&c.*

This brave Man was born about the Year 1650; his Parents were in low Circumſtances; and as they had ſome Expectations from a Relation whoſe Name was *Cloudeſley*, beſtowed that Name upon their Son, as a probable Means of recommending him to this Relation's Notice. But this not ſucceeding, young *Cloudeſley Shovel* was put out Apprentice to a Shoe-maker; but being of an aſpiring Diſpoſition, and after ſome Years finding no Appearance of raiſing his Fortune in that Trade, he betook himſelf to the Sea, under the Protection of Sir *Chriſtopher Mynns*, with whom he went as a Cabin-boy; and applying himſelf very aſſiduouſly to Navigation, and having naturally a Genius for the Art, he ſoon became an able Seaman; and this was what recommended Mr. *Shovel* to the Notice of Sir *John Narborough*, who in his Expedition againſt the *Tripolitan Corſairs* in the Year 1674, entruſted Mr. *Shovel* with a Meſſage of Accommodation to the Dey of *Tripoli*, who accordingly went on-ſhore, and delivered it with great Spirit. But the Dey, deſpiſing his Youth, treated him with much Diſreſpect, and ſent him back with an indefinite Anſwer. Mr. *Shovel*, on his Return to the Admiral, acquainted him with ſome Remarks he had made on-ſhore. Sir *John* ſent him back again with another Meſſage, and well furniſhed with proper Rules for conducting his Enquiries and Obſervations. The Dey's Behaviour was worſe the ſecond time; but Mr. *Shovel* bore it with Patience, and made uſe of it as an Excuſe for ſtaying ſome time longer on-ſhore. When he returned, he aſſured the Admiral that it was very practicable to burn the Ships in the Harbour, notwithſtanding their Lines and Forts: Accordingly, in the Night, on the 4th of *March*, Lieutenant *Shovel*, with all the Boats in the Fleet, filled with combuſtible Matter, went boldly into the Harbour, and, as I have already related in another Place, deſtroyed the Enemy's Ships with a Degree of Succeſs ſcarce to be conceived. Next Year Mr. *Shovel* had the Command given him of the *Sapphire*, a Fifth-rate, from whence he was not long after removed into the *James Galley*, a Fourth-rate.

Theſe were Reaſons which engaged King *James* to prefer him to the Command of the *Dover*, a Fourth-rate, in which Situation he was when the Revolution took Place. He was in the firſt Battle of *Bantry-Bay*, in the *Edgar*, a Third-rate, and gave ſuch ſignal Marks of his Courage and Conduct, that when King *William* came down to *Portſmouth*, he was pleaſed to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood. In the Year 1691, in the Month of *June*, he was employed in convoying King *William* and his Army into *Ireland*; who was ſo highly ſatisfied with his Diligence and Dexterity, that he was graciouſly pleaſed, not only to appoint him Rear-admiral of the *Blue*, but did him alſo the Honour, with his own Hands, to deliver him his Commiſſion [d].

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* failed to relieve *Kinſale*, and, as is ſhewn in the Fifth Book, did all that could reaſonably be expected from him, in regard to what was preſcribed by his Orders, and yet without much Succeſs. It was his Felicity, that as his Services were well intended, ſo, generally ſpeaking, they were well received; and, if Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* any time miſſed of Succeſs, nobody ever pretended to fix Imputations upon his Conduct; his Courage, and his Sincerity, were alike unqueſtionable; and though this was not the moſt credulous Age, yet there never was heard of ſuch an Infidel, as one who did not believe *Shovel* had both. On this account moſt People were very well ſatisfied when the King, in the Spring of the Year, and juſt before he ſet out for *Holland*, declared him Rear-admiral of the *Red*, and at the ſame time Commander of the Squadron that was to convoy him thither.

On his Return from thence, he joined Admiral *Ruſſel*, with the grand Fleet, and had a great Share in the Glory of the famous Victory at *La Hogue*.

When it was thought requiſite, as we have had Occaſion more than once to obſerve, that the Fleet ſhould be put under the joint Admirals in the ſucceeding Year, he was one; and perhaps if there had been nothing more than this joint Commiſſion, we might well enough account from thence, for the Miſfortune that happened in our Affairs at Sea during the Year 1693.

The Character of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* remaining abſolutely unimpeached, we find him again at Sea, in the Year 1694, in the Channel, and on the *French* Coaſt, where he had the Honour to command as Vice-admiral of the Red, under Lord *Berkley*, Admiral of the Blue, in the famous Expedition to *Camaret-Bay*. Towards the End of the Seaſon, the Command devolved upon Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, by Lord *Berkley*'s going to *London*; and then he received his Majeſty's expreſs Commands to undertake the Bombardment of *Dunkirk*. On his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed, as a Man who would command Succeſs, where it was poſſible, and omit nothing in his Power, where it was not. He had his Share in the remaining Part of the War; and, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, was always conſulted by his Majeſty, whenever maritime Affairs were under Conſideration [e].

In the Reign of Queen *Anne*, though he was then Admiral of the White, he was not employed, in any Affair of Importance, till he was ſent to *Vigo*, after the taking that Place by Sir *George Rooke*, to bring home the Spoils of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Fleet. This was in the latter End of the Year 1702. He commanded the grand Fleet up the *Straits* in the Year 1703, where he did every Thing it was poſſible for an Admiral to do, whoſe Inſtructions were very large; and who yet wanted Force to accompliſh almoſt any Part of thoſe Inſtructions. It is in ſuch Conjunctures as theſe, that the Skill and Capacity of an Admiral chiefly appear; and in this Expedition, Sir *Cloudeſley* gave as great Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, as any Admiral could do; for he protected our Trade from all Attempts of the *French*; he did what was poſſible to be done for the Relief of the Proteſtants, then in Arms in the *Cevennes*; he countenanced ſuch of the *Italian* Powers as were inclined to favour the Cauſe of the Allies; and he ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Friends of the *French*, that they durſt not perform what they had promiſed to undertake for that Court. All this he did with a Fleet very indifferently manned, and ſtill worſe victualled; ſo that notwithſtanding the Management of our Affairs at Sea was ſeverely cenſured that Year in the Houſe of Commons, yet all Parties agreed, that Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* had done his Duty in every Reſpect, and very well deſerved the high Truſt and Confidence that had been repoſed in him.

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[a] See the Admiral's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham, and all the Relations hitherto publiſhed of that Engagement, in which this Fact of preſerving the Rear of our Fleet, is allowed to have ſecured and eſtabliſhed the Victory, and to have contributed moſt of any thing to the Defeat of the French.

[b] Burchett. Kennet's compleat Hiſtory. Life of King William. Hiſtorical Memoirs of Europe.

[c] Life of Queen Anne. Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1707. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, &c.

[d] Burchett. Mr. Pepy's Papers. Life of King William. Memoirs of the War in Ireland, Burnet, Oldmixon.

[e] Burchett's Naval Memoirs, Life of King William, Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory of England.

In the Year 1704, Sir *George Rooke* commanded the grand Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; to reinforce which, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was ſent with a powerful Squadron. He took his Part in the glorious Action off *Malaga* on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1704. Upon Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*'s Return, he was preſented to the Queen by Prince *George*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, and met with a very gracious Reception; and was the next Year employed as Commander in Chief.

Sir *Cloudeſley* accepted the Command of the Fleet jointly with the Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*; and accordingly arrived at *Liſbon* with the Fleet, which conſiſted of 29 Line of Battle Ships, in the Month of *June*; and towards the latter End of the ſame Month, ſailed from thence for *Catalonia*, arriving before the City of *Barcelona* on the 12th of *Auguſt*, where the Siege of the Place was undertaken, though the *Engliſh* Army was very little, if at all, ſuperior to the Garriſon within the Town. All Things neceſſary for the Siege were in a manner wanting, and all Hopes of Supply depended on Admiral *Shovel*; who, on this Occaſion, gave the moſt ſignal Proofs, not only of his Vigilance, Dexterity, and Courage, but of his Conſtancy, Patience, and Zeal for the public Service. His Preſence and Counſels, in a manner, forced the Land-officers to continue their Siege, till the Place was taken, to the Surprize of all the World.

The next Year Sir *Cloudeſley* again commanded the Fleet, but it ſailed very late, ſo as not to reach the River of *Liſbon* till the Month of *November*; and even when it arrived there, the Diſputes which aroſe amongſt the Lords of King *Charles*'s Council, and his Generals, with the Delays of the *Portugueze*, who were far from being hearty in his Cauſe, diſappointed all the great Deſigns of the maritime Powers, and the Effects that might have been reaſonably expected from the powerful Reinforcement of Troops which were embarked on-board the grand Fleet, of which you have a large Account in the ſixth Book of this Hiſtory, Chap II. and III.

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, at the Time of his Death, which happened on the Rocks of *Scilly* at his Return to *England* in 1707, was Rear-admiral of *England*, Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, one of the Council to Prince *George* of *Denmark* as Lord High Admiral of *England*, elder Brother of *Trinity-houſe*, and one of the Governors of *Greenwich-hoſpital*; in all which Stations he diſcharged his Truſt with the greateſt Honour and Integrity; and as, in his public Character, he was an accompliſhed Sea-officer, one who had always the Glory of his Queen, and the Good of his Country at Heart; ſo in all Circumſtances of private Life, as an Huſband, Parent, or Maſter of his Family, he conducted himſelf with ſuch Prudence, Wiſdom, and Tenderneſs, that few Men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her Majeſty expreſſed a very particular Concern for his Loſs, and was pleaſed to tell Sir *John Leake*, when ſhe made him Rear-admiral of *England*, that ſhe knew no Man ſo fit to repair the Loſs of the ableſt Seaman in her Service [a].

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* married the Widow of his Friend and Patron Sir *John Narborough*, by whom he left two Daughters, Co-heireſſes; the eldeſt of which married Lord *Romney*; and the other Sir *Narborough d'Aeth*, Baronet. It may not be improper to add to theſe Memoirs, his monumental Inſcription in *Weſtminſter-abbey* [b].

“ Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Knt. Rear-admiral of *Great-Bri-*
“ *tain*; Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet;
“ the juſt Rewards of his long and faithful Services: he
“ was deſervedly beloved of his Country, and eſteemed,
“ though dreaded, by the Enemy; who had often expe-
“ rienced his Conduct and Courage. Being ſhipwreckt
“ on the Rocks of *Scilly*, in his Voyage from *Toulon*, the
“ 22d of *October* 1707, at Night, in the 57th Year of
“ his Age.
“ His Fate was lamented by all; but eſpecially the Sea-
“ faring Part of the Nation, to whom he was a worthy
“ Example. His Body was flung on the Shore, and bu-
“ ried with others in the Sands; but being ſoon after taken
“ up, was placed under this Monument; which his royal
“ Miſtreſs has cauſed to be erected, to commemorate his
“ ſteady Loyalty, and extraordinary Virtues.”

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of Sir* GEORGE ROOKE, *Knt. Vice-admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of* ENGLAND, *and Lieutenant of the Fleets and Seas of this Kingdom, and one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council,* &c.

He was the Son of Sir *William Rooke*, Knt. of an antient and honourable Family in the County of *Kent*, where he was born in the Year 1650; his Father gave him the Education becoming a Gentleman: But after a fruitleſs Struggle with his Son *George*'s Bent to naval Employment, at laſt gave way to his Inclinations, and ſuffered him to make a Campaign at Sea.

His firſt Station in the Navy was that of a Reformade, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his undaunted Courage, and indefatigable Application. This quickly acquired him the Poſt of a Lieutenant, from whence he roſe to that of a Captain before he was 30; a Thing, in thoſe Days, thought very extraordinary, when no Man, let his Quality be what it would, was raiſed to that Station before he had given ample as well as inconteſtable Teſtimonies of his being able to fill it with Honour. Theſe Preferments he enjoyed under the Reign of *Charles* II. and under that of his Succeſſor, King *James*, he was advanced to the Command of the *Deptford*, a Fourth-rate Man of War; in which Poſt the Revolution found him [c].

Admiral *Herbert* diſtinguiſhed him early, by ſending him, in the Year 1689, as Commodore, with a Squadron on the Coaſt of *Ireland*. In this Station he heartily concurred with Major-general *Kirke*, in the famous Relief of *Londonderry*, aſſiſting in Perſon in taking the Iſland in the *Lake*, convoyed the Duke of *Schomberg*'s Army, and landed them ſafe near *Carrickfergus*, looked into the Harbour of *Dublin*, manned all his Boats, and inſulted the Place where King *James* was in Perſon; and in the Night of the 18th of *September*, he formed a Deſign of burning all the Veſſels in the Harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the Wind had not ſhifted, ſo as to drive him out to Sea. From thence he ſailed to *Cork*; he entered and took Poſſeſſion of the great Iſland; and might have done more, but that his Ships were ſo foul, that they could ſcarce ſwim, and his Proviſions grown ſo ſhort, that he was obliged to repair to the *Downs*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1690, he was, upon the Recommendation of the Earl of *Torrington*, appointed Rear-admiral of the Red; and in that Station ſerved in the Fight off of *Beachy-head*, which happened on the 30th of *June* the ſame Year; and notwithſtanding the Misfortune of our Arms, which was indiſputably the greateſt we ever met with at Sea, Mr. *Rooke* was allowed to have done his Duty with much Reſolution; and he was immediately after appointed to command the Squadron that convoyed the King to *Holland*.

In the Spring of the ſucceeding Year, he again convoyed King *William* to *Holland*, and was then, or very ſoon after, promoted to the Rank of Vice-admiral of the Blue; in which Station he ſerved in the famous Battle of *La Hogue*, on the 22d of *May* 1692, in which, and afterwards, he behaved with great Courage and Conduct.

The Behaviour of the Vice-admiral at *La Hogue*, appeared to King *William* ſo great, and ſo worthy of public Notice, that having no Opportunity at that Time of providing for him, he ſettled a Penſion of a Thouſand Pounds per Annum on him for Life. In the Spring of the Year his Majeſty thought fit to go to *Portſmouth*; and going onboard Mr. *Rooke*'s Ship, dined with him, and conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood, having, a little before, made a grand naval Promotion, in which he was declared

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[a] Burchett, Burnet, Oldmixion, Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1707, London Gazette.

[b] See Dart's Hiſtory of Weſtminſter-Abbey. Maitland's Survey of London, &c.

[c] Life of Sir George Rooke, Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, MS. Monumental Inſcription in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Compleat Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1700, Life of Queen Anne.

Vice-admiral of the Red; and the Command of the Fleet being now put in Commiſſion, Sir *George Rooke* was entruſted with the Command of the Squadron that was to eſcort the *Smyrna*-Fleet, and the Joint-admirals received Orders to accompany him as far to Sea as they ſhould think proper. Of the Miſfortunes under this Commiſſion, and the Loſs of the *Smyrna*-Fleet, we have given a large Account in the fifth Book, Chap. I.

On his Return home, the Merchants gave him their Thanks; the King promoted him from being Vice-admiral of the Blue, to the Rank of Vice-admiral of the Red; and ſoon after, as a further Mark of his Favour and Confidence, made him one of the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and before the Cloſe of the Year 1694, promoted him again from Vice-admiral of the Red, to Admiral of the Blue.

In Autumn of the Year 1695, Admiral *Rooke* was made Admiral of the White, and alſo appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief in the *Mediterranean*, having a Fleet of 70 Men of War and Merchant-ſhips under his Care; and having very ſucceſsfully executed this Commiſſion, he remained ſeveral Months in the *Mediterranean*, with a very ſmall Force, where, nevertheleſs, he made a Shift to preſerve our Trade from the Inſults of the Enemy; and, at length, receiving Orders to return, he executed them with ſo much Prudence, that he arrived ſafely on the *Engliſh* Coaſt on the 22d of *April* 1696, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Nation in general. In the Spring of the Year 1697, Sir *George Rooke* was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet.

Being next Year elected Member for *Portſmouth*, and voting moſtly with thoſe that were called Tories, great Pains were taken to ruin him, in the King's Opinion; but King *William*, when preſſed to remove Sir *George Rooke* from his Seat at the Admiralty board, anſwered plainly, "I will not. Sir *George Rooke* ſerved me faithfully at Sea, and I will never diſplace him, for acting as he thinks moſt for the Service of his Country, in the Houſe of Commons." An Anſwer truly worthy of a *Britiſh* Prince, as it tends to preſerve the Freedom of our Conſtitution, and the Liberty of Parliaments.

In the Spring of the Year 1700, a War broke out in the North, which had like to have totally overturned the Balance of Power in that Part of *Europe*, through a ſhameful Confederacy formed againſt *Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, then in a manner a Child, which moved King *William* to ſend a Fleet thither to his Aſſiſtance; and Sir *George Rooke* was entruſted with the Command of the combined Fleet of the maritime Powers, who did their Buſineſs effectually, by ſuccouring the *Swedes*, without oppreſſing the *Danes*.

Sir *George Rooke* was elected in the new Parliament of 1701, for the Town of *Portſmouth*. Upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Anne* in 1702, he was conſtituted Vice-admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of *England*, as alſo Lieutenant of the Fleets and Seas of this Kingdom; and upon the Declaration of War againſt *France*, it was reſolved, that Sir *George Rooke* ſhould command the grand Fleet ſent againſt *Cadiz*, his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* having the Command in Chief of the Land-forces.

In their Paſſage home, the Admiral, on the 6th of *October*, received an Account from Captain *Hardy*, that the Galloons, under the Eſcort of a ſtrong *French* Squadron, were got into the Harbour of *Vigo*; upon which Sir *George* ſailed for *Vigo*, and on the 11th of *October* came before the Harbour of *Rodondello*, and performed that Service which is related in the ſixth Book of this Hiſtory, Chap. I.

But notwithſtanding the Queen's having celebrated this Action by a Day of Thankſgiving; that her Example had been imitated by the *States-General*; the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, and the Queen's giving a Seat to Sir *George Rooke* in the Privy-council, it was reſolved to inquire into his Conduct in the Houſe of Lords. A Committee was accordingly appointed by the Houſe of Lords, to examine into the whole Affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by conſidering the Inſtructions, and other Papers relating to the *Cadiz* Expedition, but by ſending for Sir *George*, who ſet the whole Affair in its proper Light; ſo that when the Committee made their Report, the Houſe paſſed a Vote, which fully juſtified Sir *George Rooke*'s Conduct.

In the Year 1703, Sir *George Rooke* was again at Sea, but waited ſo long for the *Dutch*, that the Scheme, which was a very good one, and intirely of his own projecting, became impracticable.

A Reſolution having been taken by the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, to ſend over King *Charles* III. of *Spain*, on-board our Fleet, in the Spring of the Year 1704, Sir *George Rooke* was made choice of to command the Ships of War employed for that Purpoſe; and he ſhewed himſelf extremely active and vigilant in this Service.

When the Expedition againſt *Barcelona* was ſet on-foot, Sir *George Rooke* immediately concurred to the utmoſt of his Power. He propoſed the attacking of *Gibraltar*, which was agreed to, and immediately put in Execution on the 21ſt of *July* 1704, and the Place was taken on the 24th.

On the Return of Sir *George Rooke* to *Portſmouth*, and coming up from thence to *London*, he was extremely well received by the Queen; but, unluckily for him, the Battle of *Malaga* was ſome way or other compared to that of *Blenheim*, which was fought the ſame Year; which made the Matter of Fact a Point of Party Debate, and in the Addreſſes ſent up from all Parts of her Majeſty's Dominions, the Whigs took all imaginable Care to magnify the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Succeſs, without ſaying a Word of the Victory at Sea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their Compliments upon both: And, to ſay the Truth, both of theſe Battles were deciſive; that of *Blenheim* put an end to the Influence of *France* in the Empire, as that of *Malaga* extinguiſhed the *French* Power at Sea. Amongſt theſe Addreſſes, the following was the moſt remarkable; it was preſented by Sir *Richard Vyvyan*, Bart. and *James Buller*, Eſq; Knights of the Shire for the County of *Cornwall*, attended by the Repreſentatives of Boroughs in that County, and the principal Gentry, introduced by the Lord *Granville*, Lord Warden of the Stannaries: The Addreſs itſelf being penned by a Relation of his, whoſe Writings will always do Honour to the *Engliſh* Language[a].

"To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

"Permit, Madam, the Landlords, Bounders, Adventurers, and whole Body of the Tinners of *Cornwall*, with Hearts full of all dutiful Acknowledgements, to approach your Majeſty, who want Words to expreſs their Gratitude, their Joy, their Admiration, for the wonderful Succeſs of your Majeſty's Arms, under the Conduct of his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*.

"Never was Succeſs greater in all its Circumſtances, a Deſign more ſecretly carried on, ſo effectually ſupported from home, ſo vigorouſly executed abroad, on which, no leſs than the Liberty of *Europe* depended; a Cauſe worthy the beſt of Princes, a Victory worthy the greateſt of Generals, which will tranſmit to all future Ages, your Majeſty's Name truly great; great for Deliverance, not for Oppreſſion.

"But, 'tis not enough that your Majeſty triumphs at Land; to complete your Glory, your Forces at Sea have likewiſe done Wonders. A Fleet ſo much inferior, in ſo ill a Condition, by being ſo long out, in ſuch want of Ammunition, by taking *Gibraltar* without Gallies, which were of ſo great Service to the Enemy: All theſe Diſadvantages conſidered, nothing certainly could equal the Conduct of your Admiral, the Bravery of your Officers, the Courage of your Seamen, during the Engagement, but their Conduct, their Bravery, and their Courage after it, whereby they perfected a Victory, which otherwiſe, in human Probability, muſt have ended in an Overthrow; an Action as great in itſelf, as happy in its Conſequences.

"May your Majeſty never want ſuch Commanders by Sea and Land, ſuch Adminiſtration in the Management of the Public Treaſure, which ſo much contributes to the Succeſs of Armies and of Fleets.

"May your Majeſty never want (what ſure you never can) the Hearts, the Hands, the Purſes, of all your People. Had not we (Madam) of this Country, inherited the Loyalty of our Anceſtors (which your Majeſty has been pleaſed ſo graciouſly to remember) ſuch Obligations muſt have engaged the utmoſt Reſpect; and ſuch, all of us will ever pay to your ſacred Perſon and Govern-

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[a] London Gazette, No. 4074.

“ ment, as with one Voice we daily pray, *Long live Queen Anne*, to whom many Nations owe their Preſervation.”

This, and ſome other Addreſſes of the like Nature, alarmed the Miniſtry extremely; and they took ſo much Pains to hinder Sir *George Rooke* from receiving the Compliments uſual upon ſuch Succeſſes, that it became viſible, he muſt either give way, or a Change very ſpeedily happen in the Adminiſtration. Yet, even the Weight of the Miniſtry could not prevent the Houſe of Commons from complimenting the Queen, expreſly upon the Advantages obtained at Sea, under the Conduct of our Admiral; but the Houſe of Lords, who were under a more immediate Influence at that time, was entirely ſilent; the Commons, however, as if they intended to puſh this Matter as far as it would go, preſented another Addreſs on the 2d of *November*, in which, they deſired her Majeſty to beſtow a Bounty upon the Seamen and Land-forces, who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly in the late Actions at Sea and Land[*]. This determined the Point, and Sir *George Rooke* perceiving, that as he roſe in Credit with his Country, he loſt his Intereſt in thoſe at the Helm, reſolved to retire from public Buſineſs, and prevent the Affairs of the Nation from receiving any Diſturbance upon his Account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered ſuch important Services to his Country, as the taking the Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*, and beating the whole naval Force of *France* in the Battle of *Malaga*, he was conſtrained to quit his Command.

After this ſtrange Return for the Services he had done his Country, Sir *George Rooke* paſſed the Remainder of his Days as a private Gentleman, and for the moſt part at his Seat in *Kent*. He was equally ſuperior to popular Clamour, and popular Applauſe; but, above all, he had a noble Contempt for foreign Intereſts, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to ſeek the Favour of the Great, but by performing ſuch Actions as deſerved it. In his private Life, he was a good Huſband, and a kind Maſter, lived hoſpitably towards his Neighbours, and left behind him a moderate Fortune: So moderate, that when he came to make his Will, it ſurprized thoſe who were preſent; but Sir *George* aſſigned the Reaſon in few Words. “ I do not leave much, (ſaid he) but what I leave was honeſtly gotten, it never coſt a Sailor a Tear, or the Nation a Farthing.” As to this laſt Article, I cannot but take notice, that, even after he was laid aſide, a Privy-ſeal was offered him for paſſing his Accounts; but he refuſed it, and made them up in the ordinary Way, and with all the Exactneſs imaginable.

The Gout, which had for many Years greatly afflicted him, brought him at laſt to his Grave, on the 24th of *January* 1708-9, in the 58th Year of his Age. Sir *George* was thrice married; firſt to Mrs. *Mary Howe*, the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Howe*, of *Cold-Berwick*, in the County of *Wilts*, Baronet: Next, to Mrs. *Mary Lutterel*, Daughter of Colonel *Francis Lutterel*, of *Dunſter-Caſtle*, in *Somerſetſhire*, who died in Child-bed of her firſt Child, in the Month of *July* 1702: And laſtly, to Mrs. *Catharine Knatchbull*, Daughter to Sir —— *Knatchbull*, of *Merſham-Hatch* in the County of *Kent*, Baronet; by which Wives, he left only one Son, born of the 2d, *George Rooke*, Eſq; the ſole Heir of his Fortune. But, his Executors took care to ſecure his Memory, by erecting a beautiful Monument in the cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, which, as well for the Beauty of the Stile, as the exact ſetling of Facts and Dates, it may not be amiſs to exhibit, at the Cloſe of this Life. The Executors of Sir *George Rooke*, were *William Broadnax*, and *Samuel Miller*, Eſqs.

I. M. S.
Georgii Rooke Militis,
Gulielmi Rooke Militis filii,
Angliæ Vice-Admiralli
Oh quantum eſt hiſtoriæ in iſto nomine!
At quantillum hic titulus potis eſt enarrare!
Profugientibus ex Acie Gallis Anno MDCXCII.
Ipſe apertâ Cymbulâ,
Immiſtus tormentorum globis,
Imbribuſque glandium
(Tot Gallis teſtibus credite poſteri)
Ultricis primus flammas aptans,
Naves Bellicas XIII. juxta La Hogue combuſſit.
Compoſitis dehinc inter Suevum et Danum
Summo conſilio et juſtitiâ diſcordiis;
Et pacato Septentrione, ad Meridiem ſe convertit,
Iterumque exauſtâ aut captâ ad Vigonem
Totâ Præſidiatrice hoſtium Claſſe,
Atque onerariis immenſæ molis argento fœtis
In Patriam feliciter adductis,
Opimam prædam, fide integerrimâ,
In Ærarium publicum deportavit.
Gibraltariam copiis navalibus
Paucioribus horis cepit,
Quam poſtea menſibus irrito conatu
Juſtus obſidebat exercitus.
Et eâdem fere impreſſione
Inſtructiſſimam Gallorum claſſem
Inferior multò viribus,
Conſilio et fortitudine longè ſuperior,
Non denuo in aciem prodituram, profligavit.
Carolo III. ad ſolium
Sic Hiſpaniis ad Libertatem viam aperuit.
Europæ ad pacem
His atque aliis extant latis laboribus
Heroi Chriſtiano,
Ob egregiam in Eccleſiam pietatem
Ob fidem Gulielmo Magno,
Et ANNÆ OPTIMÆ
Sanctiſſimè ſemper præſtitam;
Ob Nomen Britannicum per Orbem
Amplificatum & decoratum;
Non titulos ſuperbos
Non opes invidioſas,
Nec inanes vulgi plauſus;
Sed optimæ mentis conſcientiam,
Bonorum amorem omnium,
Otium in paternis ſedibus
Et mortem in Chriſto conceſſit Deus.
Obiit XXIV. die Januar. Anno Ætat. ſuæ LVIII. Chriſti
MDCCVIII.

MEMOIRS *of the* LIFE *of* GEORGE CHURCHILL, *Eſq; Admiral of the* WHITE, *one of the Lord High-Admiral's Council, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to Prince* GEORGE *of* DENMARK, *&c.*

He was the 2d Son (his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* being the eldeſt) of Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knt. Clerk of the Board of Green-cloth, and of a worthy Family in *Dorſetſhire*. He was born in the Year 1652, and entered early into the Sea-ſervice, where he always behaved with great Courage and Reputation, and this added to the Intereſt of his Family, procured him the command of a Man of War, before he was quite 30. In the Reign of King *James* II. he was made Captain of the *Newcaſtle*, a Fourth-rate; and ſoon after the Revolution, he had a Third-rate given him. In the famous Battle of *La Hogue*, he commanded the *St. Andrew*, a Second-rate; and yet, very ſoon after, he quitted the Service, on account of the Promotion of Colonel *Aylmer* to the Rank of Rear-admiral, who being a younger Officer, Mr. *Churchill* could not think of ſerving under him, but retired and lived privately for ſome Years,

In the Year 1699, Colonel *George Churchill* was, amongſt others, put into the Commiſſion of the Admiralty, in which he continued near two Years; and then King *William* was pleaſed to declare *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High-admiral, which threw him out again, though but for a very ſhort time; ſince, upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Anne*, and the Promotion of her Conſort Prince *George* of *Denmark* to be Lord High-admiral, he was appointed one of his Council, and was reſtored to his Rank in the Navy, which was chiefly owing to the high Degree of Favour in which he ſtood with his Royal Highneſs.

His being made Admiral of the Blue, had the ſame Effect upon Admiral *Aylmer*, as it is confidently ſaid the Promotion of that Gentleman had a few Years before upon Mr. *Churchill*; for he immediately quitted the Service, and remained for ſeveral Years unemployed. But whatever Satisfaction Mr. *Churchill* might receive from this Victory over his Rival, it is very certain, that he could not be ſaid to enjoy much Pleaſure in the Poſt to which he was raiſed; for during the ſix Years he ſat at that Board, as his Royal Highneſs's Council were continually attacked, ſo Mr. *Churchill*, in particular, had a double Portion of that Spite and Reſentment devolved upon him; with which our great Loſſes at Sea inſpired many of our Merchants, and this was very probably increaſed by the Warmth of the Admiral's Temper, who had a free Way of Speaking, and took perhaps too great Liberties with Men of ſuch Importance. For as the naval Power of *Great-Britain* ariſes abſolutely from her extenſive Trade, and the Number of Ships employed therein, it is very certain, that there is a great Reſpect due to thoſe who carry on that Trade, and are thereby ſo very inſtrumental to the Wealth, Proſperity, and Grandeur of this Nation, which are all founded upon its Commerce. However, Mr. *Churchil* maintained himſelf by his Intereſt with Prince *George*.

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[*] See Chandler's Debates, Life of Queen Anne, Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

His Royal Highneſs dying on the 28th of *October* 1708, the Commiſſion, which impowered his Council to act, naturally determined; and thenceforward Admiral *Churchill* led a private Life, at a pleaſant Houſe he had in *Windſor-park*. He was never married, but dying in very good Circumſtances, he left the beſt Part of his Fortune to his natural Son. He deceaſed on the 8th of *May* 1710, in the 58th Year of his Age, and was buried with great funeral Solemnity in the South-iſle of *Weſtminſter-abbey*, where a beautiful Monument has been erected to his Memory, with the following elegant *Latin* Inſcription.

P. S. E.
GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winſtonii equitis aurati ex agro Dorceſtrienſi
Filius natu ſecundus;
Invictiſſimi Ducis Marlburii
Frater non indignus
A primâ juventute militiæ nomen dedit,
Et ſub regibus Carolo et Jacobo,
Terra marique
Multâ cum laude meruit.
Sereniſſimo principi Georgio de Dania
Per viginti plus annos à cubiculis
Fide, obſequio, moribus,
Gratum ſe reddidit et charum.
Regnante Gulielmo
Quo die claſſis Gallica ab Anglis
Ad oras Neuſtriæ fugata et combuſta eſt
(Die ſemper memorabili)
Eo animi vigore et fortitudine pugnavit,
Quo Ducem Anglum decuit
Mox ab eodem rege,
Æquiſſimo meritorum judice,
Unus è commiſſariis admiralliæ conſtitutus
Res maritimas, quarum erat peritiſſimus,
Curavit diù et ornavit
Sub feliciſſimo demum Annæ imperio
Inſtaurato iterum bello contra Gallos,
Infeſtiſſimos hoſtes Britanni nominis
Ex admirallis unus
Et celſiſſimo principi Daniæ
Magnæ totius Britanniæ admirallo
Factus è conſiliis
Curarum omnium et laborum particeps
Domino ſuo
Feliciſſimam navabat operam,
Donec fractæ Gallorum vires
Toto mari ceſſerant.
Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens
Ad extremum uſq; diem
Omnia grati piiq; animi officia
Perſolvit:
Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,
Inter amplexus & lachrymas
Amicorum, clientum, et ſervorum,
Quos humanus, officioſus, liberalis,
Gratos devinctos & fideles habuit,
Pius, tranquillus, animoſus, cælebs
Obiit viii Maii.
Ætat. LVIII.
MDCCX.

Memoirs *of the* Life *of Sir* DAVID MITCHELL, *Knt. Vice-admiral of the* Red, *one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and of the Council to Prince* George *of* Denmark, &c.

He was deſcended from a very worthy Family in *Scotland*, though of ſmall Fortune; and at the Age of ſixteen was put out Apprentice to the Maſter of a trading Veſſel, who lived at *Leith*; with him Mr. *Mitchell* continued ſeven Years, and afterwards ſerved as a Mate aboard ſeveral other Ships, eſpecially in northern Voyages; by which he not only acquired great Skill as a Seaman, but alſo attained moſt modern Languages; which, with his ſuperior Knowledge in the Mathematics, and other genteel Accompliſhments, recommended him to the Favour of his Officers, after he had been preſſed to Sea in the *Dutch* Wars.

At the Revolution he was made a Captain, and being remarkable for his great Skill in maritime Affairs was very ſoon diſtinguiſhed and promoted; ſo that in the Year 1693, he commanded the Squadron that convoyed the King to *Holland*, and in the next Promotion he was made Rear-admiral of the Blue; and not long after appointed one of the Grooms of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber.

In 1694, Sir *David Mitchell*, being then a Knight, and Rear-admiral of the Red, ſailed with Admiral *Ruſſel* into the *Mediterranean*; and on the Admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a Squadron left in thoſe Seas; in the Execution of which Commiſſion, he behaved himſelf with great Reputation; and in 1696 ſerved under Sir *George Rooke*, with whom he lived in great Friendſhip. His *Czariſh* Majeſty, *Peter the Great*, Emperor of *Ruſſia*, was ſo extremely pleaſed with the Company of Sir *David Mitchell*, that he offered him the higheſt Preferments in *Muſcovy*, if he would have accompanied him thither; but his Propoſal was not agreeable either to Sir *David*'s Circumſtances or Inclinations; for having, on the Death of Sir *Fleetwood Sheppard*, been appointed Gentleman-uſher of the Black-rod, and having alſo his Pay as a Vice-admiral, he had no Reaſon to quit the Service of his native Country, even to oblige ſo great a Prince. His Skill and Conduct as a Seaman, and his perfect Acquaintance with every Branch of naval Affairs, rendered him extremely uſeful, as his polite Behaviour made him agreeable to every Adminiſtration.

Upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Anne*, Sir *David Mitchell* was appointed one of the Council to Prince *George* of *Denmark*, as Lord High Admiral, in which honourable Office he continued till the Year before the Prince's Death, when he was laid aſide; but upon another Change of Affairs he was ſent over to *Holland*, with a Commiſſion of great Importance, which was to expoſtulate with their High-mightineſſes about the Deficiencies of their Quotas during the continuance of the War, which Commiſſion he diſcharged with great Honour. This was the laſt public Act of his Life; for ſoon after his Return to *England*, he died at his Seat called *Popes* in *Hertfordſhire*, on the 1ſt of *June* 1710, with as fair a Reputation as any Man of his Rank and Character could acquire, and lies buried in the Pariſh-church of *Hatfield* in the ſaid County.

Memoirs *of the* Life *of Sir* JOHN LEAKE, *Knt. Admiral of the Fleet*, &c.

Sir *John Leake* was Son of Captain *Richard Leake*, Maſter-gunner of *England*, of whom we read two memorable Exploits in a Pamphlet, intitled, *The old and true Way of manning the Fleet*, &c. Quarto [a]. The one was his extraordinary Defence of his Majeſty's Ship the *Princeſs*, after the Captain, Lieutenants, and Maſter were killed, on the 3d of *May* 1669; and the other, his preſerving the ſame Ship againſt two *Daniſh* Men of War, his Captain and Maſter being killed, and the Lieutenant deſperately wounded; for which he was rewarded, with the Command of the ſaid Ship, by the Duke of *York* [b].

Sir *John Leake* was born in *Rotherhithe*, *Surry*, in *June* 1656; and being well inſtructed in Mathematics and Gunnery by his Father, entered early into the Navy, and was a Midſhipman when the laſt Peace was made with the *Dutch*. When he engaged in the Merchants-ſervice, waiting for an Opportunity for ſome naval Preferment, which

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[a] Folio 15.

[b] See the Life of Sir John Leake, p. 4.

did not offer to his liking, till *September* 24, 1688, on which Day he received a Commiſſion to command the *Fire-Drake* Fire-ſhip; which, after King *James* had abdicated, was ordered to ſail with a Fleet to the Coaſt of *Ireland*, where Captain *Leake* diſplayed his Skill and Courage ſo effectually in the Battle off *Bantry-Bay*, that Admiral *Herbert* gave him the Command of the *Dartmouth* Frigate two Days after; in which he performed thoſe Wonders recorded of him in our Account [a] of the Relief of *Londonderry*.

On the 28th of *May* 1690, Captain *Leake*, then at *Gibraltar*, was favoured with the *Eagle*, a Third-rate of 70 Guns; in which Ship he, on every Occaſion, ſhewed how deſerving he was of Preferment [b].

Being returned to *England*, Mr. *Leake* was appointed one of the Court-marſhal for the Trial of the Earl of *Torrington*; in which Truſt our Captain diſplayed his Juſtice and Judgment, as much as he before had given Proofs of his Courage; for though every Art and Menace was made uſe of by the Miniſtry to oppreſs that noble Lord to gratify ſome private Reſentment, Mr. *Leake* generouſly undertook his Cauſe, examined every Particular of his Lordſhip's Conduct, and ſo fully juſtified him, that he brought over the Majority to acquit him.

In 1692 his Ship made one of the Fleet under Admiral *Ruſſel*, and ſuffered much in the Engagement: The Captain narrowly eſcaping a Cannon-ball, which paſſed between him and his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Martin*, taking his Orders on the Quarter-deck.

From the *Eagle* Captain *Leake* was commiſſioned for the *Plymouth* at *Portſmouth*, a Third-rate of 60 Guns, in which he was ordered to cruize in the *Channel:* and on the 19th of *July* he was appointed Captain of the *Oſſory*, a Second-rate, then off the *Lizard*, in which he ſailed to *Chatham* for Repairs; and continued with great Reputation in every Service, on which he was ordered, to the Concluſion of the Peace of *Ryſwick* [c].

All Ships being now laid up, and no Employment for the Captains, Mr. *Leake* thought ſeriouſly to make an Intereſt for a Place at the Navy-board [d]; but Admiral *Churchill* diſſuaded him from it; and as ſoon as he was made a Lord of the Admiralty, procured him the *Kent* of 70 Guns [e], on-board of which Rear-admiral *Hopſon* hoiſted his Flag on the 10th of *September:* And on the 11th of *November* following, Captain *Leake* hoiſted a diſtinguiſhing Pendant at *Portſmouth*, being appointed Commander in Chief of the Ships in that Harbour.

On the 22d of *February* following, the *Kent* was put out of Commiſſion, and Captain *Leake* remained out of Service till that Time twelve Months, when he was appointed to command the *Berwick* of 70 Guns; but no Opportunity offered for him to diſplay his extraordinary Talents in this Ship. However, Admiral *Churchill* recommended him ſo ſincerely to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord High Admiral, that when his Lordſhip made Choice of the *Britannia*, the fineſt Firſt-rate in *England*, he, at the ſame time, did Captain *Leake* the Honour to make him his firſt Captain [f]; in which Station (the higheſt he could arrive to as a Captain, and higher than ever any private Captain attained before [g]) Captain *Leake* continued till the 27th of *May* 1702, when the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Voyage was laid aſide by the Death of King *William*, and to make way for the Queen's Conſort, whom her Majeſty made Lord High Admiral.

Captain *Leake*, the ſame Day he was diſcharged this Poſt of Honour, accepted of the Command of the *Aſſociation*, a Second-rate, rather than to lye out of Commiſſion; but in about three Weeks the Admiralty appointed [h] him Commander in Chief of a Squadron for *Newfoundland*. He had alſo a Commiſſion, appointing him Governor of the Iſland, and Commander in Chief of the Land-forces, during the time of his Continuance on that Coaſt; for which Place the Commodore departed from *Plymouth* on the 25th of *July*, and performed the Service in this Expedition with great Diligence, Succeſs, and Satisfaction to the Nation, having intirely deſtroyed the *French* Trade and Settlements in thoſe Parts [i]; ſo that ſoon after his Return to *England* [k], we find him rewarded with a Flag, and appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue [l]. Our Admiral firſt hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Sterling-caſtle*, then [m] lying at *Portſmouth:* But ſoon after [n] he wrote to the Admiralty, deſiring, that Captain *Stephen Martin*, then Commander of the *Loweſtoffe*, and his Brother-in-law, might be his Captain, and the *Royal-William*, a Firſt-rate, ſhould be his Ship to go to Sea in [o].

While Rear-admiral *Leake* laid at *Portſmouth*, he received a Commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief of all her Majeſty's Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth* for 20 Days, dated *January* 12, 1702-3, and removed his Flag to the *Reſolution*, till the *Royal-William* was got ready for his Reception. He received the like Commiſſion for 20 Days more, dated *February* 8, with a Clauſe, empowering him to hold Court-martials [p].

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[a] See Page 541, 542. [b] Ibid. p. 20, 21. [c] Ibid. p. 35, 36. In July 1696, whilſt Captain Leake was employed with the grand Fleet in the Soundings, his Father died in the 68th Year of his Age at Woolwich, where he was buried. Captain Leake was his only ſurviving Son, beſides whom, he had a Daughter Elizabeth, whom he made whole and ſole Executrix of his Will, leaving to his Son only one Moiety of his Books and Inſtruments; the other Moiety to his Daughter's Son, by which it appears, his Reſentment for the ill Succeſs of his Cuſhee-piece continued to the laſt; though Captain Leake ever continued a moſt dutiful and affectionate Son. Upon the old Man's Death, Captain Leake's Wife and Friends, to whom he was as dear in private Life, as valuable to all in his public Station, without his Conſent or Knowledge, from an earneſt Deſire of having him at home, had procured for him his Father's Place of Maſter-gunner of England, and Store-keeper at Woolwich, by means of the following Letter from Admiral Ruſſel to the Lord Romney Maſter-general of the Ordnance. "My Lord, I am deſired by Captain Leake, to recommend him to your "Lordſhip's Favour, to ſucceed his Father, lately dead, who was Maſter-gunner of England. He has been for many Years his Firſt-mate; he is a "Man that I can anſwer for his Knowledge in the Art of Gunnery, Courage, and Fidelity; at preſent he is Captain of the Oſſory, a very honeſt "and good Man; thus far I can anſwer for on my own Knowledge; and a Man that will be very diligent in his Office. I muſt now aſk your Lord"ſhip's Pardon for the Trouble I have given you; but would not refuſe a Friend, to recommend him to your Favour: I promiſe myſelf he will not "fare the worſe, ſince it comes from, My Lord, Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and humble Servant, E. RUSSEL. Chippenham, July 28, 1696." This Letter ſhews Admiral Ruſſel's Opinion of Captain Leake, as well as his Friendſhip for him; but though he was pleaſed to find he had ſo good a Friend, yet the Thing itſelf was not at all agreeable, and therefore he was ſurprized, when he returned into Harbour, to find himſelf nominated Maſter-gunner of England. He had, indeed, been one of the Maſter-gunner's Mates ever ſince his Father had been in that Office, and a conſiderable time Firſt-mate; ſo that he had fair Pretenſions to ſucceed, if he had deſired it; but ſo far from it, that he had only kept the Mate's Place, out of Complaiſance to his Father, deſigning to throw it up whenever he died, as he now actually did. He therefore handſomely excuſed himſelf from accepting the Maſter-gunner's Place, not only becauſe it was a very troubleſome Office, but becauſe it interfered with his Pretenſions in the Navy, where he was now a ſenior Officer; and he hoped that would, in time, afford him a Poſt more ſuitable, and equally advantageous on-ſhore, if he did not meet with the Preferment he expected at Sea. Indeed, with the Fatigues of nine Years War, wherein he had not been one Day out of Commiſſion, he might well deſire a Receſs, to enjoy a little domeſtic Tranquillity with his Family and Friends; but not like one who had no further Expectations; for, as by his Bravery and Conduct, he had gained the Applauſe of the Public, ſo had he made himſelf many Friends; and he had no Reaſon to doubt but they would ſerve him when Occaſion offered; and he was reſolved, at leaſt, to wait the Event ſome time.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Ibid. p. 40. on May 5, 1699.

[f] January 22, 1701-2.

[g] For, not to look for Precedents of that Kind before the Reſtoration, when the Œconomy of the Fleet was but in its Infancy, Penne, who was firſt Captain to the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, was a Vice-admiral at that Time; and we have had no Inſtance ſince of a Lord High Admiral at Sea; only the Earl of Berkeley, in the Year 1719, being then Vice-admiral of Great-Britain, and firſt Lord-commiſſioner of the Admiralty, endeavoured to come as near as poſſible, both in Power and State, and by particular Warrant from the Crown, hoiſted the Lord High Admiral's Flag, as it is called, (the firſt time, I believe, it was ever worn in Command at Sea) and had three Captains appointed under him, as a Lord High Admiral: Littleton, then Vice-admiral of the White, being his firſt Captain. Indeed, if we conſider that the firſt of the two Captains allowed the Admiral of the Fleet, has both the Rank and Pay of a Rear-admiral, for the Honour of that Flag, it follows, that as the Lord High Admiral bears the royal Standard, which immediately repreſents the King's Majeſty, and therefore, for the Honour thereof, has three Captains (the ſecond of whom ranks with the firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet;) the firſt ſhould, in Proportion, be not leſs than a Rear, if not a Vice-flag, as the Practice juſtifies. But I do not find any Settlement of the Rank or Pay of ſuch an Officer: In the preſent Caſe, the firſt and ſecond Captains both received Rear-admiral's Pay, by Warrant from the Lord High Admiral; but probably there might be ſome extraordinary Allowance to the firſt Captain.

[h] June 24, 1702.

[i] See Book VI. Chap. I. of this Hiſtory.

[k] Which was on the 10th of November.

[l] December 9.

[m] December 23.

[n] January 8, 1702-3.

[o] This Gentleman he made Choice of for his Captain, not ſo much on Account of his Alliance to him, as for his Qualifications, and the Friendſhip he bore him: For Captain Martin had been bred up under him, had been ſeveral Years his Lieutenant, and he had been a Witneſs of his Behaviour: So that he knew him to be a brave experienced Officer, though but a young Captain, and one who would always have his Honour at Heart: A Circumſtance few Admirals have been happy in, and upon which the Succeſs of every Enterprize very much depends, the beſt concerted Deſigns having been frequently rendered abortive, by the Infidelity or Careleſſneſs of thoſe who were to carry them into Execution.

[p] It will be proper to obſerve, that all Commanders in Chief, as Admirals, Vice-admirals, Rear-admirals, Commodores of Squadrons, and even private Commanders for particular Purpoſes, are impowered by Warrant from the Admiralty to hold Courts-martial, but with this Difference; that an Admiral, or Vice-admiral, have only a Warrant, authoriſing

In the next Promotion of Flag-officers, Rear-admiral *Leake* was advanced to the Degree of Vice-admiral of the Blue[a]; and after ſeveral Removals, he at laſt fixed upon the *Somerſet*, a Third-rate, to go to Sea in. In this Capacity he was ordered, *April* 12, to cruiſe off *La Hogue* for eight Days, with a Squadron to intercept ſix *French* Men of War, expected for *Dunkirk* from *Breſt*; but he did not meet with them; and on the 24th returned for the Coaſt of *England*, leaving Captain *Wager*, with five Sail, to cruiſe between Cape *Barfleur* and the Iſle of *Baſs*, according to Orders received at Sea from Sir *George Rooke*.

Sir *George Rooke* ſailing on the 5th from *Spithead*, Vice-admiral *Leake* received Orders from the Lord High Admiral to go after him the ſame Day; which Sir *John* executed the next Day in the *Northumberland*; and remaining with Sir *George*, hoiſted his Flag immediately on-board the Prince *George*, a Second-rate. This Fleet cruiſed as far as *Belle-Iſle*, and returned to *Spithead* on the 21ſt of *June*, where Sir *George* left the Ships in *Portſmouth* Harbour, and at *Spithead*, under Sir *John Leake*, having Orders ſo to do, before he left that Port, in his Way to *London*.

In the Fleet appointed for the *Mediterranean* Service in the Year 1703, under Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Sir *John Leake* was intruſted with the expediting that Part thereof as could not be got ready to ſail at the time appointed; and with unwearied Diligence ſailed with five of them on the 10th of *July*, Sir *Cloudeſley* having departed from *Spithead* on the 1ſt. This Squadron joined the main Fleet off *Caſcais* in eleven Days.

After this grand Fleet had performed all in their Power in the *Mediterranean*, and the Seaſon of the Year obliging the great Ships to quit their Station, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to return to *England*, about the middle of *October*. They met with great Winds and very bad Weather, made Land on the 15th of *November*, and had but juſt arrived at their ſeveral Stations or Ports, when the great Storm aroſe in the Night between the 26th and 27th of the ſame Month. In which Vice-admiral *Leake*, on-board the *Prince George* in the *Downs*, was the only one that rode faſt, though the *Reſtoration* ran foul of her Hawſer with her Anchor; by which Accident the *George*'s beſt Bower was ſoon brought home, and her ſmall Bower brought a-head, it not being in their Power to cut the *Reſtoration* away. Thus the two Ships remained for half an Hour, every Minute ſeeming the laſt to them both. But in the height of this Extremity, by ſome providential Means, concealed from human Knowledge, the *Reſtoration* drove away, and ſoon after periſhed with every Creature in her.

However, great Praiſe is due to the Foreſight of our Admiral, and his Captain *Martin*, who the Day before expecting a Storm, had provided the Ship with every neceſſary Precaution for riding out a Storm, by which not only the Ship, but 700 Lives were ſaved.

Next Day, as ſoon as the Storm would permit, Admiral *Leake* was moſt diligent in purſuing the moſt prudential Steps to aſſiſt the Wrecks. By which ſeveral Lives were ſaved: And having otherwiſe completed what was neceſſary for him, he repaired to *London* on the 10th of *December*.

During this Receſs Sir *John* was very uſeful by his Advice, to remedy the great Inconvenience, which always attended the Navy by a Scarcity of Seamen; and how to make the Marines more uſeful.

In 1704, Admiral *Leake* being ordered to convoy the Tranſports to *Liſbon*, was honoured with Knighthood by her Majeſty, to whom he was introduced by Prince *George*, the Lord High-admiral, in the Month of *February*. He ſailed from *St. Hellens* on the 21ſt, and without any Accident arrived on the 2d of *March* at *Liſbon*. Where he was ordered by Sir *George Rooke* to continue, and to provide for the Fleet and the Safety of Trade, while he with the main Fleet ſailed to the *Mediterranean*. Which Sir *John* performed as well as Time, Place, and Circumſtances would allow.

However, upon the Return of Sir *George* to *Liſbon*, it being reſolved, in a Council of War, to proceed for the *Streights* with the Fleet, Sir *John* took his Part alſo in this Expedition; which concluded with the taking of *Gibraltar*, agreeable to an original Propoſal by Vice-admiral *Leake*; and the Engagement with the *French* Fleet off *Malaga*, wherein Sir *John Leake* forced the Enemy's Van, on the 13th of *Auguſt* (ſee Page 647) which was the only apparent Advantage gained over them[b].

Upon the Return of the grand Fleet to *England*, Sir *John Leake* was left at *Liſbon*, as the moſt able to ſecure their new Conqueſt of *Gibraltar* from Surprize, the Coaſts of our Allies from Inſult, and our Trade from Loſs. And they were not long out of thoſe Seas, before the Enemy, both by Sea and Land, attempted the Reduction of that Fortreſs, which is the Key of *Spain*. Sir *John* was then returned, by Order, to *Liſbon*. But receiving Advice thereof by a Letter, dated the 1ſt of *October*, from the Prince of *Heſſe*, the Governor, he ſailed with all the Expedition and Force he could muſter, and arrived juſt in time to preſerve *Gibraltar*[c].

Nevertheleſs the Enemy gave not over Hopes of Succeſs; but all their Efforts were in vain: The *Engliſh* Garriſon

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thoriſing them to hold ſuch Courts: Whereas, if a Rear-admiral is to be ſo authoriſed, he muſt have a Commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief, as well as a Warrant for ſo doing, becauſe none but Commanders in Chief can hold Courts-marſhal: But why a Rear-admiral, being the commanding Officer, and acting in all other Reſpects as fully as a Vice-admiral, ſhould not be eſteemed a Commander in Chief for this Purpoſe, as well as the other, does not occur. Perhaps the Reaſon may be this; that a Vice-admiral, as the Name imports, is in the Stead or Place of the Admiral, as his Deputy in his Abſence: Whereas a Rear-admiral, being of an inferior Rank, and no other than Commander of the Reſerve or Rear of the Squadron, as his Name implies, he cannot repreſent the Admiral: And as a Deputy cannot have a Deputy, ſo neither can he repreſent the Vice-admiral, and therefore muſt firſt be conſtituted a Commander in Chief, becauſe none but Commanders in Chief can exerciſe that Authority.

[a] This Commiſſion was dated on the 1ſt of March.

[b] Vice-admiral Leake certainly ſhewed very commendable Bravery and Conduct upon this Occaſion; for after having forced the Enemy's Van, and drawn away the Battle from Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, he propoſed the only Means to relieve our Center, and make the Confederates victorious; he was under a Neceſſity in this Caſe to conſult Sir Cloudeſly, and have his Conſent, as the ſuperior Admiral who commanded the whole Van: But Sir Cloudeſly did not comprehend it, and therefore did not approve of it; ſo that inſtead of puſhing the Enemy's Van till he broke their Line, or obliged their Center to draw off, which was the ſhorteſt Way to Victory, the Battle was lingered out, till Night put an End to it. There is ſurely ſome Skill in Sea as well as Land Actions, and in ſome Inſtances they reſemble each other; but if to beat one Third of the Enemy's Line offered no Opportunity of Advantage, I think there is no ſuch Thing: What could the French deſire more, than to retire where they were weakeſt, and continue the Battle where they were ſtrongeſt; to retreat from a Diſadvantage, and preſs where they had the Advantage; whilſt we acted directly contrary? Whatever Praiſe has therefore been attributed to Admiral Shovell, for his Seamanſhip (as 'tis called) in cloſing the Line, it is obvious his Incapacity was the Loſs of a Victory.

[c] The Beſieged expreſſed an extraordinary Joy upon Sir John's Arrival; for beſides the Aſſiſtance, they might expect from him, by Supplies of Stores, Ammunition, and Proviſions, they had now nothing to fear from the Sea-ſide, and might turn all their Thoughts to defend themſelves to the Land: And indeed he arrived ſo opportunely, that two Days would in all Probablity have ſunk them beyond Hope. For the Enemy by the Help of Rope-Ladders, found Means to climb up the Rocks, and get upon the Mountain, through a Way that was thought inacceſſible, to the Number of 500 Spaniards, where they had remained ſeveral Days. At the ſame time they had got together a great Number of Boats from Cadiz and other Parts, to land 3000 Men at the New Mole; ſo that by making a vigorous Aſſault on the Sea-ſide, they muſt have drawn the whole Garriſon to defend that Attack; whilſt in the mean time, the 500 concealed Men were to have ruſhed into the Town: And this could hardly have failed of Succeſs, there being at that time (as was diſcovered ſome Days afterwards) a Plot for delivering up the Place: But this was happily prevented by Sir John's ſeaſonable Arrival; for the Men upon the Hill, now deſpairing of Succeſs, had nothing but the frightful Idea of ſtarving, or falling into their Enemy's Hands; which they had bound themſelves by an Oath not to do, as long as any one was left: Nevertheleſs, Hunger drawing them out of their Ambuſcade, they were diſcovered the Day after Sir John's Arrival, and a Conſultation being held thereupon, he detached out of the Fleet 500 Marines and Seamen to aſſiſt the Garriſon; whilſt Colonel Burr, with 500 Men, marched out of the Town, and attacked them with ſuch Vigour, that, notwithſtanding their Oath, 190 common Soldiers, with a Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel, Major, and 30 Captains, Lieutenants and Enſigns, were glad to take Quarter: The remaining Part more deſperate, to the Number of 200, were killed on the Spot; the reſt, who endeavoured to make their Retreat by the ſame Way they came, fell down headlong from the Rocks; ſo that it was believed few, if any, returned to the Camp. The next Day Sir John ſent a Flag of Truce to the Marquis de Villadarias, and the Baron de Pointi, to treat about the Exchange of Priſoners; and the Day following he received a Letter from his Highneſs the Prince of Heſſe. "I cannot expreſs (ſays he) the Satiſfaction of your Appearance ſo opportunely before this Place, with "the Squadron of Ships under your Command, having been the entire Reaſon of ſaving it from the Attempt of the Enemy, who were to attack us that "very Night of your Entrance, in many Places at once, with a great Number of Men; which with our ſmall Garriſon had not been able to have held "out againſt ſuch a ſuperior Force." By this Letter, the Relief appears to have been ſo ſeaſonable and fortunate, that the Delay of one Day, or even of a few Hours, might have put the Place into the Enemy's Hands: And therefore may well be eſteemed one of thoſe ſignal Inſtances of Providence, which, as Mr. Boyer's Life and Reign of Queen Anne, Page 240, obſerves, was ever conſpicuous in Sir John's Leake's Expeditions.

riſon being ſo much animated by the Preſence of the Fleet, which had already given them frequent Relief, and was daily alarming and diſtreſſing the Enemy by ſome Scheme; and did not leave them till properly reinforced with 2000 Men.

Sir *John* arrived at *Liſbon* from *Gibraltar* on the 9th of *January* 1704-5, and on the 25th of *February* received from *England* a Commiſſion, appointing him Vice-admiral of the White. In which Station, reinforced with a Squadron of five Men of War, he returned to the Relief of the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, on the 6th of *March*; and being arrived in Sight of *Gibraltar*, diſcovered five of the Enemy's Men of War coming out; three of which were taken, and two deſtroyed, after a ſtout Reſiſtance. He then peeped into *Malaga*, in ſearch of the remaining Part of the *French* Fleet, which had been driven from their Anchors out of the Bay the Day before; ſo that he did not reach *Gibraltar* till the 31ſt of *March*, having been joined in his Paſſage, two Days before, by the *Kent*, *Orford*, and *Eagle*, from *England*. He had no ſooner anchored in *Gibraltar* Bay, but his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*, ſent him the following Letter.

"SIR,

"I expected with great Impatience this good Opportunity, to expreſs my hearty Joy of your great and good Succeſs you had at this your ſecond appearing off this Place; which I hope hath been the final Stroke towards our Relief; the Enemy ſince five Days having begun to withdraw their heavy Cannon; being the Effects only to be aſcribed to your good Conduct and Care: It is only to you the Public owes and will owe ſo many great and happy Conſequences of it: And I in particular cannot enough expreſs my hearty Thanks and Obligations I lie under, &c.

"*I am with great Sincerity and Reſpect*, &c.

"GEORGE, Prince of *Heſſe*."

His Highneſs had likewiſe provided a Gold Cup againſt Sir *John*'s Arrival, which he preſented him, as a Token of his Gratitude and Eſteem for his Perſon and Services; till it ſhould be in his Power to acknowledge it by ſomething better worth his Acceptance. It is certain the Prince had contracted a great Eſteem for Sir *John*, by the Friendſhips which had paſſed between them during this Siege; and had his Power been equal to his generous Spirit, he would have thought no Favours too great to have conferred upon him.

The Enemy on-ſhore no ſooner were informed of the Advantage gained by Sir *John Leake*, and ſaw his Fleet enter the Bay, but they gave all up for loſt; and by degrees drew off their heavy Artillery, &c. and on the 5th of *April* the Troops marched off, after ſix Months Siege.

Sir *John* leaving all in Safety at *Gibraltar*, returned to *Liſbon*, where he received Advice from Secretary *Hedges*, that the *French* were fitting out a large Fleet at *Toulon*, and another at *Breſt*, with an Intention to join in ſome Expedition; and ordering Sir *John* to uſe his utmoſt Diligence to prevent their Union. But a Council of War finding the Fleet at *Liſbon* not in a Condition to face the Strength repreſented in the Secretary's Letter, reſolved to wait the Arrival of the grand Fleet, under Lord *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, of whoſe Departure from *England*, they had Advice.

This Fleet arrived on the 9th of *June*, and ſailed for the *Mediterranean* on the 22d, and took *Barcelona*. After this Conqueſt Sir *John* was, by a Council of War, ordered to remain in thoſe Seas, with a ſtrong Squadron; the Groſs of the Fleet returning home with Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*.

During this Command he received Orders to ſtop the Galloons in the Port of *Cadiz*. For which Sir *John* made all neceſſary Diſpoſitions, and in all human Probability muſt have fallen in with them, as they came out of *Cadiz*, had he not, by an unaccountable Embargo, been ſtopt at the Mouth of the *Tagus*, for the Space of 24 Hours, as related in this Hiſtory. However, being arrived at *Gibraltar*, and receiving Advice from King *Charles*, of the immediate Danger of *Barcelona*, blocked up both by Sea and Land, dated *March* 31, 1706, he, joined by a conſiderable Reinforcement under Sir *George Byng*, and a Convoy with the Tranſports from *Ireland*, made the beſt of his Way to that Port, and arrived on the 8th of *May*, N. S. juſt time enough to ſave the Town, the *French* Fleet having, upon Intelligence of our Fleet's Approach, retired the Night before. And the Army, which had lain before the Place from the 22d of *April*, and made no doubt of carrying it before Sir *John*'s Arrival, raiſed the Siege on the 11th of the ſame Month, N. S. a Succeſs to be entirely attributed, under Providence, not to the Earl of *Peterborough*, but to Sir *John Leake*'s Abilities and good Conduct.

From *Barcelona* Sir *John* ſailed with the Fleet and Tranſports for *Valentia*: But being arrived off *Altea*, and informed of the Inclinations of the People in *Carthagena*, to revolt to King *Charles*, he, by the Advice of a Council of War, ſteered for that Harbour, and preſently received their Submiſſion without landing his Men, or ſending more than four Ships into the Harbour.

His next Attempt was upon *Alicant*, where he arrived on the 26th of *June*, and ſummoned the Governor and General to ſurrender; but could not act till the Arrival of the Land-forces under Lord *Peterborough*, or till the Militia ſhould block up the City by Land. On the 9th of *July* the Land-forces arrived within four Leagues of *Alicant*, and ſeconded the Militia, which had for ſome time taken Quarters in the Neighbourhood thereof; but refuſed to form the Siege without the Aid of 3000 Men, &c. from the Fleet. All Things being ſettled by Sir *John*, now in Commiſſion with the Earl of *Peterborough*, as Commanders in Chief by Sea, the Siege was opened in the Evening of the 21ſt. However, the Place was taken by the Seamen, who carried on a regular Attack, and mounted a Breach thought impracticable, without any Aſſiſtance from the Soldiers.

General *Mahoni* retired into the Caſtle, determined to defend it to the laſt Extremity: But after a terrible Bombardment, the diſmounting of their Cannon, and a want of Water; he was obliged to capitulate on the 22d, and ſurrender the Caſtle alſo to Sir *John Leake*.

From *Alicant* Sir *John Leake* proceeded with the Fleet to *Ivica* and *Majorca*, both which Iſlands ſubmitted to the *Britiſh* Flag; and then leaving a ſufficient Squadron to cover his Conqueſts from any Surprize, he returned with the foul Ships for *England*; and arrived on the 18th of *October* at *Spithead*, bringing the News of his late Succeſs at *Ivica* and *Majorca*. He was immediately ordered to Court, and was not only uſhered in by the loud Acclamations of the People; but careſſed in the moſt public Manner by the Lord High-admiral and the Queen. The former preſented him with a Diamond Ring of 400 l. Value, and a Gold Sword: And her Majeſty ordered him a Gratuity of 1000 l.

In the Year 1707, Sir *John* was wholly employed in the Channel; and on the 10th of *October* preſided in the Court Marſhal that ſat to enquire into the Proceedings and Conduct of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Knt. Captain of the *Kent*; who was honourably acquitted.

But in 1708, we find Sir *John* again at the Head of the *Mediterranean* Fleet; Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Knt. being ordered home. Upon the unfortunate Death of Sir *Cloudeſley*, Sir *John Leake* was appointed Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, by a Commiſſion, dated the 8th of *January* 1707-8. And he hoiſted the Union Flag on-board the *Albemarle* at *Spithead* on the 20th. On the 6th of *February* he ſailed with the Fleet and Merchant-ſhips, under his Convoy, for *Liſbon*; but was obliged by contrary Winds, &c. to put into and remain in *Torbay* till the 21ſt, and then was driven back to *St. Helens*, where meeting with Orders for putting *Portſmouth* in a Poſture of Defence againſt an Invaſion threatened by the *French*, he took every Precaution that was neceſſary and in his Power, to prevent their Succeſs againſt that Port; before he received freſh Inſtructions to proceed for *Liſbon*. He endeavoured to ſail according to his Orders; but could not make any Way till the 7th of *March*, on account of the contrary Winds. On the 27th he arrived in the *Tajo*; and met with a gracious Reception from the King of *Portugal*. And during his Stay in this River, to put his Fleet into a proper Condition, he received the following Letter from his Catholic Majeſty, King *Charles*.

“ Sir,

“ The Enemy having ſeized upon the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, after the unfortunate Buſineſs of *Almanza*; and being ſince entered by ſeveral Parts into this Principality of *Catalonia*, moſt of which they have rendered themſelves Maſters of, by taking my City of *Lerida*, and having alſo made the reſt of it deſolate, 'twas immediately thought, that after this the Army of the Allies could ſubſiſt but a very little time there, for want of Corn and Forage, and that the only Means both for preſerving the Country and ſubſiſting the Troops, which the Emperor my Brother, and the Elector *Palatine* my Uncle were to ſend to my Relief, would be to procure the Neceſſaries from the Kingdom of *Sardinia*. The Rear-admiral *Dilks*, being here with his Squadron going to *Italy*, in order to embark the ſaid Troops; I propoſed this Matter to him, upon Aſſurance that was given me by very good Hands, that the People of the ſaid Kingdom, and of *Cagliari* its capital City, would not fail to come under my Obedience, ſo ſoon as they ſhould have the leaſt Opportunity of declaring their Zeal and Affection for my Perſon and illuſtrious Family. And although the Council of War, which was held upon this Subject by the ſaid Rear-admiral, gave me no poſitive Declaration at that time; their firſt and principal End being to bring over the aboveſaid Troops into *Spain*; and they having no Troops at Hand to ſecond the Expedition, in caſe there ſhould be a Neceſſity of making a Deſcent; I reſolved nevertheleſs to ſend the Count *de Cyfuentes* with the ſame Squadron to *Italy*, in hopes that at his Return with the Troops, which were to ſuccour this Principality, the ſaid Expedition of *Sardinia* might be put in Execution; for otherwiſe, thoſe ſame Troops, as I adviſed the Duke and Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, inſtead of being aſſiſtant to me, would rather be prejudicial, and increaſe the Harm inſtead of diminiſhing it; ſince both the Troops already here, and thoſe which were to come, would miſerably periſh for want of Victuals, Corn, and Forage. Theſe Circumſtances having been maturely weighed, after the Arrival of the Squadron in *Italy*, it was there reſolved, in a Council of War, held at *Vado*, that they ſhould go directly to *Sardinia*, and there land the Count *de Cyfuentes* with the Regiment of *Toff*; but inſtead of directing their Courſe to that Iſland, according to the Reſolution of the ſaid Council, Captain *Hicks*, (who after the Death of Vice-admiral *Dilks*, had the Command as eldeſt of the Squadron) notwithſtanding that the Wind was moſt favourable for *Sardinia*, made the beſt of his Way for *Barcelona*; where being arrived with Part of the Fleet, and of the Troops, leaving the reſt behind, he returned to *Liſbon*; whereby he has left my Perſon, this Principality, and the Army expoſed to the greateſt Extremities and Dangers they ever were threatened with; having no Regard to the lively Repreſentations and Proteſtations which were made to him from me, and all the Miniſters and Generals which are at my Court, to perſuade him to go towards *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Italy*, to embark the Imperial and *Palatine* Horſe, which are at the Sea ſide for that Purpoſe; and it may be, the Queen, my Spouſe, and Prince *Eugene*, are likewiſe there with the ſame Deſign. I ſhall not enlarge upon ſeveral Circumſtances, which ſhew but too evidently the irregular Conduct of this Captain Commandant; nor upon the unhappy Conſequences which are to be apprehended, to the very great Prejudice and Diſadvantage of the common Cauſe; ſince all the *Dutch*, and Part of the *Engliſh* Captains, who, moved with a true Zeal, agreed with my Sentiments, and will not fail giving you a perfect Knowledge thereof. I ſhall only repeat to you, that to maintain ourſelves in this Principality, and to preſerve this Army, there is no better Way of effecting it, than by tranſporting hither Corn and a greater Number of Troops, both which may be done, provided the Squadron under your Orders in the River of *Liſbon* arrive ſpeedily.

“ The famous Teſtimonies which you have given me on ſeveral Occaſions, where the Security of my Perſon and the Good of the common Cauſe were depending, and eſpecially in that of the Siege and Deliverance of this capital City, leave me no room to doubt, but that you will uſe all the Diligence imaginable to fly to my Succour, and to ſecure my Perſon, and this whole Army and Principality of *Catalonia*; the Loſs and entire Ruin of which would otherwiſe be unavoidable: As for other Matters, I refer you to Father *Cienfugos*, who will repreſent to you from me every Thing more at large; and aſſuring you of my conſtant Eſteem and Gratitude, I pray God keep you in his holy Care, and give you and all your Squadron a ſpeedy and happy Voyage. Dated from *Barcelona*, *February* 5, 1708, N. S.”

“ Charles.

This Letter came incloſed in the following, from Father *Cienfugos*, Envoy from his Catholick Majeſty to the Court of *Portugal*, dated from *Liſbon* the 8th of *April*, N. S.

“ Moſt excellent Sir,

“ I very much rejoice at your Excellency's happy Arrival in this Port, as being what I greatly deſired; and ſince I do not perſonally wait upon your Excellency to congratulate you upon your own good Arrival, and that of all the Fleet, I remit your Excellency the incloſed Letter from the Catholick King my Maſter, to whoſe Expreſſions I have nothing to add, having ſuch Experience of the known Zeal, wherewith your Excellency has ever attended upon whatever relates to his Majeſty's Intereſt. His Royal Perſon, with the whole Principality of *Catalonia*, is in ſo urgent a Neceſſity at preſent, that I do not doubt, but that the great Love your Excellency bears to the Intereſt of her *Britannick* Majeſty, the King my Maſter's Perſon, and the publick Cauſe, will induce you to make all poſſible Haſte to his Succour with the Fleet, as one who is ſo much accuſtomed to arrive in time upon the like urgent Occaſions. I alſo beg your Excellency will be pleaſed to order, that about 22 *Spaniſh* Officers, and eight other Perſons, may be tranſported with the Ships to *Catalonia*; they will take care to provide Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtence, and may be very ſerviceable to the common Cauſe in *Catalonia*, there being ſome Officers amongſt them of much Experience and Valour. God preſerve your Excellency many Years, as I deſire. Dated, *&c.*”

“ Albaro Cienfugos.”

To this Letter Sir *John* returned an Anſwer: That he ſhould always be ready to ſhew the Affection he had for his Catholick Majeſty's Service, and that of the common Cauſe: And ſo ſoon as he was informed of the Names of thoſe Officers and other Perſons which he mentioned were deſigned for *Barcelona*, he would give Orders that they might be embarked amongſt the Ships bound thither with him; and which was accordingly done ſoon after.

Sir *John* ſailed on the 27th of *April* from *Liſbon*, and on the 11th of *May* fell in with 90 Cettees and Tartans, laden with Proviſions, under the Convoy of three *French* Men of War, about 14 Leagues from *Barcelona*, bound for *Peniſcola*, of which he took 75; the reſt, all but eight, were taken by the *Spaniards*, and the Men of War eſcaped by their Oars in the Night.

By this Succeſs upon the Enemy's Corn Fleet, *Barcelona* once more received an unexpected Deliverance: For as that City had formerly been relieved by Sir *John Leake* in the critical Minute, from abſolute Deſtruction, ſo the ſame good Fortune attended him now, to preſerve them from the Rage of Famine which threatened them. The Diſtreſs not only *Barcelona* but the Army of the Allies were under, for want of Corn, is livelily expreſſed in his Majeſty's Letter to Sir *John* of the 5th of *February* before-mentioned; and what Advantages this fortunate Accident afforded the publick Affairs in *Spain*, King *Charles*'s Court and our Officers in *Catalonia* were very ſenſible of.

As the Neceſſity of *Barcelona* for Corn at that time was very preſſing, his Majeſty deſired, that what had been taken from the Enemy might be diſpoſed in his Magazines, they being very ill provided, which Sir *John* conſented to; and the Day after his Arrival, attended by the reſt of the Admirals, he went on-ſhore to wait upon the King; who, having Notice of it, had appointed proper Officers with Coaches to receive them at the Water-ſide. In this Manner they were conducted to the Palace, attended by Crowds of People, expreſſing their Sentiments of Gratitude, by repeated Cries of *Viva el Regna Ama*. When they arrived at the Court, they were received by a Battalion of the Foot-guards drawn out upon that Occaſion, and were introduced to his Majeſty's Preſence by the Prince *de Lichſtenſtein*, the Conde *de Oropeſca*, a Grandee of the firſt Rank, the Counts *Galves*, *Kolonitz*, and *Zinzendorf*; where was found a magnificent Appearance of foreign Miniſters and Nobility. His Majeſty received Sir *John* with particular Marks of Eſteem and Affection, and the whole Court expreſſed the utmoſt Regard for his Perſon and Merits, and particularly with regard to the Benefit they had received by his Succeſs upon the *French* Corn-fleet, and not ſeeming any ways apprehenſive of Danger from the Enemy, now he was arrived.

Having concerted Meaſures with King *Charles* for the further Operations of his Fleet, Sir *John* departed for *Vado* in *Italy*, embarked the Troops, as requeſted by his Majeſty, and returned with them, and his Majeſty's Royal Conſort, on the 14th of *July*, to *Matero*, where her Majeſty landed: But it was the 17th before he could reach *Barcelona*, where he received the Thanks of their Majeſties, and a handſome Preſent of a Diamond-ring, Value 300l.

The next Expedition was intended for the Conqueſt of *Sardinia*, at the urgent Requeſt of King *Charles*; and Sir *John* departed for that Iſland on the 25th, and made the Land of *Sardinia* on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*. The Admiral, about Five in the Evening, being a-breſt of the chief City *Cagliari*, ſent a-ſhore, with a Flag of Truce, a Summons to the Vice-roy, and the Magiſtrates of that City, for them to ſurrender within four Hours; which not being anſwered to his Satisfaction, the Bombs were ordered to play upon the City all Night; and Preparations were at the ſame time making to attack the ſame early in the Morning: But as ſoon as the Citizens ſaw the Forces land on the Eaſt of the Town, being already frighted by the Bombardment, they ſubmitted to King *Charles*, and admitted his Garriſon immediately to take Poſſeſſion thereof.

The Queen of *Great-Britain* having commanded him to demand Satisfaction of the Pope for certain Affronts put upon her Crown and Dignity, Sir *John* propoſed, on this Opportunity, to put thoſe Orders in Execution: But the *Dutch* excuſed themſelves from that Service, alledging, that as the Affront was peculiar to the *Britiſh* Nation, they could not accompany him upon ſuch an Expedition.

Nevertheleſs, Sir *John* reſolved to proceed to *Cevitta Vecchia*, with the *Britiſh* Squadron, and drew up the following Letter to ſend to his Holineſs as ſoon as he arrived there.

“ Holy FATHER,

“ My Royal Miſtreſs, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, being aſſuredly informed, that your Holineſs, did not only promote and encourage the late intended Invaſion of her Majeſty's Dominions, by the pretended Prince of *Wales*, aſſiſted by the *French*; but did alſo advance a conſiderable Sum of Money for that End, and in the moſt publick and inſolent Manner, order Prayers in the Churches of *Rome*, for the Succeſs of the Expedition; which is an Affront of that Nature to her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, her Crown and Dignity, the *Britiſh* Nation, and all her Majeſty's Allies, that her Majeſty (expecting Reparation for ſo high an Indignity, and that the Expences to which the ſaid Expedition has put her Majeſty and her People be repaid) has commanded me to demand of your Holineſs the Sum of 400,000 Crowns, and to acquaint your Holineſs, that if this Demand is not inſtantly complied with, your Country will be put under military Execution.

“ I deſire your Holineſs will be pleaſed to return me an Anſwer hereunto in three Days at furtheſt; and I hope 'twill be in ſuch a Manner, as to prevent your Holineſs's Subjects from feeling the rigorous Effects of what my Duty obliges me to undertake, and the Naval and Land Force, I have the Honour to command, will enable me to perform.

“ *I am, Holy Father,*
“ *Your Holineſs's moſt*, &c.
“ J. LEAKE.”

The next Day, being the 18th, early in the Morning, Sir *John* made the Signal to weigh, as likewiſe for a Council of War to have their Approbation of the Meaſures he had concerted to put in Execution againſt the Pope. In the mean time, a Felucca arrived in the Fleet, Expreſs from *Barcelona*, with Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Mr. *Stanhope*, which ſet aſide the whole *Italian* Expedition.

Theſe Letters were to recal him to the Conqueſt of *Minorca* and *Port-Mahon*, which he complied with, and effectually performed. He arrived off of *Mahon* on the 25th of *Auguſt*, before the Land-forces, deſtined for that Service, under Lieutenant-general *Stanhope*: But the Iſlanders no ſooner ſaw the Troops of King *Charles* land, than they voluntarily ſubmitted, as did alſo the Magiſtrates of the City of *Mahon*, on the 6th of *September*; and ſuch Meaſures were taken by Sir *John* for reducing the Caſtle of *St. Philip*, as made the Conqueſt certain: Therefore leaving ſeven Sail under Sir *Edward Whitaker*, he, on the 8th, ſailed for *England*, and on the 19th of *October* arrived at *Spithead*.

Sir *John* returned with great Honour to his native Country, after the late ſucceſsful Campaign, having performed himſelf every conſiderable Action which had been done by Sea in the War with *Spain*, from the Battle of *Malaga*; and as after this he went no more abroad, ſo it is remarkable nothing more of any Conſequence was performed by Sea in the *Mediterranean*, during the Continuance of the War. He therefore well deſerves the Epithet of Brave and Fortunate. which the Writers of Queen *Anne*'s Reign have given him, This juſtly merited the Attention and Favour of the Queen and Prince, and gained him the univerſal Eſteem of the whole Nation; which appeared by ſome Circumſtances that happened in his Favour at home, during his Abſence: For ſoon after he ſailed for the *Mediterranean*, the Prince appointed him one of his Council as Lord High-admiral, a Promotion indeed not only natural, as he was Admiral of the Fleet, but even neceſſary at that time to give a Sanction to their Proceedings; for the Buſineſs of the Admiralty had been very looſely managed by thoſe of the Council, who, though moſtly Admirals, had ſhewn very little Judgment or Application. Mr. *Churchill* was one of the Council, and was very aſſiduous to have Sir *John* amongſt them, as well to ſerve his Friend, as for the extraordinary Opinion he had of his Judgment and Integrity. About the ſame time likewiſe, her Majeſty having diſſolved the Parliament, and ordered Writs to be iſſued for a new one returnable the 8th of *July*; Sir *John*, though then abroad, was choſen both for the City of *Rocheſter* and the Borough of *Harwich*, each of theſe Places ſtriving to be moſt unanimous in the Choice of him to repreſent them in Parliament. Accordingly, he had Application made to him from both thoſe Places, each deſirous to have the Preference; but as it is eſteemed more honourable to repreſent a City than a ſmall Borough, he choſe to repreſent that City. Thus, what others cannot obtain, but with great Aſſiduity and Expence, he acquired by Merit only, and the Fame of his Actions; a Happineſs few Men attain to.

The 24th of *May*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *John*, Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*, and of the Admiralty thereof, by Patent, under the Great Seal, as uſual; the ſecond that had been appointed in that Poſt, (Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* being the firſt) which before the Union was called Rear-admiral of *England*, &c. a Poſt of great Honour; the ſaid Officer, and the Vice-admiral, being next, and immediately under the Lord High-admiral, for the Direction of maritime Affairs, and this of Rear-admiral is generally conferred upon the ſenior Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet by way of Eminence above others, who have or may have that Command.

From this Time we find Sir *John* appointed for the Home-ſervice, and cruiſing on the *French* Coaſt with a ſmall Squadron. On the 8th of *November*, the Earl of *Pembroke* having reſigned the important Poſt of Lord High Admiral, Sir *John Leake* was appointed the ſecond in the Commiſſion for executing that Office: On the 12th Sir *John* was ſuperſeded in his Poſt, of Admiral and Commander in Chief, by *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; and in *April* following we find Sir *John* at the Head of the Admiralty, contrary to his Inclination, upon the Reſignation of Lord *Orford*, the firſt Commiſſioner. However, Sir *John*, though he was content to be Chairman, or Senior in the Commiſſion of the Admiralty, perſiſted in refuſing the Poſt of Firſt-commiſſioner, becauſe a Firſt-commiſſioner is a Miniſterial-officer, and anſwerable for every thing done at the Board: But by acting only as a Senior Commiſſioner, or Chairman, he could not be accounted otherwiſe than a Member, and conſequently not more accountable than the other of his Fellow-commiſſioners.

In 1710 Sir *John* was re-choſen Repreſentative for *Rocheſter*; and tired with the unthankful Trouble he met with at the Admiralty-board, he was, on the 26th of *January* 1710-11, appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet a third Time; and in the *May* following took the Command of a Squadron for the home Service, but left that Command in the Beginning of *July*, and went no more to Sea that Year.

He hoped by the time he returned to the Admiralty-board, her Majeſty would have made Choice of ſome Perſon to have filled the Vacancy of Firſt Lord Commiſſioner, and he would willingly have acted in the ſecond Station; but finding Affairs in as bad a Situation or rather worſe, he declined the Buſineſs of the Admiralty-board as much as poſſible; by this means the Place of Chairman at the Board devolved upon Sir *George Byng*, who being an artful, deſigning Man, and well qualified to fiſh in troubled Waters, improved every Circumſtance to his own Advantage. Not long after, he applied himſelf to the Miniſters, deſiring, that a Firſt Commiſſioner might be appointed at the Admiralty-board, or that he might reſign his Place there, and be put upon the Eſtabliſhment of Half-pay, as Admiral of the Fleet; to which it was replied, they would acquaint her Majeſty with his Deſire, and know her Pleaſure. But in the mean time they uſed Arguments to perſuade him rather to take upon him the Place of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Board, as what the Queen expected from him; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord Preſident of the Council, propoſed to him, that he ſhould be created a Peer for that Purpoſe, as his eminent Services well deſerved. But he told the Duke, that he had not a Fortune ſuitable to that Dignity: That if he had a Fortune ſufficient, he was unhappy in a Son, from whom he had no Expectation of Iſſue; and that for himſelf, he had no Ambition of any further Honour than her Majeſty had already conferred upon him; and as to the Poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, he abſolutely refuſed it, and deſired to remain only in his Station as Admiral. This being reported to the Queen, ſhe ordered him to be ſent for, told him, that ſhe was entirely ſatisfied with his Conduct, and deſired he would continue to do his Duty at that Board, as he had hitherto done, till ſhe appointed a Firſt Commiſſioner, which ſhe promiſed to do very ſoon. After this, there could be no room for further Complaint; he was only blamed by his Friends, for not embracing this favourable Opportunity to put himſelf above the Frowns of Fortune. He was certainly very much in Favour with her Majeſty at that time, and he might have ſatisfied his utmoſt Wiſhes. To refuſe all this, was an Inſtance of great Moderation and Virtue; ſuch Examples are very rare: It is a rigid kind of Virtue, that none but the braveſt and beſt Men are capable of, and the Example will rather be admired than imitated.

The *French* King having agreed to ſeveral previous Articles demanded by the Queen, as a Foundation for a Suſpenſion of Arms, and amongſt other, the giving up immediately into our Poſſeſſion the Town of *Dunkirk*, a Fleet was appointed to aſſemble in the *Downs*, in order to be ready to proceed with the Troops upon that Service; and Sir *John Leake* was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet the 4th time, by Commiſſion, dated the 3d of *April* 1712. Theſe previous Articles were not however ſo ſoon complied with as was expected, it being the 25th of *June*, N. S. before a Copy of them, ſigned by the Marquis *de Torcy*, was tranſmitted to the Duke of *Ormond*, and then not entirely as the Queen had demanded. But the Miniſters did not boggle at ſmall Matters, eſpecially as the Ceſſation of Arms was not to take Place till *Dunkirk* was actually in our Poſſeſſion. As ſoon therefore as the Articles arrived, Sir *John* received Orders to proceed to the *Downs*, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet there. In his Way thither, he was received with great Marks of Eſteem and Reſpect, by the Corporation of the City of *Rocheſter*, who expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Service he was going upon, which he could, however, hardly perſuade them would be performed on the Part of *France*: Nor was this Opinion ſingular to them, but did generally prevail amongſt the wiſer and more diſcerning Part of the Nation.

Sir *John* punctually obeyed every Direction for this Service; and on the 8th of *July* ſaw it performed with great Punctuality [a]. Being returned to the *Downs*, he ſtruck his Flag, and repaired to *London* on the 31ſt of the ſame Month, with Leave, having, by Order, committed the Care of the Fleet to Sir *Edward Whitaker*.

Her Majeſty ſo far kept her Word with Sir *John*, as to appoint the Earl of *Strafford* firſt Lord of the Admiralty; but his Lordſhip continuing at *Utrecht*, the Weight of that Board ſtill remained on Sir *John*. On the 7th of *March* 1712-3, he was again appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet; and, as ſuch, he received the whole Pay till the 25th of *Auguſt* following, though it is certain he never went to Sea after the Peace was ratified.

A new Parliament being ſummoned, Sir *John* was choſen a third Time for *Rocheſter*; in which Station he was found at the Death of Queen *Anne*, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1714; and though no one deſerved better of their King and Country than this Admiral, he was left out in the firſt Board of Admiralty [b], after the Acceſſion of King *George* I. and on the 5th of *November* following, was ſuperſeded as Admiral of the Fleet, and Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*, by *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq;.

But this was not the laſt Indignity thrown upon this brave and honeſt Seaman; for, upon iſſuing the Writs for a new Parliament, the Miniſtry knowing that the Citizens of *Rocheſter* would compliment Sir *John Leake*, who had endeared himſelf to them by many Services, and particularly by maintaining a Free-ſchool at 50l. *per annum*, to teach their Children to write and caſt Accounts, they prevailed with Mr. *Beſt*, his Siſter's Huſband, and of Eminence in that Corporation for his Wealth, *&c.* to diſſuade him from accepting their voluntary Election, which that deceitful Brother-in-law artfully contrived and effected, though not without Sir *John*'s Diſcovery of the Intrigue.

There was one Thing, yet remained to be brought upon the Carpet, namely, what Proviſion was to be made for Sir *John*, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Service, ſince the national Proviſion of Half-pay as Admiral, was given to Mr. *Aylmer*. For every Sea-officer by that Eſtabliſhment, is entitled to Half-pay, when unemploy'd, according to his Seniority and Rank in the Navy, if he has not forfeited his Title thereto by Miſbehaviour; and as Sir *John* was removed, for Reaſons of State or Conveniency only, his Services moſt eminent, his Conduct unblameable; common Juſtice demanded a Recompence in lieu of that Half-pay, which he was juſtly and legally entitled to; this the Miniſters were conſcious of, and therefore ſoon after the Meeting of the Parliament, he was acquainted, he might have a Penſion, if he would apply for it: He took ſome time to conſider of it, for he thought it was a Matter of Right, which ſhould be granted of courſe, not aſked for: But amongſt Miniſters, it ſeems, this is the conſtant Method, and a Man muſt ſolicit to have common Juſtice, and take it as a Favour; and though Cuſtom has reconciled this Practice, it is irkſome to a generous Mind, not uſed to

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[a] We did keep it till the entire Demolition was performed; but this was not done till three Months after the time limited, and ſix after the ſigning of the Peace; which encouraged the Inhabitants, to petition her Majeſty to ſpare the Port and Harbour of that Town; but the Queen would not hearken to it. Soon after, Colonel Armſtrong and Colonel Clayton were, by a Patent under the Great Seal, appointed Commiſſioners, to ſee the Fortifications demoliſhed and raſed; and at the ſame time two Captains of Men of War were appointed by the Admiralty, to ſee the Harbour ruined and filled up. The French upon this, as on all other Occaſions, ſhewed their uſual Chicanery, and would have begun, by making a Breach in the main Fortifications of the Town, whereby the Engliſh Garriſon would have been expoſed, and the French might eaſily have made themſelves Maſters of the Place, and prevented any further Proceedings; but the Commiſſioners inſiſted the Outworks ſhould be firſt demoliſhed, both to the Sea and Land; next the Harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main Fortifications of the Place deſtroyed, and laſt of all the Citadel; which was accordingly begun the 26th of September, and finiſhed the latter End of November 1713. Thus was this ancient Neſt of Pirates diſmantled, both Haven and Fortifications, which had coſt the French King ſuch immenſe Sums, and from whence the Britiſh Nation received more Damage in their Trade, than from almoſt all the Ports of France beſides, either in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean. Sir John Leake's Life.

[b] Dated October 11, 1714.

beg Favours; and Sir *John* could not have brought his Spirit to it for the Sake of the Advantage; but conſidering, (as the times then were) that he might be ſtigmatized as diſaffected, and under that Character, his old Sea Acquaintance ſtill employed would not dare to come near him; this Conſideration, he declared, was the ſole Motive that induced him to apply for a Penſion. But he was equally ſurpriſed and diſappointed, when he underſtood that his Majeſty by his Warrant, under his Signet and Sign Manual, dated *July* 30, 1715, as a Mark of his Royal Favour and Bounty, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Service, had granted him a Penſion of 600 *l.* a Year only, upon the ordinary Eſtabliſhment of the Navy; a Penſion no greater than had been given to Sir *Stafford Fairbourne*, who had been only a Vice-admiral; whereas, by the conſtant Uſage, Penſions are always equivalent, at leaſt to the Half-pay, which of Admiral of the Fleet is the clear Sum of 2 *l.* 10 *s.* per Diem. This Partiality was the more obvious, becauſe Mr. *Aylmer*, who ſucceeded Sir *John*, as Admiral, (being Junior to him in that Poſt,) only once before commanding in that Station in the Year 1710, at home, having before that only been a Vice-admiral, and never done any Service worthy Memory, was immediately put upon Half-pay as Admiral, and paid Arrears as ſuch from the Year 1710, though Sir *John* was actually Admiral all the time. It was certainly an ungenerous Act of the then Lords Commiſſioners; for Sir *John*'s Actions were well known to his Majeſty; and he would as readily have conſented to a ſuitable as an unſuitable Penſion, had their Lordſhips propoſed it. He was now under a greater Delemma than before, for he was under the Neceſſity of taking a Penſion below his Character, or poſitively to refuſe it, and thereby bring upon himſelf all the Inconveniencies he intended to avoid. He was much perplexed, and remained ſome time in Suſpence what to do. Such a Penſion was an ungrateful Return for his Services to the Publick, and he could only reſent it by rejecting it.

But his Friends uſed ſome Arguments to perſuade him to take it: That though it was a mean Allowance for what it was intended, namely, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Services, as Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, *&c.* yet it however was an Acknowledgment of his Merit and Services; and if it was not ſo much as it ought to be, it would reflect upon the Giver rather than the Receiver: That if he refuſed it, his Enemies might uſe that as an Argument, that he was not ſo well affected to his Majeſty King *George* as he would be thought to be: That it might likewiſe be called an Affront to his Majeſty, and the Effect of Pride; whereas by accepting it, he would give his Enemies no room to reflect; and though this Penſion was otherwiſe ſmall, yet with reſpect to his Fortune, it was conſiderable; would make his Retirement more comfortable and eaſy, and enable him to do ſome Things agreeable to his Inclination, which the Streightneſs of his Fortune would not otherwiſe permit him to do: In ſhort, that all the Reaſons which induced him to aſk for a Penſion, were much ſtronger to make him accept of it now it was granted. Upon theſe Conſiderations, he returned Anſwer, that he would accept of it, which was all that paſſed upon this Occaſion. But this, like other Penſions of King *George*'s Reign, was ſull taxed and ill paid; ſo that it did not amount to an actual Penſion of 500 *l.* a Year [*].

From the time of his declining the Election at *Rocheſter*, Sir *John* wholly devoted himſelf to Privacy; he hardly ever went to *London*, never to Court: It was a Place he had always avoided as much as poſſible, and now altogether, as he had no Buſineſs there. He had ſome Years had a Country-houſe at *Bedington* in *Surry*, to which he had uſed to retire as often as the Buſineſs of the Publick would permit; but that ſome of his Acquaintance might more conveniently come to ſee him, he reſolved to have another Houſe nearer *London*. For this Purpoſe, he pitched upon a Spot of Ground at *Greenwich*, where he amuſed himſelf with building a little Box, to reſide in now and then for a Week or two. But the Proſpect of the River, and the Navigation, gave him ſo much Pleaſure, that he afterwards enlarged it, and ſpent much of his time there. Theſe two Houſes afforded an agreeable Variety, and at both Places he was viſited by his Neighbours, without Diſtinction of Party, being generally eſteemed by all, for his open, generous, humane Diſpoſition; ſome few likewiſe in Place, who were under Obligations to him, had the Gratitude to acknowledge it.

We have now brought Sir *John* from the moſt publick to the moſt private Station, a Contraſt which few can bear with an equal Mind. Every Man who has experienced it in private Life, is ſenſible how difficult it is for a Man of Buſineſs to retire; but much more ſo muſt it be to Men in publick Stations, attended with Authority and Reſpect, where a Man is never without a Circle of Attendants, receiving Honours and diſpenſing Favours; for ſuch a Man to be alone is almoſt not to be. There is no Station whatſoever, attended with ſo much Power and Grandeur as the Military, wherein, as Generals or Admirals commanding in Chief, they have the Power and Reſpect of Princes. Moreover, in time of War, eſpecially if attended with the Triumphs of a Conqueror, they are both feared and courted wherever they go, like the Maſters they repreſent. To this, the Grandeur of the higheſt Offices at home bears no Proportion, becauſe in the Preſence of the Sovereign all leſſer Powers are eclipſed; and it does not become a Prince to ſhew that Reſpect and Familiarity to a Subject, however great, which he may think fit, and it may be proper to do to a Foreigner who commands the Forces of an Ally for his Service. Thoſe that have been accuſtomed to theſe Honours, can but ill brooke the Dependance they ſtand in and muſt ſhew to Miniſters at home, much leſs is it tolerable to ſink at once into a Privacy.

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[*] And here I cannot but reflect upon the Hardſhips that attend military Perſons, (more eſpecially in the Sea ſervice) above the Civil. For what is the Reward the brave Man is to expect, if after a Life of Glory, he happily eſcapes with Life and Limbs? Why, the Honour of having done all this; but as to Advantage, which is the due Acknowledgment of it, if providentially, by ſome lucky Hit, he has not improved his Fortune, (for by the ordinary Advantages of his Profeſſion he cannot do it) he muſt invert the whole Man, and ſubmit to every Thing moſt injurious to a brave and generous Mind, to obtain a juſt Reward, which ſometimes with all this cannot be had. Now in civil Employments we find every Man qualified for what he can obtain, and if one civil Employment does not anſwer, another will: But a military Man can hardly change his Profeſſion; and he has this particular Diſadvantage in England, that however great, virtuous, and fortunate his Actions may be, if he is not of the reigning Party, or a Turn happens in the Miniſtry, they will profit him nothing. To which I might add, the neceſſary Dependance all military Actions abroad have upon Friends at home, and how much a Man is expoſed in his Abſence to loſe both Friends and Reputation, by the Treachery of deſigning Courtiers. But having ſaid ſo much upon this Subject in general, I muſt obſerve, that the Sea-ſervice is more expoſed to all theſe Diſadvantages than the Land: Their Preferments more difficult, their Hazards and Fatigues greater, and their Reward leſs than in the Land-ſervice: That their Preferment is more difficult in the Sea than in the Land-ſervice appears from hence; that, whereas a Man may become a Captain in the latter at once, without any previous Qualifications; in Sea-ſervice he muſt ſerve in different Stations a prefixed Time, muſt produce Vouchers of his good Behaviour, and prove himſelf qualified by Examinations, both in Theory and Practice, even before he can be a Lieutenant; and being thus qualified, and even having behaved bravely, he may yet never obtain a Lieutenant's Commiſſion, if he wants a Friend, and greater Difficulty will attend him afterwards to obtain a Command. Now the eldeſt Lieutenant of a Regiment generally ſucceeds to be a Captain, the eldeſt Captain to be a Major, and ſo Lieutenant-colonel at leaſt, and ſometimes to be Colonel; and then the Promotion to be a General Officer, is ſhorter and more certain than from Captain to Admiral, as there are ſo many more General Officers than Admirals. All this while the Land-officer is in Pay, conſtant whole Pay, whereas the Sea-officer is but occaſionally employed, and at other times on Half-pay only, which, if he has not a good Intereſt at the Admiralty-board, may be always, being forced to make freſh Application to his Friends every time his Ship is paid off; and in times of Peace Admirals are ſeldom employed at all, and except two or three of the Admirals, who are Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the reſt are not upon ſo good a Foot as the loweſt Field-officers in the Land-ſervice. As to the Fatigues and Hazards there can be no Compariſon. For beſides all that the Soldiers are liable to, the Seamen are expoſed to Storms, Rocks, Springing of Leaks, blowing up, and various Accidents the others know nothing of; their Lives are one continued Scene of Labour and Danger, never idle; and whilſt the Soldier in Winter is ſafe in his Quarters, then is the Seaman contending with all the Elements, in remote Climates, and ready, if Occaſion be, to do the Soldier's Duty. Neither in an Engagement by Sea is he leſs expoſed, than the Soldier is in a Battle or a Siege; for there, every Man is equally expoſed and cannot flinch, and the Battle is more fierce and bloody; and if it does not happen that in Lines of Battle at Sea ſo many fall as in Battles by Land, it is becauſe all that are killed in Sea-fights are killed in Battle, whereas three Quarters of thoſe that are killed in Land-engagements are killed in the Flight. After all theſe Difficulties, Fatigues, and Dangers, being arrived to the Rank of an Admiral, I know not by what Fate, but our Miniſters, nor even our Princes do not ſhew the ſame Regard to an Admiral as to a General; and whilſt the Land-generals, beſides their proper Commands, have Governments, and even civil Preferments, but certainly a Regiment, whereby he is enabled to live ſuitable to his Rank, and every Colonel is enabled in like Manner to do ſo; the poor Sea-general has only the ſmall Pittance of his Half-pay to ſupport him in Obſcurity, abſolutely excluded from all other publick Employment whatſoever; and this Half-pay not certain neither; for we have ſhewn that all the Advantage Sir John Leake derived from the Merit of his many and eminent Services to his Country, terminated in a Penſion equivalent to little more than half his Half-pay as Admiral. Neverthleſs, by taking it, he diſappointed and ſilenced his Enemies, giving a Proof of that Moderation, which he had ſhewn all his Life, never ſeeking a Reward, but patiently waiting to receive whatever his Country might think he deſerved. See the Life of Sir JOHN LEAKE, by *Stephen-Martin Leake*, Eſq; Garter King at Arms.

Such was the Retirement Sir *John* was now in: He had however one Satisfaction which the World cannot give, neither take away, namely, the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience; his Life had been a Life of Glory, to his own and his Country's Honour, and though his Enemies had taken his Preferments from him, he was ſure they could lay nothing to his Charge, and even were forced to acknowledge his Merits. Theſe pleaſing Reflections are the peculiar Happineſs of great and virtuous Minds; and this (the utmoſt Felicity of human Nature) he experienced. But the moſt virtuous and ſtrongeſt Minds, habituated to publick Affairs, cannot immediately be reconciled to a private Life, the Tranſition is too great to be ſuddenly effected: Whatever we have been long accuſtomed to, becoming a Habit, is a Part of our Conſtitution; and we may as well pretend to diveſt ourſelves of Fleſh and Blood, as not to have ſome little Struggle with ourſelves, to overcome thoſe Ideas which have been ſo long and ſo deeply impreſſed; for this is doing Violence to Nature. Whatever is ſtrange to us muſt be diſagreeable till it becomes familiar, and that our Reaſon muſt effect by time: So Sir *John* was under ſome Diſguſt at a Change ſo great, ſo ſudden; but it ſoon became familiar and eaſy. He died on the Morning of the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, 1720, in the 65th Year of his Age; and the 30th following, his Body was carried from thence to the Pariſh Church of *Stepney*, in a Manner ſuitable to the Station he had been in, and was depoſited in a Family Vault, under a Monument, which he had erected ſome Years before, upon the Death of his Wife. Having now brought him to his Grave in Peace, I proceed to deſcribe his Perſon and Character.

Sir *John Leake* was of a middle Stature, well ſet and ſtrong, a little inclining to Corpulency, but not ſo as to incommode him in the leaſt. His Complexion was florid, his Countenance open, his Eye ſharp and piercing, and his Addreſs both graceful and manly, denoting both the military Man and the Gentleman. As he had a good Perſon he had alſo a good Conſtitution, hardly ever knowing what it was to be ſick; and though he took his Bottle freely, as was the Cuſtom in his time in the Fleet, yet he was never diſguiſed, or impaired his Health by it. His Diſpoſition was naturally chearful and good-humoured, free and open, unleſs before Strangers, he at firſt appeared a little reſerved, but it ſoon diſappeared. He was endowed with very good natural Parts, and though he had not what the World calls Learning, yet few Men expreſſed themſelves more properly, either by writing or ſpeaking. His Paſſions, though ſtrong, were governed by the Dictates of right Reaſon, and never betrayed him into any Indecencies. He was hot but not paſſionate, and maintained an even Temper, unleſs excited by ſome extraordinary Cauſe; when, nevertheleſs, he was ſoon pacified and ready to forgive, no Man being more humane. In his Dreſs he was neat and plain, never very fine, being as free from Oſtentation and Vanity in all Things, as from Pride, which knew him not. In ſhort, as to his Perſon and natural Qualities, he was what Phyſicians define a perfect Man; namely, he had a ſound Mind in a ſound Body.

Thus formed by Nature, he ſeems to have been born to be a great Admiral: For beſides a Propenſity to a military Life, and a Genius for the Sea, he had all the Endowments requiſite to that End, which he improved by Art, and perfected by Experience. He was certainly one of the beſt Seamen this Iſland has produced, being perfect Maſter both in Theory and Practice; his Journals, in his own Handwriting, are a Proof of it, which he conſtantly kept, even after he was Admiral of the Fleet, a Duty, which now-a-Days, Captains will not condeſcend to do. Beſides this, he had many other Accompliſhments, which Sea-officers are generally unacquainted with. He underſtood Ship-building, Gunnery, Fortification, and the Diſcipline of the Land-ſervice, wanting only the Practice to have made him both a good Land-officer and an Engineer: And though all theſe Qualifications are not eſſential to a Sea commander, yet they are Helps, and ſerved to give him clearer Conceptions of ſome Things, than others had who wanted them; and joined with his long Experience, gave him a ſuperior Judgment in his Profeſſion. He had alſo a Head to contrive, and a Heart to execute, could endure great Fatigue, wherein he was patient and indefatigable, neither intimidated by Danger nor deterred by Difficulties. His Courage was of the keener Sort, without appearing raſh; but having once reſolved, he was not to be moved by Dangers or Difficulties; with this, he enjoyed ſuch a happy Preſence of Mind in all Dangers and Difficulties, as enabled him to obſerve every Thing that paſſed in Time of Battle, and to apply the beſt Directions; which he did at ſuch Times with a Spirit that gave Life to his Orders, and therefore had a greater Force and better Effect, than attends the confuſed Commands, uſually given upon ſuch Occaſions. He was particularly careful upon all Occaſions to diſtinguiſh his Courage, fearful only of doing any Thing that might look like Fear; for he was of Opinion, that the braveſt Man would always carry it, and that a Man muſt reſolve to overcome or he will never conquer.

The ſame Spirit appeared likewiſe in Councils of War, where, as he obſerved, a brave Man might as ſoon be diſcovered as in Battle: For in Battle there were many, who, forced by Neceſſity, would fight well enough to ſave their Reputation; but could they have prevailed in Council, had never fought at all, nor ever would undertake a brave Action for the Sake of Glory: This he had Reaſon to obſerve in the Courſe of his Conqueſts, ſome of which had never been accompliſhed, had he not exerted himſelf above the reſt. It was too often inſinuated by ſome, that an Undertaking propoſed was impracticable, if we had not a great Superiority, or there was nothing but Honour to be gained by it; but Sir *John* uſually replied, Let us make it practicable: And before he propoſed any Enterpriſe, was always well prepared to anſwer all Objections, and even to carry it immediately into Execution. This prudent Forecaſt, on which he laid all his Undertakings, drew a great Deference to his Opinion, and made him fortunate in all his Deſigns; and his Reſolutions being carried into Execution with equal Vigour, were attended with that glorious Succeſs, which juſtly gained him the Epithet of the Brave and Fortunate.

By theſe heroick Virtues, perſonal Merit and Induſtry, he attained to the higheſt Preferments in the Navy without Ambition, but not without Envy, the inſeparable Companion of great Actions, which made thoſe his Enemies, (but thoſe only) whom he rivalled in Glory; neither could he poſſibly have any other Enemies, being of that generous Diſpoſition, that he was every Man's Friend. He neither was proud of his own Fortune, nor envy'd that of others. His Mind was wholly ſet to perform the Buſineſs he was engaged in: He never attempted to undermine or ſupplant another, but waited patiently, and received thankfully ſuch Preferments and Rewards as his royal Miſtreſs thought fit to beſtow upon him; and in every Station he acquitted himſelf with the greateſt Fidelity and Modeſty. Indeed, he had too much of the latter, which made him backward to ſerve his own Friends, and too ready to ſerve others, that the World might not think him partial. He had a ſtrict Regard to his Honour, and hated every Thing that was mean and unbecoming a Gentleman: This made him deteſt all mercenary Views; and the Man who had his own private Intereſt at Heart, he thought could never faithfully ſerve his Country: Accordingly, in his whole Life, he never purſued an Enterprize with the Proſpect of any bye End to himſelf.

By Juſtice and Diſcipline he maintained a good Œconomy in the Fleet, without Oſtentation, and without Rigour; his natural Temper inclining him to the merciful Side. This made him ready to intereſt himſelf in the Cauſe even of an utter Stranger, and diſpoſed him to a generous Regard of the common Sailors, being truly ſenſible of the Hardſhips they ſuffered, and the Diſcouragements they lay under: Therefore he mitigated them as much as poſſible. As he was plain in his own Dreſs, ſo he did not much affect pretty Fellows in laced Coats, unleſs their Qualifications recommended them; but he loved a brave Action wherever he found it, and to ſuch Men, without Diſtinction of Gentleman or Party, he freely diſpenſed his Favours. Theſe are the Men that Seamen love, and this made him beloved by them.

As to his Principles, he was in all Things for the Happineſs and Proſperity of *England*, in Church and State, as by Law eſtabliſhed, as every good Subject muſt be. He ſerved King *James*, as far as was conſiſtent with this Principle, and upon the ſame Principle he ſerved King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*, bravely and faithfully: And as he had been engaged all his Life in the Cauſe of the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberty, ſo no Man could be more ſenſible of the Benefits to this Nation by the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. At the ſame time he retained a dutiful and grateful Regard to the Memory of Queen *Anne*, as the beſt of Women, the beſt of Queens, and the beſt of Miſtreſſes.

When removed from all his Employments, and in Retirement, he maintained his Character with an equal Mind, neither reſenting his own Fortune, nor envying that of others: But with a Tranquillity few Men can retreat from a public Station, having no uneaſy Reflections, nor any After-reckoning to fear; on the contrary, being conſcious of a Life ſpent for the public Good, he had thoſe pleaſing Reflections, which the World cannot give nor take away.

In private Life he was no leſs amiable: No Man was a better Huſband, a better Father, or a more ſincere Friend: In Converſation open and affable, and never happier than in his Family, and amongſt his particular Acquaintance. His good Nature and Generoſity ſhewed itſelf to all about him, or that had any Concerns with him; for he took Pleaſure in ſerving others. Few Men were freer from all Manner of Vice; even that of ſwearing, ſo generally practiſed amongſt Sea-commanders in his Time, he was rarely guilty of: And, to crown all, he was not only morally, but chriſtianly virtuous: He had a juſt Senſe of Religion, and was a worthy Member of the Church of *England*, without Bigotry or Superſtition. He cauſed divine Worſhip to be duly obſerved, and countenanced it by his own Example: He frequently communicated, and I have Reaſon to believe he uſed private Prayers, having found ſuch amongſt his Papers, in his own Hand-writing, adapted to the different Circumſtances of his Life. And his Religion was not Faith without Works; for beſides his general Beneficence to all Mankind, he did many particular Acts of Charity very privately. To ſum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant Man, and one of the greateſt Admirals of his Time, as his Actions demonſtrate. And one Thing can be ſaid of him, which can be ſaid of no other Admiral; namely, that he never betrayed one Miſtake, or had his Conduct cenſured; and his Death did not diſhonour his Life. Thus faithful to the End, he has left an Example to thoſe that come after, both as a virtuous Man, and a great Admiral.

BOOK VII.

Containing the LIVES of the ADMIRALS and NAVIGATORS, NAVAL EXPEDITIONS and SEA-FIGHTS, and other material Circumſtances relating to the BRITISH *Navy* and *Commerce*, from the Acceſſion of the Houſe of HANOVER to the Crown of GREAT-BRITAIN, to the preſent Time.

CHAP. I.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *during the Years* 1715, 1716, 1717.

UPON the Death of Queen *Anne*, the electoral Houſe of *Hanover*, purſuant to the Acts of Settlement paſſed in the 12th Year of King *William*, and 9th of Queen *Anne*, ſucceeded to the *Britiſh* Empire; and accordingly *George Lewis*, Elector of *Hanover*, and Heir to Princeſs *Sophia*, Grand-daughter to King *James* I. by *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Bohemia*, was proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, &c. on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1714.

His Majeſty King *George* arrived from *Hanover* on the 18th of *September*, and ſoon after made ſeveral conſiderable Alterations, not only in the Treaſury, *&c.* but more particularly in the Admiralty. His Majeſty found the Navy commanded as follows: Sir *John Leake*, Knt. was Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*; *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet; Sir *James Wiſhart*, Knt. Admiral of the White Squadron; Sir *John Norris*, Knt. Admiral of the Blue; *James* Earl of *Berkley*, Vice-admiral of the Red; Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Knt. Vice-admiral of the White; *John Baker*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue; Sir *Charles Wager*, Knt. Rear-admiral of the Red; Sir *Hovenden Walker*, Rear-admiral of the White; Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Knt. Rear-admiral of the Blue. Inſtead of *Thomas* Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *William Drake*, *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; Sir *James Wiſhart*, and Dr. *John Clarke*, his Majeſty appointed *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Dodington*, Eſq; Sir *John Jennings*, Sir *Charles Turner*, *Abraham Stanyan*, and *George Baillie*, Eſqrs. Lords of the Admiralty. In the Month of *November*, *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; was declared Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet; and ſoon after Sir *Charles Wager*, Rear-admiral of the Red, was ſent to relieve Sir *James Wiſhart* in the *Mediterranean*.

The new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter March* the 17th, who, on the 1ſt of *April* 1715, came to a Reſolution to allow 10,000 Seamen at 4 l. a Month; and on the 9th of *May* following, granted 135,574 l. 3 s. 6 d. for the Half-pay of Sea-officers; 197,896 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the Ordinary of the Navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary Repairs of the Navy, and Rebuilding of Ships.

The new Government was ſcarcely ſettled before they met with new Matters of Diſpute: Abroad, the *Swedes* interrupted our Trade, which obliged us to ſend a ſtrong Squadron up the *Baltic*, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*[*], who was then Admiral of the Blue, and who had Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Rear-admiral of the ſame Squadron, to aſſiſt him. The Admiral hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Cumberland*,

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[*] The great Point in Queſtion, as to this Swediſh Expedition, is, whether it took riſe from our own Concerns, or from thoſe of the Electorate of Hanover. On the one hand, it is very certain, that the Swediſh Privateers took our Ships, as well as thoſe of other Nations; and that, in fitting our Fleet for thoſe Seas, we did no more than the Dutch. On the Arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our Miniſter preſented a Memorial, in which he ſet forth the particular Damages ſuſtained by our Merchants, amounting to 69,024 l. 2 s. 9 d. for which he demanded Satisfaction; and, at the ſame time, inſiſted on the Repeal of an Edict, which his Swediſh Majeſty had lately publiſhed, and by which the Commerce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the Engliſh. This Memorial was preſented June 15, 1715, and in it the Nature of Sir John Norris's Commiſſion was explained; ſo that, thus far, all this Quarrel ſeems to ariſe from his Majeſty's Care of the Britiſh Commerce. Lamberti, Tom. ix. p. 251. Oldmixon, Annals of King George, &c. But as Elector of Hanover, he had alſo ſome Diſputes with his Majeſty of Sweden, of quite a different Nature; for having purchaſed

Cumberland, a Third-rate, having 10 Ships of the Line in his Diviſion. Sir *Thomas Hardy* was in the *Norfolk*, a Third-rate alſo, and had in his Diviſion eight Ships of the Line, the *Mermaid* Frigate of 32 Guns, and the *Drake* Sloop, which carried 16. This Fleet ſailed from the *Nore* on the 18th of *May*. Whatever might be the real Motive for this Expedition, it is not eaſy for us to determine; but we find nothing done therein, beſides giving the *Czar* an Opportunity to appear at Sea in Perſon, in the Character of Commander in Chief, and diſplaying his imperial Flag at the Head of the united Fleets of *Great-Britain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*, obliging the *Swedes* to retire into Port, and convoying the Trade to and from *Muſcovy*. In which Service were Shipwreck'd, the *Auguſt* of 60 Guns, and the *Garland* of 24 Guns, in a Storm: After which Sir *John* returned for *England*, leaving ſeven Ships of War under Commodore *Cleeland*, to act in Conjunction with the *Danes*, as need required, in the *Baltic*.

In the mean time a Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, under the Earl of *Mar*, in favour of the exiled Family of the *Stuarts*, which ſpread as far as *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, but was extinguiſhed without any Aſſiſtance of the Marine, though it was found expedient to keep a good Fleet in the *Downs*, and to ſend a ſtrong Squadron, under Sir *John Jennings*, to cruize in the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, and on the Eaſtern-coaſt of *Scotland* [a].

The 29th of *February* 1716, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that 10,000 Men be allowed for the Sea-ſervice at 4l. a Man per Month, for 13 Months; that the Sum of 233,849l. 19s. 6d. be granted his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year, and 295,202l. 11s. 1d. for Services of the Navy, ſo much as in the Year 1716, is to be paid for the Complement of the Funds of the *South-Sea* Company.

The 24th of *March* the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that the Sum of 230,623l. be granted his Majeſty for the extraordinory Repairs of the Navy, performed, and to be performed, in the Year 1716.

The Troubles at home encouraged the piratical States of *Barbary* to break the Peace; and though Admiral *Baker*, who then commanded the *Britiſh* Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, brought ſeveral of them to Reaſon, the *Sallee Rovers*, continued their Piracies till they were humbled by Captain *Delgarno*, one of the moſt active Officers in the Navy, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Hind*, of 20 Guns only, who came up with one of their beſt Men of War of 24 Guns, and after an obſtinate Engagement of two Hours and a half, obliged her to ſtrike; but ſhe had not been in his Poſſeſſion above a Quarter of an Hour, before ſhe ſunk; and all her Crew, except 38 Hands, periſhed: This, with the Loſs of another Veſſel of eight Guns, and two more of 16 Guns each, which were forced on-ſhore by his Majeſty's Ship the *Bridgewater*, delivered, in a great meaſure, the *Engliſh* Commerce in the *Mediterranean* from the Interruptions given by theſe Pirates [b].

In *July* 1716 his Majeſty viſited his *German* Dominions. At his Return to *England*, a deep concerted Plot, laid by Count *Gyllenbourgh*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, was diſcovered againſt the *Britiſh* Government; upon which, on the 21ſt of *February*, it was reſolved, in the Houſe of Commons, "That a Bill be brought in to authorize his Majeſty "to prohibit Commerce with *Sweden*, during ſuch a time "as his Majeſty ſhall think it neceſſary for the Safety and "Peace of his Kingdom;" which afterwards paſſed both Houſes, and had the royal Aſſent; and on the 2d of *March*, a Proclamation was publiſhed for this Purpoſe [c].

As this Affair muſt neceſſarily occaſion the ſending another Squadron to the *Baltic*, the neceſſary Supplies were very early granted, *viz.* 10,000 Seamen for the Service of the Year 1717; 226,799l. 5s. 3d. for the Ordinary of the Navy, and 20,761l. for the extraordinary Repairs, and for the furniſhing ſuch Sea-ſtores as might be neceſſary.

The *Baltic* Squadron was given to the Command of Sir *George Byng*, who ſailed with two Admirals under him to *Copenhagen* on the 30th of *March*, which was much objected to by thoſe who were hitherto ſuppoſed as penetrating Politicians as any in this Kingdom; and therefore an Oppoſition was created, where it was leaſt expected, I mean by ſome who had the Honour to be in the King's Councils; which did not hinder them from expreſſing their Sentiments with a *Britiſh* Freedom. Their Arguments, however, had ſo little Weight, that as ſoon as Sir *George Byng* was ſailed, ſome of the great Miniſters prevailed upon his Majeſty to ſend, on the 3d of *April* 1717, a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons to this Effect; "That being de-"ſirous to ſecure his Kingdoms againſt the preſent Dan-"gers with which they were threatned from *Sweden*, he "hoped they would enable him to make good ſuch En-"gagements as might eaſe his People of all future Charge "and Apprehenſions, upon this Account [d].

Sir *George* had Inſtructions to join the *Daniſh* and *Ruſſian* Fleets; but after ſpending a whole Summer in Parade, the Seaſon of the Year obliged him to return, with the greateſt Part of his Fleet, on the 2d of *November*; and he arrived at the Mouth of the *Thames* on the 15th [e].

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purchaſed from the Crown of Denmark the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Crown of Sweden, he found himſelf obliged, in quality of Elector, to concur with the firſt-mentioned Power, in declaring War againſt Sweden; and, even before this was done, ſome Engliſh Ships joined the Daniſh Fleet, in order to diſtreſs the Swedes. Of this the Swediſh Miniſter here complained, by a Memorial delivered to Lord Townſhend, then Secretary of State, dated October 3, 1715. His Swediſh Majeſty alſo, in anſwer to the Hanoverian Declaration of War, publiſhed ſome very ſevere Reflections, in which he aſſerts, that the Honour of the Britiſh Flag had been proſtituted to ſerve the Intereſts of another State, and in order to create an Intercourſe between the King's regal and electoral Dominions. Lamberti, Tom. ix. p. 301. Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. 1. p. 2. Oldmixon, &c.

[a] As the Pretender, with the Earl of Mar, found Means to eſcape, notwithſtanding theſe Diſpoſitions, it gave Occoſion to ſome Reflections on the Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships, as if they had not done their Duty; but that groundleſs Imputation they were intirely cleared of by the following Account, which the Government thought fit to publiſh in the Gazette. Edinburgh, February the 23d. "The Royal-Anne Galley, Pearl, Port-"Mahon, Deal-Caſtle, and Phœnix, are returned from cruiſing. It appears by the Journal of Captain Stuart, that he had early Intelligence of the "Pretender having put to Sea in a clean-tallowed French Snow, which rowed out of the Harbour, and cloſe in along the Shore, a good Way, with "her Sails furled. The Port-Mahon lay all that Night within two Leagues of the Harbour's Mouth, but it was ſo very dark, there was no ſeeing "a Ship a Quarter of a Mile diſtant. Captain Stuart, and the Pearl, were off Aberdeen; and when the Rebels marched out of that Town, having "Notice of their haſtening Northwards, and that Lord Tinmouth, with 150 French-officers, were contriving to make their Eſcape from Peterhead or "Frazerſburg, he immediately diſpatched the Pearl and Phœnix, with Orders to lie off of thoſe Places, which effectually diſappointed them. He "lay himſelf off Aberdeen, till the Duke of Argyle's Arrival there: The Wind afterwards blowing hard Southerly, he diſpoſed the Ships chiefly "on the South coaſts of Murray-Firth, ſent, by the Deal-caſtle, a Letter to the Earl of Sutherland to apprize him of the Flight of the Rebels, and "to prepare him to receive them in caſe they ſhould make a Puſh at Inverneſs, and traced Lord Tinmouth, and his Aſſociates, as far as Port-Sany, "where ſeeing a Ship of War lying to intercept them, they deſpaired of Succeſs on the Coaſt, and therefore they joined the Clans on the 10th In-"ſtant, and took to the Mountains. All the Ships kept the Sea diligently, when Wind and Weather would permit, and obſerved the Motions of "his Majeſty's Army ſo carefully, that the Duke of Argyle did not paſs through any Port-town, without finding ſome Ship ready to put in Execu-"tion any Service his Grace might have had, or to propoſe. On the 21ſt, Sir John Jennings received Advice from the Lord Lovat, that a Veſſel, "with the Pretender's Plate, and other Effects on-board, and a conſiderable Sum of Money for his Uſe, had lately put into the Lewis, and that "many of the Chief of the Rebels were making off to the Skie, and other North-Weſt Iſlands: Whereupon he immediately ordered the Drake-ſloop "thither, with Inſtructions to cruiſe about the Orknies, if the Winds ſhould then be contrary, and, by Expreſs, directed Captain Stuart of the Albo-"rough, to diſpatch the Happy-ſloop thither, and to cruiſe himſelf, with the Lively, for fourteen Days, about the Iſles of Iſlay, Mull, and Canney, "to endeavour to intercept the Rebels, or any Veſſels employed for their Relief."

[b] Oldmixon. Hiſtorical Regiſter. London Gazette, &c.

[c] Chandler's Debates. Oldmixon. Hiſtorical Regiſter, &c.

[d] This occaſioned warm Debates in the Houſe; it being ſaid, that the demanding a Supply, without communicating the particular Uſes to which it was to be appropriated, was unparliamentary; and even Mr. Walpole, afterwards created Earl of Orford, and Mr. Speaker appear to be againſt it. However, it was at length carried in the Committee, by 164 to 149. "That "it was the Opinion of the Committee, that a Sum not exceeding 250,000l. be granted to his Majeſty to concert ſuch Meaſures with foreign Princes "and States, as may prevent any Charge and Apprehenſion from the Deſigns of Sweden for the future." When the Queſtion for agreeing with the Committee was put in the Houſe, it was carried but by four Voices, viz. Yeas 153, Noes 149. The next Morning, Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the Lord Townſhend know, that his Majeſty had no further Occaſion for his Service, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: Whereupon Mr. Walpole, who was then firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Mr. Methuen, Secretary of State, and Mr. Pulteney, Secretary at War, laid down their Employments. A few Days after, Edward Ruſſel, Earl of Orford, reſigned his Office of firſt Lord of the Admiralty; upon which his Majeſty thought proper to change that Board; and accordingly, James Earl of Berkley, Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſqrs. were made Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty. Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Oldmixon. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Political State, &c.

[e] To quiet the Minds of the People, and prevent their running into a Notion, that the fitting out this Fleet was not really intended for the Honour and Service of Great-Britain, the following Account was publiſhed in the Gazette. Admiralty-office, June 28. "Captain

Leſtock,

The Miniſtry did not confine their Attention to the Contentions in the North; they being informed of the Increaſe of Pirates in the *Weſt-Indies*, who grew very numerous and inſolent ſince the Peace, cauſed an Order of Council, dated the 15th of *September* 1717, to be publiſhed to the Effect following, *viz.* "That Complaint having been made to his Majeſty by great Numbers of Merchants, Maſters of Ships, and others, as well as by the ſeveral Governors of his Majeſty's Iſlands and Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, that the Pirates are grown ſo numerous, that they infeſt not only the Seas of *Jamaica*, but even thoſe of the Northern Continent of *America*; and that, unleſs ſome effectual Means be uſed, the whole Trade from *Great-Britain* in thoſe Parts, will not only be obſtructed, but in imminent Danger of being loſt: His Majeſty has, upon mature Deliberation in Council, been graciouſly pleaſed, in the firſt Place, to order a proper Force to be employed for ſuppreſſing the ſaid Piracies; and that nothing may be wanting for the more effectual putting an End to the ſaid Piracies, his Majeſty has alſo been graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue a Proclamation, dated the fifth Inſtant. And, whereas it hath alſo been repreſented to his Majeſty, that the Houſe of Lords had addreſſed her late Majeſty on this Account, particularly with reſpect to the *Babama-Iſlands*; but that there were not any Means uſed in Compliance with that Addreſs, for ſecuring the ſaid *Babama-Iſlands*: And that, at this Time, the Pirates have a Lodgment with a Battery on *Harbour-Iſland*, one of the *Babama's*; as alſo, that the uſual Retreat, and general Receptacle for Pirates, is at *Providence*, the principal of thoſe Iſlands: His Majeſty has been further pleaſed to give Directions for diſlodging thoſe Pirates, who have taken ſhelter in the ſaid Iſlands, as well as for ſecuring thoſe Iſlands, and making Settlements, and a Fortification there, for the Safety and Benefit of the Trade and Navigation of thoſe Seas, for the future [a]."

By a Proclamation, dated the 5th of *September* 1717, his Majeſty promiſed his Pardon to any *Engliſh Weſt-India* Pirates, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves on or before the 5th of *September* following, for all Piracies committed before the 5th of *January* preceding: And, after the ſaid 5th of *September*, any of his Majeſty's Officers by Sea or Land, who ſhould take a Pirate, upon his Conviction, to have for a Captain 100l. for any other Officer, from a Lieutenant down to a Gunner 40l. for an inferior Officer 30l. and for every private Man 20l. Laſtly, any Pirate delivering up a Captain, or Commander, on or before the 6th of *September* following, (ſo as he ſhould be convicted) was to have 200l. Reward paid at the Treaſury.

The Troubles in the North having put our Commerce under great Difficulties abroad, and perplexed us at home, the Merchants complained of the bad Effects which the Prohibition of Trade with *Sweden* had produced; aſſerting, that inſtead of 30,000l. a Year, which the Ballance of that Trade conſtantly brought us, we now loſt 90,000l. a Year, by purchaſing *Swediſh* Commodities from other People, particularly from the *Dutch*, who raiſed the Price of *Swediſh* Iron, 4l. a Ton; which was thought the harder, becauſe in the original Quarrel the *Dutch* were as deep as ourſelves, and now, by an unaccountable Turn, they were in Poſſeſſion of the whole *Swediſh* Trade; and we, after all our Armaments, were intirely ſhut out. This was the Effect of the *Swediſh* War abroad, but here at home Things were in a worſe Situation; for ſeveral of the leading Patriots, who had reſigned their Places, upon that Change of Meaſures which produced the *Swediſh* War, inſiſted warmly, both within Doors and without, that it was now carried on, not only without Regard, but in direct Oppoſition, and with manifeſt Diſadvantage to the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*. In proof of this, they alledged not only the Memorials preſented from time to time by the *Swediſh* Miniſters, but thoſe alſo delivered of late by the Miniſter from the *Czar*; which concurred in affirming, that all our Meaſures in the North were governed by the *German* Intereſt.

The Miniſtry, however, did not change their Sentiments, but perſiſted ſtill in their Reſolution, to bring the King of *Sweden* to ſuch Terms as they thought reaſonable, by Force. This was a Method, which of all Princes *Charles* XII. could the leaſt bear; and therefore, inſtead of thinking of a Peace upon ſuch Terms, he turned his Thoughts intirely on the Means of carrying on the War; and though his Affairs were in a very low and diſtreſſed Condition, yet his heroic Spirit, joined to the indefatigable Pains he took, put them at laſt into ſuch a Poſture, that if he had not been ſnatched away by a ſudden Death, it is highly probable he would have reſtored them, at leaſt on the Side of *Germany* [b].

To obviate the Miſchief of the *Swediſh* Reſolutions, our Miniſtry concluded the triple Alliance on the 4th of *January* 1717, between *Great-Britain*, the Emperor and *France*; and that not anſwering the End propoſed, they ſtruck up the famous Quadruple-alliance, which was intended to remedy all theſe Defects, and to fix the general Tranquillity for ever. Yet by unforeſeen Accidents, to which human Policy will be always liable, this Alliance proved the Cauſe of an immediate War between us and *Spain*, and in its Conſequences, has been the Source of all the Troubles that have ariſen in *Europe*, from the time of its Concluſion to this Day. By this Treaty (the Terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed till ſome Months afterwards) the contracting Powers undertook to ſatisfy the Emperor and the King of *Spain*: In order to which, his Imperial Majeſty was to have *Sicily* given him; and the Reverſion of all the *Italian* Dominions, to which the Queen of *Spain* pretended, was to be ſecured to her Poſterity. The Crown of *Spain* was highly diſpleaſed with the Proviſion made for its Intereſt; and though the Emperor ſeemed to be very well contented at this Juncture, yet, as ſoon as *Spain* was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he alſo grew diſpleaſed with this Partition, and we have never ſince been able to keep them both in any Temper, or preſerve ourſelves from being involved in their Quarrels, as the Reader, in the Courſe of this Work, will be ſufficiently informed.

To ſupport theſe Meaſures, the *Britiſh* Miniſtry thought proper to fit out a conſiderable Fleet, and not only prevailed with the Parliament to grant 10,000 Seamen for the Year 1718, as had been lately the Cuſtom, and 224,837l. 14s. 11d. for the Ordinary of the Navy, but to grant his Majeſty a Power to employ what further Number of Men he ſhould find neceſſary [c].

On this Occaſion there were ſome Alterations made at the Navy-board; *James* Earl of *Berkley*, Sir *George Byng*, Sir *John Jennings*, *John Cockburn*, and *William Chetwynd*, Eſqrs. Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Charles Wager*, were declared Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, &c. the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Berkley* appointed Vice-admiral, and *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*, who was ſoon after raiſed to the Dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of *Ireland* [d].

Such Proceedings alarmed the Court of *Spain*, whoſe Miniſter at *London* repreſented in a Memorial, dated the 18th

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"Leſtock, of the Panther, who commands the Ships appointed by Sir George Byng to cruize off Gottenburgh, gives an Account by his Letter, dated the 13th of laſt Month, that, on the 27th of April, he ſailed out of Marde in Norway, and three Days after took a Swediſh Privateer-dogger of ſix Guns, and 72 Men, commanded by one St. Leger, the Perſon who ſome time ſince ſeized one of our Packet-boats. That the ſame Afternoon he retook a Dutch Hoy, which had been taken the Day before by a Swediſh Ship of 10 Guns; and on the 1ſt of May in the Afternoon, he met and took the Privateer, into whoſe Hands the Hoy had fallen: All which Prizes were carried into Arundel; and that, the 9th at Night, the Strafford retook a Dutch Fly-boat. By another Letter from Captain Leſtock, dated the 26th of May, he gave an Account, that his Majeſty's Ship the Severn had taken a Pirate, and retaken a Dutch Fly-boat; that the Chatham had taken two Swediſh Privateers; and that on the 15th of the ſaid Month of May, our Ships took a Swediſh Brigantine of eight Guns, and 26 Men."

[a] Oldmixon. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Political State.

[b] Oldmixon. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Mercure hiſtorique, &c. Lamberti.

[c] The King was prevailed upon to ſend a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following Terms. "GEORGE REX. His Majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral Negociations, of the utmoſt Concern to the Welfare of theſe Kingdoms, and the Tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received Information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give Weight to his Endeavours, if a naval Force be employed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to acquaint this Houſe therewith; not doubting, but that in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical Juncture, to exceed the Number of Men granted this Year for the Sea-ſervice, the Houſe will, at their next Meeting, provide for ſuch Exceeding." This Meſſage was brought to the Houſe by Mr. Boſcawen, and an Addreſs, promiſing to make good ſuch Exceedings as were mentioned, if they ſhould be found neceſſary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to without a Diviſion.

[d] Political State. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of King George, &c.

18th of *March* 1718, “That ſo powerful an Armament, in time of Peace, could not but cauſe Umbrage to the King his Maſter, and alter the good Intelligence that reigned between the two Crowns.” The King anſwered, “That it was not his Intention to conceal the Subject of that Armament; and that he deſigned ſoon to ſend Admiral *Byng* with a powerful Squadron into the *Mediterranean* Sea, in order to maintain the Neutrality of *Italy*, againſt thoſe who ſhould ſeek to diſturb it.” The Reaſon aſſigned for acting with ſo much Vigour, was the Diſpoſitions made in *Spain* for attacking the Iſland of *Sicily*, and the Hardſhips that were put upon the *Britiſh* Merchants. Cardinal *Alberoni*, who was then at the Head of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, defended himſelf, and the Meaſures he had taken, with great Spirit, endeavouring to make the World believe, that the *Spaniſh* Expedition againſt the Iſland of *Sicily*, was not ſo much a Matter of Choice, as of Neceſſity [a].

Sir *George Byng* was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Squadron intended for the *Mediterranean*; and on the 24th of *May* following, he received his Inſtructions, which were to this Purpoſe; “That he ſhould, upon his Arrival in the *Mediterranean*, acquaint the King of *Spain*, and likewiſe the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and Governor of *Milan*, he was ſent into that Sea, in order to promote all Meaſures that might beſt contribute to the compoſing the Differences ariſen between the two Crowns, and for preventing any farther Violation of the Neutrality of *Italy*, which he was to ſee preſerved. That he was to make Inſtances to both Parties, to forbear all Acts of Hoſtility, in order to the ſetting on foot, and concluding the proper Negociations of Peace. But, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould ſtill perſiſt to attack the Emperor's Territory in *Italy*, or to land in any Part of *Italy*, for that Purpoſe, or ſhould endeavour to make themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Sicily*, which muſt be with a Deſign to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, he was then, with all his Power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an Attempt, and to offer them his Aſſiſtance to withdraw their Troops, and put an End to all farther Acts of Hoſtility; but, if his friendly Endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the Territories attacked, by keeping Company with, or intercepting their Ships, Convoys, or (if neceſſary) by oppoſing them openly.”

CHAP. II.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *in the Years* 1718, 1719, 1720.

THE *Mediterranean* Fleet ſailed *June* 15, 1718, under the Command of Sir *George Byng*, with the Inſtructions mentioned in our laſt Chapter. This Fleet conſiſted of 20 Ships of the Line of Battle, two Fire-ſhips, two Bomb-veſſels, an Hoſpital-ſhip, and a Store-ſhip.

Being got into the Ocean, he ſent the *Rupert* to *Liſbon* for Intelligence, and arriving the 30th off Cape *St. Vincent* he diſpatched the *Superbe* to *Cadiz*, with a Gentleman who carried a Letter for him to [b] Colonel *Stanhope*, the King's Envoy at *Madrid*, wherein he deſired that Miniſter to acquaint the King of *Spain* with his Arrival in thoſe Parts, in his way to the *Mediterranean*, and to lay before him the Inſtructions he was to act under with his Squadron, of which he gave a very ample Detail in his Letter. The Envoy ſhewed the Letter to Cardinal *Alberoni*, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome Warmth, “That his Maſter would run all Hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of *Spain*, rather than recall his Troops, or conſent to any Suſpenſion of Arms;” adding, “That the *Spaniards* were not to be frightned, and he was ſo well convinced of their Fleet's doing their Duty, that if the Admiral ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the Succeſs.” Mr. *Stanhope* having in his Hand a Liſt of the *Britiſh* Squadron, prayed his Eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its Strength with that of their own Squadron, which the Cardinal took, and threw on the Ground with much Paſſion. Mr. *Stanhope*, with great Temper, deſired him “to conſider the ſincere Attention the King his Maſter had always had to the Honour and Intereſt of his Catholic Majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater Proofs of, than he had done by his unwearied Endeavours through the whole Courſe of the preſent Negociation, to procure the moſt advantageous Conditions poſſible for *Spain*, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced Perſon could have hoped for; and that, though by the Treaty of *Utrecht* for the Neutrality of *Italy*, which was entered into at the Requeſt of the King of *Spain* himſelf, as alſo by that of *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *May* 1716, his Majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the Emperor's Dominions when attacked, he had hitherto only acted as a Mediator, though ever ſince the Enterpriſe againſt *Sardinia*, by his Treaties he became a Party in the War, and for this Year laſt paſt had been ſtrongly called upon by the Emperor to comply with his Engagements; and that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, it plainly appeared by the Admiral's Inſtructions, which he communicated to his Eminence, and by the Orders he had himſelf received, that his Majeſty had nothing more at Heart, than that his Fleet might be employed in promoting the Intereſts of the King of *Spain*; and hoped his Catholic Majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his Troops, or to conſent to a Ceſſation of Arms, put it out of his Power to give all the Proofs of the ſincere Friendſhip he always deſired to cultivate with his Catholic Majeſty.” All that the Cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was to lay the Admiral's Letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his Reſolution upon it in two Days; but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away, the Cardinal probably hoping that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the Ports of *Spain*, and thereby give Time for their Fleet and Forces to ſecure a good Footing in *Sicily*. The Anſwer was wrote under the Admiral's Letter in theſe Words: "His Catholic Majeſty has done me the Honour to tell "me, That the Chevalier *Byng* may execute the Orders "which he has from the King his Maſter. *Eſcurial, July* "15, 1718. The Cardinal *Alberoni*."

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[a] As appears by this Letter written by the Cardinal to the Marquis de Berretti Landi, his Catholick's Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the States-General, who communicated it to their High-mightineſſes. “I acquaint your Excellency, that my Lord Stanhope ſet out the 26th of this Month from the Court at the Eſcurial for Madrid; whence he was to proceed in his Journey to Paris; having ſeen Proofs ſufficient, during his Stay here, of the Conſtancy and Firmneſs with which the King rejected the Project of the Princes Mediators, and the Suſpenſion of Arms laſt propoſed. He learned from their Majeſties own Mouths, in two long Conferences, to which he had the Honour to be admitted, that they deteſted that Project as unjuſt, prejudicial, and offenſive to their Honour; I told him, that I did not comprehend what Motive could induce the confederated Powers to admit the Duke of Savoy into their Alliance; not only conſidering of what little Uſe he will be to them, but becauſe 'tis certain, thoſe Powers have no need of the Troops of Savoy, unleſs that Prince will maintain them at his own Expence, which will be very difficult to obtain. As for Sicily, I declared to my Lord Stanhope, in the Preſence of the Marquis de Nancre, that France and Great-Britain had of themſelves, and none elſe whatever, induced the King to recover that Kingdom; for both thoſe Courts had aſſured his Majeſty, that the Duke of Savoy was treating with the Arch-duke to give up to him that Iſland, if he would accept of it: But that he had refuſed it, conſidering it would be better for him to receive it by the Diſpoſition of the Powers Mediators, and with the Conſent of Spain, becauſe in that Caſe he would have the Advantage to obtain it by a more juſt and more authentic Title; beſides the Aſſurance of keeping it, by the Favour of ſo powerful a Guaranty. I likewiſe ſhewed my Lord Stanhope, that the Arch-duke being Maſter of Sicily, all Italy will become Slaves to the Germans, and the Powers of Europe not be able to ſet her at Liberty. And that the Germans, in the laſt War, with a ſmall Body of Troops, made head, and diſputed the Ground, againſt two Crowns which had formidable Armies in Lombardy, were Maſters of the Country, and a great Number of conſiderable Places. I alſo repreſented to him very clearly, that to make War in Lombardy, was to make it in a Labyrinth, and that it was the fatal Burial-place of the French and Engliſh. That every Year of the laſt War coſt France 18 or 20,000 Recuits, and above fifteen Millions: That the Duke of Vendoſme, at the time Things went proſperouſly, ſaid, that if the War in Italy laſted, the two Crowns muſt indiſpenſibly abandon that Province, becauſe of the immenſe Charge. That, according to the Engagements now propoſed, the Succcours of Great-Britain are far off, and impracticable, and that the reſt would coſt a Potoſi, enough to ruin a Kingdom. That at preſent, thoſe of France are impoſſible, and would be generally oppoſed by the Nation. That the Arch-duke would triumph with all theſe Advantages, and England not recover the leaſt Reimburſement; when, on the contrary, ſhe might gain conſiderably by ſiding with Spain. In concluſion, I told Lord Stanhope plainly, that the Propoſition of giving Sicily to the Arch-duke, was abſolutely fatal; and that of ſetting Bounds afterwards to his vaſt Deſigns, a meer Dream and Illuſion, ſince that Prince, being poſſeſſed of Sicily, would have no further need, either of France or England, for bringing immediately the reſt of Italy under Subjection; and no Power would be in a Condition to oppoſe it. This is the Subſtance of all the Conferences my Lord Stanhope had, and your Exrellency may make uſe of it, as Occaſion ſhall offer.”

[b] Late Earl of Harrington, who died this Day, December 9, 1756.

At Sea Admiral *Byng* was ſo retarded by unfavourable Winds, that it was the 8th of *July* before he made Cape *Spartel*; where he received Advice by the Return of the *Superbe* and *Rupert*, which he had ſent for Intelligence to *Liſbon* and *Cadiz*, of the Preparation making at *Barcelona*, and of the ſailing of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from thence Eaſtward on the 18th of *June*; and in paſſing *Gibraltar*, he was alſo joined by Vice-admiral *Cornwall*, with the *Argyle* and *Charles*-Galley.

He watered at Cape *Malaga*; landed four Regiments at *Mahon* to relieve the Garriſon, who were to embark and ſerve on-board his Fleet, and arrived on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* in the Bay of *Naples*; which Kingdom lay under the greateſt Apprehenſion of Danger from the Rapidity of the *Spaniſh* Progreſs in *Sicily*, and the Weakneſs of the *German* Force to defend them in caſe of the threatned Invaſion by the *Spaniards*.

The Admiral going a-ſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains in their Boats, was ſaluted, at his Landing, by all the Cannon round the City and Caſtles, and was carried to the Duke *De Matalone*'s Palace, pleaſantly ſituated by the Sea-ſide, which had been prepared for his Reception during his Stay at *Naples*. From thence he was conducted to Court through an infinite Throng of People, with the greateſt Acclamations of Joy, and all the Honours and Ceremonies paid to a Vice-roy; where entering into Conference with Count *Daun*, he learnt, that the *Spaniſh* Army, conſiſting of about 30,000 Men, commanded by the Marquis *De Lede*, had landed the 2d of *July* in *Sicily*, and had ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the City and Caſtles of *Palermo*, and of great Part of the Iſland; that they had taken the Town of *Meſſina*, and were then carrying on the Siege of the Citadel; that the Vice-roy did not know how far the *Piedmonteſe* Garriſon was to be depended on, but that they muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved. That the laſt Letters he had received from *Vienna* gave Hopes, that the King of *Sicily* might be entered by this Time into a particular Alliance with the Emperor, having deſired the Aſſiſtance of his Troops, and agreed to receive them into the Citadel. The next Morning the Vice-roy viſited the Admiral, and renewing their Conference on the Meaſures to be taken in that Conjuncture of Affairs, it was agreed, that the Vice-roy ſhould ſend General *Wetzel* with 2000 *German* Foot in Tartans to *Meſſina*, to relieve the Citadel, and Fort *St. Salvador*; and, as the Admiral was directed by his Orders to obſtruct any Attempts of the *Spaniards* on *Sicily*, he conſented to take thoſe Troops under his Protection; and accordingly, the Tranſports being got ready, he ſailed with them the 6th of *Auguſt* from *Naples*, and arrived the 9th in view of the *Fare* of *Meſſina*.

Admiral *Byng* then, by propoſing a Ceſſation of Arms to the *Spaniſh* General, the Marquis *de Lede*, endeavoured to avoid the Effuſion of Blood, as well as the Interruption of Trade that muſt enſue on an open Rupture with *Spain*[*]. But the Marquis refuſing all Terms of Accommodation, and perſiſting that he had no Orders to treat; and receiving Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſailed from the Harbour of *Meſſina*, but the Day before his Arrival off the *Fare*, the Admiral weighed Anchor and ſailed in queſt of it, and by giving Chace to two of the *Spaniſh* Scouts, he came with his Squadron about Noon in ſight of their whole Fleet, which conſiſted of 27 Sail of Men of War, two Fire-ſhips, four Bomb-veſſels, ſeven Gallies, and ſeveral other Veſſels laden with Stores and Proviſions, drawn into a Line of Battle, commanded by the Admiral *Don Antonio de Caſtaneta*, and under him four Rear-admirals, *Chacon*, *Mari*, *Guevara*, and *Cammock*.

On the Sight of the *Engliſh* Squadron, they ſtood away large, but in order of Battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that Day, and the ſucceeding Night, with ſmall Gales N. E. and ſometimes Calm, with fair Weather. The next Morning early (the 11th) the *Engliſh* being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis *De Mari*, Rear-admiral, with ſix *Spaniſh* Men of War, and all the Gallies, Fire-ſhips, Bomb-veſſels, and Store-ſhips, ſeparated from their main Fleet, and ſtood in for the *Sicilian* Shore; upon which the Admiral detached Captain *Walton* of the *Canterbury* with five more Ships after them, and the *Argyll* and *Canterbury* getting within Gun-ſhot of the headmoſt Ship about ſix in the Morning, the *Argyle* fired a Shot to bring her to, which ſhe not minding, the *Argyle* fired another, and the *Canterbury* being ſomething nearer, fired another, upon which the *Spaniſh* Ship fired her Stern-chace at the *Canterbury*, and then the Engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main Body of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, the *Orford*, Captain *Falkingham*, and the *Grafton*, Captain *Haddock*, came up firſt with them, about ten of the Clock, at whom the *Spaniards* fired their Stern-chace Guns. The Admiral ſent Orders to thoſe two Ships not to fire, unleſs the *Spaniards* repeated their Firing, which they doing, the *Orford* attacked the *Santa Roſa* of 64 Guns, and took her. The *St. Carlos* of 60 Guns ſtruck next, without much Oppoſition, to the *Kent*, Captain *Matthews*. The *Grafton* attacked warmly the Prince of *Aſturias* of 70 Guns, formerly called the *Cumberland*, in which was Rear-admiral *Chacon*, but the *Bredah* and *Captain* coming up, Captain *Haddock* left that Ship much ſhattered for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another Ship of 60 Guns, which had kept firing on his Starboard bow, during his Engagement with the Prince of *Aſturias*. About one of the Clock the *Kent*, and ſoon after the *Superbe*, Captain *Maſter*, came up with and engaged the *Spaniſh* Admiral of 74 Guns, who with two Ships more fired on them, and made a running Fight until about Three, and then the *Kent* bearing down upon him, and under his Stern, give him her Broadſide, and fell to Leeward; afterwards the *Superbe* putting for it to lay the Admiral a-board, fell on his Weather Quarter, upon which the *Spaniſh* Admiral ſhifting his Helm, the *Superbe* ranged up under his Lee Quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the *Barfleur*, in which was the Admiral, being a-ſtern of the *Spaniſh* Admiral within Shot, and inclining on his Weather Quarter, Rear-admiral *Guevara*, and another 60 Gun Ship, which were to Windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their Broadſides, and then clapt upon a Wind, ſtanding in for the Land. The Admiral immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt Night, but it being little Wind, and they galing away out of his Reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood in to the Fleet, which he joined two Hours after Night. The *Eſſex* took the *Juno* of 36 Guns, the *Montague* and *Rupert* took the *Volante* of 44 Guns, and Rear-admiral *Delaval* in the *Dorſetſhire*, took the *Iſabella* of 60 Guns. This Action happened off Cape *Paſſaro*, at about ſix Leagues diſtance from the Shore. The *Engliſh* received but little Damage. The Ship that ſuffered moſt was the *Grafton*, which being a good Sailer, her Captain engaged ſeveral Ships of the Enemy, always purſuing the Headmoſt, and leaving thoſe Ships he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe that followed him[a]. The Admiral lay by ſome Days at Sea, to refit the Rigging of his Ships, and to repair the Damages the Prizes had ſuſtained; and the 18th received a Letter from Captain *Walton*[b], giving an Account, that he had taken four *Spaniſh* Men of War, one of 60 Guns, commanded by Rear-admiral *Mari*, one of 54, one of 40, and one of 24 Guns, with a Bomb-veſſel, and a Ship laden with Arms; and burnt four Men of War, one of 54 Guns, two of 40, and one of 30 Guns, with a Fire-ſhip and a Bomb-veſſel.

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[*] The World was amazed to ſee Spain exerting a Vigour, ſhe had not ſhewn for above a Century paſt. Some of the principal Priſoners, and Caſtaneta himſelf, aſſured the Admiral, that they intended the Summer following to have at Sea 50 Sail of the Line of Battle; which the great Preparations in the Ports of Biſcay, and other Ports of Spain, made very probable. Thoſe in Biſcay, which were one Man of War of 70 Guns, and two of 60, newly built, with an incredible Quantity of Timber, Pitch, and Tar, and other naval Stores, for building more, were all deſtroyed by an Engliſh Squadron, aſſiſted by a Detachment which the Duke of Berwick ſpared from his Army, at the Solicitation of Colonel Stanhope the Engliſh Miniſter, who contrived the Deſign, and ſerving as a Voluntier in the Enterprize, principally contributed to the Execution of it.

It ſhould ſeem but ill Policy in a Court, intent on ſuch mighty Deſigns, to provoke and irritate, without Cauſe, a Nation the moſt capable in the World of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they ſeemed to make it a ſtudied Point to vex and diſtreſs the Engliſh by all Manner of Ways in their Commerce, inſomuch that their Trade with Spain was almoſt ruined and loſt. They demanded arbitrary and heavy Duties from the Engliſh Factories reſiding in their Ports, from which the Treaties expreſsly exempted them; and upon Refuſal of Payment, their Houſes were ſurrounded by Soldiers, their Warehouſes and Cheſts broke open, and their Goods ſold at publick Outcry. The royal Officers uſed them with ſuch Injuſtice and Inſolence, as if they knew they made their Court by doing ſo. Every Poſt brought Complaints to the Engliſh Miniſter at Madrid, of new Grievances and Oppreſſions. The Memorials delivered to that Court for Redreſs were numberleſs, without the leaſt Regard ſhewn to them. When any Tranſportation of Troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the Engliſh Merchant-ſhips in their Ports, compelling their Maſters, with great Circumſtances of Severity, to enter into their Service, impriſoning them in common Goals, if they refuſed, and obliging them to unload their Cargoes, though periſhable, and conſigned to other Markets. They proceeded ſo far in their unjuſt Treatment, that their Cruizers brought into the Ports of Spain whatever Engliſh Merchant-ſhips they met with in the open Sea, though bound to Italy, or other diſtant Parts, and compelled them to unload their Cargoes, and enter into their Service. Such as were not uſed by them for Tranſports had their Seamen taken away to ſerve in their Men of War. Rear-admiral Cammock preſſed no leſs than 60 for his own Ship; and one of the Maſters, endeavouring to keep his Men, had both his Ears cut off. The Battle of Paſſaro was fortunate to thoſe poor People, for when the Iſſue of it was known, 45 Engliſh Tranſports made their Eſcape from Meſſina to Reggio, ſeveral of them laden with military Stores and Proviſions; and their Maſters applying to the Admiral, he granted them Convoy to the Ports in Italy where they deſired to go; but ſome choſe to ſtay and enter into the Emperor's Service, to tranſport his Troops from Genoa and Naples to Sicily.

The Captain was one, whoſe natural Talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant Action, than deſcribing one, yet his Letter on this Occaſion, carries in it ſuch a Strain of military Eloquence, that it is worth inſerting here.

"SIR,

"We have taken and deſtroyed all the *Spaniſh* Ships and "Veſſels, which were upon the Coaſt, the Number as per "Margin. I am, &c.

Canterbury off Syracuſa,
16th Auguſt, 1718.

"GEORGE WALTON."

The Admiral, having gathered together his Ships at Sea, put into *Syracuſa* the 19th, where he found Captain *Walton* and his Prizes. *Syracuſa* was at that time blocked up by a Detachment of the *Spaniſh* Army, into which City Count *Maffei*, the Duke of *Savoy*'s Viceroy, had retreated with Difficulty from *Palermo*, and had in the Place a numerous Garriſon. But the firſt and principal Point of the *Spaniſh* General was to get *Meſſina* into his Hands, as the ſafeſt Port for their Fleet, and the moſt proper Place to facilitate and ſecure the Conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland, and from whence they deſigned to tranſport their numerous Horſe, and

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[a] Line of Battle of the Fleet under the Command of Sir George Byng, when he attacked and fought the Spaniſh Fleet, under the Command of Vice-admiral Caſtaneta, off Cape Paſſaro in Sicily, 31 July 1718.

LINE of BATTLE.

The Canterbury to lead with the Starboard, and the Rocheſter with the Larboard Tacks.

Fire-ſhips, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſion.
	4	Canterbury	Captain Walton	305	60	Charles Cornwall, Vice-admiral of the White.
		Argyll	Norbury	280	50	
Suſſex Store-ſhip		Dreadnought	William Haddock	365	60	
Griffin Fire-ſhip	3	Burford	Charles Vanbrugh	440	70	
		Shrewſbury	Balchen	540	80	
		Eſſex	Rouzier	440	70	
	4	Rippon	O'Brien	365	60	
	3	Grafton	N's Haddock	440	70	Sir George Byng, Baronet, Admiral.
Garland Fire-ſhip	4	Superbe	Maſter	365	60	
Lode Hoſpital-ſhip	3	Lenox	Strickland	440	70	
Baſilisk Bomb	2	Barfleur	Saunders Leſtock	730	90	
Bombs Tender	3	Bredah	Harris	440	70	
	4	Rupert	Field	365	60	
	3	Oxford	Falkingham	440	70	
	3	Captain	Hamilton	440	70	George Delavall, Eſq; Rear-admirel of the Blue.
	4	Dunkirk	Drake	365	60	
	3	Royal-Oak	Kempthorne	440	70	
Blaſt Bomb		Dorſetſhire	Turzer	535	80	
Bombs Tender		Kent	Matthews	440	70	
	4	Montague	Beverley	365	60	
	5	Charles-Gally	Philip Vanbrugh	190	40	
	4	Rocheſter	Winder	280	50	

Dated on-board the Barfleur off Cape Malaga, 4th July 1718.

GEORGE BYNG.

A Liſt of the Spaniſh Fleet when attacked by Sir George Byng off Cape Paſſaro in Sicily, the 31ſt of July, 1718.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	Taken, Burnt, &c.
Royal St. Philip	Vice-admiral Caſtagnetta	74	650	Taken.
Prince of Auſturias	Rear-admiral Chacon	70	550	
Royal	Rear-admiral Marquis de Mari	60	400	
St. Charles	Prince Chalay	60	400	
St. Iſabella	Don Andres Rezio	60	400	
St. Roſa	Don Antonio Gonzalis	60	400	
St. Iſidore	Dr. Man Villevicentio	46	300	
Volante	Don Antonio Eſcudera	44	300	
Surprize	Dr. Man Siday, Knight of Malta	44	250	
Juno	Dr. Pedro Mayana	36	250	
Tyger	Monſieur Cavaigne	26	240	
Eagle	Don Lucas Maſnata	24	240	
A Bomb-veſſel	One	10	80	
A Ship laden with Arms	One			
Three Ships laden with Proviſions	Three			
The Pearle	Don Gabriel Alderete	50	300	Burnt.
Hermione	Don Rodrigo de Tares	44	300	
Eſperance	Don Juan Delfino & Balanda	46	300	
Two Ships, two Bombs, &c. And one Sattee (5)				
St. Lewis	Rear-admiral Guevara	60	400	Eſcaped.
St. Ferdinando	Rear-admiral Cammock	60	400	
St. John Baptiſt	Don Francis Guerrera	60	400	
St. Peter	Don Anto. Ariſega	60	400	
Porcupine	A Frenchman	44	250	
La Gallera	Don Francis Alvarera	30	200	
Caſtilla	Don Francis Lenio, Knight of Malta	30	200	
Count de Thoulouſe	Don Joſeph Goccocea	30	200	
Sir Francis Arreres	Wacup, a Scotchman	22	100	
Little Ferdinand		20	150	
Little St. John	Don Ign. Valevale	20	150	
Arrow	Don Juan Papajena	18	100	
One Bomb-veſſel	One	10	80	
Seven Gallys	M. Grimas Commander in Chief			

[b] He was knighted for this Action, and made a Flag-officer ſome time after.

and the greateſt Part of their Foot, over to *Calabria*, and to have carried the War into the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Citadel of *Meſſina* was defended by a *Piedmonteſe* Garriſon, commanded by the Marquis *D'Andorno*; but the Duke of *Savoy*, being unable to ſupport the Siege, had ſolicited the Emperor for his Aſſiſtance, and a Convention was made between the Viceroy of *Naples* and the Count *De Bourgue* Reſident of *Savoy*, whereby the former was to ſend a Detachment of *German* Troops, to be admitted into the Citadel on joint and equal Terms of Command; for which Service Baron *Wetzel* was diſpatched away with 2000 Foot, as has been before related. But the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Fleet had raiſed ſuch a Confidence in the Garriſon of their Security againſt any Attempts from the *Spaniards*, that the Reſident endeavoured to elude an Agreement, the Neceſſity of which he thought no longer ſubſiſted, pretending want of Power to make ſuch a Conceſſion without an Equivalent, but that he would write to his Court for farther Orders. This coming to the Admiral's Knowledge, he repreſented in ſtrong Terms to Count *Maffei*, "the Unfairneſs of ſuch "a Proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he him"ſelf had agreed to in their Conference together the Day "before upon that Subject. That ſuch a Diſagreement, at "a time that the Citadel was ſo vigorouſly attacked by the "Enemy, might be a Means of their taking it, which "the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Fleet would not ſuffer him "to be an idle Spectator of; and therefore, if he was re"ſolved to ſtay till he had Inſtructions from the Court of "*Turin*, he ſhould likewiſe ſend to his Court for farther "Orders; and in the mean time would retire from the "Iſland to ſome other Place, to refreſh his Men, and refit "his Ships, till he ſhould receive new Directions from "*England*." This had ſuch an Effect upon the Viceroy, that he gave immediate Orders for putting the Agreement in Execution, and for admitting *German* Troops into the Citadel. This Point being adjuſted, the Admiral (having ſent away Vice-admiral *Cornwall* with ſuch of his Ships as wanted refitting, and all the Prizes, to *Port-Mahon*, with Orders not to ſuffer the leaſt Embezlement to be made, but to preſerve every Thing entire, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be known) ſailed himſelf the 23d of *Auguſt* from *Syracuſa*, and arrived the 26th at *Reggio*, where General *Wetzel* informing him, that he hourly expected a Reinforcement of 4000 Men from *Naples*, which, with thoſe he had with him, and the Garriſon in the Citadel, would make about 9000 Men, and, upon their Arrival, he ſhould form a Project for raiſing the Siege of the Citadel, if the Admiral would ſtay to countenance and protect him with his Fleet; he readily conſented thereto, knowing the extreme Importance of not letting *Meſſina* fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and being directed by freſh Orders from *England* to do all he could to prevent it. But thoſe Forces proving not ſufficient for the Execution of the intended Project, the General contented himſelf with ſupplying the Citadel from time to time with freſh Troops from *Reggio*; notwithſtanding which, the *Spaniards* puſhed on the Siege with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that the Governor ſurrendered the Citadel by Capitulation on the 29th of *September* to the great Surprize and Diſſatisfaction of the *Germans*[*]. The *Piedmonteſe* Part of the Garriſon was tranſported by Sea to *Syracuſa*, and the *Germans* to *Reggio*.

The Admiral receiving Advice, that Rear-admiral *Cammock*, with three *Spaniſh* Men of War, and as many Frigates, which had eſcaped from the Battle, was at *Malta*; and that a rich *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhip homeward bound from *Turky*, was detained in that Port, and in ſome Danger; as likewiſe five *Sicilian* Gallies, which had taken Refuge there ever ſince the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in *Sicily*; he ſtood over to that Iſland, where he learnt, that Rear-admiral *Cammock* had ſailed from thence five Days before, with four Ships which he had cleaned there. The Marquis *De Rivaroles*, General of the *Sicilian* Gallies, coming off to the Admiral, made great Complaints of the Partiality and ill Uſage of that Government, in ſuffering him to be expoſed to daily Affronts from the *Spaniards*, and prayed his Protection and Aſſiſtance to get away from thence, upon which the Admiral ſent his firſt Captain with his Compliments to the Grand Maſter, and deſired, that thoſe Gallies might have free Liberty to come out to him. The Grand Maſter ſent off three great Croſſes of the Order to the Admiral, who with much Politeneſs gave him all the Aſſurances poſſible of Freedom for the Gallies to do what they pleaſed, upon which he ſent Word to the Marquis to come out. But he returning anſwer, That the *Spaniſh* Ships had laid themſelves in the Way to ſtop his Paſſage, and threatened to ſink him, if he offered to ſtir, the Admiral ſent to the Grand Maſter a ſecond Meſſage, That if he ſuffered the Neutrality of the Port to be violated, or any ill Treatment to be given to the Gallies, he ſhould take the Meaſures that would be neceſſary on that Occaſion: But the Grand Maſter proteſting, that no Violence ſhould be uſed, and that he would be anſwerable for it, the Admiral ſent again to the Marquis to come out, aſſuring him, that if the *Spaniards* offered the leaſt Obſtruction, he would aſſiſt him to deſtroy them in the very Port; but the Marquis continuing under great Perplexity and Terror, the Admiral, tired with his Delay, ſent him Word, that he was well ſatisfied of the Honour of the Grand Maſter in preſerving the Privilege of the Port, and therefore, if he would not make uſe of the preſent Opportunity, he ſhould ſuſpect that his Fears were affected, and uſed only as an Artifice to ſtay there, and would give himſelf no farther Trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this Meſſage wrought ſo upon the Marquis, that he immediately haſtened out with his Gallies, without any Obſtruction from the *Spaniards*; but they were in ſo miſerable a Condition, that the Admiral was forced to lend them Seamen and Pilots to navigate them, and Caulkers to ſtop their Leaks. The *Turky* Ship came out likewiſe, and joined the Admiral, who ſent the Gallies under a Conwoy to *Syracuſa*, and having ſeen the *Turky* Merchant-ſhip clear of Danger, he arrived the 2d of *November* in the Bay of *Naples*, from whence he ſent Rear-admiral *Delaval*, with two 80 Gun Ships and a Fire-ſhip, home to *England*.

Here we ſhall conclude the Tranſactions of our *Mediterranean* Fleet under Sir *George Byng*, for the Year 1718, with only one Obſervation, that as ſoon as the Court of *Spain* was informed of this Blow which totally deſtroyed their naval Force, Rear-admiral *Guevara* was ordered, with the Ships under his Command, to enter the Port of *Cadiz*, and to make himſelf Maſter of all the *Engliſh* Ships that were there; and at the ſame time, all the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants were ſeized in *Malaga*, and other Ports of *Spain*, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced Repriſals on our Part. It is now time to give an Account of what paſſed in the northern Seas.

A ſtrong Squadron was ſent to the *Baltick*, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, and Rear-admiral *Mighels*; who, with 10 Sail of the Line of Battle, left *Solebay* on the 1ſt of *May*, having 18 Merchant-ſhips under their Convoy, and on the 14th, arrived ſafely at *Copenhagen*, where the ſame Day Sir *John Norris* had an Audience of his *Daniſh* Majeſty, by whom he was very graciouſly received; and ſoon after he ſailed, in Conjunction with the *Daniſh* Fleet, to the Coaſt of *Sweden*. This obliged that King to lay up his Ships in his own Harbours. But he was far from being idle, notwithſtanding he was ſenſible of the great Superiority of his Enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the beſt Manner he was able, for his own Security, by making a Peace with the *Czar*, and in the mean time turning his Arms againſt the King of *Denmark* in *Norway*, which Kingdom he entered with an Army of 30,000 Men, in two Bodies,

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[*] The Councils of Spain were at this time under the Management of two Italians, the Queen and the Abbot Alberoni, whom ſhe had raiſed to the Dignity of Cardinal and Prime Miniſter. They had vaſt Deſigns in View, and by ſecret Intrigues with the King of Sicily, and other Italian Princes and States, had laid no leſs a Scheme, than to exterminate the Houſe of Auſtria and the Imperial Power out of Italy. And it was thought to be owing to the Doubts they had of the Sincerity of the King of Sicily, that the Storm fell firſt upon his Dominions, which was intended elſewhere. The Armament they fitted out was ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Undertaking; never any Nation ſent to Sea an Army ſo numerous, ſo well appointed, and ſo provided with all Neceſſaries for a diſtant Expedition; the leaſt Implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable Care of Don Joſeph Patinho, a Man of great Abilities, who went in the Expedition, and had the abſolute Direction and Management of the whole Enterprize, except the military Command.

dies, one commanded by General *Arenfeldt*, and the other, by himſelf in Perſon. He had all the Succeſs in this Expedition that he could wiſh, eſpecially the Seaſon of the Year conſidered; for it was in the Depth of Winter, that he penetrated into that frozen Country, where, at the Siege of *Friderickſhall*, he was killed, not without ſome Suſpicion of Treaſon, though it is ſaid this Misfortune was effected by a Cannon-bullet, about Nine in the Evening, on the 30th of *November*, 1718. The Death of this enterpriſing Monarch gave quite a new Turn to the Affairs in the North, and particularly freed us from all Apprehenſions on that Side. Before this extraordinary Event happened, Sir *John Norris* was returned with the Fleet under his Command to *England*, where he ſafely arrived, in the latter end of the Month of *October*.

Captain *Woodes Rogers*, having been appointed Governor of the *Bahama* Iſlands, ſailed for *Providence*, which was to be the Seat of his Government, on the 11th of *April*, and, after a ſhort and eaſy Paſſage, arriving there, he took Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Naſſau*, the Fort belonging to it, and of the whole Iſland, the People receiving him with all imaginable Joy, and many of the Pirates ſubmitting immediately. He proceeded ſoon after, to forming a Council, and ſettling the civil Government in thoſe Iſlands, appointing civil and military Officers, raiſing Militia, and taking every other Step neceſſary for procuring Safety at home, and Security from any Thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he ſucceeded; ſo that by the 1ſt of *July* 1719, to which Day the King's Proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four of thoſe Pirates who continued their Trade, and two of them being taken, and their Crews executed, the reſt diſperſed out of Fear, and this Crew of Villains were diſſolved, who for many Years had frighted the *Weſt-Indies*, and the northern Colonies; coming at laſt to be ſo ſtrong, that few Merchant-men were ſafe, and withal ſo cruel and barbarous, that Slavery among the *Turks* was preferable to falling into their Hands.

The Parliament met on the 11th of *November*, and one of the firſt Things they went upon, was the Affair of *Spain*, which had indeed ingroſſed all public Converſation from the time of the Stroke given to their Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; ſome looking upon that, as one of the nobleſt Exploits ſince the Revolution, while others conſidered it in quite another Light; and when an Addreſs was moved for, to juſtify that Meaſure, it was warmly oppoſed by the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Devonſhire*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Cowper*, *Orford*, and *Ilay*; the Lords *North* and *Grey*, and *Harcourt*, in the Houſe of Peers; and by Mr. *Shippen*, Mr. *Freeman*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq; and *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; in the Houſe of Commons; but without effect. On the 19th of the ſame Month, the Houſe of Commons voted 13,500 Seamen for the Service of the Year 1719, at 4 l. a Month; and at the ſame time granted 187,638 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the Ordinary of the Navy; and on the 19th of *January* granted 25,000 l. for the Half-pay of Sea-officers [a].

On the 17th of *December* 1718, a Declaration of War in Form was publiſhed againſt the Crown of *Spain*. The Miniſtry continued the Purſuit of their own Scheme in ſpite of Oppoſition, and took ſuch vigorous Meaſures for obliging *Spain* to accept the Terms aſſigned her by the Quadruple Alliance, that ſhe loſt all Patience, and reſolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this Neceſſity, or ſerve to expreſs her Reſentments againſt ſuch as endeavoured to impoſe it upon her; and with this View ſhe drew together a great Number of Tranſports at *Cadiz* and *Corunna* [b], meditating a Deſcent of a conſiderable Body of Troops, under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond*, into the Weſt of *England*; upon this, the moſt effectual Methods were taken here for defeating this Scheme. On the 5th of *April* Sir *John Norris* ſailed from *Spithead* to the weſtward, with nine Men of War; and on the 29th, the Earl of *Berkeley* ſailed from *St. Helens* with ſeven other Men of War, to join him, which he did the next Day. The Troops in the Weſt of *England*, where it was conjectured they deſigned to land, were reinforced by ſeveral Regiments quartered in other Parts of the Kingdom, and four Battalions were ſent for over from *Ireland*, and were landed at *Minehead* and *Briſtol*, while at the ſame Time the Allies of his Majeſty were deſired to get in Readineſs the Succours which by ſeveral Treaties they ſtood engaged to furniſh, in caſe of a Rebellion, or if the *Britiſh* Dominions ſhould be invaded by any foreign Power. Accordingly, about the Middle of *April*, two Battalions of *Switzers* in the Service of the *States-General* arrived in the River *Thames*; and about the ſame time three Battalions of *Dutch* Troops, making together the full Complement of Men which *Holland* was obliged to furniſh, landed in the North of *England*. But by this time came certain Advice, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet deſigned for this Expedition, conſiſting of five Men of War, and about 40 Tranſports, having on-board the late Duke of *Ormond*, and upwards of 5000 Men, a great Quantity of Ammunition, ſpare Arms, and 1,000,000 of Pieces of Eight, which ſailed from *Cadiz* on the 23d of *February*, O. S. being on the 28th of that Month, about 50 Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *Finiſtre*, met with a violent Storm, which laſted 48 Hours, and entirely diſperſed them. Thus this Deſign of the *Spaniards*, whatever it was, became abortive. What Loſs they met with, is uncertain; but ſeveral of their Veſſels returned to the Ports of *Spain* in a very ſhattered Condition. A very ſmall Part, however, of this Embarkation, had ſomewhat a different Fortune; for the Earls of *Marſhal* and *Seaforth*, and the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, with about 400 Men, moſt *Spaniards*, on-board three Frigates, and five Tranſports, landed in the Shire of *Roſs* in *Scotland*, where they were joined by 15 or 1600 *Scots*, and had Inſtructions to wait the Duke of *Ormond*'s Orders, and the Account of his being landed in *England*. But the whole Deſign being quaſhed by the Diſperſion of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, the Highland Troops were defeated at *Glenſhiel*, and the auxiliary *Spaniards* ſurrendered at Diſcretion. They had met with a Check before, at *Donan-Caſtle*, which was ſecured by his Majeſty's Ships the *Worceſter*, *Enterprize*, and *Flamborough*, the Caſtle being blown up, and the greateſt Part of their Ammunition taken or deſtroyed [c].

We acted now in ſuch cloſe Conjunction with *France*, that the Regent declared War againſt his Couſin the King of *Spain*; and Marſhal *Berwick*, who, by the Victory of *Almanza*, fixed that Prince upon his Throne, accepted the Command of the Army, which was appointed to invade his Territories, in order to force him to ſuch Conditions as were thought requiſite for eſtabliſhing the general Tranquillity of *Europe*. The Marquis *de Cilly* advanced in the Month of *April* as far as *Port Paſſage*, where he found ſix Men of War juſt finiſhed, upon the Stocks, all which, puſhed thereto by Colonel *Stanhope*, (the late Earl of *Harrington*) he burned, together with Timber, Maſts, and naval Stores, to the Value of half a Million Sterling; which was a greater real Loſs to the *Spaniards*, than that they ſuſtained by our beating their Fleet. Soon after the Duke of *Berwick* beſieged *Fontarabia* [d].

It was the 3d of *February* before Admiral *Byng* could diſembarraſs himſelf from the Councils of the *German* and *Sicilian* Generals, *&c.* who could not agree in their Plan of Operations for the next Campaign. When he ſailed for *Mahon* [e] to expedite the refiting of his peculiar Charge the Fleet,

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[a] Oldmixon's Hiſtory, Hiſtorical Regiſter, Chandler's Debates, Annals of King George, &c. [b] Political State, Annals of King George, Continuation of Rapin, &c. [c] Hiſtorical Regiſter, Memoires Hiſtoriques. [d] Memoires de Philip Duc d'Orleans, &c. [e] It may not be improper to mention here an Inſtance or two of the unfair Practice of other Nations at this time upon the Engliſh Trade, and which it is to be apprehended will always be the Caſe, whenever England is engaged in foreign Wars. The Admiral having Intelligence from Genoa, that a Privateer of 24 Guns had been fitted out by French Merchants of that Place, and was cruiſing with a Spaniſh Commiſſion off of Cape Corſo, and having no ſmall Frigates with him, he converted the Loo Hoſpital-ſhip into a Frigate, and putting 20 Guns and 100 Men into her, ſent her, under the Command of Captain Prothero, in queſt of the ſaid Privateer. The Captain fortunately met with her off of the Iſland of Capraia, and after a ſmart Engagement, took her. She had 130 Men, moſt French, of whom 56 were killed, and 19 wounded, with the Loſs only of two Men in the Loo, and four wounded. The Admiral directed the Priſoners to be ſent to Toulon, and delivered into the Cuſtody of the Intendant: And he wrote to the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, to repreſent thoſe Proceedings to the Regent, to whoſe Juſtice he left the Priſoners.

Another

Fleet, that it might be ready to execute his further Orders in the Spring; he left his eldeſt Son at *Naples*, to manage his Correſpondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of *England* of what might paſs in thoſe Parts; and left Captain *Matthews* with a Squadron at *Pentemelia*, to obſerve Rear-admiral *Cammock* [a]; and hinder his eſcaping out of *Meſſina* to the Southward: The Captain had the good Fortune to run one of them a-ſhore, a Ship of 64 Guns, called the *Santo Roſelia*; another called the *St. Pedro* of 60 Guns was caſt away in *Tarento* Bay; and *Cammock* himſelf, endeavouring to get away to *Spain* in a ſmall Frigate of 22 Guns, was chaſed the 6th of *February* by a Ship of Captain *Matthews*'s Squadron, and eſcaped with much Difficulty in his Boat to *Catania*; but the Frigate was taken, with all his Effects and Papers, amongſt which was a Commiſſion from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the White Squadron.

Such Expedition was uſed in refitting, that the Admiral ſailed from *Mahon* with four Men of War on the 30th of *March*, and arrived at *Naples* on the 4th of *April*, leaving the reſt of his Fleet to follow him. Here he found nothing ready to make head againſt the *Spaniards* in *Sicily*; and it was the 23d before Count *De Mercy* arrived there from *Vienna* to take upon him the Command of the *Auſtrian* Army.

All Things being at length got ready, the Army embarked, conſiſting of 10,000 Foot, and 3,500 Horſe, all choice Troops, and the Flower of thoſe that had lately ſerved victoriouſly in *Hungary*. The Admiral ſet ſail from the Bay of *Bayæ* the 22d of *May*, with eight Men of War, and above 200 Transports; and on the 27th in the Evening arrived before *Melazzo*, from whence General *Zumjungen* came off, and adviſed Count *De Mercy* to land in the Bay of *Patti*, about 20 Miles Weſtwards, the Coaſt to the Eaſtward being all guarded by the Enemy. Upon this, ſo good a Diſpoſition and Order was made, that the next Morning early all the Foot landed in leſs than two Hours, and moſt of the Cavalry by Three in the Afternoon, having only loſt two Horſes in the Voyage.

Upon the landing of the *Imperialiſts*, the Marquis *De Lede* decamped with Precipitation, and marched without halting, to *Franca Villa*, a ſtrong Poſt 32 Miles diſtant, in a mountainous Country, and from whence three Roads led to *Palermo*, *Meſſina*, and *Syracuſa*. Count *De Mercy* arrived by eaſy Marches at *Melazzo*, and found in the *Spaniſh* Camp ſome Cannon, with Ammunition and Utenſils of War, which the Haſte of the *Spaniards* had left behind. The Admiral, coaſting along with the Army, anchored before *Melazzo*, and landed there the Remainder of the Horſe, with the Tents and other Neceſſaries of War.

The *Spaniards* fortified themſelves ſtrongly at *Franca Villa* [b]; and it being reſolved to attack them in their Entrenchments before the Siege of *Meſſina*, Count *De Mercy* made the beſt of his Way through a barren mountainous Country for that Purpoſe. No General could make a better Diſpoſition for the Attack on his Arrival at the Spot, nor did ever Soldiers ſhew more Alacrity to engage; yet ſuch was the Strength of the *Spaniſh* Entrenchments, and the Want of proper Intelligence of their Diſpoſition and Strength, not one Deſerter coming over to the *Germans*, that it was thought moſt expedient, after an obſtinate Attack for a whole Day (in which the *Germans* loſt 846 Men killed, and had 2449 wounded, the General himſelf wounded in his Reins) to extend themſelves to the left, and thereby cut off the Enemy from *Meſſina*, and open a Communication with the *Engliſh* Convoy, which (according to Agreement) was to rendezvous in *Schiſo-Bay*, near *Taormina*, a Sea-port Town about three Hours diſtant from *Franca Villa*, with the Tranſports laden with Proviſions, Ammunition, Baggage, and other Neceſſaries, which the Army ſtood in extreme need of.

When Count *De Mercy* parted from Admiral *Byng* at *Melazzo*, to go in queſt of the *Spaniſh* Army, it was the Admiral's Deſign to return to *Naples*, and put Things there in motion for an intended Expedition to *Sardinia*. But reflecting within himſelf, that the impetuous Temper of the *German* General, and the Contempt he ſaw he had of the Enemy, might poſſibly bring about ſome Occaſions that would want his Aſſiſtance, he tarried a few Days on the Coaſt in uneaſy Expectation of the News of the Succeſs of their March from *Melazzo*. The armed Peaſants had cut off all Communication between *Franca Villa* and *Melazzo*; ſo that the firſt Miſdoubt he entertained that Things had not gone well, was from hearing the firing of the Guns at *Meſſina*, and at the *Fare*, and ſeeing great Illuminations made along the Coaſt. Soon after he perceived the *Neapolitan* Gallies rowing out of the *Fare*, and the General of them coming on-board gave him an imperfect Account of the Action, but enough to ſatiſfy him that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately embarked two Battalions from the Garriſon of *Melazzo*, and about 1000 Recruits who were juſt arrived there, and ſent them the ſame Day under a Convoy through the *Fare* to *Schiſo-Bay*. In the Evening he received Letters from Count *De Mercy*, informing him of the Particulars of the whole Action, with the great Difficulties he laboured under, and Uncertainty what to do, earneſtly preſſing him to come to the Camp, that they might confer and conſult together. Upon this the Admiral ſent his firſt Captain with his own Ship, and two others, to *Naples*, by whom he ſent a Letter to the Vice-roy, giving his Opinion, that all Thoughts of an Expedition to *Sardinia* ſhould be laid aſide for the preſent, and the Troops which could be ſpared from his Government ſent immediately into *Sicily*, till whoſe Arrival all Things there would be at a Stand; and that he had ſent his Officers and Ships to aſſiſt in and expedite that Service. He then embarked on-board the General of the Gallies, laying aſide the Ceremony of his Flag and Character; and in his way to *Schiſo* Count *De Ligneville* came to him in a *Felucca*, bringing freſh Letters from Count *De Mercy*, which expreſſed his great Impatience to ſee him. Being landed at *Schiſo*, General *Wachtendonck* renewed the ſame Intreaties, which the Admiral's Zeal did not want, who accepting that General's Horſes, and forgetting for a while his own Station and Element, ſet out under a ſtrong Eſcort, attended by Captain *Matthews* and his eldeſt Son; and paſſing through Roads

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Another Ship was fitted out at Venice with 50 Guns and 250 Men, all Venetians, except three Spaniards and eight Engliſh, and having taken a Spaniſh Commiſſion at Malta, which Signor Patinho had lodged there for her, ſhe went a cruiſing on the Coaſt of Spain. The Admiral being informed of it, ſent the Orford and Rupert after her, the latter of which meeting with her off of Peniſcola, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed 61 Men, and wounded 29, with the Loſs only of one Man killed, and three wounded.

[a] This unhappy Man was a Native of Ireland, and being bred to the Sea, had raiſed himſelf to the Poſt of a Captain, and ſerved in Queen Anne's War with no bad Character. But aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who were Enemies to the Houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the Government, on the Acceſſion of that Family to the Crown he abandoned his Country, and entered into the Service of Spain, where he was promoted to the Rank of a Rear-admiral, and ſerved in that Poſt in the Expedition againſt Sicily. He had never been noted to want Courage, but in the Action of Paſſaro he ran away among the firſt, and eſcaped to Malta, affording an Inſtance, how much a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt and Dread of Puniſhment depreſſes the Heart more than the Fear of a fair Enemy. He was a vain boaſting Man, with a roving unſettled Head, filled with airy Schemes and Projects, without any Judgment or Diſcretion. He aſſured Signor Patinho, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh Fleet into his Hands, in Recompence for that which he had loſt; and in that ſenſeleſs Confidence, wrote a Letter to Admiral Byng, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's Commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt Part of his Fleet to Meſſina, or to any Port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albermarle, with a Royal Bounty of 100,000 Pounds to ſupport the Honour and Dignity of that Rank; and that every Captain ſhould have 10,000 Pounds, and the Seamen a Gratuity of two Months Wages. That Signor Patinho would ſatiſfy him of the King of Spain's Security for the Performance of this Agreement, and that no Body elſe but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the Secret. Whether he wrote by Direction or not, does not appear, but the Letter met with the Contempt it deſerved. He likewiſe ſent another Letter to Captain Walton, with the Promiſe of a Reward of 10,000 Pounds, a Commiſſion of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an Engliſh Peer, if he would bring his Ships into Meſſina, which the honeſt Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement Expreſſions of Abhorrence and Indignation.

[b] The Situation of the Spaniſh Camp was in this Manner: The rapid River Cantara, whoſe Banks are of a ſteep quick Rock, from ſix to eight Feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the Valley of Franca Villa, was in their Front. Their Left was on the riſing Grounds about Franca Villa (the Town lying behind in their Center) and extended to a high Mountain, where they had placed ſome armed Peaſants, and a few Foot. On the other Side of the River, (but joined by a Bridge to the Town of Franca Villa) was a ſteep Rock, with a Convent of Capuchins upon it. Here they placed five Battalions of their beſt Troops, in as many Rows of Entrenchments cut into the Rock, one above the other; and at the Point of the Rock was a ſmall Battery of two Pieces of Cannon of Three-pounders. On their Right they had carried on a Fortification of large Stones, like a Wall, all along the River, as far as a high rocky Hill, which had a Convent on the Top, as advantageouſly fortified as that of the Capuchins; and cloſe behind the Hill, the ſteep River Caſtiglione runs into the Cantara, by means of whoſe Confluence, and the neighbouring Mountains being guarded by armed Peaſants, the Spaniards were ſecure from any Danger in their Rear.

Roads ſtrewed with dead Bodies of Men and Horſes that had fallen in Skirmiſhes the Days before between the Sea-ſide and the Camp, he alighted at Count *De Mercy*'s Tent in the Evening, where a Guard of Grenadiers being drawn out for his Reception, one of them was ſhot through the Head by a Muſquet-ball from the Enemy's Camp, at the Door of the Tent, and fell down dead at his Feet. He found the General very weak and faint with his Wound, the Ball ſtill remaining in his Reins; but as he had a Magnanimity of Spirit ſuperior to his Condition, it did not hinder him from entering into Converſation on the melancholy Situation of Affairs.

The General caſt the Blame upon General *Zumjungen*, who was next under him in Command; accuſing him of Slowneſs, and not coming up in time to ſupport him in the late Action. On the contrary, when he viſited *Zumjungen*, who was of a ſedate deliberate Temper, he complained of Count *De Mercy*'s raſh Impatience in not giving time to all the Troops to come up; aſcribed their Loſs to that Impatience; bewailed the little Regard he paid to the Advice of his Officers; and intreated him to interpoſe, that the Count might not be led away by a falſe Courage to ſacrifice his Men in ſuch another manner.

The Admiral complied; and in a Council of War, and with ſtrong Arguments, evinced the Hazard of a ſecond Attack, and prevailed with them to reſolve upon the Siege of *Meſſina*; concluding his Speech thus: "That as to what "regarded the Fleet, the Experience of the laſt Winter in "keeping two Squadrons, one within, the other without "the *Fare*, to block up the Ships in *Meſſina*, and ſecure "the Paſſage of the Proviſions which the Army at *Melazzo* "drew from *Calabria* and *Apulia*, had determined him "never to hazard again the Deſtruction of his Maſter's "Ships on a Service of ſuch evident Danger, in that tem-"peſtuous Seaſon, without having a Port to ſhelter or be-"friend him. That the Reduction of *Meſſina* was their "mutual Intereſt, as his Ships would then clean there, "and be more at hand to aſſiſt them; and the Cauſe of "the Blockade being removed, he ſhould be able to ſend "a Detachment to cruize on the Coaſts of *Spain*, which "would ſtraiten the Enemy, and obſtruct their ſending "Succours into *Sicily*."

But as this Alteration in the Operations for this Year could not be confirmed without the Concurrence of the ſeveral Allies, the Admiral embarked, and ſailed to *Naples* with two Ships only, to repreſent the Neceſſity of complying therewith[*]. In the mean time that Couriers were diſpatched to the reſpective Courts on this Errand from their Miniſters at *Naples*, the Army, aſſiſted by the Tranſport-veſſels coaſting along with Proviſions, Artillery, and heavy Baggage, arrived and ſat down before *Meſſina* on the 20th of *July*, where alſo the Admiral arrived on the 28th off the Point of the *Fare*, and ſtaid there on-board till he had the Pleaſure of ſeeing the City of *Meſſina* open her Gates to the Emperor's Troops: The *Spaniards* under General *Spinola* being retired into the Citadel, the Admiral landed ſome *Engliſh* Grenadiers, who took the Tower of the *Fare*, which opening a free Paſſage for his Ships, he came to an Anchor in *Paradiſe*-Road; which the Officers of the *Spaniſh* Men of War in the Mole perceiving, and deſpairing now of getting out to Sea, they unbent their Sails, and unrigged their Ships, expecting their Fate with that of the Citadel. This gave the Admiral great Eaſe, and enabled him to employ Ships on other Services, which had long attended the blocking up of that Port.

It came now to be matter of Debate, what was to be done with thoſe Ships, when the Citadel ſhould be taken and they fall into their Hands. *Signor Scarampi*, General of the King of *Sardinia*'s Gallies, firſt ſtarted the Queſtion, and claimed the two beſt of 60 and 64 Guns, new Ships, which had belonged to his Maſter, and were ſeized by the *Spaniards* in the Port of *Palermo*. He grounded his Right on a Convention made at *Vienna* the 29th of *December*, 1718, in which it was ſaid, "That as to the Ships be-"longing to the King of *Sardinia*, if they be taken in "Port, they ſhall be reſtored to him; but that this ſhall be "referred to Admiral *Byng* to anſwer." To this the Admiral reply'd, "That this Convention having been only a "Ground-work for another to be made at *Naples*, he "could be directed by none but that which had been made "in conſequence thereof in *April* 1719, between the Vice-"roy of *Naples*, the Marquis *De Breille* Miniſter of *Sar-"dinia*, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of thoſe "Ships; and as to the Reference to his Opinion, he did "freely declare, he could not think the King of *Sardinia* "had any Shadow of Title to them; that they had been "taken by the Enemy, were now fitted out and armed "at their Expence, and under their Colours; that they "would put out to Sea, if he did not hinder them, and "attack all *Engliſh* Ships they met with, and if ſtronger, "take them; ſo that he could not conſider them in any "Light, than what they were, the Ships of an Enemy." Count *De Mercy* next put in his Claim for the Emperor, alledging, "That as thoſe Ships would be found within "the Port of a Town taken by his Maſter's Arms, ac-"cording to the Right of Nations they belonged to him." The Admiral replied, "That it was owing to his keeping "two Squadrons on purpoſe, and at a great Hazard, to "watch and obſerve thoſe Ships, that they were now con-"fined within the Port, which if he was to withdraw, they "would ſtill be able to go to Sea, and he ſhould have a "Chance of meeting with and taking them." But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the Garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe Return of thoſe Ships into *Spain*, which he was determined never to ſuffer; that, on the other hand, the Right of Poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient Diſpute among the Princes concerned; and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to *England*, it were better they belonged to no body; he propoſed to Count *De Mercy* to ſet up a Battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the Baſon; who urging, that he had no Orders concerning thoſe Ships, and muſt write to *Vienna* for Inſtructions about it; the Admiral replied with ſome Warmth, that he could not want a Power to deſtroy every Thing that belonged to the Enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſuch Firmneſs, that the General, being concerned in Intereſt not to carry Matters to a Diſagreement, cauſed a Battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the Proteſtations of *Scarampi*, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them, and compleated the Ruin of the naval Power of *Spain*.

While the Siege of the Citadel was continued, arrived the Emperor's Approbation and Conſent for proſecuting the Reduction of *Sicily*, and for employing the Men deſigned for *Sardinia*, according to the Admiral's Plan. But as the *Germans* were remarkable for Delays, and the Army under Count *Mercy* in great Want of Cannon and Proviſions, Sir *George* undertook to ſolicit Expedition and Supply of thoſe Neceſſaries in Perſon at *Naples*. Accordingly he arrived in that City on the 23d of *Auguſt*; where to his great Surprize he found, after a ſtrict Enquiry into the State of the Ordnance, that the whole Country was not able to furniſh the Cannon and Ammunition which Count *De Mercy* wanted. This was ſuch a Declaration of Weakneſs, as was not to be expected in ſo fine a Kingdom. The Admiral now plainly perceiving, that the Army had no Reſource but what lay in himſelf, generouſly ſent them 24 Pieces of Cannon of 18 Pounders, belonging to the *Spaniſh* Prizes, and a proportionable Quantity of Powder and Shot, contenting himſelf with the ſingle Credit of the General for Repayment to the Captors, and at the ſame time wrote to *Genoa* and *Leghorn* to purchaſe 1000 Barrels more of Powder, engaging his own Security to the *Britiſh* Conſuls for their Repayment.

From hence the Admiral proceeded with Tranſports to take in the Troops at *Vado*, ordered by the Emperor from the *Milaneſe*, but none were yet arrived; and Count *De Bonneval*, who was to command them, declared he would not ſtir till he was ſatisfied in ſome Particulars, which did not fall within the Knowledge of our Admiral, and were charged upon the Governor of *Milan*. After much Pains he got two Veſſels ſent away under Convoy of a Man of War, with ſome Cannon and Ammunition for the Army,

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[*] During the Admiral's Stay at Naples, the Grafton brought in two Genoeſe Ships, which ſhe had taken off of Palermo, with 600 Swiſs Recruits on-board for the Spaniſh Army, who were committed Priſoners to the Caſtles. The Lenox ran a Third a-ſhore with about 200 more Soldiers, and burnt her, but moſt of the Men eſcaped.

at *Meſſina*; but as to the main Point, he met with great Perplexity and Vexation. He had been 12 Days ſoliciting their putting Proviſions and Neceſſaries on-board the Tranſports, that they might be ready againſt the Arrival of the Forces, without any the leaſt Thing being done in it: Upon complaining of which to Count *De Bonneval*, he contented himſelf with laying the Blame on the Commiſſaries, who, he ſaid, would do what they pleaſed, in ſpite of all that he could ſay to them, and being appointed by the *Aulic* Council of War at *Vienna*, had no Regard to his Authority or Orders. With Difficulty the Admiral got them to come to a Conference at the General's Houſe, where laying before them a State of the ſeveral Particulars ſtill wanting for the intended Embarkation, they proteſted, they could not get together ſo much Proviſion under 15 Days time; but entering into a Diſcuſſion of each Particular, he plainly ſhewed them, that it might eaſily be compaſſed in ſeven. He then told them, “That as the Governor of *Milan* had aſſured him, that the laſt Column of Troops would be at *Vado* the 23d, if any thing hindered their embarking the next Day, he would be trifled with no longer, but go away to *Meſſina*, where his Preſence was wanted, and leave a Convoy to follow with the Troops; and adviſed them to conſider ſeriouſly of the Blame they would incur from their Negligence.” This brought them to promiſe, that all the Proviſions, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries, ſhould be got ready and ſhipped off by the Time appointed for the Arrival of the Troops. They being accordingly arrived on the 23d, and the Admiral having made a Diſpoſition to embark them, the commanding Officer ſent him word, that very little of the Proviſions were ſhipped on-board the Tranſports; that moſt Part of the Biſcuit and Wine was wanting; that there was no Salt, Oil, Brandy, or Tobacco, nor any Hay or Oats; nor could he get any clear Anſwer from the chief Commiſſary, by what time thoſe Things could be provided. The Admiral ſending his firſt Captain to find out that Officer, he concealed himſelf from his Sight; and indeed the whole Conduct of thoſe Officers looked as if they deſignedly delayed, inſtead of forwarding, this Service. As to Count *De Bonneval*, who had been appointed to command thoſe Forces on the intended Expedition to *Sardinia*, he was ſo diſguſted at his Diſappointment, and the diverting them to a different Service, and to find himſelf going to act under the Command of another, that he gave himſelf no Trouble to forward the Service, but ſpent his whole Time in Pleaſures at *Genoa*. After incredible Pains and Labour, and at laſt ſuch Menaces as the Commiſſaries, and even *Bonneval* himſelf, began to be afraid of, the Admiral ſhipt off the Troops to the Number of about 6000, on the 27th of *September*, with ſuch Proviſions as could be got, and leaving a Man of War to convoy the Remainder when ready, ſailed the 28th from *Vado*; but it blowing very freſh the 29th in the Night, the Sattees and Tartans, with about 600 Men on-board, and ſome Horſes and Baggage, parted from the Fleet, and ſtood in with the Shore for Shelter. The Admiral receiving Letters, in his Paſſage, from Count *De Mercy*, requeſting that the Troops might not land at *Melazzo*, but go to *Meſſina*, he ſtood away for the *Fare*, and arrived before *Meſſina* the 8th of *October*; which ſo elevated the Spirits of the Army, that upon the firſt Sight of the Fleet, Lieutenant-general *Wallis* with 5000 Men made a vigorous Attack upon the Half-moon, which was neareſt to their Approaches, and carried it, but with the Loſs of 103 killed, and 830 wounded. The Admiral repairing a-ſhore to the General's Quarters, was embraced by him and all the General Officers with the moſt tender Marks of Affection and Gratulation, the whole Army being overjoyed to ſee a Man who always brought them Relief and Succeſs, and every Good that attended them. On the 17th, at Ten in the Morning, the *Imperialiſts* aſſaulted the Counter-guard, and mounted to the Top of the Breach with great Gallantry, but, after two Hours very warm Work, were repulſed with the Loſs of 120 Men killed, and 617 wounded. The Governor having acquitted himſelf with great Honour in this Repulſe, as well as in the general Defence of the Place, and finding himſelf unable to hold it longer, beat a Parley the next Day, and ſurrendered upon Articles. On the 19th 600 *Imperial* Grenadiers marched in, and took Poſſeſſion of a Gate of the Citadel. On the 21ſt the *Spaniſh* Garriſon marched out through the Breach, and were tranſported by Sea to *Auguſta*. Thus ended a Siege of 91 Days, which coſt the *Germans* above 5000 Men killed or wounded.

During this Siege the Admiral having received Information, that Veſſels belonging to *Malta* had gone to Sea with *Spaniſh* Commiſſions, and taken ſome *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips, ſent a Letter to the Grand Maſter, “complaining of his Partiality and Injuſtice, demanding Satisfaction for the Damages the Merchants had ſuſtained, and his giving ſtrict Orders to prohibit the like unfair Proceedings for the future.” He wrote at the ſame time to Mr. *Alexander Young*, the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Malta*, to make a ſtrict Enquiry what Merchant-ſhips had been taken by Privateers fitted out from *Malta*, or wherein *Malteſe* Subjects had been concerned; and to lay a State thereof before that Government, with a Demand of Reparation, and to let him know their Anſwer. The Grand Maſter and his Council, being alarmed at this Meſſage, ſent the Chevalier *Balbini* to the Admiral, to repreſent and excuſe the Proceedings of their Government in the Points complained of, and to lay before him the Difficulties they were under from their Dependance on *Spain*, and to endeavour to remove all Cauſes of his Diſſatisfaction with them. But the Admiral not having yet received any ſpecific Account of the particular Loſſes of the Merchants, and ſo not able to ſettle the Terms of Reſtitution with *Balbini*, ſent his firſt Captain (*Saunders*) with two Men of War to *Malta*, directing him “to make an exact Enquiry into the ſeveral Captures that had been made, and to lay the ſame before the Grand Maſter and his Council, and to demand Reparation, ſo far as their Subjects had been concerned therein; and in caſe he found them willing to give reaſonable Aſſurances of doing Juſtice for what was paſt, and of a better Behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a Convention with them for that Purpoſe, and for eſtabliſhing a good Agreement with them; but otherwiſe he was to take all Ships and Veſſels he ſhould meet with belonging to that Iſland.” Captain *Saunders* arriving at *Malta*, found a fair Diſpoſition in thoſe People to give the Admiral and the *Engliſh* Nation all reaſonable Satisfaction in their Proceedings. They ſhewed, “that they had never conſented to, or approved of their Subjects entering into the Service of *Spain*, but had iſſued ſtrict Proclamations prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either Side, in the War. They did not deny, that one of their Veſſels had taken a Commiſſion from the Marquis *De Lede*, to cruize upon the Enemies of *Spain*; but made appear, that they had ſent one of their Order to intreat him to revoke that Commiſſion, and had made the ſame Application to the Court at *Madrid*, but had been anſwered with great Roughneſs and Menaces: That to avoid as much as they could all Occaſions of Complaint, they had called in all their Privateers which had been cruizing in the *Levant* againſt the *Turks*, in order to diſarm them; but they could not always govern the Unrulineſs of their People, when they would enter into the Service of any Chriſtian Prince, whoſe Colours protected them from their Enquiry or Viſitation, which was the Misfortune of their Conſtitution, as they depended upon the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe* for their Revenue, and in particular drew at that time their daily Suſtenance of Proviſions from that Part of *Sicily*, which was under the Subjection of the *Spaniſh* General; and finally, that they had received no Part or Benefit from the Prizes, which paſſed entirely through the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Agent, and in which they had no Manner of Intereſt or Concern.” The Captain was convinced of the Sincerity and Truth of their Declaration; but on the other hand told them, “that it was not his Buſineſs to enquire into the Nature or Dependance of their Government; and it was for them to accommodate their Grievances with *Spain* as they could: That his Instructions were plain, and founded in Juſtice, demanding Redreſs for the Loſſes his Countrymen had ſuſtained, from thoſe who occaſioned them, who were their Subjects; and that, if they would not enter into a Negotiation for that Purpoſe, he ſhould be obliged to put his Orders in Execution.” Intimidated by theſe Threats, they immediately appointed two Commiſſaries to treat with him, and it being made out by Proof, that five *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips had been taken by *Malteſe* Ships under *Spaniſh* Colours, they ſubmitted to pay the full Value of them and their Lading, within 12 Months after Application from the Claimants. But thinking themſelves aggrieved by this Treaty, and proteſting themſelves to be under a Force to ſign any Terms, rather than feel the Effects of the Admiral's Diſpleaſure, they reſerved to themſelves a Liberty of appealing to the Equity of the Admiral, and from him to the King, for a Mitigation of the Severity of the Conditions. They diſpatched away accordingly the Chevalier *De la Val* to the Admiral, who not thinking he had any Right to compound for other Mens Properties, the Deputy paſſed on to the *Engliſh* Court at *London*, to execute his Commiſſion. He had likewiſe a private Inſtruction, to implore the King's Intereſt, with the ſeveral Princes at the approaching Congreſs, that *Malta* might be freed from its Subjection to *Sicily*, and enjoy the Rights and Privileges of a free and neutral Port, in time of War among the Chriſtian Powers.

The Marquis *De Lede* ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Country where the *Caricatori* or ſubterraneous Magazines of Corn were made; and was ſo ſtrongly encamped that it was not thought convenient, nor advantageous, to attack him any more this Year. But the *German* Army being diſtreſſed both for Bread and Forage, and the Land-officers not able to determine in what Manner to proceed for Subſiſtence, the Generals *Mercy* and *Zumjungen* repaired on-board the Admiral, and told him in a very deſponding Manner, "that having thoroughly weighed the Situation of their Affairs, and finding they could neither ſubſiſt, nor undertake any Action where they were, they had come to a Reſolution to leave a ſtrong Garriſon in *Meſſina*, and tranſport the Horſe over by Sea to *Calabria*, and the Foot to *Syracuſa*, where they might be able to maintain themſelves during the Winter, and be ready to make uſe of ſuch Advantages as might offer for acting againſt the Enemy in the Spring; and prayed his Aſſiſtance in that Service. The Admiral replied, that he hoped their Affairs were not ſo deſperate as they apprehended; that he had been employing his Thoughts for their Service, and believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of their preſent Circumſtances: That, of all the late Propoſitions, the tranſporting the Army to *Trapani* pleaſed him beſt, as it would turn the Difficulty upon the *Spaniſh* Army, by obliging them to make uneaſy Marches, and to keep the Field in the Winter. That when the whole Army was at *Trapani*, they ſhould be able to enlarge their Quarters, the Granaries of Corn would fall into their Hands, and their Neighbourhood to *Palermo* keep that Place in awe, 'till the Seaſon ſhould favour their marching towards it, the Reduction of which would bring the War to a ſpeedy Iſſue. That he had conſidered of the Difficulty of ſubſiſting one Part of the Army at *Trapani*, 'till the reſt arrived; and, as *England* was in Peace with the Governments of *Barbary*, he would ſend his Secretary to *Tunis*, which was the neareſt *African* Port to *Trapani*, and employ him and the *Engliſh* Conſul to buy up whatever Quantity of Corn was neceſſary, and tranſport the ſame to *Trapani*. That he knew very well they had no Money, and therefore would employ his own Caſh and Credit to procure this Supply, depending upon their Honour for Repayment, and did not doubt to lodge the Corn at *Trapani*, before the firſt Detachment of Troops arrived there." Count *De Mercy* penetrating immediately into the Facility and advantageous Conſequences of this Scheme, roſe up, and embracing the Admiral in a kind of Tranſport, acknowledged, "That he had hit on the only Method practicable, not only for the Preſervation of the Army, but even for puſhing on the War with Succeſs. That as it was a Proteſtant Scheme, he ſhould have Proteſtant Troops and Proteſtant Generals to put it in Execution;" and accordingly General *Zumjungen*, with Count *Seckendorf*, the Prince of *Heſſe*, and General *Schmettau* embarked the 23d of *November* with 7000 Foot and 500 Horſe, and arrived fortunately in three Days at *Trapani*, where finding a plentiful Remittance of Corn ready arrived from *Tunis*, they not only poſted themſelves there in Security, but enlarging their Quarters into the Country, brought the Cities of *Marſala* and *Mazzara* to ſubmit to the Obedience of the Emperor. The Tranſports and Convoy returning, brought thither more Troops. Count *De Mercy* and the Admiral departed with the laſt Convoy from *Meſſina* on the 19th of *January*, conſiſting of 5400 Foot and 1100 Horſe. The whole Army being got together amounted to 14,000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, beſides the Garriſons left in *Meſſina*, *Melazzo*, *Syracuſa*, and the adjacent Ports.

The more effectually to humble *Spain*, and at the ſame time to convince the whole World that we could not only contrive but execute an Invaſion, a ſecret Deſign was formed, for ſending a Fleet and Army to the Coaſts of *Spain*; which was very ſucceſsfully performed; and, on the 21ſt of *September* 1719, Vice-admiral *Mighels*, with a ſtrong Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships under his Command, and the Tranſports having on-board the Forces, commanded by the late Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, conſiſting of about 6000 Men, ſailed from *St. Helen's*; of which Expedition the following Letter contains the only good Account that was ever publiſhed [a].

"His Excellency the Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, with the Men of War commanded by Vice-admiral *Mighels*, and the Tranſports having the Forces on board, arriving on the Coaſt of *Galicia*, kept cruiſing three Days in the Station appointed for Captain *Johnſon* to join them; but having no News of him, and the Danger of lying on the Coaſt at this Seaſon of the Year, with Tranſports, rendering it neceſſary to take ſome Meaſures of acting without him, and the Wind offering fair for *Vigo*, his Lordſhip took the Reſolution of going thither.

"On the 29th of *September*, O. S. they entered the Harbour of *Vigo*; and the Grenadiers being immediately landed, about three Miles from the Town, drew up on the Beach; ſome Peaſants fired from the Mountains, at a great Diſtance, but without any Execution. His Lordſhip went a-ſhore with the Grenadiers, and the Regiments followed as faſt as the Boats could carry them. That Night, and the following Day and Night, the Troops lay upon their Arms. In the mean while, Proviſions for four Days were brought a-ſhore, and Guards were poſted in ſeveral Avenues, to the Diſtance of above a Mile up the Country.

"On the 1ſt of *October*, his Lordſhip moved with the Forces nearer the Town, and encamped at a ſtrong Poſt, with the Left to the Sea, near the Village of *Boas*, and the Right extended towards the Mountains. This Motion of the Army, and ſome Parties that were ordered to view the Town and Citadel, gave the Enemy ſome Apprehenſions that Preparations were making to attack them. Whereupon, they ſet fire to the Carriages of the Cannon of the Town, nailed thoſe Cannon, and by all their Motions, ſeemed to be determined to abandon the Town to the Care of the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants; and to retire, with the regular Troops, into the Citadel. Whereupon, the Lord *Cobham* ſent to ſummon the Town to ſurrender, which the Magiſtrates made no Difficulty of doing; and the ſame Night his Lordſhip ordered Brigadier *Honeywood*, with 800 Men, to take Poſt in the Town and Fort *St. Sebaſtian*, which the Enemy had alſo abandoned.

"On the 3d, a Bomb-veſſel began to bombard the Citadel; but with little Execution, by reaſon of the great Diſtance. That Evening, the large Mortars, and the Cohorn-mortars, were landed at the Town; between 40 and 50 of them, great and ſmall, placed on a Battery, under cover of Fort *St. Sebaſtian*, began in the Night to play upon the Citadel, and continued it four Days with great Succeſs. The fourth Day his Lordſhip ordered the battering Cannon to be landed, and, with ſome others, found in the Town, to be placed on the Battery of Fort *St. Sebaſtian*. At the ſame time, his Lordſhip ſent the Governor a Summons to ſurrender, ſignifying, that if he ſtaid till our Battery of Cannon was ready, he ſhould have no Quarter. Colonel *Ligonier* was ſent with this Meſſage, but found the Governor *Don Joſeph de los Cereos* had the Day before been carried out of the Caſtle wounded; the Lieutenant-colonel, who commanded in his Abſence, deſired Leave and Time to ſend to the Marquis

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[a] Annals of King George, Oldmixon's Hiſtory, Hiſtorical Regiſter, Political State, &c.

" quis *de Riſburg* at *Tuy*, for his Directions; but being " told, the Hoſtilities ſhould be continued, if they did not " ſend their Capitulation without any Delay, they ſoon " complied [a]."

The Capitulation conſiſted of 10 Articles, by which the Garriſon were permitted to march out with Honours of War; and the Place, with all its Works, Magazines, and whatever they contained, either of Ammunition or Proviſions, were delivered up to his Excellency the Lord *Cobbam*.

On the 10th of the ſame Month, in the Morning, the Garriſon marched out, conſiſting of 469 Men (Officers included) having had above 300 killed or wounded by our Bombs. The Place it is ſaid coſt us but two Officers, and three or four Men killed. There were in the Town about 60 Pieces of large Iron Cannon, which the Enemy abandoned, and theſe they nailed, and damaged, as much as their Time would give them leave; and in the Citadel were 43 Pieces, of which 15 were Braſs, and two large Mortars, beſides above 2000 Barrels of Powder, and ſeveral Cheſts of Arms, amounting to about 8000 Muſquets; all which Stores, and Braſs Ordnance, were lodged there from on-board the Ships that were to have viſited *Great-Britain* in the preceding Spring; and the very Troops that gave up *Vigo* were alſo of thoſe which were to have been employed in that Expedition: Seven Ships were ſeized in the Harbour, three of which were fitting up for Privateers, one to carry 24 Guns; the reſt were Trading-veſſels.

Lord *Cobbam* then ordered Major-general *Wade* to embark with 1000 Men on-board four Tranſports, and to ſail to the Upper-end of the Bay of *Vigo*; which he accordingly did on the 14th; and having landed his Men, marched to *Ponta-Vedra*, which Place ſurrendered without Oppoſition, the Magiſtrates of the Town meeting them with the Keys. In this Place were taken two 48 Pounders, four 24 Pounders, ſix eight Pounders, and four Mortars, all Braſs; beſides 70 Pieces of Iron Cannon, 2000 ſmall Arms, ſome Bombs, *&c.* all which, except the 24 Pounders, were embarked, and Major-general *Wade* returned with his Booty and Troops to *Vigo* on the 23d. The next Day, the Lord *Cobbam* finding it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his Ground any longer in *Spain*, ordered the Forces to be embarked, as likewiſe the Cannon, *&c.* which being done by the 27th, he ſailed that Day for *England*, where he arrived the 11th of *November*, having loſt in the whole Expedition, about 300 of his Men, who were either killed, died, or deſerted [b].

This Year Sir *John Norris* ſailed again up the *Baltic*, not to over-awe the *Swedes*, who, ſince the Death of their King were become our Friends; but to protect them againſt the *Ruſſians*. In the Beginning of *September*, Sir *John Norris*, with his Squadron, joined the *Swediſh* Fleet. This Junction of the *Engliſh* and *Swediſh* Fleets, broke all the Meaſures of the Czar *Peter the Great*, who had ruined the *Swediſh* Coaſt in a cruel Manner; but was now forced to retire with his Fleet into the Harbour of *Revel*. The Fleet continued near *Stockholm* till the Winter Seaſon, and there being no Reaſon to fear any further Attacks on the *Swedes*, as the *Danes* had accepted his *Britannic* Majeſty's Mediation, Sir *John Norris* thought of returning home; and accordingly ſailed from *Elſenap* on the 27th of *October*, with a large Fleet of Merchant-men under his Convoy, and ſafely arrived at *Copenhagen*. On the 12th of the ſame Month, the Fleet ſailed from *Copenhagen*; and on the 17th, met with a dreadful Storm, which damaged ſeveral Ships, but deſtroyed none. Towards the Cloſe of the Month, they arrived ſafe; and on the laſt Day of *November*, Sir *John* came to *London*, after having managed with great Reputation, and finiſhed with much Expedition, an Enterprize which in leſs able Hands would either have brought Diſcredit on our naval Power, or involved the Nation in a bloody War; but by his ſteady and prudent Conduct, they were both avoided, and a Stop put to thoſe Troubles, which for many Years had embroiled the North [c].

His Majeſty returned from *Hanover* about the middle of *November* 1719, and the Parliament met the latter End of the ſame Month, when there were very warm Debates upon the Subject of the *Sicilian* Expedition; where many great Men, and good Patriots, thought our Fleet had done too much for the *Germans*, and too little for themſelves. On the other hand, the Friends of the Miniſtry maintained, that their Meaſures were right; that the giving *Sicily* to the Emperor, and *Sardinia* to the Duke of *Savoy*, would effectually fix the Balance of Power in *Italy*, and free us, and the reſt of *Europe*, from the Apprehenſions created by the mighty naval Power of *Spain*.

On the 2d of *December*, the naval Supplies for the enſuing Year were ſettled, 13,500 Men were allowed for the Service of 1720, and the Sum of 4*l.* a Man per Month, as uſual, granted for that Purpoſe; 217,918*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* was given for the Ordinary of the Navy, and 79,723*l.* for the extraordinary Repairs. Soon after a Demand was made for a conſiderable Sum, expended in the neceſſary Service of the laſt Year, beyond what was provided for by Parliament; and after great Debates, in which thoſe then in the Oppoſition took great Freedom, a Vote was obtained on the 15th of *January*, for 377,561*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* ¼. in diſcharge of thoſe Expences. In the Beginning of the Month of *February*, the King of *Spain* acceded to the Quadruple-alliance; and, as a Conſequence thereof, a Ceſſation of Arms by Sea was ſoon after publiſhed. About the ſame time, a Meſſenger, diſpatched by the then Lord *Carteret* from *Stockholm*, brought the Inſtrument of the Treaty of Friendſhip and Alliance concluded between his Majeſty and the Crown of *Sweden* [d].

The Marquis *De Lede* perceiving by the Diſpoſitions of the *Germans*, under the Protection of the *Engliſh* Fleet, that he muſt ſhortly fall a Prey to their Strength, or to Famine, made Overtures for evacuating the Kingdom with his Army; to which the *German* General Count *Mercy* was far from being averſe. But the Admiral proteſting againſt it, and declaring that not a Man of the *Spaniſh* Army ſhould paſs out of that Iſland, until a general Peace was made, for that it would be to furniſh *Spain* with a Body of their beſt Troops to ſtrengthen their Army acting againſt *France*, or elſe they might be employed in diſturbing *England*; the Meſſenger was diſmiſſed with this Counter-propoſal from the Count *De Mercy*, that if the Marquis would ſurrender *Palermo* and the South-ſide of the Iſland, and retire with his Army into the Middle of the Country towards *Caſtro Giovane*, or to any other Paſs proper for his Security, he would conſent to a Suſpenſion of Arms for ſix Weeks, 'till the Sentiments of the ſeveral Courts might be known; which being an Advantage more than equivalent to the Operations of ſix Weeks in that early Seaſon, the Admiral conſented thereto, with this Reſtriction, that if the *Spaniards* attempted to withdraw any of their Men in the mean time, the Suſpenſion ſhould be void, and he would act againſt them with all his Force. Count *De Mercy* diſpatching Lieutenant-colonel *Bellaire* to *Vienna*, to acquaint that Court with theſe Overtures and bring back their Directions, the Admiral ſent away thither his eldeſt Son Mr. *Byng*, with Inſtructions, that if the Imperial Court liſtened to the Propoſals of the *Spaniſh* General, to declare, that his Father could never ſuffer any Part of the *Spaniſh* Army to depart out of the Iſland 'till the King of *Spain* had acceded to the Quadruple-alliance, or 'till he received poſitive Inſtructions from *England* for doing ſo.

The Marquis *De Lede* finding his firſt Propoſitions ineffectual, ſent two General Officers, the Marquis *De San Vicenzo*, and Signior *D'Aponte*, to the Imperial Camp the 19th of *February*, with Inſtructions to treat about the Surrender of *Palermo*, and a conſiderable Part of the adjacent Country, in conſideration of a Suſpenſion of Arms for three Months; but whilſt the Negotiation was depending, the Marquis receiving an Expreſs from *Madrid* on the 28th with Advice, that a general Peace was made, he ſent immediately to break off the Treaty. And a Courier, diſpatched from *Paris* by the Earl of *Stair* the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador there, brought the Admiral Information, that the Marquis *De Beretti Landi*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at the *Hague*, had ſigned the Quadruple-alliance the 17th of *February*; and he brought likewiſe a Packet from that Miniſter to the Marquis *De Lede*, and another to the Emperor's Miniſter Count *De Mercy*, to acquaint them therewith. A Trumpet was ſent with the *Spaniſh* Miniſter's Packet to the Marquis *De Lede*, and to know his Sentiments thereupon.

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[a] London Gazette, Whitehall, October 2, 1719.

[b] Hiſtorical Regiſter, Political State, &c.

[c] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Oldmixon, Annals of King George, &c.

[d] Votes of the Houſe of Commons, Annals of King George, Hiſtorical Regiſter.

However, the Marquis *De Lede* could not by any Perſuaſions be brought to evacuate any Place in his Poſſeſſion, until he received further Orders from his Maſter; for which Obſtinacy he produced Part of his Inſtructions. Upon which the Count *De Mercy* ſhewed him Part of the Emperor's Orders, which directed him, "to agree to a Suſpenſion of Arms in order to the Evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; and to concert with the Marquis *De Lede* the neceſſary Conditions for facilitating the ſame, and to adjuſt that Affair by all reaſonable Meaſures: But that, if the Marquis *De Lede* ſhould not own his having Orders, or endeavour to evade them and gain Time, by pretending to ſend to *Madrid* for farther Inſtructions, and not name a reaſonable Time for beginning to embark Part of his Troops; in that caſe he was to make uſe of his Arms, to oblige him to execute the Treaty, which the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had ſigned at the *Hague*." He farther told the Marquis, that the 17th of *April* was underſtood to be the Time they ſhould go upon the Evacuation; but if it was not poſſible for him to begin ſo ſoon, he would not differ about a few Days, provided they entered now into ſome Agreement about the Manner of doing it. He offered him the Tranſports he had in his Service, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be accommodated with Proviſions and every thing he could in reaſon demand. The Admiral, on his Part, gave him the like Aſſurances, and that he ſhould be eſcorted by as many of his Maſter's Ships as he ſhould deſire. The Marquis owned, that all they ſaid was reaſonable, but complaining of the Want of Orders, the Conference broke off without coming to any Iſſue.

During theſe Debates, one of the *Engliſh* Ships cruizing off *Palermo*, took a Felucca, ſent by Cardinal *Aquaviva* from *Rome*, with Packets of Letters from *Spain* to the Marquis *De Lede*, which he delivered to the Admiral; who ſeeing the King of *Spain*'s Seal to the Letters, generouſly ſent them unopened to the Marquis, and ſet the Felucca and Crew at Liberty.

The Conference being broke off, the Admiral returned to the Fleet at *Trapani*, and Count *De Mercy* reſolving to attack the *Spaniards* marched towards *Alcamo*, where he arrived the 8th of *April*, the Marquis having retreated the Night before with Precipitation, leaving ſome ſick Men behind, whom he could not carry away. The Retreat of the *Spaniards* made Count *De Mercy* reſolve on the Siege of *Palermo*, in order to which he ſent Colonel Baron *Neyperg* to confer with the Admiral about the neceſſary Aſſiſtance to be given by the Fleet in facilitating the March of the Army towards that Place, by coaſting along with the Proviſions and Neceſſaries they ſhould want in their March, as well as in the Siege, and ſupplying them with Cannon and Ammution for that Enterprize. The neceſſary Diſpoſitions being concerted between the Army and the Fleet, the Count decamped from *Alcamo* the 18th of *April*, and followed the Marquis *De Lede*, who retreating towards *Monreale* kept Poſſeſſion of that and other advantageous Poſts, which led into the Plain before *Palermo*; fortifying at the ſame time a ſtrong Paſs by the Sea-ſide called *Sferra Cavallo*, which was another Way between the Sea-ſhore and the Mountains, into the ſame Plain. On the 21ſt the *Germans* began to deſcend from the Mountains, and forcing the ſeveral Paſſes with leſs Oppoſition than was expected, were almoſt all got down before Night to the Bottom.

The Admiral coaſting along, in Conformity to the Motions of the Army, came to an Anchor with the Fleet the 20th in *Mondello* Bay, and ſent ſome of his Soldiers to take Poſſeſſion of a Tower on the Point, and another at the landing Place, as alſo of three Caſſines that ſtood between, in order to preſerve their Communication.

On the 22d the Marquis *De Lede* ſent Colonel *Lacy*, his Aid de Camp, with a Letter to the Admiral, incloſing a *Spaniſh* Gazette, wherein was publiſhed the Treaty of Suſpenſion of Arms at Sea, concluded at the *Hague* between the Miniſters of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, and which was to take place on the 10th Inſtant, and therefore he propoſed to the Admiral, "to come to an Agreement with him for a ſeparate Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, as they had both full Powers for that Purpoſe; and proteſted againſt any Violences he ſhould commit, contrary to the plain Inſtructions of their Sovereigns." This Snare, laid to ſeparate the Admiral from the *German* Army, had no Effect, the Admiral returning Anſwer, "That he could give no Regard or Credit to a pretended Convention publiſhed in a foreign News-paper, and even in which there was a Clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the *Mediterranean* Sea: That as the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had ſigned the Quadruple-alliance ever ſince the 17th of *February* laſt, it was ſurpriſing, that in all this time the Marquis had received no Orders for treating about the Evacuation of the Iſland, which was the neceſſary Conſequence of it, but that he ſtill maintained every Point and Poſt with the ſame Zeal and Ardour, as before his Maſter's Acceſſion to the Alliance: That the Time for beginning the Evacution was elapſed; and therefore, without ſome reaſonable Security that he really intended it, he could come into no Agreement for a Suſpenſion of Arms; but whenever he ſhould be impowered to treat for both, he would moſt gladly go more than half-way to meet him, and not only agree on ſuch Meaſures as might put an end to the preſent Differences, but which might reſtore and cultivate a good Underſtanding between both Nations, which no body more ardently wiſhed for than he did."

This was an adventurous Proceeding in the Admiral; for his Inſtructions from *England* directed him to come to a Suſpenſion of Arms with *Spain*, without ſtaying for ſettling the Terms of Evacuation, which might take up Time. But his Penetration ſhewed him, that if a Suſpenſion took place at Sea, the *Spaniards* might introduce what Succours and Troops they pleaſed into the Iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing; and, if any Interruption happened in the Negotiations on foot, put the *Spaniards* in a better State of proſecuting the War, and perhaps protract it another Year. Their late Conduct had made him jealous of their Artifices, ſeeing them lay hold of every Advantage to evade the Evacuation of the Iſland, which this Separation would encourage, and render the Way to Peace more diſtant and difficult. He determined therefore, as the Convention for a Ceſſation of Arms at Sea, ſigned at the *Hague* the 29th of *February*, left him a Liberty of treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the *Germans*, which he prudently ſaw, was the quickeſt Way to bring the *Spaniards* to a Compliance, and to come into real Meaſures for the Evacuation of the Iſland. The Event juſtified his Precaution, and his Conduct received at home the Approbation it deſerved.

The March of the *Imperialiſts* had made the *Spaniards* change the Situation of their Camp, which they pitched acroſs the Plain before *Palermo*, extending their Left to *Monte Caputo*, and their Right to the Sea near the Mole of *Palermo*, the whole Army being under the Cannon of that City, and having ſtrong Entrenchments before them, lined with 40 Pieces of Cannon. They were provided with Plenty of all Things, and ſeemed determined to ſtand the Fate of a Battle. The *Germans* encamped on the ſame Plain in the Front of the Enemy, and within a Mile and a Half diſtance, with their Right at the Foot of the Mountains from whence they had deſcended, and their Left reaching to *Monte Pelegrino* near the Seaſide, the Artillery and Baggage being arrived in their Camp by the Way of *Sferra Cavallo*. Count *De Mercy* ſeeing himſelf ſtraitened in Room, and under Difficulty of ſubſiſting, whilſt the Enemy plundered and enriched themſelves with the Spoils of a Country they were quickly to abandon, he determined to bring Matters to an Engagement as ſoon as poſſible. In order to it, his Scheme was to endeavour to get Poſſeſſion of the Mole, by which means he ſhould flank the Enemy, and oblige them either to come to a Battle with Diſadvantage, or elſe to retire to *Termini*. For this Purpoſe he detached Baron *Neyperg* on the 26th with ſix Companies of Granadiers to diſlodge the Enemy from ſome Poſts which they had fortified on the Sea-ſide; and, to facilitate the ſame, ſent Baron *de Witgenau* with ſix other Companies of Grenadiers to ſeize on *Monte Pelegrino*. At the ſame time the Admiral detaching three Ships to cannonade the Poſts on the Sea-ſide, their Fire made the *Spaniards* abandon them, and the *Imperialiſts* took Poſſeſſion of them without any Loſs. Theſe Advantages confirmed Count *De Mercy* in his Reſolution to puſh his

Point that Way, and having made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, the next Day he cauſed to be attacked a Caſſine that ſtood a little Diſtance from the Enemy's Trenches, but ſtrongly fortified with Lines and ſome Cannon, drawing out his whole Army at the ſame time in order of Battle, in caſe the Enemy ſhould come out of their Camp to ſupport it. The Lines were ſoon taken, but the Caſſine was not carried 'till after a very vigorous Defence of above an Hour, wherein the *Germans* had about 140 Men killed or wounded, among the former a Prince of *Anhalt*, and Lieutenant-general *Seckendorf* wounded in the Shoulders. On the 2d of *May*, about Two in the Afternoon, the Weather being very hot, and the *Spaniſh* Guard taken a Sieſto, according to the Cuſtom of that Nation, the *Germans* ſurprized a Redoubt near the Enemy's Lines, entering the ſame without firing a Shot, and puſhing the *Spaniards* out with their Bayonets in their Pieces. The Marquis *De Lede* being informed of it, roſe from Table, and ordered the Army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that Fortification, which commanded the whole Line of the Camp. On the other hand, Count *De Mercy* being determined to maintain his Hold, both Armies were in Motion and juſt on the Point of engaging, when fortunately a Courier arriving in the very Inſtant from *Spain* in a Felucca, delivered to the Marquis a Packet, containing full Powers from the King of *Spain* to treat and agree about the Evacuation of the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and the Tranſportation of the Army into *Spain*. The Marquis upon this drew off his Army, and ſent Letters by a Trumpet to the General and Admiral, to inform them of his Orders. The next Morning early, the Admiral repairing to the *German* Camp, Officers were appointed on each Side to treat of the Suſpenſion of Arms, and to regulate the Manner of evacuating both Iſlands; and Conventions were drawn up for that Purpoſe, and ſigned, that for *Sicily* on the 6th of *May*, and that for *Sardinia* two Days after.

In purſuance of theſe Conventions, the *Germans* were put in Poſſeſſion of *Palermo* and the Citadel of *Caſtelamare* the 10th, and the *Spaniſh* Army marched to *Termini*, a Sea-port about 25 Miles diſtant, from whence the firſt Embarkation, conſiſting of about 12,000 Foot and 600 Horſe, ſailed the 20th of *June* for *Barcelona*; and the Remainder arrived at the ſame Place the 25th of *Auguſt* following.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the Duke of *Savoy* in Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Sardinia*; in order to which four Battalions of *Piedmonteſe* Troops embarked at *Palermo* under the Command of Baron *St. Remi*, and ſailed under the Convoy of ſome *Engliſh* Men of War to *Cagliari*, where the Admiral arriving ſo ſoon as he had ſettled all Affairs in *Sicily*, he aſſiſted at the Conferences with the Miniſters and Generals of the ſeveral Powers concerned, wherein was regulated the Manner of ſurrendering the Iſland by the *Spaniſh* Viceroy to the Emperor, and the Ceſſion of the ſame from the Emperor to the Duke of *Savoy*; and, at the Inſtance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the *Spaniſh* Troops returned into *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* put into quiet Poſſeſſion of his new Kingdom.

Thus ended the War of *Sicily*, wherein the Fleet of *Great-Britain* bore ſo illuſtrious a Part, that the Fate of the Iſland was wholly governed by its Operations, both Competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any Service conducted in all its Parts with greater Zeal, Activity, and Judgment, nor was ever the *Britiſh* Flag[a] in ſo high Reputation and Reſpect in thoſe diſtant Parts of *Europe*.

Our naval Affairs centered now entirely in the North; where the Czar was ſuſpected of Meaſures calculated to overturn the Balance of Power in thoſe Parts. Wherefore it was reſolved to ſend Sir *John Norris*, once more, with a Fleet of 20 Men of War under his Command, into thoſe Seas, to ſecure the *Swedes* from feeling the Czar's Reſentment, or from being forced to accept ſuch hard and unequal Conditions, as he might endeavour to impoſe. The *Britiſh* Fleet, on the 16th of *April*, ſailed for the *Baltic*; in the beginning of the Month of *May*, they were joined on the Coaſt of *Sweden* by a Squadron of Ships belonging to that Crown; and on the 24th of the ſame Month, being near the Coaſt of *Abland*, they were joined by ſeven *Swediſh* Men of War more, under the Command of Admiral *Wachmeiſter*; the 26th it was reſolved, that the Fleet ſhould proceed towards the Coaſt of *Revel*; which ſaved the *Swedes* from feeling at that Juncture any Marks of the Czar's Diſpleaſure[b].

The Seaſon for Action being over, Sir *John Norris*, on the 8th of *September*, ſailed with the Squadron under his Command to *Stockholm*; and the King of *Sweden* did him the Honour to dine with him on-board his Ship. The Czar bore this Interpoſition of ours very impatiently, and his Miniſters did not fail to impute it wholly to the Intereſt which his Majeſty, as a *German* Prince, had to compromiſe Affairs with *Sweden*, with relation to the Acquiſition he had made of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. However, the Inſinuations of the Czar had no great Weight at that Time, either with us, or with other Powers, as appears by the Conduct of *Poland* and *Denmark*, both making ſeparate Treaties with *Sweden*, notwithſtanding all the Expoſtulations, Remonſtrances, and even Threatnings of his

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[a] The late King, who had named the Admiral for that Expedition, and knew his Abilities, uſed to ſay to his Miniſters, when they applied for Inſtructions to be ſent to him for his Guidance on certain important Occaſions, that he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed all the Meaſures he took Abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the Councils and Plan of Policy at home. The Cauſe of the Emperor being become the Cauſe of his Maſter, he ſerved the Intereſts of that Prince with a Zeal and Fidelity that ſtood a Pattern to his own Subjects. He lived in ſuch Harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among Fellow-ſubjects united in Command, the Want of which has proved the Ruin of many important Expeditions. He was incapable of performing his Duty in a cold or negligent Manner, and when any Service was committed to his Management, he devoted his whole Time and Application to it; nor could any Fatigue or Indiſpoſition of Body ever divert or interrupt his Attention from any Point that required preſent Diſpatch. To this it might be in great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any Undertaking, nor miſcarried in any Service that was entruſted to his Direction. For whoever will trace upwards to the Springs and Cauſes of public or private Events, ſhall find (except where the immediate Finger of Providence is viſible) that what is uſually called Ill-luck, is generally the Effect of Negligence or Imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid Principles, and left nothing to Fortune, that could be accompliſhed by Foreſight and Application. His Firmneſs and plain Dealing were ſo apparent to the Foreigners who treated with him upon Buſineſs, that it contributed much to the Diſpatch and Succeſs of his Tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no Arts or Chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a Spirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt Policy to leave their Intereſts in his Hands and Management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual Performance of whatever he engaged in. His Reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this Particular, that in the frequent Diſputes and Altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the Courſe of the War, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the Concluſion of it, wherein little Faith or Confidence was given to the Promiſes or Aſſeverations of each other, he was the common Umpire between them, always ſtemming and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt Demands (which the over-bearing Temper of the German General was very apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior Hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the Violences of War, with the Rules of Honour and Juſtice. When he departed from Italy to attend his late Majeſty at Hanover, the King, among many gracious Expreſſions, told him, that he had found out the Secret of obliging his Enemies as well as Friends, and that the Court of Spain had mentioned with great Acknowledgment his fair and friendly Behaviour in the Proviſion of Tranſports and other Neceſſaries for the Embarkation of their Troops, and in protecting them from many Vexations and Oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder, that a Man endowed with ſuch Talents and ſuch a Diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign Parts, the Character of a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, and an honeſt Man. To give ſome Deſcription of his Perſon, he was of a ſlender Conſtitution, but well ſupplied with Spirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in Gaiety of Converſation (for he was modeſt in his Nature) as in Activity in all the Duties and Functions of Life or Buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable, and by a continued Habit of Induſtry had hardened and inured a Body, not naturally ſtrong, to Patience of any Fatigue. He had made no great Proficiency in School-learning (which the early Age of going to Sea ſeldom admits of) but his great Diligence, joined with excellent natural Parts, and a juſt Senſe of Honour, made him capable of conducting difficult Negotiations and Commiſſions with proper Dignity and Addreſs. In his younger Days he was both in the Sea and Land-ſervice, being an Officer of Foot in the Garriſon of Tangier, but preferring the Sea, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed and favoured by that great Seaman Admiral Ruſſel (afterwards Earl of Orford) who made him his firſt Captain at the Age of 29, a Poſt equal in Rank to a Rear-admiral, and by degrees he arrived to be a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and firſt Admiral of the Fleet, in which Quality he commanded in the War of Sicily. On his repairing to Hanover, his late Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his Regard to his eminent Services, by making him Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-admiral of Great-Britain; and ſoon after a Privy-counſellor, and Peer of Great-Britain, with the Title of Viſcount Torrington; and afterwards Knight of the Bath, upon the Revival of that Order. When his preſent Majeſty came to the Crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the Head of his naval Affairs, as firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in which high Station he died in the Year 1733, in the 70th Year of his Age.

[b] Oldmixon, Political State, Annals of King George.

Czariſh Majeſty to prevent it. Neither is it at all impoſſible, that the very Dread of that exorbitant Power, to which that ambitious Monarch aſpired, might contribute as much to their taking that Reſolution, as any other Motive whatever[a].

The Parliament meeting on the 8th of *December* following, the Proceedings of the whole Year were laid before that auguſt Aſſembly; in which it was inſiſted upon, that the Money iſſued for the Sea-ſervice, had produced all the deſired Effects; and that, as Peace had been ſettled by the Force of our Arms in the *Mediterranean*, a few Months before; ſo it was highly probable, that the very Terror of our Arms would cauſe the Troubles of the North to ſubſide in a few Months to come. Upon theſe Suggeſtions, a conſiderable naval Force was aſked for the next Year; and though there was a good deal of Oppoſition, and a great many bold Speeches made; yet, in the End, the Point was carried; and on the 19th of *December*, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that 10,000 Men be allowed for the Sea-ſervice for the Year 1721, at 4*l.* a Man per Month for 13 Months: That 219,049 *l.* 14 *s.* be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy; and 50,200 for Extra-repairs for the ſame Year.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *from the Year* 1720, *to the Death of King* GEORGE I.

THE *Czar* continuing his Depredations on the *Swedes*, and getting very early to Sea with Threats to reduce them to his own Terms, he ravaged their Coaſts with incredible Fury and Barbarity; ſo that it was thought neceſſary once more to curb his Spirit of Ambition by an *Engliſh* Squadron, which ſailed to the Relief of the Oppreſſed towards the latter End of *April*, under Sir *John Norris* from the *Nore*, whoſe very Appearance in the *Baltic* preſently ſoftened the imperious *Czar* into Terms of Accommodation, which ended in a Peace, concluded at *Neiſtadt* on the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1721; after which Sir *John* took his Leave of the Court of *Sweden*, and arrived at the *Nore* with his Fleet on the 20th of *October*.

The Diſputes and Uneaſineſs which had been occaſioned by the Execution of the *South-Sea* Scheme kept the Nation in a high Ferment at home, and put the Court under a Neceſſity of altering its Meaſures, and making ſome Changes in the Adminiſtration; among which we may reckon the great Alteration of the Board of Admiralty, which took place in the Month of *September*, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to order Letters patent to paſs the Great Seal, conſtituting the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Berkley*, Sir *John Jennings*, *John Cockburn*, and *William Chetwynd*, Eſqrs. Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Charles Wager*, and *Daniel Pulteney*, Eſq; Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great-Britain*, &c. This Appointment gave the moſt general Satisfaction at that Time; and it muſt be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their Characters, that the Board was never better graced, than by theſe Gentlemen, four of whom were as great Seamen as any in this Age; and the other three, as well acquainted with the Buſineſs of the Office, and the Duties of their Poſt, as any that ever filled them.

The Parliament met on the 19th of *October*, and on the 27th of the ſame Month, the Houſe of Commons granted 7000 Men for the Service of the Sea for the Year 1722, at the uſual Rate of 4 l. a Man per Month; and on the 2d of *November* they reſolved, that the Sum of 218,799 l. 4 s. 7 d. be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year.

This Frugality in the Parliament was very well timed; but contrary to Expectation, there was a Neceſſity to fit out a Squadron of 13 very large Ships, which were put under the Command of Sir *Charles Wager*, and Rear-admiral *Hoſier*, on a Remonſtrance from the *Engliſh* Factory at *Liſbon*, that Meſſ. *Wingfield* and *Roberts*, Merchants, and great Remitters of Gold in Specie and Bullion, were thrown into the *Limoira*, or common Goal, and all their Effects, &c. ſeized, upon the Information of one *Hackſhaw* their Partner, who had lately turned Papiſt, and married a *Portugueſe* Woman; that they had concealed a great Quantity of Gold duſt in their Houſe, which ought to have been regiſtered in the *Braſils*, and brought to the King's Mint at *Liſbon*, but was undertaken by the ſaid *Wingfield* and *Roberts* to be ſent to *England* on account of the Factory.

The Sum was ſo large, that it threatened the whole Trade to *Portugal* with Ruin; and Matters were carried ſo far, that the Populace were ſpirited up to demand Juſtice againſt thoſe Merchants for a Breach of their Laws, which made it Death in ſuch Caſes; and accordingly the *Britiſh* Envoy was told, that Juſtice muſt take place; though it is very much to be ſuppoſed the *Portugueſe* Miniſtry pointed out the Means to cover themſelves from the Reſentment of their Countrymen, by adviſing the Court of *London* to back their Remonſtrance to his *Portugueſe* Majeſty, with the Appearance of a powerful Squadron, deſtined to wreak Vengeance on the City of *Liſbon*, in caſe they ſhould exact vigorous Juſtice upon that Information; eſpecially as the Priſoners were only practiſing what the Nature of Trade made neceſſary, and was accordingly connived at in all other Traders. This Armament had its deſired Effect: The Fear of a Bombardment, and the Plunder of ſo rich a City, aſſwaged the Clamour of the People; and though *Wingfield* and *Roberts* were obliged to ſuffer the Courſe of the Law, and to undergo the Sentence of Death according to its Letter, his Majeſty King *John* V. by and with the Advice of his Council, immediately ſigned their Pardon, and commanded them to be releaſed, and to be reſtored to all their Effects. By this means the whole Affair was amicably adjuſted, and the mutual Intereſt of both Nations was better explained; but the Sentence of Death paſſed upon Mr. *Wingfield*, though he was aſſured it was no more than formal, and that the *Britiſh* Envoy had the royal Word for his Life, had ſuch an Effect upon his Spirits, that he drooped ever after, and lingered with a Dejection of Spirits till he died, in about three Months[b].

The Trade to the *Weſt-Indies* being again greatly annoyed by Pirates, who, encouraged by the *Spaniards*, and the Want of a Force in the *American* Seas to curb their Inſolence, not only interrupted our Navigation, but frequently ſpoiled the Coaſts of our Colonies: The Merchants, by their repeated Repreſentations, prevailed with the Government to ſend Orders to the Officers of the Navy, cruiſing on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and in the *Weſt-Indies*, to exert themſelves, with the utmoſt Diligence, in cruſhing theſe Enemies to Mankind. There was amongſt theſe Pirates, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, one *Roberts*, a Man whoſe Parts deſerved a better Employment; he was an able Seaman, and a good Commander, and had with him two very ſtout Ships, one commanded by himſelf of 40 Guns, and 152 Men; the other of 32 Guns, and 132 Men; and, to compleat his Squadron, he ſoon added a third of 24 Guns, and 90 Men: With this Force, *Roberts* had done a great deal of Miſchief in the *Weſt-Indies* before he ſailed for *Africa*, where he likewiſe took Abundance of Prizes, till in the Month of *April* 1722, he was taken by the then Captain, afterwards Sir *Chaloner Ogle*.

Captain *Ogle* was then in the *Swallow*, and was cruiſing off Cape *Lopez*, when he had Intelligence of *Roberts*'s being not far from him, of whom he went immediately in ſearch, and

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[a] Hiſtoire de l'Europe, Oldmixon, Annals of King George.

[b] We cannot avoid obſerving, that the beſt Way to ſecure Juſtice to our Subjects abroad, is always to keep up a great maritime Force at home, that it may be known to all Nations, with whom we have any Dealings, we are always in a Situation to exact a ſpeedy and ample Satisfaction, for any Inſults that are offered to our Merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ in favour of our Commerce, that Power which is the Reſult of it; which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extenſive Trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not ſuffer our Neighbours to interfere therein to our Prejudice, by not applying timely and effectual Remedies upon their firſt Invaſions. At the Concluſion of the Year 1721, the Royal Navy of Great-Britain conſiſted of the following Ships, in the following Condition, according to Lediard.

Abſtract,

and ſoon after diſcovered the Pirates in a very convenient Bay, where the biggeſt and the leaſt Ship were upon the Heel, ſcrubbing. Captain *Ogle* taking in his lower Tire of Guns, and lying at a Diſtance, *Roberts* took him for a Merchant-man, and immediately ordered his Conſort *Skyrm* to ſlip his Cable, and run out after him. Captain *Ogle* crowded all the Sail he could to decoy the Pirate to ſuch a Diſtance, that his Conſorts might not hear the Guns, and then ſuddenly tacked, run out his lower Tire, and gave the Pirate a Broadſide, by which their Captain was killed; which ſo diſcouraged his Crew, that after a briſk Engagement, which laſted about an Hour and a half, they ſurrendered. Captain *Ogle* returned then to the Bay, hoiſting the King's Colours, under the Pirates Black-flag, with a Death's-head in it. This prudent Stratagem had the deſired Effect; for the Pirates, ſeeing the Black-flag uppermoſt, concluded the King's Ship had been taken, and came out full of Joy to congratulate their Conſort on the Victory. This Joy of theirs was, however, of no long Continuance, for Captain *Ogle* gave them a very warm Reception; and though *Roberts* fought with the utmoſt Bravery for near two Hours, yet being at laſt killed, the Courage of his Men immediately ſunk, and both Ships yielded. Captain *Ogle* carried theſe three Prizes, with about 160 Men that were taken in them, to Cape *Coaſt-Caſtle*, where they were inſtantly brought to their Trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom 52 were executed, and moſt of them hung in Chains in ſeveral Places; which ſtruck a Terror in that Part of the World, as the taking ſeveral Pirates in the *Weſt-Indies* towards the latter End of the Year, did in thoſe Seas. But theſe Succeſſes were far from putting an End to the Miſchief; ſo that it was found neceſſary, ſoon after, to ſend ſeveral Ships of War to the Northern Colonies and *Jamaica*, where, by degrees, they extirpated intirely this dangerous Crew of Robbers.

In the Beginning of *July* 1722, there came Advice, that the *Greyhound* Man of War, Captain *Walround*, had met with barbarous Treatment from the *Spaniards* at *Cuba*, who killed the Captain, and the Ship's Doctor, with ſeven or eight Men more, wounded the Lieutenant, and ſeveral others, and then robbed the Ship to the Value of 10,000l. About the ſame time two Pirate Ships took eight *Engliſh* Veſſels in the Bay of *Honduras*; and Captain *Candler*, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Launceſton*, took a Sloop with 58 *Spaniſh* Pirates in her off of *Jamaica*.

Towards the latter End of this Year, a Ship called the *Reſolution*, and reported to our Government to carry a Commiſſion from the Pretender, was, by their Order, ſtopped in the Mole of *Genoa*; but the Officers had ſuch timely Notice of our Miniſter's Intention at *Genoa*, that they made their Eſcape.

The Parliament having met on the 9th of *October*, the Houſe of Commons, on the 24th of the ſame Month, granted 10,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice, at 4l. a Man per Month, for the Year 1723; and on the 29th they reſolved, that 216,388l. 14s. 8d. be allowed for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year.

Towards the latter End of *January* 1723, Captain *Charles Strickland* was made Rear-admiral of the Blue, in the Room of Admiral *Mighells*, who was appointed to ſucceed *Thomas Swanton*, Eſq; lately deceaſed, as Comptroller of the Navy: And Admiral *Littleton* dying the 5th of *February*, Rear-admiral *Strickland* ſucceeded him as Vice-admiral of the White, and Sir *George Walton* was made Rear-admiral of the Blue, the Junior-admirals taking Place according to their Seniority.

The 29th of *April* twelve large Men of War were put into Commiſſion *, beſides the *Edinburgh* and the *Elizabeth*, which were commiſſioned before; but it does not appear for what Service.

About this Time, the notorious Pirate *Taylor*, who commanded a Ship called the *Caſſandra*, formerly belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, made an Offer to his Grace the Duke of *Portland*, Governor of *Jamaica*, to ſurrender himſelf, with moſt of his Riches, upon Condition of obtaining his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon; but that Offer being refuſed, and proper Directions ſent to ſeveral Places for apprehending him and his Crew, that Satisfaction might be given to the Sufferers, of whatever Nation, he applied to the *Spaniſh* Governor of *Porto-Bello*, who being leſs ſcrupulous, received him, in conſideration of a fourth Part of the Plunder he had amaſſed, ſuppoſed to amount to the Value of 100,000l. Sterling: The reſt they divided among themſelves, being 144 Men, moſt *Engliſh*.

The King embarked on the 3d of *June* for his *German* Dominions, and did not return to *St. James*'s till the 30th of

Abſtract, December 31, 1721.

Rates.	Guns.	Ships in good Repair.	In Hand, Building, Rebuilding, or under thorough Repair.	In want of middling Repair.	In want of a thorough Repair, or Rebuilding.	Total.
1	100	4			3	7
2	90	5	3		5	13
3	80	9	2		5	16
	70	16	5		3	24
4	60	12	5	1		18
	50	33	4	3	6	46
Line of Battle.		79	19	4	22	124
5	40	14	3		6	23
	30	5			2	7
6	20	15		1	8	25
Fire-ſhips.		2			1	3
Bombs.		2			1	3
Hoſpital-ſhip.		1				1
Store-ſhip.		1				1
Sloops.		12				12
Yachts.		7				7
Total.		158	23	5	40	206

By another Liſt of the Royal Navy, publiſhed about this Time, it appears to have conſiſted of ſeven Firſt-rates, 13 Second-rates, 39 Third-rates, 66 Fourth-rates, 33 Fifth-rates, 22 Six-rates, four Fire-ſhips, four Bomb-veſſels, 14 Yachts, ſix Sloops, one Store ſhip, one Hoſpital-ſhip, 12 Hoys, one Smack, and five Hulks; together, 228 Bottoms.

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* Theſe Ships were as follows:

At Chatham.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.
The Sandwich	Captain Morrice	90
Cumberland	Coleman	80
Northumberland	St. Loe	70
Superbe	Field	60
Nottingham	W. Haddock	60
Plymouth	Rob. Man	60
At Portſmouth.		
Prince Frederick	Falkingham	70
Bedford	Hume	70
Captain	Whetwood	70
Breda	Rob. Trevor	70
At Plymouth.		
Dunkirk	Hook	60
Rippon	Pearce	60

of *December*; for which long Stay out of the Nation, his Majeſty, in ſome ſort, apologized in his Speech at the Opening of the Parliament on the 9th of *January* 1723-4, by aſſuring them, that his Abſence had been occaſioned by ſettling the Affairs on the Continent in ſuch a manner, as to prevent future Charge and Trouble to his Subjects; and the Nation accordingly remained undiſturbed till a little before the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was concluded on the 3d of *September* 1725.

In the Summer of 1724, ſeveral Accounts arrived of the continued Inſolence and Barbarity of the Pirates in the *Weſt-Indies*, eſpecially where Captain *Lowe* commanded; amongſt which we read, that *Philips* the Pirate took one *Harradine*, who commanded a Sloop belonging to Cape *Ann*, and the next Day, leaving his own Veſſel, went on-board this Sloop with all his Stores. The ſame Day *Harradine*, with ſeven other Priſoners, conſpired to deſtroy the Pirates, which they effected in the following Manner. *Edward Cheeſeman* the Carpenter, brought his Tools upon Deck, under Pretence of working: At Twelve (the appointed Hour) *Cheeſeman*, being walking with one *Nut*, the Maſter of the Pirate, took his Opportunity, and threw him over-board: *Harradine*, at the ſame time, knocked down *Philips* with an Adze; another Man ſtruck *Burrel* the Boatſwain with a broad Ax, and the reſt fell upon the Gunner. Theſe four Officers being quickly diſpatched, the reſt of the Pirates ſoon ſurrendered, and were carried into *Boſton* the 13th of *April*.

The 12th of *November* the Parliament met; the 20th, the Houſe of Commons, in a grand Committee, voted a Supply for the ſame Number of Seamen for the Year 1725 as they had done for the Year 1724, and upon the ſame Footing; and the 3d of *December* they reſolved, that a Sum not exceeding 214,295l. 14s. 9d. be granted his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year.

The 1ſt of *June* 1725, his Majeſty having declared his Intention of viſiting his *German* Dominions, nominated Lords-juſtices for the Adminiſtration of the Government in his Abſence; and, at the ſame time, declared the Appointment of ſeveral great Officers, and, among the reſt, ordered a new Commiſſion for the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, &c. [a].

About the ſame time came Letters from ſeveral Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, with Complaints of great Depredations and Piracies committed by the *Spaniards* with their *Guarda Coſtas*, as well upon all the *Britiſh* as all the *Dutch* Ships they met with; and that his Majeſty's Ship the *Diamond*, had taken one of theſe Veſſels in the Bay of *Honduras*, with 90 Men on-board, which had taken ſeveral *Britiſh* Veſſels, and done great Damage on the Coaſt of *Virginia*.

The 3d of *September*, the famous Treaty between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*, known by the Name of the Treaty of *Hanover* [b], was concluded at the King's Palace at *Herenhauſen*, near *Hanover*.

It is ſufficiently known to every body, that this Alliance was ſaid to be concerted, in order to prevent the bad Effects that were apprehended from the Treaty of *Vienna*; in which (at leaſt it was ſo ſuggeſted) there were many Things dangerous to the Trade of this Nation, and the Succeſſion of the Royal-family; but this, however, the late Emperor *Charles* VI. abſolutely denied, and took a very ſtrange as well as extraordinary Meaſure, which was to appeal from the Judgment of the King and his Miniſtry, to that of the People of this Nation, for whom he profeſſed the warmeſt Gratitude, and the higheſt Eſteem.

His Majeſty did not embark for *England* at *Helvoetſluys* till New-year's Day; and was ſurpriſed that ſame Evening by a violent Storm, which ſeparated his Yacht from the Convoy, and greatly endangered his Life, not arriving on the *Engliſh* Coaſt till the third, when he was obliged to land with great Difficulty at *Rye*.

When he met his Parliament on the 20th of *January*, his Majeſty ſet forth the critical Juncture of Affairs, and the Meaſures that would be neceſſary to ſupport the Honour of his Crown, and to preſerve the juſt Rights of his People; which were no ways ſatisfactory to thoſe who conſulted the real Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, and produced very warm Debates againſt the Plan of the *Hanover* Alliance. However, on the 26th, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that 10,000 Men be employed for the Sea-ſervice for the Year 1726, at 4l. *per* Man *per* Month, for thirteen Months. The 23d of *February* they reſolved, that 212,381l. 5s. be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year [c].

The 24th of *March* his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, informing them, that he found it neceſſary to augment his maritime Force, and hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, to increaſe the Number of Seamen already voted, and granted for the Service of this Year: To which, after ſome Debate, they gave their Aſſent, by an Addreſs preſented for that Purpoſe.

The private Intrigues, which had been for ſome time carrying on between two very diſtant Courts, thoſe of *Madrid* and *Peterſburg*, began now to ripen [d]; his Majeſty had, without doubt, had early Notice of their Deſigns. The Lords of the Admiralty, by his Majeſty's Orders, gave the neceſſary Directions for the fitting out of different Squadrons with all poſſible Expedition. One of theſe deſigned for the *Baltick*, was put under the Command of Sir *Charles Wager*, Vice-admiral of the Red, and, under him, Sir *George Walton*, Rear-admiral of the Blue; another was for the *Mediterranean*, to be commanded by Sir *John Jennings*: and the third for the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Admiral *Hoſier*.

The Squadron ordered for this Expedition conſiſted of 20 Ships of the Line, one Frigate, two Fire-ſhips, and an Hoſpital-ſhip. The 13th of *April* [e], Sir *Charles Wager*, having

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[a] The Lords-commiſſioners appointed by this Commiſſion were, the Right Honourable James Earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſq; Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Sir George Oxendon.

[b] It was this Treaty which broke the Neck of the great Projects formed by the Treaty of Vienna, between the Emperor and the King of Spain.

[c] About this Time was publiſhed a Liſt of the Ships taken or plundered by the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, from the Peace in 1712, to this Time, being 47 in Number, and amounting to, at a moderate Computation, 141,000l

[d] A Proclamation which had been publiſhed, prohibiting the Importation of ſeveral Engliſh Manufactures into the Iſland of Sicily, gave, at the ſame time, no ſmall Diſguſt to the Nation againſt Auſtria, which, it was thought, was under the ſtricteſt Ties and Obligations to act otherwiſe. As ſoon as the Courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their Views were croſſed, and the Ends propoſed by their Conjunction, utterly diſappointed by the Counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately reſolved to have recourſe to ulterior Negotiations, in order to increaſe the number of their Allies; and when they found themſelves ſufficiently powerful, they deſigned to have reſorted to open Force. With a view to render this Scheme effectual, the Emperor began to execute Projects in the North, in which he met at firſt with ſome extraordinary Succeſs. The Czarina Catharine, Dowager of the Czar Peter the Great, had conceived a Diſtaſte to the Britiſh Court, and had, by ſome Scottiſh People about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult Matter to ſet up the Son of the late King James II. and ſo overturn the Government in Britain. The ſame Scheme had been propoſed and countenanced at the Imperial Court, by ſome of the Miniſters, as the Empreſs Dowager informed the late King; and on the Credit of that Information, his Majeſty mentioned it in his Speech. The Spaniſh Court readily adopted that, or any other Expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their Acquiſitions in Italy, then, and ſtill the great Objects of their Policy. Thus the Hanover Alliance, originally contrived for the ſecuring that Electorate, proved the Means of bringing it into ſome Degree of Danger, and perhaps the ſame Cauſe will hardly ever fail to produce the ſame Effects; whence it is evident, that the leſs Share we take in the Affairs of the Continent, the leſs the preſent Royal Family will be expoſed to ſuch Attempts; and therefore a wiſe Miniſtry will be ſure to inform their Maſter, that purſuing the real and acknowledged Intereſts of Great-Britain, will conciliate all the Powers of the Continent, except France; and that Attempts to aggrandize his Electoral Dominions, will always create him Enemies, diſturb the Peace of Germany, and affect the Balance of Europe.

[e]

Ships	Guns.	Rates.	Commanders.
The Torbay	80	3	Nich. Haddock.
Cumberland	80	3	Coleman.
Hampton-Court	70	3	Robert Hughs.
Naſſau	70	3	Morris.
Elizabeth	70	3	Tudor Trevor.
Northumberland	70	3	Robert Trevor.
Monmouth	70	3	Bunſchin.
Captain	70	3	Warwood.
Yarmouth	70	3	O Brien.
Prince Frederick	70	3	Huckingham.
Grafton	70	3	Charles Hardy.
[illegible]ard	70	3	Hook.

Ships.	Guns.	Rates.	Commanders.
Edinburgh	70	3	Rich. Hughes.
Plymouth	60	4	Man.
Preſton	60	4	Reddiſh.
Aſſiſtance	50	4	Eaton.
Hampſhire	50	4	Willar.
Advice	50	4	Brown.
Chatham	50	4	Whitney.
Weymouth	50	4	Kindal.
Port-Mahon	20	6	Morrice.
Pool Griffin	} Fire-ſhips.		
Portſmouth, Hoſpital-ſhip.			

having received his laſt Inſtructions, went on-board the *Torbay* at the *Nore*, and hoiſted his Flag, he was ſaluted by all the Ships lying there, and returned their Salutes with 21 Guns. About an Hour after, Sir *George Walton* hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Cumberland*, at the Mizzen-top-maſt-head, and ſaluting the Admiral with 19 Guns, was anſwered with 17.

The 14th, Sir *Charles* delivered out a Line of Battle, and a Rendezvous for *Copenhagen* Road, or the *Dahlen* near *Stockholm*, together with Sailing-inſtructions. The 17th, in the Morning, the Fleet weighed and ſet ſail from the *Nore*[a]; the 19th, they took their Departure from *Loweſtoff* Church.

The 23d, in the Evening, the Admiral came to an Anchor in the Road of *Copenhagen*, and ſending on-ſhore to the Great Chancellor, to notify his Arrival, and to know when he might wait on the King of *Denmark*, with the King's Letter, he was appointed the 25th. Sir *Charles* had then an Audience of the King of *Denmark* at *Frederick*'s-*Berg*, a Mile from *Copenhagen*, and was received very graciouſly[b].

The 26th, the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, with ſeveral of the *Daniſh* Nobility, dined on-board the Admiral, and was ſaluted, at coming and going, by every Ship in the Fleet[c].

The 2d of *May* the Fleet ſailed from *Copenhagen*, and on the 6th came to an Anchor at *Elſenab* near *Stockholm*.

The 7th, Mr. *Poyntz* his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, accompanied with Mr. *Jackſon*, his Majeſty's Reſident, came on-board the Admiral. The 8th, Sir *Charles* went up to that City with them, and on the 10th had Audience of the King of *Sweden*, in the Preſence of ſeveral of the Senators, being introduced by Mr. *Poyntz*. Sir *Charles* delivered a Letter from the King, his Maſter, to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, by whom he was graciouſly received. The 14th of the ſame Month, the Squadron of *Daniſh* Men of War ſailed from *Copenhagen*, for the Iſland of *Bornholm*, in order to join the *Britiſh* Squadron[d].

The ſame Day Sir *Charles Wager* took his Leave of the *Swediſh* Court, and came on-board the *Torbay* at *Elſenab*. The 21ſt the *Naſſau* and *Port-Mahon* joined the Fleet from *England*.

The 22d the Admiral went in his Boat to *Bergen*, to meet Mr. *Poyntz*, with whom he ſettled the Meaſures he was to take in his Expedition into the Gulph of *Finland*. The 25th, the Fleet ſet ſail from *Elſenab*, and arrived the 29th, near the Iſland of *Nargin*, three Leagues from *Revel*. There, on the 25th of *May*, Captain *Deane*, who had been on-board the *Port-Mahon*, nearer in with the Shore, returned on-board the *Torbay*, and brought the Admiral an Account, that he had ſpoken with a *Lubecker*, that came five Days before from *Peterſburgh*, whoſe Maſter informed him, that there were 16 *Ruſſian* Men of War in the Road at *Cronſlot*, with three Flags flying, *viz.* Lord-admiral *Apraxin*, Vice-admiral *Gordon*, and Rear-admiral *Saunders*; that a great Number of Gallies were in Readineſs, of which, but 12 were at *Cronſlot*, and the reſt at *Peterſburgh*, or *Wyburgh*.

The Admiral took the firſt Opportunity of ſending his Majeſty's Letter to the Czarina, incloſed in a Letter to her Admiral *Apraxin*; in which Letter, his Majeſty expoſtulated very freely with her on the Subject of her Armaments by Sea and Land, and on the Intrigues which her Miniſters had lately entered into, with the Agents of the Pretender. It is ſaid, that the *Ruſſian* Court was very much nettled at this Appearance of a *Britiſh* Fleet upon their Coaſts, and was inclined to have come to Extremities, rather than endure it. But Vice-admiral *Gordon* very wiſely repreſented to the Council, that the *Ruſſian* Fleet was in no Condition to venture an Engagement with that of *Great-Britain*; upon which, Orders were given for laying it up, and for ſecuring, in the beſt Manner poſſible, both it and the Gallies, from being inſulted. In the Month of *July*, Prince *Menzikoff*, who was then Prime Miniſter, coming to *Revel*, mutual Civilities paſſed between him and Sir *Charles Wager*; and his Highneſs, to ſhew his Regard to the *Engliſh* Officers, frequently invited them to his own Table. The *Britiſh* Fleet, while in this Station, was joined by a *Daniſh* Squadron[e], commanded by Rear-admiral *Bille*, and remained before *Revel*, 'till the 28th of *September*, when, having received certain Intelligence that the *Ruſſians* would not be able[f] to attempt any Thing that Year, he ſailed for *Copenhagen*, and from thence home, arriving ſafely at the *Gunfleet*, on the 1ſt of *November*.

The

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[a] Sir Charles had then in Company with him, the Cumberland, Elizabeth, Edinburgh, Hampton-Court, Grafton, Advice, Weymouth, Chatham, Preſton, Hampſhire, Aſſiſtance, Pool and Griffin Fire-ſhips; and left Orders for the Naſſau, Northumberland, Port-Mahon, and Portſmouth Hoſpital-ſhip, which were yet in Chatham River, getting ready for the Sea, to follow. At Noon they anchored at the Gunfleet, where they found the Monmouth, Bedford, Captain, Prince Frederick, Yarmouth, and Plymouth, the five firſt from Spithead, and the laſt from the Downs.

[b] This Salutation was performed in ſuch Manner as did Honour to the Britiſh Nation, and gave great Satisfaction to his Royal Highneſs.

[c] Sir Charles having delivered the King's Letter, in Preſence of the King's Cabinet Council, had the Honour to dine at the King's Table, and Sir George Walton, with the other Commanders, were entertained at another Table, by the King's Officers; the Court ſhewing a great Satisfaction at the Arrival of the Fleet.

[d] The Dread of this formidable Fleet made the Court of Ruſſia ſuſpend the fitting out of their large Men of War, and only to equip ſome Frigates. And the Britiſh Fleet lying at Revel prevented the Czarina's Fleet from viſiting the Coaſts of Sweden or Denmark.

[e] The Line of Battle was as follows: The Danes to lead with the Starboard, and the Captain, with the Larboard-tacks on-board.

Frigate. Fire-ſhips, &c.	Rates.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Diviſions.
Raae, 30 Guns.		Wenden	70	484	Commodore Ulfeldt.	
		Iſland	50	354	Commodore C. Roſtgaard.	
Hoyenhald, 30 Guns.		Fyen	54	354	——— Lemwig.	
Morian Hoſpital-ſhip,		Nordſtiern	72	490	C. Wodroffe.	Sir M. Bille, Rear-admiral.
Huide-Ora, 30 Guns.		Delmenhorſt	50	354	Commodore C. Gyntelberg.	
		Sleſwick	54	354	——— Ployart.	
Soe-Ridder, 30 Guns.		Beſchirmern	64	454	——— Konig.	
	3	Bedford	70	440	Captain Hooke.	
	4	Weymouth	50	280	——— Kendal.	
		Plymouth	60	365	——— Man.	
	3	Prince Frederick	70	440	——— Falkingham.	
Portſmouth Hoſpital-ſhip.	4	Aſſiſtance	50	280	——— Proctor.	Sir Charles Wager, Vice-admiral of the Red.
Poole Fire-ſhip.	3	Hampton-Court	70	440	——— R. Hughes.	
Port-Mahon, 20 Guns.		Torbay	80	540	——— Haddock.	
Griffin Fireſhip.		Monmouth	76	440	——— Balchen.	
		Yarmouth	70	440	——— O Brien.	
	4	Advice	50	280	——— Brown.	
	3	Grafton	70	440	——— Vernon.	
		Naſſau	70	440	——— Morrice.	To repeat Signals.
		Northumberland	70	440	——— R. Trevor.	
	4	Hampſhire	50	280	——— Weller.	
		Chatham	50	280	——— Whitney.	
	3	Elizabeth	70	440	——— T. Trevor.	Sir George Walton, Rear-admiral of the Blue.
		Cumberland	80	535	——— Coleman.	
		Edinburgh	70	440	——— Richard Hughes.	
	4	Preſton	50	280	——— Reddiſh.	
	3	Captain	70	440	——— Whorwood.	

[f] They had indeed more Ships than they had ever fitted out, but they could not man them with any tolerable Number of Seamen, without diſabling thoſe already manned: But, on the other hand, they were doing every Thing they could to fortify their Ports, and defend their Ships. At Revel, they had made a new Battery, and lay Day and Night on-board their Ships, in the Mole, and upon their Batteries, for fear of a Surprize. However, notwithſtanding this Jealouſy, Sir Charles Wager had liberty to furniſh his Squadron with freſh Proviſions, as often as he pleaſed; a certain Sign they were willing to court our Friendſhip; and a plainer Conviction of this Truth was the Czarina's Declaration, of the 21ſt of June, wherein ſhe gives all Engliſh Merchants, trading in and to her Territories, to underſtand, that notwithſtanding any Hoſtilities, that might be committed by his Majeſty's Fleet, they ſhould continue to enjoy her Protection, as heretofore, and not be injured or damaged in their Perſons, Goods, Ships, or Poſſeſſions.

The Fleet that was ſent to the Coaſt of *Spain*, was commanded by Sir *John Jennings*, and conſiſted of nine large Men of War, which were afterwards joined in the *Mediterranean* by ſeveral Ships that were cruizing there. The Admiral ſailed on the 20th of *July* from *St. Helens*; and on the 3d of *Auguſt* entered the Bay of *St. Antonio*, which alarmed the *Spaniards* exceſſively[a], who immediately drew down a great Body of regular Troops towards the Coaſt[b]. When the Fleet firſt entered the Bay, ſome Pieces of Cannon were fired at the foremoſt Ships; but the Governor of *St. Antonio* preſently ſent an Officer to Sir *John Jennings* to excuſe it, and to aſſure him it was an Act of Indiſcretion committed by the Governor of the Fort, without Orders. On the 25th of the ſame Month, the Fleet arrived at *Liſbon*, and was received there with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect. Sir *John Jennings* ſailed from the River of *Liſbon*, for the Bay of *Bulls* near *Cadiz*, where he was treated with great Diſtinction, and had all the Refreſhments he deſired, ſent him, by order of the *Spaniſh* Governor. He cruized for ſome time after off Cape *St. Mary's*, in order to wait for the Ships that were to join him. It would be tedious for me to enter into a farther or more particular Detail of the Motions of this Squadron, which ſoon after returned to *Spithead*. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that it anſwered perfectly the Ends propoſed by it; alarmed the *Spaniſh* Court to the higheſt Degree, obliged it to abandon the Meaſures then taking to the Prejudice of *Great-Britain*, and gave ſuch Spirits to the Party in *Spain* which oppoſed thoſe dangerous Councils, as enabled them to triumph over all Oppoſition. The Duke *de Ripperda*, who had been lately prime Miniſter, the very Man who had negotiated the Treaty of *Vienna*, by whoſe Intrigues the two Courts had been embroiled, took ſhelter, at the time of his Diſgrace, in the Houſe of the Earl of *Harrington*, then Colonel *Stanhope*, and our Miniſter at *Madrid*; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the Terror of a *Britiſh* Squadron upon the Coaſt, prevailed upon the *Spaniſh* Court to lay aſide all Thoughts of proceeding againſt him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, thoſe very Deſigns that occaſioned the ſending of this Fleet; and he ſoon after made his Eſcape from the Caſtle of *Segovia*, and retired hither as to the only Place of Safety, from the Reſentment of his *Catholic* Majeſty. Such were the Events that attended the Expedition of Sir *John Jennings* on the Coaſt of *Spain*.

The Supplies for carrying the Plans of *Vienna* and *Madrid* againſt *Great-Britain* into Execution were to come from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; therefore it was reſolved to ſend a Squadron to the *Baſtimentos*, to intercept, or at leaſt to prevent the Embarkation of the *Spaniſh* Treaſure for *Europe*. This Service was committed to Vice-admiral *Hoſier*, who ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April* 1726; and arrived in ſight of *Porto-Bello* on the 6th of *June*: Which, though allowed to be a very quick Paſſage, was betrayed by ſomebody at home: For the Governors of thoſe Ports had received Advice of his intended Viſit, and Orders to unload the Galloons, and to ſecure the Treaſure[c] on-ſhore till the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould withdraw: And had time to comply with thoſe Orders.

When the Admiral came to anchor before *Porto-Bello*, the Governor of that Fort ſent to know his Demands. The Vice-admiral anſwered with great Prudence and Temper, that he waited for the *Royal George*, a large *South-Sea* Ship, then in the Harbour, which had diſpoſed of all her Cargo, and had a very large Sum of Money on-board. The *Spaniards*, in hopes of getting rid of ſo troubleſome a Gueſt, haſtened her away; which I think was the greateſt Service this Squadron performed. This done, the Governor ſent again, deſiring he would be gone; but his Anſwer was, he would ſtay 'till he received farther Orders; and thereupon he ſent a Man of War, to lye within reach of the Guns of *Porto-Bello*, and to remain there. He ſuffered no Ships to go in or come out of *Porto Bello*, without ſtrict Examination; but did not take any *Spaniſh* Seamen from on-board them[d].

An Expedition we ſhould be glad to throw a Veil over. For had the Admiral's Orders been to take the Treaſure, he ſhould have been ſupported with a ſufficient Land-force to make a Deſcent, *&c.* or had they been only to detain the Galloons, it was ſufficient for his Ships to have lain before *Porto-Pello* three Weeks only; for then the Seaſon for their ſailing would have been over: It would not have been in their Power to return to *Europe* for that Seaſon. But this Squadron which at its firſt Appearance in thoſe Seas ſtruck Terror into all the Coaſt, by continuing on that Station ſix Months grew ſo ſickly, and betrayed ſuch other Deficiencies in its Strength, that it became the Ridicule of our Enemies. This obliged the Admiral to make up for *Jamaica*, where he recruited his Strength, and returned about the 15th of *February* to his Poſt at the *Baſtimentos*, and to block up the other Havens on that Coaſt[e].

The 15th of *July*, Vice-admiral *Hoſier* was lying off of *Carthagena*, (where the *Spaniſh* Galloons, with their Convoy, ſtill remained) with nine Men of War[f]. The 8th of *Auguſt* a Ship arrived at the *Havanna*, from *Spain*, with Orders for making Reprizals on the Ships and Effects of the *Engliſh*, which was done accordingly there, and at *La Vera Cruz*, where the *Prince Frederick*, a Frigate, and four Packet-boats were ſeized, with all the *South-Sea* Company's Effects. Admiral *Hoſier* went thither, with four Men of War, to demand the Reſtitution of them, but it was refuſed him.

He continued cruizing in thoſe Seas, and ſome of his Ships took ſeveral *Spaniſh* Prizes, moſt of which were afterwards reſtored; and in this Situation, things continued till the Vice-admiral breathed his laſt, on the 23d of *Auguſt* 1727. This Expedition, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great Courage and Conduct by this unfortunate Commander, who loſt his Seamen twice over, and whoſe Ships were totally ruined by the Worms in thoſe Seas, which created a mighty Clamour at home, and was without doubt, a prodigious Loſs to the Nation.

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[a] This Squadron no ſooner arrived in the Bay of Biſcay, than it put all Europe to the Gaze, and Spain in the utmoſt Conſternation. Politicians would have it, that the principal Deſign of that Squadron was to enforce the Arguments of the Britiſh Miniſter at the Court of Spain; the many Inſults offered to the Engliſh Nation, by the Spaniards taking their Merchant-ſhips in the Weſt-Indies; the Treaty of Commerce concluded at Vienna, between the Emperor and the King of Spain, in Prejudice of former Treaties made with England and Holland; the ſecret Treaty, whereof the Duke de Ripparda, in the height of his Glory, made mention to a certain Miniſter, touching the mutual Guaranties of their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, the one in ſupport of the Oſtend Company, and the other to ſecure the Reſtitution of certain Places, were Points hardly to be paſſed over.

[b] All the regular Troops that could be drawn to the Coaſt, from St. Sebaſtian's quite to the Groyne, were about 3000 Men, who, upon Notice of the Arrival of the Fleet, poſted themſelves moſtly at St. Andero and St. Antonio, and by all Reports were in a bad Condition. The People were every where under ſo great Apprehenſions, that they retired ſeveral Leagues up into the Country; the Garriſon of Cadiz was putting into the ſtrongeſt Poſture of Defence; and the Militia of the Province was marching from Xeres to Port St. Mary's, to be employed in making additional Works to the Forts there.

[c] It amounted to 42,000,000 Pieces of Eight.

[d] The Elizabeth Snow of Briſtol, John Green Commander, which ſailed from Jamaica the latter end of April, or beginning of May, bound for Guinea, kept Company with the Fleet, 'till ſhe got through the Gulph of Florida. He left the Fleet in the Morning, and the Night following his People, on-board, being 11 in Number, all (except the Doctor, Carpenter, and Gunner) mutinied, and murdered him and his chief Mate, and caſt them over board, on the 27th of May. They then proceeded for the Coaſt of New-England, taking, in a piratical Manner, ſeveral Veſſels, among which was a Sloop from North Carolina, bound to Boſton in New-England, taken by them the 3d of June. On-board of this Sloop was one William Atkinſon a Paſſenger, who was detained by them to navigate their Snow, (they not having any Navigator on-board.) After this they took a Schooner belonging to Marblehead, on-board of which they put ſeven of their Gang, and left the Snow commanded by one Fly (who was Green's Boatſwain when murdered) he having then but three reputed Pirates with him, the reſt being forced Men. The 23d of June. Atkinſon, taking his Advantage, with the Aſſiſtance of three more forced Men, ſurprized and ſecured Fly, and his three Accomplices, and brought the Snow into Boſton, where the Pirates were tried, and Fly, with two of his Accomplices, were executed about the middle of July at Charles-Town.

[e] This Squadron was now diſtinguiſhed under two Diviſions, as follows; under the Vice-admiral were one Third-rate, the Breda; two Fourth-rates, the Rippon and the Leopard; and three Sixth-rates, the Greyhound, the Winchelſea, and the Spence: And under Commodore Edward St. Loe, four Fourth-rates, the Superbe, Nottingham, Dunkirk, and Dragon; one Fifth-rate, the Diamond; and one Sixth-rate, the Happy. The Admiral's Flag was hoiſted in the Breda, and Commodore St. Loe's in the Superbe. The Berwick and Lennox, two Third-rates, which were expected, were to be added to that Diviſion, which Admiral Hoſier kept under himſelf. This Diviſion was made upon the Vice-admiral's receiving new Inſtructions from England, and Advice from Porto-Bello, that ſuch of the Galloons, as were able to put to Sea, were gone from thence to Carthagena, that ſo he might block up both Havens at once.

[f] The Breda, Superbe, Rippon, Nottingham, Dunkirk, Tyger, Portland, Diamond, and Greyhound. He left at Jamaica the Berwick, which had been damaged, but was repaired, and the Lennox. The Leopard he had ſent to convoy homeward-bound Ships through the Windward paſſage.

The *Engliſh* Fleet which had ſtruck ſo much Terror upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, and been treated with ſo much Diſtinction by the Governor of *Cadiz*, being returned and laid up at home, the *Spaniſh* Scheme for attacking *Gibraltar* was reſumed, and attempted in the Winter of the Year 1726. The Count *de las Torres* ſat down before that Fortreſs: But neither this, nor another Enterprize in favour of the exiled *Stuarts*, could be carried on without the Knowledge of our Miniſtry; who counteracted their Deſigns by a Squadron under Sir *Charles Wager*. It conſiſted of ſix Men of War and two Sloops, which took on-board Colonel *Clayton* the Governor, ſix Companies of Colonel *Newton*'s, eight of Colonel *Diſney*'s, and three Companies of Colonel *Anſtruther*'s Regiment, with Gunners, and Bombardiers, and a vaſt Quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition[a]: And with Orders to join Admiral *Hopſon*'s Squadron; whom he ſound on the 19th of *January* 1727, in the Bay of *Gibraltar*.

By this time the *Spaniſh* Army were encamped within a League of *Gibraltar*, with 15,000 Men, and had raiſed two Batteries, one in an Iſland at *Algeziras*, on the other Side of the Bay; the other at *Theſſe*, within almoſt Gun-ſhot of the Town, but pointing to the Sea: And on the 10th of *February* in the Night, the Conde *de las Torres* began another Battery, pointing directly to the Fortreſs, within half a Gun-ſhot. Upon which Governor *Clayton* wrote the following Letter to that General.

"Moſt excellent Sir,

"Perceiving, this Morning, that your Excellency has "opened the Trenches, in order to attack this Place, which "I think very contrary to all Treaties between our Maſters, "and no Declaration of War being yet come to my Know"ledge, I give your Excellency Notice, that if you do not "immediately deſiſt, I ſhall be obliged to take ſuitable "Meaſures.

"I ſend this by my Secretary, to whom I deſire your "Excellency will pleaſe to give an Anſwer. I am, *&c.*

Gibraltar, Feb. 22, (11) 1727. *Jaſpar Clayton.*"

To which the Conde *de las Torres* returned the following Anſwer:

"SIR,

"I acknowledge yours, dated the 22d Inſtant; and, as "to Trenches being opened, for the Attack of the Town "of *Gibraltar*, I anſwer, that what has been done hither"to is on our own Ground, fortifying thoſe Places where "our Batteries may be of Service; with reſpect to which, "that Place having no other Diſtrict, than that of its For"tifications, according to the ſame Treaties you alledge, "you having taken Poſſeſſion of the two Towers, within "our Juriſdiction, you may be aſſured, that if you do not "quit them, I will act in the ſame Manner as you intimate: "Giving you Notice, that to lay Siege to that Place, there "was no Need to form the Attacks ſo far off, as you will "find when Occaſion offers. I am, *&c.*

Camp at Gibraltar, Feb. 22, (11) 1727. "The Conde *de las Torres.*"

The Conde not deſiſting from working, the Governor went on-board Sir *Charles Wager*, and communicated the Contents of his Letter, and the Anſwer to it, to him; and having called a Council of War, of all the commanding Officers of the Regiments there, it was unanimouſly agreed to fire at the Enemy's Works. Accordingly, about Four in the Afternoon, a ſingle Cannon, with Shot, was fired over their Battery, as a Signal, and no more for an Hour after, that the Conde might have all reaſonable Notice; but the Enemy continuing to work, all poſſible Obſtruction was given them, by the Fire of Cannon and ſmall Arms, from the Mole-head, *Willis*'s and *Prince*'s Batteries.

The Enemy alſo lodged 2000 Men, in the Night, near the *Devil's-Tower*; but Sir *Charles* ordered the *Durſley* Galley, the *Tyger* and the *Solebay* Bomb to ſail round the Hill after them, and to fire into their Trenches; which did them great harm. And in the Morning the Enemy fired from a Battery of 14 Guns at the Bottom of the Bay at our Ships. In the mean time Sir *Charles* ſtationed his Ships in the beſt Manner to annoy the Enemy, and the Garriſon ſeconded his Diſpoſitions with a continual Fire on their Batteries and Trenches. Which, however, did not prevent their finiſhing their firſt Parallel, and caſting up an Intrenchment, on the *Mediterranean* Side, from the eaſtermoſt Point of the Rock, to defend themſelves from the Cannon of his Majeſty's Ships, and joined it to their Parallel. Sir *Charles Wager* having made a proper Diſpoſition of the Ships under his Command ſet ſail the 17th, with Admiral *Hopſon*, to cruize near *Cadiz*, and the *Streight's* Mouth[b].

After this Rupture every Thing ſeemed to tend towards the Extremities of a general War. The Court of *Spain* ſeized on all our Merchandize, *&c.* in their Ports; and having received from *America* 19,000,000 Pieces of Eight, nothing was now talked of but the Reduction of *Gibraltar*, and to humble the Pride of *Great-Britain*. However all this Bravado vaniſhed in the Preliminaries of a Peace, which were ſignified to the Admiral on the 16th of *June*.

But this was not the only Service of our Navy this Year. The Houſe of Commons, which met on the 17th of *January*, 1727, reſolved, on the 23d, to allow 20,000 Seamen, at 4 *l. per* Month each Man; and on the 1ſt of *February* voted 199,071 *l.* for the Ordinary of the Navy; and the firſt Application made of this Reſolution, was to ſend a Fleet up the *Baltic* to reſtrain the *Czarina* from her Threats againſt the *Swedes*.

This Fleet was put under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, and conſiſted of eight Men of War of the Line[c]. And on the 21ſt of *April*, Captain *Morris*, Commander of the *Naſſau*, was appointed Rear-admiral of the White Squadron; and Captain *Robert Hughes*, Commander of the *Hampton-Court*, Rear-admiral of the Blue Squadron, of his Majeſty's Fleet; and Captain *Rogers* was appointed to command the *Naſſau*, in the room of Captain *Morris*, being all three to ſerve in the Fleet deſigned for the *Baltic* under Sir *John Norris*[d].

Sir *John* arrived on the Coaſt of *Jutland*, and anchored at *Elſeneur* on the 11th of *May*; on the 12th he ſailed into *Copenhagen* Road, to the great Joy of the *Danes*, but to the no leſs Dejection of the *Ruſſians*, who were thereby forced to diſarm, and have Recourſe to their former Pretences of good Intentions towards Peace.

In this Situation were our Marine Affairs, when an Expreſs arrived of the ſudden Death of King *George* I. at *Oſnaburg* in *Germany*, in his way to his electoral Dominions, on the 11th of *June*; which is commonly aſcribed to his Majeſty's want of Digeſtion, having eaten a very hearty Supper, and, amongſt other Victuals, Part of a *Water-Melon*, and ſeveral other Fruits, drinking a large Quantity of Water with them.

At this Period of our Hiſtory, we find the Navy to conſiſt of the following Ships:

Rates.	N. of Ships.	Men.	Guns.
I.	7	5,460	700
II.	13	8,840	1,170
III.	16	8,320	1,280
	24	10,568	1,680
IV.	24	37,600	1,440
	40	17,200	2,000

Rates.

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[a] During this Time, two Regiments of Foot more, viz. Middleton's and Hay's, were ordered to embark at Cork in Ireland, and to join Sir Charles Wager's Squadron, in order to re-inforce the Garriſon of Gibraltar.

[b] With Sir Charles ſailed the Kent, Sterling-Caſtle, Burford, Royal-Oak, Canterbury, York, and Colcheſter; the latter, however, ſtaid behind ſome time to convoy the Engliſh and French Trade to Cape St. Vincent. The Berwick and Lennox were ſent to the Weſt-Indies, as the Reader has ſeen above. The Durſley-Galley was ordered to Liſbon, but to return to Gibraltar again. The Lyme being ſoon expected from Port-Mahon, and the Solebay from Cape St. Vincent, theſe, with the Tyger, Wincheſter, Swallow, and Portland, with two Bomb-veſſels, and two Sloops, were ordered to remain in the Bay of Gibraltar, and to be aſſiſtant in the Defence of that Place. Of the latter, two were cruiſing behind the Hill, the Wincheſter ſent in two Boats taken from the Enemy.

[c] Theſe Ships were the following: The Revenge, Captain Narborough, 70 Guns; Suffolk, Captain Cockburn, 70 Guns; Lyon, Captain Laws, 60 Guns; Kingſton, Captain Braithwait, 60 Guns; Orford, Captain Brown, 60 Guns; Medway, Captain Piercy, 60 Guns; Hampſhire, Captain Knighton, 50 Guns; Advice, Captain William Martin, 50 Guns.

[d] This whole Squadron conſiſted of the Cornwall, of 80 Guns; the Hampton-Court, Elizabeth, Naſſau, Edinburgh, Suffolk, Revenge, Bedford, Captain, Monmouth, Grafton, and Northumberland, of 70 Guns; the Garland of 20 Guns; the Portſmouth, Hoſpital-ſhip, of eight Guns; the Seaford and Shoreham Bomb veſſels, of 20 Guns; and the Griffin and Bridgewater Fire-ſhips of eight Guns.

Rates.	N. of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	30	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ſhips	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ſhip	1	90	20	-
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260		64
Ditto, ſmall	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Long-boat	1	2		
Buoy-boat	1			
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
Total	283	64,514	10,082	

CHAP. IV.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS of GREAT-BRITAIN from the Acceſſion of King GEORGE II. to the End of the Year 1734, including the Settlement of the Colony of GEORGIA.

KING GEORGE the Second ſucceeding his Father, amongſt other Alterations, the Admiralty was put under the following Commiſſioners[a]: The right honourable *George* Lord Viſcount *Torrington*; *John Cockburn*, Eſq; Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Charles Wager*, Knts. Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Bart. the right honourable Sir *George Cholmondley*, Knight of the *Bath*, commonly called Lord Viſcount *Malpas*, and *Samuel Molyneux*, Eſq;

In *September* a Liſt of near 70 Ships was publiſhed, which had been taken by the *Spaniards* during the War; and alſo there came an Account of 12 Sail of *Engliſh* Merchantmen taken and carried into *Martinico*, by a *French* Man of War ſtationed at *Santa-Lucia*, under the ſtale Pretence of carrying on a contraband Trade with the *French* Iſlands.

In the mean time the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *Charles Wager*, taking Advantage of a Ceſſation of Arms before *Gibraltar*, ſailed from that Bay for *Tangier*, where he came to an Anchor on the 7th of *Auguſt*, and obtained all whatever he demanded of the Dey, who entertained him and his principal Officers a-ſhore. On the 31ſt Sir *Charles* weighed, and at his Return to the Bay of *Gibraltar*, not only found that the *Spaniards* reſolved to continue the Siege of that Fortreſs till the Return of a Courier from *London*, but that they were, contrary to the Terms of a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, carrying Plank, *&c.* to, and repairing the *Theſſe* Battery. Sir *Charles* ſent[b] a Letter by Lord *Forbes* to the *Conde de Montemar*, complaining thereof; but the *Conde* only replied, that he would have the Admiral's Letter tranſlated, and then he would anſwer it.

On the 14th of *September* arrived in his Fleet the *Advice*, *Hampſhire*, and *Aſſiſtance*, from *England*; and next Day the Admiral diſpatched the *Lion* and the *Thunder* Bomb to carry Conſul *Ruſſel* with his Preſents, and Admiral *Perez*; and on the 18th he ſailed with the whole Fleet for the Bay of *Cadiz*, being informed by the Conſul at *Malaga*, that Preparations were making at *Cadiz* for an Expedition in favour of the Pretender: But this Intelligence was ſoon quaſhed by the Report of the Prince *Frederic*, which the Admiral diſpatched, with a Meſſage of Compliment to the Governor of that Port; and ſaw all the *Spaniſh* Fleet laid up above the *Puntals*. Sir *Charles* however continued ſome Time upon the Coaſt, appointed Convoy for the homeward-bound *Turky* Ships, ſent the Prince *Frederic* a ſecond time into *Cadiz*, and the *Aſſiſtance* into *Tangier*, for Intelligence of the Motions of the *Moors*; but ſtill could find no Reaſon to impeach their pacific Declarations, except the Information of the *Spaniſh* Men of War having taken three Months *Iriſh* Proviſions on-board was to be credited. However, the Governor of that Port ſubmitted to let Sir *Charles* know that he had received Orders to unrig all the *Spaniſh* Ships but ſix, which were to ſail for different Ports in the *Weſt-Indies*.

Sir *George Walton*, Rear-admiral of the Red, with the *Captain*, *Monmouth*, *Bedford*, and *Grafton*, from *England*, joined Sir *Charles*'s Fleet on the 9th of *October*, whom Sir *Charles* ſtationed with ſeven Men of War off *Cape St. Vincent* to wait[c] the Arrival of ſome *Spaniſh* Ships expected from the *Weſt-Indies*; and being in want of Water, he ſailed with 10 more for the Bay of *Gibraltar*, where he anchored on the 2d of *November*.

Here he ordered Convoy for the outward-bound *Turky* Men, which were arrived as high as the Channel of *Malta*. He was joined by ſeveral Ships from *England*, amongſt whom was the *Gibraltar*, Captain *Byng*; on the 18th, purſuant to Orders he ſent the *Thunder*-Bomb and two Sloops for *England*. Sir *George Walton* joined him on the 3d of *December*, without Succeſs; and on the 11th[d] he received Orders from the Duke of *Newcaſtle* to keep a good Look-out for the Galloons, which were reported to be on their way home; and Admiral *Hopſon* received Inſtructions to ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*, and take the Command of the Squadron there; upon which Sir *Charles* made the following Diſpoſitions of the Ships under his Command:

To cruiſe off Cape *St. Vincent*, and to return to *Gibraltar*; *Torbay*, *Burford*, *Revenge*, *Orford*, *Prince Frederick*, *Canterbury*, *Weymouth*, *Preſton*, *Poole*, *Gibraltar*.

To cruiſe off Cape *Spartel*, and to return to *Gibraltar*; *Monmouth*, *Sterling-Caſtle*, *Suffolk*, *Royal Oak*, *Grafton*, *Kingſton*, *Advice*, *Swallow*.

To cruiſe off Cape *Finiſterre*, and to go to *Spithead*; *Captain*, *Yarmouth*, *Bedford*, *Kent*, *York*, *Wincheſter*, *Aſſiſtance*.

To carry Admiral *Hopſon* to the *Weſt-Indies*; *Lion*.

To follow him with Orders to the *Weſt-Indies*; *Solebay*.

To remain at *Gibraltar*; *Succeſs*.

Theſe Meaſures ſeemed the more neceſſary, as the *Spaniards* ſhew'd leſs Inclination to a Peace[e]: and on the 17th the three Diviſions, as above appointed, got under Sail for their reſpective Stations. And this Vigour on the Part of *Great-Britain* produced the deſired Effect; for the *Spaniſh* and *French* Miniſters at *Madrid* came immediately to an Agreement concerning the Differences ſtill ſubſiſting between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*.

The Beginning of *January*, 1728, 11 of his Majeſty's Ships were put into Commiſſion[f]; and the 13th, the Appointment of Flag-officers, upon the Death of Vice-admiral *Hoſier*, was declared[g].

The

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[a] About the latter end of July. [b] September 13, 1727. [c] Till the 26th of November. [d] The 13th Sir Charles having received, by the Role, his Majeſty's Letter for the new Emperor of Morocco, he ordered the Poole to carry it to Tetuan, with 50 Barrels of Powder, to be added to the Preſent, to be delivered, as Mr. Hatfield ſhould adviſe, to Mr. Conſul Ruſſel's Diſpoſition. [e] They ſhewed ſo little Inclination to depart from any of their former Pretenſions with Relation to Gibraltar, the Ship Prince-Frederick, and the Effects of the Flotilla, that they trumped up new Difficulties, concerning our Uſurpation (as they call it) of the Iſland of Providence, our building a Fort on the Coaſt of Florida, and poſſeſſing ourſelves of a Settlement in the Bay of Campeachy: A Reconciliation between France and Spain begun likewiſe to ſhew itſelf; and the Spaniards, ſince the ſigning of the Preliminaries, continued not only to build and fit out more Men of War, but had taken and confiſcated ſeveral Engliſh Ships, after the Time ſettled by thoſe Preliminaries. [f] They were the following:

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
The Kingſale	Lord Vere Beauclerk	280	40
Adventure	Lord Muſkerry	280	40
Goſport	Captain Duncan Drake	280	40
Southampton	Edward Brooks	280	40
Loo	Thomas Waterhouſe	280	40
Dover	Matthew Confett	280	40
Sapphire	Smith	280	40
Phœnix	Arthur Jones	125	20
Experiment	Henry Reddiſh	125	20
Otter-Sloop	John Barnſley	60	10
Hawk-Sloop	John Thomas	80	16

[g] Edward Hopſon, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the White; Sir George Walton, Vice-admiral of the Blue; Salmon Morrice, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; Robert Hughes, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; and Philip Cavendiſh, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.

The 15th, Sir *George Walton*, with his Majeſty's Ships the *Captain*, *Monmouth*, *Bedford*, *York*, and *Wincheſter*, came into *Portland* Road [a].

The 23d the new Parliament met, and the 7th of *February* the Houſe of Commons, in a grand Committee, voted a Supply of 15,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice, at four Pounds a Man *per* Month, for 13 Months, for the Year 1728, and 205,561 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year.

Sir *Charles Wager* alſo returned to *England*, and on the 13th of *April* met with a gracious Reception from his Majeſty at *St. James's*; and the Peace rendering that Station leſs precarious, more of the Fleet ſoon after followed from *Gibraltar* under Commodore *Stewart* [b].

On the 29th of *April* the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that in order to the more regular, conſtant, and punctual Payment of Seamens Wages for the future, a Sum not exceeding 500,000 *l.* be granted his Majeſty towards paying off and diſcharging ſuch Part of the Debt of the Navy, as is due upon the Head of Seamens Wages. And towards the latter End of *May*, his Majeſty made the following Alteration in the Board of Admiralty: He was pleaſed to appoint the right honourable *George* Viſcount *Torrington*, *John Cockburne*, Eſq; Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Charles Wager*, Knts. Sir *George Cholmondley*, and Sir *William Yonge*, Knights of the *Bath*, to be Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High admiral of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, &c.

The Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*, on the Death of Admiral *Hoſier*, fell under the Command of Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, who enjoyed that Poſt but a very ſhort Time, being deprived thereof by a Fever, of which he died on the 8th of *May*, 1728, on-board the *Leopard* off the *Grand Bru* on the Coaſt of *New Spain*, before the News arrived in thoſe Seas of the Pacification. The *Weſt-India* Fleet then fell under the Command of Commodore *St. Loe*, who having on the 3d of *June* received the Preliminaries, immediately gave the neceſſary Orders, for the Ships under his Command, that were cruizing on the Coaſt of *New Spain*, to return to *Jamaica*, and for the other Ships to get in a Readineſs to ſail for *England*. The 23d his Majeſty's Ships the *Lark*, *Lenox*, *Nottingham*, *Dragon*, *Tyger*, *Portland*, and *Diamond*, arrived at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, from before *Carthagena*. It was then reckoned, that this Expedition, from the Time of Admiral *Hoſier*'s Arrival in thoſe Parts, had been attended with the Loſs of two Admirals, eight or ten Captains, about 50 Lieutenants, and near 4000 ſubaltern Officers and Seamen, who all fell by Sickneſs, and not by the Hands of the Enemy.

This was the ſecond time the *Weſt-India* Squadron devolved under the Command of Captain *St. Loe*; however, we don't find him among the Flag-officers in the next Promotion, which took place, as follows, upon the News of Admiral *Hopſon*'s Death [c]. And ſoon after [d] his Majeſty put 15 Men [e] of War into Commiſſion.

In the Month of *Auguſt* it was declared, that the Names of ſome of his Majeſty's Men of War were altered; ſo that now there were ſeven called by the Names of the royal Iſſue: The Prince *Frederick*, of 70 Guns; the *Princeſs*, of 90 Guns, now the *Princeſs Royal*; the *Vanguard*, of 90 Guns, now the *Duke*; the *Humber*, of 80 Guns, now the Princeſs *Amelia*; the *Ranelaugh*, of 80 Guns, now the Princeſs *Carolina*; the *Mary*, of 60 Guns, now the Princeſs *Mary*; and the *Launceſton*, of 40 Guns, now the Princeſs *Louiſa*.

Notwithſtanding the pacific Diſpoſition of the *Spaniſh* Court in *Europe*, and their Engagements, it is highly ſuſpected that their Governors in the *Weſt-Indies* were inſtructed to carry on their depredatory War: So that our Men of War were no ſooner withdrawn, and called off from Action in thoſe Seas, but our Merchants felt ſeverely the Effects of a perfidious Treaty; and every Ship from our Iſlands and Colonies, brought freſh Subject of Complaint of their Inſults and Depredations on our Trade, and of their Cruelties towards our Sailors. And in *Europe*, the leſſening of our naval Power in the *Mediterranean* encouraged the Pirates of *Salléé* to infeſt our Navigation in the Weſtern Ocean and *Streights*: So that when the Parliament met on the 21ſt of *January* 1729, they agreed to employ 15,000 Seamen, at four Pounds *per* Man *per* Month, for 13 Months, for the Year 1729; and voted 206,025 *l.* for the Ordinary of the Navy for the ſame Year.

In the Month of *March* there were again ſeveral Removes in the Navy, occaſioned by the Death of *Robert Hughes*, Eſq; [f]. The 14th of the ſame Month, the Houſe of Commons, having for ſome Days before examined into the Accounts of the *Spaniſh* Depredations, and called for ſeveral Papers relating thereunto, came to the following Reſolution: That from the Peace concluded at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1713, to this Time, the *Britiſh* Trade and Navigation, to and from the ſeveral *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*, had been greatly interrupted by the continual Depredations of the *Spaniards*, who had ſeized very valuable Effects, and unjuſtly taken and made Prize of great Numbers of *Britiſh* Ships and Veſſels in thoſe Parts, to the great Loſs and Damage of the Subjects of this Kingdom, and in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns [g]. Several other Papers were afterwards called for, and farther Reſolutions taken, which ended in a ſecond Addreſs, much to the ſame Purpoſe.

This produced an Order for the commiſſioning of the following Ships:

Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
3	*Princeſs Amelia*,	Capt. *Falkingham*.	520	80
3	*Burford*,	Sir *Chaloner Ogle*.	440	70
3	*Cornwal*,	*Hughes* or *Davis*.	520	80
3	*Devonſhire*,		520	80
3	*Berwick*,	*Norbury*.	440	70
3	*Grafton*,	*Haddock*.	440	70
3	*Kent*,	*O'Brien*.	440	70
3	*Monmouth*,	*Purvis*.	440	70
3	*Naſſau*,	*Vanbrugh*.	440	70
3	*Royal Oak*,	*Leſtock*.	440	70
3	*Bedford*,		440	70
4	*Dreadnought*,	*Geddis*.	365	60
4	*Kingſton*,	*Danſie*,	365	60
4	*Lion*,	*Ed. Reddiſh*.	365	60
4	*York*,	*John St. Loe*.	365	60
4	*Sunderland*,	*Clinton*,	365	60
4	*Argyle*,	*Roberts*.	280	50
4	*Advice*,	*Martin*.	280	50
4	*Aſſiſtance*,	*Graves*.	280	50
4	*Falkland*,	*Atkins*.	280	50
4	*Guernſey*,			

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[a] They left Gibraltar the 24th of December; on the 25th they parted off Cape Sparte with Vice-admiral Hopſon, bound for the Maderas. They left Sir Charles Wager, with Part of his Squadron, off Cape St. Vincent, and Captain Balchen, with ſome Ships, between Cape St. Mary's and Cadiz.

[b] Who arrived at Spithead on the 28th of April.

[c] John Balchen, Eſq; was made Rear-admiral of the Blue; Philip Cavendiſh, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; Robert Hughes, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; Salmon Morrice, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Sir George Walton, Vice-admiral of the White.

[d] July 20, 1728.

[e]

Ships.	Rates.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Ships.	Rates.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
The Cornwall.	3	Richard Hughes.	520	80	The Severn.	4	John Flemming.	280	50
Princeſs Amelia.	3	Richard Leſtock.	520	80	Kingſton.	4	Fran. Danſie.	365	60
Grafton.	3	Nicholas Haddock.	440	70	Dreadnought.	4	Chriſt. O'Brien.	365	60
Naſſau.	3	Robert Coleman.	440	70	Falkland.	4	Samuel Atkins.	280	50
Kent.	3	Con. Narborough.	440	70	York.	4	John Cockburn.	365	50
Royal Oak.	3	Edw, Falkingham.	440	70	Wincheſter.	4	James Lock.	280	50
Sunderland.	4	Geo. Clinton.	390	60	Aſſiſtance.	4	Thomas Graves.	280	50
Guernſey.	4	John St. Loe.	280	50					

[f] Philip Cavendiſh, Eſq; ſucceeded him as Rear-admiral of the Red; John Balchen, Eſq; was made Rear-admiral of the White; and Edward St. Loe, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.

[g] In Conſequence of this Reſolution, it was farther moved and reſolved, nemine contradicente, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent ſuch Depredations; to procure juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for the Loſſes ſuſtained; and to ſecure to his Subjects the free Exerciſe of Commerce and Navigation, to and from the Britiſh Colonies in America. In Anſwer to which, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe his beſt Endeavours to anſwer their Deſires.

4	*Guernſey*,	*Cockburn.*	280	50
4	*Leopard*,	*Warren.*	280	50
4	*Oxford*,	Ld *Vere Beauclerk.*	280	50
4	*Portland*,	*Rowzier.*	280	50
4	*Wincheſter*,	*Lock.*	280	50
5	*Kingſale*,	*Harvey.*	190	40
5	*Loo*,	*Berkley.*	190	40
6	*Solebay*,	*Sparks.*	130	20
6	*Scarborough*,	*Barnſley.*	130	20
	Griffin Fire-ſhip,	*Bennat.*		
	Thunder Bomb,	*Trevor.*		
	Drake Sloop,	*Dundas.*		
	Otter Sloop,	*Williams.*		

The *Dutch* Squadron, which joined this Fleet afterwards, conſiſted of 12 Men of War, and a Bomb-ketch.

This Fleet, appointed to act in Conjunction, rendezvouſed at *Spithead* [a], and was under the ſole Command of Sir *Charles Wager*, with ſome Reſtrictions. His Majeſty ſailed for his *German* Dominions on the 17th of *June*, four Days after the News of Rear-admiral *St. Loe*'s Death at *Jamaica*, after a long Illneſs: By which Event the *West-India* Squadron devolved under the Command of Captain *William Smith*. But the honourable *Charles Stuart*, Eſq; was immediately appointed Rear-admiral of the *Blue*, and ordered forthwith to proceed to take upon him the ſaid Command at *Jamaica* [b].

The combined Fleet at *Spithead* raiſed the Expectations of the Public, imagining that ſome bold Stroke was to be ſtruck in favour of our Merchants; but after ſpending three Months or better in Port, the *Dutch* ſailed homewards: And on the 16th of *October* Orders were ſent to *Spithead*, to lay up 12 of the largeſt Ships [c]. However it is ſuppoſed to have accelerated the ſigning of the Peace; and likewiſe of thoſe Orders which were carried to *Cuba* by the new Governor of that Iſland; in conſequence of which he impriſoned and laid his Predeceſſor in Irons; and declared his Inſtructions were to live in Amity with the *Engliſh*. But this, by the Conſequences, proved to be all Grimace; for the *Guarda Coſtas* abated nothing of their former Behaviour. So that when the Parliament met on the 13th of *January* 1730, they voted 10,000 Seamen at 4 l. a Man *per* Month, and about the ſame Sum for the Ordinary of the Navy, as in the foregoing Year. Though it does not appear, that any Squadron, or ſo much as a Convoy, was ordered to ſail that whole Year; except thoſe in the *Mediterranean* and *Weſt-Indies*.

In *May* Sir *Thomas Frankland* and *Thomas Winnington*, Eſq; were appointed Lords of the Admiralty in the room of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *William Yonge*. And on *November* the 1ſt it was found, by taking an exact Liſt of his Majeſty's Navy, that the Strength of our Marine ſtood as follows:

Rates.	No.	Tunnage.	Higheſt Complement	Loweſt of Men.	Car. Guns.	Swivel Guns.	Mortars.
1	7	12953	5460	4760	700		
2	13	20131	8840	7605	1170		
3	16	21166	8320	7040	1280		
	24	26887	10560	9120	1680		
4	24	22829	8760	7680	1440		
	40	29086	11200	9600	2000		
5	24	13890	4800	4320	960		
	1	421	155	135	30		
6	1	420	140	130	22		
	28	10250	3580	3320	560		
Fire-ſhips	3	1057	155		24		
Bombs	3	780	120		16	16	5
Store ſhip	1	547	90		20		
Sloops	13	1516	990		78	78	
Yachts	7	1119	260		64		
Ditto ſmall	5	267	29		26	6	
Hoys	11	1114	87		12	2	
Smacks	2	77	4				
Long-boat	1	27	2				
Buoy-boat	1	13					
Lighters	4	288	3				
Hulks	9	7664	159				
Total	238	174502	64514	55409	10082	102	5

The Year 1731 was introduced [d] by a Vote of Parliament for the ſame Supply of Seamen, &c. as laſt Year for the Navy. On the 26th of *January* Admiral *Cavendiſh* arrived with his Squadron from the *Mediterranean*, having diſpatched from *Gibraltar* two Regiments for *Jamaica*: From which Iſland arrived alſo about the Beginning of *April* his Majeſty's Ship the *Adventure*, Lord *Muſkerry*, with 220,000 Pieces of Eight ſaved out of a *Spaniſh* Man of

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[a] On the 25th of May 1729, and was afterwards augmented, ſo that on the 30th of June it conſiſted of

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
The Cornwal	80	520	Sir CH. WAGER. Capt. Falkingham.
Princeſs Amelia	80	520	Sir G. WALTON. Captain Davis.
Burford	70	440	——Ogle.
Berwick	70	440	——Norbury.
Graſton	70	440	——Haddock.
Kent	70	440	——O Brien.
Monmouth	70	440	——Purvis.
Naſſau	70	440	——Coleman.
Royal Oak	70	440	——Leſtock.
Dreadnought	60	365	——Geddis.
Kingſton	60	365	——Danſie.
Lion	60	365	——Reddiſh.
Sunderland	60	365	——Man.
York	60	365	——St. Loe.
Argyle	50	280	——Roberts.
Falkland	50	280	——Atkins.
Guernſey	50	280	——Cockburn.
Leopard	50	280	——Warren.
Portland	50	280	——Rowzier.
Wincheſter	50	280	——Lock.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Kingſale	40	190	——Harvey.
Enterprize	40	190	——Smith.
Adventure	40	190	Lord Muſkerry.
Solebay-Bomb	22	115	——Sparks.
Thunder-Bomb	6	40	——Trevor.
Pool Fire-ſhip	8	55	——Herbert.
Griffin Fire-ſhip	8	50	——Bennet.

DUTCH.

Leyden	64	400	V.A.Sommeldyke.
Utrecht	64	350	Captain Schryven.
Naſſau	64	350	——Grendet.
Statenberg	64	350	——Vander Graff.
Ter Veer	64	350	——Wilſchot.
Pollaren	52	270	——Reynſt.
Twickloo	52	270	——Hooſt.
Beekviel	52	270	——Grood.
Ramhorſt	52	270	——Baarden.
Edam	44	220	——Vigh.
Noordwyck op Z.	44	220	——Deute.
Gorcum	44	220	——Van Reed.

Beſides a Bomb-ketch, and a Store-ſhip.

[b] From Charles-Town, in South-Carolina came, about this Time, Advice, that one of the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas had caught a Tartar; for meeting with the Durſley-Galley, Man of War, and taking her for a Merchant-ſhip, he bore down upon her, and poured a Broad-ſide into her; but was taken, after having five or ſix Men killed, and about 20 wounded, without the Loſs of one Man in the Durſley. However, as an Inſtance of our dealing more favourably with the Spaniards, than they were pleaſed to do with us, ſhe was ſoon after releaſed: As was a Spaniſh Advice-boat taken and carried into Jamaica.

[c] Theſe 12 were the Cornwal, Naſſau, Graſton, Burford, and Sunderland, at Chatham; and the Princeſs Amelia, Berwick, Monmouth, Kent, Royal Oak, Kingſton, and Falkland, at Portſmouth.

[d] January 21, 1731.

of War loſt on *Ponto Pedro* Shoals near *Jamaica*, in the Autumn before.

After the Peace concluded with *Spain*, *Great-Britain* was drawn in to an Agreement to carry *Don Carlos*, Infant of *Spain*, and by the Conſent of the Court of *Vienna* to place him upon the Throne of the Kingdom of *Naples*. And yet every Ship from the *Weſt-Indies* brought a Succeſſion of *Spaniſh* Depredations and Cruelties[a]. In the mean time *France* alarmed the Miniſtry by marching a larger Body of Forces than uſual down to her eaſtern Shore.

In purſuance of theſe Meaſures with the Court of *Vienna* and *Spain*, and to obviate the Operations of *France*, a Squadron conſiſting of the following Ships: *Namur*, *Cornwal*, *Hampton-Court*, *Edinburgh*, *Orford*, *Princeſs-Amelia*, *Berwick*, *Kent*, *York*, *Exeter*, *Canterbury*, *Dreadnought*, *Romney*, *Portland*, *Advice*, *Norfolk*, *Sunderland*, were put in Commiſſion, and under the Command of Sir *Charles Wager*, who, having ordered the *Deal-Caſtle* and *Weazel* Sloop to cruiſe off *Dunkirk* for Intelligence, received further Orders to take Admiral *Balchen*[b], under his Command, and to repair to *Spithead*; which he obeyed[c]. At *Spithead* Sir *Charles* received his Appointment of Admiral of the Blue; and private Inſtructions; with which he ſailed[d] on the 14th of *June* for *Cadiz*, and arrived in that *Spaniſh* Port, where he was received with the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*. On the 5th, in the Evening, he ſet out by Land from Port *St. Mary*'s, and arrived, the next Morning, at *Seville*. He received and made ſeveral Viſits that Day; and the next Day had an Audience of their Catholick Majeſties, from whom he found a very gracious Reception. He was accompanied to this Audience by Mr. *Keene*, and attended by ſeveral Gentlemen who came with him from on-board the Squadron, and by all the *Britiſh* Merchants and other Gentlemen of that Nation, who reſided at *Seville*. He acquainted the King with the Occaſion of his coming, and that he was ready to concert and agree with his Miniſters and Officers, in Conjunction with Mr. *Keene*, whatever might remain to be adjuſted, with relation to the Expedition.

The *Spaniſh* Miniſtry loſt no Time to forward this Scheme. And by the time Sir *Charles* returned to the *Engliſh* Fleet, and had made the Courſe of *Gibraltar*, to take ſome Troops a-board from that Garriſon, and come about to *Barcelona*, the *Spaniſh* Fleet[e], that was to join him in the *Italian* Expedition, was fitting and embarking their Troops. The combined Fleets weighed Anchor on the 6th of *October*, and arrived ſomewhat ſhort of *Legborn* Road on the 15th; where Sir *Charles*, accompanied by Mr. *Coleman* the *Britiſh* Conſul at that Port, and the *Spaniſh* General, conferred with the *Grand Duke*'s Miniſter at Mr. *Coleman*'s Houſe, about the Reception of the *Spaniſh* Garriſon: So many Difficulties were ſtarted in this Conference that nothing could be ſettled that Evening; ſo they parted, and appointed to meet on-board the *Namur* the next Day in the Afternoon. It was there agreed, that ſix Battalions ſhould be introduced into *Legborn*, two to go to *Port Ferrajo*, and two to be quartered at *Piſa*, together with 300 Dragoons; and the Remainder, being about 60 or 70, to ſerve as a Piquet at *Legborn*. However ſome Diſpute ariſing about the Command, and the Parole, the Marquis *de Rinucini* agreed to write to the *Grand Duke* for Orders.

The 20th, the Marquis *de Rinucini* having received farther Inſtructions from his Court, concerning certain Points yet in Debate, a Regulation was agreed on, for the Introduction and Diſtribution of the *Spaniſh* Garriſons[f]. Two Days after, purſuant to this Regulation, about 2000 Men, *Spaniſh* Troops, all that were on-board the Ships then there, marched into the Town. The next Day Don *Roderigo de Torres*, the *Spaniſh* Rear-admiral, came into the Road, with 12 *Spaniſh* Men of War, having about 2500 of the *Spaniſh* Troops on-board, which were landed, and Part of them marched to *Piſa*, to be quartered there.

There being no more Service for the *Engliſh* Fleet on this Occaſion, Sir *Charles* on the 26th of *October* took his Leave, and ſailed[g] for *England*; where he arrived on the 10th of *December* at *St. Helens* with five Ships only, the reſt of the Squadron having ſeparated at Sea by very bad Weather.

In *November* this ſame Year ſeveral ſmall Ships[h] were put into Commiſſion; and ordered to be ſheathed for the *Weſt-India* Service; to which were added, on the 10th of *January* 1732, two more[i], to cruiſe againſt the *Guarda Coſtas*, whoſe Depredations continued with great Exceſs. Upon theſe Preparations the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry pretended to put a Stop to thoſe Hoſtilities, by a Schedule tranſmitted from their King by the Hands of the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Madrid* to *England*, to be diſpatched to Rear-admiral *Steward*, for him to communicate the ſame to the *Spaniſh* Governors. But as this Schedule excepted from its Benefit all who carried on an illicit Trade, and did not determine what ſhould be comprehended under the Term illicit; this vague Command produced no good Effect: Their Piracies, under their King's Commiſſion, rather multiplied.

The Parliament met on the 13th of *January* 1732, and on the 21ſt voted 8000 Men at 4 l. a Man *per* Month, and the further Sum of 212,885 l. 7 s. 5 d. for the Ordinary of the Navy that Year. But we had no naval Preparations (except the Convoy of his Majeſty, who ſailed for *Holland* on the 8th of *June*) till the Middle of *June*, when being alarmed by a great naval Armament in *Spain*, the Miniſtry ordered Impreſs-warrants, to fill all the grand Ships with their full Compliment of Men. And this Order was preſently revoked upon certain Advice of the *Spaniſh* Fleet's being ſailed to the Coaſt of *Barbary*[k].

In

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[a] Among which nothing can be more inhuman than the Caſe of Robert Jenkins, Maſter of the Rebecca, which is too well known to need repeating, and indeed almoſt too ſhocking to bear relating.

[b] The Namur, Princeſs Amelia, Cornwal, Hampton-Court, Grafton, Edinburgh, Buckingham, Kent, Canterbury, Dreadnought, Exeter, York, and Kingſale.

[c] Sir Charles ſailed in the Grafton, having with him the Namur, Cornwal, Buckingham, Hampton-Court, and Kingſale, leaving Orders with Captain Rowzier, of the Portland, to take the Command of the Ships, &c. in the Downs, viz. the Diamond, Torrington, Deal-Caſtle, Ferret, Spy, Hawk, Bonetta, Weazel, and Salamander Sloops, and giving him a Copy of his Majeſty's Inſtructions.

[d] His Squadron conſiſted of the following Ships:

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
The Namur	Captain Falkingham	90	680
Princeſs Amelia	—— Reddiſh	80	520
Cornwal	Lord Forbes	80	520
Hampton-Court	Lord Vere Beauclerk	70	440
Grafton	Haddock	70	440
Edinburgh	Ogle	70	440
Buckingham	Brown	70	440
Kent	—— O Brien	70	440
Canterbury	—— Hook	60	365
Dreadnought	—— Geddis	60	365
Exeter	—— Durell	60	365
York	—— Vanbrug		
Kingſale	—— Harvey	40	280
Norfolk	—— Roberts	80	520
Royal Oak	—— Leſtock	70	440
Captain	—— Dent	70	440
Suffolk	—— Davis	70	440
Berwick	—— Norbury	70	440
Portland	—— Rowzier	50	280
Romney	—— Medley	50	280
Advice	—— Martin	50	280
Aſſiſtance	—— Graves		
Diamond	—— Anſon	40	200
Princeſs Louiſa	—— Cotterel		
Torrington	—— Fitch		

Sir Charles Wager, Admiral of the Blue.
Rear-admiral Balchen.

[e] Nineteen Ships and two Snows.

[f] It was ſigned by Sir Charles Wager and Mr. Coleman, on the Part of Great Britain; by F. Aſcanio, Count de Charni, and the Marquis de Mari, on the Part of Spain; and by the Marquis de Rinucini, for the Grand Duke. It was agreed, that Count de Charni ſhould take the Oaths to the Grand Duke, the next Day, (as he did accordingly) and that the Troops then on-board the Ships ſhould be landed the Day after.

[g] Sir Charles had then with him the Namur, Princeſs Amelia, Cornwal, Grafton, Edinburgh, Buckingham, Kent, Hampton-Court, York, Canterbury, Exeter, Dreadnought, and Hector, and was joined, a few Days after, at Sea, by the Gibraltar from Liſbon.

[h] The Experiment, Captain John St. Loe; the Phœnix, Captain William Douglas; the Flamborough, Captain Joſeph Laws; the Deal-Caſtle, Captain —— Aubin, all Sixth-rates of 20 Guns; beſides the Grampus Sloop, Captain Edmund Williams, of eight Carriage, and 10 Swivel-guns, and the Wolf Sloop, Captain Orchard, with 10 Carriage and 12 Swivel-guns.

[i] The Sheerneſs Captain Fytch, and the Dolphin Captain Vincent, both Sixth-rates, of 20 Guns each.

[k] The 20th of July the Truſtees, appointed by Charter for eſtabliſhing the Colony of Georgia in South Carolina, had their firſt regular Meeting, the Lord Percival, who had been one of the principal Promoters of this great and generous Deſign, and was appointed by Charter to be their Preſident, having previouſly qualified himſelf for that important Truſt. After his Lordſhip had adminiſtered the Oath, for the faithful Adminiſtration of their Truſt, to the ſeveral Truſtees then preſent, the firſt Thing they did was to order a common Seal to be made. Their Device is on one Side, two Figures of Rivers reſting upon Urns, repreſenting the Alatamaha and Savanna, the Boundaries of Georgia, and between them the Genius of the

Colony,

In the *Weſt-Indies* the *Deal-Caſtle* Man of War, Captain *Aubin* took a *Spaniſh* Merchantman near *Campechy*, by way of Reprizals, and carried her into *S. Carolina*.

In the Month of *October* a *Sallee* Cruizer of 18 Guns, and 140 Men, took and carried into that Port an *Engliſh* Ship of 180 Tuns and 10 Guns, called the *Eagle*, *John Chilly*, Commander [a].

Our naval Affairs this Year concluded with a Convoy under Lord *Torrington*, which brought his Majeſty back to his *Britiſh* Dominions on the 26th of *September*.

In *January* 1733, the Parliament voted the ſame Men, and near the ſame Money, for the Navy as in the laſt Seſſion. And a few Days after died at his Houſe in the Admiralty, the Right Honourable *George Byng*, Lord Viſcount *Torrington*, Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet, and firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; upon which the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wager* was appointed firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and made one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council: And ſoon after Sir *John Jennings* was made Rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*.

The Mal-treatment of the Conſul at *Sallee*, and the Retention of the Ship above-mentioned being properly repreſented, three Frigates [b] of 20 Guns each were diſpatched to demand her Releaſement, and further Satisfaction. But it was a conſiderable Time before they were able to put a Stop to their Piracies; as you will find in the Note below.

Mr. *Oglethorpe*, by Letters dated from the Camp near *Savanna*, *February* 10, 1732-3, and *March* 12, 1733-4, to the Truſtees of the Colony of *Georgia*, gave them a pleaſing Idea of that Country, and filled them with great Expectations from the Proſpect of its Succeſs. In the firſt, after deſcribing the Situation, *&c.* of his new-intended Town [c], he informs them of the good Inclinations of an *Indian* Nation adjoining, to become Subjects to K. *George*, and to become Subjects of *Chriſt* alſo. In his ſecond Letter he enlarges his Account of the Province, deſcribes its neighbouring *Indians*, and their good Inclinations towards the *Engliſh* [d].

Two *Spaniſh* Men of War, one of 60, the other of 70 Guns, attacked a Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchant-men loading Salt at the deſolate Iſland of *Sal Tortuga*, under the Protection of the *Scarborough*, a 20 Gun Ship, commanded by Captain *Durell*; but this brave Commander cut the *Spaniards* out ſo much Work, that he kept them in Play, till all the *Engliſh* Ships, except four taken at the Begining, eſcaped [e].

The Diſputes on the Continent, which had lately interrupted the Peace of *Germany*, did not immediately affect *Great-Britain*; but his Majeſty thought it moſt prudent to add to the Number of our Guardſhips; which was accordingly augmented in the Month of *November*, 1733; which Order was further extended in *January*, and compleated *February* 21, when all theſe Men of War [f] were put into Commiſſion.

Ships.			
The *Britannia*,	1	100	1000
Blenheim,	2	90	700
Namur,	2	90	700
Princeſs Amelia,	3	80	550
Cornwal,	3	80	550
Devonſhire,	3	80	550
Dorſetſhire,	3	80	550
Lancaſhire,	3	80	550
Norfolk,	3	80	550
Torbay,	3	80	550
Bedford,	3	70	440
Burford,	3	70	440
Berwick,	3	70	440
Buckingham,	3	70	440
Captain,	3	70	440
Edinburgh,	3	70	440
Grafton,	3	70	440
Hampton-Court,	3	70	440
Ipſwich,	3	70	440
Kent,	3	70	440
Lenox,	3	70	440
Monmouth,	3	70	440
Northumberland,	3	70	440
Royal Oak,	3	70	440
Orford,	3	70	440
Revenge,	3	70	440

Suffolk,

Colony, ſeated with the Cap of Liberty upon her Head, a Spear in one Hand, and Cornucopia in the other, with the Inſcription, Colonia Georgia Aug. On the other Side, the Repreſentation of Silk-worms, ſome beginning, and others having finiſhed their Web, with the Motto, Non ſibi ſed aliis; a very juſt and proper Emblem, the Nature of this Eſtabliſhment being ſuch that the Truſtees neither have now, or can they or their Succeſſors, for the future, ever have any private Views or Intereſt in it. On the 6th of November, the firſt Perſons choſen by the Truſtees to be ſent over for the Eſtabliſhment of this Colony, being about 100 in Number, embarked at Graveſend, on board the Ann, Captain Thomas, bound thither. They were provided with all Neceſſaries for their Voyage, and likewiſe with all neceſſary Tools, Arms, and Ammunition, and with Proviſions for ſeveral Months after their Arrival. And, on the 15th, James Oglethorp, Eſq; Member of Parliament for Haſlemere in Surry, and one of the Truſtees, ſet out for Graveſend, to embark on-board the ſaid Ship, in order to go over to ſee this firſt Settlement made, at his own Expence, with a diſintereſted and generous View of contributing all that was in his Power towards the Benefit of his Country, and the Relief of his diſtreſſed Countrymen.

[a] She was laden with Cloaths, fine Linen, Nutmegs, Cloves, and other Spices, and had 66 Portugueſe Paſſengers on-board, beſides 14 Engliſh. The Engliſh Conſul at Tetuan ſet out immediately for Mequinez, to ſolicit her Releaſement; but had ſo little Succeſs, that a Jewiſh Rabbi he took with him, for his Skill in the Language, labouring hard with the Emperor, to obtain it, was ordered to be burnt alive, and the Conſul was obliged to return to Tetuan, without any Satisfaction.

[b] Theſe Frigates were the Greyhound, Captain Cornwal, Commodore; the Durſley Galley, Captain Smith; and the Roſe, Captain Wyndham, all good Sailers. They ſet ſail from Portſmouth the 3d of March, and arrived at Gibraltar the 11th. The 12th they ſailed for Tetuan, the Baſhaw of which Place ſent a Meſſenger, on their Account to Mequinez, to endeavour to procure them Satisfaction; but the great Obſtacle was the conſiderable Number of Portugueſe, which being made Slaves, the Emperor would by no means hear of releaſing; upon which theſe Ships took their Station off of that Port, and, together with ſome Dutch Men of War, blocked it up, in ſuch manner, that none of the Rovers of that Place durſt venture to Sea. However, a Row-boat from Tetuan took, in the Month of Auguſt, the John of London, a Pink-ſtern'd Brigantine, William Matthews, Maſter, bound from Amſterdam with Pipe-ſtaves, &c. for Malaga: Four Ships laden with Fiſh for Spain and Portugal were alſo carried into their Port in January 1734; and the unfortunate Companies of theſe Ships made up the Number of 62 Britiſh Slaves in Barbary. In the Month of June there were Accounts in London of ſix more being taken by thoſe Pirates. On this Occaſion I muſt not omit recording the Bravery of Captain David Fullerton, Commander of an Engliſh Merchant-ſhip, who, in his Paſſage from the Streights, was met by a Sallee-Rover, and obliged to bring to. The Sallee-Man ſent his Boat on-board, with 20 Men, in order, as he thought, to ſeize the Prize. But Captain Fullerton, obſerving their Number, bravely reſolved, with his 14 Men, to attack and make himſelf Maſter of them as ſoon as they came on-board. This they executed with an intrepid Courage, and the Moors judging by their Reſolution their Number muſt be greater, threw down their Arms and ſurrendered; upon which Captain Fullerton hoiſting all the Sail he could, got clear of the Rover, and brought his Priſoners to Middleburg in Zealand.

[c] "I went myſelf to view the Savanna-River. I fixed upon a healthy Situation about 10 Miles from the Sea. The River here forms a Half-moon, along the S. Side of which the Banks are about 40 Foot high, and upon the Top a Flat, which they call a Bluff. The plain high Ground extends into the Country five or ſix Miles, and along the River Side about a Mile. Ships that draw 12 Foot Water can ride within 10 Yards of the Bank. Upon the River Side, in the Center of this Plain, I have laid out the Town; over-againſt it is an Iſland of very rich Land fit for Paſturage, which I think ſhould be kept for the Truſtees Cattle. The River is pretty wide, the Water freſh, and from the Key of the Town you ſee its whole Courſe to the Sea, with the Iſland of Tybe, which forms the Mouth of the River; and the other Way you ſee the River for about ſix Miles up into the Country. The Landſkip is very agreeable, the Stream being wide, and bordered with high Woods on both Sides. The firſt Houſe was begun Yeſterday in the Afternoon."

[d] "This Province is much larger than we thought, being 120 Miles from this River to the Alatamaha. This River has a very long Courſe, and a great Trade is carried on by it to the Indians, there having above 12 trading Boats paſſed by, ſince I have been here. There are in Georgia, on this Side the Mountain, three conſiderable Nations of Indians; one called the Lower Creeks *, conſiſting of nine Towns, or rather Cantons, making about 1000 Men, able to bear Arms. One of theſe is within half a Mile of us, and has concluded a Peace with us, giving up their Right to all this Part of the Country, and I have marked out the Lands, which they have reſerved to themſelves. The King comes conſtantly to Church, and is deſirous to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, and has given me his Nephew, a Boy, who is his next Heir, to educate. The other two Nations are the Wehees, and the Upper Creeks; the firſt conſiſting of 200, and the latter of 1100 Men. We agree ſo well with the Indians, that the Creeks and Wehees have referred a Difference to me to determine, which otherwiſe would have occaſioned a War." * The Lower Creeks are a Nation of Indians, who formerly conſiſted of 10, but now are reduced to eight Tribes, or Towns, which have each their different Government, but are allied together, and ſpeak the ſame Language. They claim from the Savanna River, as far as St. Auguſtin, and up to the Flint River, which falls into the Bay of Mexico. All the Indians inhabiting this Tract ſpeak their Language; and Tomo Chachi, Mico (or King) and the Indians of Yammacrow, are of their Nation and Language.

[e] Theſe four were the Catharine, Andrew Woodbury, Maſter, valued at upwards of 7000 Pounds, New-England Currency; the Brigantine, Two Siſters, Captain Habbakuk Gardiner; the Hopewell, John Wells, Maſter; and the Three Brothers, Thomas Gutteridge, Maſter, both Brigantines: And we have ſeveral more Inſtances of their Inſults, during the Courſe of this Year.

[f] Together with the Somerſet, Newark, Sterling-Caſtle, Exeter, Windſor, Montague, and Tilbury.

Ships.	Rates.	Guns.	Men.
Suffolk,	3	70	440
Sterling,	3	70	440
Yarmouth,	3	70	440
Centurion,	4	60	350
Canterbury,	4	60	350
Deptford,	4	60	350
Dreadnought,	4	60	350
Defiance,	4	60	350
Kingſton,	4	60	350
Medway,	4	60	350
Nottingham,	4	60	350
Pembroke,	4	60	350
Plymouth,	4	60	350
Rupert,	4	60	350
Sunderland,	4	60	350
Swallow,	4	60	350
Tilbury,	4	60	350
Warwick,	4	60	350
York,	4	60	350
Antelope,	4	50	300
Argyle,	4	50	300
Falkland,	4	50	300
Falmouth,	4	50	300
Litchfield,	4	50	300
Leopard,	4	50	300
Newcaſtle,	4	50	300
Portland,	4	50	300
Romney,	4	50	300
Saliſbury,	4	50	300
Diamond,	5	40	220
Kingſale,	5	40	220
Princeſs Louiſa,	5	40	220
Pearl,	5	40	220
Roebuck,	5	40	220
Torrington,	6	20	150
Alborough,	6	20	150
Blandford,	6	20	150
Biddiford,	6	20	150
Deal-Caſtle,	6	20	150
Durſley-Gally,	6	20	150
Dolphin,	6	20	150
Experiment,	6	20	150
Flamborough,	6	20	150
Fox,	6	20	150
Gibraltar,	6	20	150
Greyhound,	6	20	150
Garland,	6	20	150
Leoſtoff,	6	20	150
Lyme,	6	20	150
Phœnix,	6	20	150
Roſe,	6	20	150
Rye,	6	20	150
Scarborough,	6	20	150
Squirrel,	6	20	150
Seaford,	6	20	150
Sheerneſs,	6	20	150
Winchelſea,	6	20	150
Lively,	6	20	150
Port Mahon,	6	20	150
Solebay.	6	20	150

And the Parliament voted 20,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice of the Year 1734, together with 202,670 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, and 1,200,000 *l.* towards paying off the Navy Debt; his Majeſty about the ſame Time, by Proclamation, recalling all *Britiſh* Sailors from foreign Service, and offering a Premium of 20 *s.* for every able-bodied Seaman, and 15 *s.* for every able-bodied Landman, that ſhould enter themſelves on-board his Men of War.

In the Month of *May*, Captain *Nicholas Haddock* was made Rear-admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet; and ſoon after the Lord *Forbes* was made Rear-admiral of the White.

On the 16th of *June* arrived at *St. Helens*, in the *Alborough* Man of War, *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; from *Savanna* in *Georgia*, and brought with him *Tomo Chachi*, Mico or King of *Yamacraw*, *Senawki* his Queen, and *Toonakowi* his Nephew, with *Illiſpelle* a War Captain, and five other *Indian* Chiefs, who had the 1ſt of *Auguſt* an Audience of their Majeſties and the Royal Family, and who during their Stay here were ſplendidly entertained by ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Quality and Diſtinction, and were ſhewn whatever could give them a grand Idea of the warlike Power, Strength, and Riches of this Nation, or that could contribute towards attaching them firmly to the Intereſt of our Colonies in *America*.

On the 29th of *Auguſt*, Monſieur *Zollicoffre*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Emperor of *Morocco*, embarked at *Gibraltar* on-board the *Saliſbury* Man of War, and was accompanied by the *Gibraltar*, *Durſley-Galley*, *Shoreham*, *Roſe*, and *Bonetta*, and the ſame Afternoon at five anchored at *Tetuan*, where he was received with great Marks of Reſpect, and ſucceeded in his Negotiations, to the great Joy of about 140 *Britiſh* Slaves, who were thereby releaſed.

The extraordinary naval Armament, mentioned in the Spring of this Year, expired in a *Spithead* Expedition; and it was the 6th of *Auguſt* before any Motion thereof was made, when Sir *John Norris* was ordered to proceed with the Fleet from the *Downs* [a] to *Spithead*.

The 24th of *October*, his Majeſty in Council ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed, requiring all Seamen and Mariners in his Majeſty's Service to repair forthwith to the Ships of War to which they belonged, and declaring that ſuch as ſhould not do ſo before the 24th of *November*, or ſhould, for the future, abſent themſelves without Leave, ſhould be proſecuted at a Court Martial with the utmoſt Severity.

In the Month of *December*, the right honourable *George* Earl of *Granard* (hitherto known by the Name of Lord *Forbes*) was made Rear-admiral of the Red, *Nicholas Haddock*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White, and *John Hagar*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue Squadrons of his Majeſty's Fleet [b].

CHAP.

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[a] The Ships in the Downs, under the Command of Sir John Norris, were as follows:

Ships.	Men.	Guns.		Commanders.
Britannia	900	100	6	Sir John Norris, Admiral. C. 1 Robinſon. C. 2 Whitney.
Edinburgh	500	70	4	Vice-admiral Stewart. Captain Ar. Davis.
Namur	765	90	5	Rear-admiral Haddock. Captain Barnſley.
Princeſs Amelia	600	80	4	——— Reddiſh.
Princeſs Carolina	600	80	4	——— Girlington.
Norfolk	600	80	4	——— Charlton.
Torbay	600	80	4	——— Percy.
Berwick	480	70	4	H. G. Clinton.
Buckingham	480	70	4	——— Brown.
Burford	480	70	4	Philip Vanbrugh.
Captain	480	70	4	——— Dent.

Ships.	Men.	Guns.		Commanders.
Grafton	480	70	4	——— Davers.
Hampton-Court	480	70	4	Captain Mihel.
Kent	480	70	4	——— Davis.
Orford	480	70	4	——— Man.
Dreadnought	400	60	3	——— Geddes.
Exeter	400	60	3	——— Yeo.
Sunderland	400	60	3	William Martin.
Swallow	400	60	3	——— Graves.
York	400	60	3	——— Williams.
Argyle	300	50	3	Robert Martin.
Kingſale	250	40	3	——— Forreſter.
Greyhound	140	20	1	——— Ambroſe.
Bridgewater Fire-ſhips.	55	8	1	——— Pocock.
Griffin	45	8	1	——— Weigham.
Pool	55	8	1	——— Wallis.

Sir George Walton lay at the Nore with 13 Men of War; Admiral Cavendiſh at Portſmouth with eight Men of War; and Admiral Balchen at Plymouth with another ſmall Squadron. The Number of Ships and Veſſels then employed belonging to the King were 121, and 35,000 Seamen. Beſides theſe there was at Spithead the Fleet under the Command of Admiral Cavendiſh, conſiſting of the Blenheim a Second-rate, of 90 Guns, on-board of which was the Admiral; the Princeſs Amelia and the Lancaſter, Third-rates, of 80 Guns; The Berwick, Ipſwich, Lenox, Monmouth, and Royal-Oak, all Third-rates, of 70 Guns; and the Falkland, Leopard, and Portland, Fourth-rates, of 50 Guns; ſo that the two Fleets, when united, conſiſted of 36 Sail, 30 of which were of the Line of Battle.

[b] The Flag-officers of Great-Britain were at the Concluſion of the Year 1734, the Hon. Sir John Norris, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet: Right Hon. Sir Charles Wager, Admiral of the White: Sir George Walton, Admiral of the Blue: Philip Cavendiſh, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red: John Balchen, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the White: Charles Stewart, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue: Right Hon Earl of Granard, Rear-admiral of the Red: Richard Haddock, Eſq; Rear admiral of the White: John Hagar, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue. The Lord Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain, Ireland, &c. were, The Right Hon. Sir Charles Wager, firſt Lord Commiſſioner: Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Bart. Right Hon. Lord Archibald Hamilton: Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. Thomas Winnington, Eſq; Thomas Clutterbuck, Eſq; Hon. Lord Powlett.

CHAP. III.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *from the Year* 1735, *incluſive, to the end of the Year* 1741, *including the* EXPEDITIONS *againſt* PORTO-BELLO, CARTHAGENA, *and the Iſland of* CUBA.

SOON after the Meeting of the Parliament, which was opened by his Majeſty on the 23d of *January* 1735, a Motion was made on the 6th of *February* for allowing 30,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice in 1735, on a Preſumption that his Majeſty had private Reaſons for ſuch an Increaſe of 10,000 Seamen more than had been granted laſt Year: It created great Debates, the Advocates for their Country thinking it unconſtitutional to grant any Supplies, which muſt add to the Burthen of their Conſtituents, without ſome explicit Aſſurance of its Neceſſity from the Throne; when it is not ſo much as pretended that there are any Deſigns hatching againſt this Nation in particular, or againſt the Liberties of *Europe* in general. However juſt the Minority reaſoned againſt the Augmentation, the Queſtion for 30,000 Seamen being put, it was carried by a great Majority.

This brought on another Motion for a ſelect Committee, to enquire into the Accounts of the Navy, on the 21ſt of *February* by Sir *William Wyndham*, who, in ſupport of this Motion, amongſt other Arguments, ſpoke this very remarkable Paſſage:

“Upon ſuch a ſlight View, Sir, as I have taken of the Accounts now upon the Table, it is not poſſible for me to enter into the particular Articles; but I cannot help taking notice of one Article, which to me appears to be a very extraordinary one. There is one Article of near 250,000 *l.* charged, not for the building of Ships, but for the building of Houſes; whether ſuch Houſes were neceſſary, I ſhall not now pretend to determine, but if they were, I think it is too large a Sum for any Miniſter, or for any Adminiſtration, to have expended, without a previous Authority from Parliament; and that I am ſure was never ſo much as aſked for. What the preſent Age may think of ſuch a Sum, or what the Gentlemen of this Houſe may think of ſuch a Sum, I do not know; but I am ſure our Anceſtors, even thoſe of the very laſt Age, would have been extremely ſhy of loading the People with at leaſt a Six-pence in the Pound upon all the Lands in *Great-Britain*, for no other Purpoſe, but that of building Houſes for the Commiſſioners and other Officers belonging to the Admiralty; and I muſt think it a little extraordinary to ſee Miniſters, of their own Heads, undertake to do that, which even Parliaments of old would ſcarcely have undertaken to have done. It is true, Parliaments have of late become very good-natured, they have put great Truſt and Confidence in Miniſters, and have generally, I ſhall not ſay blindly, approved of all miniſterial Meaſures: This may, perhaps, have made Miniſters preſume a little farther than they would otherwiſe have done; but I am very ſure that in former Times, nay, 'till very lately, no Miniſter would have dared to have drawn the Nation into ſuch an Expence, without an Authority from Parliament for ſo doing[a].”

But as this was an Affair that in no wiſe ſuited the Views of the Miniſtry, a Negative was put upon it by 198 againſt 168. Thus every Thing was carried in Parliament by a Majority; and the Expence of the Navy increaſed. But nothing was done by our Fleets worthy of notice either in this or the three ſucceeding Years[b]; protracted in fruitleſs Negotiations. Therefore the Members of the Houſe of Commons, no longer able to connive at the Miſeries to which our *American* Plantations were expoſed by the Neglect of the Miniſtry, moved for a Bill to be brought into that Houſe, *for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of his Majeſty*'s Britiſh *Subjects to* America. But as that Bill was ſuſpected by the Miniſtry to force them to Meaſures inconſiſtent with their pacific puſillanimous Syſtem, the Motion met with great Oppoſition, carried on at firſt with much Art; which ſo enraged Sir *William Pultney* that he could not refrain from very ſevere Expreſſions againſt the Miniſtry[c]. But they deterred any further Objection

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[a] See Chandler's Debates, P. 13, Vol. xiii.

[b] On Friday the 23d of January 1736, it was ordered, that the proper Officer ſhould lay before that Houſe, an Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31ſt of December 1734, to the 31ſt of December 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, diſtinguiſhing what Number were borne, and what muſtered in the ſaid Service. Accordingly, the ſaid Account was laid before the Houſe on the Thurſday thereafter, and was as follows, viz. Navy-office, 27th Jan. 1735. An Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the royal Navy, from the 31ſt of December 1734, to 31ſt December 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, diſtinguiſhing what Number were borne, and what muſtered in the ſaid Service, prepared purſuant to an Order of the honourable Houſe of Commons, dated 23d inſtant.

Months.		Number of Men. Borne.	Number of Men. Muſtered.
January	1734	27,497	22,277
February		27,414	22,987
March	1735	27,594	23,581
April		27,748	24,541
May		27,144	24,846
June		28,967	26,840
July		29,629	27,491
Auguſt		30,161	27,362
September		30,194	28,017
October		30,089	28,294
November		29,814	26,426
December		29,582	23,852
		345,833	306,514
Upon a Medium		28,819	25,542

Richard Haddock, J. Ackworth, Tho. Pearſe, G. Purvis, J. Fowler, Robert Byng.

An Abſtract of the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1736.
To the Right Hon. the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain.

		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1. Commiſſioners of the Navy, with the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, Inſtruments, and Contingencies relating thereunto					28,062	14	1
2. Superannuated Sea-officers		5109	12	7	8,667	7	7
3. Penſions and Allowance		3557	15	0			
4. Chatham,	Yards,	3507	7	2	17,595	11	8
5. Deptford,		3082	11	4			
6. Woolwich,		2521	8	8			
7. Portſmouth,		4164	14	6			
8. Sheerneſs,		1813	4	6			
9. Plymouth,		2506	5	6			
10. Muſter-maſters and other Officers of the Out-ports					3,623	5	6
11. Wages to Ships and Veſſels in Ordinary					30,712	6	0
12. Victuals to the Officers and Men ſerving therein					13,450	5	0
13. Charge of the Harbour Moorings					24,084	0	0
14. Ordinary Repairs of his Majeſty's Ships in Harbour, and of the Docks, Wharfs, Buildings, &c.					60,005	0	0
15. Ordinary Charge of ſick and hurt Seamen					1,068	15	0
16. Half-pay to Sea-officers					30,000	0	0
To which may be added, For defraying the Expence in maintaining in the Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, an additional Number of diſabled Seamen, taken, and to be taken into it, who are worn out, and become decrepit in the Service of their Country, there being now 900 poor Seamen maintained in the ſaid Hoſpital; as alſo for a ſufficient Number of Nurſes, being the Widows of Officers and poor Seamen, and for carrying on the Buildings and other Incidents of the ſaid Hoſpital, for the Year 1736. 10,000 l.					10,000	0	0
And then the Total of the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1736, amounts to 227,269 l. 4 s. 10 d.					227,269	4	10

Richard Haddock, James Ackworth, Thomas Pearſe, George Purvis, J. Fowler.

[c] ‘Mr. Speaker, Sir, From what was laſt ſpoken, I can eaſily foreſee the Fate of the Bill I have now in my Hand: I can diſcern, through all theſe thin Diſguiſes, that ſome Gentlemen have recourſe to, a mean Expedient to hinder us from conſidering a Bill againſt which no Shew of Reaſon or Argument can be advanced. I hate, Sir, all Expedients, and I diſdain all Miniſters who uſe them. Some Miniſters, Sir, there are, who live upon Expedients, and who cannot do their dirty Work without them. Expedients, Sir, in the Hands of weak Miniſters, are the Inſtruments of defeating the moſt beneficial, and of promoting the moſt deſtructive Meaſures. Some Miniſters know, Sir, that the Bill for which I now ſtand up, is a Bill that leaves no Room for Cobweb Negotiations, inconſiſtent Treaties, or mock Expeditions for the future; and that, Sir, is the Reaſon why this Method is made uſe of to undermine it. The Bill, Sir, for which I have laboured, will, I hope, recommend itſelf to every Gentleman who has a juſt Senſe of his Country's Honour; and if it is decreed that it muſt fall to the Ground, I ſhall at leaſt have the Satisfaction of doing my Duty honeſtly as a Britiſh Subject and a Member of this Houſe. One good Conſequence I am perſuaded will attend it: My Countrymen will learn by the Fate of it, what they are to expect; they will learn, Sir, whether we are tamely to ſubmit to Inſolence and Oppreſſions, or bravely to ſeize the Means of redreſſing them.’ Chandler's Parliamentary Debates, 1738.

jection to the Motion; and accordingly a Bill was ordered in and committed. Nevertheleſs Sir *Robert Walpole* and his Party made ſuch a ſtrong Puſh at it, on the third Reading, that this famous Bill was thrown out by the Commons by 106 Noes againſt 75 Yeas.

The Trade and Navigation of *Great-Britain*, and its Iſlands and Plantations, were now ſo greatly interrupted and damaged by the *Spaniſh* armed Ships, not only in *America*, but in the *Mediterranean*, that the Merchants inſiſting upon a free Navagation in thoſe Seas conformable to Treaty[a], and the Nation in general joining in their Demand of Satisfaction againſt the *Spaniſh* Hoſtilities, Admiral *Haddock* was diſpatched with a conſiderable Fleet up the *Mediterranean*, to give Weight to the Demands of Reparation for Loſſes, and Satisfaction for Injuries, made at that Criſis by the *Britiſh* Miniſters, who had ſpent much Time on that Errand at *Madrid*.

This Fleet appearing on the Coaſt of *Spain* ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Court of *Madrid*, that the *Spaniſh* Commiſſaries had Orders to allow the Accounts of the *Britiſh* Merchants[b]: But when the Convention, as related in the Notes, was found to be clogged with a Preliminary, whereby the King of *Spain* reſerved a Right of ſuſpending the Aſſiento of Negroes, ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, unleſs the *Engliſh* South-Sea Company would ſubject itſelf to pay, in a ſhort Time, the Sum of 68,000 *l.* pretended to be due on the Negroe Duty, the Clamour of the Nation greatly increaſed; and its Confirmation by Parliament was ſtrongly oppoſed by Petitions from all the great trading Cities and Towns in the Nation, ſetting forth the national Prejudices reſulting from the Convention, and praying the Redreſs of Parliament againſt a Treaty ſo repugnant to the Wiſhes and Expectations of the Generality of the Kingdom.

It is ſhameful to relate that this Convention was nevertheleſs ſupported by the prime Miniſter and his Faction: However the Lords addreſſed his Majeſty with a Declaration of "their Confidence and Reliance on his Majeſty's "royal Wiſdom and ſteady Attention to the Honour of "his Crown, and the Welfare of his Kingdoms; expect"ing that, in the Treaty to be concluded in purſuance of "the Convention, proper Proviſions would be made, for "the Redreſs of the Grievances ſo juſtly complained of; "and particularly that the *Freedom of Navigation and Com"merce in the* American Seas would be ſo effectually ſe"cured, that they might enjoy unmoleſted their undoubt"ed Right of Navigation and carrying on Trade and "Commerce, from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions "to any other Part thereof, without being liable to be "ſtopped, viſited, or ſearched, on the open Seas, or to "any other Violation or Infraction of the Treaties ſubſiſt"ing between the two Crowns; the mutual Obſervance "thereof, and a juſt Regard to the Privileges belonging to "each other, being the only Means of maintaining a good "Correſpondence and laſting Friendſhip between the two "Nations."

Mr. *Fitzgerald*, alias *Don Geraldino*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *London* and Agent for adjuſting the Accompts between his *Catholic* Majeſty and the *Engliſh* South-ſea Company, after having practiſed many Artifices to engage the Company to comply with his extravagant Demands, very ſuperciliouſly began to try the Force of Menaces; but in vain; for on the 1ſt of *March* the South-ſea Company came to a Reſolution to pay no Part of the 68,000 *l.* to the King of *Spain*, without his coming to a juſt Account with them for all Seizures, Captures, and Detentions of their Ships, Effects, and Merchandize, on the Rupture in 1718, which amounted to 225,000 *l.* ſterling, and the Confiſcation in 1726, to the Value of 112,000 *l.* which, by the Treaty of 1727, his *Catholic* Majeſty agreed to reſtore, though the Company afterwards received but a very trivial Compenſation.

Mr. *Keen*, the *Britiſh* Envoy at *Madrid*, having ſtrongly ſolicited the Payment of the 95,000 *l.* ſtipulated by the late Convention for an Indemnification to the *Britiſh* Merchants, received ſuch an equivocating and evaſive Anſwer, as obviouſly demonſtrated, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry paid but a very ſlender Regard to the Convention, intending only to linger out a fruitleſs Negotiation, and ſtill continue to retard thoſe compulſory Meaſures, which they had ſo long expected the Crown of *Great-Britain* would have exerted, to vindicate its naval Reputation, and procure, by the Force of Arms, that Satiſfaction which was now found impoſſible to be obtained by the Effect of Treaty.

The Miniſter, no longer able to ſtem the Current of the national Petitions for Satiſfaction againſt *Spain*, a Proclamation was iſſued out on the 10th of *July* 1739, by Order of the *Britiſh* Council, alledging the *Spaniſh* Depredations, the Expiration of the Term limited for the Payment of the 95,000 *l.* in *London*, and the Non-payment thereof, thereby authorizing general Repriſals and Letters of Marque againſt the Ships, Goods, and Subjects of the King of *Spain*.

Theſe Orders, under the Royal Sign-Manual, dated the 15th of *June*, had been diſpatched almoſt a Month before their Publication to Commodore *Brown*, then Commander of a *Britiſh* Squadron at *Jamaica*, that he might have an Opportunity of making the beſt Uſe of them before the *Spaniards*

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[a] The firſt Treaty with regard to Navigation and Commerce in the Weſt-Indies was concluded at Munſter, between Philip IV. of Spain and the States-General, on the 30th of January 1648; wherein it is ſtipulated by the 5th Article, "That the contracting Parties ſhould retain and enjoy their "Poſſeſſions and Commerce in America, and other Places, as they then reſpectively held the ſame." And by the 6th Article, "The Subjects of each "were forbid to navigate and trade in the Ports and other Places poſſeſſed by the other in the Weſt-Indies." There is no greater Reſtriction, with reſpect to the Navigation and Commerce of the Subjects of the States in theſe Parts, than there is with reſpect to the Spaniards; thoſe Seas being left free and open, equally to both; the Prohibition of the one navigating and trading in the Poſſeſſions of the other is mutual, without any Diſtinction or Reſervation of a greater Preheminence, or of any Liberty given to one preferably to the other, to ſtop and viſit Veſſels in the Seas of America.

The like State of Navigation and Commerce was concluded between England and Spain, by the 8th Article of the Treaty made between thoſe Crowns the 23d of May 1667; whereby it is agreed with reſpect to the two Indies, "That Spain ſhall grant to England all that has been granted "to the States-General of the United Provinces in the Treaty of Munſter in 1648." And in the 14th Article of this Treaty, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, "That no Guarda Coſta or Ship of War belonging to Spain ſhall come within Cannon-ſhot of an Engliſh Ship, if ſhe meets the latter at Sea; but "ſhall ſend their Long-boat or Pinnace to the Engliſh Ship, with two or three Men on-board, to whom the Maſter or Owner ſhall ſhew his Paſſports "and Sea Letters; whereby not only the Ship's Lading, but the Place to which ſhe belongs, and as well the Maſter's and Owner's Name, as the Name "of the Ship may appear; by which means the Quality of the Ship and her Maſter or Owner will be ſufficiently known, as alſo the Commodities ſhe "carries, whether they be contraband or not; to the which Paſſports and Sea Letters, entire Faith and Credit ſhall be given." And if it ſhould appear, that prohibited Goods are on-board an Engliſh Ship, it is by the 15th Article of the ſame Treaty declared, that "Thoſe prohibited Goods are "only to be ſeized and confiſcated, and not the other Goods. Neither ſhall the Delinquent incur any other Puniſhment, except he carry out from the "Dominions of Spain any Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought." A more particular Treaty was executed at Madrid, the 18th of July 1670, "For "accommodating Differences, preventing Depredations, and ſettling a Peace in America;" wherein are expreſs Declarations, "That it is always to be "underſtood, that the Freedom of Navigation ought by no manner of Means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true "Senſe and Meaning of theſe Articles;" wherein there is not one Word of Search or Examination, all Reſtrictions being general and of the ſame Tenor with the Munſter Treaty, that the Subjects of the one Monarch ſhould not trade to the Places poſſeſſed by the other, without particular Licence; but in caſe Streſs of Weather, or Want of Proviſions, obliged the Ships of either Party to enter the Ports of the other, they were to be treated as Friends, and ſupplied with every Thing they wanted for their Money, and to depart at their own Pleaſure.

[b] The firſt Computation of the Demands of England on Spain, was 343,277 l. including thoſe Seizures which had been examined by the Commiſſaries as well as thoſe that had been ſince made; but Mr. Stert, the Engliſh Commiſſary was of Opinion, that ſuch Diſallowances might be made on account of unjuſt and over-rated Claims, as would reduce the groſs Sum to 200,000 l. as a reaſonable Satisfaction for the Engliſh Sufferers. But as the Engliſh would not accept Cedulas, offered for Reſtitution, to be made in the Weſt Indies; or with Aſſignments on the Chamber of Commerce at Seville, or on the Regiſter-ſhip, or other Ships, or with any leſs Security, than actual Payment in Money in a ſhort Time at London, the Engliſh Commiſſary made an Abatement of 45,000 l. for the prompt Payment, which reduced the Engliſh Claim to 155,000 l.—By the Treaty of Madrid in 1721, it is by the 5th Article agreed, "That his Britannic Ma"jeſty ſhould cauſe to be reſtored to his Catholic Majeſty all the Ships of the Spaniſh Fleet taken by England, in the naval Battle fought in Auguſt "1718, in the Seas of Sicily, with the Guns, Sails, Rigging, and other Equipage, in the Condition they were then in; or elſe the Value of thoſe which "may have been ſold, at the Purchaſe-price." And accordingly the Reſtitution of theſe Ships was tendered by the Engliſh to the Spaniſh Commiſſaries at Port-Mahon, where the Ships then lay, who finding them greatly diſabled, and unfit for Service, refuſed to take them; and thereupon, by Order of the Governor of Minorca, the Ships were drawn out of the Harbour and ſunk in the main Sea; for which the Spaniards now inſiſting on an Equivalent, brought in a Claim of 180,000 l. and this being ſtipulated by the Engliſh Commiſſary at 60,000 l. there was then but an inconſiderable Conceſſion of 95,000 l. from Spain, and the 60,000 l. to be paid by the Engliſh Government for the Spaniſh Ships, being only 155,000 l. to compenſate the great Loſſes of the Engliſh Merchants. Upon this Foundation the reciprocal Satisfaction for paſt Damages on both Sides was negotiated. Accordingly on the 3d of January 1739, a Convention was haſtily ſigned at one of the Palaces belonging to his Catholic Majeſty called the Pardo, by the Miniſters of both Crowns.

Spaniards could receive Intelligence of, and be prepared againſt them, which were publiſhed by the Commodore on the 8th of *Auguſt*. And the Miniſtry foreſeeing that a *Spaniſh* War became unavoidable, it was reſolved to endeavour, firſt, to cut off the Reſources of their Treaſure in the *Weſt-Indies* and *South-ſeas*.

With this View two Squadrons were ordered to be expedited, the one to be commanded by *George Anſon*, Eſq; then Captain of the *Centurion*, and Captain *Cornwall* was intended for the Command of the other: The Squadron under Captain *Anſon* was to have taken on board a Regiment of Foot, and three Independent-companies under Colonel *Bland*; was to ſet ſail with the utmoſt Expedition, and to touch at no Place till they came to *Java-Head* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where they were only to water, and proceed to the City of *Manila* in *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*. The Squadron deſigned for Captain *Cornwall* was to have been of equal Force, and was intended to paſs round *Cape-Horn* into the *South-ſeas*; and after ranging along that Part of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and attempting their Settlements, this Squadron, in its Return, was to rendezvous at *Manila*, and after joining Captain *Anſon* the two Squadrons were to have acted in Conjunction, and receive further Orders for other conſiderable Enterprizes: And this Scheme met with ſuch general Approbation, that in the Beginning of *September* a Veſſel was diſpatched to Captain *Anſon*, then on a Station-cruize, to order his Return with his Ship to *Portſmouth*.

The more effectually to diſtreſs the *Spaniards*, another Squadron was deſtined for the *Weſt-Indies*, and *Edward Vernon*, Eſq; then lately created Vice-admiral of the Blue, from the many eminent Services he had formerly done his Country in that remote Part of the World, was univerſally looked upon as the moſt proper Officer for ſo important a Command. Though the Bravery of this gallant Commander, added to his thorough Knowledge of the *American* Seas, had been well manifeſted to the intire Approbation of the whole Kingdom; yet his Fidelity, Diligence, and Bravery, had been hitherto unrewarded: But notwithſtanding his Rank in the Navy had been long neglected, though he had withdrawn from any public Station, and with great Reaſon was diſguſted at the Miniſtry; no ſooner was an Application made to him to undertake the Command of a Squadron for the national Service, but, with a Behaviour equal to the antient Patriots of *Greece* and *Rome*, he ſacrificed all his private Reſentments to the public Welfare, and obeyed the Summons with Alacrity; deſiring only three or four Days to ſettle his Family-affairs. Great was the Expectation of the whole Kingdom from the Conduct of ſo experienced and diſintereſted a Gentleman, nor were they diſappointed in their boldeſt Wiſhes; for this brave Commander chearfully quitted the calm Retirement of a rural Life; and, like the *Roman Cincinnatus*, flew to eſtabliſh the Honour of his Country; which he nobly atchieved to his own immortal Reputation, the Glory of his King, the perpetual Fame of the naval Power of *Britain*, and to the long and ſhameful Reduction of the Pride of *Spain*. A Squadron was accordingly equipped at *Portſmouth*; and on the 19th of *July* the Admiral received Inſtructions [a] from his *Britannic* Majeſty, under his Sign-manual, appointing him Commander in Chief of all his Ships in the *Weſt-Indies*; and the Admiral ſoon after arrived at *Portſmouth*, and took under his Command the following Ships.

Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Diviſion.
3	*Lenox*	Capt. *Covil Mayne*	480	70	
5	*Pearl*	Hon. *Ed. Legge*	240	40	
4	*Worceſter*	*Perry Mayne*	400	60	
3	*Elizabeth*	*Ed. Falkingham*	480	70	
3	*Burford*	Vice-adm. *Vernon* Capt. *Tho. Watſon*	500	70	Vice-admiral of the Blue.
3	*Kent*	*Thomas Durel*	480	70	
4	*Strafford*	*Thomas Trevor*	400	60	
4	*Norwich*	*Richard Herbert*	300	50	
4	Princeſs *Louiſa*	*Tho. Waterhouſe*	420	60	
			3680	550	

The Admiral weighed Anchor, and put to Sea from *Spithead*, with this Squadron, on the 23d; but they were obliged to bring to in *Portland* Road by contrary Winds, and to continue there till the 1ſt of *Auguſt*; in which State of Inactivity the Admiral took care to have the Seamen well exerciſed at their great Guns and ſmall Arms, and to promote every other Means of ſtrengthening his Fleet, waiting with Impatience an Opportunity to proceed according to his Inſtructions.

While the Heavens promiſed a favourable Gale on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the Admiral iſſued his Inſtructions [b] to the Captains of his Squadron, having before, on the 26th ult. fixed the proper Signals. On the 2d of *Auguſt* the Squadron arrived off *Plymouth*, where the Winds failed them again; and the Admiral, by Letter, informed the Duke of *Newcaſtle* thereof, as alſo of the Inſtructions delivered from time to time to his Captains for their Conduct in caſe of an Engagement, and of the Advice he had received of the Exportation of the *Azoques* Ships in ſome Port of *Galicia*, of the *Ferrol* Squadron, cruiſing off Cape *Finiſter*, to ſecure their Return, and of the Reſolution taken the Day before by himſelf and Captains, to ſteer in queſt of the ſaid Squadron, as the only Meaſure to intercept the *Azoques*, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage of attacking an Enemy, ſtrengthened by a regular Corps of Marines, with a Body of new Men, many of whom had never fired a Muſket before this Embarkation; concluding with this remarkable Paragraph: "I could wiſh, indeed, we had "each of us a Company of Foot, of regular Troops, "ſent on-board each Ship, which would have ſtrengthened "us in Numbers, as well as had their Expertneſs in handling their Arms to have incited our new Men to the "Imitation of them. If we ſhould come into a general "War with *France*, as well as *Spain*, I believe your Grace "will have clearly perceived, from the Difficulty of manning theſe Ships as they are, the Neceſſity there may be "for having moſt of our Marching-regiments converted "into Marines; and if, as they become Seamen, they "were admitted to be diſcharged for ſuch, that would "make a good Nurſery for breeding them at a Time we "might probably find ſuch a Neceſſity for them: As I "have always looked upon our Fleet, as what muſt not "only protect our Trade, but ſecure us the Bleſſing of a "Proteſtant Succeſſion, your Grace will be ſo good to "excuſe the Over-flowing of a ſincere though it may be "an imprudent Zeal, being ſtrongly convinced in my own "Judgment, that preſerving a Superiority at Sea is the "beſt Security for his Majeſty's Government, as well as "of the Trade and Proſperity of this Kingdom."

Having repaired a ſmall Damage in *Caveſon* Bay, near *Plymouth*, he proceeded next Morning for the Coaſt of *Galicia*; and on the 9th of *Auguſt Perry Mayne* made the

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[a] "To diſtreſs and annoy the Spaniards in the moſt effectual Manner, by taking their Ships, and poſſeſſing himſelf of ſuch of their Places and Settlements, as he ſhould think it practicable to attempt, and in convoying and protecting the Britiſh Subjects, in carrying on an open and advantageous Trade with the Spaniards in America."

[b] Whereby they were required and directed, "Upon coming up with any Spaniſh Ships or "Veſſels, either by Signal for chaſing from the Admiral, or otherwiſe, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to take, ſink, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy "them. And for the better Encouragement of the Officers and Seamen to do their Duty, the Admiral ordered the Captains to aſſure them, that his "Britannic Majeſty would have a Regard to the rewarding their Services in the Diſtribution of the Prizes to be taken from the Spaniards; and that "as there might be ſpeedy Occaſion for the Squadron entering upon Service, the Captains were ordered daily to exerciſe their Men, both to great "Guns and ſmall Arms, ſo as to give them all the Experience they were able, for enabling them ſucceſsfully to put his Majeſty's Orders in Execution; and for that Purpoſe they were directed to give the ſtricteſt Orders in their reſpective Watches, to be careful in making Sail in due time, to "keep the whole Squadron together, and not hazard the loſing Company by their Negligence.

High land of Cape *Ortugal*, E. of the *Groyne*, where he gained Intelligence, that the *Ferrol* Squadron had ſailed on the 21ſt of *July* to *Cadiz*, and that the *Azogues* Ships were not arrived, of which the Admiral informed [a] the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; as alſo that he having ſtationed three 70 Gun Ships [b] to wait for the Arrival of the *Azogues*, and ſent the *Pearl* to her Station [c] alſo, was preparing to ſail for the *Madeiras* to water, not without Hopes of meeting the *Azogues* at the *Canaries*; and from thence to ſteer with all Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, concluding, with his Intreaty, to be reinforced ſufficient to face any Squadron the *Engliſh* Miniſtry might hear to be ſent after him.

Admiral *Vernon* arrived with his *Weſt-India* Squadron at *Madeira* the 23d of *Auguſt*. This Squadron was now reduced, by the Means above-mentioned, to the Princeſs *Louiſa*, the *Worceſter*, the *Burford*, the *Strafford*, and the *Norwich*: And by a Letter to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, dated *Madeira Auguſt* 29, he expreſſes a Suſpicion from the Intelligences received at Sea, that the *Ferrol* Squadron had ſailed before him to convoy the Galloons; preſſes a Re-inforcement to enable him to face the Enemy; declares his Determination to incur the Cenſure of Raſhneſs, rather than the want of Zeal; and concludes thus: "Your " Grace muſt bear a Share in the Cenſure, if I am too " weak for the Work aſſign'd me."

Having taken in his neceſſary Stores of Water, Wine, *&c.* and diſpatched particular Orders to Commodore *Brown*, and ſettled the Rendezvous with the Captains in caſe of a Separation, ſealed and endorſed, the Admiral ſailed for *Antigua*, off which Iſland he arrived on the 29th of *September*; and he beat about among the Iſlands for ſome Days, gaining Intelligence, ſeeking for the ſtationed Ships, and endeavouring to get a good Pilot for the *Caraccas*; but met with no Succeſs, which determined him to bear away, without loſs of Time, to ſeek for the Galloons, according to his Letters, dated at *St. Kit's* on the 1ſt of *October*. He detached three Ships in queſt of three Ships reported to be loading on the *Caraccas*-Coaſt, and arrived at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* on the 12th; where his firſt Care was to notify his Arrival to Governor *Trelawney*, and both to deſire his Aſſiſtance in the Work for which he had been ſent into thoſe Parts, and to aſſure him of his own Zeal to execute the ſame; and in all his Proceedings ſtrove to maintain a good Harmony with his Excellency.

Here the Admiral got clear Intelligence, that there was neither the Fleet from *Ferrol*, nor any Galloons in Readineſs to ſail for *Europe*, nor ſo much as a Fair opened as yet at *Porto-Bello*, nor could be any thing ſtirring to be intercepted till after *Chriſtmas*. This gave a new Turn to the Admiral's Thoughts: An Attack upon *Carthagena* or *Porto-Bello*, became the immediate Object of his next Proceedings; but leſt he ſhould be baffled in a Service of ſuch Conſequence, for want of certain Intelligence, he projected a Scheme to ſend a Sloop with a Flag of Truce, and an Offer to exchange *Don Pedro Elliſtagaritta*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral's Captain, ſurpriſed and brought off from *Carthagena* on the 10th of *September* laſt, by Captain *Stapylton*, and others, for the South-ſea Agent and Factors; hoping, that thereby he might gain certain Advice of the *Spaniſh* Force in thoſe Parts, though he did not expect any Compliance in regard to the Exchange.

While this Sloop was gone, it was diſcovered by ſome Letters taken in a *Spaniſh* Prize, "That four *Engliſh* Ships " (under Commodore *Brown*) had attacked and battered " down a Fort that the *Spaniards* were building between " the *Matterſes* and the *Havanna*; and that thereupon they " had embargoed all the *Engliſh* Factory, and an *Engliſh* " Brigantine belonging to the *Aſſiento* Company, that lay " down at the *Moon-Caſtle* ready to have ſailed, and ſent " Directions to do the ſame at *St. Jago.*"

On the 28th he was joined by Commodore *Brown*, who came into *Port-Royal* Harbour with the *Hampton-Court* only from a Cruize; and having by various Means obtained a full State of the *Spaniſh* Shipping, and of their Stations in thoſe Seas, and from thence concluding, that it was concerted by them to join at *Carthagena*, in order to go to *Porto-bello* to open the Fair; the Money having been brought from *Panama* ſome time, the Admiral reſolved to ſail immediately, if poſſible, to get to *Porto-bello* before the *Spaniſh* Fleet of Galloons, *&c.* and to lay it open by deſtroying the whole Defence of the Place, and nailing up the Cannon; or, otherwiſe, to attack him in the Harbour, in caſe the Winds ſhould permit. Therefore he got the beſt Pilots he could for this Expedition, and put all to the Hazard to effect it; and the Governor of *Jamaica*, convinced of the Importance of this intended Service, lent him all the Aid of Soldiers he could ſpare, under Captain *Newton*, a good Officer. Of this the brave Admiral gives a circumſtantial Account to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, in a Letter dated *October* 31, in which he writes, "I hope from " the Succeſs of this Expedition, to convince our Royal " Maſter (however I may have been *miſrepreſented* to him " formerly) that no Man in *Britain* has a ſincerer Inclina" tion to ſerve his Majeſty faithfully and reſolutely."

In the mean time arrived in Port the three Ships ſent as above, to the *Caraccas* Coaſt, without being able to do any thing, having bad Pilots, foul Ground, bad Wind, and a Shore at *Laguira* too ſtrongly fortified for their Strength; but Captain *Knowles* brought in a Ship with 74,000 Pieces of Eight, and Cloathing for the whole Garriſon of *St. Auguſtine*.

All Things being now ready to ſail, he depoſited proper Inſtructions for the *Windſor*, on a Cruize, and the *Diamond*, then a cleaning, to follow him with all Expedition, for fear of meeting with a ſuperior Strength; and ordered a Convoy for the Trade to *England*, and ſtationed a Ship to cruize to windward for the Protection of the Trade from *England*.

In *Europe* Admiral *Haddock* met with better Succeſs in his Cruizing; for on the 23d of *September*, he took the *St. Joſeph*, a rich *Spaniſh* Ship bound from the *Caraccas*, of 800 Tons, and 77 Men; and on the 3d of *October* the ſame Admiral took another rich *Caracca* Ship of 280 Tons; the Value of the two Prizes amounting to ſeveral thouſand Pounds; and alſo took many other Ships of leſſer Value.

And now at length his Majeſty, to gratify his Subjects, ſigned [d] a Declaration of War againſt *Spain*, which was proclaimed on the 23d of *October*. Admiral *Vernon*, thoroughly ſenſible what Advantages the *Spaniards* would reap by his delaying to attack them, was ſo intent on his Deſign, that he was obliged to go to Sea much weaker than he thought neceſſary for the Service intended, by ſo many of his cruizing Ships being kept out of the Reach of his Orders ſo long. He therefore communicated his Signals, *&c.* to the Captains; and on the 3d of *November* ordered Commodore *Brown* to wear his diſtinguiſhing Pendant on-board the *Hampton-Court*, and to be ready to proceed to Sea with the other Captains on the 5th in the Morning. The whole Squadron employed in this Expedition, conſiſted of only ſix Ships of the Line, in the following Diſpoſition:

LINE of BATTLE.

The *Hampton-Court* to lead with the Starboard, and the *Princeſs Louiſa* with the Larboard Tacks a-board, and the Commodore to repeat Signals.

Frigate.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	3	*Hampton-Court*,	Commodore *Brown*, Capt. *Dent*,	495	70
	4	*Norwich*,	*Robert Herbert*,	300	50
		Worceſter,	*Perry Mayne*,	400	60
Sheerneſs,	3	*Burford*,	Vice-adm. *Vernon*, Capt. *T. Watſon*,	500	70
	4	*Strafford*,	*T. Trevor*,	400	60
		Princeſs Louiſa,	*T. Waterhouſe*,	400	60

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[a] By Letter dated Auguſt 15, 1739.

[b] The Lenox, Elizabeth, Kent, for 30 Days.

[c] Between Liſbon and Oporto for three Months.

[d] October 19, 1739.

There were 2,495 Sailors on-board, with 200 Land Forces under Captain *Newton*. On the 5th the Admiral ſailed out of *Port-Royal* Harbour with the Squadron, and proceeded towards *Porto-bello*, having left Orders for the *Diamond*, *Windſor*, and *Angleſea*, to compleat their Proviſions to ten Weeks, and follow him to *Porto-bello*, off of which Place, in caſe of Separation, the Admiral had appointed the general Rendezvous.

The Squadron being at Sea, on the 7th the Admiral delivered his Orders to the Commodore and Captains, appointing the following Diſpoſitions for the Attack: "That "upon making the Land of *Porto-Bello*, and having a "Wind to favour them, and Day-light for the Attempt, "to have their Ships clear in all Reſpects for immediate "Service, and on the proper Signal to form themſelves "into the Line of Battle above directed, and being form"ed to follow in the ſame Order of Battle to the Attack "in the Manner hereafter directed. And as the North "Shore of the Harbour of *Porto-bello* was repreſented to "the Admiral to be a bold ſteep Shore, on which at the "firſt Entrance ſtood the Caſtle *de Ferro*, or *Iron Caſtle*. "Commodore *Brown* and the Ships that followed, were "directed to paſs the ſaid Fort within leſs than a Cable's "Length, for giving the *Spaniards* the warmer Fire both "from the Muſquetry as well as their Cannon; and then "Commodore *Brown* was to ſteer away for the *Gloria* "*Caſtle*, and anchor as near as he could to the eaſtermoſt "Part of it, for battering down all the Defence of it, ſo "as to leave room for Captain *Mayne*, in the *Worceſter*, to "anchor aſtern of him againſt the weſtermoſt Baſtion of it "to do the ſame there; who was to follow ſuch further "Orders as the Commodore ſhould give him for attack"ing the ſaid Caſtle; and Captain *Herbert* in the *Nor*"*wich*, after giving his Fire to the *Iron Caſtle* as he paſſed "it, was to make directly up to the Caſtle of *St. Jero*"*nimo*, lying to the eaſtward of the Town, and anchor"ing as near as he could to it, to batter it down; and "Captain *Trevor* in the *Strafford* following the Admiral, "was to come to an Anchor againſt the eaſtermoſt Part of "Caſtle *de Ferro*, and far enough to the eaſtward to leave "Room for Captain *Waterhous* in the Princeſs *Louiſa* to "anchor aſtern of him for battering the weſtermoſt Part, "being to continue on that Service to make themſelves "Maſters of it; and the youngeſt Officers to follow the "farther Orders of the elder in the further Proſecution of "the Attack; and if the Weather was favourable for it, "on their going in, each Ship was directed, beſides having "his Long-boat towing aſtern, to have his Barge along"ſide to tow the Long-boats away with ſuch Part of the "Soldiers as could conveniently go in them directly on"board the Admiral, for his directing a Deſcent with "them where he ſhould find it would moſt favour the ſe"veral Attacks." And the Admiral repreſented to the ſeveral Captains, "That from the Mens Inexperience in "Service, it was neceſſary to take more Precaution to "prevent Hurry and Confuſion, and a fruitleſs Waſte of "their Powder and Shot; directing them all to give the "ſtricteſt Orders, to the reſpective Officers that were to "command the ſeveral Batteries, to take care that no Gun "was fired but what they, or thoſe they particularly ap"pointed, ſaw firſt levelled and directed the firing of; and "that they ſhould ſtrictly prohibit all their Men from hol"lowing, and making ſuch-like irregular Noiſe, that would "only ſerve to throw themſelves into Confuſion, till ſuch "time as the Service was fully performed, and they had "nothing left to do but to glory in their Victory, which "ſuch Confuſion might often prevent, and otherwiſe "prove fatal to them. And thoſe that had the Cohorn "Mortars on-board, were directed to make uſe of them "againſt the reſpective Forts they were appointed to bat"ter and deſtroy."

About the ſame Time the Admiral ordered Captain *Stapleton* in the *Sheerneſs* for *Carthagena*, "To look in on the "Back of the Town, and ſee whether the Galloons were "ſtill in that Harbour, and to carefully obſerve their Mo"tions; and if he found them already at, or in a Diſpoſi"tion for coming to Sea; or that any Men of War were "to come to join them, then to make the beſt of his way "for *Porto-bello*, to give the earlieſt Advice of it he could, "to prevent the Admiral's being ſurprized."

The Admiral alſo appointed the general Rendezvous, in caſe of a Separation, to be in or off *Porto-bello* Harbour: And it having been obſerved, that the hailing of Ships on a hoſtile Coaſt in the Night, has often proved hurtful to the Service, he moſt prudently altered that Method of Information, and ordered proper Signals.

Being delayed by contrary Winds, it was the 20th of *November* in the Evening, before this Squadron could gain Sight of *Porto-bello*[*]; and there being but little Wind, the Admiral, leſt he ſhould be driven to the Eaſt of the Harbour, made the Signal for coming to Anchor at ſix Leagues off the Shore. In the Morning, on the 21ſt, the Admiral plyed to windward in Line of Battle; but the Wind proving eaſterly, he was obliged to confine his Attack to the *Iron Fort* only, cloſe to which the Squadron was piloted by Captain *Renton*.

Commodore *Brown* in the *Hampton-Court*, who led the Attack, executed his Part as became an Officer of Experience and Reſolution, having fired above 400 Shot in about 25 Minutes; and being well followed by Captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and Captain *Mayne* in the *Worceſter*, the Admiral perceived that ſome of the *Spaniards* fled from ſeveral Parts of the Fort; upon which he made the Signal for the Boats, in which were about 40 Sailors, a Company of Marines and their Officers, to make the beſt of their way in order to their landing, whilſt he was coming up to the Fort to batter it. The Admiral luffing up as near to the Fort as he could, was welcomed with a Volley, which took place with almoſt every Shot; one ſtruck away the Stern of his Barge, another broke a large Gun on his Upper-deck, a third went through the Fore top-maſt, and a fourth, paſſing through the Awnings within two Inches of the Main-maſt, beat down the Barricado of the Quarter-deck very near the Admiral, killed three Men, and wounded five others, and the *Spaniards* vainly imagined they could ſink the whole Squadron; but this was ſo far from diſcouraging the *Britiſh* Seamen, that they returned the Salute in ſuch a Manner, that though the *Spaniards* fired a few Shot amongſt them, they did the *Engliſh* no material Damage afterwards; for the Fire of the Admiral's Small-arms commanded the *Spaniards* lower Batteries, and had a good Effect in driving them from thence, where they could do moſt Harm; and by this means the Men were alſo ſecured at landing, which, as the *Spaniards* afterwards confeſſed, was the principal Occaſion of their deſerting their lower Batteries, the ſmall Shot from the former Ships not having reached them, though their Cannon had beat down ſome of the Upper-part of the Fort. As the Boats came near the Admiral's Ship, he called to them to go directly on-ſhore under the Walls of the Fort in the Front of their lower Batteries, though there was no Breach made: But this anſwered as was expected, they all landed ſafe except two Soldiers, who were killed by Small-arms from the Caſtle. In ſcaling the Fort Walls, one Man ſet himſelf cloſe under an Embraſure, whilſt another climbed upon his Shoulders, and entered under the Mouth of a great Gun. This threw the *Spaniards* into ſo general a Conſternation, that the Officers and Men who had ſtood to the lower Battery, threw down their Arms, and fled to the Upper-part of the Fort, where they held up a White-flag as a Signal of capitulating. The Admiral anſwered with a White-flag; but it was ſome time before he could ſtop his own Men, and thoſe on-board the *Strafford*, Captain *Trevor*, which followed him, from firing.

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[*] The Town of Porto-bello is ſituated on the North-ſide of the famous Iſthmus of Darien, which running in a manner from Eaſt to Weſt between the North and South-Seas, joins the two vaſt Continents of North and South America. It is about 18 Leagues from Panama, which lies on the South-ſide of the Iſthmus; it has a commodious Bay about a Mile deep, affording good Anchorage and Shelter for Ships, and near half a Mile broad at the Mouth of the Harbour. At the Entrance of the North-ſide of the Bay, on the Side of a ſteep Rock, ſtood a ſtrong Caſtle called the Iron Caſtle, mounting 78 great Guns, with a Battery beneath parallel with the Water, which mounted 22 Guns; the Caſtle and Fort garriſoned by 300 Men. On the oppoſite Side the Bay, but near a Mile farther up on an Aſcent, ſtood Caſtle Gloria, conſiſting of two regular Baſtions to the Sea mounting 90 Guns, with a Curtain between them mounting 22 Guns, beſides a Line of eight Guns that pointed to the Mouth of the Harbour, the whole defended by 400 Men: A little above this Caſtle, near the other End of the Town, on a Point that ran into the Bay, ſtood Fort St. Jeronimo, being a kind of quadrangular Redoubt, ſtrongly built, well planted with Cannon, and properly defended. Under the Cannon of Gloria Caſtle and Fort St. Jeronimo, all the Ships belonging to the Harbour rode at Anchor; and this Defence, together with the Guns on the Iron Caſtle, rendered the Entrance of the Harbour very difficult, and extremely dangerous. At the Bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending along the Shore like a Half-moon: It is long and narrow, having two principal Streets beſides thoſe that go acroſs, with a ſmall Parade about the Middle of it, ſurrounded with pretty fair Houſes. It conſiſts of about 500 Houſes, two Churches, a Treaſury, a Cuſtom-houſe, and an Exchange. The Eaſt-ſide is low and ſwampy, and the Sea at Low-water leaves the Shore within the Harbour bare a great way from the Houſes, which having blackiſh filthy Mud ſtinks very much, and breeds noiſome Vapours through the Heat of the Climate, it lying in the 10th Degree of North Latitude; for this Reaſon it is but thinly peopled, except at the Time of the Fair, which alone gives Reputation to the Place, as being the Market through which all the Wealth of Peru, and the Manufactures of Europe, annually circulate. This Place was taken by the Buccaneers in 1688, but was ſoon refortified in a much ſtronger Manner, had been long eſteemed impregnable, and was formerly told could not be taken by a large Squadron and at leaſt 8000 Men, when the Britiſh Ships and Sailors lay rotting at the Baſtimentos; though Admiral Vernon had aſſerted, in an auguſt Aſſembly, that he would take it with ONLY SIX SHIPS OF WAR.

In the mean time the Seamen had climbed up the Walls of the lower Battery, and ſtruck the Colours, and then drew the Soldiers up after them, to whom the *Spaniards*, who had retreated to the Upper-part of the Fort, ſoon ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Their Number was only five Officers, and 35 Men out of above 300, the reſt being either killed or wounded, or having made their Eſcape: They firſt ſhut themſelves up in a ſtrong Lodgment; but upon the *Engliſh* firing a Gun through the Door, they ſoon opened it, and begged for Quarter.

The Ships that went in before the Admiral were fallen to Leeward, ſo as to be out of ſight of the *Gloria Caſtle*; but the Admiral's Ship lying open to this Caſtle, they kept firing one of their largeſt Guns at him till Night; but not being within Point-black, their Shot either fell ſhort or went over him, only one Shot went through the Head of his Fore-top-maſt juſt above the Rigging; ſo that it did no other Harm.

The Admiral finding the *Spaniards* continued their Firing, tried ſome of his Lower-tier at them, which being new Guns, anſwered beyond Expectation, carrying over the *Gloria Caſtle* into the Town, none of the Shot falling ſhort; and one of them going through the Governor's Houſe, ſome through other Houſes in the Town, and one ſunk a Sloop under the *Gloria Caſtle*.

This ſucceſsful Beginning was attended with a very inconſiderable Loſs, there being only three Men killed, and five wounded on-board the Admiral's Ship; the like Number were killed and wounded on-board the *Worceſter*; and one Man had both his Legs ſhot off on-board the *Hampton-Court*; the other Ships had none killed or wounded, and only two Soldiers were ſhot going aſhore, one of which died ſoon after of his Wounds.

The next Morning being the 22d, the Admiral went on-board Commodore *Brown* to call the Captains to conſult together, and give out the neceſſary Orders for warping the Ships up the next Night in order to attack the *Gloria Caſtle* the Night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the Day-time: But in this he was prevented by the Enemy's putting up a White-flag at the *Gloria Caſtle*, and ſending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and a Lieutenant of a Man of War, who brought the Conditions ſigned on which they deſired to capitulate, which were, “That the Government would deliver up all the Fortifications, provided they might be allowed to march out with the Honours of War, have an Indemnity for themſelves, the Town, and the Inhabitants, and be permitted to enjoy all the Ships in the Harbour.” This laſt could by no means be accepted, for the Admiral reſolved to have all the Ships, being the very Ships that had done the *Engliſh* Merchants the Injuries complained of on theſe Coaſts. Accordingly the Admiral immediately drew up the Forms on which he would admit them to Capitulation, and diſpatched them back again, allowing them only a few Hours to take their Reſolution; but within the Time limited they accepted the Conditions offered them: On which “Articles of Capitulation granted by Vice-admiral *Vernon* and Commodore *Brown*, to Don *Franciſco Martines de Retez* Governor of *Porto-bello*, and Don *Franciſco de Abarea* Commandant of the Guarda Coſtas at the ſame Place,” were prepared and executed the ſame Day[*] as follows:

By the 1ſt, “The Garriſon were allowed to march out as deſired, upon Condition the King of *Great-Britain*'s Troops were put into Poſſeſſion of *Gloria Caſtle* before Four of the Clock that Evening, and the Garriſon to march out by Ten the next Morning.

“The Inhabitants might either remove or remain, under a Promiſe of Security for themſelves and their Effects.

2d, “That the *Spaniſh* Soldiers might have a Guard if they thought it neceſſary.

3d, “That they might carry off two Cannons mounted, with ten Charges of Powder for each, and their Match lighted.

4th, “That the Gates of *Gloria Caſtle* ſhould abſolutely be in Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Troops by Four of the Clock; and the *Spaniſh* Garriſon ſhould remain in all Safety for their Perſons and Effects, till the appointed Time for their marching out, and to carry with them the Proviſions and Ammunition neceſſary for their Safety.

5th, “That the Ships, with their Apparel and Arms, ſhould be abſolutely delivered up to the Uſe of his *Britannic* Majeſty; but that all the Officers, both Soldiers and Crew, ſhould have three Days allowed them to retire with their perſonal Effects; only one Officer being admitted on-board each Ship and Veſſel, to take Poſſeſſion for his *Britannic* Majeſty, and ſee the Articles ſtrictly complied with.

6th, “That provided the Articles were ſtrictly complied with, and that Poſſeſſion was given of the Caſtle of *St. Jeronimo*, in the ſame Manner as ſtipulated for the *Caſtle Gloria*; then the Clergy, the Churches, and Town ſhould be protected and preſerved in all their Immunities and Properties.

“And that all Priſoners already taken, ſhould be ſet at Liberty before their leaving the Port.”

Before Night the Admiral ſent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*, with about 120 of the Soldiers, who took Poſſeſſion of *Gloria Caſtle* and *St. Jeronimo* Fort, being the remaining Fortreſſes that guarded the Harbour; the *Gloria Caſtle* lying juſt below the Town, and *St. Jeronimo* juſt above it.

There were in the Harbour two *Spaniſh* Men of War of 20 Guns each, and a Snow; the Crews of which, ſeeing the regular and bold Attack which was made on the Iron-Fort, and deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, fell to plundering the Town in the Night of the 21ſt, and committed great Outrages on the Inhabitants.

The Admiral took on-board his Ships from the ſeveral Fortreſſes 40 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, 10 Braſs Field-pieces, four Braſs Mortars, and 18 Braſs Patteraroes; and rendered unſerviceable above 80 Iron Cannon, by knocking off their Trunnions, and ſpiking them up: He alſo took on-board all their Shot and Ammunition, except 122 Barrels of Powder, which he expended in ſpringing Mines, by which all the Fortifications of the Town were blown up and entirely demoliſhed, and the Harbour left open and defenceleſs.

Ten thouſand Dollars that were arrived and deſigned for paying the *Spaniſh* Troops at *Porto-bello*, falling into the Admiral's Hands, he diſtributed them among the Forces for their Encouragement.

On the 23d the Admiral ordered all the Captains “Not to ſend any of the Boats aſhore without an Officer, for whoſe Conduct they would be reſponſible; and as Security from plundering Perſons and Effects was granted by the Capitulation, they were ſtrictly to prohibit its being put in Practice in any ſort; and to aſſure whoever attempted it, they ſhould not only be puniſhed for the Infraction of the Capitulation, but be deprived of their Share of the ſeveral Captures that were ſecured for a Reward of their gallant Diſcharge of their Duty.” And for intercepting any thing that might be coming into, or going out of the Harbour without Permiſſion, the Admiral gave Orders “For a Lieutenant, with a Barge well-manned and armed, to be on Duty on-board the weſtermoſt Ship every Night, to keep Guard there the

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[*] When the Spaniſh Garriſon found that they were not in a Condition to withſtand the Storm, they plundered the Inhabitants of the City.

“ whole Night, rowing every now-and-then croſs the “ Harbour; and alſo a ſufficient Guard to be nightly “ mounted every Watch to prevent Surprizes.” The Admiral, tender of the national Honour of his Country, and knowing how neceſſary it was for a lenient and mild Uſe of his Conqueſt, to cultivate a good Opinion among the *Spaniards* of the *Britiſh* Faith and Integrity, thereby to promote the private Trade on the Coaſt, and to eradicate thoſe abominable Notions of *Engliſh* Heretics, Villains, and cruel Spoilers, inſtilled among the Inhabitants by the Craft and Subtilty of the Jeſuits. For this Purpoſe he diſperſed the ſtricteſt Orders among the Squadron, “ Punctu- “ ally and religiouſly, inviolably to preſerve to the *Spa-* “ *niards*, the Conditions of their Capitulation, and the “ other humane Conceſſions granted to them ſince, as “ agreeable to the Inclinations of his Royal Maſter, and “ the Nature of an *Engliſhman*.”

The Admiral was joined at *Porto-bello*, on the 27th, by the *Diamond* Captain *Knowles*; and on the the 29th by the *Windſor* Captain *Berkely*, and the *Angleſea* Captain *Reddiſh*.

The principal Engineer in the mining Work was Captain *Knowles* of the *Diamond*, aſſiſted by Captain *Boſcawen*; (who deſired he might ſerve in this Expedition as a Volunteer, his Ship the *Shoreham* not being fit for the Sea) and by Mr. *Barnes*, Purſer of the *Worceſter*, who having been an Officer in the Army was very uſeful on this Occaſion. Commodore *Brown* had the chief Direction of what was neceſſary to be done at *Gloria Caſtle* and *St. Jeronimo Fort*; and Captain *Watſon*, Captain of the Admiral's Ship, took care of the Execution of all that was to be done at the Iron Fort, where the Walls of the lower Battery, which conſiſted of 22 Guns, were nine Feet thick, and of a hard Stone, cemented with ſuch a fine Mortar, that it was a long Work to make any Impreſſion in it to come to mine at all.

On the 6th of *December*, Captain *Stapylton* returned from his Cruize off *Carthagena*, having taken two Veſſels going to that Place with Stores and Proviſions.

During the Admiral's Stay at *Porto-bello*, he ſent a Letter to the Preſident of *Panama*, demanding the Releaſement of the Factors and Servants[a] of the *South-ſea* Company who were confined at that Place: In conſequence of which, the Preſident of *Panama* ſent an Officer with Mr. *Humphrys* and Dr. *Wright* Factors; and alſo with the Servants of the *South-ſea* Company, who were delivered to the Admiral at *Porto-bello*.

Thus fell the Walls of *Porto-bello*; and though the Admiral was incapable of puſhing his Conqueſt further up the Country, yet the national Benefit was very great, as the Traders of *Jamaica* had now a fair Opportunity to open an extenſive Commerce with the *Spaniards*, who were fond of creeping their Money over from *Panama*. Mankind are at a Loſs to determine whether the Conduct, the Courage, or Humanity of the Admiral is moſt to be admired; all which he ſo peculiarly exerted, that it greatly added to the Glory of his Enterprize.

The principal Point next in View, was to diſtreſs the Galloons even in *Carthagena*, by preventing their being ſupplied with any naval Stores and Proviſions, of which they ſtood in great Neceſſity. The Admiral therefore, on the 11th of *December*, ordered Captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond* “ To accompany the Squadron till their Arrival as “ far to windward as *Carthagena*, and to cruize there for “ intercepting any Supplies, and obſerving the Galloons.” On the 13th the Vice-admiral with his Squadron ſailed from *Porto-bello* on his Return for *Jamaica*; and having Reaſon to apprehend, from the Intelligence brought by Captain *Reddiſh*, that the *Ferrol* Squadron might be in thoſe Seas; on the 15th the Admiral gave Orders to all the Captains, “ Not on any Conſideration to hazard loſing “ company with the Flag; and that in caſe of Separation, “ the firſt Place of general Rendezvous for 24 Hours “ would be under *Point a Canoe*; but not ſeeing any thing “ of the Admiral in that Time, they were to make the “ beſt of their way for the next general Place of Rendez- “ vous at *Port-royal*.” Being off *Carthagena*, on the 28th the Admiral ſent Captain *Renton* in the *Spaniſh* Snow called the *Triumph*, for *England*, with the agreeable News of his Succeſs at *Porto-bello*; the Squadron was afterwards diſperſed by hard Gales of Wind; but after ſuffering in their Maſts and Rigging, they at laſt all joined the Admiral at *Port-royal*.

On his Return to *Jamaica*[b], the principal Care of the Admiral was to equip his Fleet with the utmoſt Expedition for another Enterprize: And having made the neceſſary Preparations for putting to Sea with the Ships fit for Service, and leaving the *Hampton-court*, *Worceſter*, *Diamond*, and *Torrington*, at *Jamaica*, under the Command of Commodore *Brown*, for the Security of the Iſland and Shipping, with the neceſſary Orders in caſe of their coming to be attacked by any ſuperior Force of the Enemy, in what Manner to defend them; and alſo Orders to refit the *Burford*, and ſend her to join his Squadron as ſoon as poſſible. On the 25th of *February* the Admiral, having a Deſign to bombard *Carthagena*[c], and afterwards to diſturb the *Spaniards* in *Fort Chagre*, a little to the S. W. of *Porto-bello*, ſailed from *Port-royal* in the *Strafford*, with the *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Windſor*, *Norwich*, *Falmouth*, and *Greenwich* Men of War; *Succeſs*, *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, *Alderney*, *Terrible*, *Brig*, *Pompey*, *Goadly* Frigates, Fire-ſhips, Bombs, and Tenders. Having a favourable Wind on the 1ſt of *March*, he got ſight of the Highland of *St. Martha* on the *Spaniſh* Main, and ordered Captain *Windham*, in the *Greenwich*, “ To ply up in the Night, and lie to windward of the “ Port, for intercepting any thing that might be coming “ in there the next Day.” The Admiral then bore away

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[a] And of their own perſonal and Company's Effects; threatening to proceed to ſhew a juſt Reſentment in caſe of a Refuſal. The Governor of Panama anſwering the Admiral's Letter in a trifling way, Mr. Vernon returned him a Thunderer, concluding thus: “ Health and Proſperity to all “ true Spaniards, that may lament ſacrificing the true Intereſt of their Couutry to the Ambition of an Italian Queen;” which produced a very angry Reply; but alſo the Company's Servants, &c.

[b] The Admiral diſpatched a very circumſtantial Account of all that he had done, and his Fleet had met with, ſince the 28th of December 1739, in a Letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, and to Sir Charles Wager; and promiſes to loſe no Time in preparing for an Expedition againſt Carthagena, though he was informed that there was a Force of Men of War in that Harbour equal to the Ships he ſhould be able to carry with him, beſides 150 Guns on the Walls and Works, a Garriſon of 800 Regulars, and a numerous Militia.—He tells the Duke, “ That he was then making his LAST Effort in his preſent Situation; for that without a full and ſpeedy Supply of naval Stores, “ his Squadron would be all laid up by the Walls, and rendered unactive.—For, he adds, unleſs his Majeſty's Orders furniſh the Means, and Ships “ be ſent out well found with Stores, and conſtantly ſupplied, the Zeal of the moſt diligent and able Officer may be rendered entirely fruitleſs.” He informs his Grace of a Letter from Don Blas, in Anſwer to two the Admiral had ſent him; which Letters, ſays Mr. Vernon, “ will be beſt an- “ ſwered from the Mouth of our Mortars, which may inſtruct him where to find me, if he continues in his heroic Diſpoſition.” N. B. He charges the Engliſh Admiral with Cowardice for diſmantling Porto-bello, and threatens him with Retaliation wherever he ſhall meet him.—In his Letter to Sir Charles, the Admiral is ſtill more explicit: “ Though, ſays he, I have all the Information I could well gather from others, in regard to the “ Strength of Carthagena, and the beſt Plans I could procure of the Havanna and La Vera Cruz, yet not having viewed them myſelf, I cannot in- “ form you particularly, what I ſhall or can attempt, as they may depend upon various Incidents; but can aſſure you, I ſhall ſet out fully diſpoſed “ to do all in my Power, and in ſome meaſure with Impatience, you mention in others, to have the Spaniards blown up, and ſhall have a ſecret “ Pleaſure in humbling their Pride, and amply retaliating all the unjuſt Injuries and Depredations they have been ſo long practiſing againſt us.”—He then propoſes a Scheme for the better manning of the Fleet, by following the Example of the Dutch, &c. who procure foreign Seamen for their Service, by liſting them at Hamborough and the Hans-Towns, upon Conditions for a Time certain; and remonſtrates againſt the new Model of the King's Ships, which gives them too much Maſt and Sails—“ For, ſays he, I think, when going upon a Wind, you preſs a Ship ſo down in the “ Water, as to bring an unnatural Body for her to draw through the Water; it cannot be expected ſhe ſhould force that Body ſo quick through the “ Water, as if ſhe went in a more upright and natural Situation; and that therefore in reſpect to going upon a Wind, it is better a Ship ſhould be “ under-maſted than over; and as to going large, and in light Winds, I apprehend a great Cloud of Canvas would be better ſupplied in very large “ ſmall Sails, than by very ſquare Yards to be ſpreading a large Clue of heavy Canvas, whoſe very Weight, in light Winds, forces the Wind “ out of the Sail, &c. I think alſo that it would be a great Preſervative to Maſts and Rigging, to have the low Yards fixed with flying Parrels, be- “ cauſe this would preſerve the Rigging from being racked to Pieces by bracing the Yards, and give Opportunity for ſtriking a Top-maſt with the “ low Sails ſtanding, and contribute to a Ship's ſailing by not being too much bound.” And in his Letter to the Admiralty, he attributes the Diſaſters met with from the ſtormy Weather in his way from Porto-Bello, to his Ships being over-maſted, being ſent to Sea with their old Guard-ſhip Rigging overhead. He charges the Officers of the Yards ordered to load Stores for the Ships on Service, with ſending to him, &c. old Lumber out of the Yards. He obſerving the Inconveniency of an Hoſpital for Sailors in a Town abounding with Punch-Houſes, to which Places the Sick crawl as often as able to get out, and thereby deſtroy themſelves, propoſes a Model for an Hoſpital to be built of Wood, after the Manner of the Canes at Smyrna, a large ſquare Building to be erected in the Country, with only one outſide Door, and that Door ſo guarded, that no one could paſs without due Examination.

[c] As by his Letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, dated at Sea on February 25, 1739, appears.

with an eaſy Sail for *Carthagena*. On the 3d in the Evening he anchored with the Squadron before the Town in nine Fathom Water, in the open Bay called *Playa Grande*; and on the 6th he ordered in all the Bomb-ketches, and the ſmall Ships and Tenders for covering and aſſiſting them, and continued bombarding till nine in the Morning. The Squadron received no Damage from the Town, but the Shells fell there pretty ſucceſsfully, particularly into the principal Church, the Jeſuits College, the Cuſtom-houſe; beat down ſeveral Houſes between them; and a Shell that fell into the South Baſtion, ſilenced a Battery of 10 Guns there for a long time[a]. The Inhabitants were in the utmoſt Conſternation; but the Squadron was too inconſiderable to attempt giving them any further Annoyance: The Admiral therefore on the 4th gave Orders to the ſeveral Captains, "That in caſe of Separation after leaving their preſent Station off *Carthagena*, they were to make the beſt of their way to the next general Place of Rendezvous, either in the Harbour of *Porto-bello*, or off the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, in the Bay to the eaſtward of it;" and on the 9th drew off his Bomb-ketches and ſmall Craft, weighing with his Squadron on the 10th in the Morning. After making the Signal for the Line of Battle, he coaſted the Shore towards *Boca Chica*, and at this Time made proper Obſervations to regulate any future Deſcent intended againſt *Carthagena*; while the *Spaniards* fired at him from the three ſmall Caſtles without *Boca Chica*, but none of their Shot reached him. Having received Intelligence that Don *Joſeph de Herrera* in the *Vizara*, a *Spaniſh* Man of War, had received Orders from Don *Blas* to come and join him at *Carthagena*, together with the *St. Juan* another *Spaniſh* Man of War, and a Snow; the Admiral on the 9th ordered Captain *Berkley* in the *Windſor*, with the *Greenwich* Captain *Wyndham*, "To cruize off the Port of *Carthagena* for twenty Days, to intercept, take or deſtroy the ſaid Men of War, but principally to watch the Motions of the Galloons." The Admiral made Sail for *Porto-bello*, to repair there the Damage received by the ſmall Craft. On the 13th, being joined by Capt. *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, the Admiral ordered him "To go onboard the *Succeſs* Fire-ſhip, and accompanied with the Brig Tender to get off the Mouth of the *Chagre*, and there uſe the beſt of his Judgment in getting all proper Information, how the Fort at the Mouth of that River could be attacked, either by Bombardment or cannonading; and particularly to inform himſelf of the Soundings and Depth of Water thereabouts; to be certain how near any of the Ships could approach; and to obſerve what convenient Landing-places might be near; and return to the Admiral as ſoon as conveniently he could, who would be making an eaſy Sail after him to lie off the ſaid River, till he ſhould receive his Information to form the future Plan of Operation on." The next Day the Admiral anchored with his Squadron in *Porto bello* Harbour, and on the 18th detached the *Succeſs* and *Eleanor* "To cruize off the Mouth of the River *Chagre* for ſeven Days, or till the Squadron ſhould ſooner appear off there, for preventing the *Spaniſh* Privateer Sloops from putting to Sea from thence, or intercepting any thing that might be coming or going there." The *Strafford* and *Norwich* and all the ſmall Veſſels being watered, the Admiral got them out to Sea[b] on the 22d, leaving Orders with the *Louiſa* and *Falmouth*, "To haſten in compleating their Watering, and follow him;" but an Accident in the Fore-top-ſail Yard of his Ship the *Strafford*, retarding her Progreſs, he ordered Captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich* "To make all the Sail he could, and enter the Harbour of *Chagre* before him, with the Bomb-ketches and all the Fire-ſhips and Tenders under his Orders; and Captain *Knowles*, as Engineer on-board the Bomb-ketches, for placing them to play on the Caſtle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*; and to cover them with his own Ship and the reſt." The ſame Day Captain *Knowles* got to an Anchor by Three in the Afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that Evening; by Ten at Night the Admiral got alſo to an Anchor with his own Ship the *Strafford*, as did the *Falmouth* and *Princeſs Louiſa* that followed him the ſame Night. They continued bombarding and cannonading with three Ships, firing leiſurely only from their Lowertier till *Monday* the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a Flag of Truce from the Fort; the Admiral anſwered it from his own Ship, ſtopt all Things as ſoon as poſſible, and ſent Captain *Knowles* aſhore, who ſoon returned with Don *Juan Carlos Gutierer de Ranettas*, Caſtillanor or Governor of the Fort, to whom the Admiral granted the following Capitulation:

1ſt, "That upon his *Britannic* Majeſty's Troops being put into immediate Poſſeſſion of the Fort *St. Lorenzo*, the Caſtillanor and all his Garriſon ſhould be at free liberty to march out without any Moleſtation, and retire into the Village of *Chagre*, or where elſe they pleaſed.

2d, "That the Inhabitants of *Chagre* might remain in all Safety in their Habitations, under a Promiſe of Security to themſelves and their Houſes.

3d, "That the Guarda Coſta Sloops ſhould be delivered up to the Uſe of his *Britannic* Majeſty in the Condition they were, and the King of *Spain*'s Cuſtom-houſe.

4th, "That the Clergy and Churches in the Town of *Chagre* ſhould be protected and preſerved in all their Immunities."

The Capitulation being thus ſettled and agreed to, the Admiral ſent the Governor aſhore with Captain *Knowles*, whom he appointed Governor of the Caſtle for his *Britannic* Majeſty, and ſent a Garriſon along with him of five Lieutenants and 120 Men, and all the Boats of the Fleet to land them; and by Three o'Clock that Afternoon Captain *Knowles* entered the Fort with his Garriſon. The ſame Evening Captain *Knowles* ſent and placed a Guard upon the Cuſtom-houſe on the oppoſite Side of the River *Chagre*; and Admiral *Vernon* went on-ſhore himſelf by Day-break the next Morning, to give all neceſſary Orders, and found the Cuſtom-houſe full of Goods for the lading of the Galloons, ſuch as Guayaquil, Coca, Jeſuits Bark, and *Spaniſh* Wooll; and gave immediate Orders for their being ſpeedily ſhipped off. The Number of Serons and Bags of Goods amounted to 4300. The two Guarda Coſta Sloops in the River (which were all the Guarda Coſtas that were left in thoſe Parts) were ſunk juſt above the Cuſtom-houſe, Carpenters being ordered to break up their Decks, and entirely deſtroy them.

The Cuſtom-houſe being entirely cleared by *Friday* the 28th, was filled with combuſtible Matter of the neighbouring Huts, and ſet on-fire that Evening, which burnt with great Fierceneſs all that Night.

On the 29th in the Morning, the Braſs Cannon being embarked, which were 11 Guns and 11 Patteraroes, and a good Part of the Garriſon; the Mines were ſprung under the Lower-baſtion, which entirely demoliſhed it; then two Mines were ſprung to blow up ſome of the upper Parts of the Works; afterwards all the inner Buildings of the Caſtle were ſet on-fire, and were burning all the Night of the 29th. On the 30th Vice-admiral *Vernon* put to Sea with his Squadron; and on the 1ſt of *April*, in the Evening, got to the Mouth of the Harbour of *Porto-bello*, where he was joined by the *Windſor* and *Greenwich*, juſt arrived from their Cruize off *Carthagena*; and on the 2d was joined alſo by the *Burford*, which he had left to be repaired at *Jamaica*.

On the 5th the Admiral ordered Mr. *Henry Barnſley* "To take upon him the Command of the little *Spaniſh* Prize Sloop that had been careened in *Porto-bello* Harbour, and to carry Mr. *Joſhua Thomas*, Purſer of the *Strafford*, to *England*, with the Packet for the Government committed to his Care, with an Account of the Succeſs of this Expedition." The Admiral, after ſailing from *Porto-bello*, received Advice that two *Spaniſh* Men of War bound from *Ferol*, with the Vice-roy of the Kingdom

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[a] "This being enough," ſays the Admiral in a Letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, "to awaken Don Blas de Leſo, and to let him know I was not ſtealing upon him by Surprize."

[b] During this Stay at Porto-bello, the Admiral got the beſt of his Informations, and an exact Draught of all the Coaſt from Porto-bello to Chagre, and of the Mouth of the River and Shoal before it, from Mr. Lowther the Pirate, who took this Opportunity to obtain Pardon, and his Return to England, by ſerving his Country.

dom of *St. Fee*, was arrived at *St. John de Porto Rico*, and imagining the Vice-roy might probably chuſe to ſail in with the Port of *St. Martha*, being within his Government, before he proceeded to *Carthagena*; the Admiral being off the *Little Baru*, on the 21ſt ordered the *Windſor*, *Greenwich*, and *Burford*, under the Direction of Captain *Berkley*, "To cruize juſt to windward of *St. Martha* for intercepting the Vice-roy;" but the *Spaniſh* Men of War eſcaped their Vigilance, and ſafely conducted the Vice-roy to *Carthagena*, with 600 Soldiers, deſigned for reinforcing the Garriſon of *Porto-bello*; while Admiral *Vernon*, with the reſt of the Squadron, ſoon after returned to *Jamaica* [a].

The Admiral was obliged to demoliſh the Fortifications at *Porto-bello* and *Chagre*, being incapable of maintaining them through the want of a proper Supply of Land Forces; and had he been provided with only 2000, he might have kept Poſſeſſion of *Porto-bello*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Panama*, by which Means he would have laid the whole Coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru*, and the weſtern Coaſt of *Mexico*, open both to the Trade and the Attacks of the *Britiſh* Subjects; and by being thus poſſeſſed of the Iſthmus of *Darien*, by receiving proper Reinforcements, there would have been a great Probability of even ſeizing the Mines of *Peru*, and diſabling *Spain* from ever attempting any thing againſt *Great-Britain*, or our Commerce, for the future.

The Name of *Vernon* became idolized among the Populace; he was looked upon as another *Drake* or *Ruſſel* in *England*; he was eſteemed as a ſecond *Raleigh* or *Blake* in *America*, and highly venerated by all Ranks and Conditions of Men throughout the *Britiſh* Dominions. His *Britannic* Majeſty was ſo fully perſuaded of the Admiral's Zeal for his Service, and of his Prudence and good Conduct in taking ſuch Meaſures as ſhould the more effectually conduce thereto, that the King did not think it proper to preſcribe any particular Service to be undertaken by the Admiral, but left it entirely to his Direction to act againſt the *Spaniards*, in ſuch Manner, and in ſuch Places, as ſhould appear to him beſt to anſwer the Ends propoſed by his Majeſty's former Orders: His Majeſty alſo gave particular Command to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to aſſure the Admiral of his entire Approbation of his Conduct and Behaviour ſhewed in this Action, and in the Humanity with which he treated the Inhabitants after the Reduction of *Porto-bello*.

On the 18th of *March* an Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament, "Congratulating him on the Succeſs of Admiral *Vernon* by entering the Port and taking the Town of *Porto-bello*, and demoliſhing and levelling all the Forts and Caſtles belonging thereto, with *ſix Ships of War only*; and repreſenting that it could not fail of giving the utmoſt Joy to all his Majeſty's Subjects, ſince it afforded the moſt reaſonable Hopes and Expectations, that it might be attended with other important Advantages, and highly contribute to the obtaining real and effectual Security of thoſe juſt Rights of Navigation and Commerce belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, for the Preſervation of which his Majeſty entered into that neceſſary War."

The City of *London* preſented an Addreſs [b] to his Majeſty, to congratulate him on the glorious Succeſs of Admiral *Vernon*.

The Parliament voted, "That the Thanks of both Houſes ſhould be tranſmitted to the Admiral for his eminent Services;" and the Citizens of *London*, as a further Mark of Diſtinction, voted him the Freedom of that City, to be preſented in a Gold Box.

The Miniſtry being informed that the *Aſſogue* Ships were at length certainly expected in *Old Spain*, under Convoy of Admiral *Pizarro*, Vice-admiral *Balchen* was diſpatched with four Ships of the Line, to cruize for them off Cape *Finiſterre*. He ſailed from *Plymouth-Sound* on the 9th of *April* 1740, and was joined on his Station by two more Men of War. But *Pizarro* being informed of this Squadron by an Advice-boat at Sea, he ſo directed his Courſe, that he arrived ſafe by the *Lizard* at *St. Andero* in the Bay of *Biſcay*, with an immenſe Treaſure.

The *Spaniards* in their Turn fitted out a ſtrong Squadron under the Command of Admiral *Pintado*, in queſt of Admiral *Balchen*; and as his Force was greatly ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, the *Spaniards* expected no leſs than their total Defeat: But the *Spaniſh* Admiral, either through Imprudence or Accident, never came up with the *Engliſh* Fleet; which the *Spaniſh* Court imputing to a Neglect of Orders, he was afterwards diſgraced.

In the *Mediterranean* the *Spaniards*, by making a Feint to recover the Iſland of *Minorca*, drew off Admiral *Haddock* from the Mouth of the Port of *Cadiz*, where he had block'd up the *Spaniſh* Fleet, ſnatch'd the Opportunity, and got out with nine Men of War and two Frigates on the 18th of *April*, which eſcaped to *Ferrol*, and joined another Fleet in that Port intended for the *Weſt-Indies*, to favour an Invaſion either of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, could they have prevailed with the Duke of *Ormond* to have accepted the Command in chief of ſuch an Expedition. But he nobly refuſed to aſſiſt the Enemies of his native Country on an Expedition that was purely hoſtile, tho' he was outlawed and deprived of his Eſtates by the *Engliſh*, and was protected and ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Court.

Beſides, the want of Supplies of Treaſure from *New Spain* detained the united Fleets in *Ferrol* till the *French* thought adviſeable to pull off the Maſk [c], by ſending a ſtrong Squadron from *Breſt* and *Toulon* under the Marquis *de Antin* to *Martinico*, one of their Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*, with ſecret Orders not only to act in a hoſtile Manner againſt the *Britiſh* Subjects, either jointly with the *Spaniards*, or ſeparately, but even to concert Meaſures with them for attacking *Jamaica*; and declaring that *France* could no longer remain idle Spectators of the Loſſes of *Spain* in *America*.

The *Britiſh* Miniſtry, who had never ſuſpected this Behaviour from *France*, and dreaded the Union of the Power of *France* and *Spain*, were ſo intimidated by the *French* Declarations, that they for ſome time, and not till the national Cry for vigorous Meaſures forced them, attempted nothing farther by Sea. But as ſome Expedition was neceſſary to amuſe the Nation, and ſmother their Diſcontent, while at the ſame time the *French* ſhould receive no Provocation to arm in favour of the *Spaniards*; a ſecret Expedition was projected, for which a very potent Fleet was aſſembled at *Portſmouth*, where, on the 24th of *June*, Sir *John Norris*, Admiral of the Red, hoiſted his Flag on-board the unfortunate Victory, a Firſt-rate of 110 Guns, having under him *Philip Cavendiſh*, Eſq; Admiral, and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, Rear-admiral of the Blue; and on the 5th of *July* his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* embarked with the Admiral as a Volunteer in the intended Expedition. The Deſignation of this well appointed Navy, conſiſting of 21 Sail of the Line, and three Fire-ſhips, was variouſly conjectured; ſome reported as though it was intended to bombard *Sebaſtians*; others inſinuated that a Conſpiracy had been diſcovered in *Galicia* in favour of the *Engliſh*, and that this preſented a fair Opportunity to favour an Invaſion on the Coaſts of that Province; while others, with the ſame Uncertainty, ſurmiſed an Attempt on the *Spaniſh* Squadron at *Ferrol*: But whatever were the true and real Motives of fitting out ſo puiſſant a Fleet, the Scheme proved ineffectual and fruitleſs; for after being detained about a Week at *St. Helens* by contrary Winds, the Fleet ſailed from thence on the 14th of *July*, with the Convoy and Merchant-ſhips for *Portugal* and the *Streights*; but meeting with hard Gales of Wind at S. W. wherein the *Lion* Man of War ran foul of the *Victory*, and carried away her Bowſprit; and the *Lion* loſing her Fore-maſt, the Fleet returned to *St. Helens*; and on the 22d ſailed again, but were detained at *Torbay* for near a Month, and on the 13th of *September* returned to *Spithead*; where, on his Royal Highneſs diſembarking, an Enterprize that had ingroſſed the whole public Attention, and after having drawn upon it the Eyes of all *Europe*, thus ingloriouſly compleated ſo ſhameful and expenſive an Undertaking, without effecting any Thing more than cauſing four *French* Men of War to ſail from *Breſt*, and attend the Motions of the *Britiſh* Admiral, when at the ſame Time there was Force enough to have levelled the ſtrongeſt Fortifications in *Spain*.

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[a] He arrived at Port-Royal on the 3d of May; and on the 9th, by Letter, complains to the Duke of Newcaſtle of having no authentic Advice of the Declaration of War againſt Spain ſent him.

[b] "That the Execution of this important Service, with ſo ſmall a Force, and with ſo much Intrepidity, would greatly redound to the Reputation of his Majeſty's Arms, and ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, who would by Experience be convinced (whatever miſtaken Notions they might have formed from England's long Forbearance) that the maritime Power of Great-Britain being at length exerted, was able effectually to vindicate the Glory of his Majeſty's Crown, revenge the Injuries of the People, and retrieve the Honour of the Britiſh Flag; aſſuring his Majeſty that they would chearfully contribute, to the utmoſt of their Abilities, in Support of a War ſo neceſſary for the Protection of their long-injured Trade, and entered into at the unanimous Deſire of his Majeſty's Subjects."

[c] When the Earl of Waldegrave, the Britiſh Embaſſador at the Court of France, demanded the Reaſon of equipping this Armament, the Cardinal told him, "That there was Difference between arming and declaring War; and that it was true his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had promiſed a Neutrality; but as unforeſeen Accidents might happen, it was Prudence to be prepared againſt all Events." To give themſelves the greater Security from the Reſentment of the Crown of Great-Britain, and to irritate that Nation to a Retaliation of Injuries by a ſpeedy Declaration of War, the French committed a notorious Contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht, by repairing and refortifying the Port of Dunkirk; that Port, which by this Treaty they had been compelled to deſtroy, which they had ſolemnly ſtipulated never to reſtore, and from which more Moleſtation might ariſe to the Britiſh Commerce than from all the other Coaſts of France, as it would enable the French to croud the Channel with Privateers, and purſue the Britiſh Merchants even to their own Ports; nor could all the Remonſtrances made by the Britiſh and Dutch Embaſſadors, againſt ſo public an Infraction of ſo ſolemn a Treaty, in the leaſt deter the French from continuing the Work, which they compleated without Interruption. Upon this his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty publiſhed a Declaration to vindicate the Neceſſity of fitting out a Fleet under the Marquis de Antin, and the fortifying Dunkirk and Port l'Orient; wherein he declares, "That after the taking of Porto-Bello and Chagre, the Ambaſſador of Great-Britain was from that Time advertiſed, in his Majeſty's Name, that the Engliſh ought not to think that France beheld with an Eye of Indifference the Enterprizes which the Engliſh Nation had formed in America, nor that the King would ſuffer them to make any Eſtabliſhment in the Weſt-Indies; that the Declaration was renewed, in Proportion as the Preparations againſt America were ſeen to indicate more certainly Projects of Conqueſt; and the Britiſh Ambaſſador not returning any Anſwer on a Point ſo important, the King thought that he ought not any longer to defer fitting out his Ships, to put himſelf in a Condition of preventing a Danger that became every Day more preſſing; alledging for the Precautions taken at the City de l'Orient and Dunkirk, that they were only to hinder any Surprize from the Engliſh Corſairs," though it eventually appeared quite the reverſe.

However, *November* the 13th, when his Majeſty met his Parliament, the King opened the Seſſions with a Speech, wherein he declared, "His Reſolution of proſecuting vigorouſly the War with *Spain*, even tho' *France* ſhould declare in her Favour, as ſome late extraordinary Proceedings ſhewed her Inclination to do." Upon which the Houſe of Commons voted 40,000 Seamen, and ten new Regiments of Foot and Marines, for the Service of the enſuing Year, and granted a Land-tax of Four Shillings in the Pound. To encourage the Seamen and Commanders effectually to perform their Duty, a Bill was paſſed to veſt the Prizes ſolely in the Captors; this animated the Navy, for before his Majeſty had a conſiderable Share out of every Capture taken by the Men of War; and in *December* the Houſe of Commons granted his Majeſty a further Supply of 200,000 *l.* towards the carrying on of a ſecret Expedition.

Here it is proper to inſert the Expedition under Commodore *Anſon*. His Inſtructions were dated *January* 31, 1740, but not delivered to him by the Duke of *Newcaſtle* till the 28th of *June*; to which was then added an additional Article by the Lords-Juſtices, dated *June* 19, his Majeſty being abſent from his *Britiſh* Dominions; and by Delays of Wind, and Men both for Sea and Land, it was the 10th of *Auguſt* before he could ſail from *Spithead*[a]; and was afterwards detained at *St. Helens*, chiefly for want of poſitive Orders; till the 18th of *September*, when he was loaded with the Care of the *Turky*, *American*, and *Streights* Convoy, till he got clear of the Channel on the 29th[b].

This Squadron did not arrive at *Madeira* before the 25th of *October*, where they watered and took in Refreſhments of ſeveral Kinds; and on the 3d of *November*, Captain *Norris* being taken ill, and deſiring to return to *England* for the Recovery of his Health, the Commodore appointed Captain *Mitchel* to command the *Glouceſter* in his room, removed Captain *Kidd* to the *Pearl*, and Captain *Murray* to the *Wager*, giving the Command of the *Trial* Sloop to Lieutenant *Cheap*. The next Day the Commodore gave to the Captains their Orders, "Appointing their Rendezvous, in caſe of Separation, at the Iſland of *St. Catherine's*, on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, in *South-America*;" and the ſame Day the Squadron weighed Anchor from *Madeira*, ſteering their Courſe for *St. Catherine's*, where they arrived on the 21ſt of *December*; having, in their Paſſage, loſt a great Number of Men, by the Heat and Intemperature of the warm Climates; and many others were confined to their Hammocks, in Calentures, paſt all Hopes of Recovery, and ſome in a very languid and ſickly Condition, afflicted with Fluxes or Teneſmus's, attendant on a Recovery from the Calenture.

The Commodore haſtened all in his Power to proceed for *Cape-Horn*; but was detained in ſecuring the Maſts of the *Trial* to the 18th of *January*; when the Squadron, after burying many of their Men, and Sickneſs ſtill increaſing, left the Iſland, and ſailed to *Port St. Julian* on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, of which hereafter.

In the mean time the Miniſtry, not acting according to the Power put into their Hands, were called upon not only by the public Voice of the Nation, but at laſt by the Houſe of Commons, for their Backwardneſs in not ſupporting Admiral *Vernon* from time to time with more Ships, and a conſtant Supply of freſh Stores, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, were prevailed on, with great Reluctancy, to proſecute the War with Vigour; but as they could neither diminiſh the Glory of that Admiral, nor leſſen the Importance of his Enterprizes, both of which they attempted, they thought it moſt prudent to join in the national Acclamations, and to ſeem as forward as any in the Addreſſes of Congratulation, aſſuming at the ſame Time great Merit to themſelves, ſince the Admiral acted, as they ſaid, by their Orders; and therefore, to avoid any further Clamours, they pretended to be as much in earneſt as the reſt of the Nation, and determined to ſend the Admiral a Reinforcement of Ships, and a ſufficient Number of Troops, to enable him, ſtill higher, to advance the Reputation of the *Britiſh* Arms.

Accordingly the Regiments of *Harriſon* and *Wentworth*, ſix Regiments of Marines, and ſome Detachments from other Regiments, were ordered to embark for the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Lord *Cathcart*; at firſt ſix Ships only were appointed for his Convoy; but upon Advice that the *Ferrol* Squadron of 12 Men of War had ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the *Breſt* and *Toulon* Squadrons were alſo gone there to ſecure the Galloons, wherein they were ſo much concerned, and alſo to prevent the *Britiſh* Forces making any Conqueſt upon the *Spaniards*, for which, they ſaid, they were Guarantees by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; this occaſioned a larger Convoy for the Troops under Lord *Cathcart*, ſo as to make Admiral *Vernon* equal to

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[a] This Squadron conſiſted of the following five Men of War, Sloop of War, and two Victualling Ships;

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
The Centurion	Commodore Anſon	60	400
Glouceſter	Captain R. Norris	50	300
Severn	Hon. Ed. Legg	50	300
Pearl	Matt. Mitchel	40	250
Wager	Dandy Kidd	28	160
Trial Sloop	Hon. J. Murray	8	100
	Total	236	1510

The two Victuallers were Pinks, one of 400, and the other of 200 Ton Burden, and were to attend the Squadron, till the Proviſions taken on-board were ſo far conſumed as to make room for the additional Quantity the Victuallers carried with them, which when taken into the Men of War, the Victuallers were to be diſcharged. Beſides the above Complement of Men as the Ship's Crews, there were embarked on-board the Squadron about 470 Invalids and Marines, under the Denomination of Land Forces, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Mordaunt Cracherode.

[b] Though the reſpective Deſtinations of the Squadrons under Sir Chaloner Ogle and Commodore Anſon, were not confidently reported in England, it appeared that the Spaniards had received true and early Intelligence for what it was intended; and accordingly the Ferrol Squadron of 12 Men of War, from 60 to 80 Guns, and three Frigates, commanded by Don Rodrigo de Torres, having found an Opportunity of eſcaping Admiral Haddock, on the 20th of July ſailed for America with 2000 Land Forces on-board, and uninterruptedly proceeded to ſtrengthen their Settlements in the Weſt-Indies; while the Britiſh Fleet, by being delayed to ſo late a Seaſon of the Year, ſuffered a ſhameful Detention in their Harbours, and were incapable of getting through the Channel, till after the Spaniards had put themſelves in a Condition to make a vigorous Reſiſtance wherever they ſhould be attacked.

to thoſe Squadrons. This Fleet aſſembled at *Portſmouth*, under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, conſiſting of 21 Sail of the Line, beſides Frigates and Fire-ſhips, with about 12,000 Sailors on-board, and the ſeveral Regiments under the Command of Lord *Cathcart*; and after many Obſtacles ſailed the 26th of *October*.

Admiral *Vernon* was all this Time purſuing every Meaſure in his Power to add Succeſs and Glory to the Arms committed to his Direction; and impatient for the Arrival of the long-deſired Supply, he put to Sea on the 3d of *October* with his Squadron, hoping to meet with Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s Fleet by cruiſing off *Hiſpaniola*. But inſtead thereof, on the 12th of the ſame Month, he received Advice of its Retention at *Spithead* by contrary Winds[a]. This was not the ſingle Misfortune the Admiral had to encounter at this Time; for on the ſame Day he found, upon the Examination of a *Spaniſh* Lieutenant, that the *Ferrol* Squadron under Admiral *Torres* arrived at *Porto-Rico* on the 7th of *September*, and had ſailed from thence for *Carthagena* on the 25th of the ſame Month, and ſoon after diſcovered that the *Breſt* and *Toulon* Squadrons were arrived at *Port-Louis* under the Marquis *d'Antin*; and that the *French* Preparations in *Martinico*, threatened ſome bold Enterprize againſt *Jamaica*; which Attention directed Mr. *Vernon*'s Meaſures for the beſt Security he could make for this Iſland, and for his Squadron in the Harbour of *Kingſton*: For though he had received three Battalions of new Recruits from *North-America*, his want of a naval Power, his Ships being ſcarce able to ſwim, and the Impoſſibility to attempt any thing againſt the Enemy with ſuch an inconſiderable Land Force, which had been but little acquainted with Diſcipline, obliged him to retire and fortify himſelf in *Kingſton* Harbour againſt the Machinations and Force of *France* and *Spain*.

At laſt, on the 19th of *December*, the Admiral was ſomewhat relieved from his Inquietude by the Arrival of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s Fleet, and the Forces from *England*, under Lord *Cathcart*, at *Dominica*: But even this Joy was much allayed by the Death of that noble Lord[b].

By Lord *Cathcart*'s Death the Army came under the Command of one Lieutenant-general *Wentworth*, and the Fleet proceeded[c] for *Jamaica*, where it arrived on the 9th of *January* 1740-1. This re-animated Admiral *Vernon*; he now found himſelf in a Capacity of exerting his martial Genius; he reſolved to remain no longer in a State of Inactivity, and ſoon after the Bulwarks of *Carthagena* were doomed to feel the Fury of the *Britiſh* Thunder.

Admiral *Vernon* heartily condoled the Loſs of ſo valuable an Officer as Lord *Cathcart*; but on his Acquaintance with General *Wentworth* his Succeſſor, the Admiral promiſed to himſelf, on finding the General ſincerely diſpoſed to ſupply ſo great a Loſs, that his *Britannic* Majeſty's Service would be promoted and carried on faithfully, diligently, and reſolutely, with all poſſible Harmony. And on communicating their Inſtructions, the Admiral and General reſolved to loſe no time in ſetting about the Execution of them.

The Determination of what Enterprizes ſhould be undertaken, was committed to the Direction of the principal Council of War, to conſiſt of the two eldeſt Officers of the Army, of the two eldeſt Officers of the Navy, and of the Governor of *Jamaica* whenever he could be preſent; and on the 10th of *January*, in the principal Council of War held at *Spaniſh-Town*, at which were preſent Admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, General *Wentworth*, General *Guiſe*, and Governor *Trelawny*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the whole Fleet ſhould proceed to Windward, to "obſerve the Motions of the Squadron under the Com-"mand of the Marquis *d'Antin*, which had been for ſome "time at *Hiſpaniola*; and that Captain *Dandridge* ſhould "be ſent before in the *Wolf-Sloop* to get Intelligence."

As the Fleet was now thirty Sail of the Line, there was an abſolute Neceſſity for forming a third Diviſion, and the Vice-admiral appointed Captain *Leſtock*, an old and experienced Officer, to be Commodore, with a Captain under him, for commanding the third Diviſion.

The Vice-admiral, intent on getting the Fleet to Sea, was in a perpetual Hurry in making Preparations for ſo expedient a Purpoſe, well knowing that any Delay would certainly defeat their beſt Intentions; he knew the great Difficulty of watering ſo large a Fleet in *Port-Royal* Harbour, and had previouſly provided againſt any Interruption on that account; and conſidering what a ſickly Condition many of the Ships came in, that four ſtanding Maſts were obliged to be repaired, three damaged by Shot, and one by Lightening, of which two were under a Neceſſity of being hove out and repaired aſhore; and that all the Ships were to be ſupplied with Proviſions, and many with Stores, never greater Diſpatch was given for getting a Fleet into the Sea in any Country; all the Officers and Men, in Concurrence with the Admiral, manifeſting an univerſal Goodwill for the Succeſs of the Expedition, for which all was in Readineſs in leſs than a Fortnight.

As the Fleet was ſo large, and the Channel ſo dangerous in going out from *Port-Royal* Harbour, the Admiral gave Orders for the Ships going out only one Diviſion in a Day, forwarding thoſe that were to go firſt, as no Time might be loſt. Captain *Douglas* and Captain *Cleland*, with two Bomb-ketches, were to remain till the Men of War had all ſailed out, and then to proceed with the Tranſports, in three Diviſions, that they might not crowd one another aſhore; the firſt Rendezvous was ordered off the Eaſt-end, and by a ſealed Rendezvous, the next off Cape *Tiberon*, and the Bays to the northward of it.

On the 22d of *January*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle* got out with his Diviſion of 10 Sail of the Line; on the 24th Commodore *Leſtock* ſailed out with his Diviſion of nine Sail of the Line; the Vice-admiral remaining himſelf to the laſt, for giving the neceſſary Orders: And on the 26th, the Vice-admiral ſailed out with his Diviſion, conſiſting of 11 Sail of the Line; but the Winds proving faint that Day, he was obliged to anchor with them in the Channel; and the *Auguſta*, one of his Diviſion, fell ſo far to leeward, as upon anchoring to veer upon a Shoal aſtern of her, where ſhe beat off her Rudder; and having thumped ſo hard as to make her very leaky, the Vice-admiral ordered her into Harbour to refit. The next Day the Wind continued ſo faint, that the Vice-admiral was obliged to anchor with his whole Diviſion again, juſt without the Channel; but on the 28th got clear to Sea without further Damage to any, and joined the two Diviſions under Sir *Chaloner Ogle* and Commodore *Leſtock* on the 30th off the *Yellows*, when the whole Fleet conſiſted of the following Diviſions;

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[a] This gave great Inquietude to the Admiral; he well knew the Uncertainties and Difficulties of getting ſo large a Fleet of Tranſports out of the Channel in the latter Part of the Year; he deeply dreaded the Conſequence, and heartily lamented that Lord Cathcart was not ſent out in the Spring of the Year, the only certain Seaſon for eaſterly Winds. It is certain, even beyond Diſpute, Sir Chaloner Ogle and the Land Forces might have as well ſailed for the Weſt-Indies in a much earlier and more convenient Part of the Year; but many Diſappointments were thrown in the Way, to retard the timely Progreſs of an Expedition that promiſed ſuch viſible Appearances of a ſucceſsful Event; eſpecially as it was to be conducted by ſo prudent and reſolute a Commander as Admiral Vernon; and probably for this principal Reaſon of the Miniſtry, that as the War was begun without their Concurrence, ſo it ſhould end without their Aſſiſtance.

[b] Occaſioned by a bloody Flux: He was taken ill on the 8th of December, and bore it, though very painful, with the greateſt Patience and Reſignation, ſeemed only to regret that he was deprived of an Opportunity of exerting his Zeal and Abilities for the Service of his King and Country. The Death of this Nobleman was a very ſenſible Loſs, as he went determined to co-operate with Admiral Vernon, and to be guided by him in every thing that ſhould be judged for the Honour and Intereſt of the Britiſh Arms. His Lordſhip was a very able Commander, with great Spirit, Honor and Judgment, and had been formerly extremely commended by the illuſtrious Duke of Marlborough, as a good and gallant Soldier; and as it is natural for one brave Man to entertain an Affection for another, his Lordſhip was charmed with the Spirit, Good-conduct, and Diſintereſtedneſs with which Admiral Vernon had begun and continued the War, with whom he determined perfectly to maintain a good Underſtanding; thereby promiſing to himſelf, that their Conjunction would make them the glorious Inſtruments of finiſhing the War, with all the Advantages the Nation had expected from ſo proſperous a Beginning; and had Heaven ſpared him to have compleated his Wiſhes in aſſiſting the Admiral, what might not the Nation have expected from the Unanimity of ſuch able Commanders?

[c] And on the 27th of December arrived at St. Chriſtopher's, the Place of general Rendezvous, where he was joined by the reſt of the Fleet; and all the Tranſports and Store-ſhips that had been ſeparated from him: At the ſame time he received Advice from Admiral Vernon, that 15 Sail of Spaniſh Men of War were at Porto-Bello, where the Inhabitants were diligently repairing their ruined Fortifications. On the 28th Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeded for Jamaica; and in his Paſſage between Hiſpaniola and Jamaica, ſeeing four Sail, who proved to be French Men of War, he diſpatched ſix of his Squadron after them; four of them came up the French off Cape Tiberon before it was dark, and Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, who commanded in the Prince Frederick, hailing them, and the French refuſing either to ſend an Officer on-board the Engliſh to ſatisfy them who they were, or to lie by for the Engliſh Officers ſending on-board of them; as the Certainty could not be otherwiſe known, a Gun was fired to bring them to, on which an Engagement enſued, which laſted till Morning, when the French hoiſted their Colours, and Boats were ſent to clear up the Point who they were, in which the Engliſh Officers being ſatisfied, nothing more paſſed than reciprocal Civilities, and they continued their different Courſes.

LINE OF BATTLE.

The *Princeſs Amelia* to lead with the Starboard, and the *Suffolk* with the Larboard Tacks on-board.

Rear-admiral of the Blue, Sir CHALONER OGLE.

Frigates, &c.	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	3	*Princeſs Amelia*	*Hemmington*	600	80
	4	*Windſor*	*Berkeley*	400	60
		York	*Cotes*	400	60
Experiment	3	*Norfolk*	*Graves*	600	80
Sheerneſs *Veſuvius*		*Ruſſel*	Sir *Chaloner Ogle* Captain *Norris*	615	80
Terrible Bomb		*Shrewſbury*	*Townſend*	600	80
Phaeton	4	*Ripon*	*Jolley*	400	60
Goodley		*Litchfield*	*Cleland*	300	50
		Jerſey	*Laurence*	400	60
		Tilbury	*Long*	400	60

Vice-admiral of the Blue, EDWARD VERNON, Eſq;

Squirrel	3	*Orford*	Lord *A. Fitzroy*	480	70
Shoreham	4	*Princeſs Louiſa*	*Stapylton*	400	60
Eleanor		*Worceſter*	*Perry Mayne*	400	60
Seahorſe	3	*Chicheſter*	*Robert Trevor*	600	80
Strumbolo *Succeſs*		*Princeſs Caroline*	Vice-adm. *Vernon* Captain *Watſon*	620	80
Vulcan		*Torbay*	*Gaſcoigne*	600	80
Cumberland	4	*Strafford*	*Tho. Trevor*	400	60
Alderney Bomb		*Weymouth*	*Knowles*	400	60
Pompey		*Deptford*	*Moſtyn*	400	60
Brig Tender	3	*Burford*	*Griffin*	480	70

Commodore LESTOCK's Diviſion.

	4	*Defiance*	*John Trevor*	400	60
		Dunkirk	*Cooper*	400	60
Aſtrea		*Lyon*	*Cotterel*	400	60
Wolf Sloop	3	*Prince Frederick*	Lord *A. Beauclerc*	480	70
Ætna *Firebrand*		*Boyne*	Commodore *Leſtock* Captain *Colby*	600	80
Virgin Queen		*Hampton-Court*	*Dent*	480	70
	4	*Falmouth*	*Douglaſs*	300	50
		Montagu	*Chambers*	400	60
	3	*Suffolk*	*Davers*	480	70

The Fleet (which ſailed from *Port-Royal* on the 26th of *January*) was now 29 Ships of the Line, beſides Frigates and Tranſports, manned with 15,000 Sailors; and having on-board the two Regiments of *Harriſon* and *Wentworth*, ſix Regiments of Marines, commanded by the Colonels *Fleming*, *Robinſon*, *Lowther*, *Wynyard*, *Douglas*, and *Moreton*, of 1000 Men each, and ſome Detachments from other Regiments from *England*; three Battalions from *North America*, and a Body of Negroes from *Jamaica*; making in all upwards of 12,000 Men.

Having a windward Current, the whole Fleet got off Cape *Tiberon* on the 8th of *February*, being then 115 Sail in company; and the ſame Day the Vice-admiral was joined by Captain *Dandridge* in the *Wolf* Sloop, whom he had ſent to look into *Port-Louis*; and on his Report of "Having ſeen there 19 Sail of large Ships, one having a Flag "at the Main top-maſt Head, and another a broad Pendant flying," the Vice-admiral immediately made a Signal for General and Flag officers, and communicated to them the Report he had received from Captain *Dandridge*: Whereupon it was reſolved to ſteer directly to the Iſle of *Vache*, to obſerve the Motions of the *French*, and to procure Intelligence of their Force and Intentions.

The Vice-admiral made the beſt of his way to Windward with the Fleet; and on the 12th got to Anchor with moſt of the Men of War, and ſome of the Tranſports under the Iſle of *Vache*, about two Leagues to the weſtward of *Port-Louis*, the reſt being working up after him. But it was afterwards diſcovered, that Captain *Dandridge* had been deceived in his View by the Hazineſs of the Weather, and that the Ships in *Port-Louis* were only Merchantmen unrigged, excepting one Frigate of 40 Guns, whoſe Main-top-maſt-head lying in a Line with the white Gable-end of a Houſe, occaſioned the Miſtake about the Flag.

On the 15th Captain *Boſcawen* and Captain *Knowles* were ſent by the Vice-admiral with a Meſſage to the Governor of *Port-Louis*; the Purport of which was, that the Fleet was forced by ſtrong Breezes into the Bay, and that the Admiral deſired Leave to wood and water. They returned with a very polite Anſwer, and brought an Account of the Marquis *d'Antin*'s being ſailed for *Europe*. Soon after Captain *Rentone* came into the Fleet, and confirmed the Report that the Marquis had ſailed with his Squadron for *France* on the 26th of *January*[*], being the Time when the *British* Fleet were in their Way to *Port-Louis*; and being collected together on that Occaſion, without any Cruizers out, was the Reaſon why the Marquis paſſed undiſcovered.

Upon this extraordinary Occaſion, the principal Council of War aſſembled on the 16th, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the Fleet, after having taken in Wood and "Water at *Iros*, *Tiberon*, and *Donna Maria* Bays, ſhould "thence proceed directly to *Carthagena*;" which was confirmed by another general Council of War held the 24th, by the four principal military and naval Officers, when it was reſolved, "Vigorouſly to attack *Carthagena* both by Land and Sea."

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[*] It was generally apprehended, that the French Squadron was ſolely intended to aſſiſt the Spaniards in ſafely conveying home their Treaſure; but it afterwards appeared, by the Inſtructions that fell into the Hands of Admiral Vernon, that the Marquis was ordered, either jointly with the Spaniards under Rodrigo de Torres, or ſeparately, to fall on the Britiſh Fleet; and had Sir Chaloner Ogle unluckily been detained any longer, it is hardly to be doubted but they would jointly have attacked Jamaica, the favourite View they had at heart. This ſudden Retreat of the French greatly ſurprized the Britiſh Admiral, as he could not tell what to attribute it to; whether for want of Proviſions, or a Deſire to return to Europe for ſome more favourable Views there: But it ſoon after evidently appeared, the Marquis was obliged to return for want of Proviſions, as in his Paſſage to Europe he loſt above 3000 Men, and the reſt that ſurvived were reduced each to three Ounces of Bread a Day, and that half Worms and Dirt.

On the 25th the Vice-admiral weighed with the whole Fleet from *Iros* Bay, being in all 124 Sail; when the *Weymouth*, *Experiment*, and *Spence* Sloop, were diſpatched a-head over to *Carthagena*, to ſound *Punto Canoa* Bay, for the ſafer anchoring the Fleet.

On the 4th of *March*, in the Evening, Admiral *Vernon* anchored with the whole Fleet in *Playa Grande*, to windward of the Town of *Carthagena*[a], lying between that and Point *Canoa*; and to harraſs the *Spaniards*, the Vice-admiral ordered his ſmall Frigates and Fire-ſhips to get in-ſhore, and lie in a Line, as if he intended a Deſcent to windward of the Town, which had its Effect, in drawing Forces that Way, and ſetting them at work to intrench themſelves.

The Vice-admiral having informed and inſtructed Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, according to the Intelligence he had received from Captain *Knowles*[b], and having furniſhed him with Pilots of the beſt Abilities and Experience he could procure, and relying on the Judgment and Reſolution of the Rear-admiral for the Execution of his Orders, directed him "To proceed with his whole Diviſion of Ships of the Line of Battle for demoliſhing the ſaid Forts and Batteries, and ſcouring all the Country between them, ſo as to ſecure a Deſcent for the Forces in the moſt convenient Parts of it between Fort St. Philip and Chamba Battery, which might divide the Spaniards, the better to make a Deſcent at both Places at once, and expoſe them the more to the Fire of the Ships; he was alſo particularly directed, not to ſuffer any imprudent or haſty Firing from the Ships, and to endeavour to convince the Men that ſuch Folly only ſerves to embolden an Enemy inſtead of diſcouraging them. And the Rear-admiral was likewiſe, in his Orders in Writing, to aſſign to each particular Captain the Poſt he was to take, and the Orders he was to execute; and alſo to order his reſpective Captains to acquaint their reſpective Ships Companies, that the whole of all Booty to be made by Land was graciouſly granted by his *Britannic* Majeſty to be diſtributed among his Sea and Land Forces, as ſhould be agreed on by a Council of War of Sea and Land Officers, which had accordingly met and regulated the Diſtribution thereof, and had allotted a double Share to any Non-commiſſion or Warrant-officer, or private Man, that might happen to be wounded in the Service; and the Rear-admiral was further directed to aſſure of a further Reward from the Vice-admiral, out of his Share, all who ſhould eminently diſtinguiſh themſelves by any extraordinary Actions of Prudence and Bravery, beſides a ſecured Advancement proportionable to their Zeal and Reſolution exerted on ſo ſignal an Occaſion, for the Honour of the Crown, and future Proſperity of their Country."

After iſſuing theſe Orders to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and alſo that part of them as related to the Diviſion of the Booty to Commodore *Leſtock*, the Vice-admiral aſſembled a general Council of War, compoſed of the four principal Officers of the Army, and of the four principal Officers of the Navy, who having received and carefully weighed the Reports of the general Officers who had been reconnoitring the Town, and the Captains *Knowles* and *Cooper*, unanimouſly reſolved, "That Sir *Choloner Ogle* ſhould the next Morning fall down with his Diviſion to the Mouth of the Harbour, and ſend three eighty-gun Ships, the *Norfolk*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Ruſſel*, to batter the Forts of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*, while the Princeſs *Amelia* fired againſt the Faſcine Battery, and the *Litchfield* againſt the little Battery of *Chamba*." The General afterwards aſſembled a Council of War of Land-officers, when a Diſpoſition was made for landing the Troops, which was, the Grenadiers to be firſt landed, and to be ſuſtained by a Brigade, commanded by Brigadier *Guiſe* and Colonel *Wolfe*.

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[a] The City of Carthagena is ſituate in the Latitude of 10 Deg. 26 Min. North, and was begun to be built in the Year 1532 by Peter de Heredia; but was finiſhed by Georgio Robledo about eight Years after the Foundation was laid. It ſtands on the Spaniſh Continent, to the Eaſt of the Gulph of Darien, almoſt directly South of Jamaica, and 110 Leagues N. E. of Panama. It gives Title to a conſiderable Government of the ſame Name, and is reckoned a Province of New Granada; or, according to ſome Writers, of New Andaluſia, but by others is annexed to the Golden Caſtile. The Situation of its Port was found ſo convenient for the Spaniſh Fleets, and ſuch Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of Santa Martha and the Magdalena, that the Town increaſed in Wealth, Number of People, ſtately Edifices, and in a Juriſdiction over five or ſix petty Cities; till, in the Year 1585, it was ſacked by the Valour of a few Engliſh, under the Command of Sir Francis Drake. But before it was perfectly repaired, the City received a greater Blow from five Privateers, led on by a diſguſted Spaniard, who ſurprized the Governor aſleep, ſeized a prodigious Treaſure, aud burnt the Place to Aſhes. Yet for all this the City raiſed its Head again, numbered above 20,000 Inhabitants, whereof 4000 were Spaniards, the reſt Meſticoes and Slaves; and improved daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the French under Monſieur de Pointi in 1697, who got a Booty of nine Millions of Money. The City ſoon after recovered itſelf by its flouriſhing Trade, being the firſt Place the Galloons touch at outward-bound, and of late the general Station of the Spaniſh Men of War in theſe Parts; and when Admiral Vernon appeared before it, was the principal, beſt fortified, and moſt populous City in America. The Governor of Carthagena was thoroughly ſenſible of the Activity of the Britiſh Admiral, and expecting nothing leſs than a Siege, in Conjunction with Don Blas de Lezo, who commanded the Spaniſh Squadron then lying in the Harbour of Carthagena, made all neceſſary Preparations for the Reception of the Britiſh Fleet, omitting nothing to put the Place in a good Poſture of Defence, which had a Garriſon of 4000 Men, beſides Negroes and Indians. Though the Sea waſhes the Walls of Carthagena, the Town is inacceſſible on that Side on account of the Surff; and De Pointi was convinced that the Sea upon all this Coaſt is a natural invincible Rampart, and that Carthagena is approachable only by the Lake which makes the Harbour. An eminent naval Officer, who ſerved in the Expedition as Engineer to Admiral Vernon, has alſo reported, that Nature has fortified the City againſt any Attempt by Sea, the Water ſhoaling near a League off, and the Harbour being plentifully bounded with Rocks; beſides the Sea is very ſeldom ſmooth, ſo that to land is at all times very difficult. The only Entrance into the Harbour is near a League to the Weſt of the City, between two narrow Peninſulas, one called the Tierra Bomba, which is neareſt the City, and the other called the Barradera. This Paſſage called Boca Chica, or the Little Mouth, was defended on the Tierra Bomba, by a Caſtle called St Louis, which was a regular Square, with four Baſtions, ſtrong, well built, mounted with 82 Guns and three Mortars, and was capable of making a ſtout Defence, if well garriſoned, and would have been much ſtronger if the Glacis and Counterſcarp had been finiſhed; and to this were added the Forts of St. Philip, mounted with ſeven Guns; the Fort of St. Jago, mounting 15 Guns; and a ſmall Fort of four Guns called Battery de Chamba, which ſerved as Redoubts to the Caſtle of Boca Chica. On the other Side of the Mouth of the Harbour, was a Faſcine Battery of 15 Guns, called the Barradera; and in a ſmall Bay on the Back of that, another Battery of four Guns; and facing the Entrance of the Harbour, on a ſmall flat Iſland, ſtood Fort St. Joſeph, of 21 Guns; from this Fort to Boca Chica Caſtle, a Boom and Cables were fixed acroſs, faſtened with three large Anchors at each End; and juſt within the Boom, four Men of War were moored in a Line, the Galicia, on-board which was the Spaniſh Admiral; the Africa and St. Carlos, each of 66 Guns; and the St. Philip, of 70 Guns; which ſpread ſo far over the Extent of the Mouth of the Harbour, that there was not room for a Ship to paſs ahead or aſtern of them; ſo that it was impoſſible for Shipping to force an Entrance into the Harbour. Beyond this Paſſage lies the great Lake or Harbour of Carthagena, ſeveral Leagues in Circumference, and Land-locked on all ſides; about Midway to the Town it grows narrower, and within about a League of the City, two Iſthmus's, or Points of Land, jetting out form the leſſer Harbour; near the northermoſt of theſe was the ſtrong Fortreſs of Caſtillo Grand, about eight Miles up the Harbour, being a regular Square with four Baſtions, ſtrong and well built, and defended to the Land by a wet Ditch and Glacis proper, and one Face towards the Sea, with a Raveline and a double Line of Guns: And though there was but 59 Guns in the Fort, there was room to mount 61. Oppoſite to this Caſtle was a Horſe-ſhoe Battery of 12 Guns, called Mancinilla: In the Middle between theſe two Forts, is a large Shoal with not above two or three Foot Water in it; in each of theſe Paſſages were Ships ſunk acroſs, to prevent the Britiſh Fleet from getting by. Near three Miles further up the Harbour, on two flat ſandy Iſlands or Keys, ſtands the City of Carthagena, and Himani its Suburbs, which are both irregular Figures, but well fortified to the Land with ſtrong Baſtions at proper Diſtances, with Lakes and Moraſſes running round them; the City was defended with 160 Guns, and the Suburbs with 140, and the Water at the Head of the Harbour ſhoal ſo far off, that Ships cannot approach near enough to do any material Execution with their Guns, which adds much to the Strength of the Place. South of the City, about a quarter of a Mile from the Gate of Himani, on an Eminence about 50 or 60 Foot high, ſtands the Caſtle of St. Lazare, which is a Square of about 50 Foot, with three Demi-Baſtions, two Guns in each Face, one in each Flank, and three in each Curtain; the Place in itſelf is trifling, but its Situation very advantageous, which overlooks all the Town; though there is a Brow of a Hill about 400 Yards from it, that overlooks it as much, and entirely commands the Fort. [b] The ſame Day as the Britiſh Fleet arrived before Carthagena, Vice-admiral Vernon received Intelligence, from his Engineer Captain Knowles, of the Obſervations he had made purſuant to his Directions; and alſo of what new Works the Spaniards had been erecting near the Entrance of the Harbour. From this Advice the Vice-admiral collected, that the moſt probable, as well as the moſt proper Place to ſecure a Deſcent in, was in the little Bay under the Command of the two Forts St. Philip and St. Jago, where Ships could come ſafely to an Anchor in good Ground, within leſs than a Muſket-ſhot of the Shore, and might lie to batter and command thoſe two Forts, without having occaſion to open the Caſtle of Boca Chica; in which Caſe, the Fire of three eighty-gun Ships would be ſufficient for demoliſhing the Forts commanding the Bay, and ſecuring a ſafe Landing for the Troops under the Fire of their Guns, being a Point of the utmoſt Importance for promoting the Succeſs of the Expedition, as it was the very Spot on which Monſieur de Pointi made his Deſcent when he reduced Carthagena, and begun with taking Boca Chica. And as to the northward of the ſaid two Forts on Terra Bomba, where the Spaniards had lately erected a Faſcine Battery of 15 Guns, there was found to be deep Water enough to approach within Muſket-ſhot of the Battery; but that the Anchoring-ground ſo near in was foul and ſtoney, and would cut the Cables; and to anchor in clean Ground would be hardly within Point-blank Cannon-ſhot; And it was alſo repreſented, that there was likewiſe a good little Bay for a Deſcent under Chamba Battery. After procuring this Information, deſigned for the better regulating his Diſpoſitions of Attack, the Vice-admiral immediately diſpatched Captain Knowles away again to Leeward with Captain Laws, Captain Cooper, and Captain Rentone, to ſound all without Terra Bomba and the Entrance of the Harbour, to know certainly how near the Ships could be brought to the Shore, and if they could find Anchorage for their large Fleet. General Wentworth, in the mean time, accompanied by ſome of the principal Land-officers, went on board the Lyon to reconnoitre the Town, the Coaſt adjoining, and the ſeveral Forts.

On the 9th Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, having ſhifted his Flag on-board the *Jerſey*, accompanied with General *Wentworth*, moved forward with his Diviſion for executing the Attack againſt the Forts and Batteries on *Terra Bomba*; the Vice-admiral weighed and moved after him with his Diviſion and all the Tranſports, leaving Commodore *Leſtock* with his Diviſion at Anchor behind. The Vice-admiral embarked all the Grenadiers in the Fire-ſhips in-ſhore, as if he propoſed landing there that Morning, but ordered them to follow him in time, to be ready for landing that Evening to Leeward. The ſmall Fort of *Chamba* fired a few Guns, but was deſerted as ſoon as the Ship poſted there could take her Station and begin to fire. At the Faſcine Battery the *Spaniards* had not yet had time for getting any Guns mounted, ſo there was no Fire from thence; and at Noon the *Norfolk*, *Ruſſel*, and *Shrewſbury*, being judiciouſly anchored very cloſe under the Forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, made ſo warm a Fire, that in leſs than an Hour they ſhattered them ſufficiently, and drove every *Spaniard* out of them, ſo as to enable the Ships to make good a Deſcent with 500 Grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel *Cochrane*, under the Walls of thoſe Forts, who, about Eight o'Clock, took Poſſeſſion of both of them, without having ſo much as a ſingle Muſket-ſhot fired at his Men. General *Wentworth*, with Brigadier *Guiſe* and Colonel *Wolfe*, attended the Landing of the Grenadiers, but the Brigade did not come down till the Day following, being prevented by the ſtrong Breezes. This Succeſs was obtained by the Loſs only of ſix Men killed and wounded a-board the *Norfolk* and *Ruſſel*; but the *Shrewſbury*, lying ſouthermoſt, had her Cable cut by the *Spaniſh* Shot, and before ſhe could let down another Anchor, falling to Leeward, drove towards the Mouth of the Harbour, where ſhe lay expoſed to the whole Fire of the *Spaniards*, having two Faſcine Batteries on the *Barradera* ſide, the Forts of *Boca Chica* and *St. Joſeph*, with four Men of War of 60 and 70 Guns, that were moored athwart the Mouth of the Harbour, all firing at her together with about 160 Guns, which the *Shrewſbury* could return only with 26. In this Situation Captain *Townſhend*, who commanded her, choſe to maintain his Poſt, like a brave gallant Officer, rather than retire in View of the Enemy, where he lay engaged ſeven Hours, maintaining a very good Fire from his Ship, till Night coming on put a Stop to the *Spaniſh* Fire, when the *Shrewſbury* had Orders to retire, after having 20 Men killed and 40 wounded, 16 Shot between Wind and Water, 250 Shot in her Hull, and her Maſts, Yards, and Rigging, ſhot all to Pieces. About nine the ſame Evening, the Bomb-ketches were carried in-ſhore, and began to play upon *Boca Chica* Caſtle. The 10th by Noon the two Regiments of *Harriſon* and *Wentworth*, and the ſix Regiments of Marines, landed without Oppoſition, and then all the Boats, and great Numbers of Seamen, were kept conſtantly employed in landing the Artillery, Ordnance Stores, Tents, and Baggage. On the 12th the *Ludlow-Caſtle* got in to play on the Caſtle of *Boca Chica* from a Mortar ſhe had on-board. On the 13th they began to play on the Caſtle from a Bomb-battery on-ſhore, erected between the Forts *St. Philip* and *Jago*; and on the 15th at Noon they compleated the landing of all the Artillery and Ordnance Stores, and 12 twenty-four Pounders lent out of the Ships at the General's Requeſt [a].

The Vice-admiral, perceiving the Camp to be greatly annoyed by the Faſcine Battery on the *Barradera* ſide of the Harbour, employed Officers to reconnoitre it; and the Vice-admiral held a Council of War on the 17th, when it was reſolved "To attack it with 300 Sailors, and 200 Soldiers detached from thoſe remaining on-board the Fleet." Accordingly Orders were given for all the Boats of the Squadron manned and armed to be ready at Midnight, with all the the Barges and Pinnaces of the Fleet, to ſurprize the *Barradera* Battery. The Boats of each Diviſion were put under the Command of Captain *Watſon*, with the Captains *Norris* and *Colby* under him; and the Sailors when landed were to be commanded by Captain *Boſcawen*, having under him Captains *Laws* and *Coates*; and the Soldiers were under the Direction of Captain *Waſhington* and Captain *Murray*; but the Wind blowing too hard at the time appointed, and all the ſucceeding Day, the Execution of the Deſign was retarded till the 19th at Night, when it was executed with wonderful Reſolution and Succeſs [b]. At their landing they fortunately pitched aſhore under the Muzzles of Five Guns, which immediately began to fire on them; the Sailors were ſurprized at ſo unexpected a Reception; but recollecting that their Security was in their Reſolution, they intrepidly ruſhed in at the Embrazures, took Poſſeſſion of the Battery before the *Spaniards* could renew their Fire, and ſecured the Cannon with very inconſiderable Damage to themſelves. This Firing alarming the *Spaniards* at the larger Battery, they turned three Pieces of Cannon on the Platform, fired with Grape-ſhot ſo ſoon as the Seamen advanced, which went over their Heads, and did them little Prejudice; the Sailors inſtantly ruſhed on with great Boldneſs and Spirit; and after a ſmart, tho' ſhort Reſiſtance, carried the Battery, ſpiked up all the Guns, tore up the Platforms and burned them, together with the Carriages, Guard-houſes, and Magazines, returning to their Ships with ſix wounded Priſoners, after ſuſtaining but a very inconſiderable Loſs in the whole Action; and for this gallant Behaviour the Vice-admiral rewarded every common Man with a Dollar a-piece [c].

On the 20th, as ſoon as it was Day, the Garriſon of *Boca Chica* began to fire warmly at the Bomb Battery, tho' without doing any particular Damage; but, being ſenſible of the Utility and advantageous Situation of the *Barradera* Battery, the *Spaniards* had been diligently repairing it, and on the 21ſt had built up ſome Embrazures, and mounted two Guns, with which they again played on the Bomb Battery, but were ſoon ſilenced by the *Ripon*, ordered by the Vice-admiral to anchor as near as poſſible to it, and keep firing, to prevent any further working on the levelled Battery.

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[a] The Troops, during the firſt three Days they were aſhore, remained very inactive in forming their Encampments, ſtanding expoſed to the violent Heat of the Sun on a white burning Sand, and catching Cold by the Inclemency of the Night Dews, many of them fell ſick; whereas, had they been inſtantly employed to have opened Ground in the Woods for an Encampment, they would have been ſhaded by the Trees, freed from the burning Heat of the Sand, and many of them preſerved from the Shot of the Spaniards. The Camp was pitched on a low Sand, and being ſheltered from the Barradera Battery by the Rock that Fort St. Philip ſtood on, could not be ſeen; but lying in the Line of Direction of the Shot fired from thence by the Spaniards at the Bomb Battery, was often flanked by Shot that miſſed the Bomb Battery. Sickneſs was increaſed among the Forces on-ſhore, the Engineers were both ignorant and dilatory, and nothing material was executed: This occaſioned Complaints from the Vice admiral, eſpecially as he had Diſpoſitions to make to forward the Succeſs of the Expedition, that were to be regulated by the Operations of the Army, ſuch Meaſures requiring poſitive Information to found them upon; and Brigadier Wentworth returned him the melancholy Account of being little aſſiſted by his general Officers. On ſuch Emergencies, whoever was guilty of Delay was guilty of Treachery; they ought to have conſidered the Spaniards had Kingdoms behind them to draw Succours from, and that the Britiſh Troops had not yet ſo much as advanced to cut off the Communication of the common Road from Carthagena, a thing abſolutely neceſſary; and as they could expect no further Succours, all Delays were very fatal, as Sloth and Idleneſs are the Breeders of Complaints and mutinous Diſpoſitions; and in a Climate of ſuch Inclemency, the certain Root of contagious Diſorders; while Briſkneſs and Activity in carrying on a Service, produce Chearfulneſs and Vivacity, the Attendants of Harmony and Health.

[b] About Midnight the Boats went away from their Ships, and rowed pretty far to leeward to avoid being ſeen or diſcovered by the Noiſe of their Oars; they rowed about a Mile to leeward of the Barradera Battery, which conſiſted of 15 twenty-four Pounders, and landed in a ſmall ſandy Bay, into which was a narrow Channel between two Reefs of Rocks, and a Battery of five Guns on the Strand facing the Channel, unknown to every Perſon in the Boats.

[c] This Succeſs was a great Relief to the Troops, as it freed them from the greateſt Annoyance of their Camp, and gave them an Opportunity of working quietly on their grand Battery, which the Engineers had been very ſlowly erecting againſt the Caſtle of Boca Chica. This Battery was conſtructed in a Wood, to prevent the Garriſon in the Caſtle from diſcovering it before it was completed; and though the Engineers were aſſiſted with 500 Seamen, 250 Blacks, beſides as many Pioneers as could be ſpared out of the Army, they had been now upwards of a Week in ſo negligent and tardy a Diſpoſition, that the Battery was far from being in a Condition to incommode the Caſtle. This concerned the Vice-admiral, who expected the Engineers would have ſeconded the Succeſs on the Barradera ſide, by opening their Battery againſt Boca Chica, which was punctually promiſed him, and he had reaſon to expect, this being the lateſt Day appointed for it.

The Vice-admiral grew very uneaſy, both from the Apprehenſions of the Openneſs of the Road the Fleet lay expoſed to, and the foul Ground that was daily cutting their Cables; this, augmented by the ſlow Proceedings of the Engineers, and together with intercepted Intelligence that Admiral *de Torres* was arrived at the *Havanna*, where the *French* Squadron under Monſieur *Rochefeuille* was expected to join him, induced the Vice-admiral on the 21ſt to hold another Council of War with the Commanders of the Fleet, when they came to a Reſolution, "To make a general "Attack upon all the Forts and Batteries, to be put in "Execution as ſoon as the Wind would permit the Ships "to move to their proper Stations." Commodore *Leſtock* was appointed to begin the Attack with three 80, and three 70 Gun Ships, being the moſt that could be brought conveniently to batter clear of each other; and the Commodore was to be ſupported by Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, with the additional Fire of other Ships, wherever he could find there was room for it [a].

On the 23d, purſuant to the Diſpoſition of Attack, Commodore *Leſtock* in the *Boyne*, with the *Prince Frederic*, *Hampton-Court*, *Suffolk*, and *Tilbury*, went in to batter *Boca Chica* Caſtle, and the Ships poſted there; which were the *Galicia* the Admiral's Ship, *San Carlos*, *Africa*, and *St. Philip*, all mounting upwards of 60 Guns; their Poſition being as advantageous as the moſt prudent Commander could have formed, both for oppoſing any Attempt that might be made by Shipping on the Entrance into the Harbour, or to annoy any Battery that could be raiſed aſhore; and as they found no Battery againſt them from the Shore, which was highly requiſite, the *Spaniſh* Ships failed not to play as briſkly, and did much greater Damage than the Caſtle; but the *Boyne*, falling ſo far to leeward as to lie expoſed to the whole Fire of the *Spaniſh* Ships and Fort *St. Joſeph*, was much ſhattered, and ordered off again that Night; the reſt continued there; and the *Princeſs Amelia*, belonging to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s Diviſion, having fallen farther to leeward than was intended, lay fair to ſilence the new-mounted Guns on the Faſcine Battery, and did ſo accordingly; which was a great Preſervative to the Men playing the Battery againſt the Caſtle, and thoſe in the Camp, as the Shot from the Faſcine Battery went over the Hill into the Camp. The *Prince Frederic* and *Hampton-Court*, ſharing the Fire that had been employed againſt the *Boyne*, were alſo much ſhattered by Morning, when the Vice-admiral was obliged to call them off, after many Men killed and wounded; and the former having loſt her Commander Lord *Aubrey Beauclerc*, a brave and gallant Officer, who would have been an Honour to his noble Family and his Country, being of a ſedate as well as of a reſolute Temper. The *Suffolk* and *Tilbury*, happening to anchor well to the northward, lay ſucceſsfully battering againſt the Breach till Evening, when every thing appearing fit for an Aſſault, they were ordered to draw off. The Army in the mean time began to look on the Breach as acceſſible, but the General complaining they were galled by the *Barradera* Battery, where the *Spaniards* had again mounted ſix Guns, which would be able to annoy them in their Attack; the Vice-admiral directed the *Princeſs Amelia*, *Litchfield*, and *Shoreham*, to go in and anchor as nigh it as poſſible; and about Noon ſent the Boats of the Fleet again, manned and armed, to demoliſh the Faſcine Battery; the Men when landed were commanded by Captain *Watſon*, having under him the Captains *Cotes* and *Dennis*; and thoſe remaining in the Boats, commanded by Captain *Cleland* and Captain *Broderick*; who having Time and Day-light for it, effectually performed their Buſineſs, without any Oppoſition; for ſo ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſaw the Boats coming to land, and the Ships anchoring cloſe to the Battery, they deſerted it: But the Captains *Watſon* and *Cotes* marched into it, ſpiked up the Guns, and entirely deſtroyed the Battery. The Seamen afterwards drew ſome of their Boats over a Neck of Land, and boarded and burnt a Sloop that lay there to ſupply the Battery with Ammunition.

The greateſt part of the Guns in *Boca Chica* Caſtle being now diſmounted, General *Wentworth* went in the Night of the 24th to reconnoitre the Breach, and judging it ſurmountable, reſolved to aſſault it by Storm the next Evening, an Hour before Night: He came off in the Morning and acquainted the Vice-admiral of his Deſign, who immediately made the Signal for his Boats again, and ſent them in to make a favourable Diverſion, under the chief Command of his Engineer Captain *Knowles*, who landed at the Faſcine Battery, and drew up his Men before the time of the Forces marching to attack the Caſtle, which contributed to throw the *Spaniards* into ſome Confuſion. General *Wentworth*, having made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, about half an Hour after Five, ordered the Troops to move forward to aſſault the Breach. The Forlorn-hope conſiſted of a Serjeant and twelve Grenadiers, who were immediately followed by 30 Volunteers; next marched 260 Grenadiers, the whole then remaining, under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel *M'Loud*, and afterwards Colonel *Daniel* at the Head of a Detachment of 500 Men, who had under his Direction ſome ſmall Parties, carrying Scaling-ladders, Pick-axes and Spades, to be in Readineſs in caſe of Neceſſity; The whole was ſuſtained by 500 Men, under the Command of Lieutenant-colonel *Cochrane*; and Brigadier *Blakeney*, the Brigadier of the Day, had the Direction of the Attack. Upon a Signal, which was the firing of three Bombs from the Mortar Battery, a Volley of Round-ſhot was poured in upon the Breach from the great Gun Battery, and was immediately followed by a ſecond of Grape-ſhot; which obliging the Centinels upon the Walls to put themſelves under Cover, probably occaſioned their not having perceived the Troops when they firſt began to move to the Attack: But ſome time before they reached the Foot of the Walls, the Drums in the Fort beat to Arms, the Top of the Breach was manned, the Ships began to fire with Grape-ſhot, and ſeveral Shots were made from Fort *St. Joſeph*, though without doing any other Execution, than the killing of one Man. The Commandant of the Fort being at that time on-board one of the Ships, the Garriſon fell into Confuſion, and fled with Precipitation out of the Gates as ſoon as the Grenadiers began to mount the Breach [b]. Captain *Knowles* finding what Conſternation the *Spaniards* were in, reſolved to row the Boats cloſe under the Lee-ſhore, and ſtorm *St. Joſeph*'s Fort from the Boats; which he did accordingly, and took Poſſeſſion of it about Ten o'Clock at Night, with little Reſiſtance, the *Spaniards*, after firing a few Guns, having abandoned it, leaving only one drunken Man behind, who was to have blown it up. Captain *Cotes* was left to command the Fort, while Captain *Knowles* and Captain *Watſon*, being within the Boom, rowed with the Boats up to the *Galicia*, boarded her, and took the Captain, a Captain of Marines, an Enſign, and 60 Men Priſoners, and ſecured the *Spaniſh* Admiral's Flag and Colours, both of which they found flying [c]. After leaving ſome Officers and Men on-board the *Galicia*, the Boats went to work on cutting the Boom, and moving the *Galicia* out of the Channel, to make all clear for entering the Harbour on the next Day.

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[a] The grand Battery of 20 Guns being finiſhed, after clearing the Wood from before it, on the 22d, about ſeven in the Morning, began to play very briſkly on Boca Chica Caſtle, as did the Bomb Battery and 30 Mortars and Cohorns planted on the Platform behind the Cannon; which the Spaniards returned as briſkly from the Caſtle, the four Ships in the Mouth of the Harbour, Fort St. Joſeph, and ſome few Guns from the Barradera; ſo that the Work was warm on both ſides.

[b] Don Blas, the Spaniſh Admiral, was at this Time on-board the Gallicia, and together with the Officers and Crews of all his Ships, were in the utmoſt Conſternation at ſuch a ſudden and unexpected ſucceſsful Event. Each Ship was ſcuttled ready for ſinking, and had a large ſquare Plug in the Hole; the Africa and St. Carlos were ſunk, but the Plug being not readily got out of the St. Philip, ſhe was ſet on-fire, while the Spaniards in the greateſt Hurry betook themſelves to their Boats, and that with ſo much Confuſion, that the Crew of the Galicia, having left their Captain and 60 Men aboard, were afraid to return and carry them off, ſo that they were prevented from their Intention of ſinking her, as there was no Poſſibility of eſcaping.

[c] The Britiſh Troops, from the Time of their Encampment to the taking of Boca Chica Caſtle, loſt about 400 Men by Sickneſs and the Fire from the Spaniards; and amongſt thoſe that were killed in the Camp, were Colonel Douglas, Colonel Watſon of the Train, Lieutenant-colonel Sandford, and Captain Moor the chief Engineer.

The next Day after taking the Caſtle, being the 16th, the Vice-admiral haſtened into the Harbour to make proper Diſpoſitions, and give all neceſſary Orders; but he had great Difficulty to get in, as the *San Carlos* and *Africa* were ſunk in the Channel, and the *St. Philip* continued burning on the Lee-ſhore; ſo that the Vice-admiral was above three Hours warping through, after anchoring in the Narrows, before he could get to ſail up the Harbour, which he did about two Leagues the ſame Evening; as alſo did the *Burford* and *Orford*, who the next Day were ordered to advance for poſting themſelves acroſs the Harbour as near as they could, juſt without Gun-ſhot of *Caſtillo Grande*, for cutting the *Spaniards* off from all Communication by Water. On the ſame Day the *Worceſter* got up to the Vice-admiral, who ſent her to anchor cloſe to a Wharf where there was a good Crane and a Spring of Water, which he thought neceſſary to ſecure for the Service of the Fleet; the *Weymouth* and *Cruizer* Sloop getting in the ſame Afternoon, were ordered to deſtroy the Batteries at *Paſſo Cavallos*, a Creek that parts the *Grand Baru* from the Main, through which the Supplies of Proviſions from *Tolu* and *Sina* were to paſs, and where the *Spaniards* had erected two ſmall Batteries, one of eight, the other of four Guns, which were demoliſhed by the *Weymouth* and *Cruizer*; on which the latter went up the Creek, and brought away four large *Sina* Hulks, being veſſels dug out of a ſolid Tree big enough to carry 20 Tons, which were very ſerviceable in watering the Fleet. In the mean time the Vice and Rear-admirals two Diviſions, and part of the Tranſports, continued to ſail and warp in as faſt as conveniently they could, but were greatly retarded by blowing Weather, which having forced all the ſmall Ships to take Shelter in the Mouth of the Harbour, they ſo choaked it up as to prevent the Men of War making the deſired Diſpatch, having anchored foul of one another: But being all got in on the 30th, the Fire-ſhips and Frigates were diſpoſed round the Harbour to guard every Paſs and Creek, in order to cut off any Supplies going to the Town; while Commodore *Leſtock* with his Diviſion was left at *Boca Chica*, with Orders to re-imbark the Forces and Cannon as ſoon as poſſible.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing the Vice-admiral and ſeveral Ships had got into the Harbour, began to expect a Viſit at *Caſtillo Grande*; and as *Mancinilla* Fort lay oppoſite to it, within Gun-ſhot, and was incapable of making any great Defence, they thought proper to deſtroy it, leſt the *Britiſh* Forces ſhould take Poſſeſſion of it, and ſo batter the Caſtle.

Between this Fort and *Caſtillo Grande*, is a large Channel that goes up into the *Surgidero*, another Harbour or large Baſon before the Town: In the Middle of the Channel is a Shoal that divides it into two Channels; and in order to ſtop the Fleet, the *Spaniards* had moored and ſunk ſeven of their Galloons and other Ships on each Side the Shoal, acroſs the Mouth of the upper Harbour above *Caſtillo Grande*; and in the Channel next the Caſtle, had moored their two remaining Men of War, the *Conquiſtador* of 66 Guns, and the *Dragon* of 60, and untiled their Houſes in the Caſtle as if intending to defend it.

On the 30th Vice-admiral *Vernon* held a general Council of War, of naval Officers, when it was reſolved, "To uſe all poſſible Expedition to cut off the Communication of the Town on the Land-ſide, and to make a Deſcent at the moſt convenient Place neareſt the Town." Immediately after Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and ſeveral Ships, turned up the Harbour, and anchored at a ſmall Diſtance from *Caſtillo Grande*, where the *Spaniards* made a Shew of preparing to receive them; but Captain *Knowles* being ſent in the Evening to reconnoitre them, obſerved they were buſy in moving about with 13 Launches, and the next Morning diſcovered that they had ſunk the *Conquiſtador* and *Dragon*, and were removing Things out of *Caſtillo Grande*: Captain *Knowles* immediately acquainted Sir *Chaloner Ogle* of it, who inſtantly ordered him to weigh Anchor, and run in with his Ship and fire on the Caſtle, to ſee if they would return it; which he did, and the Caſtle making no Return, he ſent his Boats aſhore, who rowed directly up to the Caſtle, and took Poſſeſſion of it without Oppoſition [a].

The Vice-admiral intending to get the Bomb-ketches in to play upon the Town, on the 1ſt of *April* in the Morning got to an Anchor with his own Ship cloſe to *Caſtillo Grande*, and ſet ſome of his Ships at work to try to heave the Maſts out of the *Spaniſh* Ships, to make a Channel over thoſe ſunk in deepeſt Water, as he might get the Squadron in, and ſecure a ſafe Deſcent to the Army under the Fire of their Guns as near the Town as poſſible; and in the Evening, by the Induſtry of the gallant Sailors, a Channel was made through the ſunk Wrecks, and two Bomb-ketches got in, with two Frigates to cover them, commanded by Captain *Rentone* and Captain *Broderick*. In the mean while Commodore *Leſtock* had compleated the Re-imbarkation of the Land-forces, Artillery and Baggage, who ſoon after got up the Harbour. By Ten the next Morning the Bomb-ketches began to play upon the Town, and ſome of the Guns that were cleared at *Caſtillo Grande* fired on a *French* Ship that lay up at the Head of the Harbour, and had been uſed as an Hoſpital ſhip for the *Spaniards*, who ſet fire to her, and ſhe burnt the greateſt part of the Day; and the ſame Evening another Channel having been made through the Wrecks to the eaſtward of the Shoal, in the Mouth of the Harbour, three Fire-ſhips got through that Channel, and were poſted to cover the Deſcent of the Land-forces at *Texar de Gracias*, who kept firing on the *Spaniards* wherever they ſaw them endeavouring to intrench themſelves. On the 3d the *Weymouth* got through the weſtern Channel, when the Town began to fire on her without doing any material Damage; and the next Night ſhe paſſed round the Shoal to the eaſtern Part of the Harbour. The *Cruizer* got in at the other Channel the 4th in the Evening; and great part of the Tranſports with the Troops, being now come up the Harbour, the *Weymouth*, the three Fire-ſhips and the *Cruizer* Sloop, being ordered to cover the landing of the Forces, warped over the other Side of the Harbour undiſcovered by the *Spaniards*, and were ſo prudently poſted by the Vice-admiral round the eaſtern Part of the Harbour, that their Fire ſcoured the Country all round, and drove about 100 of the *Spaniards* from a Breaſt-work at the Upper-end of the Harbour; and the *Weymouth*'s Guns firing briſkly all Night with Grape-ſhot, ſcoured the Country between that and *St. Lazar*, by which means a ſecure Deſcent was procured for the Army, whoſe Officers had reſolved, in a Council of War, "To land the Troops the next Morning at Break-of-day, and to poſſeſs the Port of *La Quinta*, for cutting off the Communication of the City with the Country, for covering the Landing of the Artillery, and to clear Ground for the Encampment [b]:" And had the golden Opportunity been ſeized, it is highly conjectured the *Spaniards* would not have dared to have defended themſelves, but that *Lazar* would have fell like *Boca Chica*, and the *Spaniards* been obliged to ſeek Protection within their Walls, where there was the higheſt Probability of their ſurrendering

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[a] Though this Caſtle mounted 59 Guns, and was capable of making a good Defence, yet the Spaniards, the Day before, perceiving the Rear-admiral's Boats were ſounding, and well knowing his Ships could lay their Broadſides within Piſtol-ſhot of the Caſtle, they thought proper to abandon it, having ſlightly ſpiked up the Guns without diſmounting them or knocking off the Trunions, and thrown their Powder into a Ciſtern of Water; but moſt of the Guns were got clear again, and Captain Knowles appointed Governor of the Caſtle, with a Garriſon of 100 regular Troops, and 50 Seamen. This was a moſt advantageous Acquiſition to ſhorten the Proceedings of the Army, on their reimbarking to reland nearer the Town, which they could now do within a League of it, but without being Maſters of Caſtillo Grande, they muſt have landed at the Diſtance of three Leagues from the Town; ſo that St. Lazar was the only remaining Fort, the Reduction of which was to be next undertaken, as it covers the South-ſide of Carthagena, and commands all the Avenues, and was abſolutely neceſſary to be in the Poſſeſſion of the Britiſh Troops before they could advance a Step to lay Siege to the Town. [b] Accordingly the firſt Diviſion, amounting to about 1400 Men, under the Command of Brigadier (now Lord) Blakeney, about Two o'Clock in the Morning of the 5th, were received by the Boats of the Fleet from on-board the Tranſports, and from thence went and rendezvouſed aboard the Weymouth; at about Five the General ordered Colonel Grant to move towards the Shore with the Grenadiers, who landed without Oppoſition at Texar de Gracias, a Country Houſe about two Miles from Lazar, formerly hired by the South-ſea Factors; and being immediately followed by the reſt of the Troops, the whole was formed in order for marching againſt the Spaniards; who were now in the wildeſt

ing the Town, as they had formerly done under the like Circumſtances to *De Pointi*.

On the 6th the Remainder of the eight Regiments came on-ſhore, ſo that before Noon the whole Body of Troops were landed with ſuch Security, as not to have one ſingle Muſket-ſhot fired at them; while all poſſible Diſpatch was made in landing the Artillery, Ammunition, Baggage, Proviſions, and military Stores. But the Troops were obliged to lie three Nights upon their Arms for the want of Tents; and as they were not ſeaſonably provided with Tools to build them, they were expoſed to all the Inclemency of the Weather, unſheltered from the fervid Heat of the ſcorching Sun, and the Intemperature of the chilling Night-dews, which enfeebled the Men, and ſpread a contagious Diſtemper through the whole Camp [a].

Sickneſs increaſing in the Camp, and the rainy Seaſon approaching, Admiral *Vernon*, from the Slowneſs of the Army, was in great Deſpondency of ſeeing the Succeſs of the Fleet continued by the Army; he knew the *Spaniards* could not ſtand a vigorous Aſſault, but being convinced they were infinitely better provided with Engineers than the Army, he, in Conjunction with Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, ſtrongly recommended to the General to make a vigorous Puſh, as he would thereby intimidate the *Spaniards*, obtain a great Preſervation to his decaying Men, and bring Matters to a ſpeedy Iſſue: And to give the General all Aſſiſtance in his Power, the Vice-admiral ſupplied his Deficiency of Men, with a Detachment of Lord *James Cavendiſh* and Colonel *Bland*'s Regiments, that had remained aboard the Ships as part of their Complement, and a Body of ſuch *Americans* as were fit for Service, which, together with the Negroes, augmented the Army to about 5000 Men. Care was taken by the Fleet effectually to prevent any Supplies, and deprive the *Spaniards* from any Communication at Sea; and the *Weymouth* continuing poſted within Piſtol-ſhot of the Shore, kept ſcouring the Country to ſecure the Camp from any Attack; and the Mortars from the Ketches played both on the Fort and the Town: But the General could not be prevailed on to cut off the Communication between the Town and Country; by which Negligence the *Spaniards* had uninterrupted Opportunities of bringing whole Herds of Cattle into the Town, and, at their Leiſure, to reinforce and ſupply the Garriſon of *Lazar*.

Upon receiving the Reinforcement from the Ships, on the 8th in the Afternoon, a Council of War was held by the General and Field-officers, wherein it was reſolved by the Majority of the Council, "To attack the Caſtle and "Trenches of *St. Lazar*, without waiting for the raiſing "of a Battery to make a Breach;" which the chief Engineer had reported, required ſo large a Number of Men, and ſo much Time to cut through the Woods, as in their Circumſtances rendered it impracticable; and eſpecially as the *Spaniards* were daily throwing up new Works, the Council thought there was no other Choice left, but either to make a bold Puſh for the ſurpriſing Fort *Lazar*, or to return on-board; and therefore determined, but too late, on the Aſſault, though two of the General Officers diſſented from this Reſolution, as judging it too raſh an Undertaking without firſt making a proper Breach, or at leaſt before the Place had been well reconnoitred [b]; but after pitching upon a wrong Place, and fruitleſsly expoſing the Men for a Sacrifice to the *Spaniards*, between Six and Seven the *Britiſh* Troops were ordered to retreat; and to cover them, a Reſerve of 500 Men was directed to advance, by which means they retired without any further Loſs, and carried off great part of the wounded Men; having upwards of 600 Men killed or wounded in this unfortunate and fatal Attack, and amongſt the Slain were Colonel *Grant*, Lieutenant-colonel *Thompſon*, three Captains, and four Lieutenants.

After the Miſcarriage of this Attack, all Hopes of poſſeſſing the Town were entirely vaniſhed; the Troops ſickened ſo ſurprizingly faſt, that near 500 were either dead or in a very feeble Condition by the 13th, and amongſt the Sick were almoſt all the principal Officers: Upon which the General called a Council of War, compoſed of Sea and Land Officers, in which it was reſolved on the 15th, "To have the Cannon and forces re-imbarked with all "convenient Speed." Every thing being got ready on the 16th, the Boats were ordered aſhore about Nine at Night, and effected the Re-imbarkation under Cover of the Ships, with the ſame Diſpoſition that gave Security to their Landing, without having a Muſket-ſhot fired at them. The Number of Troops on their Landing amounted to about 5000, and were ſo far reduced by the *Spaniards* and Sickneſs, that no more than 3200 returned to the Ships; and

Confuſion, the whole Force of the Town was drawn out to oppoſe the Landing of the Troops, and were very impoliticly divided into ſeveral Bodies; and though ſome of their Parties attempted to attack the Forces on their landing, the Ships perceiving their Motions fired among them, ſwept off Numbers, and entirely diſperſed them. General Wentworth, at the Head of the Forces, advanced through a long narrow Defile, where he had ſome few Men hurt by ſingle Shot from the Paths and Openings into the Wood, where the Spaniards had made a Lodgment, but were ſoon put to flight. About a Mile further, in coming out of the Defile, about 600 of the Spaniards were perceived to be advantageouſly poſted, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the Paſſage. The Ground over which the Troops were to march, did not admit of much more than one large Platoon in Front, the Lagoon lying upon the left, and a thick Copſe upon their right, into which the General ordered a Party of American Soldiers to fall upon the Rear of any ſmall Parties which might be lodged there to flank them in their March. The Grenadiers moved forward with great Alacrity, and having with very little Loſs received two Fires from the Spaniards, the Front Platoon gave their Fire at about the Diſtance of half Muſket-ſhot, and immediately wheeled to the right and left to make room for the next to advance; whence the Spaniards judging that the whole Body gave way, expreſſed their Joy by a loud Huzza; but being ſoon convinced of their Miſtake, by the Fire of the following Platoons, they fell into Diſorder, and precipitately fled towards the City; on which the General immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of a convenient Piece of Ground for forming the Camp a ſmall Mile from the Caſtle of St. Lazar; and in the Evening ſent a Party up to take Poſſeſſion of La Popa, which the Spaniards had abandoned. As the Hill on which this Convent is ſituated, overlooks the Town and Country for many Leagues round about, it was a moſt advantageous Part for obſerving the Motions of the Spaniards; from whence the General, accompanied by Brigadier Guiſe and the principal Engineer, reconnoitred the City; and having at his Return aſſembled a Council of War, it was debated, whether the Fort of St. Lazar ſhould not be attacked the following Night, before the Spaniards ſhould have finiſhed ſome Works from the Hill which they were then carrying on with the utmoſt Diligence; but as no Stores were then landed from the Ordnance Ships, it was thought neceſſary to poſtpone the Attack. Perhaps this was both an unfortunate and imprudent Reſolution, for the Spaniards had but lately experienced the Boldneſs and Courage of the Britiſh Troops when they confuſedly fled before them at La Quinta; the Generality of them were poſſeſſed with all the Horrors of an approaching Enemy, whom they knew undauntedly intrepid; and as they were now hurrying in Fear and Confuſion, it was a very favourable Criterion for the Britiſh Troops to have aſſaulted them, thus in the very Height of their Panic.

[a] The ſame Sort of Indolence reigned here, with the ſame Prevalence, as at the Camp before Boca Chica; the Engineers having erected a Battery only for three Mortars, and thrown up a ſmall Breaſt-work for the advanced Guards: While the Garriſon in Lazar, perceiving how ſlowly they took occaſion to improve their Time in the Camp, ſet to-work with unwearied Diligence; and though when the Army landed, the Works round Fort Lazar were very inſignificant, except a Faſcine Battery of five Guns on the North-ſide of the Hill, which was built the Year before when Admiral Vernon bombarded the Town, and was of no Service but in caſe of Approaches at Sea; yet the Spaniards in three Days time completed a four Gun Battery, and intrenched themſelves in Lines round the Foot of the Caſtle, which were ſtronger and of much more Importance than the Caſtle itſelf; they alſo drew the Guns off the Faſcine Battery on the North-point, and mounting them in this new Battery, frequently fired in the Camp, whilſt the Army were working on the Bomb Battery and Lodgments for the advanced Guard.

[b] The neceſſary Things for the Attack could not be got in Readineſs till Night; and the next Morning 1200 Men, under the Command of Brigadier-general Guiſe, paraded on the Strand, where having formed, they advanced towards the Fort, conducted by three Deſerters; and a little before Day began to mount the Hill. They began the Attack in two Places, but the Diviſion which was to have gone up an open acceſſible Road which lay upon the Right of the Fort, was in the Dark by a fatal Miſtake led up the Center, where the Aſcent was very ſteep, and the Ground broken: Some of the moſt forward gained the Top, and puſhed on to the Entrenchments, but not being immediately ſuſtained, by reaſon of the great Difficulty found in mounting the Hill, they were moſt of them killed or wounded. Colonel Grant very gallantly aſcended the Hill on the left, but having immediately received a mortal Wound, and the Guide with ſeveral others being killed, Lieutenant-colonel Hamon, the next in Command, advanced no further, but continued on the Side of the Hill till they were ordered to retire. This Detachment being the Flower of the Army, were almoſt all cut off, and their Colonel ſhot through the Body; the reſt of the Troops perceiving the diſmal Slaughter of their braveſt Men, and their Officers ſeeing they had formed their Diſpoſition on an inacceſſible Part of the Hill, halted at the Foot of it, and remained in a great deal of Irregularity; for inſtead of ruſhing Sword-in-hand among the Spaniards in the Trenches, a full Stop was made, the Men ſtood firing in Platoons, and not one of the Officers attempted to lead them on; thoſe that had Room and could wheel off for others, did, but the greateſt Part ſtood and fired all their Ammunition away; while the Spaniards pouring in from the Town, it being open Day-light, played ſo exceedingly briſk upon them with Grape-ſhot from their Cannon, Muſketry, and Grenadoes, that they made a moſt lamentable Havoc amongſt the Beſiegers, who notwithſtanding faced them like Lions; and had they been led on, or told what they were to have done, the Place in all Probability muſt have ſurrendered to their Bravery.

1200 of thoſe were *Americans*, not eſteemed fit for Service; and great Numbers of the others feeble, and ſcarcely fit for the ordinary Duty.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral's Ship the *Galicia*, was got up to *Caſtillo Grande* on the 8th, and Vice-admiral *Vernon*, intending her for a Battery againſt the Town, ſent ſixty Carpenters on-board to fit her up, for ſecuring the Men as well as he could from the general Fire ſhe muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to. On the 15th at Night ſhe was completed, and poſted, under the Command of Captain *Hore*, as near the Walls of the Town as poſſible, Anchors having been dropped for that Purpoſe in as Shoal-water as the Boats could float them; but the Shoalings from the Town ran too far off for any effectual Service: No Ship could be nearer placed, nor could any Fire be more regularly and cloſely plied from a Ship, than was performed by the Officers and Sailors on board of her, who ſtood the Fire from three Baſtions, a Half-moon, and a Ravelin, from Five in the Morning till near twelve at Noon, and never flagged in their Fire: But as the Vice-admiral ſaw ſhe could do no material Service againſt Stone Walls at that Diſtance, he ſent Orders to Captain *Hore* to cut and drive before the Sea Breeze Broadſide to the *Spaniards*, as ſoon as the Breeze was ſtrong enough; which was not till near Twelve, when they kept driving Broadſide, and continued their Fire till they drove aſhore on the Shoal, where ſhe ſoon filled with Water, having 22 Shot between Wind and Water, and would ſoon have foundered at her Anchors, if the Vice-admiral had not ordered her off. The Vice-admiral, thro' his former Experience, and by trying this Experiment with the *Galicia*, had ſufficient room to form ſome general Maxims upon; which were, in his Judgment, "That no Ships "ſhould ever be brought to batter againſt Stone Walls, "unleſs the Commanders are firſt aſſured they can place "their Ships within Muſket-ſhot of them;" and could the *Britiſh* Fleet have approached as near to *Carthagena*, it muſt have been inevitably ſurrendered; and that they could not, was evidently manifeſted by the Station of the *Galicia*, who was unable to come near enough to batter the Walls; on which ſhe was ordered to fire over them into the Town, where by her cannonading the Houſes were greatly ſhattered. The Shells from the Bomb-ketches alſo damaged many of the Houſes and ſome of the Churches, particularly on the 13th at Night, one of the Carcaſſes falling into the great Church, where was the principal Magazine of Powder, ſet Fire to the Timber and Plank that covered it, and had like to have been a very fatal Incident to the *Spaniards*; but on ringing the Alarm-bell, the whole Town went to work, threw Sand upon it, and ſtifled the Fire, which once more broke out anew, but was afterwards totally extinguiſhed.

The Sea-officers and Sailors having been employed in getting out the Maſts, Anchors, and Cables from ſome of the ſunk *Spaniſh* Ships, the Fleet was ſoon in a Condition for proceeding to Sea again; and on the 23d and 24th it was reſolved, by the General Council of War, "To re-"turn to *Jamaica*, on account of the general Sickneſs in "the Army." Under the Direction of Captain *Knowles* the entire Demolition of *Caſtillo Grande* was completed the 25th, which took up the more time from the great Thickneſs of the Walls and Strength of the Cement, but was entirely demoliſhed at laſt, and the 59 Pieces of Ordnance in it rendered unſerviceable, by ſpiking them up, and knocking off the Trunnions. After having completed the Demolition of the Defence of the Harbour, and deſtroyed the Lime-kilns for putting the *Spaniards* backwards in erecting other Buildings, and ſhipping off all their Store of Lime and Lime-ſtone for the Service of the Hoſpital building at *Jamaica*; on the 6th of *May* Vice-admiral *Vernon* very civilly left the Harbour, not having injured any of their Dwelling-houſes, or through Wantonneſs given the leaſt Looſe to any of thoſe rapacious Practices of War ſo often committed, and ſo generally expected from the Reſentment of an exaſperated and even a victorious Enemy; all Exceſſes of this Nature being contradictory to the Humanity and open Courage of the *Britiſh* Admiral, and by his Orders carefully guarded againſt, and avoided by both Officers and Seamen: The next Day Sir *Chaloner Ogle* got out of the Harbour with 14 Sail, and joined the Vice-admiral off *Point Canoa* on the 8th; who proceeded for *Jamaica*, and in his way left Captain *Mayne* in the *Worceſter*, with the *Strafford*, *Princeſs Louiſa* and *Litchfield*, to cruize to windward of Cape *Tiberon* till the 30th, for the Security of the Convoy with the Victuallers and Store-ſhips expected from *England*; and on the 19th the Vice-admiral with the Fleet got into *Port Royal* Harbour, where to his great Pleaſure he found the Convoy with the Victuallers and Store-ſhips were ſafely arrived about four Days before him.

The active Admiral on his Return to *Jamaica*, had Orders to ſend home ſuch Ships as he ſhould find convenient; and accordingly, with the Advice of a Council of War, he diſpatched home ſeven eighty Gun Ships; alſo the *Hampton-Court*, the *Burford*, *Windſor*, *Falmouth*, and five Frigates, under the Care of Commodore *Leſtock*.

But neither this Diminution of his Strength, nor the Loſſes occaſioned by Sickneſs, and the late Expedition, were Excuſes for his lying idle: He immediately ſet about putting every Thing into a Condition for returning to Sea, on the further Service of his King and Country, which was the predominant and only Paſſion then reigning in the Boſom of this excellent Commander: He was impatient to retrive the martial Glory and Reputation of his native Country, which the *Spaniards* had inſolently vilified and degraded, ſince the Retreat from *Carthagena*, and which the Admiral, fired with honeſt Zeal to preſerve the *Britiſh* Honour, was determined to re-eſtabliſh; eſpecially as he well knew what a prodigious Sum this Expedition had coſt, and how high the Nation had carried their Expectations from it, which as often as he reflected on, he was the more animated to exert his Abilities to anſwer the great View of the Nation, which was effectually to reduce the Power of *Spain* in *America*. His next Thought was about holding a general Council of War for regulating their future Proceedings; which being propoſed to the reſt of the Council, they accordingly aſſembled.

At a general Council of War held at his Excellency's Governor *Trelawney*'s, at *St. Jago de la Vaga*, on the 26th of *May*, 1741.

PRESENT,

Vice-admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, General *Wentworth*, General *Guiſe*, and Governor *Trelawney*.

"The Council, after maturely deliberating on their In-"ſtructions, Orders, Letters, intercepted Intelligences, "and Advices; and having Regard to the great Reduc-"tion of their Forces, were of Opinion, That in regard "to the Diminution of the Forces, the Security of *Ja-*"*maica*, the *Britiſh* Trade, and of all Supplies coming to "them, and alſo the preſerving a Communication with "*Jamaica* for their Supplies; the only Expedition that "could be thought adviſable to be undertaken, was againſt "*St. Jago de Cuba*, a Port of great Importance to the Se-"curity of the *Britiſh* Trade, and cutting off the baneful "Correſpondence between the *Spaniards* and *Hiſpaniola*. "And though in regard to the general Sickneſs that "ſpread itſelf through the Fleet and Army, they were not "in very good Condition for undertaking any new Expe-"dition, yet on the Aſſurance given the Council by Go-"vernor *Trelawney*, that they might rely on a Supply "from *Jamaica* of 1000 of the moſt ſerviceable Blacks "they could raiſe in the Iſland, to be all choſen Men, and "to have proper Officers; and through a ſincere Zeal for "doing the utmoſt in their Power, to anſwer the Expec-"tations of their royal Maſter from the great Expence of "this Expedition." 'It was the Reſolution of the Coun-'cil to undertake this Expedition againſt *St. Jago*, and to 'puſh it forward with all the Diſpatch the Situation of 'their Affairs would admit of."

This Reſolution was ſigned by the two Admirals and both the Generals, but was diſſented from by Governor *Trelawney*, who was of Opinion, "That ſince the Forces "had been ſo reduced by Sickneſs, the remaining Num-"ber ought not to be hazarded, but on a Service that, if "it ſucceeded, might be of great Benefit and Importance "to *Great-Britain*. He could not think *St. Jago de Cuba* "of conſequence while the *Engliſh* were Maſters at Sea; "and took it for an inviolable Maxim to be Superiors, as "they might be, at Sea in the *Weſt-Indies*, or elſe Poſſeſ-

" ſions

“ ſeſſions there would be a Detriment, inſtead of a Benefit, “ to *Great-Britain*; and no Poſſeſſions, but ſuch as are “ uſeful in Commerce, are for the Benefit of *England*. “ *Panama* is of that Nature, as it would command the “ Iſthmus of *Darien*; and therefore, if there was Force “ enough, with the Help of the *Muſquito* Indians and Negroes, under proper Officers from *Jamaica*, an Attempt “ upon that Place would be, in his Opinion, moſt adviſable.”

But the Poſſeſſion of this pure, large, and healthy Iſland of *Cuba*[a], was the univerſal Cry of the *Britiſh* Nation. His Majeſty in his Inſtructions, ſent from *Herenhauſen* the 10th of *July* 1740, had particularly recommended to the Vice-admiral to attempt the *Havanna*, *La Vera Cruz*, *Mexico*, *Carthagena*, and *Panama*; but of all theſe the moſt deſirable Acquiſition was the Reduction of the Town and Port of the *Havanna*. It was now impoſſible to attempt the *Havanna*, becauſe Don *Rodrigo de Torres* was in that Port, with an equal if not a ſuperior Force to the *Britiſh* Squadron; and therefore the Conqueſt of *St. Jago* ſeemed the moſt preferable to be undertaken, as that Port was the Rendezvous of the *Spaniſh* Privateers; and if the *Britiſh* Forces were once in Poſſeſſion of *Cuba*, the whole World would not be able to diſpoſſeſs them again. The Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, ſenſible of the Abilities of the Vice-admiral, and grateful for the Service he had done them, by ordering his Cruizers to ſuch advantageous Situations for the Protection of their valuable Trade, and perceiving the too viſible Havoc that had riotouſly raged among, and diminiſhed the Land-forces, who from 12,000 were now reduced to 3000, offered to raiſe a Body of 5000 Negroes for the preſent Expedition: But it was judged moſt adviſable, both in regard to the royal Service, and to their own Conveniency, to deſire a ſmaller Number, and to have only 1000 choſen Blacks, which were immediately collected; and the Fleet and Forces were as expeditiouſly prepared for the Enterprize.

The Vice-admiral, on the 25th of *June*, ordered Captain *Renton*, in the *Ripon*, to proceed immediately to Sea[b]. On the 13th of *July* the Fleet aſſembled off the Iſland of *Navaſſa*, when the whole Squadron conſiſted of the following Ships:

LINE OF BATTLE.

VICE-ADMIRAL *VERNON*.

Frigates, *&c.*	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders,	Men.	Guns.
Shoreham					
Alderney	4	*Cheſter*	*Long*	300	50
Strombolo	3	*Grafton*	*Rycaut*	480	70
Phaeton		*Boyne*	Vice-adm. *Vernon*	620	80
Bonetta			Captain *Watſon*		
Princeſs Royal	4	*Worceſter*	*Cleland*	400	60
Pompey		*Tilbury*	*Dent*	400	60
Triton					

REAR-ADMIRAL Sir *CHALONER OGLE*.

Experiment	3	*Kent*	*Mitchel*	480	70
Sheerneſs		*Cumberland*	Sir *Chaloner Ogle*	615	80
Veſuvius			Captain *Norris*		
Scarborough	4	*Tyger*	*Herbert*	300	50
		Montague	*Chambers*	400	60

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[a] The Iſland of Cuba is the largeſt, and far the moſt temperate and pleaſant of all the Antilles, lying between 19 Deg. 30 Min. and 23 Deg. of North Latitude, and from 293 to 304 Deg. of Longitude, being about 230 Leagues in Length, and in the broadeſt Part 40 Leagues wide, in the narroweſt about 12; having Florida and the Lucayos on the North, Hiſpaniola on the Weſt, Jamaica and the Southern Continent on the South, and the Gulph of Mexico on the Eaſt. A Country redundant not only with the neceſſary Conveniences of Life, but abounding even with the more delicate Bleſſings of Nature, and is much the largeſt Iſland in America; the Savannas, or large open Meadow Lands, are ſwarming with Cattle, and the Woods with Hogs both wild and tame: The Land is good for Sugar-canes, which it produces, and Tobacco of the beſt Kind in great Plenty; Wheat, Rice, all kind of Salleting, and Pulſe, flouriſh very plentifully, with Fruit of all Kinds that thoſe Indies afford: The Woods are full of Mahogony, Fuſtic, Spaniſh Elm, Cedar, and ſeveral other valuable Kinds; alſo Cotton grows wild, beſides what is planted; the whole Iſland is full of fine Rivers and Harbours fit for Tranſportation; and the Town of Covery, within three Leagues of St Jago, has in it one of the richeſt Copper Mines, on which the Spaniards are inceſſantly at work. The Havanna, which lies on the weſtern Part of the Iſland, is the moſt conſiderable Town for Strength and Opulence, and contains about half of the whole Inhabitants. St. Jago is the principal Town in the eaſtern Part of the Country, is the moſt antient in the Iſland, and generally eſteemed the Capital; though now the Governor reſides at the Havanna; and only ſuch of the Spaniards as have Eſtates on the Iſland, and are contented with their Poſſeſſions without interfering much in Trade, inhabit this Place; which has a declining Aſpect, and preſerves only the Ruins of its former Greatneſs; yet this City has a Port inferior, in its Situation, to the Havanna, only in Trade, but much more commodious for Privateers, as it commands the Windward Paſſage. Though the City is well inhabited, and well ſituated for Trade, it remains but in a very indifferent Condition as to its Fortifications; for the Harbour was naturally ſo well fortified, as to give the Spaniards no reaſon to fear any Attack from the Sea; and the Diſtance the Town lay at from any other Harbour, gave them as little Concern from the Land Quarter, where they had left their Fortifications without the leaſt Reparation ſince the Commencement of the War. The Towns in general are awed beneath the Subjection of a few wealthy Spaniards, who exerciſe an arbitrary Power over a Multitude of indigent People, that have no Recourſe to any open Laws, to relieve them from their unnatural and inhuman Servility; which has depraved them to an indolent and effeminate Courſe of Life, making them very inclinable to throw off the heavy Yoke of Spaniſh Slavery, and ready to embrace an Opportunity of enjoying the Happineſs of Britiſh Liberty. Admiral Vernon had collected proper Intelligence of the Situation and Strength of the Town, Port, and Citadel of St. Jago; and in this received great Aſſiſtance from Henry Cavelier, Carpenter of an Aſſiento Brigantine, who had been Priſoner there, and employed a conſiderable Time at work on the Fortifications; by whoſe Declaration it appeared, That at the South Entrance of the Port, on the Starboard ſide, is a low Battery called the Punto, which has two Twelve-pounders, three Six-pounders, and one Four-pounder, at the Entrance below, pointing to the Road which leads from the Bay where they land. About half-way up the Hill, by Steps, is another Battery, called Plata Forma Grande, fronting the Sea, with eight Forty-two-pounders, and two Eighteen-pounders, with ſeven Caves for lodging Soldiers and Proviſions. Higher up is another Battery, which has two Honey-comb Guns, Four-pounders, and a Ciſtern which will contain about 2 or 3000 Gallons of Water. Higher up is another ſmall Platform, with a little Ciſtern, but no Guns; above this is another Platform, about 20 Feet from the Top of the Hill, which has 10 Guns, Four-pounders, two of them Braſs; three of theſe Guns point to the Sea, all the reſt to the Land. Under this Platform is the Entrance into the Morro Caſtle, or Citadel, which is a quadrangular Fort of eight Guns Above, through a Gate about 10 Feet wide, about 16 Feet from the Gate, is a dry Mote about 16 or 18 Feet wide, and as many deep; and about 16 Feet from this Mote is another, about 11 Feet wide, and as many deep, with a Drawbridge over each; and on the Weſtern-ſide of the Harbour, oppoſite to Morro Caſtle, was a ſmall Battery of five Guns. About a quarter of a Mile further up in the North part of the Harbour, on the Town-ſide, is the Caſtle Eſtrella, ſituate on an Eminence, with a Battery of Eighteen Pounders; and about 20 Feet below, a ſmall Battery of three Guns Eighteen-pounders, both fronting the Entrance of the Port; and on the ſame Level with the Ten-gun Battery, is an Angle fronting croſs the Harbour, which has ſeven Guns Four-pounders. This Caſtle may be eaſily ſurprized, ſeveral Paths leading to the Top thereof, from which the Aſcendants might fire down upon all the Batteries, or even kill the Men with Stones from the Top; and the Eaſtermoſt-ſide is open, and without any Defence. The Eſtrella once gained, will command the Punto, the Weſtermoſt-end of Plata Forma Grande, and the Top of Morro Caſtle. At ſome further Diſtance to the northward of the Eſtrella, is another little Battery called Santa Catarina, which has two Twelve-pounders lying almoſt level with the Water, and fronting the Entrance of the Port; this Battery, with 20 Men only, may be eaſily ſurprized and taken at any time; and here the Spaniards have moored a Ship acroſs the Harbour. There was alſo, to the eaſtward of Morro Caſtle, another Battery of ſeven Guns, called the Aquadores; and the Spaniards had lately erected two other ſmall Batteries on Eminences, to guard the Road between Elleguava and the Town.

[b] And get into a proper Station for cruizing to Windward of St. Jago, for reconnoitring the Coaſt, and intercepting the Spaniſh Trade; and having appointed Cape Donna Maria for the firſt, and Walthenam Bay, about 12 Leagues to Windward of St. Jago, on the Iſland of Cuba, for the ſecond general Place of Rendezvous, the Vice-admiral directed the Squadron to proceed to Sea, with the Tranſports, in Detachments; on which they began to get out from Port-Royal Harbour on the 28th; the Suffolk, Strafford, Dunkirk, Deptford, Auguſta, York, Briſtol, Vulcan, and Litchfield, being left at Port-Royal, under the Command of Captain Davers, to protect the Iſland of Jamaica; who had Orders to forward the York, Deptford, and Auguſta, to follow the Admiral, as ſoon as they were in a Condition for the Sea.

The Tranſports and Shoreſhips, conſiſted of 41 Sail, and the Land-forces and Blacks on-board the Fleet, made a Body of 4000 Men.

The whole Fleet got into *Walthenham* Harbour on the 18th of *July*, being 61 Sail in all, where they had the Pleaſure to find themſelves poſſeſſed of the fineſt Harbour in the *Weſt-Indies*, capable of containing any Number of Shipping, and ſecure againſt Hurricanes; which, as that dangerous Part of the Seaſon was approaching, yielded the Fleet a much ſafer Protection than the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, againſt the Violence of ſuch dreadful Encounters. To this Harbour the Vice-admiral immediately gave the Name of *Cumberland-Harbour* *, in Honour of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*.

As Vice-admiral *Vernon* was poſſeſſed of a good Pilot for the Harbour, on his Arrival he loſt no Time in making the beſt uſe of him, having detached Captain *Forreſt* in the Bomb-ketch, one of the Fire-ſhips, a Brigantine and Sloop Tenders, and the Bomb Tender, who entered the Lagoon going up to the Salinas, with part of this Flotilla, that Evening. And by Day-break on the 19th of *July*, Captain *Watſon* was diſpatched with all the Barges and Yawls manned and armed, to help to tow the Flotilla as high up as it was navigable for them; and he returned the ſame Night, after having poſted the Sloop as high as the upper Salinas, and the Bomb-ketch and Brig Tender as high as the lower Salinas, juſt above which was a Bar on entering the Freſh-water River, on which was not more than nine Feet Water.

Admiral *Vernon* ſummoned a general Council of War, which aſſembled, and was compoſed of the Vice-admiral, General *Wentworth*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, General *Blakeney*, Colonel *Lowther*, Colonel *Cochran*, Captain *Mayne*, and Captain *Cotterell*.

At a General Council of War, held on-board his Majeſty's Ship the *Cumberland*, the 20th of *July*, 1741.

'The Council having aſſembled to conſider of the propereſt Methods of proceeding, in Execution of the Reſolution of the Council of War of the 26th of *May* laſt, and in Compliance with his Majeſty's general Inſtructions:

'And having laid before them, by Vice-admiral *Vernon*, his Majeſty's Inſtructions, the Information of *John Drake*, in relation to the Practicability of the Roads between *Walthenam* and *St. Jago*; the Information of *Henry Cavalier*, in relation to the Situation and Strength of the *Morro* Caſtle, and other Batteries for the Defence of the Harbour of *St. Jago*, and the Practicableneſs of ſurpriſing the *Eſtrella* and *Catarina*, by coming on the Back of them:

'And having perſonally examined Captain *Watſon* and Lieutenant *Lowther*, who had been ſent to reconnoitre the Approaches to the Village of *Catarina*, as far as they were navigable, and had both reported, That they found every thing exactly to agree with the Information of *John Drake*:

'And Captain *Rentone* likewiſe attended; but the Council thought his Opinion by Letter ſufficient, of the Impracticability of attacking the Harbour of *St. Jago* immediately by Sea:

'And the Goodneſs of *Walthenam* Harbour ſufficiently recommending itſelf, the Council taking the whole maturely into Conſideration, unanimouſly reſolved,' "Immediately to ſet about doing every thing in their Power, to comply with the principal View of his Majeſty's Inſtructions, that of poſſeſſing themſelves of the Iſland of *Cuba*; and for advancing to attempt to ſurprize and take the Batteries above the *Morro* Caſtle, if the Approaches to them were found practicable for the Forces, to get up to the Village of *Catarina* with the utmoſt Expedition, and at all Events to ſecure that, and a Communication with *Walthenam* Harbour, as a probable Foundation to acquire a Footing in the Iſland of *Cuba*, and waiting for further Succours to enable them to complete the Reduction of it.

"And reſolved, That the General be deſired to acquaint the reſpective Governors of the northern Colonies with their Reſolution to eſtabliſh themſelves on *Cuba*, and wait for his Majeſty's further Inſtructions, and deſire them to ſend what Recruits they could raiſe; and to aſſure the Inhabitants of their reſpective Colonies, that were willing to endeavour to ſettle themſelves in *Cuba*, that they ſhould be ſure to meet with all poſſible Encouragement.

"Unanimouſly reſolving, to do all jointly in their Power, to ſecure a Footing in this Iſland, till they received his Majeſty's further Inſtructions.'"

The Landing of the Troops was effected with the greateſt Celerity, and General *Wentworth* pitched on the firſt Place for halting the Forces on the ſide of the River, about three Leagues from the Mouth of the Harbour. On the 25th the General ſent out a Detachment of 100 of the *American* Troops, and 100 Negroes, with a Guide, under Major *Dunſter*, to reconnoitre the Country; who meeting with an advanced Party of the *Spaniards* of 50 Men, under Captain *Don Pedro Guarro*, the *Spaniards* precipitately fled before the Detachment without exchanging a Shot, leaving them 11 Horſes, ſome of their Ammunition, and a good deal of jerked Beef; and though the *Spaniards* had another Party of 25 Men lurking in Ambuſcade, they never attempted to ſurprize the *Engliſh*, who continuing their Reconnoitre, on the 26th arrived at *Guantanamo*, a Houſe and Savanna belonging to *Don Pedro Guarro*, about 15 Leagues from *St. Jago*, where they diſcerned another Houſe, about two Miles and a half from *Guantanamo*, over a fine Savanna called *Cano Vaco*, where Major *Dunſter* ordered 50 Soldiers, ſtaying himſelf at the firſt Houſe with the reſt of the Forces. On the 28th in the Morning, Major *Dunſter* ſet out for the Village of *Elleguava*, leaving 50 Soldiers to take care of the Houſe, and took the other 50 from *Cano Vaco*, which made in all 150 Men; they marched over a pretty ſteep Hill, and diſagreeable ſtony Road, entering the Village without Reſiſtance about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Inhabitants having all abandoned it. The Village ſtands on a high Bank, the River running half way round it, abounding with Plenty of every thing but Bread-kind, the Plantations not being ripe. Major *Dunſter* being cautious of a Surprize by a ſuperior Force, at ſo great a Diſtance from the Camp, without advancing any further, continued making little Excurſions after the Horſes, Cattle, and Hogs, to the 2d of *Auguſt*, when he returned to *Guantanamo* with his Detachment, where he found Colonel *Cochran* and Lieutenant-colonel *Whitford*, with 250 Soldiers, and 100 Negroes; who, though they had now 500 Men, and the *Spaniards* no Parties conſiderable enough to oppoſe them, without marching any further, ordered the whole Party to return to the Camp, where they arrived on the 4th, having in their March had one Man killed by an ambuſhing Party of *Spaniards*, who had alſo three Men killed on their part at the ſame time.

As the Security of the Army and all the Tranſports, depended upon the Squadron being in a Condition to defend the Harbour from any Surprize on them, which was to be dreaded, as the *Spaniards* had ſo ſtrong a Force ſo near them at the *Havanna*; Vice-admiral *Vernon* therefore took the ſafeſt and moſt prudent Precautions for their Security, by forming the beſt Diſpoſitions with his ſix capital Ships in a Line, to defend the Entrance of *Cumberland Harbour*, having diſpatched the other Part of the Squadron to block up the Harbour of *St. Jago*, and to watch the Motions of the *Spaniſh* Admiral at the *Havanna*; and as he had procured ſuch proper Intelligence for the Land-forces to regulate their March to *St. Jago*, and knowing any dilatory Proceedings would be attended with the ſame fatal Conſequences as the Army had ſuffered at *Carthagena*, he grew impatient for a Detachment of the Army, purſuant to the Reſolution of the Council of War, to advance and attempt to ſurprize the Batteries of *Eſtrella* and *Catarina*, which being, as mentioned in the Information of the Guide, eaſily practicable, the Vice-admiral ſtrongly recommended to the Generals; promiſing, that either himſelf or Sir *Chaloner Ogle* would be off the Mouth of the Harbour of *St. Jago*, to ſecond the Attempts of the Army in the beſt Manner it was poſſible to do. But, inſtead of finding a Compliance with his friendly Admonitions to the General, tending only to promote the Succeſs of the Royal Service, the Vice-admiral was greatly ſurprized to find, by a Letter from the General of the 5th, that he was diffident of being able to proceed further, and that it was impoſſible for any Number of Men to ſubſiſt many Days in the Part of which they were then in Poſſeſſion; and that he intended calling a Council of War to come to a final Reſolution.

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* The Narrowneſs of the Entrance into the Harbour of St. Jago, and the ſingular Difficulty of Ships getting into it, occaſioned by the Obſtruction of the Eddy Wind (that comes down the Morro Caſtle and the Eſtrella, and would infallibly drive them on the Weſtern Shore, without the Aſſiſtance of a Cable faſtened to an Anchor on-ſhore, in the Bight between the two Caſtles) renders it impoſſible to attack the Town by Sea; for this Reaſon Vice-admiral Vernon had fixed on Walthenam Bay, diſtant eleven Leagues W. S. W. from St. Jago, as the neareſt and moſt commodious Situation to embark the Troops, for their proceeding to march and attack the Town on the Land-ſide, where, as they did not expect to be ſurprized, the Spaniards were at preſent entirely open and defenceleſs. Walchenam, now Cumberland Harbour, is about 24 Leagues from St. Jago, and in the dry Seaſon of the Year, which is from October to June, the Roads are very good, and even in the rainy Seaſon paſſable without much Difficulty.

The Vice-admiral immediately communicated this Letter to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, which gave them both a very ſenſible Mortification, to find the Expedition on the point of being abandoned, when there was the greateſt Probability of crowning it with a glorious Termination. The Country was entirely deſerted, except an inconſiderable Body of *Spaniards* that lay lurking up and down, without either the Power or Inclination to face the *Engliſh*; and the flying of the Women and Children to *St. Jago*, muſt increaſe their Scarcity of Proviſions, and add to their Terror and Confuſion, which was ſo great, that the Governor and principal Inhabitants were conſtantly in the utmoſt Dread from an Attack over Land; and ſo much were they perſuaded of this, that the Governor and Grandees would not truſt themſelves to ſleep in the Towns or Forts, but repaired every Night into the Woods to ſleep in Security: So that if the General had improved on this Conſternation among the *Spaniards*, and ordered a choſen Detachment of 1000 Men, with 1000 Negroes, to have gone with them for carrying a Week's Proviſions, and attacked the upper Batteries of the *Eſtrella* and *Santa Catarina*, which they might have done in three Days, he would thereby ſoon have determined the Fate of *St. Jago*; for ſuch a general Confuſion having prepoſſeſſed the *Spaniards*, they muſt have eaſily ſucceeded; which was afterwards ſupported by the Intelligence procured from all the *Spaniſh* intercepted Letters.

Had this Deſign been executed, as the Vice-admiral would have been at-hand to have puſhed into the Harbour, the Town of *St. Jago*, and all the reſt, would have fallen of courſe; eſpecially as the *Spaniards* had but little Ammunition of any ſort, and the Town being open, would have been under the Command of the Guns of the Squadron: But by an unhappy Fatality this Opportunity was neglected; and the General, having aſſembled a Council of War on the 9th, it was reſolved, "That they could not "march any Body of their Troops further into the Coun"try, without expoſing them to certain Ruin; and that "they were firmly of Opinion, that their advancing with "the Army to *St. Jago*, in their preſent Circumſtances, "was impracticable." The principal Part of theſe Objections, were founded on the Difficulty of marching the Army to *St. Jago* without Cannon; which was what the Officers of the Squadron never conceived to be neceſſary, as they had always adviſed a ſudden Attack on the Batteries by a ſelect Number of the choiceſt Troops.

On the 13th a general Council of War aſſembled, at which were preſent both the Officers of the Navy and Army; when the Officers of the Army declared, "They "thought it impracticable to advance further into the "Country;" a Circumſtance extremely diſagreeable to the naval Officers, and quite contrary to their Opinions; but as their Inſtructions gave no Authority to the naval Officers to deliberate on the Regulations of the Army by Land, Vice-admiral *Vernon* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, after ſuggeſting their Opinions to the Land-officers, and leaving with them Copies of all the Evidence they had procured, exhorted them to do the utmoſt of their Power for the Honour and Service of the *Britiſh* Nation; and ſeparated without thinking any new Reſolutions neceſſary to be formed.

The different Sentiments of the Officers in the Sea and Land Service, gave Vice-admiral *Vernon* the deepeſt Concern; and under a Concern for having ſo little done, where nothing had appeared to oppoſe the Progreſs of ſo large a Force as had been landed, and then lay quiet in their Camp, he determined to go, and perſonally view the Entrance into the Harbour of *St. Jago*; he ſailed up there in the *Orford*, together with the *Montagu*, on the 4th of *September*, and carefully reconnoitring the Harbour of *St. Jago*, found it to be all an Iron Shore, and no Anchorage off it; and that it was not a ſafe Harbour even for a friendly Ship to frequent, for they muſt run in cloſe to the Shore, to windward off the Mouth of the Harbour, and muſt drive down cloſe under the *Morro* Caſtle, drop an Anchor there, and then warp in. Had the Scheme for attacking the Town by Sea appeared practicable in any Light, the Vice-admiral, vexed with a Conduct that ſeemed to him unaccountable in the General, would have been as reſolute as any Man; but as he muſt encounter ſo many Difficulties, he could not reſolve to throw his Majeſty's Squadron away againſt the Rocks, without the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs.

The General was determined to return for *Europe*, and urged for a Reaſon, that his Forces were ſo diminiſhed by Sickneſs, that they could no longer maintain their Footing. Upon which the Re-imbarkation of the Troops was effected on the 20th of *November*, without having a ſingle Shot fired at either the Army or Tranſports: But the naval Officers reſolved to proceed to meet a Reinforcement of 2000 Land-men daily expected from *England*, after ſeeing the Tranſports diſpatched under proper Convoys, the Vice-admiral having before diſpatched Part of the Squadron to cruize for, and give him Notice of their Arrival.

The Flotilla and Tranſports having fallen down the River, to which the Vice-admiral had given the Name of *Auguſta*, in Honour of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, proceeded to Sea on the 28th; and the Vice-admiral on the 6th of *December*, put to Sea with his remaining Squadron, conſiſting of eight Ships of the Line, a Fire-ſhip, an Hoſpital Ship, and two Tenders, and proceeded to cruize off *Hiſpaniola*, in Expectation of meeting the Reinforcement from *England*.

By theſe unhappy Diſſenſions between the Naval and Land-officers, was this important Enterprize abandoned, with a more ſhameful Aſpect on the part of the Army, than their late fatal Repulſe before *Carthagena*; a too ſignal Inſtance how the moſt promiſing Attempts are eaſily fruſtrated, by dividing the Command between Land and Sea-officers; which, on Expeditions in this Part of the Globe, muſt frequently be prevented by a Diſſonance in Opinions. Nor did this Undertaking prove materially detrimental to the *Spaniards*; though Activity was preſerved in the Navy, and the *Worceſter*, during the Encampment of the Troops, took a *Spaniſh* Man of War of 24 Guns and 220 Men; the *Defiance* took a Regiſter Ship of 350 Tons, 12 Guns, annd 50 Men, laden with Proviſions for *Carthagena*; and the *Shoreham* took another Regiſter Ship, with 70,000 Pieces of Eight on-board.

In *Europe* our Fleets made a great Appearance in the Gazette. Sir *John Norris* was appointed to command 16 Ships of the Line, *&c.*[a] with which he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Spain*, arrived in the Bay of *Biſcay* with the whole Fleet on the 5th of *Auguſt*; and when the Nation was in the greateſt Expectations of ſome memorable Enterprize commenced in this manner, behold, after doing no more than a well-appointed Sloop of War might have executed [b], and cruizing a while on the Coaſt of *Spain*, the *Engliſh* Admiral returned to *Spithead* on the 22d of the ſame Month[a].

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[a] The Victory, Royal Sovereign, and Royal George, of 100 Guns each; St. George, in which was Admiral Cavendiſh, and Duke of 90; Cambridge of 80; Buckingham, Bedford, Naſſau, Lenox, Eſſex, and Elizabeth, of 70; Argyle, Aſſiſtance, and Ruby, of 50; Goſport, of 44 Guns; and the Blaze and Lightning Fire-ſhips; having on-board upwards of 8000 Sailors.

[b] On the 5th of Auguſt the Admiral, with the whole Fleet, entered the Bay of Biſcay, and ordered Captain Harriſon, with the Argyle, to look into Ferrol, Corunna, and Redondella, which he performed in four Days, taking a Spaniſh Brigantine, and putting four others on-ſhore. The Captain being informed by the Maſter of a Portugueſe Veſſel, that a Sloop from New-England had been carried into Camirina by a Spaniſh Privateer, on the 17th he got off this Harbour, and ſent his Boats in; on ſight of them the Sloop run on-ſhore; but, after a ſharp Diſpute, the Engliſh boarded and burnt her. The 18th, Captain Harriſon being informed by

On the 12th of *October* Sir *John Norris* ſailed again in the *Victory* from *St. Helens*, on a third Expedition, attended by the *Royal George*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Barfleur*, *Neptune*, *Sandwich*, *Naſſau*, *Buckingham*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Port-mahon*. The Fleet proceeded for the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, where their Arrival alarmed the Inhabitants; but from the former Inactivity of this Admiral, with a ſuperior Fleet, and at a more favourable time of the Year, the *Spaniards* were not much terrified at the Approach of the *Britiſh* Squadron; eſpecially as, ſince their laſt Viſit, they had put themſelves into a better Poſture of Defence, by repairing their Fortifications, and having their Militia in Readineſs poſted along the maritime Part of the Country; and, without attempting any thing that might contribute to his own Merit, or the Honour and Service of his King and Country, to remove the *Spaniards* from all Apprehenſion of Danger, he returned with the Squadron for *England*, and arrived at *Spithead* on the 6th of *November*.

Theſe ſeveral Expeditions, carried on with ſuch conſiderable Force, and conducted by an Admiral who had acquired a very great Reputation in his naval Life, took up the whole Speculation of the Public, and terminated to the univerſal Diſlike of the People.

Nothing further remarkable happened in the Squadron under Admiral *Haddock*, than their blocking up the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the Port of *Cadiz*, to prevent their Junction with the *Toulon* Squadron, and the Tranſports at *Barcelona*, intended to convey a Body of Forces to diſtreſs the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*; till the Cloſe of *July*, when two *Engliſh* Men of War, accidentally, in the Evening, fell in with three *French* Men of War off *Cadiz*, whom they took to be Regiſter Ships, with Treaſure from the *Weſt-Indies*, and accordingly hailed them; but receiving no Anſwer till the third time of calling, and then a diſſatisfactory one, Capt. *Barnet*, Commander of the *Dragon*, fired a ſhot a-head; which the Chevalier *Caylus*, the *French* Commodore, anſwered with a Broadſide; on which a ſharp Engagement enſued that laſted two Hours; when the *French*, after loſing one of their Captains, a young Marquis, and ſeveral of their Men killed, and 70 wounded, thought fit to ceaſe firing; and Chevalier *Caylus*, after mutual Apologies with Captain *Barnet*, was obliged to put into *Malaga* to refit, being ſeverely galled by the *Engliſh*, who had alſo their Maſts and Rigging greatly damaged, four Men killed, and 14 wounded.

Admiral *Haddock* reſolving to behave in the moſt ſerviceable manner for his Country, kept the Seas between Cape *St. Mary* and *Cadiz* all *October*, and did not retire till the tempeſtuous Weather in *November* obliged him to ſteer for *Gibraltar*[b], there to refit. He had but juſt entered the Bay, when the *Spaniſh* Squadron, commanded by *Don Navarro*, ſailed from *Cadiz* on the 24th of *November*, and paſſed through the *Streights*, favoured by the Darkneſs of the Night; yet they did not paſs unobſerved by the *Engliſh*; for in the Morning of the 25th, a briſk Eaſt Wind coming on, drove them ſo far back, that they continued almoſt two Days in ſight of *Gibraltar*, when they ſailed and joined the *Toulon* Squadron, commanded by Monſieur *de Court*, off the Streights of *Malaga*. Admiral *Haddock*, who was then repairing his Squadron, made the beſt Shift he could to purſue them, ſailing out of the Bay on the 2d of *December*, and in a few Days came up with the combined Fleet in a Line of Battle. But when he was bearing down on the *Spaniards*, and ready to engage, the *French* Admiral, with his Squadron, interpoſed with a Flag of Truce, and ſent a Meſſage to inform the *Britiſh* Admiral, "That as the *Spaniards* and *French* were engaged in one "joint Expedition, he muſt obey his Orders, and could "not avoid taking them into his Protection." A Council of War being called on this extraordinary Affair, either from the Reſtriction the Admiral lay under by his Orders, or from the Superiority of the combined Fleet, being above 30 Sail, and the *Engliſh* only 13, it was reſolved "To pro"ceed to *Port-mahon*, and wait for a Reinforcement." But before the Admiral received any, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Squadrons, in Conjunction, ſailed to *Barcelona*; and from thence they ſet ſail again on the 24th of *December*, with a ſecond Embarkation for *Italy*[c].

Captain

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by the Maſter of another Portugueſe Veſſel, that the Spaniards had brought into Redondella a very rich Ship with Bale Goods from London, and three or four other Prizes, he immediately ſent for the Gibraltar and Grampus, and came to a Reſolution, at all Events, to make for this Place, which is a ſmall Town and Port of Galicia, in the Gulph of Vigo. At Day-light, the next Morning, he took a Spaniſh Bark of about 40 Ton, and another about 30, and ſetting the largeſt on fire, this diſcovered the Engliſh to the whole Country, and prevented their Project of running up with French Colours. About Ten came in a freſh Sea Breeze; the Captain weighed, and with Engliſh Colours proceeded up the River, having giving Orders to take no Notice of Vigo, but puſh on: Accordingly, at Four in the Afternoon, they got into the Harbour or Baſon of Redondella, anchored within Piſtol Shot of the Ships, and took them all, being four, by 12 o'Clock that Night: The Engliſh got all their Prizes off under their Sterns, ſailed out of the Harbour, and joined the Admiral. This plainly ſhews that the Spaniards had made little Preparations to defend themſelves; and had the Engliſh Admiral been as active with the whole Fleet, what noble Actions might have been atchieved?

[a] With the Victory, St. George, Royal Sovereign, Duke, Cambridge, Bedford, Elizabeth, Buckingham, and the Scipio and Blaſt Fireſhips, having detached the Naſſau and Lenox to join Admiral Haddock, and left the reſt to cruize; yet the Valour and Activity of the Britiſh Seamen was not every where extinct: This was no where more apparent, than in the Actions of the gallant Capt. Ambroſe, who commanded the Rupert Man of War of 60 Guns, then on a cruiſing Station in the Bay of Biſcay: He had taken the St. Antonio de Padua, a Privateer belonging to St. Sebaſtains, of 16 Guns and 150 Men; as alſo another Privateer, called the Biſcaya, mounting 10 Carriage and two Swivel Guns, with 119 rugged, able-bodied, deſperate Men on-board; who had taken 23 Engliſh Prizes ſince the Commencement of the War, but now, after a ſmart Engagement, bowed to the Britiſh Flag, which has always diſappointed the Barbarity of Ruffians, like theſe, remorſeleſs in their Proſperity, and as impenetrably uncompaſſionate to the Miſeries of the poor Sufferers in their Power, as, on their own Biſcayan Mountains, are the ſavage Wolves, when pinched with Hunger, to the unhappy Traveller periſhing beneath their Ferocity. Capt. Ambroſe, having brought his two Prizes into Plymouth, ſailed again on another Cruize; and on the 18th of September, as he was cruizing in the Bay of Biſcay, off Cape Machiacaca, in the Evening, he ſaw a Sail from the Maſt-head, to Windward, which he chaſed all that Night and the next Day; and after chaſing her about 73 Leagues, coming up with her about Eleven at Night, took her after ſome Reſiſtance, and brought her into Plymouth. This Ship proved to be the Duke de Vendome, the largeſt Privateer belonging to St. Sebaſtians, of the Dimenſions of the Engliſh 20 Gun Frigates, mounting 26 Carriage Guns, and was manned with 202 ſtout Seamen, commanded by Don Martin de Areneder, a Frenchman, as was alſo the Crew moſtly of foreign Nations, and among them 19 Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, who were taken out of the Spaniſh Priſon, and forced by the Intendant, to proceed on the Cruize. As St. Sebaſtian was again overſtocked with Britiſh Prizes, taken in great Numbers by the Spaniſh Privateers; Capt. Ambroſe immediately proceeded to Cruize on his Station in the Bay of Biſcay. On the 7th of November he ſaw two Sail to the Windward, and giving them chace, at the ſame Time obſerved a Sail to chace him, which happened to be a Spaniſh Privateer of 24 Carriage and 20 Swivel Guns, and 187 Men, commanded by Don Franciſco de L'Arréa, which had been nine Days out of St. Sebaſtian on a ſucceſsleſs Cruize. Capt. Ambroſe diſregarding her, continued his firſt Chace; and on coming up with them, did not fire, as uſual, to bring them too, to prevent giving any Suſpicion of what he was to the Ship that chaſed him; but ſent his Boat on-board, and finding they were Dutchmen, apprized them of his Intention to deceive the Privateer. Accordingly the Captain reefed his Sails and trimmed his Ship, and the Spaniard, ſuſpecting her a Conſort of the Dutchmen, crouded Sail, and by Duſk was within two Leagues; when Capt. Ambroſe ſhortened Sail to wait for her, hoping ſhe would run him on-board, before ſhe perceived her Miſtake. When the Privateer got within a Mile, ſhe diſcovered the Force of the Rupert, and hauled upon a Wind: Upon which Capt. Ambroſe followed her, with all the Sail he could make. On the 8th, at two o'Clock in the Morning, the Rupert got within Gun-ſhot of the Privateer; but the Moon juſt then going down, and it coming on dark, ſhe clapt upon a Wind, and the Man of War loſt ſight of her. At Day-break Capt. Ambroſe ſaw her, three Leagues on his Bow, chaſing an Engliſh Merchant-ſhip; but, ſeeing the Rupert, the Privateer crowded away again, the Wind blowing hard; Capt. Ambroſe followed her cloſe, when the Wind failing, Darkneſs coming on, and the Privateer uſing Oars, ſhe eſcaped a ſecond Time. The 9th Captain Ambroſe diſcovering the Privateer again about three Leagues to the Windward, purſued her all Day, and began to engage her at half an Hour paſt Midnight: The Action laſted till two in the Morning, when the Rupert boarding her, ſhe ſtruck, and called for Quarter. The Privateer had 12 Men killed in the Engagement, two their Arms and Legs ſhot away, and the Captain and many more of her Men dangerouſly wounded; the Rupert loſt but one Man, who tumbled overboard in boarding the Privateer. The Spaniards were completely fitted out with a great Quantity of ſmall Arms, Cutlaſſes, Pole-axes, and many more Inſtruments of War, but had met with no Prize in that Cruize. As a Recompence for the Conduct and Vigilance of Capt. Ambroſe, in ſuppreſſing the Spaniſh Privateers, the Merchants of London, in grateful Remembrance of ſuch ſignal and ſingular Services, preſented him with a large Silver Cup, exquiſitely wrought, with his Arms curiouſly chaſed on one Side, and on the other a Repreſentation of the Rupert chaſing a Spaniſh Privateer. And the Merchants of Briſtol alſo, to teſtify their Eſteem for the Captain, preſented him with a Piece of Plate of 100 l. value, on the ſame Account.

[b] In the mean Time, the Spaniards effected their Embarkation from Barcelona, and ſent 15,000 Men into Italy.

[c] As the Spaniards had thus ſucceeded in their principal Scheme of tranſporting an Army to Italy, and in joining the French Squadron, it occaſioned great Speculation throughout the whole Britiſh Nation: They knew the Vivacity of the Admiral, and relied on his Conduct; nor could they tell what Reaſon to aſcribe for it, unleſs the Hanoverian Treaty of Neutrality; wherein they ſuſpected, it was ſtipulated, that

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Captain *Thompſon*, in the *Succeſs* Man of War of 20 Guns, in his Cruize on the *Madeira* Station, took a *French* Ship of 300 Ton, from the *Havanna*, laden with Sugar, Cochineal, and Cocoa, having alſo on-board 180,000 Dollars, 60 Bars of Gold and Silver, and other valuable Treaſure. The Prize was carried to *Boſton* in *New-England*, and appeared of ſuch Eſtimation, that it was reported the Share of the Captain would be 60,000 *l.* and that the common Sailors would have at leaſt 500 *l.* a-piece.

Captain *Hervey*, Commander of the *Superbe* Man of War, arrived from the *Weſt-Indies* the 25th of *December* at *Kinſale*, and brought in with him a *Spaniſh* Ship called the *Conſtante*, of 400 Ton, 24 Guns, and 64 Men, which he took in his Paſſage, in the Latitude of 33 Deg. 20 Min. Longitude 65 Deg. The Captain was *Don Francis Haune Caſtilio*, who came from the *Caraccas*, bound for the *Canaries*, laden with Cocoa and Treaſure to the Amount of 200,000 *l.*[a]

Before we conclude the Tranſactions of this Year, (1741) it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the Government was ſet upon attempting a Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage to the weſtern *American* Ocean; and the Lords of the Admiralty appointed Captain *Chriſtopher Middleton*, an experienced Commander in the Service of the *Hudſon's-Bay* Company, to undertake and execute their Orders on-board his Majeſty's Ship the *Furnace*; who alſo commanded the *Diſcovery Pink*, and his Majeſty's Ship the *Dolphin*, to convoy him[b]. Of which Voyage we have the following Account

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this Fleet in the Mediterranean, ſhould continue as inactive as the Troops by Land, and that the Engliſh Admiral ſhould ſuffer the Spaniards quietly to tranſport a formidable Body of Forces to Italy, to overrun, ravage, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the Dominions the Queen of Hungary had in thoſe Parts.

[a] The privateering Part of the War was maintained with great Spirit by the Engliſh and Spaniards, both in Europe and America: The Engliſh reaped the greateſt Advantage in America, and the Spaniards in Europe, where, in the ſingle Port of St. Sebaſtian, they had collected above 100 Prizes. The whole Captures of the Britiſh Ships, ſeized, taken, or deſtroyed by the Spaniards, ſince the Commencement of the War to the End of the preſent Year, were 372; and ſuppoſing, upon no immoderate Calculation, every Ship and Cargo, one with another, to be worth 3,500 l. the Loſs would amount to 1,202,000 l. to which may be added 50,000 l. more, as the Value of the Houſes, Goods, and Effects, of the Britiſh Merchants ſeized in Spain, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, at the breaking out of the War; the whole Loſs in Ships, Goods, and Effects, will then appear to be 1,252,000 l. To ballance this Loſs, the Spaniſh Ships taken by the Engliſh to the ſame Time, were 390; which, valued at 3000 l. each, make 1,170,000 l. ſo that the Ballance of Profit was, in favour of the Spaniards, 820,000 l. on account of Ships, Goods, and Effects: But as the Loſs they ſuffered at Porto-bello, Chagre, and Carthagena, may be computed at 877,000 l. By this Deduction the Spaniards ſuſtained a Loſs, in the whole War, of 57,000 l. But the Britiſh Nation was ſtill the greater Sufferer, by the additional Loſs of the vaſt Numbers of Seamen taken and kept Priſoners by the Spaniards; which was a moſt grievous Misfortune, conſidering the Scarcity of that ineſtimable Part of the Conſtitution, and the oppreſſive Methods lately enforced for manning the royal Navy: For allowing but 12 Seamen to every Merchant-ſhip taken, the Number of Britiſh Seamen in the Hands of the Spaniards, amounted to above 4000, omitting the Calculation of thoſe that had, either with the Peril of their Lives eſcaped from the Dungeons of Spain, or ſuch Crews as the Spaniſh Privateers had ſometimes ſet on-ſhore, when they had more Priſoners than they could ſafely venture to detain: And this Loſs was the more ſenſibly felt, as the greateſt part of theſe unfortunate Men, lay either rotting and ſtarving to Death in the loathſome Confinement of Spaniſh Goals, or compelled, through mere Want and Torture, to inliſt againſt their Inclinations, Hearts, and Conſcience, in that Service; whereby, to preſerve their Lives, they were obliged to aſſociate themſelves to act againſt their Fellow-ſubjects, and the Intereſt of that Country which is ever dear to, and inſeparably folded round the Heart of every Engliſhman; while the more truly Britiſh, honeſt, and brave Seamen, touched with a nobler innate Love and Attachment to their maternal Land, ſtill preſerved their Engliſh Virtue with an inflexible Reſolution to withſtand the greateſt Temptation offered on one hand by the Artifices of Spain, and the terrible Sufferings they expoſed them to on the other; yet theſe highly valuable Men, if they were not finally deprived of their Honeſty, Fidelity, and Allegiance; if they ſtill nobly perſevered in thoſe generous Sentiments of Affection for their King and Country, and deſpiſing every Hardſhip, reſiſting every Allurement to increaſe the Number of thoſe Privateers that were employed to deſtroy the Trade of their Country; as no Cartel was ſettled for Exchange of Priſoners, and expecting no other Redemption from the worſt of Impriſonment, if this was any longer neglected, they muſt inevitably exhauſt their gallant Spirits; and, immured from the healthful Breath and chearful Light of Heaven, lie feebly expiring amid the Filth, Vermin, and Want, of Spaniſh Dungeons, Sickneſs, and Hunger. Though the Spaniſh Priſoners, in the Britiſh Dominions, were no ways inferior in Number to the Engliſh Priſoners in Spain, yet they were greatly inequivalent in worth: The Britiſh Merchants were too immediately affected by ſuch a Diſparity; and, as the Spaniſh Privateers were likely to increaſe it, the Merchants were univerſally concerned, that their Trade ſhould be ſo ſurpriſingly interrupted, from ſuch Shoals of Spaniſh Veſſels, in or near the Britiſh Coaſt and Soundings, on the very Stations where the Britiſh Men of War ſhould be to protect it. Their Alarm was the greater, as the Spaniards, from their late Weakneſs at Sea, by ſuch a Number of valuable Prizes, were encouraged and enabled to augment the Force of their Privateers, and render the Britiſh Navigation every Day more and more precarious; to prevent which, as no effectual Security was obtained from the Admiralty, the Merchants determined to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of Parliament.

[b] *By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.* Whereas we have, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, ordered the Furnace Sloop, whereof you are Commander, to be fitted out in a proper Manner to proceed on a Voyage towards Hudſon's Streight, in order to attempt the Diſcovery of a Paſſage that Way into the weſtern American Ocean, and have appointed the Diſcovery Pink, William Moor, Maſter, (who is hereby required and directed to follow your Orders) to attend you on that Service, you are hereby required and directed, ſo ſoon as the ſaid Sloop and Pink are ready for the Sea, to fall down to the Nore; and when they have been paid what is due to their Companies, to proceed to Leith, and deliver the incloſed Packet to Captain Holburne, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the Dolphin, containing Orders to the ſaid Captain to proceed in company with you, as far as the Iſlands of Orkney, for your better Security againſt the Privateers of the Enemy, ſaid to be cruiſing thereabouts. You are accordingly to proceed in company with the ſaid Ship Dolphin as far as the aforeſaid Iſlands, and then to make the beſt of your Way with the Sloop and Pink under your Command towards Hudſon's Streight; and after paſſing the ſame, to proceed to Cary's Swan's Neſt; and then ſteer North-weſterly, ſo as to fall in with the North-weſt Land at Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, or *ne ultra*, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees North. You are there to make the beſt Obſervations you can of the Heighth, Direction, and Courſe of the Tides, bearing of the Lands, Depth and Soundings of the Sea, and Shoals, with the Variation of the Needle. When you come up with Whalebone-point in 65 Deg. you are to try the beſt Paſſage in doubling that Land, whether to eaſtward or weſtward, in caſe it be an Iſland; and on which Side ſoever you meet the Tide at Flood, to direct your Courſe ſo as to meet the Tide, whether North-weſterly or South-weſterly. If after, in doubling that Cape, you find either a Streight or an open Sea, you are to keep on your Courſe, ſtill meeting the Tide of Flood; and if it be ſo wide as to loſe Sight of Land, then keep to the Larboard or American Shore, ſteering South-weſterly, ſo as to take the Bearings of the Lands, and Soundings; and obſerve whether there are any Inlets, Bays, or Rivers, to ſhelter the Ships, in caſe bad Weather, or contrary Winds, oblige you to take Harbour; and there make the beſt Plans you can of ſuch Harbours, and the Charts of the Coaſt. You muſt make no Stay any where, whilſt Wind and Weather permits (except in making Obſervations for your Safety in your Return) until you get to the Southward of 60 Degrees North; and then, if you continue to find an open Sea, make more careful Obſervations of the American Coaſt or Iſlands, and of the Head-lands, Bays, and Rivers, until you make the Latitude of 50 Degrees, or any more ſoutherly Latitude, in caſe you find it convenient to winter on the weſtern Side of America; but if you ſhould find it more convenient to return into the Bay to winter, or can make your Paſſage home in time, after making a Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the weſtern American Ocean, (which is more eligible) in order to proſecute the Diſcovery to Advantage next Seaſon, then you need proceed no farther ſoutherly than 50 or 60 Degrees of Latitude, and make all proper Obſervations of the Tides, Bays, Head-lands, Shoals, and Rocks on both Sides, if the Paſſage be narrow, or on which ever Side the Wind and Weather permit you, with the Variation, or any other curious Obſervations you can make. If you find any Inhabitants upon the Coaſt, or any populous Nations to the ſouthward, you are to endeavour, by all proper Means, to cultivate a Friendſhip and Alliance with them, preſenting them with ſuch Trifles as they value, and ſhewing them all poſſible Civility and Reſpect; but to take Caution, if they be numerous, not to let yourſelf be ſurprized, but to be conſtantly on your Guard againſt any Accidents. If you find it proper to winter on the other Side of the Paſſage, get to a warm Climate not more northerly than 42 Degrees in ſome ſafe Harbour, that may be of uſe in a future Settlement; and rather in an Iſland, if there be a good Harbour, which would be ſafer than on the Continent for an infant Settlement. If your Place of wintering is within a proper Diſtance to be ſupplied by the Natives on the Continent, take proper Seeds of Fruit-trees, Plants, Grain and Pulſe, and ſow them in the Spring; or in caſe you find any civilized Nation, who want ſuch Kinds, you may preſent ſome to them, and make them ſenſible of their Uſe and Manner of Culture. In Places where you meet with Inhabitants, make Purchaſes with their Conſent, and take Poſſeſſion of convenient Situations in the Country, in the Name of his Majeſty of Great-Britain. But where there are no Inhabitants, you muſt take Poſſeſſion by ſetting up proper Inſcriptions, as firſt Diſcoverers and Poſſeſſors. If in your Paſſage you meet with any Ships trading to the Weſtern Countries, eaſtward of Japan, or any Japaneſe Ships, and you apprehend any Danger from them, either from their Force or Number, you are to proceed no farther in the Diſcovery, but immediately to return, that Ships of ſufficient Force may be ſent out next Seaſon, to begin a Trade, or make a Settlement, without any Apprehenſion of Diſturbance from any powerful Nation on that Side, leſt any Accident ſhould prevent your Return, and diſcourage any further Attempts to be made for the future. If you ſhould arrive at California without any Apprehenſion of Danger, and chuſe to winter in 42 Degrees, (where Caxton is ſaid to have found a civilized Nation and good Harbour) or more ſoutherly, then endeavour to meet Captain Anſon in the Month of December, before the Arrival of the Manila Ship at Cape St. Lucas, the ſouthern Cape of California, and leave a Copy of your Journal with him, leſt any Accident ſhould happen to you upon your Return, and ſo the Diſcovery be loſt, and it might prevent Ships being ſent out to your Relief in caſe of Shipwreck. But foraſmuch as in an Undertaking of this Nature, ſeveral Emergencies may ariſe, not to be foreſeen, and therefore not ſo particularly to be provided for by Inſtructions before-hand, you are in ſuch Caſe to proceed as, upon Advice with your Officers, you ſhall judge may be moſt advantageous to the Service on which you are employed. When you return home, you are to proceed into the River of Thames, and ſend our Secretary an Account of your Arrival and Proceedings for our Information. Given under our Hands the 20th of May, 1741. CHA. WAGER, THO. FRANKLAND, GLENORCHY.—To Captain Middleton, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop the Furnace, Deptford.

By Command of their Lordſhips. Thomas Corbett.

Account ſent to the Admiralty by Captain *Middleton* himſelf, ſo far as relates to his ſailing from *Churchill* on the Diſcovery[a].

‘I ſailed from *Churchill* the 1ſt Day of *July*, being the firſt Spurt of Wind I could get for ſailing out of the Harbour, and continued ſailing with a fair Wind till the 3d, when we ſaw an Iſland, the two Extremities bearing N. by E. and E. by N. lying in the Latitude of 63 Deg. North, and Longitude from *Churchill* 3 Deg. 40 Min. Eaſt, which I take to be the ſame which *Fox* named *Brook Cobham*. On the 5th Day I ſaw a Head-land on the North-ſide of the *Welcome*, bearing N. W. by N. ſeven or eight Leagues Diſtance, in the Latitude of 63 Deg. 20 Min. and Longitude from *Churchill* 40 Deg. Eaſt. Here I tried the Tides ſeveral times, and found cloſe in with the Land the Tide to run two Miles an Hour from the N. by E. which I take to be the Flood; and by the Slacks, from ſeveral Trials, I found that a Weſt, or a W. by N. Moon made High-water, having a full Moon that Day. On the 8th Day ſaw the North-ſide of the *Welcome*, with much Ice in Shore. I tried the Tide, and found it ſet E. N. E. two Fathoms. On the 9th, continuing my Courſe, and ſailing through much Ice, I was obliged at length to grapple to a large Piece. The Tender did the ſame to keep off from the Shore, the Wind blowing us right upon it. I tried the Tide frequently, and could diſcover neither Ebb nor Flood by my current Log. Here we were faſt jamm'd up in Ice, being totally ſurrounded for many Miles; and the Wind ſetting in right upon us, it was all Ice for 10 Leagues to windward, and were in great Danger of being forced aſhore; but it happily falling calm, after we had lain in this Condition two or three Days, the Pieces of Ice ſeparated, or made ſmall Openings, we being then within two Miles of the Shore, and with no little Difficulty hauled the Ships from one Piece to another, till we got amongſt what we call Sailing Ice; that is, where there are ſuch Intervals of Water, as a Ship, by ſeveral Traverſes, may get forwards towards the intended Courſe. In this manner we continued till we ſaw a fair Cape or Head-land to the northward of *Whalebone-Point*, in the Latitude of 65 Deg. 10 Min. North, and Longitude from *Churchill* 8 Deg. 54 Min. Eaſt. This I named, after my worthy Friend Capt. *Dobbs*. I had very good Soundings between the two Shores of the *Welcome*, having 46, 48, and 49 Fathoms Water. At the ſame time that I ſaw *Cape Dobbs*, I ſaw a fair Opening bearing N. W. which, according to my Inſtructions, I ſtood in for among the Sailing Ice. It was juſt Flood when we entered it, the Tide running very ſtrong, which, by Obſervations afterwards, I found to run five or ſix Miles an Hour. I run over ſome Rocks on the North-ſide of it very luckily, being juſt High-water, and anchored in about 34 Fathoms; but as ſoon as the Tide of Ebb was made, it ran ſo ſtrong, and ſuch Quantities and Bodies of Ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to ſteer the Ship all the time, and keep all Hands upon their Guard with Ice-poles to ſhove off the Ice; notwithſtanding which it brought our Anchor home; and taking hold again, one of the Arms of the Anchor was broke off.

‘The next Day I ſent my Lieutenant in the Boat to ſeek out ſome ſecurer Place for the Ships, it being impoſſible to keep afloat where we were. Some *Uſkimay* Savages came off to us, but had nothing to trade; I uſed them civilly, made them ſome Preſents, and diſmiſſed them. As ſoon as I got the Ships ſecured, I employed all my Officers and Boats, having myſelf no little Share in the Labour, in trying the Tides, and diſcovering the Courſe and Nature of this Opening; and after repeated Trials for three Weeks ſucceſſively, I found the Flood conſtantly to come from the eaſtward, and that it was a large River we were got into, but ſo full of Ice, there was no ſtirring the Ships with any Probability of Safety, while the Ice was driving up and down with the ſtrong Tides. Here I lay not a little impatient to get out, went ſeveral times in my Boat towards the Mouth of the River, and from a Hill that overlooked Part of the *Welcome*, ſaw that Place full of Ice; ſo that I found there was no Time loſt by our being in Security; however, I ſent my Lieutenant and Maſter in the eight-oar'd Boat to look out for a Harbour near the Entrance of the River, but they found none; and it was a ſmall Miracle they got on-board again; for they were ſo jammed up with Ice, which driving, the ſtrong Tides would inevitably have ſtove the Boat to-pieces, and all muſt have periſhed, had it not been for an Opening in a large Piece of Ice, into which they got the Boat, and with it drove out of the River's Mouth; but when the Tides lack'd, the Ice opened as uſual, and they rowed over to the North Shore, ſo got in with the Flood[b]. I ſeveral

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.* You are hereby required and directed during the Courſe of your intended Voyage, not to give any Diſturbance or Moleſtation to any of the Ships or Sloops employed in the Service of the Hudſon's-Bay Company, but to give them all Protection and Aſſiſtance that lies in your Power, whenever any Opportunities offer of your being ſerviceable to them. Given under our Hands the 29th of May, 1741. Cha. Wager, Vere Beauclerk, Glenorchy.—To Captain Middleton, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace. By Command of their Lordſhips. Thomas Corbett.

At a Council held on-board his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace, Auguſt the 1ſt, 1741, in the Latitude of 60 Deg. 22 Min. North, Longitude 87 Deg. 44 Min. Weſt, Wind N. by W. Preſent, Captain Chriſtopher Middleton, Preſident; William Moor, Maſter of the Diſcovery; John Rankin, Lieutenant; Robert Wilſon, Maſter. The Queſtion was put, and taken into Conſideration, Whether it would be proper to proceed upon a Diſcovery of a Paſſage from Hudſon's-Bay to the South-Sea directly, or to repair with his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace, and Diſcovery Pink, to Churchill River in Hudſon's-Bay, as the Seaſon of the Year is too far advanced to proceed to the *ne ultra*; and there being a Neceſſity of ſecuring the Veſſels, and providing Neceſſaries for Wintering as ſoon as poſſible: And it was unanimouſly reſolved, That conſidering the Rigor of the Winter in theſe Parts of the World, the Want of every thing neceſſary for building Lodgings for the Men, and a convenient Place for ſecuring the Veſſels from the Danger of the Ice; the Neceſſity of digging Store-rooms for the Proviſions, no Brandy, Spirits, or Strong-beer, being Proof againſt the Severity of the Winter above ground; the Uncertainty of ſecuring the Veſſels after the Froſt comes on, which uſually happens in the Beginning of September; and the Obſtructions we may poſſibly meet with in our Paſſage, by Fogs, Calms, Ice, and contrary Winds: That it would be the beſt and ſureſt Method for the Service in general, to proceed directly for Churchill-River in Hudſon's-Bay, there to ſecure his Majeſty's Veſſels Furnace and Diſcovery, with their Proviſions, Stores, and Ammunition, and to provide convenient Winter-quarters, Firing, and neceſſary Cloathing for their reſpective Companies, and to wait for the breaking up of the Ice the next Year, and then to attempt the Diſcovery of a Paſſage from Hudſon's-Bay to the South-Sea.

Christopher Middleton, John Rankin, William Moor, Robert Wilson.

[a] At a Council held at the New Fort, Churchill-River, March the 21ſt, 1741-2. Preſent, Captain Chriſtopher Middleton, John Rankin, Lieutenant; William Moor, Maſter and Commander of the Diſcovery; Robert Wilſon, Maſter of the Furnace.—It is taken into Conſideration, Whether it would be neceſſary for the Service his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace is ordered upon to make the following Alterations, which were mentioned by a Letter from Captain Middleton to Sir Jacob Ackworth, and for want of Time could not be effected, viz. the Quarter-deck to be made fluſh with the preſent Main-deck, by having a ſlight one laid over the former, and a Companion-way thereupon made to go down into the Steerage; the former Paſſage thereto being not only inconvenient, but very dangerous for Perſons coming from below to go forwards, when the Capſton is in-Uſe, as Captain Middleton by ſad Experience found, being jamm'd between the End of a Capſton Bar and the Companion. And it was reſolved, That conſidering the high and traverſe Seas in this Part of the World, and the Probability of ſhipping large Quantities of Water, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have the Quarter-deck made fluſh with the Main-deck, the Sloop to be ſteer'd with a Wheel, dead Lights hung with Hinges to be fixed to the great Cabbin Windows, which will make more room for the Capſton than is at preſent, and which we ſhall be obliged to uſe very frequently upon our entering or coming out of Harbours, warping among Ice, and upon account of trying the Tides; and it is our Opinions thoſe Alterations ought to be made before his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace proceeds to Sea, Given under our Hands this 21ſt Day of March, 1741-2.

Christopher Middleton, John Rankin, William Moor, Robert Wilson.

[b] At a Council held on-board his Majeſty's Ship Furnace, in Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, the 12th Day of July, 1742. Preſent, Captain Chriſtopher Middleton, Lieutenant John Rankin, William Moor, Maſter and Commander of the Diſcovery; Robert Wilſon, Maſter of the Furnace. The manifeſt Hazard of his Majeſty's Ships Furnace and Diſcovery, from the vaſt Quantities of Ice that ſurrounded them, the Sea being covered for ten Leagues to Windward, and the Ships driving every Tide nearer the Land, and at that Time within two Miles of the Shore; that there was a Neceſſity of turning back or ſeeking ſome Harbour, as ſoon as might be, to ſecure the Ships, was taken ſeriouſly into Conſideration; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it would be the moſt eligible and ſafeſt Method for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's ſaid Ships, and the Lives of the Men, to make the beſt of our Way to an Inlet or Streight, that appeared beyond Whalebone Point, there to ſeek out ſome convenient Place to ſecure the Ships, till ſuch time as the Welcome ſhould be cleared of Ice, and then uſe our utmoſt Endeavours for proceeding on our Diſcovery. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our Hands the Day and Year above-written. Christopher Middleton, John Rankin, William Moor, Robert Wilson.

‘ſeveral times ſent the *Indians* on-ſhore, to ſee if they knew any thing of the Land, but they were quite ignorant of it. In this vexatious Condition I continued for three Weeks, reſolving to get out the firſt Opportunity the River was any thing clear of Ice, and make what Diſcoveries I could by meeting the Flood-tide. This River, which, by frequent Trials of the Lands, Soundings, Tides, &c. I was able to take a Draught of, I named the River *Wager*, after the right honourable Sir *Charles Wager*, &c.

‘On the 3d of *Auguſt* the River for the firſt time was a little clear of Ice, and accordingly in Purſuit of our Diſcovery, and on the 5th by Noon got into the Latitude of 66 Deg. 14 Min. We had then got into a new Streight, much peſtered with Ice; and on the North-ſide of which we ſaw a Cape or Head-land bearing North; we had deep Water, and very ſtrong Tides, within four or five Leagues of it. I named this Head-land *Cape Hope*, as it gave us all great Joy and Hopes of its being the extreme North Part of *America*, ſeeing little or no Land to the northward of it. We turned or worked round it the ſame Night, and got five or ſix Leagues to the N. by W. before we could perceive any otherwiſe than a fair and wide Opening; but about Noon the 6th Day, after having got into the Latitude of 66 Deg. 40 Min. found we were imbay'd, and by Two in the Afternoon could not go above three Leagues farther; and having tried the Tides all the Forenoon, every two Hours, till Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, found neither Ebb nor Flood, yet deep Waters. From this it was concluded that we had over-ſhot the Streights on the North-eaſt Shore, from whence the Flood came; and as there was no proceeding above three or four Leagues farther, it was agreed upon by all to return back and ſearch narrowly for a Streight or Opening near where we found the ſtrong Tides. On the 7th, after we were confirmed the Flood came in at the North-eaſt from the E. by S. I went on-ſhore in the Boat, and found it flowed 15 Feet, three Days after the Full, and a W. by S. Moon made High-water, I travelled 12 or 15 Miles from Hill to Hill inland, till I came to a very high Mountain, from whence I plainly ſaw a Streight or Opening the Flood came in at; and the Mountain I ſtood upon being pretty near the Middle of this Streight, I could ſee both Ends of it, the whole being about 18 or 20 Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad, and very high Land on both Sides of it, having many ſmall Iſlands in the Middle and on the Sides of it; but it was all froze faſt from ſide to ſide, and no Appearance of its clearing this Year, and near the 67th Degree of Latitude, and no anchoring the Ships, being very deep Water cloſe to the Shore, and much large Ice driving with the Ebb and Flood, and but little Room if thick Weather ſhould happen, which we continually expect in theſe Parts; it was agreed upon in Council to make the beſt of our way out of this dangerous narrow Streight, and to make Obſervations between the 64th and 62d Degree of Latitude. The *Frozen Streight* I take to run towards that which *Bylot* named *Cape Comfort*, and the Bay where *Fox* had named a Place *Lord Weſton's Portland*. It is in the Latitude of 66 Deg. 40 Min. and 12 Deg. 49 Min. Eaſt from *Churchill*.

‘Purſuant to the Reſolution we bore away, and tried the Tides on the other ſide the *Welcome*, ſounding and obſerving cloſe in-ſhore, but met with little Encouragement. On the 11th of *Auguſt* I once more ſaw the Iſland of *Brook Cobham*, and continued trying the Tide, and ſtill finding the Flood came from the eaſtward, and by coaſting along the *Welcome*, was certain of its being the main Land, though there are ſeveral ſmall Iſlands and deep Bays, and ſaw ſeveral black Whales of the right Whalebone kind. I worked off and on by *Brook Cobham*, ſent the northern *Indians* aſhore upon the Iſland, who, at their Return, gave me to underſtand it was not far from their Country, and deſired I would let them go home, being tired of the Sea. I kept them with Aſſurances that I would act according to my Promiſe; and finding no Probability of a Paſſage, in two or three Days after I gave them a ſmall Boat well fitted with Sails and Oars, the Uſe of which they had been taught, and loaded it with Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Hatchets, and every thing deſirable to them. They took their Leave of me, and I ſent another Boat for Water, which accompanied them aſhore, the ſouthern *Indian* being with them. The ſouthern *Indian*, who was Linguiſt for the northern ones, returned with the Boat, being uſed to the *Engliſh* Cuſtoms at the Factory, and deſirous of ſeeing *England*, being a willing handy Man, I brought him with me. And the ſame Evening, which was the 15th of *Auguſt*, I

‘bore

Lieutenant's Report, Sunday July the 25th, 1742. I was ordered to take the Maſter with me in the eight-oar'd Boat, to ſound in the Channel to the northward of the Iſlands in the River, and to ſee for a Harbour for our Ships, near the Mouth of the River, for a ſafe Retreat, if need be, but I could find none on the North-ſide; but I ſaw ſeveral Openings or Coves on the South-ſide, but I could not get near them, for the River was very full of Ice from Side to Side. I made the beſt of my way up to the Ships from near the River's Mouth; I got up to the Iſland off the Mouth of Savage Sound or River, the Tide came down upon me, and all the Ice, with ſuch Force and Swiftneſs, that our Boat muſt have been ſmaſhed into a thouſand Pieces, if we had not got her inſtantly into a Cove, or large Field of Ice: We were incloſed with ſo much Ice, many large Pieces, ſome of them drew nine or ten Fathoms Water; we were forced upon the South-ſhore with great Swiftneſs, and many Pieces were forced upon the Rocks, and others againſt them, with great Force: We were forced off again near the Middle of the River, and carried out of the River's Mouth with the Tide of Ebb above five Leagues, before we could ſee the leaſt Opening among the Ice, to get the Boat out. About Four or Five in the Morning, the 26th, the Ice opened a little, I got the Boat out of the Cove, and forced her through the Ice, it having little or no Motion; the Flood Tide being made, we got among looſe Ice, and ſailed towards the North-ſhore. About Twelve at Noon, the 26th, we got in under the Iſlands on the North-ſide, at the Mouth of the River; we lay the Tide off Ebb, and got on-board of the Ship at half an Hour paſt Nine at Night.

July 27th, 1742. John Rankin.

My Order to the Lieutenant and Maſter. By Captain Chriſtopher Middleton, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Furnace. Whereas I ordered you and the Maſter to ſound in the Channel on the North-ſide of the Iſlands in this River, and to look out for an Harbour for the Ships near the Mouth thereof; but finding by your Report, that there is none to be found on the North-ſide; and the River being very full of Ice, there was no approaching the South-ſide; it alſo having been hinted to me, that there was ſome Hopes of a Paſſage or Inlet into the Sea, from the Riſings of the Tides at or near Deer Sound, black Whales having been ſeen thereabouts, and it being impoſſible to move the Ships with Safety, while ſuch Bodies of Ice are now in the River, and continue to drive with the Tides; you and the Maſter are hereby required and directed to take the ſix-oar'd Boat, and proceed up the River Wager as far as Deer-Sound before-mentioned, and to be as particular as may be of the Flux of the Tides, their Direction and Height at that Place and near it, and particularly to note whether the Flood in the River Deer-Sound comes from this River or ſome other; and to make ſtrict Enquiry whether the Black Whales can have any other Paſſage from the Sea into this River, than that where his Majeſty's Ships Furnace and Diſcovery came in at, and to report to me, under your Hands, at your Return, which is to be as ſpeedy as the Nature of the Service you are ordered upon will permit, what Obſervations you make thereof, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. Dated on-board his Majeſty's Ship Furnace, the 27th Day of July 1742. Christopher Middleton.—To Lieutenant John Rankin, and Robert Wilſon, Maſter of his Majeſty's Ship Furnace.

The Lieutenant's and Maſter's Report. Purſuant to an Order from Captain Chriſtopher Middleton, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the Furnace, bearing Date the 27th of July, 1742.—We, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, took the Furnace's ſix oar'd Boat, and went from Savage-Sound, where his Majeſty's Ships Furnace and Diſcovery then lay; and on the 28th, at One in the Morning, arrived at Deer-Sound, where we tried the Tide, and found the Flood to come into that Place from the River Wager, and roſe at that Time ten Feet. At Six o'Clock the ſame Morning we left Deer-Sound, (where we put the two northern Indians aſhore to kill ſome Deer for our ſick Men) and ſailed for a high bluff Land on the N. W. Side of the River Wager. Our Courſe from the Iſlands on the North-ſide of Deer-Sound to the high bluff Land, was N. W. by N. by Compaſs; we ſounded frequently, and had no Ground with a Line of 68 Fathoms all the way over. When we were a-breaſt of the high bluff Land, we ſteer'd W. N. W. keeping the Mid-channel, and ſtill found no Ground at 98 Fathoms, except nigh ſome Iſlands that lay in the fair Way about one-third over the River, and 30 Fathoms within a League of one of them. This Courſe we kept till we got about 15 Leagues from Deer-Sound, but finding the Tide or Freſh againſt us, and the Wind coming fair, we were afraid to ſtay any longer, for fear of hindering the Ships from going to Sea; however, we came to a Grapnell with the Boat, and went upon a high mountainous Land, where we had a very fair View of the River. From thence we ſaw a great Run or Fall of Water between the ſuppoſed main Land and the aforeſaid Iſlands, very narrow, ſeemingly not a Mile broad, and about a League from where the Boat lay; but to the northwards we diſcovered a large Collection of Water, in which were ſeveral Iſlands, and high mountainous Land on both Sides of it, the Weſt-ſide having many bluff Points, and broken Land. In our Return towards the Ships, and not far from Deer-Sound, we ſaw ſeveral large Black Whales, of the Whalebone-kind, ſome of which came very near the Boat. So that upon the whole, we think there may be ſome other Paſſage into the Sea from the River Wager, beſides that which his Majeſty's Ships Furnace and Diſcovery came in at, and imagine there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, ſomewhere on the Eaſt-ſide thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. Given under our Hands this 1ſt Day of Auguſt, 1742. John Rankin, Robert Wilson.

‘ bore away for *England*, thinking to have tried the Tide ‘ at *Cary's Swan's Neſt*, but could not fetch it. On the ‘ 20th ſaw *Manſel's Iſle*; on the 21ſt *Cape Diggs* was in ‘ ſight; on the 26th made *Cape Reſolution*, and arrived at ‘ *Cairſton* in *Pomona*, one of the Iſlands of *Orkney*; moſt of ‘ my Men being ſo very much afflicted with the Scurvy, ‘ and otherwiſe ſick and diſtempered, that I ſhall be obli- ‘ ged to leave Part of them behind me, and only wait to ‘ impreſs Hands to carry the Ships ſafe to *London*. For ‘ the Particulars, I muſt refer you to my Journal and ‘ Draught.’

Thus ended the moſt ſanguine Attempt that had been made for upwards of one Century, towards the Diſcovery of the long-wiſh'd-for *North-weſt Paſſage*; whoſe Diſappointment was attributed, by *Arthur Dobbs*, Eſq; the chief Projector, to ſome ſecret Underſtanding between *Middleton* and the Directors of the *Hudſon's-Bay Company*. But how far his Suggeſtions were warrantable and juſt, will be beſt ſeen by thoſe who have Leiſure to read the long Controverſy printed by both Sides on the Subject.

CHAP. IV.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *in the Years* 1742, *and* 1743, *both in* EUROPE *and* AMERICA; *including Commodore* ANSON's *Voyage round the World.*

SOON after the Concluſion of the *Hanoverian* Treaty of Neutrality, his *Britannic* Majeſty left his *German* Dominions, and embarking at *Helvoetſluys* on the 18th of *October*, landed the next Day at *Alborough* in *Suffolk*, and on the Day following arrived at *St. James's*; on which Occaſion he ſoon aftewards received the Congratulations of the Nobility, and the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*.

After the *Britiſh* Troops had quitted *Carthagena*, the Miniſtry reſolved to ſend another Body of Forces to augment the Army in *America*: Accordingly four Regiments of Marines were raiſed, and ſet ſail from *Cork* in *Ireland*, on the 8th of *November*, in 40 Tranſports, convoyed by four Men of War and four Bomb-ketches, to reinforce the Army in *Cuba*; but, in the ſame manner as the former, theſe Forces were detained too long, and ſet out greatly too late for contributing to any material Service in *America*.

The new Parliament met on the 1ſt of *December*, 1741, and ſhewed great Diſlike to the late Meaſures and Miniſtry; and on the 20th of *January* the Merchants of *London* preſented Pretitions to both Houſes of Parliament, ſetting forth, “That the *Britiſh* Navigation and Commerce had “ been continually expoſed, both in the *Mediterranean* and “ the *Weſt-Indies*, to the growing Inſolence of the *Spaniſh* “ Privateers, from the Commencement of the War, prin- “ cipally owing to the Neglect of properly ſtationing his “ Majeſty's Ships.” Petitions were alſo preſented to the Parliament about the ſame time, from the Cities of *London*, *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and *Glaſgow*; and the Towns of *Liverpool*, *Lancaſter*, *Biddeford*, *Southampton*, and other Places, upon the like Occaſion.

The Parliament paid a due Regard to theſe Petitions, and entered into vigorous Reſolutions for the better Protection of the *Britiſh* Trade and Commerce for the future; accordingly a Number of the ſmalleſt Men of War were appointed to cruiſe in the Channel, and about the Coaſts, to ſecure the Merchant-ſhips from the Inſults of the *Spaniſh* Privateers.

Commodore *Leſtock*, who had lately arrived from the *Weſt-Indies*, was ſent with 10 Sail of Men of War to reinforce Admiral *Haddock*, and make his Force ſufficient to oppoſe the united Fleets of *France* and *Spain*. The Commodore having joined the Vice-admiral at *Port-mahon* on the 1ſt of *February*, the Admiral made all poſſible Diligence to put to Sea, and ſcour the Coaſts of *Italy*, to intercept any Succours that might be ſent to the *Spaniſh* Army commanded by the Duke *de Montemar*. But before the Fleet was in Readneſs to ſail, the Vice-admiral, upon account of his Indiſpoſition, owing chiefly to the Dejection of his noble Spirit by the Reſtriction of his former Orders, was obliged to charge the Commodore with the Command of the Fleet, and return to *England*, where he arrived, in the *Roebuck* Man of War, on the 26th of *May*.

Commodore *Leſtock* made every Preparation to get out to Sea with the utmoſt Expedition, in order to the Execution of the Royal Inſtructions he had received from Admiral *Haddock*. Having appointed Cruiſers in proper Stations on the Coaſt of *Spain*, they had the good Fortune to take and deſtroy ſeveral Veſſels laden with Proviſions for the Uſe of the *Spaniſh* Forces, and prepared with proper Accommodations for tranſporting their Horſe to *Italy*. On the 12th of *April* the Commodore ſet ſail from *Port-mahon* with a Squadron of 28 Men of War, and ſoon after appeared before *Toulon* [a].

On the Appearance of Commodore *Leſtock* before the Town, the Inhabitants were in the greateſt Conſternation; the Country was alarmed from the Signal-houſe, by a Fire and 28 Signals; the Seamen, belonging to the *French* and *Spaniſh* Squadrons, who had Permiſſion to lie on-ſhore, were ordered to return on-board; the Officers, both military and naval, were ordered to their reſpective Poſts; and Detachments of Soldiers were ſent to the Batteries and Fortifications along the Coaſt. But the Commodore had no Intention of moleſting them, for the united Squadrons were ſuperior to the *Britiſh* Force; the *French* Squadron, under Admiral *de Court*, conſiſting of five 70 Gun Ships, ſeven of 60, four of 50, two of 30, and two of 20; and the *Spaniſh* Squadron, under *Don Navarro*, conſiſted of one Ship of 114 Guns, four of 70, ſix of 60, and five of 50, being in all 36 Men of War; therefore Commodore *Leſtock*, after obſerving their Situation, proceeded towards *Antibes*, and the Coaſt of *Italy*.

Soon after the Arrival of Commodore *Leſtock* in the *Mediterranean*, happened a Revolution in the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, when *Thomas Matthews*, Eſq; was made Vice-admiral of the Red, and Commodore *Leſtock* was promoted to the Rank of Rear-admiral of the White. The new Miniſtry were determined to exert the *Britiſh* Force in the *Mediterranean*, and Admiral *Matthews* was ordered to proceed and take upon him the Command of the Squadron then under Commodore *Leſtock*, and was alſo inveſted with the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the King of *Sardinia*, and the Princes and States of *Italy*. On the 16th of *April* the Vice-admiral ſet ſail from *Spithead* with four Men of War, taking under his Convoy the Merchant-ſhips for *Oporto* and *Liſbon*, and the *Mediterranean*, and ſoon after arrived at *Gibraltar*, having, in his Paſſage, taken ſeveral *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships. Vice-admiral *Matthews* immediately proceeded to meet Rear-admiral *Leſtock*, and joined him [b] in the Harbour of *Villa-*

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[a] This Town lies in Provence, and is the principal Sea-port of France, ſituated on a Bay of the Mediterranean Sea, 400 Miles S. E. of Paris, 25 S. E. of Marſeilles, and 80 S. W. of Nice: This is the Station of the Royal Navy of France, where the largeſt Ships are built, and the vaſt Magazines of all manner of naval Stores and Timber for Shipping are repoſited. The Place is ſtrongly fortified both by Land and Sea, and held out a remarkable Siege in 1707, againſt the confederate Forces, who were obliged to abandon the Enterprize; though the Britiſh Squadron, commanded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, did conſiderable Damage to the Town, and deſtroyed eight Men of War in the Bay.

[b] Vice-admiral Matthews, and Rear-admiral Leſtock, had both of them been many Years in the naval Service, and were both Officers of indiſputable Bravery and Experience. The Vice-admiral, when he commanded the Kent, manifeſted his Courage and Abilities in the Engagement off the Streights of Meſſina in the Year 1718, when Sir George Byng deſtroyed the Spaniſh Squadron; and the Rear-admiral was recommended to his Majeſty by Sir George Byng, as one of the ableſt Quarter-deck Officers ever bred at Sea. But it was notorious, that not the leaſt Amity ever ſubſiſted between theſe Gentlemen; they had long indulged the Rancour of an old Animoſity, and the Vice-admiral, before he accepted the Command, even declared to the Miniſtry, that he did it only upon condition that the Rear-admiral ſhould be ſpeedily recalled: Therefore why the Miniſtry ſhould afterwards continue to intruſt the Command of ſo important a Fleet, to Officers whom they knew it was impoſſible to reconcile in their private Capacity, ſeems highly myſterious, if not totally culpable.

Villa-Franca, a Port Town of *Italy*, in the Principality of *Piedmont*, and County of *Nice*, ſubject to the King of *Sardinia*, ſituate three Miles Eaſt of *Nice*, and forty South of *Coni*.

When Vice-admiral *Matthews* arrived at *Villa-Franca*, the Rear-admiral not only ſaluted him with his own Guns, but ordered all the Ships in the Fleet to do it, and went in his Boat, out of the Port, to meet him before he got in, paying him the moſt reſpectful Submiſſion: In return to which, the Vice-admiral immediately on ſeeing him, before Monſieur *Corbeau* the Commandant of the County of *Nice*, and ſome Field-officers in the *Sardinian* Service, as well as a great many Captains of the Fleet, who were then on-board of him, without any Regard to Decency, or the Rank and Reputation of the Rear-admiral, began with reprimanding him, telling him, "He was ſurprized that, as "he had been ſo long in the Royal Service, he had not "yet learned to comply with his Inſtructions, in writing "to him, and ſending a Frigate down to *Gibraltar*:" To which the Rear-admiral anſwered, "That he had done "both; and if the Vice-admiral had not received his Letters, nor met with the Frigate, it was not his Fault." Hence, from the firſt Meeting of theſe Commanders, their future Diſſenſions were readily predicted.

Vice-admiral *Matthews* was intent on guarding well the Coaſts of *Catalonia*, *Provence*, and *Italy*; and ſoon gave an Inſtance of his Reſolution to act up to the Spirit of his Orders: For a *French* Man of War, paſſing by *Villa-Franca*, in ſight of the *Britiſh* Fleet; and refuſing to pay the Compliment to the Flag, the Vice-admiral fired at the *Frenchman* to bring to; but the Commander perſiſting in his Obſtinacy, a Man of War was ordered out to force him to Good-manners, who, pouring a Broadſide into the *French* Ship, ſunk her directly. The *Britiſh* Fleet having been joined by Rear-admiral *Rowley*, was now ſomewhat ſuperior to the conjunct Squadrons of *France* and *Spain*, which the Vice-admiral was ordered to keep blocked up in the Port of *Toulon*: For this Purpoſe, on the 2d of *June*, the Vice-admiral ordered the Rear-admirals *Leſtock* and *Rowley* on a Cruize for ſix Weeks, with 24 Ships, off the Iſlands of *Hieres*, to watch the Motions of the *French* and *Spaniards*. Theſe are a ſmall Cluſter of Iſlands oppoſite to the Town of *Hieres* in *Provence*, and a little to the Eaſt of *Toulon*; the three principal, called the Iſles of *Levant*, *Porteros*, and *Portquerelles*, are inhabited, and tolerably fertile; the Road is ſafe, and the Bay capacious, being advantageouſly ſituated that no Ship can enter, or come out of, the Port of *Toulon*, without being obſerved by Ships on this Station; where the Rear-admirals ſoon after arrived with the *Britiſh* Squadron, and in a ſhort time took above 30 Sail of Merchant-ſhips, bound to different Ports in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, with Neceſſaries for the *Spaniards*.

Vice-admiral *Matthews*, in the mean time, diſpoſed the other Part of his Fleet in the moſt convenient Stations for interrupting the *Spaniſh* Commerce, and intercepting any Supplies ſent to their Army in *Provence*, ordering his Captains to ſeize every Ship, of whatever Nation, which they found carrying Relief to the *Spaniards*. On their Cruiſe two of the *Britiſh* Men of War fell in with a ſmall Number of Barks, having *French* Soldiers on-board, going to relieve the Garriſon of *Monaco*, and conducted them to the Vice-admiral at *Villa-Franca*, who immediately releaſed them. Captain *Norris*, in the *Kingſton* of 50 Guns, and Captain *Callis*, in the *Duke* Fire-ſhip, upon their Cruiſe between *Villa-Franca* and the Iſles of *Hieres*, having received Intelligence that five *Spaniſh* Gallies, laden with Ammunition and Proviſions for the *Spaniſh* Army, had ſailed from *St. Margaretta* to *St. Tropez*, a ſmall Town of *Provence*, with a good Port, 30 Miles Eaſt of *Toulon*. Captain *Norris* and Captain *Callis* immediately followed them, with an Intention to detain them there till Captain *Norris* ſhould receive Orders from the Vice-admiral how to regulate his Behaviour; but the *Spaniſh* Gallies having begun to fire upon the *Britiſh* Ships, and thereby broke the Rules uſually obſerved in a neutral Port, Captain *Norris* immediately gave Orders to Captain *Callis* to ſet fire to them, which he executed, and deſtroyed them; while another Part of the *Britiſh* Squadron, cruiſing on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, bombarded the Towns of *Mataro* and *Palamos*, by which great part of the Buildings were deſtroyed, and many of the Inhabitants buried under the Ruins of their Houſes.

On the 8th of *Auguſt* Commodore *Martin* compelled his *Sicilian* Majeſty to ſign a Neutrality, and recall the *Neapolitan* Troops from the *Spaniſh* Army in *Italy*. The Vice-admiral having cauſed the *Britiſh* Conſul at *Genoa*, "To "deſire the Senate, that they would forbid their Subjects "from carrying Proviſions to the *Spaniſh* Squadron on the "Coaſt of *Provence*, and that they would alſo deny the "*Spaniards* a Paſſage by Land through their Republic:" The Senate made Anſwer, "That they reſolved to main"tain a ſtrict Neutrality; but as to the Paſſage of Troops "through their Territories, they were not in a Condition "to oppoſe it, otherwiſe than by openly proteſting againſt "ſuch as ſhould attempt it without their Conſent." As Vice-admiral *Matthews* had ſtrong Reaſons to ſuſpect the Infidelity of the *Genoeſe*, he was diſſatisfied with this Reply, and ordered his Cruiſers to make ſtrict Obſervations on the Conduct of the Republic.

The Vice-admiral having ſettled his Cruiſers in the proper Stations, and conſulted Meaſures with the *Sardinian* Officers for ſecuring the Coaſt, arrived at *Hieres-bay*, which he had appointed for the grand Rendezvous, where the Cruiſers were to victual, wood, water, and refit. The Strength of the *Britiſh* Fleet was but little ſuperior to the conjunct Squadrons in *Toulon*; and many of the Ships were foul, and could not be kept perpetually at Sea, nor would their Situation, nor the Condition of the *French* and *Spaniards*, ſuffer the *Britiſh* Admiral to ſend ſuch Ships to *Minorca* to be cleaned and refitted: This obliged the three-deck Ships, being 11 Sail, to lie conſtantly at *Hieres-bay*, for fear of being crippled and diſabled, as the Conſequences, in that Caſe, might have been fatal, by giving the *French* and *Spaniards* a ſuperior Strength; but all the two-deck Ships were continually employed, at different Stations, in ſupporting the *Britiſh* Allies, and preventing the *Spaniſh* Army in *Italy* from receiving Supplies and Reinforcements.

While the Vice-admiral was on this Station, he was informed that the *Spaniards* had collected ſome conſiderable Magazines at *St. Reino*, a *Genoeſe* Town on the *Mediterranean*, about 30 Miles North-eaſt of *Nice*; he diſpatched Captain *Martin* thither towards the Latter-end of *Auguſt*; who arrived in that Road on the 1ſt of *September*, and immediately ſent a Party on-ſhore to ſearch for the Magazines, which they found, and burnt 250 Quintals of Straw, and deſtroyed a great Quantity of Corn and Flour, deſigned for the Uſe of the *Spaniſh* Army. After which nothing material happened this Year in the *Britiſh* Fleet, which continued their Station off *Toulon*.

The *Engliſh* Merchants loſt a great Number of Ships in the *Britiſh* and *German* Ocean, whereby their Trade to *Holland* was greatly interrupted, and even grew very precarious along their own Coaſt: Beſides, the *Spaniards* took and carried many conſiderable Prizes into *Vigo*, *Bilboa*, and *St. Sebaſtian*, where the poor Sailors ſuffered inexpreſſible Hardſhips, being driven barefooted 100 or 200 Miles up the Country, lodged in damp Dungeons, and allowed only Bread and Water; but the Allowance of 6*d.* a Day, granted by the *Britiſh* Government to every Priſoner, was regularly paid them.

However, many of the *Britiſh* Commanders, both of the Men of War and Privateers, took ſeveral valuable Prizes from the *Spaniards*, and deſtroyed many of their Privateers; while the Maſters of the Merchant-ſhips bravely defended themſelves, and were never taken but by a ſuperior Force.

The Earl of *Northeſk*, Commander of the *Loo* Man of War, being on a Cruize off of Cape *Finiſterre*, and the Parts adjacent, received Intelligence of a ſmall Privateer being at *Porto Novo*; upon which he ſtood in there on the 30th of *June*; but the Privateer diſcovering him, got higher up the River than the *Loo* could venture, and it falling calm, Lord *Northeſk* was obliged to anchor cloſe by the Towns of *Porto-novo* and *St. Jago*, into which he fired a few Shot, then landed ſome Men, and diſmounted four Guns which were on a Battery at *Porto-novo*; and, having ſet fire to ſeveral Houſes in *St. Jago*, proceeded on his Cruiſe, where, on the 7th of *July*, his Lordſhip met with the *Deal-caſtle* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Elton*; and receiving Intelligence of ſome Veſſels being at *Vigo*, they ran up the River, and anchored before that Town, made Prizes of four Veſſels, having fired ſeveral Shot into the Town to cover the Boats while they cut away the Veſſels, there being a ſmart Fire at them with ſmall Arms from the Shore. After this the Men of War continued their Cruize, and Lord *Northeſk*, upon Intelligence that the Privateer was ſtill about the River of *Porto-novo*, on the 19th of *July* ran in and anchored under the Iſland of *Blydones*, where his Lordſhip put a Lieutenant and 60 Men, with two Six-pounders, into one of the Sloops taken at *Vigo*, and ſent her up the River in queſt of the Privateer; the Sloop could ſee nothing of her, but in her Return chaſed a Bark on-ſhore, and ſet her on-fire. Lord *Northeſk* then landed ſome of his Men, and after burning a Village of about 40 Houſes, repaired to his Station.

On the 7th of *September*, the *Kinſale* Man of War, commanded by the honourable Captain *Hamilton*, being on a Cruize off *Dieppe*, a Port Town of *France*, ſituate on the *Britiſh* Channel, and ſtanding in-ſhore, he ſaw a Veſſel lying-to, which, as ſoon as ſhe perceived the Man of War, made Sail towards her, hoiſting *French* Colours: The *Kinſale* ſtanding for her, they ſoon came within half Gun-ſhot, where the Crew hauled down her Colours, intending to board the *Kinſale*, which they took for a Collier, but were ſoon ſenſible of their Miſtake, and ſtruck to the *Engliſh*, who found her to be a Privateer called *El Santo Chriſto del portal y noſtra Seniora de la Soledad de Portugaletta*, mounted with two Carriage Guns and 13 Swivels, having 58 Men on-board, and 24 of them *French*, who had taken ſix Prizes in the Channel, and carried them into *Dunkirk*.

On the 7th of *December*, the *Bridgewater* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Rogers*, cruiſing 63 Leagues to the Weſt of *Scilly*, at Nine in the Morning fell in with a *Spaniſh* Privateer, called the *Santa la Rita*, mounted with 18 Carriage and eight Swivel Guns, and carrying 140 Men, lately come out of *Bilboa*. The Privateer, being to windward, bore down upon the *Bridgewater*; whereupon Captain *Rogers* hoiſted a *Dutch* Enſign, hauled up his Mainſail, and backed his Main-top-ſail; but finding ſoon after that the Privateer made Sail for him, he hauled down the *Dutch* Enſign, hoiſted *Engliſh* Colours, and gave her a Broadſide. Upon this the Privateer took down her *Engliſh* Enſign, hoiſted *Spaniſh*, made all poſſible Sail from the *Bridgewater*, and fired her Stern Chaſe-guns. Captain *Rogers* crouded Sail after her, and plied her with his Bow-chaſe Guns till Three in the Afternoon, when he came up with her, and gave her another Broadſide, which ſhe returned: But Captain *Rogers* then finding that ſhe ſhot from him, deferred firing any more till he came cloſe up with her; and about Nine at Night, being cloſe under her Lee-quarter, he gave her another Broadſide with ſmall Arms, upon which ſhe called for Quarter, and was carried into *Plymouth*.

On the 27th of *December*, the *Pulteney* Privateer, a large Brigantine, mounting 16 Carriage Guns and 26 Swivels, with 42 Men, commanded by Captain *James Purcel*, returned to *Gibraltar* from a Cruiſe in the Mouth of the Streights; and as ſhe was ſtanding in for the Bay, from the Weſt, with little or no Wind, was ſeen from *Old Gibraltar*; from whence two large *Spaniſh* Xebeques, each carrying 120 Men, 12 Carriage Guns, and a great Number of Patteraroes and Muſquetoons, were ſent out to take the *Pulteney*; who, looking upon her as an eaſy Prey, made haſte with their Oars, and ſoon came up with her, a little to the Eaſt of *Europa* Point, and almoſt within Reach of the Guns of *Gibraltar*. There was in the Bay an 80 Gun Ship, but without a Main-top-maſt; ſo that there was no aſſiſting the Privateer, but by a Reinforcement of Men, which might have very eaſily been ſent when the Xebeques firſt ſtood out; but the Commander, when applied to, refuſed ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, alledging that it was impoſſible ſo ſmall a Veſſel, even full of Men, could eſcape ſo ſuperior a Force. The brave Captain *Purcel* was however of a different Opinion, reſolving to defend his Veſſel to the laſt Extremity; and, finding his Officers and Men in the ſame Diſpoſition, he prepared for an obſtinate Reſiſtance. After a few ſingle Guns, the *Spaniards* came near, and hailed the Veſſel by her Name, and the Captain by his, entreating him to ſtrike and preſerve the Lives of his Men, otherwiſe to expect no Quarter. Theſe Threats were returned with Guns. Then the *Spaniards* attempted to board, and were reſolutely beat off; they twice more renewed their Attempt, but Captain *Purcel* prudently reſerving half his Broadſide, they had not Courage to board him, though they expoſed themſelves ſo much, particularly in the laſt Puſh, that they could ſtand it no longer, and made off with their Oars towards *Malaga*, having loſt above 100 of their Men. The Engagement laſted an Hour and three-quarters: The *Pulteney* had but one Man killed, and five more dangerouſly wounded; though, what is very remarkable, every Man on-board was ſhot thro' his Cloaths; the Sails and Rigging were cut all to Pieces, and ſome Nine-pounders went through the Hull and Maſts. The *Pulteney* remaining becalmed after the Engagement, ſeveral Boats from *Gibraltar* went and towed her round; and the Garriſon had ſo high a Senſe of the great Merit of the Action, of which many hundreds of them were Witneſſes, that the Governor, Officers, and principal Inhabitants, contributed for a large Piece of Plate as a Preſent to the Captain, with a ſuitable Inſcription, and gave a handſome Reward to the Sailors for their Bravery.

Theſe were the moſt material Actions in which the *Britiſh* Commanders this Year ſignalized their Bravery in the *European* Seas. In the mean time the Government, ſenſible that a due Encouragement of their maritime Force was the beſt Security for the Liberties of *Europe*, manifeſted a Regard for the Protection of their Seamen, and their Reſolution to permit no Officer of the Royal Navy to eſcape with Impunity, either for a Neglect of Duty, or ill Treatment of their Men. For in *May* the *Britiſh* Miniſtry ſettled a Cartel with the Court of *Madrid*, for the Exchange of Priſoners; purſuant to which above 600 *Engliſh* Seamen were delivered from *St. Sebaſtian*, and a conſiderable Number exchanged at *Gibraltar*. Sir *Yelverton Peyton*, Captain of the *Hector* Man of War, and Captain *Fanſhaw*, Commander of the *Phœnix*, having returned from their Station at *Virginia* and *South-Carolina*; and Complaints having been made to the Miniſtry of their Conduct there, a Court-Marſhal was appointed to try them; which was held on the 9th of *June* by Admiral *Cavendiſh*, on-board the *St. George*, at *Spithead*; when the Court adjudged Sir *Yelverton Peyton* to be diſmiſſed from ever ſerving in the Royal Navy, and mulcted Captain *Fanſhaw* ſix Months Pay for the Uſe of the Cheſt at *Chatham*, which is a Fund of Naval Charity, eſtabliſhed in the Year 1588, for the Support of wounded Seamen. And on the 19th of *Auguſt*, the ſame Admiral held another Court-Martial at *Spithead*, on the Captain of the *Superb*, who was caſhiered, and rendered incapable of ſerving again, for ill Treatment to his Officers, and inhuman Cruelty to his Men.

In *America* every thing ſeemed to run backward, notwithſtanding the Activity, Knowledge, and Reſolution of the brave Admiral *Vernon*; owing to the Pride, Ignorance, or Hatred of thoſe with whom he was connected in Council[a]. By theſe it was determined to undertake an Expedition againſt *Panama*[b].

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[a] At this Time Vice-admiral Vernon acquainted the Duke of Newcaſtle, that he lamented his Situation, and had determined to limit his Applications of Favour from the Crown, to the ſingle one of having the Conduct of the Expeditions to Carthagena and Cuba, ſtrictly and publickly enquired into; and as he knew that his Majeſty had an experienced Officer there in Sir Chaloner Ogle, he requeſted the Favour of his Grace, that he might be ordered home, to undergo the ſtricteſt Examination into his Conduct; aſſuring his Grace, till ſuch Orders arrived, no man ſhould forward every Service for the Honour of his Royal Maſter, and the due Execution of his Orders, with more Care and Diligence than he would; but under his daily Prayers for a Deliverance, from being conjoined to a Gentleman whoſe Opinions he had long experienced to be more changeable than the Moon; though he had endeavoured, agreeable to his Orders, to maintain the moſt civil Correſpondence in his Power with General Wentworth.

[b] On the 6th of January, a General Council of War aſſembled, at which were preſent, Vice-admiral Vernon, General Wentworth, Sir Chaloner Ogle, Brigadier-general Guiſe, and Governor Trelawney; when they proceeded to conſult what Expedition was proper to be undertaken; and, having read, and examined into, the Propoſal of Captain Lea, for an Attempt on Guatimala; and into the Propoſal made by Lieutenant Lowther about Panama; the latter ſeemed to meet with the greater Approbation; and Lieutenant Lowther, on his Examination, acquainted the Council, “ That a Man of War ſhould by all means

This Reſolution was afterwards, upon the Arrival of 2000 Marines from *England* on the 15th of *January*, confirmed in another Council of War. And on the 22d, another General Council of War was held by Admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, General *Wentworth*, General *Guiſe*, and Governor *Trelawney*; when General *Wentworth* reported, “That he had the general Return of the Men capable of Duty, both thoſe lately arrived from *Cork*, and what he had under his Command before, and found they did not amount, in the whole, to 3000 Men fit for immediate Service; and, as a conſiderable Number were wanted to man the Fleet, he found the Forces would be too weak to undertake the Enterprize of *Panama*. Whereupon it was agreed to man the Ships from the Forces, and to put the Remainder in condition for Service, on-board the laſt Tranſports from *Europe*, to be getting to Sea with all Expedition, and to direct their Views to ſuch Attempts as ſhould then ſeem to the Council to be moſt promiſing of Succeſs, having always in View the Preſervation of *Jamaica*. And, for giving the *Spaniards* a Diverſion in the leeward Parts, it appeared to them that they might detach 200 Men for trying the Succeſs of the Settlement of *Rattan Iſland*; which, if it could be effected, would, in their Apprehenſion, be a probable Means of ſecuring the Logwood Trade to *Britain*, and likewiſe for opening a Commerce with the Provinces of *Guatimala* and *Yucatan*.” The two Admirals, General *Guiſe*, and Governor *Trelawney*, concurred in this Opinion, and ſigned the Reſolution; but General *Wentworth*, at that time, declined it.

General *Wentworth* having formerly requeſted of the Vice-admiral to ſend Lieutenant *Lowther* over to the Coaſt of *Porto-bello*, for obtaining Intelligence, and ſecuring the Succeſs of the intended Expedition againſt *Panama*; on the 4th of *February* the Lieutenant, with 13 Men, proceeded to Sea in the *Triton* Sloop, under Convoy of Capt. *Dennis* in the *Experiment*, to act as a Trader, and procure all the Information he was able, purſuant to his Inſtructions from General *Wentworth*; which, as he had long reſided on the *Spaniſh* Main, no Perſon was ſo capable of executing.

The Squadron was ſoon in Readineſs for putting to Sea, but the Land-forces were extremely backward: And on the 8th of *February* a General Council of War was held, when it was debated, what could be proceeded upon; and the Council, conſidering that the Seaſon of the Year falling out favourably for the Expedition againſt *Panama*, “Reſolved to proceed upon it with the utmoſt Expedition.” After this Determination, Vice-admiral *Vernon* had ſoon made every Preparation in the Squadron for the immediate Commencement of the Expedition; but it was not till the 21ſt of *February* that he had any Application made to him, by the Commiſſary of the Army, for his Orders for what Proviſions were wanted to be iſſued to him, which he received the Inſtant he applied for it.

As the approaching rainy Seaſon was every Day advancing upon them, the Vice-admiral, on the 2d of *March*, informed General *Wentworth*, that he was perſuaded the General could not but think with him, that their early getting to Sea was of the utmoſt Importance to ſecure Succeſs in the Expedition, which ſhould therefore take place of all other Conſiderations, as ſuch Tranſports as could not be then ready to ſail with them, might eaſily have proper Convoys appointed for bringing them after; which was the Method he begged Leave to recommend to the General; and that they might be proceeding, with the Force they had in Readineſs, with all poſſible Expedition. The next Day the General acquainted Admiral *Vernon* that he could not ſail before the 6th, and that he ſhould not think it adviſeable to land till a Tranſport of Negroes ſhould arrive that was to ſail after the Squadron; which gave the Vice-admiral a very great Concern: And he, the ſame Day, repreſented to the General, “That he hoped in God they ſhould ſail under no other Reſolution, than immediately to attempt the Succeſs of their Enterprize with the Force they carried with them.”

After this they ſailed with all Expedition, and arrived in *Porto-bello* Harbour on the 28th of *March*, a little before Night. The Vice-admiral met with no Sign of Oppoſition, though the Governor had three Companies of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and two Companies of Mulattoes and Negroes. The Governor, on the Appearance of the Fleet, made all imaginable Haſte to leave the Town, and quitted it that Night, with the three Companies of Soldiers; but the two Companies of Mulattoes and Negroes did not depart the Town till the next Morning. The Vice-admiral obſerving, on his firſt anchoring, many of the Inhabitants were flying from the Town, diſpatched an Officer and Interpreter up directly, to deſire they would put themſelves under no unjuſt Apprehenſion, but continue peaceably in their own Poſſeſſions: On which the Deputies from the Magiſtracy, and the Town, came on-board the *Boyne*, to deſire Protection for their Perſons, Goods, and Effects. Upon their coming on-board, the Vice-admiral ſummoned the General Council of War, that the Deputies might have the Aſſurance of the whole Council for their Protection; who accordingly met, and unanimouſly agreed, “That it would be moſt for the Service to have a Detachment ſent up the River *Caſcaball*, the next Day, for cutting off the Communication between *Porto-bello* and *Panama*, and to take Poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom-houſe, and to place a Guard there.” At the ſame Time it was unanimouſly reſolved, to acquaint the Deputies, “That the Protection requeſted ſhould be granted, if they did nothing to forfeit it; and that the Council expected the Town to furniſh Mules for common Prices, and Cattle for the Sick; and to return an Account, the next Morning, what Number of Mules they could provide when required.” On the 29th the Deputies were acquainted with this Reſolution, and ſent back, the ſame Evening, highly pleaſed with the Aſſurances that were given them.

As ſoon as the Council was ended, the Vice-admiral ſent a Detachment of 80 Soldiers, under Captain *Grant*, from his Ship, to take Poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom-houſe, which the *Spaniards* called the *Contedorio*, with Orders, “To take Poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom-houſe at the Water-ſide, which the Council of War looked on as the Property of the Crown; to mount a Guard there regularly, and not to ſuffer any Officers, or Men of his Detach-

“ ment,

“go with the Traders ready to ſail to Porto-bello; that the Moſquito Indians would be of uſe, in knowing how the River ſets; in carrying the Artillery up the River Chagre; and 100 of them to go before on the Van-guard. That the Road from Cruzes to Panama was paved, and broad enough to carry Artillery for 10 or 11 Miles from Cruzes, and a fine Savanna after that with ſeveral Roads to Panama. Declaring it as his Opinion, that the leaſt Number of Soldiers that could be for this Expedition, was 3000, excluſive of 500 Negroes and 400 Moſquito Men; and that he ought to have 500 l. advanced him, for procuring Guides and Intelligence, of which the Value of 400 l. was to be in Goods, and 100 l. in Liquor.” General Wentworth conceiving that the Scheme of Lieutenant Lowther was the moſt practicable of any yet offered, therefore the Council of War concurred with him in Opinion, “That the moſt effectual Meaſures ſhould be purſued for putting this Scheme in Execution; and that each of them, in their reſpective Branches, would facilitate every thing in their Power for preparing to ſet about the immediate Execution of it, as moſt for the Service; and ordered that Lieutenant Lowther ſhould be ſent, with the 500 l. as he had required, immediately in a Man of War to Porto-bello.” This Scheme of landing at Porto-bello, and marching over the Iſthmus of Darien to Panama, was delivered by Lieutenant Lowther to Governor Trelawney, at the Solicitation and Requeſt of his Excellency, on the 17th of December; ſo that the general Officers had a long time to conſider of it, before the Arrival of the naval Commanders at Jamaica, on the 5th of January, and their Meeting on the 8th. And as, by their Reſolutions in this Council, the Land-officers had determined againſt the eldeſt general Officer, as propoſed by Vice-admiral Vernon, having a caſting Vote in the Abſence of Governor Trelawney; the Vice-admiral could eaſily perceive every thing muſt be as they pleaſed, and therefore thought it for the Service of his Majeſty to leave the chuſing of the Expedition to the Judgment of General Wentworth, who had then been long in the Country, and had imparted to him all the Intelligence the Vice-admiral could procure, as well as what he had collected himſelf. Panama is the capital City of the Province of Darien, or Terra-firma Proper, in South-America. It ſtands upon a capacious Bay of the Pacific Ocean, about 60 Miles over the Iſthmus from Porto-bello, ſurrounded with a Stone Wall and other Fortifications, containing about 6000 Houſes. This City is the See of a Biſhop, and the Seat of the Governor of the Province; where the Treaſures of Gold and Silver, and other rich Merchandize of Peru, are brought, and depoſited in Magazines, till they are tranſported to Europe: And here the Merchandize of Europe, ſent to America by the Galloons, is lodged till exported to the ſeveral Cities of Peru to which it is aſſigned. If this City had been reduced by the Britiſh Forces, it would have given them the entire Poſſeſſion of the Iſthmus of Darien, whereby they would, in effect, have been Maſters of all the Treaſures of Peru; and, by ſuch an Acquiſition, the Britiſh Nation would have retained an Equivalent for any Conceſſions, however extraordinary, which they might have been induced to have made on either of the Branches of the Houſe of Bourbon.

“ ment, to go without the Limits of his Centries, with- “ out particular Licence.” He was alſo ordered, “ To “ take care to prevent all Surprizals, and to maintain his “ Poſt, in caſe the Ingratitude or Imprudence of any one “ ſhould invite them to act contrary to their Duty; and “ if any were inhabiting in the *Contedorio*, to aſſign them a “ Part of the Houſe for their peaceable Reſidence, direct- “ ing him to act under theſe Orders till he was relieved, “ and to leave his Orders with the Officers relieving him.” The Vice-admiral alſo iſſued Orders to all the naval Commanders, “ Inviolably to preſerve the Clergy, Magiſtracy, “ and Inhabitants of the Town of *Porto-bello*, in their “ quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of their Perſons and Pro- “ perties: And, for the more ſecurely preſerving the ſame “ to them, they were required and directed not to ſuffer “ any of their Boats to go on-ſhore, without an Officer “ whoſe Conduct they could be anſwerable for; and not “ to continue on-ſhore after Sun-ſet; nor to go to *Porto-* “ *bello* without Permiſſion.” The ſame Evening the Vice-admiral had a Viſit from the Clergy of the Town, who all ſeemed in good Humour, and in a firm Reliance that they might depend on what had been promiſed them [a].

On the 30th, the Land-officers held a Council of War on-board the *Grafton*, at which were preſent General *Wentworth*, Colonel *Fraſer*, Governor *Trelawney*, Colonel *Leighton*, Colonel *Cope*, Colonel *Duroure*, and Colonel *Martin*; “ When the Council, having carefully weighed the preſent “ Circumſtances of the Troops, and the Seaſon of the “ Year; and likewiſe having examined Lieutenant *Low-* “ *ther*, as to the Practicability of putting his Scheme into “ Execution in their preſent Situation; which he declared “ could not be attempted with any Hopes of Succeſs:” ‘ They were unanimouſly of Opinion, that, at this Con- ‘ juncture, an Attempt on *Panama* was not conſiſtent with ‘ his Majeſty’s Service, and ſhould therefore be laid aſide.’ This Reſolution, in the Afternoon, was communicated to Vice-admiral *Vernon*; and Governor *Trelawney* appearing to have ſigned it as one, he was the leſs ſurprized at his being ſo well acquainted with it before.

On the 31ſt at Night, the Vice-admiral received, from General *Wentworth*, a Paper, being the Land-officers Reaſons for laying aſide the Attempt on *Panama*, which were, “ That from having conſumed near three Weeks in their “ Voyage, which was uſually made in eight Days, the “ rainy Seaſon was come upon them; which might not “ only incommode them in their March, but by the ſud- “ den riſing of the Rivers might cut off their Communi- “ cation. *That*, from having during their Voyage, been “ leſſened in their Numbers 935 Men (Officers included) “ of thoſe which embarked at *Jamaica*, either by Death, “ Sickneſs, or from ſeveral Tranſports being ſeparated “ from the Fleet; and from the Ships of War being una- “ ble to ſupply them with more than 600 Men, being “ part of the 1468 embarked on-board them, their preſent “ Numbers would fall 968 ſhort of the 3000 effective “ Men required for the Attempt on *Panama*. *That*, from “ the want of one of the Ships with Negroes on-board, “ their Numbers were reduced ſo low, as to diſable them “ from carrying a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions. *That*, “ from an Omiſſion in executing one part of the Scheme, “ laid down for carrying on the Enterprize, the Governor “ of *Porto-bello*, with three Companies of *Spaniſh* Soldiers, “ and two of Mulattoes and Negroes, were retired to *Pa-* “ *nama*; on the cutting off of whoſe Retreat, their Succeſs “ in ſome meaſure depended, as the Governor was an “ Officer of Merit and Service, in whom the *Spaniards* “ had great Confidence. *That*, there was lately good In- “ telligence of a large Reinforcement arrived at *Panama* “ from *Lima*, and of Works being thrown up towards the “ Land. *And*, for theſe Reaſons, they thought it was for “ the Service to lay aſide that Enterprize as impracticable.”

When the Vice-admiral received the Reaſons of the Land-officers for abandoning the Expedition, he was convinced that they had reſolved againſt landing before they entered the Harbour of *Porto-bello*; for he was of Opinion, that leſs than 1500 Men would have been ſufficient for the Enterprize againſt *Panama*, which had been formerly taken by Sir *Henry Morgan* with 500 Buccaneers, who marched over the Iſthmus, and became Maſters of the Town with little Difficulty.

When the Fleet firſt came into the Harbour, the Vice-admiral, at the General Council of War on the 28th of *March*, adviſed General *Wentworth* that the Detachment, in his Apprehenſion, ought to have gone up the River of *Caſcaball* that very Night: But the General ſaid, it was not poſſible to get the Detachment ready; and in fact he never ſent them at all, agreeable to the Reſolution of the General Council of War: Though if this Detachment had been ſent in Boats up the River, as adviſed by Vice-admiral *Vernon*, they might have had a Chance of intercepting the Governor of *Porto-bello* and his Troops; but without doubt they had cut off the two Companies of Mulattoes and Negroes, for they did not depart the Town till next Morning about Seven or Eight o’Clock. And the Vice-admiral, with ſome Officers, on the 1ſt of *April*, rowed above a Mile and half up the River, to the Houſe of *Don Philip de Moya*, which is cloſe by the *Panama* Road, and two Miles and three quarters in the Road to *Panama* from *Porto-bello*; but there was a nearer Landing-place, that would have ſhortened the Diſtance below it: By which it plainly appeared it was eaſily practicable to have done it the Night they came in, and thereby have cut off the Retreat of the Governor and his Soldiers.

The Fleet therefore returned for *Jamaica*, where it arrived about the Middle of *May*. But as the late Expedition was ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the Land-officers, the Vice-admiral was deſirous of making ſome Compenſation to the *Britiſh* Government, for the prodigious Expences the Nation had been put to, in ſending ſo great a Fleet, and ſo numerous an Army, in Expectation of making ſome conſiderable Acquiſitions in the *Weſt-Indies*; and propoſed, to General *Wentworth*, the forming a Settlement in the Iſland of *Rattan* [b]; which was a Scheme projected, by the General, prior to the Deſign on *Panama* [c].

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[a] Soon after the Council of War was over, the Vice-admiral was greatly ſurprized, when Governor Trelawney, who had been promoted to the Rank of a Colonel, and acted in the Expedition, took him aſide, “ To deſire he would appoint a Ship immediately to return with him to Jamaica, “ for getting back in time to meet the Aſſembly, as it was not deſigned to proceed to Panama.” The Vice-admiral told him, “ As to the proceeding “ to Panama, that depending on the Council of War of Land-officers, he knew nothing yet of their Reſolutions; being a Matter referred to them; “ and ſaid, he could not know that, but in conſequence of their Reſolutions, when they were regularly communicated to him; and could not ſpare “ any of the Ships then with him, but his Excellency ſhould have the firſt as came in at his Command, as the Vice-admiral expected ſome hourly.”

[b] The Iſland of Rattan is ſituate in the Gulph of Honduras, in the Latitude of 16 Deg. 22 Min. North, lying about 150 Leagues S. W. from Jamaica, and 14 to the N. W of Truxillo Bay, in the Province of Honduras, on the Spaniſh Main. The Iſland is about thirty Miles long, and from twelve to fifteen broad, of an irregular Figure, but the neareſt to the Reſemblance of a Canoo, naturally fortified with Rocks and Shoals: the South-ſide is very convenient for Shipping, having many fine Harbours; and the North-ſide is bounded by a Reef of Rocks, that extend from one End of the Iſland to the other, having but few Paſſages through, and thoſe of little Note, being chiefly frequented by Turtlers. This is a plentiful Place, abounding with wild Hogs, Deer, Indian Conies, Wild Fowl, and great Quantities of Turtle and Fiſh; The Soil is of a clayey Kind, and different Colours; but in the Vallies is rich and fertile, producing any thing in common with the reſt of the Weſt-Indies, and abounding with excellent Water: There are great Quantities of Oaks, and likewiſe Pine-trees of ſufficient Bigneſs to make Maſts and Yards for Merchant-ſhips. The Iſland is much more healthy than the neighbouring Continent, having generally ſtrong eaſterly Winds, which are the moſt agreeable that blow in South America; and is very advantageouſly ſituated for Trade, both with the Spaniards and the Bay of Honduras. This Place had formerly been the Reſidence of Pirates, but had for twenty Years been uninhabited, except by a few Hunters; though it is amazing that the Spaniards never fortified it, as they could not be inſenſible of the Diſadvantages it would ſubject them to, if it ſhould fall into the Hands of any Power with whom they were at Variance.

[c] On the Return of Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth to Jamaica, after the concerting of the Expedition againſt Panama, in the General Council of War held on the 22d of January, for regulating the Meaſures of the ſucceeding Enterprize, it was at the ſame Time reſolved, to detach 200 Men, for trying the Succeſs of the Settlement of Rattan Iſland, for ſecuring the Logwood Trade to Britain, and opening a Commerce with the Provinces of Guatimala and Yucatan. Lieutenant Hodgſon was alſo ordered to be ſupplied with 1500 l. for procuring the Aſſiſtance of the Moſquito Indians, and was to be furniſhed with a Captain’s Commiſſion for Mr. Pitts, an Engliſhman of Eſteem among the Logwood-cutters, and blank Commiſſions for three Subalterns under him. But this Settlement was poſtponed during the intended Enterprize againſt Panama; and, in the mean time, General Wentworth propoſed to ſend Lieutenant Hodgſon and twelve Men, with Preſents, among the Moſquito Indians and Logwood-cutters, under Convoy of a Man of War, to obtain their Aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing the Settlement, and to engage the Affections of the Indians in general for the future.

Accordingly a General Council of War aſſembled at *Spaniſh-Town* on the 28th of *June*, who, as they expected a *French* War, unanimouſly agreed "To get ready againſt "the Intelligence of it, for proceeding to *Petit Guaves* and "*Leogane*, as the deſtroying of their Shipping and Settle-"ments there, would be the moſt ſenſible Blow to them, "and the Safety of *Jamaica*." At the ſame time Vice-admiral *Vernon* repreſented to the Council, that as the Iſland of *Rattan* was furniſhed with a good Harbour, and being ſituated between the *Moſquito Indians* and the Lagoons, where the *Britiſh* Logwood-cutters fell their Logwood; he ſuggeſted, that this Iſland would be a much more commodious Retreat for the Logwood-cutters, during the rainy Seaſon, than the *Moſquito* Shore they then reſorted to; by which, he apprehended, the *Britiſh* Nation might ſecure to themſelves that valuable Branch of the Logwood Trade; beſides its lying ſo commodiouſly, as to promiſe for opening new Branches of Trade into the Kingdom of *Mexico*; which, as he believed it to be not only for the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown and Proſperity of the Kingdom, but likewiſe agreeable to the Inclination and Views of many Officers and private Men of the *American* Regiment, he propoſed, that a voluntary Number of the *American* Regiment ſhould be ſent to *Rattan*, with ſufficient Proviſions for ſix Months, and to be furniſhed with ſufficient Arms, Ammunition, Cannon, and all neceſſary Implements, for erecting Fortifications for their Defence; together with an Engineer to direct and aſſiſt them: Alſo, that Governor *Trelawney* ſhould give them Aſſurance of a ſuitable Property to every Officer and Soldier, who ſhould continue in the Pay and Subſiſtence of the Crown till they could effectually ſettle themſelves in the Lands to be conveyed to them. The Council ſignified their Approbation of this Propoſal; and the early ſettling of *Rattan* was agreed to be for the Honour and Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Crown, and the Proſperity of the Kingdom; and the Expediency of doing it ſoon approved of, for the Reaſon of ſecuring a good Property, in caſe a Confirmation of Poſſeſſions ſhould be agreed to by any Treaty. But as General *Wentworth* thought ſo material a Step required to be more deliberately conſidered, and digeſted into a Method of Execution; it was agreed, to refer a final Determination on that Head to a future Meeting; and, in the mean time, to conſult the Inclinations of the *Americans* concerning it.

On the 22d of *July* another Council of War was held, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That it was for his "Majeſty's Service the Convoy ſhould proceed with the "Tranſports, in the Execution of their firſt Reſolution on "that Head of the 28th of *June* laſt, for the ſettling of "the Iſland of *Rattan* with all poſſible Expedition." At this Council Vice-admiral *Vernon* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle* recommended the Eſtabliſhment of a civil Government at *Rattan*, independent of the military; and as Mr. *Pitts* was like to be the Perſon of moſt Credit and Satisfaction for engaging thoſe from *Black-River*, the *Moſquito* Shore, and the Logwood-cutters, to become Inhabitants there, that he ſhould be the chief civil Magiſtrate for determining all Diſputes of Property between them.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions of the General Council of War, a Detachment of 200 *Americans*, and 50 Marines, under the Command of Major *Caulfield*, with two Engineers, Ammunition, Stores, and Neceſſaries for the Settlement, were ordered to proceed to *Rattan*, in five Tranſports, under Convoy of Captain *Cuſack*, in the *Litchfield* of 50 Guns, and the *Bonetta* Sloop: Captain *Cuſack* being ordered to proceed with them to *Port-Royal* Harbour, on the South-ſide of the Iſland of *Rattan*, which was judged to be the moſt proper Place for beginning the Settlement. This Harbour is very commodious, off which there is no Anchoring, on account of the Shoals being ſteep too, and very rocky. The Channel going into the Harbour is narrow, about 40 Fathom over, between *George's-Iſland* and a Reef, at the End of which is a ſafe Harbour about half a Mile broad, and two Miles in length, capable of containg 40 Sail of Shipping moored. The *Litchfield* was thought ſufficient to defend the Entrance of the Harbour, the Channel over the Bar being very narrow for Ships of her Draught of Water, and there being no Anchorage without the Bar, nor Entrance for a Ship of bigger Draught than the *Litchfield*; and Captain *Cuſack* was alſo ordered to moor his Ship, where he ſhould judge it moſt proper, for defending the Harbour againſt any Attempts by Sea, and to diſpatch the *Bonetta* in 30 Days, or ſooner, to *Jamaica*, with an Account of what Progreſs had been made in the Settlement.

On the 13th of *Auguſt* the Land-forces and Tranſports, under Convoy of the *Litchfield* and *Bonetta*, ſet ſail from *Jamaica*, and arrived on the 23d at *Port-Royal* Harbour in *Rattan*, where they were joined by Captain *Pitts* and ſeveral of the Logwood-cutters. They immediately formed a Camp at the N. W. Part of the Harbonr, fixed on a convenient Place, at the N. E. Part of the Harbour, for building a Town, erected a Fort called *George's Fort*, and a Guard-houſe on *George's Iſland*, to defend the Entrance of the Harbour; and alſo erected another Fort called *Fort Frederic*, on the weſtern Part of the Harbour, directly oppoſite to the Entrance of it. They met with a Succeſs far exceeding their moſt ſanguine Expectations, the Logwood-cutters and *Moſquito* Indians being perfectly pleaſed with the Settlement; and the *Spaniards*, in the Neighbourhood of *Truxillo*, expreſſed great Satisfaction, indicating that they would be fond of ſettling at *Rattan*, if they could obtain Permiſſion: And when the Convoy and Tranſports arrived, the *Spaniards* abandoned the Fort and Village of *Bacatoo*, and carried away their Guns; which Fort was erected for intercepting the Trade of the *Britiſh* Logwood-cutters.

The Officers perceived that this Settlement promiſed to open an extenſive Trade to *Guatimala* through the wide Diſtricts of *La Vera Paz*, lying between the River *Dulce* and *Guatimala*; this gave them Encouragement diligently to forward the Eſtabliſhment of the Settlement. A Town was ſoon marked out, Houſes and Huts were erected, and the Place called *Auguſta*.

Every thing ſeemed favourable to the Undertaking for a conſiderable time; but there being 47 Papiſts among the *American* Detachment, they had formed a Conſpiracy to render the Settlement abortive; and, by long meditating their Deſign, they had ſo ſpread their mutinous Diſpoſitions among the other *Americans*, that the ſtricteſt Diſcipline was required to keep them in Subjection. At length the Conſpirators propoſed to put their Deſign in Execution, on the 25th of *December*, between the Hours of Twelve and One at Night, by ſetting fire to the Huts, and then marching to the Water, where they were to diſcharge their Fire-arms with loud Huzzas; which they accordingly did, and alarmed the commanding Officers, who immediately ordered the Guards to be reinforced. At this time the *Litchfield* and a 40 Gun Ship were at Anchor in the Harbour, having a Detachment of Marines on-board, who were inſtantly landed, and, with the other Marines on the Iſland, and ſuch of the *Americans* as were not concerned in the

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ture. On the 12th of February Lieutenant Hodgſon received Inſtructions from General Wentworth and Governor Trelawney, ordering him, "To "repair on-board the Margaret Tranſport, and ſail for the Moſquito Shore, under Convoy of the Man of War that Admiral Vernon ſhould appoint "for that Purpoſe. At his Arrival there, he was to deliver Mr. Pitts his Commiſſion, and to require his Aſſiſtance in getting as many Moſquito Men "as he could, ready to come away with him immediately; though the more the Lieutenant could get the better, yet he had Permiſſion to come "away in the Man of War, as ſoon as he had got 40 or 50, if he found a Difficulty in getting more in a reaſonable time. The Arms, Powder, Ball, "and Goods, were left to the Diſpoſal and Direction of the Lieutenant and Mr. Pitts, in whoſe Cuſtody he was to leave the whole, or part, as he "ſaw occaſion when he came away, only taking an Account of the Quantities given away. He was likewiſe empowered to hire as many white Men, "and their Negroes, as he could agree with, and their Periagaus; and to leave as many Handicraftſmen of his Detachment, with Mr. Pitts, as he "ſhould think neceſſary for the Purpoſe. He was likewiſe to leave the Tranſport under the Direction of Captain Pitts, and require him to repair, as "ſoon as he was ready, with the white Men, the Moſquito Men, and the Negroes, under his Command, with all convenient Speed, to the general "Rendezvous." The next Day Vice-admiral Vernon ordered the Bonetta Sloop, commanded by Captain Lea, who was alſo well acquainted with the Moſquito Shore, to convoy Lieutenant Hodgſon, and carefully to give his beſt Aſſiſtance in the due Execution of the Inſtructions given to the Lieutenant, a Copy of which was annexed to his Orders. On the 14th of February, the Bonetta proceeded to Sea, with Lieutenant Hodgſon and 12 Men in the Margaret Tranſport under her Convoy, for the Moſquito Shore, where, on the 1ſt of March, they met with Captain Pitts; and having procured the Approbation of the Britiſh Logwood-cutters on the Moſquito Shore, and in the Bay of Honduras, with whoſe Concurrence the Settlement would be eaſily ſupported, Captain Lea returned to Jamaica, leaving Lieutenant Hodgſon with his Moſquito Majeſty to obtain his Aſſiſtance.

the Mutiny, ſeized the moſt ſuſpected Perſons to the Number of 40. After which a general Court Martial was held, when one of the principal Ringleaders was ſentenced to be ſhot, and two others to receive 600 Laſhes, and to be put on-board one of the Men of War till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be further known; which was put in Execution; and afterwards the Settlement was eſtabliſhed with all imaginable Succeſs.

After putting the Settlement of *Rattan* into Execution, nothing material was afterwards tranſacted in the *Weſt-Indies*, either by Vice-admiral *Vernon* or General *Wentworth*. Many unhappy Diviſions were ſubſiſting between the Naval and Land Officers; and the Vice-admiral plainly told the General, "That to his Inexperience, Injudiciouſneſs, and unſteady Temper, was principally owing his "Majeſty's Affairs having proſpered ſo ill in thoſe Parts." Of this the Vice-admiral alſo acquainted the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; adding, that if he lived to come home, he could ſufficiently explain the Particulars to his Majeſty whenever required; and ſtrongly ſolicited to be recalled from ſo diſagreeable a Command, where he found his Preſence could be of no Service to his King or Country, while the Army was under the Direction of ſuch a Commander.

On the 23d of *September* arrived Captain *Fowke* in the *Gibraltar* Man of War, at *Port-Royal*, with the long-wiſhed for Letters from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and Orders "For "Vice-admiral *Vernon* and General *Wentworth* to return "to *England*; the Vice-admiral leaving the Command of "the Fleet to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and the General to ſupply "the Fleet with what Number of Soldiers ſhould be demanded for that Service, to be under the Command of "the Admiral; and after compleating the eight independent Companies of *Jamaica*, for the Security of the "Iſland, to return the remaining Corps of Officers and "Soldiers on-board the Tranſports for *England*; and in "caſe of there not being ſufficient Men to ſupply the Fleet "and independent Companies, to leave complete Companies of the *American* Regiment, to make up the Number wanted, provided they were willing."

Before the Departure of the Vice-admiral from *Jamaica*, he informed the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, "That he could not "be inſenſible how great a Concern the Diſappointments "on their ſeveral Expeditions muſt have been to his Royal "Maſter; but begged Leave, at the ſame time, to ſay, "in Behalf of himſelf and the Officers and Men that had "ſerved under his Command, that no part of the Diſappointment was juſtly to be attributed to the Sea Forces; "nor did he think it was in want of Courage or Inclination to ſerve his Majeſty in the Land Forces; but that "this unhappy Event was principally owing to the Command falling into the Hands of General *Wentworth*, who "had approved himſelf no ways equal to it. And though "the Vice-admiral pretended to little Experience in military Affairs by Land, yet it was his Opinion, that if the "ſole Command had been in him, both on the *Carthagena* "Expedition, and the *Cuba* one too, that the *Britiſh* "Forces would have made themſelves Maſters both of "*Carthagena* and *St. Jago*, and with the Loſs of much "fewer Men than had died through the imprudent Conduct of General *Wentworth*, in many Inſtances." The Government was now ſenſible of the Diſadvantages attending a divided Command between the Land and Naval Commanders, and had given Sir *Chaloner Ogle* the abſolute Authority over the Marines which were ordered on-board the Fleet. Long will it be remembered, and greatly ought it to be lamented, that the chief Command of this potent Armament was not veſted in Vice-admiral *Vernon*, who came out of *England* in the Rank of a Lieutenant-general, and as a ſenior Officer, was juſtly intitled to it: He was the moſt proper Commander, though a Sea-officer, for the Conduct of military Operations on-ſhore, by an Army in the *Weſt-Indies*, where he had twice ſerved in the Wars of Queen *Anne*, and was not only univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt excellent Sailor in the *Britiſh* Navy, but had given the moſt convincing Proofs of an eminent Capacity for conducting and regulating ſo numerous a Body of Forces to the greateſt Advantage; being undoubtedly better acquainted with the Nature of the *Weſt-Indies*, than any other Officer of his time. When Poſterity ſhall reflect that this formidable Army, inſtead of conquering the whole *Indies* from the *Spaniards*, as it was ſtrongly expected; after the Expence of more than a Million, exhauſted in raiſing 8000 Marines, and tranſporting them to, and maintaining them in, the *Weſt-Indies*; beſides the Expence of the two old Regiments, the *Americans*, and large Bodies of Negroes; how will they be aſtoniſhed to find, that, through the Imprudence of their general Officer, this conſiderable Army was diminiſhed in ſo ſurprizing a Manner, as to loſe near 10,000 Men; and to be too feeble ever after to undertake any important Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*!

On the 19th of *October* Vice-admiral *Vernon*, in the *Boyne*, ſet ſail from *Port-Royal* on his Return to *England*, attended by the *Princeſs-Royal* Hoſpital-ſhip, and the *Phaeton* Fire-ſhip, leaving the *Worceſter*, the *Defiance*, and *Lightning* Bomb-ketch, to convoy General *Wentworth*, the Tranſports, and Merchant-ſhips, who ſoon after ſet Sail, and arrived ſafely in *England* a ſhort time after the Vice-admiral.

In the mean time Commodore *Anſon* was purſuing his Inſtructions and Voyage in the *South-Seas*, who ſailed from *Spithead* on the 18th of *September* 1740, with a Squadron of five Ships, *viz.* the *Centurion* of 60 Guns and 400 Men, on-board of which was the Commodore himſelf; the *Glouceſter*, *Richard Norris* Commander, carrying 50 Guns and 300 Men; the *Severn*, commanded by the honourable *Edward Legg*, having the ſame Complement of Men and Guns; the *Pearl*, Captain *Matthew Mitchel*, with 40 Guns and 250 Men; the *Wager*, Captain *Kidd*, with 28 Guns and 160 Men; and the *Trial* Sloop, eight Guns and 100 Men, under Command of the honourable *George Murray*; and two Victuallers the *Anna* and *Induſtry* Pinks; the latter of which, having fulfilled her Charter-party, was unladed at Sea on the 16th of *November*, and her Cargo divided among the other Veſſels. She was bound to *Barbadoes*; in return from which Iſland to *Great-Britain*, with a valuable Lading, ſhe was taken by the *Spaniards*.

Mr. *Anſon* made the beſt of his way for *Madera*[*], in the Road of which Iſland he came to Anchor *October* the 25th, in 40 Fathom Water, the Brazen-head bearing from him Eaſt and by Eaſt, and the great Church North North-eaſt.

Here he learned from the Governor that ſeven or eight Ships, ſuppoſed to be Enemies, had paſſed by to the weſtward a few Days before his Arrival; of which Squadron he could obtain no farther Intelligence, tho' he diſpatched an Officer in a clean Sloop eight Leagues to the weſtward to look after them, who returned without having ſeen them.

There was great Reaſon to ſuſpect that theſe Ships, apprized of Mr. *Anſon*'s Deſigns, were diſpatched to the *Spaniſh* Settlements to prepare them for his Reception: And that theſe Suſpicions were but too well grounded, appeared from the People of *Panama*, long before his Arrival in thoſe Seas, being able to deſcribe both his Strength and Deſtination; and the *Spaniſh* Commodore having ſo exactly imitated Mr. *Anſon*'s broad Pendant, that the Captain of the *Pearl* gave into the Decoy, without perceiving his Miſtake till within Gun-ſhot.

This *Spaniſh* Squadron, conſiſting of five Ships, *viz.* the *Aſia*, of 66 Guns and 700 Men, on-board whereof ſailed the Admiral *Don Joſeph Pizarro*; the *Guipoſcoa*, of 74 Guns and 700 Men; the *Hermiona*, of 54 Guns and 500 Men; the *Eſperanza*, of 50 Guns and 450 Men; the *St. Eſtevan*, of 40 Guns and 300 Men; and a Tender, mounting 20 Guns, having on-board their full Complement of

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[*] The Climate of Madera is extremely healthful, temperate, and pleaſant. It lies in North Latitude 32 Deg. 17 Min. running due Eaſt and Weſt being a continued Ridge of very high Land, the ſouthern Declivity whereof is beautifully interſperſed with Country-ſeats belonging to Merchants, and covered with Vineyards, the Produce of which is a Wine in univerſal Eſtimation, as well for its fine Flavour, as its many good Qualities. Fonchiale is the only Town on this Iſland: It is ſeated on the South Part of it, at the Bottom of a large Bay, and is defended by a high Wall, and a Battery of Cannon, beſides a fortified Caſtle ſtanding on the Loo, a Rock riſing above the Water not far from Shore. The Landing-place being a ſtony Beach over which the Surf almoſt perpetually laſhes with great Violence, the Commodore, not caring to venture his own, made uſe of Portugueſe Boats to bring Water, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, on-board his little Fleet.

Sailors and Marines, beſides an old Regiment of Foot to reinforce the Garriſons in the *South-Seas*, arrived in the Bay of *Maldonado*, in the River *Plate*, on the 26th of *October*, intending there to take in Proviſions, having ſtocked themſelves in *Old Spain* with barely a four Months Supply: Yet with this ſmall and almoſt exhauſted Store, did he again put to Sea, and endeavour to double *Cape Horn*, upon being apprized privately of the *Engliſh* Squadron's Arrival at *St. Catharine's*; his Intention being, if poſſible, to get into the *South-Seas* firſt. Many Advantages were allowed to the common Men to inſpire them to do their Duty well, and enable them to bear the Fatigues and Perils that openly threatened them in an Undertaking ſo hazardous, precipitate, and we may even ſay imprudent, as the Proviſions which were expected arrived from *Buenos Ayres* at *Maldonado* the Day after he weighed Anchor, and the want of them increaſed the Calamities he afterwards underwent, to an incredible Degree. The laſt Day of *February* the *Guipoſcoa*, the *Hermiona*, and the *Eſperanza*, were ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet, and they were all forced to bear away for the River *Plate*, by a prodigious Storm at North-weſt, which, in ſpite of their utmoſt Efforts, drove them to the Eaſtward.

The Calamities they ſuffered are almoſt incredible; a Rat on board the *Aſia* ſold for four Dollars, and one of the Sailors endured to lie four Days in the ſame Hammock with the dead Corpſe of his Brother, that he might receive his Allowance; while a Conſpiracy was ſet on-foot, by the Marines, to murder all the Officers and Sailors, from no other Motive but that of engroſſing to themſelves the Ship's Proviſions. This Deſign was indeed happily diſcovered, and the Number of craving Mouths leſſened by the Deaths of the Ringleaders of it. Beſides which Commotion, ſo much was their Diſtreſs increaſed by Sickneſs and Fatigue, that when this Veſſel came to anchor at *Monte Viedo*, in the River *Plate*, which Place ſhe did not reach till the middle of *May*, ſhe had loſt more than half her Crew. The Fate of the *Eſtevan* was as bad; that of the *Eſperanza* was ſtill worſe; for out of a Crew of 400 Men, only 58 ſurvived, and the whole Regiment of Foot, 50 Men excepted, periſhed. As for the *Guipoſcoa*, after a long Time driving on the Surface of the Water as a mere Wreck, without either Maſts or Rigging, the But-ends of her Planks ſtarted, her Bolts drawn, her ſeams all open, and only kept together by ſix Turns of Cable-rope tightened round her, the ſurviving Crew, to the Number of 400, run her aſhore at *Rio de Patas*, on the Coaſt of *Brazile*, 10 Leagues to the ſouthward of *St. Catharine*, aſhore, aſhore, being the general Cry the Moment they came near Land, where ſhe ſoon ſunk with all her rich Goods and Furniture. As for the *Hermiona*, neither ſhe, nor any of the Hands, have been ſince heard of, ſo that it is reaſonably ſuppoſed ſhe periſhed at Sea. As for the 20 Gun Tender, ſhe had been broken up before they ſet out from *Maldonado*.

Mr. *Anſon* departed from *Madeira* Road on the 3d of *November*, intending for *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands; but this Reſolution he altered the next Day, on account of the Advancement of the Seaſon, and ſteered for *St. Catharine's*, an Iſland on the Coaſt of *Brazil*; the Land whereof extending from Weſt to Weſt South-weſt, and appearing high and mountainous about 17 Leagues diſtant, they diſcovered on the 16th of *December*, and on the 18th dropped Anchor in 12 Fathom Water, muddy Ground; the North-weſt Point of the Iſland bearing South South-weſt. To prevent the Confuſion which the Arrival of this Squadron ſeemed to create, by the Forts firing their Guns and hoiſting their Colours, the Commodore diſpatched an Officer to compliment the Governor, and deſire a Pilot to bring him into the Road; a Requeſt that was immediately complied with very civilly; and on *Sunday* the 21ſt they were brought up paſt the Caſtle of *Santa Cruz*, which they ſaluted with 11 Guns, and had an equal Compliment returned them.

Here the Commodore landed his Sick, then proceeded to cleanſe each Veſſel thoroughly, by ſmoaking her Decks, and waſhing them well with Vinegar; after which Operation they examined and paied her Bottom, and likewiſe ſecured his Maſts and Rigging, the better to prepare her for a Voyage round *Cape Horn*, the Dangers of which were ſo evident to the Commodore, that he appointed the different Places of Rendezvous, the firſt whereof was to be Port *St. Julian*, where they were to be ſtationed for Ten Days, and take in Salt; the ſecond, the Iſland *Noſtra Senora del Secoro*, where they were to ply off and on from five to 10 Leagues diſtant, till their Wood and Water was conſumed; and then they were to proceed to *Juan Fernandes* to take in a freſh Supply; and there, if they ſhould chance to hear nothing of their Commodore, he ordered that the ſenior Officer ſhould take upon him the principal Command, giving him, Mr. *Anſon*, up for loſt: And having cruized as long in thoſe Seas as he could find a Subſiſtence, he was to make the beſt of his way to *Macao*, and from thence ſtretch over to *England* with all poſſible Expedition.

They ſet Sail from this Iſland *January* the 18th, having taken in their Wood and Water, with a ſufficient Quantity of freſh Proviſions; the third Day after which, they were attacked by a violent Storm, and a Fog ſo very thick, that the Fleet was therein totally diſperſed; however they all joined again the following Day, the *Pearl* excepted, which they did not come up with till near a Month after, when they were almoſt arrived at Port *St. Julian*, where it was abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome Delay to refit the *Trial*, which had loſt her Main-maſt in the afore-mentioned Storm. It was during this Time that the *Pearl* had like to have been taken, as was before obſerved, by *Pizarro*; and that her Commander Captain *Kidd* died, who was ſucceeded by the honourable Captain *Murray*, Captain *Cheap* being turned over to the *Wager*, and the Command of the *Trial* being by the Commodore conferred upon Lieutenant *Charles Saunders* of the *Centurion*, till whoſe Recovery from a Fever, under which he then laboured, Mr. *Saumarez*, another of the *Centurion*'s Lieutenants, was ordered to act as Maſter and Commander of the *Trial*.

February the 18th, the Squadron came to Anchor in the Bay of *St. Julian* on the Coaſt of *Patagonia*, where the *Trial* was immediately put in Repair, being ſupplied by the *Wager* with a ſpare Main-top-maſt, which ſhe converted into a Fore-maſt; whereby probably the Veſſel was preſerved with all her Crew; for her Maſts were before too lofty, and had they gone by the board in the violent Hurricanes, which ſhe experienced in doubling *Cape Horn*, and where it was impoſſible for one Ship to aſſiſt another, her Loſs had been inevitable.

The *Trial* being properly refitted, the Commodore held a Council of the principal Officers whoſe Health would permit them to attend, on-board the *Centurion*; when he informed them, that his Orders were to ſecure ſome Port in the *South-Seas*, where the Ships of the Squadron might careen and refit, and propoſed an Attack upon *Baldivia*, the principal Frontier of *Chili*, a Propoſition to which every Member readily aſſented; in conſequence whereof, new Inſtructions were given to the Captains of the Squadron, importing, that in caſe of Separation, after a ten Days Cruize off *Noſtra Senora del Secoro*, they were to proceed to 40 Degrees, and 40 Degrees 30 Minutes, and to cruize for 14 Days off the Harbour of *Baldivia*; after which Space of Time, if they were not joined by the other Ships, they were to direct their Courſe to *Juan Fernandez*, and to act according to former Orders; each Captain being alſo at the ſame Time enjoined, at his Peril, not to ſeparate from the *Centurion*, beyond the Diſtance of two Miles, without an unavoidable Neceſſity.

Matters being thus properly ſettled, the Squadron weighed Anchor, and ſtood out to Sea on the 27th of *February* in the Morning, when the *Glouceſter*, not being able eaſily to purchaſe her Anchor, was obliged to cut her Cable, and leave her beſt Bower behind her. And on the 4th of *March*, the Day being remarkably bright and pleaſant, ſhe had like to have been ſet on-fire by a Spark flying from the Forge into ſome Gunpowder and other Combuſtibles, which an Officer on-board was preparing for the *Spaniſh* Squadron, whom they were now daily in Expectation of meeting; however, this Accident happily produced no other Effect than that of ſpreading an Alarm among the People, which quickly ſubſided with the Danger. *March* the 5th they firſt diſcovered the Land of *Terra del Fuego*, whoſe Aſpect affords a Proſpect the moſt dreary and uncomfortable that can be imagined; it appears, without the leaſt Mixture of Earth or Mold, like one continued Chain of inacceſſible Rocks, terminating at a prodigious Height in innumerable ragged Points, cloathed with eternal Snow; and the Hills whereon they riſe, ſeemed to have been cleft aſunder, as if by Earthquakes; the Chaſms, horrible to behold, extending through the main Subſtance of the Rocks almoſt to the very Bottom.

In two Days after they opened Streights *la Maire*, thro' which, though ſeven or eight Leagues long, they were hurried by a ſtrong Tide, with good Weather and a briſk Gale, in about two Hours; and as theſe are commonly reckoned the Boundaries of the *Atlantic* and *Pacific Ocean*, every Heart began to chear up, imagining their Dangers almoſt at an end, and that now they were upon the point of realizing thoſe golden Dreams on which, in Imagination, they had feaſted ſo long; and in theſe deluſive Hopes they were ſtill more indulged by the remarkable Serenity of the Sky, and the Calmneſs of the Weather. But ſcarcely had they attained the ſouthern Extremity of the Streights, before theſe pleaſing Proſpects vaniſhed intirely; the Clouds began to gather on every hand, the Tide turned furiouſly againſt them, the Wind ſhifted about to the ſouthward, and came on in ſudden Squalls with ſuch Violence, that they were obliged to hand their Top-ſails, and reef their Main-ſail, while they were driven by the Tide ſix or ſeven Leagues to the eaſtward of *Streights la Maire*.

From this Day forward, to the end of more than three Months, they ſtruggled with Perils and Diſtreſſes ſcarcely to be paralleled, from a continued Succeſſion of tempeſtuous Weather, that ſurprized the oldeſt Sailors on-board, who unanimouſly confeſſed the moſt violent Hurricane they had ever ſeen, were but inconſiderable Gales compared to what they now underwent, from ſhort and mountainous Seas; beſides the Squalls of Wind, any one of which, had it chanced to break over the Ship, whereof there was perpetual Fear, would have inevitably ſent her to the Bottom.

Amidſt theſe Terrors the Ship rolled Gunwale-to, with Motions ſo quick and violent, that without the Men proved lucky enough to graſp ſome fixed Body, they ran a Hazard of being daſhed in Pieces againſt her Deck or Sides, and theſe Concuſſions killed and diſabled many very uſeful Hands. Theſe Tempeſts were rendered ſtill more dreadful from the manner of their Approach, which were generally without the leaſt previous Notice, after a continued Calm; an Interval that had emboldened them to venture to make Sail with the Fore-top-ſail ſet, or the Courſes double reefed. To augment the Diſtreſſes, which they occaſioned, theſe Blaſts generally brought with them Quantities of Snow and Sleet, which freezing over the Sails, and caſing the Rigging, rendered them apt to ſnap at the ſlighteſt Pull; and beſides benumbing the Limbs of the Sailors, often mortified their Fingers and Toes, ſo that many of them were diſabled from working.

April they 1ſt they encountered a Storm more dreadful than any they had hitherto met, which breaking over the Larboard-ſide of the *Centurion*, ſtove her Quarter-gallery, and conſiderably damaged her Maſts and Rigging: This was ſucceeded by another, if poſſible worſe, on the 3d, wherein the *Wager* loſt her Mizen-maſt and Main-top-ſail Yard; and the Gammon of the Bowſprit, with the Fore-ſtay of the *Anna* Pink, were broke, as well as all her Maſts near coming by the Board.

It being now the 13th of *April*, they all expected, by their Reckoning, in a few Days to have enjoyed ſome Eaſe in the *Pacific Ocean*; when the hazy Weather clearing up a little, and the Moon ſhining out on a ſudden, the *Anna* made a Signal of ſeeing Land right a-head: It being then not more than two Miles Diſtance, had not the Wind luckily ſhifted to Weſt-north-weſt, whereby they were enabled to ſtand over to the Southward, whereas juſt before it blew in Squalls from the South-weſt, they had ſurely been loſt upon this Shore, which they concluded was that Part of *Terra del Fuego*, called by *Frezier*, in his Character of *Magellan*'s Streights, Cape *Nois*. It was ſtrange indeed how the Currents ſhould have driven them ſo ſtrongly to the Eaſtward; for the whole Squadron eſteemed themſelves upwards of 10 Degrees more weſterly than this Land, ſo that when they imagined they ran down 19 Degrees Longitude, they had not in reality advanced half that Diſtance. After the mortifying Diſappointment of falling in with the Coaſt of *Terra del Fuego*, they ſtood away to the South-weſt, with the Weather pretty favourable, till *April* the 24th; in the Evening of which the Wind increaſed from a freſh Gale to a prodigeous Storm, and the Weather was ſo very thick, that the whole Squadron ſeparated; nor did they meet again till they reached *Juan Fernandez*. In the mean time to add to their other Diſaſters, the Scurvy began to make ſuch a Progreſs among them, that on-board the *Centurion* only, it carried off 43 Men in the Month of *April*, and double that Number in *May*.

Having now weathered *Cape Horn*, and the inhoſpitable Rocks of *Terra del Fuego*, they indulged themſelves with hoping to find a Ceſſation of their Trouble in the *Pacific Ocean*. But even here they were deceived, for on the 8th of *May* they arrived off the Iſland *Secoro*, in which Station they cruized for ſeveral Days, in hope of being joined by ſome of the ſcattered Ships, but to no Purpoſe; nor was this Diſappointment their only Uneaſineſs, for they were utterly ignorant of the Coaſt, which wore a moſt rugged Appearance, and whereon they feared daily being driven by the weſterly Winds which blow here almoſt conſtantly; and their eſcaping being wrecked upon it, is next to a Miracle.

The Squalls of Wind were generally very ſevere, accompanied with light Showers of Rain, loud Claps of Thunder, and Flaſhes of Lightening, one of which, in ſweeping over the Deck, went off like the Exploſion of a Piſtol, leaving behind it a ſulphureous Smell, and wounding ſeveral Men and Officers by whom it paſſed. It would ſwell this Narrative to an huge Volume, ſhould we pretend to enumerate the Diſaſters, Fatigues, and Terrors which they ſuſtained even upon this Coaſt till the 24th of *May*, when they were once more aſſailed by a Tempeſt more terrible than any they had hitherto undergone, for now the Elements ſeemed abſolutely to have conſpired to their Deſtruction; almoſt all their Sails were ſplit, their Rigging deſtroyed, and a mountainous Wave breaking over them on the Larboard-quarter, ſhifted their Ballaſt and Stores; ſo that the Veſſel heaved two Streaks to Port, while her Maſts were every Inſtant expected to come by the Board.

However, the Wind abating, they began to exert themſelves in ſtirring up their Shrouds, reeving new Lanyards, and mending their Sails; during which Operation they were driving aſhore on the Iſland of *Chiloe*; but the Wind happily ſhifting to the Southward, they ſteered off Land with only a Main-ſail, there being nobody left to manage the Helm but the Maſter and the reverend Mr. *Walter*, the Commodore's Chaplain, the reſt being all buſied in ſecuring the Maſts and bending the Sails. This was the laſt ſtormy Weather they met with hereabouts, for that Day they got clear of the Land; and after a Fortnight's Cruize, without any of the other Ships coming up, the Weather being pretty moderate, they bore away for *Juan Fernandez*[*], it being the only Chance left them to avoid periſhing at

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[*] The Iſland of Juan Fernandez is placed by Mr. Anſon in South Latitude 33 Deg. 40 Min. but by Dampier in 34 Deg. 45 Min. and when firſt diſcovered appears to be ſurrounded with craggy, broken Precipices; but upon a nearer Approach, this uncouth Proſpect changes into a Landſcape the moſt beautiful that can be imagined; and though it muſt be at any time pleaſing to the Eye, yet the Delight was infinite which the few ſurviving Sailors enjoyed from the Sight of a Land covered with Woods, interſperſed with Carpets of the lovelieſt Verdure, watered with numerous Streams, and wanton Caſcades, which even at a Diſtance refreſhed and revived thoſe who before were dying of Thirſt. The Northern-ſide of this Iſland is compoſed of a Range of craggy Hills covered with aromatic Trees, none whereof are of Size to yield any conſiderable Timber; the largeſt among them is the Myrtle, whoſe Top grows circularly with as much Uniformity as if it was clipped by Art; and the Bark of it yields an Excreſcence in Taſte and Smell like Garlick, inſtead whereof it was uſed by the People of the Centurion; but even this Tree will not cut to more than a Length of 40 Feet. The Piemento and Cabbage-tree alſo grow here, but in no great Plenty; and the Commodore ſowed Plums, Apricots, and Peaches, which have ſince thriven exceedingly: The Trees cannot take any deep Root, for the Soil is looſe, gravelly, and ſo ſhallow, that a Sailor purſuing a Goat, happened to ſlip upon a Declivity, and to ſave himſelf catched hold of a large Tree, which gave way and fell with him, as did another of ſtill more conſiderable Bulk, which he alſo graſped in his Fall; ſo that he was daſhed to Pieces amongſt the Rocks. An Accident of near the ſame Nature had like to have happened to Mr. Brett. It has been obſerved, that ſome of theſe Hills of Juan Fernandez reſemble thoſe in Chili, the Bowels of which teem with

Sea, and the moſt probable Place they could think of whereat to refit and recover the Sick; for though *Baldivia* had been the appointed Rendezvous, 'twas no more thought of, the only Hope now cheriſhed on-board, being that of ſaving the Ship and the few remaining Lives.

At laſt, after various perplexing Circumſtances, they gained the Iſland on the 9th of *June*, in a moſt deſponding Condition, with a Scarcity of freſh Water, a Crew ſo diſabled with Diſorders, that not more than ten Men could be muſtered on a Watch to do Duty, and even ſome of theſe lame and unable to go aloft.

The Ship was no ſooner brought into a ſafe Birth upon this Iſland, than Meaſures were taken for erecting Tents aſhore for the Reception of the Sick, the Number of whom amounted to 167 Perſons, 12 or 14 whereof died on being expoſed to the freſh Air. There was a Neceſſity for removing the greateſt part of them, for they were quite helpleſs, in their Hammocks, a Work of conſiderable Fatigue, in which Mr. *Anſon* and his Officers bore an equal Part. It will not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſo inveterate was this Diſorder which raged among them, that it did not abate of its Fury in leſs than 20 Days after the landing of the Crew, but they continued, during the firſt 10 or 12 Days, to bury ſix or ſeven of their People daily; and this horrible Diſeaſe ſeemed as if it had reſolved that no Force ſhould diſplace it.

Previous Meaſures being ſettled for the Recovery of the Sick, their next Care was to purge and cleanſe the Ship thoroughly, which was become extremely loathſome; and that Employment being properly ended, they proceeded with all poſſible Expedition to lay in their Wood and Water; in which they made the more Haſte, as they feared the Return of *Pizarro*'s Squadron, which it was plain, from the Heaps of freſh Aſhes and ſcattered Fragments of Fiſhbones, had been lately here; and it was impoſſible that Mr. *Anſon* ſhould be as yet acquainted with that Officer's melancholy Condition; and Mr. *Anſon*, in his preſent Circumſtances, with only 30 Hands to man a 60 Gun Ship, was certainly not a Match for any Ship of Force. In order to make the more Diſpatch, the Smiths and Sailmakers were ſet to-work upon mending the Chain-plates and decayed Work, as well as the Sails and damaged Rigging.

A few Days after the *Centurion* had arrived here, the *Trial* Sloop appeared in ſight, and was brought into Harbour with the Help of ſome Men diſpatched to her Aſſiſtance in a Long-boat by Mr. *Anſon*, having only three Men beſides Captain *Saunders* her Commander, and her Lieutenant, able to ſtand to the Sails, having thrown 34 of her Hands overboard in this Run, and the reſt being down in the Scurvy.

On the 21ſt of *June* the *Glouceſter* was diſcovered to the Leeward, making the beſt of her way for the Iſland, tho' they were not convinced of her Identity till the 26th, when ſhe appeared full in View; and the Commodore ſtraightway diſpatched his Long-boat on-board her, with a Supply of Freſh-water and Vegetables, whereof ſhe ſtood in prodigious Need; for without this timely Aid, her People had certainly expired through Thirſt, being put to an Allowance of a Pint of Water each Man *per* Day, and at that Rate having not more left than what would have ſerved them 24 Hours. It was the Misfortune of this Veſſel to continue driving off and on till *July* the 23d, ſometimes out of ſight of the Land, in the greateſt Diſtreſs imaginable, and the moſt imminent Danger of foundering. Theſe Difficulties were occaſioned by the Winds and Currents ſetting ſtrongly againſt her; however ſhe at laſt made the northweſt Point of the Bay, with a flowing Sail, and in an Hour came to a ſafe Anchor, at a Time when the People on-board began almoſt to deſpair of ever gaining Land, or ſeeing an End of their Calamities but in Death.

Theſe two Ships, and the *Anna* Pink, which arrived here about the Middle of *Auguſt*, being a welcome Sight, becauſe of the Proviſions which ſhe carried, were the only Veſſels that ever joined the Squadron; for the *Severn* and the *Pearl*, having been parted from the Commodore off *Cape Horn*, with Difficulty reached *Brazil*, whence they made the beſt of their way back to *Europe*. The *Wager* ran aſhore on a deſolate Iſland, where ſhe was loſt; the *Anna* before ſhe reached this Iſland, fell in with Land in 45 Deg. 15 Min. South Latitude, at the Diſtance of four Leagues, on the 16th of *May*; on the firſt ſight of which they wore Ship, and ſtood to the Southward; but their Fore-top-ſail ſplitting, a hard Gale at Weſt South-weſt drove them towards the Shore, which ſhe was unable, and ſome ſay the Captain was unwilling, to avoid, hoping for Shelter and Refreſhment among the many Iſlands then in ſight. In about four Hours ſhe dropped Anchor off the Iſland of *Inchin*; but neither being near enough the Eaſt Shore, nor yet having a Sufficiency of Hands to veer away the Cable briſkly, they continued to drive for two Days, till they came within a Mile of Land, whereon they expected every Moment to be wrecked, when on a ſudden they came to the Side of a ſmall Gut, which running between the Iſland and the Main, afforded excellent Anchorage in ſmooth Water, and a Security againſt all Weathers. This was a happy Change for a Crew which the Hour before had given themſelves up for loſt, without any Hope of

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with Gold; and there are others of a bright red Soil, more beautiful than Vermilion, the Uſes of which perhaps it might be found to ſupply upon Trial. Purſlain, Water-creſſes, Wild-ſorrel, Turnips, Sicilian-radiſhes, and many other Vegetables, particularly ſuch as are beſt adapted to the Cure of the Scurvy, abound every where on the Iſland, whoſe numerous Beauties muſt enchant every Perſon that has a Taſte for ſimple Nature's Handy-work, her Efforts here far ſurpaſſing the Elegance of labouring Art. Few Parts of the Globe can perhaps equal in Dignity and Grandeur, many Scenes to be met with among the Hills, whoſe Openings preſent to the enraptured View, Vallies infinitely charming, where the Shade and Fragrance of the neighbouring Woods, the Loftineſs of the over-hanging Rocks, the frequent Falls of the ſurrounding Streams, and the Tranſparency of the Waters, form a Retreat more pleaſing than Poet ever fabled.

A Sylvan Scene,
For Nature here
Wantons as in her Prime, and plays at will
Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more ſweet,
Wild above Rule or Art, enormous Bliſs.
Mean while the murmuring Waters fall
Down the ſlope Hills diſperſed, or in a Lake,
That to the fringed Bank, with Myrtle crown'd,
Her cryſtal Mirror holds. MILTON.

The Abundance of Goats which former Navigators are ſaid to have found upon this Iſland, have been much diminiſhed by the Dogs ſet aſhore here for that Purpoſe by the Spaniards, to deprive the Buccaneers of the Advantages which they reaped from their Numbers, whereby they were ſupplied with Plenty of Proviſions. Among ſome ſuch of theſe Animals as fell into the Hands of the Centurion's Men, there were found two or three of moſt venerable Aſpect, which from having their Ears ſlit, they ſuppoſed to have formerly belonged to Mr. Selkirk *. The Dogs having increaſed exceedingly, have made themſelves Maſters of all the acceſſible Parts of the Iſland; while the few ſurviving Goats maintain the high Grounds, and ſecure the narrow Paſſes by a conſtant Guard. Mr. Walter, in his Account of this Voyage, tells us, that he ſaw a Troop of Dogs endeavouring to gain a Hill, on the Top whereof there was a large Flock of Goats; and that the Leader of them, followed by the reſt, upon the firſt Approach of the Dogs, marched to a Defile, by which only the Eminence could be attained, and there poſting himſelf, like another Leonidas defending his Thermopylæ, reſolutely waited the Onſet, which the Dogs did not chuſe to make, but lay down panting for Breath at the Diſtance of about 20 Yards; and after having reſted themſelves, and reconnoitred the Foe, they thought it beſt to march back to the Deſtruction of ſome young Seals, upon which Food they now principally ſubſiſt, for they certainly can get but few Goats; and ſome of them have been bold enough to attack the human Species, for they are of a large daring Breed. The Males of the Sea-lions, which Animal, during the Winter, covers all the Sea-coaſt, have furious Battles about their Mates; and he may be juſtly pronounced the beſt Warrior among them, who is ſurrounded with moſt Females. The Hearts and Tongues of them are moſt delicious Food, and they are ſo very fat, that one of them has been known to yield a Butt of Oil. The Bay abounds with Plenty of delicious Fiſh, but more particularly with a ſort of Cray-fiſh, weighing eight or nine Pounds apiece; and there were formerly a great Number of Cats here, but theſe have been deſtroyed by the Dogs; as have the Pardela, a ſort of Bird that uſed to burrow in the Ground. Beſides the Hawk, the Owl, the Black-bird, and the Humming-bird, not many of the winged Species are to be met with on this Iſland. We ought to have remarked before, that the Sea-lion, or Lioneſs, is a Creature extremely fond of its Mate; and there was an Inſtance of this in one of the latter attacking a Sailor, who was careleſly ſkinning her Companion whom he had killed; and the Beaſt having contrived to get the poor Fellow's Head in her Mouth, ſcored it in ſeveral Places with her Teeth, wounding him thereby ſo deſperately, that he died in two or three Days after.

* See the Account of Mr. Selkirk, in the Voyage of Woodes Rogers.

of being preſerved, for their Boats were leaky; and, ſhould they chance to reach the Shore, they feared falling a Prey to the ſavage Diſpoſition which the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians award to the Natives of the Climate; and even now this Terror remained with them, though but ill founded, as appears from their not meeting one Native during their Stay upon the Iſland; the only human Creature, beſides themſelves, that they had ſight of here, being an *Indian*, with his Wife and two young Children, who came into the Harbour in a Perriagua, having with them a Dog, a Cat, a Fiſhing-net, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Reel with Worſted, a Flint and Steel, a Cradle, ſome Roots of a yellow Hue and inſipid Taſte, uſed by them inſtead of Bread, and ſome Barks of Trees wherewith to cover their Huts.

The Maſter of the Pink had them brought on-board in his Yawl, and detained them leſt they ſhould have diſcovered him to ſome Enemy, uſing them with great Good-nature, and permitting them all the Day the free Uſe of the Deck, but at Night lockingt hem up in the Forecaſtle; he fed them with the ſame Victuals that were given the Ship's Crew, and ſometimes indulged them with a little Brandy, of which Liquor they were very fond. This *Indian* was a Man of good natural Parts, dexterous in making himſelf underſtood by Signs, and to all Appearance extremely kind and docile; and after he had been a good while Captive, he made his Eſcape with his Wife and Family, by getting through the Scuttle one Night that he found it unnailed, into the Yawl, wherewith he rowed aſhore, having firſt turned the Long-boat and his own Perriagua adrift, which the Crew found it difficult to recover. Had this Sagacity and Reſolution extended to a more enlarged Object than that of a ſingle Family, the Fame of this Man had been immortalized; and his late Maſters did ſo much Juſtice to his Merit, that they left Proviſions for him in Places from whence they ſuppoſed he took it, as it was ſoon gone; and this kind Office they daily repeated. His Eſcape, however, influenced them to precipitate their Departure, fearing he ſhould diſcover them either to the *Spaniards*, or to ſome of the barbarous Inhabitants; of the latter particularly they were under violent Apprehenſions. It was on this Occaſion the Maſter of the Pink was perſuaded to ceaſe firing the Evening-gun, a Practice to which he had hitherto conſtantly adhered, out of an oſtentatious Imitation of a Man of War at ſetting the Watch: But he was at length convinced that Conceakment was his beſt Security, and that this Bravado might prove his Deſtruction. His Delay at *Inchin* was not long after this Accident; for having taken in his Wood and Water, he made the beſt of his way to *Juan Fernandes*.

The Maſter of the Pink not having taken an exact Obſervation, was not able to aſcertain the Latitude of this Iſland; however, it ſeems to be one of the *Chonos* Iſlands, which extends all along that Coaſt, according to the *Spaniſh* Accounts; and it is very probable that it borders upon 45 Deg. 30 Min. South Latitude. Here are two good Coves, where Ships may conveniently heave down in ſecure Shelter. Several Streams of excellent freſh Water fall into the Harbour, and one of them is ſo luckily ſituated, that Caſks out of it ſtanding in the Long-boat may be filled with an Horſe. Though it was Winter when the *Anna* Pink was upon this Iſland, the Air was mild, and the Ground covered with a beautiful Verdure, yielding Nettle-tops, Wild-celery, and other refreſhing Vegetables. The Freſh-water Rivers abound with excellent Mullets; and Cockles and Muſcles, of an extraordinary large Size, are found in great Plenty upon the Sea-coaſt: Theſe are a Food extremely delicious, as are alſo the Geeſe, Shags, and Penguins, of which there are Plenty enough farther Inland.

It now remains to give ſome Account of the *Wager*, and her various Diſtreſſes, after being divided from the reſt of the Squadron off *Cape Boir*. The *Wager* was commanded by Capt. *Cheap*, who was extremely ſolicitous about reaching *Baldivia*, having on-board ſome few Field-pieces, Cohorns, and other kind of military Stores, beſides Pioneers Tools; all which Implements would have been much wanted, in caſe the projected Attack upon that Place had been adhered to. Theſe Conſiderations induced the Captain, in ſpite of the Ship's Diſtreſſes, to make the beſt of his way to the firſt Rendezvous of *Secoro*, whence he intended to have ſteered for *Baldivia*, in caſe he miſſed of the Squadron at the firſt mentioned Place.

This was his determined Reſolution when, on the Morning of the 14th of *May*, he fell in with Land in South Latitude 47 Degrees, of which exerting himſelf to get clear, he fell down and diſlocated his Shoulder, whereby he was rendered incapable of acting; and the Crew not taking proper Pains to work her off the Coaſt, ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken Rock, and ſoon after bulged and grounded between two ſmall Iſlands, about a Muſket-ſhot from Shore. The Confuſion produced by this Accident was inconceiveably heightened by the rebellious Diſpoſition of the Crew, who imagining the Loſs of the Ship deſtroyed the Captain's Superiority, and put them all on an equal Footing, fell to rifling her Stores and drinking her Liquors, without any Attention to their calamitous Condition. In this Situation many of them got ſo drunk, that they were drowned by the Water flowing into the Wreck at a time when they were incapable of retreating; a Proceeding againſt which the Captain, and ſome of the ſoberer People, had admoniſhed them before-hand to no purpoſe: And ſo far were they tranſported by their unaccountable Frenzy, that ſome of thoſe who had ſtaid on-board out of Obſtinacy, being afraid of the Veſſel's parting, with the Weather, which was next Day very ſtormy, pointed a Four-pounder from the Quarter-deck againſt the Hut wherein they ſuppoſed Captain *Cheap* to be ſheltered, which they fired at, and very narrowly miſſed; and all this becauſe the Boat, which they had before rejected, did not put off to their Aſſiſtance ſo ſoon as they expected, upon a Signal for it being hung out: Nay, ſo very mutinous was their Diſpoſition, that there was no Poſſibility of huſbanding ſuch Proviſions as could be ſaved out of the Wreck, or of making a proper Diviſion thereof; for there was nothing but Frauds, Concealments, and Thefts among them, which were productive of eternal Diſcords.

Another important Point was the Captain differing with almoſt all his People in Opinion concerning the Meaſures to be purſued in the preſent Exigency. The common Reſolution of the Mal-contents was to lengthen the Long-boat, and, accompanied by the other Boats, to ſteer to the Southward; and, paſſing *Magellan's* Streights, to endeavour to gain the Coaſt of *Brazil*, whence they ſuppoſed they ſhould eaſily find Conveyance to *Great-Britain*. However hazardous this Attempt appeared, it preſented a dawning Hope of their being able to reach their own Country once again; which reviving Circumſtance outweighed every other Conſideration.

The Captain's Deſign was of a quite different Nature, his Intention being to fit up the Boats in the beſt manner poſſible, and to proceed with them to the Northward, where, as he had above 100 Men in good Health, with ſome Fire-arms and Ammunition, he did not fear ſeizing upon ſome *Spaniſh* Veſſel, as there was almoſt a Certainty of meeting with many in the Neighbourhood of *Chiloe*, or of *Baldivia*, and then he intended to proceed to *Juan Fernandes*, which Iſland it appeared probable to him could be made with the Boats only, even if they ſhould fail taking a Prize. This Project was always foremoſt in the Captain's Thoughts, and led him underhand to obſtruct as much as in him lay the Meaſures of his Opponents, wherewith however he appeared outwardly to comply. The following unhappy Accident fell out in the Interim, that conſiderably heightened their Diſſenſions. A Midſhipman of the Name of *Cozens*, who had involved himſelf in Broils with moſt of the Officers, and ſeveral times inſulted even the Captain himſelf, took upon him to abuſe the Purſer, cloſe to the Captain's Tent, for ſtopping the Allowance of a lazy Fellow who had refuſed to work. The Diſpute was productive of high Words and very ſcurrilous Language, eſpecially on the ſide of *Cozens*, at whoſe inſolent Behaviour the Purſer, growing enraged, cried out, 'A Mutiny, a Mutiny, 'the Dog has Piſtols;' at the ſame Time he fired a Piſtol himſelf; the Report of which being heard by the Captain, he ruſhed out of his Tent, and not doubting but it was *Cozens* who had fired, ſhot him through the Head inſtantly; and the Wound proved mortal, for it killed him at the end of 14 Days. This Action, for ſome time, rendered the Crew more ſubmiſſive than before; but about the Middle of *October*, when the Boats were almoſt ready to ſail, the Majority of them put the Captain under a Guard, pretending they would carry him Priſoner the *England*, there to be tried for Murder: But when they were juſt ready for Sea, they ſhewed that they had never intended this Meaſure, by ſetting him at liberty, and leaving to him, and the few who choſe to partake of his Fortune, only the Yawl, to which the Barge was afterwards added, becauſe the People on-board her were prevailed on to return back. Out of 130 Men that ſurvived the Wreck of the *Wager*, 30 died during their Stay upon this Iſland, for ſuch in the End it proved to be, and not part of the Continent, as had been firſt imagined.

The Number that embarked in the Long-boat and the Cutter for the Southward were 80, who, at their going off, gave the Captain and his Company, conſiſting of 19 Perſons, three Cheers: This was on the 13th of *October*, five Months after the Loſs of the *Wager*; and on the 29th of *January* following theſe Adventurers arrived at *Rio Grande*, on the *Brazil* Coaſt, having loſt the Cutter, and being reduced from 80 to 30 Perſons, and thoſe in the greateſt Miſery through want of Food and Water. The Captain, and the Companions of his Misfortunes, were not able, through the Badneſs of the Weather, and other intervening Difficulties, to fit their Barge and Yawl for their Expedition Northward till the 14th of *December*; and they had ſcarcely been an Hour at Sea, before the Winds blew a Hurricane, and the Waves ran ſo very high, that they were obliged to throw overboard moſt of the Proviſions they had ſaved from the Wreck, to prevent their going to the Bottom.

This Hardſhip retarded their Progreſs conſiderably, as they were thereby neceſſitated to make every Shore they could poſſibly reach to procure themſelves Subſiſtence; moreover their Yawl ſunk as ſhe lay at Anchor with one of her Hands on-board, who was drowned; and there not being Room ſufficient on-board the Barge to ſtow her Complement of Men, they were forced to leave four Marines behind them on a deſolate Shore. Notwithſtanding this Chain of Diſaſters, they continued to puſh to the Northward till the End of *January*; when, having made three unſucceſsful Attempts at doubling a Head land, ſuppoſed by them to be Cape *Tres Montes*, they put back, almoſt in Deſpair, to their former Birth, which they had named *Wager Iſland*, and came up with it in the Middle of the Month of *Frebuary*. Diſheartened at their repeated Diſappointments, and quite worn out with Hunger and Fatigue, here they were ſeaſonably relieved by ſeveral Pieces of Beef which had been lately waſhed out of the Wreck, and ſtill ſwam upon the Water. Soon after this piece of good Fortune, two Canoes came among them, on-board one of which was a Native of *Chiloe*, who underſtanding a little *Spaniſh*, was induced by Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon, who ſpoke the Language, to conſent to tranſport Captain *Cheap* and his People to *Chiloe*; in conſideration of which Kindneſs, he was to have the Barge and all that belonged to her. Accordingly, on the 6th of *March*, 11 Perſons, to which the Company was now reduced, embarked on-board the Barge; but after a few Days Voyage, ſix of them, together with an *Indian*, went off in this little Veſſel, leaving aſhore the Captain, Lieutenant *Hamilton* of the Marines, Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon, the honourable Mr. *Byron* and Mr. *Campbell*, two Midſhipmen, who were in a moſt diſconſolate Condition, on a dreary barren Coaſt, without Proviſion or the ſmalleſt Means of procuring any; for their Arms, their Ammunition, and every little Convenience of which they had been Maſters, were carried off in the Barge. They now ſaw a near Completion of their Calamities, and nothing but a Proſpect of inevitable Deſtruction, when the *Indian* with whom they had bargained to convey them to *Chiloe*, returned with his Canoe. It ſeems he had been out a-fiſhing, and left the Barge in care of another *Indian*, whom it was very probable the Sailors had forced out to Sea.

This honeſt *Indian*, when he firſt miſſed the Barge and his Companion, concluded that he had been murdered; but at length ſatisfied of the contrary, he adhered to his former Promiſe of conveying Captain *Cheap* and the four Gentlemen along with him, to ſome of the *Spaniſh* Settlements, promiſing to ſupply them with Proviſions enough all the Way; for no Perſons are better ſkilled in Fiſhing and Fowling than the *Indians*. For theſe Purpoſes he provided ſeveral of his Neighbours in other Canoes; with whom the Captain embarked together with his four Companions, one of whom, *viz.* Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon, died in the Paſſage. It was the Middle of *March* when they left *Wager Iſland*, and about the Beginning of *June* they arrived at the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where the *Spaniards* treated them with great Humanity. Lieutenant *Hamilton* was by ſome Accident left behind in the way, and did not arrive here till the latter End of *Auguſt*.

To ſuch an ill State of Health were theſe four Gentlemen reduced by their various Diſtreſſes, that it was not without great Difficulty they recovered, Nature being almoſt worn out on their Arrival here.

From *Chiloe* they were tranſmitted to *Valparaiſo*, and thence to *St. Jago*, the Capital of *Chili*, where, after having continued about a Year, Capt. *Cheap*, Lieutenant *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Byron*, were allowed to embark for *Europe* on-board a *French* Ship, upon the News of a Cartel being ſettled between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*; but Mr. *Campbell* having turned Roman-Catholic at *Buenos-Ayres*, returned to *Spain* with *Pizarro* in the *Aſia*; but failing of his Endeavours to procure himſelf a Commiſſion in that Service at the Court of *Madrid*, he returned to *England*, hoping to be again reinſtated in the *Britiſh* Navy; however, his Proceedings among the *Spaniards* were too recent to admit of his meeting with Succeſs in that Attempt. This Gentleman has publiſhed a Defence of his Conduct, together with a Memorial of his Sufferings; and I think he has ſince that time obtained a Commiſſion in the Royal Navy of *Portugal*.

The latter End of the Month of *Auguſt* was ſpent in unloading the Proviſions of the *Anna* Pink, which Veſſel, upon a Scrutiny of all the Carpenters, was judged unable to live upon the Water; wherefore, upon a Petition of Mr. *Gerrard* her Maſter, to the Commodore, ſhe was purchaſed, with all her Furniture, for the Uſe of the Squadron, at the Rate of 300 *l.* to be paid to her Owners; and her Crew, conſiſting of 10 Men and the Maſter, were entered on board the *Glouceſter*, which Ship had but 82 Sailors remaining alive, out of 300 that ſhe brought out of *England*; two out of 48 Marines, and every one of her Invalids were periſhed. The *Centurion*, ſince her leaving *St. Helens* to this time, had buried 292 of her Hands, and had now remaining on-board 214. She had loſt 46 out of 50 Invalids, and 68 out of 79 Marines, Officers included: So that upon a Computation it appears, that theſe three Ships, which brought out of *England* 961 Men, had amongſt them all, in *September* 1741, only 335 People left alive, boys included; a Number ſcarcely ſufficient to man the *Centurion*, and at the beſt ſcarcely ſufficient, with the utmoſt Effort of their Strength, to navigate the three Ships.

The Seaſon for navigating in this Climate being now near at hand, every body exerted himſelf in preparing the Ships for Sea, all Hands being buſied for this Purpoſe. About Eleven in the Morning of the 8th, they diſcovered a Sail, which the *Centurion*, being in moſt Forwardneſs, made after as faſt as poſſible; but loſing her Track in the Night, they kept on a South-eaſt Courſe in hope of coming up with her, as they ſuppoſed her bound to *Valparaiſo*; but not getting ſight of her again, they reſolved to ſteer back to *Juan Fernandes*; when, about Three in the Morning of the 12th, a briſk Gale ſpringing up at Weſt South-weſt, obliged them to lie upon a North-weſt Tack, which, to their agreeable Surprize, brought them upon the Break of the Morning in ſight of a Sail, at about five Leagues diſtance, but not the ſame they had ſeen before. She appeared to be a large Ship; and upon her hoiſting *Spaniſh* Colours, and bearing upon the *Centurion*, the Commodore ordered every thing ready for an Engagement; but upon nearer Approach ſhe appeared to be a Merchant, without a ſingle Tier of Guns, who had miſtaken the Commodore for her Conſort. She ſurrendered at the Fire of only four Shot, and Mr. *Saumerez*, the *Centurion*'s firſt Lieutenant, was ordered to take Poſſeſſion, and to ſend all the Priſoners, beginning with the Officers and Paſſengers, on-board the Commodore. She was called the *Nueſtra Senora de*

Monte Carmelo; her Cargo conſiſted of Sugar, and large Quantities of coarſe blue Cloth manufactured at *Quito*, together with ſome indifferent Tobacco, and a few Cheſts of wrought Plate and Dollars, weighing about 200 lb. Avoirdupoiſe; her Burden was 400 Tons; ſhe was manned with 53 Sailors, black and white, and bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiſo*. The Intelligence received from the Priſoners on-board this Prize was of the greateſt Conſequence to the *Engliſh* Squadron; for by this they firſt learned part of the Fate of *Pizarro*'s Squadron, as alſo that the Viceroy of *Mexico* had juſt taken off an Embargo that had been laid upon all Shipping in thoſe Seas, ſuppoſing that the *Engliſh* Squadron, of whom he had not lately received any News, muſt certainly have periſhed in doubling *Cape Horn*, the Apprehenſions of which Enemy had ſolely occaſioned the Embargo. They alſo now learned, that had they made *Juan Fernandes*, when in reality they firſt diſcovered it *May* the 28th, they had certainly fallen in with ſome *Spaniſh* Ships which had been fitted out by the Viceroy of *Peru*, and ſent thither to cruize in Expectation of catching ſuch of them as might chance to eſcape round *Cape Horn*; and that theſe Veſſels had not quitted their Station till the 6th of *June*, when they gave the *Engliſh* up for loſt, and returned to *Calao*; ſo that this Delay, which had formerly appeared ſo terrible a Misfortune, occaſioning the Loſs of near 80 Men, was in reality a great piece of Good-luck, and the abſolute Cauſe of preſerving the Ship and the ſurviving Crew. It appearing, by Letters on-board this Prize, that ſeveral other Merchantmen were now at Sea between *Calao* and *Valparaiſo*, Mr. *Anſon* having reinforced the *Trial* Sloop with 10 of his own Hands, ſent her to cruize off the laſt-mentioned Port; and at the ſame time ordered the *Glouceſter*, Captain *Mitchel* Commander, to proceed to South Latitude 50 Degrees, and cruize off the Iſland of *Paita* till he ſhould be joined by the Commodore; and the better to enable her for this Run, he put on-board her 23 Sailors and ſix Paſſengers from the *Carmelo*, which he alſo fitted out as a Cruizer with four Six-pounders, the ſame Number of Four-pounders, and two Swivels.

September 19, the *Centurion* and her Prize weighed from the Bay of *Juan Fernandes*, to make her Courſe to the Eaſtward, intending to join the *Trial* off *Valparaiſo*. On the 24th in the Evening, they came up with her, having at firſt taken her for an Enemy, and prepared to engage. They found ſhe had taken a Prize of 600 Tons burden, with much ſuch a Cargo as that of the *Carmelo*, and about 5000 *l.* in Ready-money. But to counterbalance this Succeſs, the *Trial*'s Main-top-maſt came by the board, and ſhe had the Ill-luck to ſpring both her Main and Fore-maſt. Beſides theſe mortifying Circumſtances, the Wind blew ſo hard, and there was ſuch a hollow Sea, that there was no Poſſibility of aſſiſting her, nor yet was ſhe to be left in ſuch unhappy Circumſtances. The Weather proving more moderate on the 27th, the Captain of the *Trial* came on-board the *Centurion*, bringing with him an Inſtrument ſubſcribed by himſelf and all his Officers, ſetting forth that the Veſſel was ſo leaky and defective, that it was of the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives they ſtaid on-board her, for that at the next foul Weather Squall there could be no Hope of keeping her above Water, unleſs ſhe were repaired in ſuch a manner, as their preſent Situation could not poſſibly admit of; wherefore the Commodore having ordered every thing uſeful out of her on-board the Prize ſhe had taken, together with Captain *Saunders* and her Crew, ſhe was ſcuttled and ſunk. This neceſſary Buſineſs being diſpatched, Captain *Saunders* proceeded in the *Trial*'s Prize to her Station of the North North-weſt Point of *Valparaiſo*, attended by Lieutenant *Saumarez* in the *Centurion*'s Prize; while the *Centurion* herſelf bore away to the Southward, with a View of cruizing for ſome Days to the windward of *Valparaiſo*, from thence ſhe intended to proceed to *Piſco* or *Naſca*, which the Commodore named as a Place of Rendezvous.

It was the 5th of *November* before they could diſcover any thing like a Sail; about which time they fell in with and ſeized a Ship, burden 300 Tons, bound from *Guiaquil* to *Calao*, and laden with Timber, Cacao, Coco, Hides, *Paita*-thread made of a ſtrong Species of Graſs, Wax, *Quito*-cloth, and about 170 *l.* in Money: She was called the *Santa Tereſa de Jeſus*, and had 45 Sailors on-board, 10 Paſſengers, four Men, three Women, and three black Slaves. Mr. *Dennis* the third Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was ſent with 16 Men in the Boat to take Poſſeſſion of her, and by his courteous humane Behaviour, he ſoon convinced them that their Notion of being fallen into the Hands of Buccaneers and Pirates, was very ill-grounded; for they had laboured under terrible Apprehenſions of Ill-uſage; and though the Women were all extremely agreeable, and the youngeſt of them particularly handſome, they did not meet the ſlighteſt Rudeneſs from the Sailors; but by the Commodore's poſitive Order, had the free Uſe of their Apartments, Slaves, and Neceſſaries, with every other Conveniency that could poſſibly be afforded them: He alſo permitted the Pilot, who is the ſecond Perſon on-board every *Spaniſh* Ship, and a ſort of Guardian to the Women, to continue with them: This Man had at firſt pretended to be the Huſband of the handſomeſt of theſe Ladies, but it was only an honeſt Fraud, calculated to preſerve her from being ill uſed.

The Commodore here ordered the Boats to be repaired, there being Timber enough in the laſt Prize; and to facilitate their boarding an Enemy's Veſſels, in caſe of Neceſſity, he ordered a Swivel Gun-ſtock to be fixed in the Bow, both of the Barge and of the Pinnace. About this time, being in 8 Degrees or thereabouts, the Sea for many Miles round was covered with the Spawn of Fiſh, which gave it the Colour of the fineſt Vermilion; and Flying-fiſh and Bonitos begun to grow plenty, being the firſt they had ſeen ſince they left the Coaſt of *Brazil*. *November* 10, lying off the ſouthermoſt Iſlands of *Lobos de la Mar*, at the Diſtance of three Leagues, looking out for the *Glouceſter*, who had been appointed her Station hereabouts, they diſcovered a Sail, which Lieutenant *Brett*, with the *Trial*'s Pinnace and Barge, were ordered to chace. There being but little Wind ſtirring, and it plainly appearing that this Ship was not the *Glouceſter*, the Lieutenant ſoon came up with and boarded her; ſhe was called the *Nueſtra Senora del Carmin*, *Marcos Morena* a *Venetian*, Commander: She was bound from *Panama* to *Calao*, having touched at *Paita* for Water, with a Cargo of Steel, Iron, Wax, Pepper, Cedar Plank, Snuff, Roſarios, *European* Bale Goods, Powder-blue, Cinnamon, *Romiſh* Indulgences, and other Pieces of Merchandize, of little Value to the Captors; but if conſidered with regard to the Loſs it might be to the *Spaniards*, was a conſiderable Capture, the Cargo having coſt, at the firſt hand, upwards of 400,000 *l.*

On-board of this Ship there as an *Iriſhman*, whoſe Name was *John Williams*; he had travelled as a Pedlar all over the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and made a great deal of Money, which he had loſt again by ſome Miſchance: This Man had been for ſome time confined in the Jail of *Paita* for a Miſdemeanor, and expreſſed great Joy at falling in with his Countrymen. From him they learned, that upon a Ship's having being chaced in the Offing of *Paita*, a few Days before, by a Veſſel ſuppoſed to be the *Glouceſter*, the Governor of that Town, apprehenſive of a Viſit, together with the Royal Officer, were removing their own and the King's Treaſure to *Piura*, a Town 14 Leagues within Land. *Williams* alſo told them, that there was a large Sum of Money belonging to the Merchants, lodged in the Cuſtom-houſe, and that it was intended to be ſhipped the following Day on-board a light clean Veſſel, the Bottom of which was newly primed; which Veſſel was bound to *Sonſonnate* on the Coaſt of *Mexico*, to purchaſe part of the Cargo of the *Manila* Ship.

This Piece of Intelligence immediately determined the Commodore to endeavour to ſurprize the Place[*] without a Moment's Delay, as he was fully ſatisfied, by an Inquiry into the Strength and Condition of it, that there was little

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[*] Paita lies in 5 Deg. 12 Min. South Latitude, on a barren ſandy Soil, void of Water, Greens, or any kind of Refreſhment, a few Goats and ſome Fiſh excepted; but of theſe, however, there are conſtant Supplies brought down upon Floats from Colan, a Town lying about three Leagues to the northward. The Water of this Place is of a whitiſh diſagreeable Aſpect; however, it is ſaid to be very wholeſome, being ſtrongly impregnated with Sarſaparilla, wherewith the Country through which it runs is abundantly ſtocked; Cattle are brought down thither from Piura. Nothing could have induced any Perſons to ſettle upon ſo inclement a Spot, but that it is the beſt Bay to be met with on that Part of the Coaſt, affording very ſecure and com-

Danger of loſing many Men in the Attempt: Beſides there was a Neceſſity for ſome Step of this ſort, as they could hope for no Profit by a longer Cruize in theſe Seas, the Coaſt being alarmed of their Vicinity; and this Enterprize not only promiſed a Supply of live Proviſions, which they much wanted, but afforded an Opportunity of putting the Priſoners aſhore, who, being very numerous, made a greater Conſumption of the Ship's Stores than ſhe was able to ſpare.

The Commodore, after duly weighing the Strength of the Place, reſolved that the Attack ſhould be made by the Boats; fearing that if he ſhould attempt firſt bringing the Ships into Harbour, the *Spaniards*, apprized of the Danger, might take Meaſures for ſecuring their moſt valuable Effects. The Attack in this Manner meditated, was immediately carried into Execution; the Barge and Pinnaces were manned with 58 choice Men well-armed, under the Care of Mr. *Brett*; and to him was left the whole Conduct of the Expedition. The better to prevent any Confuſion that might ariſe from the People's being ignorant of the Windings of the Town, two *Spaniſh* Pilots were ordered to guide them, with a Promiſe of being well rewarded; and an Aſſurance to the Priſoners that they ſhould be all here ſet at liberty, provided theſe Men behaved with Fidelity: But on the contrary it was obſerved, that in caſe they failed in the leaſt Article of the Duty to which they were appointed, they two ſhould be ſhot, and all the *Spaniards* now in Cuſtody carried Priſoners to *England*. It was particularly remarkable, that one of theſe Pilots had been, about twenty Years before, a Priſoner with Captain *Clipperton*, who forced him, in the ſame manner, to guide his Men to *Truxillo*, an Inland Town to the ſouthward of *Paita*, which they then ſurprized and pillaged. While the Boats were making for the Bay, the Mouth of which they reached without being diſcovered, the Ships ſtood in for the Port with all the Sail they could. The Approach of the Sailors in the Boats was diſcovered by ſome People on-board a Ship lying at Anchor in the Harbour, who got aſhore as quickly as they could, ſpreading the Alarm, by crying out, *The* English *Dogs*.

Notwithſtanding this Intelligence, Mr. *Brett* got aſhore before they could fire two Guns from the Fort; and drawing up his Men under Shelter of a narrow Street, marched immediately to the Parade, with Drums beating, and loud Clamours of Joy; where he was received with a Volley of ſmall Shot from ſome Merchants, who poſted themſelves in a Gallery that ran round the Governor's Houſe, but who were ſoon diſlodged, and taking to their Heels, left the Parade in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Invaders, who ſoon entered both the Governor's Houſe and the Fort, which they found abandoned; having loſt one Man, and having had two wounded, one of them being the *Spaniſh* Pilot of the *Tereſa*; the honourable Mr. *Keppel*, Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*, had a Piece of his Jockey-cap ſhaved off cloſe to his Temple by a Ball, which however did him no other Injury.

Mr. *Brett* having ſecured the Fort, the Governor's Houſe, and all the Avenues of the Town, with proper Guards, ordered the few Inhabitants that were left to be confined in one of the Churches under a proper Guard; while ſome ſtout Negroes, eſcorted by a File of Muſketeers, were ordered to aſſiſt in removing the Treaſure of the Cuſtom-houſe, *&c.* to the Fort, this being the principal thing to be conſidered after being poſſeſſed of the Town.

As moſt of the Inhabitants had fled in their firſt Fright, without ſtaying to dreſs, the Sailors, who could not be prevented from breaking into the Houſes to ſearch for private Pillage, eagerly ſeized upon their Cloaths, which, according to the Faſhion of the Country, were extremely ſuperb; and throwing theſe over their greaſy Jackets, cut ſo ridiculous a Figure when they appeared before the Lieutenant, that he ſcarcely knew them; and their Appearance was ſtill more odd, from many of them having put on Women's embroidered Gowns when they had miſſed of Men's Cloaths. Early in the Morning the *Centurion* opened the Bay, and about Twelve o'Clock came to an Anchor in ten Fathom and an half Water, at a Mile and an half Diſtance from the Town.

This and the following Day was ſpent in ſending on-board the Treaſure; and Boats full of Hogs, Fowl, and other Refreſhments, together with the moſt valuable Commodities to be found in Town; and this was done without any Moleſtation from the Enemy; though a good Number of them, among whom were 200 Horſe, paraded upon a neighbouring Hill very oſtentatiouſly, with all kinds of military Muſic. Theſe were headed by the Governor, who had been one of the firſt that fled, leaving a young Wife of about ſeventeen, to whom he had been but a few Days married, to be carried off in her Shift by a Couple of his People. His Eſcape was a ſenſible Mortification to Mr. *Brett*, as well as to the Commodore; becauſe had they ſecured him, they might have got a conſiderable Ranſom for the Town, there being in it at that time ſeveral Warehouſes filled with valuable Goods, which were conſumed with it, when it was ſet on fire, upon the Governor's refuſing to liſten to any Overtures that were made him for a Parley: For though Mr. *Anſon* intimated to him that the Town might be preſerved at a very trifling Expence, he did not deign even to return a civil Anſwer. And having collected a Body of Forces round the Country, whereof however he made no uſe, he was ſo fond of his new military Command, that he ſeemed intirely to have forgotten his Government. His Forces however, as Mr. *Anſon* learned from ſome Negroe Deſerters, were in great want of Water; and tho' they had one Night poſitively reſolved to have fallen on his Men, headed by a *Scotch* Captain of a Ship named *Gordon*, they were deterred and intimidated therefrom by the great Vigilance and ſtrict Look-out of Mr. *Brett*.

On the 15th of *November*, their Buſineſs in *Paita* being pretty well over, the Commodore ſent all his Priſoners, in Number 82, aſhore, according to his Promiſe; and then Mr. *Brett*, having made a proper Diſpoſition of Pitch, Tar, and other Combuſtibles, to increaſe the Flame, ſet the Town on-fire in ſeveral Quarters at the ſame time; then having ſpiked up the eight Pieces of Cannon, he collected his Men, there being only one miſſing, and marched regularly down to the Water-ſide; at which time a Body of *Spaniards* upon the Hill, put themſelves in Motion as if they meant an Attack; but upon Mr. *Brett*'s making a Halt, and facing about, this heroic Troop did not judge it ſafe to advance.

They were now ready to put off from the Beach, which was ſo covered with Smoke, as to be almoſt inviſible, when they heard the Voice of a Man, loudly and pathetically invoking them to take him in; one of the Boats made up to the Place from whence the Sound iſſued, and there found the Man whom they had miſſed up to the Chin in Water, for he could not ſwim, and had waded as far as he durſt. It appeared upon examining into the Cauſe of his Delay, that having taken too large a Doſe of Brandy, he had fallen aſleep, and was wakened only by the Fire coming ſo near as to ſcorch him. He ſaid, that at firſt he was ſtrangely amazed to ſee the Houſes all on a Blaze about him on one ſide, and ſeveral *Indians* and *Spaniards* conferring together; however, recollecting his dangerous Situation, he puſhed through the thickeſt of the Smoke, and arrived upon the Beach barely in time to ſave himſelf.

Lieutenant *Brett* and his Detachment now put off to the Ship; the Acquiſition they made in wrought Plate, Dollars, and other Coin, amounting to upwards of 30,000 *l.* excluſive of the Broad-cloaths, Silks, Cambricks, Velvets, and Embroideries, which were deſtroyed by the Flames; beſides which the private Plunder, ſuch as Rings, Bracelets,

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commodious Anchorage. It is the only Place at which Ships can touch to refreſh in their Paſſage to Calao, and the common Rendezvous of all Veſſels from Acapulco, Sonſonnate, &c. This Town conſiſts of about 200 Houſes, each not more than one Story high, the Walls being of ſplit Cane and Mud, and the Roofs only a Covering of Leaves: Edifices of this Sort, though extremely ſlight, are quite ſufficient for a Climate wherein Rain is perfectly unknown: There fell a ſmall Quantity in 1728, which was looked upon as a Prodigy, and proved the Deſtruction of many Buildings. The Inhabitants are Indians and black Slaves, or at beſt a mixed Breed, but few white Men being ſettled here. The only Defence of Paita, at this Time, was a Fort without either Ditch or Outwork, but ſurrounded by a Brick Wall of little or no Strength; in it were mounted eight Pieces of Cannon, and the Garriſon conſiſted of but one weak Company, though the Town was able to arm 300 Men, to what Purpoſe we ſhall not pretend to ſay, not having heard that they ever gave any Inſtances of their military Capacity.

and Jewels, the immediate Property of the particular Captors, were very great. It appeared by a Memorial preſented to the Court of *Madrid* ſome time after, that the Loſs of the *Spaniards* by this Action amounted to half a Million of Dollars; there being at this Time ſix of the Enemy's Veſſels in Harbour, five of them were, by the Commodore's Order, towed out to Sea, where they were ſcuttled and ſunk; and the ſixth, being the Veſſel wherein the Treaſure was to have been embarked, he added to his own Squadron, by the Name of the *Solidad*, manning her with ten Men, under the Command of Lieutenant *Hughes* of the *Trial* Sloop.

About Midnight, on the 16th of *November*, Mr. *Anſon*'s Squadron got under Sail: It conſiſted of ſix Veſſels, *viz*, the *Centurion*, the *Trial*'s Prize, the *Carmelo*, the *Carmin*, the *Tereſa*, and the *Solidad*; they ſtood to the Weſtward, and in the Morning ſpread themſelves to look out for the *Glouceſter*, it being near her appointed Station; and on the Morning of the 18th, they gained ſight of her, and were joined by her about Three in the Afternoon; ſhe had only taken two Prizes, one of which was a Snow laden with Wine, Brandy, and Olives, beſides about 7000 *l.* in Specie; the other a Launch, the People on-board which, when taken by the *Glouceſter*'s Barge, were at Dinner upon Pigeon-pye, on a Service of Plate; notwithſtanding which opulent Appearance, they complained of their Poverty, having nothing on-board but Cotton made up in Jars, which were all removed into the *Glouceſter*; where, upon a ſtrict Examination, it appeared to be a fraudulent Package, there being Doubloons and Dollars hid among the Cotton to the Amount of 12,000 *l.* the Property of the Merchants of *Paita*.

The *Glouceſter* had, beſides theſe, been in ſight of two or three other Ships belonging to the Enemy, one whereof they had Reaſon to believe of prodigious Value, but ſhe found it impoſſible to come up with them.

As the Squadron began to want Water, the Commodore gave Orders for proceeding to *Quibo*, an Iſland in the Mouth of the Bay of *Panama*; and having there taken in a Supply, he had reſolved to ſteer for the ſouthern Parts of *California*, or the contiguous Coaſt of *Mexico*, there to cruiſe for the *Manila* Galley, which they knew to be at this Time at Sea, on her Way to *Acapulco*, where it was generally the Middle of *January* before ſhe arrived; and it being now only *November*, they imagined they ſhould be able to gain the Road time enough to intercept her, not conceiving the Paſſage would coſt them more than a Month or five Weeks.

They were at this time eight Sail in all; but the *Santa Tereſa* and the *Solidad* moving ſlowly upon the Water, and retarding the Progreſs of the reſt of the Veſſels very much, the Commodore ordered them to be cleared of every thing uſeful, and then burned. On the 22d they made the Iſland of *Plate*, to which Land one of the Prizes was ordered to ſtand cloſe in, to diſcover if any Ships lay between that and the Continent; and alſo to look out for a Stream of Freſh-water reported to be there, which, if verified, would have ſaved them the Trouble of going to *Quibo*; but ſhe returned without having ſeen any Ships, or diſcovering any Water. About Three in the Afternoon they ſaw the Point of *Manta*, bearing South-eaſt by Eaſt ſeven Miles diſtant; and here the Captain of the *Glouceſter* choſe to ſet ſome of his Priſoners at liberty in the *Spaniſh* Launch.

On the 27th Captain *Mitchel* of the *Glouceſter*, having cleared her Prize by the Commodore's Order, ſcuttled and burned her. *December* the 3d they came in ſight of *Quibo* [*], where in the Evening of the following Day they anchored in 33 Fathom muddy Ground; which Situation they changed the Day after for a rough gravelly Bottom 22 Fathom deep, the Watering-place bearing three quarters of a Mile North-weſt from the Ship.

December 10th, a ſmall Bark with ſome Salt, and upwards of 30 *l.* in Money, fell into their Hands off the Iſland of *Quibo*; ſhe was bound to *Cheripe*, an inconſiderable Village on the Continent, from whence the Market of *Panama* is furniſhed with Proviſions every Week. *Cheripe* is a Place quite open to Invaſion, having no Defence of any ſort; and Proviſions being its ſtaple Commodity, future Cruiſers upon this Coaſt may profit from the Intelligence. On the 12th they ſtood from *Quibo* to the Weſtward, having ſcuttled and ſunk the laſt Prize; and being joined by the *Glouceſter*, which having ſprung her Fore-top Maſt, had been divided from them for ſome Days: And now the Commodore proceeded to cruiſe for the *Manila* Ships, having firſt inſtructed his Squadron to ſtretch to the Northward of the Harbour of *Acapulco*; and in caſe of Separation, to rendezvouſe at the Middle of the *Tres Marias*; and afterwards at the Iſland of *Macao*, on the Coaſt of *China*. They were harraſſed with contrary Winds from this Time to the 9th of *June*, on which Day the *Manila* Ship reached the Harbour of *Acapulco*, and it was expected that ſhe would ſail thence on the $\frac{3}{14}$ of *March*, as they were informed by three Negroes whom the *Centurion*'s Barge ſurprized in a Fiſhing-canoe, which they afterwards turned adrift among the Rocks, that from its being daſhed in Pieces the *Spaniards* might infer the Owners of it were drowned, and not impute their Loſs to the real Cauſe. And by all the Intelligence Mr. *Anſon* could collect beſides from theſe People, he inferred that the Governor of *Acapulco* remained ignorant of an Enemy's being ſo near at hand, and conſequently that his Chance for ſeizing the ſo much deſired Prize, was now greater than ever; and that ſhe ſhould not eſcape him at any rate, he diſpoſed his five Ships in ſuch a manner, that they took up a Sweep of 24 Leagues at leaſt, within which Compaſs nothing could paſs without its being known by the whole Squadron; the Veſſels being ſo judiciouſly ranged, that they could eaſily and ſpeedily be informed of what paſſed in any part of the Line by Signals. The better to prepare for the Reception of the Galoon, there were left on-board the *Carmin*, the *Carmelo*, and the *Trial* Prize, no more Hands than were ſufficient to navigate them, the reſt being ſent on-board the *Glouceſter* and *Centurion*, which two Ships were intended for the Attack: And as an Encouragement to the Negroes, they were promiſed their Freedom in caſe of their deſerving it by their good Behaviour in the Engagement.

At length the $\frac{3}{14}$ of *March*, the Day they had ſo long and eagerly expected, appeared; but to their great Mortification the Evening thereof ſet in, without the leaſt Appearance of the Galoon. From that Day to the 23d of *March* Old Stile, they had Hopes of her, as they were ſatisfied ſhe had not quitted the Harbour of *Acapulco*; and every Man formed to himſelf Reaſons for her being detained: But now the whole Fleet beginning to ſtand in need of Water, it was agreed to make the beſt of their way to *Seguataneio* or *Chequetan*, there to take in a Supply. And leſt that the Galoon might ſlip out to Sea, taking Advantage of their Abſence, Mr. *Hughes*, Lieutenant of the *Trial*'s Prize, was ordered to cruiſe off the Harbour of *Acapulco* for 24 Days in the Cutter, that in caſe ſhe ſhould ſet ſail, they might be ſpeedily informed thereof.

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[*] The Iſland of Quibo is pretty lofty except in one Place; the whole Soil is covered with Trees, extending as far as the High-water-mark, and a Stream of Freſh-water rolls over the ſandy Beach into the Sea; ſo that the Centurion was able to lay in a ſufficient Stock of Wood and Water in two Days. A perpetual Verdure crowns the Glebe, and Limes and Caſſia abound among the Woods; wherein are to be found Plenty of Guanos and Monkeys, that are good Food, with Numbers of Deer, that cannot be eaſily come at; but beſides Parrots, Paroquets, and Mackaws, all other Birds ſeem to be Strangers to the Place. The Spaniards ſay, that a flying Snake is often found here, which clings to the Boughs of Trees, from whence it takes an Opportunity of darting upon Man or Beaſt, giving inevitable Death with its Sting. Beſides theſe dangerous Land-animals, the Sea is infeſted with large Alligators, and with a flat Fiſh of conſiderable Bigneſs, which leaps a great Height out of the Water, and is fatal to the Pearl-divers, by claſping them in its Fins as they riſe from the Bottom; however, to free themſelves from this deſtructive Embrace, they now go armed with a ſharp Knife, and by ſticking it into the Belly of the Fiſh, regain their Liberty. In moſt Parts of the Iſland the Soil is very fertile, and the Water, which is excellent, abounds on every hand. There are no Inhabitants upon it, but Huts erected in ſeveral Places, perhaps to ſhelter the Pearl-divers, who frequent this Iſland in the Summer-ſeaſon for the Pearl Oyſter, which is found every where in the Bay of Panama, and abounds particularly about Quibo; and may in many Parts be taken up without any Trouble but that of wading. They are very large, but ill-taſted; the Pearl partaking of the Nature of the Bottom whereon it is found; ſo that if the Bottom be muddy, the Pearl is of a duſky Hue. The fiſhing for them is practiſed by Negroes carefully trained up to the Buſineſs by the Inhabitants of Panama: Theſe poor Creatures often ſtay under Water till the Blood guſhes out of their Eyes, Ears, and Mouth; an Accident which ſeldom happens a ſecond time; and after which they dive with more Facility than ever, if the Tradition of the Country is to be relied upon.

April $\frac{1}{11}$, being pretty far advanced towards *Chequetan*, they diſpatched two Boats to range along the Coaſt, in ſearch of the Watering-place: As they were abſent four or five Days, it was a great Happineſs, that during that time they had daily Supply of Turtle; for had they been reduced to their ſalt Proviſions, with ſo ſcanty an Allowance of Water as their preſent ſmall Stock afforded, they muſt have ſuffered conſiderably in this warm Climate. The long Abſence of their Boats began to fill them with many gloomy Suggeſtions, which were at length happily diſſipated by their Return, with an Account of their having met a proper Water-place ſeven Miles to the Weſtward of the Rocks of *Seguetaneio*, which, by the Deſcription they gave, appeared to be the Port of *Chequetan*, mentioned by *Dampier*. For this Place the Squadron immediately ſteered, and came to Anchor on the 7th in the Evening in 11 Fathom Water; but the *Carmin* and *Carmelo* having fallen to the Leeward, the *Trial*'s Prize was diſpatched to bring them up, which Taſk ſhe performed in two or three Days[*].

It now appearing upon a Scrutiny, that they had not more Hands than were neceſſary to man a Fourth-rate Man of War, Mr. *Anſon*, with the Conſent of his Officers, reſolved to ſcuttle and deſtroy the *Trial*'s Prize, the *Carmelo*, and the *Carmin*, and to divide the richeſt part of their Cargoes and their Crews between the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter*; which was accordingly done on the 28th of *April*, when the remaining Ships of the Squadron warped out of the Harbour, leaving behind them a Letter corked up in a Bottle, and placed in a Canoe fixed to a Grapnal in the Middle of the Harbour, acquainting Mr. *Hughes*, to whom it was directed, that the Commodore was returned to his Station off *Acapulco*; that he intended to quit it in a few Days, and return to the reſt of his Squadron, which continued cruiſing to the Southward. The laſt Article was inſerted to deceive the *Spaniards*, in caſe, as it afterwards happened, the Canoe ſhould fall into their Hands: As for Mr. *Hughes*, he knew the Commodore had no Squadron to join, nor yet any Deſign of ſteering back to *Peru*; ſo that it could have had no Effect upon him. The ſtormy Seaſon now coming on, and it appearing plainly that the Voyage of the *Acapulco* Ships was laid aſide for this Year, Mr. *Anſon* having no farther Buſineſs in the *American* Seas, reſolved to ſteer for *China* after having picked up his Cutter, in ſearch of which he to no Purpoſe cruiſed all along the Coaſt, advancing even within three Leagues of *Acapulco*, a Town which he had formerly deſigned to have ſtormed, but was diſſuaded therefrom by a Conſideration of his own Weakneſs, and a comparative View of the Strength and Fortifications of the Place. It was now *May* the 22d, when not having the leaſt Sign of Mr. *Hughes* or of the Cutter, Mr. *Anſon* imagined that it might have been taken and carried into *Acapulco*; a Loſs which the Commodore could not at this time rightly put up with, there being on-board her ſome of the ſtouteſt Fellows that remained alive between the Ships. Therefore taking the Capture of them as a Certainty, he wrote a very polite Letter to the Governor of *Acapulco*, requeſting him to deliver them up, and in return promiſing to releaſe all the *Spaniſh* Priſoners now in his Hands, among whom were ſome People of Figure. This Letter was ſent off in a Launch in the Care of a *Spaniſh* Officer, of whom the Commodore had a good Opinion, and who was conducted by ſix other Priſoners, who gave their Parole for their return. The Governor of *Acapulco* returned a polite Anſwer to the Commodore's Meſſage, and ſent him alſo two Boats loaded with Refreſhments; but theſe never reached him, for before their ſetting out, the Cutter happily came on-board with the Men almoſt ſtarved, and ſcarcely able to ſtand; they were all ſtraight put to-bed, ſupplied with Food from the Commodore's Table, and being otherwiſe taken proper Care of, ſoon recovered their Strength. It ſeems that, having finiſhed their Cruiſe before *Acapulco*, they plied to the weſtward in order to join the Squadron, but were driven to the eaſtward by a ſtrong Current, wherewith they found it in vain to contend; and now their Water being expended, they endeavoured to find out a convenient Landing-place, where they might get a Supply, but to no purpoſe, there being ſo large a Surf for near 80 Leagues, that they ran to leeward, and there was not the leaſt Poſſibility of their making the Shore. The Blood of the Turtle that they caught upon the Water, was for ſome Days their only Refreſhment; and now beginning to deſpair of Relief, there fell a violent Shower of Rain, the Water of which, being catched in their Sails, ſpread horizontally, with Bullets placed in their Center to draw them to a Point, filled all their Caſks; and meeting almoſt at the ſame Time a ſtrong Current in their Favour, they joined the Commodore in 50 Hours, after an Abſence of 43 Days; a Junction which muſt appear very ſurprizing to thoſe who conſider the many Dangers that muſt certainly attend upon an open Boat only 22 Feet long, upon ſo terrible a Coaſt, and ſuch a tempeſtuous Sea, during a ſix Weeks Cruiſe.

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[*] There is a Beach of Sand extending 18 Leagues from the Harbour of Acapulco to the weſtward, againſt which the Sea breaks ſo violently, that it is impoſſible for Boats to land on any Part of it; but there is good Anchorage for Shipping at a Mile or two from the Shore, during the fair Seaſon. The adjacent Land is low, here and there interſperſed with ſmall Eminences, whereon are Watch-towers; it is well cultivated, covered with pleaſant Villages, and planted with Trees, affording on every ſide a moſt agreeable Proſpect: But it is remarkable, and to my thinking odd, that this Diſtrict, apparently the moſt pleaſant, the beſt cultivated, and the moſt populous upon the whole Coaſt, ſhould be without the ſmalleſt Kind of naval Craft, either for Fiſhing or Amuſement, there being neither Boat nor Canoe to be diſcerned near it: And as this Deficiency cannot ariſe from the want of convenient Landing-places, it is not improbable that the Government have prohibited their Uſe, to prevent Smuggling. To the weſtward of this Beach lies the Bay of Seguataneio or Chequetan, the Entrance whereof is very exactly deſcribed by Mr. Walter, in his Account of this Voyage, becauſe it is very hard to be traced, and of vaſt Importance to ſuch Veſſels as cruiſe in thoſe Seas. The Watering-place here is a ſtanding Lake, derived from a ſmall Spring about a Mile up the Country; and the Part of this Lake that lay contiguous to the Sea, being a little brackiſh, Mr. Anſon ordered his Stock of Water to be brought from the other Extremity, where it was much better taſted. This Lake did not appear to have any Communication at this time with the Sea; and as Dampier ſpeaks of it as a large River, it is very likely that in the rainy Seaſon it overflows its Banks, and lays the neighbouring Country under Water, in which Situation it was perhaps ſeen by him. From the promiſing Aſpect of the Country, Mr. Anſon entertained ſome Hopes of cultivating a Correſpondence with the Inhabitants, and procuring a Store of Proviſions in exchange for ſuch coarſe Merchandize as their Prizes had afforded, which in his Hands were of little Worth, but to theſe People, at his manner of rating them, muſt have been extremely valuable. For this Purpoſe he diſpatched a Company of 40 Men well armed into the Country, to try if they could find any Village; theſe Men having marched about five Miles from the Harbour, diſcovered two Roads leading Eaſt and Weſt, the latter whereof they choſe; and marched all Day, along a beaten Track, where they often ſaw Horſe and Mule Dung, but no Sign of Inhabitants or Village. On their entering indeed a large Savannah, they had ſight of a Centinel well mounted, whoſe Horſe ſtarting at the ſight of their Arms, bore off his Maſter with vaſt Speed, who dropped his Hat and Piſtol in his Flight; and though they purſued him for ſome time, he ſoon eſcaped, having the Advantage of them by being on Horſeback: So that at length, being quite wearied out with their fatiguing March, and neither having found Water to quench their Thirſt, nor any other Refreſhment, they were obliged to halt, and then reſolved to return, ſome of them having fainted, and being obliged to the Shoulders of their ſtronger Comrades for Support; however, they prudently erected Poles in ſeveral Places, to which they affixed Declarations in Spaniſh, inviting the People to come down to the Ships to traffic, aſſuring them of Safeguard and conſiderable Profit; but this Proceeding had not the deſired Effect. We ſhould not forget here to obſerve, that if they had purſued the weſtern inſtead of the eaſtern Road, they would ſoon have come up with a Spaniſh Village, as they were afterwards informed, that lay not more than two Miles from the Turning. This Diſappointment made a ſenſible Impreſſion upon all the People, however, they contented themſelves as well as they could with Guanoes, of which they here found great Plenty, and which by ſome People are reckoned fine Food; and large Pheaſants, the Fleſh whereof was but indifferent; together with Parrots, and ſome well-taſted Birds of a ſmaller Size. Beſides the Hog-plum, the Papah, a few ſmall Limes, and an ill-flavoured bitter antiſcorbutic Herb, called Brook-lime, the Soil afforded them ſcarcely a Fruit or Vegetable. The beſt that can be ſaid of Chequetan upon the whole, is, that it is the moſt ſecure Harbour to be met in a vaſt Extent of Coaſt, yielding good Store of Wood and Water, and at a ſufficient Diſtance from Acapulco, to ſhelter ſuch Cruiſers as may have Deſigns upon the valuable Veſſel to which that Town ſometimes gives its Name. Moreover it is ſurrounded by Wood, through which there is but one narrow Paſs cut into the Country, which may be defended againſt all the Strength the Spaniards can poſſibly muſter, by a very ſmall Party; the Bay furniſhes Plenty of Fiſh, among which we may reckon Soles, Mullets, Breams, Cavallies, Sea-eggs, Lobſters, Fiddle-fiſh, and the Torpedo or Numbing-fiſh, ſo like the laſt that we have named, that it is only to be diſtinguiſhed from it by a brown circular Spot upon the Center of its Back. Whoever happens to touch this Fiſh, feels an inſtantaneous Numbneſs diffuſe itſelf through his whole Body, but affecting more particularly the Limb that was in Contact with it; and the Diminution of this Numbneſs, Mr. Walter, from Experience, affirms to be gradual, though ſome Naturaliſts have aſſured us that it was ſudden; and though a Man touches it with a Stick, he will find himſelf benumbed, as though he had laid his naked Hand upon it; ſo forceful is the Communication. It was in this Harbour that Lewis Leger the Commodore's Cook, wandering into the Woods, was taken Priſoner by ſome Indians, who carried him to Acapulco, whence he was tranſmitted to Mexico; and being afterwards ſent to Vera-Cruz, was ſhipped for Old Spain; but the Veſſel touching at Liſbon, he made his Eſcape to the Houſe of the Britiſh Conſul, who procured him a Paſſage to England, where he brought the firſt Account of Mr. Anſon's Safety, which had for ſome time been a doubtful Point. This Man being a French Roman Catholic, was firſt thought to have deſerted to the Enemy with ſuch Intelligence as he could collect; a Suſpicion that in the End appeared to be very ill grounded; he was afterwards killed in a trifling Quarrel in a Night-houſe in London. He had been ſeverely uſed in his Captivity, having been ſtripped ſtark-naked, expoſed to the ſcorching Heat of the Sun, which was almoſt intolerable all the way from Chequetan to Acapulco; and the Ill-treatment he met with in a Priſon at Mexico, wherein he was kept cloſely confined, manifeſted the vaſt Hatred the Spaniards harbour againſt all People who ſeek to diſturb their Quiet in the South-Seas. Although the Enemy never appeared in ſight during Mr. Anſon's Stay here, it was evident from different Volumes of Smoke, that large Parties of them were encamped in the Woods on every ſide of the Harbour. Mr. Brett indeed, in once coaſting round it in a Boat, accompanied only by 16 Men, ſaw three Squadrons of Horſe well armed and accoutered; one of which formed upon the Beach to which he made, as if to diſpute his landing, firing at him ſeveral diſtant Shots: But no ſooner had Mr. Brett come near enough to bring his Arms to bear upon them, but this gallant Cavalry fled upon the firſt Volley; one of the Men that compoſed it falling, together with his Horſe, both or one of which being perhaps wounded, the other two Squadrons kept aloof, and never moved to aſſiſt their Companion, though they amounted to near 200, and were oppoſed only by 16 Men.

The Commodore having now no farther Buſineſs here, diſcharged all his Priſoners, ſome few ſtout Negroes excepted; they amounted to 57, and were furniſhed with two Launches well equipped with Maſts, Sails, and Oars, and ſtocked with Proviſions for 14 Days; and *May* the 6th, the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter* loſt ſight of the high Mountains of *Mexico*, bound to the River *Canton*.

It was the latter End of *June* before they fell in with the Trade-wind; at which Time they had been ſeven Weeks at Sea, yet not made above one-fourth of their Run, tho' it was common to make the whole in leſs than two Months. *July* the 26th, being then about 300 Leagues from the *Ladrones*, the Wind came about to the Weſt, and by continuing in that Point four Days, conſiderably retarded their Progreſs; and in a few Days after the *Glouceſter* began to grow more crazy than ever; ſhe had been one continued Plague to the Crew of the *Centurion* as well as her own People, ever ſince they had quitted *Chequetan*; and now beſides bringing her Fore-top-maſt and Main-top-maſt by the board, ſhe had ſeven Foot Water in her Hold; it blew a Hurricane from the Weſt, and the *Centurion* herſelf at the ſame time ſprung a Leak, which required all the Attendance hoth of Officers and Men to cure; ſo that they could afford but little Aſſiſtance to their Mate. However ſhe ſent her Boat on-board, which ſoon returned with a Remonſtance, ſigned by Captain *Mitchel* and all his Officers, ſetting forth that the Ship's Leaks were irreparable; that they had no ſpare Maſts to hoiſt in room of thoſe that were deſtroyed; that ſhe was quite decayed in many Places; that her Knees and Clamps were looſe; and her upper Works ſo crazy, that the Quarter-deck was ready to drop down; that her Crew were reduced to 95 Men, including Officers, and 18 Boys, beſides two Priſoners; and that out of theſe only 16 Men, and 11 Boys, were able to keep the Deck, nor yet were theſe in the beſt State of Health; moreover, their Freſh-water and Proviſions were covered over by the Sea-water pouring in ſo faſt upon them below Deck, there was no coming at Refreſhment. As it was a little calm, the Commodore ordered them a Boat-load of Water and Proviſions, and at the ſame time deſired his own Men to examine into the Truth of the State of her Caſe, which they reporting not to have been at all exaggerated, the Commodore gave Orders that Captain *Mitchel* ſhould ſend all his Hands on-board the *Centurion*; and having ſaved what Stores he was able, to deſtroy her. In about two Days they diſcharged her of ſuch Stores as they could moſt eaſily arrive at; and it was with Difficulty they ſaved the Money ſhe had taken in the *South-Seas*; but moſt of the Prize-goods, which were very valuable, and belonged to the *Centurion*, were forced to be abandoned; of her Proviſions only five Caſks of Flour could be preſerved, three of which were damaged by the Salt-water: And though the *Glouceſter*'s ſick Men, amounting to 70, were put on-board the *Centurion* with as much Care and Tenderneſs as Circumſtances could admit, three or four of them expired in the very Action of being hoiſted up. *Auguſt* the 15th, having taken out of her every thing propoſed, ſhe was ſet on-fire, and continued burning all Night, the Flames gaining upon her gradually, and her Guns going off one by one, till at length, about One o'Clock in the Morning, ſhe blew up with a ſmall Report, four Leagues a-head of the *Centurion*, and a black Pillar of Smoke ariſing from the Blaſt, ſhot up to a conſiderable Height in the Air.

In two or three Days after the *Glouceſter* was burned, the Carpenter luckily found the *Centurion*'s Leak, which he could not abſolutely ſtop without getting at the Outſide of the Ship, a Taſk at preſent impoſſible; however, he patched it up pretty well; it was under the Breaſt-hook on each ſide of the Stem, in the Gunner's fore Store-room. *Auguſt* the 23d, they diſcovered two Iſlands to the weſtward, and ſoon after a third; a Sight whence they derived freſh Spirits, as they ſtood in vaſt Need of Repair. The Boat was diſpatched to one of them, which returned with an Account that they could find no Anchoring-ground for Ships; that they had been on-ſhore, where they ſaw abundance of Coco-nut Trees, but neither Water nor Inhabitants; they alſo added, that it was not without ſome Danger that they had landed, the Beech being ſteep, and the Swell running very high.

This Account gave them but a very gloomy Proſpect, the Scurvy which had attended them for three Months paſt with as much Virulence as ever, making a prodigious Havock on-board, while the Fatigue of the Officers and Men, who laboured hard at the Pump becauſe of the Leak, became almoſt inſupportable. They now ſtood from the Iſlands of *Annatacan*, *Serignan*, and *Pazaros*, for theſe were the Names of the three we have juſt now noticed, hoping to fall in with ſome of the *Ladrones*, which they knew could afford them ſufficient Accommodation; but for the making of them, they were obliged to truſt almoſt entirely to Chance, there being nobody on-board who had any certain Knowledge of their Identity. *Auguſt* the 26th, they made three other Iſlands, bearing about 14 Leagues diſtant; theſe they afterwards found to be *Saypan*, *Tinian* [*], and *Aguignan*. They immediately ſteered for the middlemoſt of the three, hoiſting *Spaniſh* Colours, with a Red Flag at the Fore-top-maſt Head, in hope that by paſſing for the *Manila* Galley, they might be able to decoy ſome of the Inhabitants on-board, from whom they might receive ſome Intelligence relative to the Place, according to which they might deport themſelves. And now ſtanding for the Land, under this Appearance, the Cutter was diſpatched to find out a proper Birth for the Ship, which ſoon ſent on-board a *Spaniard* and four *Indians*, which ſhe had ſeized in a Proa, coming off Shore to meet the *Centurion*, miſtaking her for the *Manila* Galoon. The *Spaniard* was immediately examined as to the Condition and Products of *Tinian*, and his Anſwers exceeded their warmeſt Hopes. He aſſured them that there were no Inhabitants on the Iſland, except 22 *Indians*, who were there occaſionally jerking Beef, which, when loaded on-board a ſmall Bark of 15 Tons Burden, then lying at Anchor near Shore, was to be ſent to the Garriſon at *Guam*, whereof he was a Serjeant: He alſo reported, that the Iſland abounded with Coco-nuts, Lemons, Limes, Oranges ſweet and ſour, together with various other Fruits, particularly the Bread

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[*] Tinian lies in 15 Degrees eight Minutes North Latitude: It is one of the Ladrones, which, reckoned altogether, great and ſmall, are about 20 in Number. It abounds with Herds of Cattle, which are Milk-white, their Ears excepted, which are black; they may be eaſily run down, and ſo catched without Expence of Powder and Shot: Here are wild Hogs, which muſt be baited by Dogs; they make a good Battle, but the Noiſe made by the various Sorts of domeſtic Poultry, which are delicious Food, gives the place vaſtly the Air of an inhabited Farm. It is certain that this Iſland was formerly well peopled, but a contagious Sickneſs having ſwept away almoſt all the Inhabitants of Guam, Rota, and Tinian, the Spaniards forced thoſe who ſurvived on the two laſt, to remove to the firſt, where they had fixed their principal Government; but few of them outlived the Change. In many Parts of Tinian are found a particular kind of Ruins, being pyramidical Pillars diſpoſed in two Rows: Their Height is 13 Feet, and their Baſe five Feet ſquare; on the Top of each Pillar is a ſolid Semi-globe with the flat Surface upwards; theſe Pillars are a Cement of Brick and Sand plaſtered over, placed at ſix Feet Diſtance one from the other; there being a Space of 12 Feet between each Row. Theſe are the Remains of Buildings formerly adapted to religious Uſes, according to the Report of the four Indian Priſoners. Large Flights of Ducks, Curlew, and the Whiſtling-plover, were ſeen about two or three Pieces of fine ſtanding Water, that contribute greatly to the Beauty of the Landſcape. The Soil in general is dry and ſandy, yielding Plenty of fine Fruit and wholeſome Vegetatives, and not diſpoſed to puſh out rank luxuriant Weeds; wherefore the Turf is generally ſmooth and uniform, and the Woods not being choaked with Brambles, preſent many moſt delightful Viſtos. The Climate is frequently refreſhed with ſhort light Showers, and the wholeſome Breezes which continually fan the Air, ſharpen the Stomach in ſuch a Manner, that the Centurion's People found themſelves enabled, nay neceſſiated to eat three Times more than uſual, nor yet were they diſordered by the Repletion.

Fruit; that Hogs, Poultry, and Black Cattle, ran wild upon it; that the Soil was rich, plentifully and beautifully watered, and the Air good.

As they came cloſer in with the Land, the Proſpect thereof indicated, if poſſible, ſomething deſirable, even beyond the Serjeant's Deſcription; it wore rather the Air of an elegant Plantation, than an uninhabited Iſland; the verdant Lawns, the ſloping Hills, the purling Streams, and tall aſpiring Trees, looked like the Diſpoſition of Art and Ingenuity, and had an Effect agreeably ſurprizing. The Commodore having ordered the Pinnace and Cutter aſhore with ſome Men well armed, to ſeize the Bark, and if poſſible the *Indians*, ordered the Anchor to be let go in 22 Fathom, and the Ship to lie by for that Night with her Sails furled, that her Hands might gain ſome Repoſe; for out of 1000 Men he had brought from *England*, he could muſter but 71, and thoſe too ſo weak and infirm, they were ſcarce able to ſtand to a Gun. This Diminution of their Number was owing to the Havock made amongſt them by the Scurvy, which had raged terribly on-board ever ſince they left *Chequetan*, all the Surgeon's Efforts to ſtop its Progreſs being ineffectual; nor know we to what to attribute its Prevalence, as the whole Ship's Crew were during the whole Run, plentifully ſupplied with freſh Proviſions and good Water, but to the apt Diſpoſition of the Blood, already broken with Fatigue and Diſorder, to Infection, and by remembering that the Steam of the Ocean, when corrected by no terreſtrial Particles, encourages it prodigiouſly; and this latter is confirmed by the Land-air ſoon reſtoring to Health thoſe whoſe Conſtitutions are not entirely decayed. In the Morning a large Party of Men were ſent on Shore to erect Tents, and prepare Quarters for the Sick; the former was a Piece of Trouble that the Indians had ſaved them, by building Huts for their own Shelter, the largeſt whereof being 20 Feet long and 15 broad, was immediately fitted up as an Hoſpital, to which the Sick, amounting to 181, were brought with all poſſible Expedition; and moſt of theſe were ſoon recovered by the Salubrity of the Climate, and the Products of the Iſland, happily adapted to reſtore the Sick.

The greateſt Inconvenience of theſe Iſlands, were the Number of Muſkettoes, and other ſmall Flies, which were very incommoding, but more particularly an Inſect called the Tick, which darting its Head under the Skin of him whom it aſſails, raiſes a moſt painful Inflammation. The Anchoring-place, for there is but one, lies on the South Weſt Side of the Iſland; nor does it afford Shelter ſufficient againſt the weſtern Monſons, when about the Full and Change of the Moon, for then the Wind veering to every Point of the Compaſs, blows with ſuch Impetuoſity that the ſtouteſt Cables are not proof againſt its Force; and this was ſufficiently experienced by the *Centurion*, which, notwithſtanding all the Care that had been taken to make her faſt, was forced from her Anchors and drove out to Sea, with ſuch of the Men as had well recovered, under the Command of Lieutenant *Saumarez*; the Commodore, who was himſelf ſick of the Scurvy, being at that Time a-ſhore, together with 113 of his People. It was very well that her Leak had been ſearched out, and in ſome meaſure ſtopped, before this Accident happened, or the Conſequences might have been much more than they proved to be. This Misfortune fell out upon the 22d of *September*, in a Night of exceſſive Darkneſs, the Ship having her Sheet-anchor hanging at one of her Cables, her Shrouds looſe, her Top-maſts unrigged, her Fore and Main-yards down, and not a Gun laſhed on-board, nor a Port-hole barred in. She laboured for 19 Days before ſhe could regain her Birth, of which ſhe entirely deſpaired, having only 108 of her Hands on-board, Negroes and Indians included. The Grief of the Men ſhe left a-ſhore is inexpreſſible; however, giving her up for loſt, they ſet about enlarging the *Spaniſh* Bark, determining in her to ſteer for *Macao*. This Reſolution was put in their Heads by the Commodore, who worked as hard in endeavouring to fit out this little Veſſel as the meaneſt of his Men. However, on the 11th of *October*, Mr. *Gordon*, a Lieutenant of Marines, brought them a Reprieve from their fatiguing Labour, by being the firſt to tell them that the Ship was once again in ſight. This News being ſoon confirmed by her appearing in the Offing, a Boat with 18 Hands, and a large Quantity of Refreſhments, was immediately ſent off to her Aſſiſtance, and the following Afternoon ſhe was happily brought to ſafe Anchorage in the Road, where the Commodore now determined to ſtay no longer than was neceſſary to compleat their Stock of Water. On the 14th ſhe was drove out to Sea again, leaving about 70 of her Hands a-ſhore; however, ſhe made the Iſland again on the 19th, when all Hands being ordered on-board, with ſuch a Supply of Water, Fruits, and Refreſhments as they could ſuddenly collect, they got under ſail, ſteering for *Macao* in *China*.

It was now the 21ſt of *October*, and the eaſtern Monſoon being ſettled, and blowing right aſtern, they went at the rate of 40 or 50 Leagues a Day; tho' as the Ship worked greatly, and her Leaks required that the Pumps ſhould be kept conſtantly going, the People were very much fatigued; neverthelеſs they made no Complaint, being in pretty good Health. *November* the 9th, they made the main Land of *China*, and not rightly knowing their Courſe, lay by for that Night, and in the Morning were agreeably ſurprized to find themſelves ſurrounded by Fiſhing-boats, which ſpread over the Sea beyond the utmoſt Stretch of the Eye; and tho' there were three or five Men on-board every one of them, the Commodore could not by Signs, by pronouncing the Word *Macao*, nor by ſhewing a Quantity of Dollars, induce any one of them to come on-board and pilot him; for the Inattention they ſeemed to pay to every Thing but their Employment is almoſt incredible.

On the 16th, Mr. *Anſon* perceiving a Boat a-head blow a Horn and wave a red Flag, looked upon it as a Signal of ſome Sort intended for him; but in this he found himſelf miſtaken, it being a Signal diſplayed by the Commodore of the Fiſhery, to order all the Boats to leave fiſhing and retire to Shore, which they all obeyed quickly. It was a little vexatious to them not to be able to get a Pilot amidſt ſo many naval People; however, they continued their Courſe thro' many Guts formed by ſmall Iſlands and little Rocks, following the beſt Inſtructions of former Navigators, for there was no body in the *Centurion* who knew any Thing of the Coaſt. About Four in the Morning of the 9th, a *Chineſe* Pilot put on-board, and told them, in broken *Portugueſe*, that for 30 Dollars he would carry the Ship into *Macao*; which being paid him, they proceeded in their Courſe: And now as they went, Pilots increaſed upon them, ſoliciting Employment, and producing Certificates of their Abilities, ſigned by many *European* Captains. About ten o'Clock in the Morning of the 12th they came to the Harbour of *Macao*, a ſmall Iſland lying at the Mouth of the river *Canton*, in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, who have a Governor here, ſo very trifling in Eſtimation that he is ſubſervient entirely to the Mandarine, or neighbouring *Chineſe* Governor, who ſends him and his Garriſon their daily Allowance of Proviſion; ſo that upon the leaſt Diſlike it is in the Power of this Superintendant to ſtarve and diſpoſſeſs them. Mr. *Anſon*, being determined to ſupport the Honour of the *Britiſh* Flag, was reſolved not to ſubmit to the Payment of the Duties exacted by the *Chineſe* from trading Veſſels; Men of War having Immunities of that Nature in every civilized Port. For this Reaſon the *Portugueſe* Governor of *Macao* adviſed him not to enter the River *Canton*, where the uſual Demand would certainly be made upon him, but rather to heave down and careen at *Typa*, an obſcure but ſafe Harbour, formed by a Number of Iſlands, about ſix Miles from *Macao*: And if Mr. *Anſon* readily acquieſced to this Inſtruction, it was becauſe he feared involving the *European* Ships in the Diſpute that muſt have certainly ariſen from his refuſing to comply with this Cuſtom, which it was probable would never be demanded of him at *Typa*. His Tenderneſs for the Merchants led him to conſult with them the Manner in which it was neceſſary for him to addreſs the Viceroy of *Canton*, for a Supply of Proviſions and Hands to aſſiſt him in heaving down his Ship. They referred him to ſome *Chineſe* Agents, who, after having cajoled him from Day to Day with Promiſes of laying the State of his Account before the Viceroy, and ſettling Matters in his Favour; at length, when he had loſt more than a Month in Expectation, they fairly threw off the Maſk, and being preſſed, declared they neither would addreſs the Viceroy, nor did they dare to do it, he being too great a Man for them to pretend to approach. He now perceived too late that he had been wrong in conſulting ſo much the Intereſt of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and immediately wrote a Letter to the Viceroy, ſetting forth that he was Commander in chief of a Squadron of *Britiſh* Ships of War which had been cruiſing upon the *Spaniards*, with whom the King his Maſter was at variance, in the *South Seas*, upwards of two Years; that his Ship was obliged to put in here to ſtop a Leak, and ſupply herſelf with Proviſions and Neceſſaries; in all which Wants he craved his Excellency's Aſſiſtance.

The Hoppo, or chief Officer of the Cuſtoms, at firſt refuſed to take Charge of this Letter; but finding that the Commodore was determined upon ſending it, and reſented the Refuſal, he begged to be intruſted with it; and in a Day or two after, a Mandarine of the firſt Rank, with two of an inferior Claſs, came alongſide of the *Centurion*, with a very numerous Train of Attendants and a good Band of Muſic. The *Centurion*'s Boat was ſent to bring the principal Mandarine on-board. He was Governor of the City of *Janſon*, and to all Appearance a Man of good Senſe and more Integrity than the *Chineſe* are generally allowed to be. He brought with him two Carpenters, who examined the State of the Ship very carefully, but were particularly exact in viewing the Leak. He appeared much ſurprized at the Weight and Size of the *Centurion*'s Cannon, for a Ship of ſuch Force was perhaps what had never been ſeen in this Part of the World before; nor did Mr. *Anſon* neglect to make a proper Uſe of his Admiration, which it was plain was not without its Mixture of Terror. He expatiated upon the Strength of his Veſſel, and obſerved that there could not be a ſtronger Indication of his Mildneſs than his thus civilly requeſting ſuch Neceſſaries as he ſtood in need of, when it was plain that he was ſufficiently powerful to have taken them by Force: At the ſame Time he deſired that Orders might be given for a daily Supply of Proviſion to be put on-board him, otherwiſe his Men might be reduced to the Neceſſity of turning Canibals, and feeding on human Fleſh; an extremity in which they certainly would prefer the plump *Chineſe* to the Fleſh of their own emaciated Meſſmates. This Diſcourſe had its deſired Effect; the Mandarine allowed the Truth of every Thing Mr. *Anſon* advanced, promiſed he ſhould have every neceſſary Aſſiſtance as ſoon as the State of his Circumſtances had been conſidered by a Council of Mandarines at *Canton*, which being but Matter of Form, ſhould be done directly: In the mean time he ordered one of his Attendants to ſee a certain Quantity of Proviſions, ſpecified in Writing by Mr. *Anſon*, put every Day on-board the *Centurion*; and this Injunction was exactly complied with. Preliminaries being properly adjuſted, the Commodore gave them an Entertainment, at which they made but an aukward Figure, not knowing in what Manner to uſe the Knives and Forks that were laid before them; ſo that to eaſe them, one of the Commodore's Attendants cut their Meat for them in Bits. They expreſſed a ſtrong Diſlike to Beef, which was one of the Diſhes, founded perhaps upon a Superſtition that prevails much among the Pagans of *India*. However they might flinch at the Meat, which they did not ſeem greatly to reliſh, they ſtuck cloſe to the Liquor; and the Mandarine, having helped to diſpatch four or five Bottles of *Frontiniac* and one of Citron-water, departed without ſeeming in the leaſt affected therewith, having received a handſome Preſent, as is the Cuſtom of *China*. Several Days elapſed after this Conference, without its producing any Effect whatſoever; however, the Commodore underſtood that this Delay was occaſioned by the Intrigues of a *Frenchman*, who endeavoured underhand to poſtpone as much as poſſible Mr. *Anſon*'s Affairs, fearing that in caſe the *Centurion* ſhould be allowed any particular Diſtinction, as bearing the King of *Great-Britain*'s Commiſſion, the *French* Traders would loſe Part of their Conſideration, having always pretended to be Ships of War.

At length, on the 6th of *January*, after great Debates in the Council of *Canton*, the Governor of *Janſon* ſent down the Viceroy of *Canton*'s Warrant for refitting the *Centurion*, and ſupplying all her Wants; in conſequence of which Warrant ſeveral Smiths and Carpenters immediately came on-board to offer their Service: Of each a ſufficient Number was immediately retained, none of whom could be perſuaded to work by the Day; but the Carpenters agreed to do every thing that was wanting to the Ship, and to ſet her all to-rights, for 600 *l.* at firſt they had demanded 1000 *l.* The Smiths alſo bargained to furniſh ſmall Iron-work at 3 *l. per* Hundred, and the large at 2 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* Two proper Veſſels, called Junks in this Country, having been provided for that Purpoſe, the Ship was immediately hove down; and as the *Chineſe* work but ſlowly, though with great Ingenuity and Certainty, it was the Beginning of *April* before ſhe was fitted for Sea; during which Time the *Chineſe* preſſed her Departure very much, ſeeming to care very little for ſuch powerful Company; powerful in Appearance to Wretches who are naturally poor ſpirited and timid, yet in reality far from being ſo when the Weakneſs of the Ship's Company is conſidered, though it was there reinforced with 23 *Laſcars*, or *Indian* Sailors, and a few *Dutch*, to the Amount of 23.

April the 6th, the *Centurion* weighed from *Typa*, warping to the South; on the 15th ſhe got into the *Macao* Road, taking in her Water as ſhe paſſed along; and on the 19th, all her Buſineſs being compleated, ſhe ſtood out to Sea. The People of *Canton* and *Macao* firmly believing Mr. *Anſon* would endeavour to make *Batavia*, and thence proceed to *England*, in ſpite of the weſtern Monſon which was ſet in. By this Inſinuation his real Deſign was kept concealed, which was to cruize off the *Philippine Iſlands* for the *Manila* Galoon, it generally touching in the Month of *June* at Cape *Spiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*, that being the firſt Land it makes; and there being great Probability that there would this Year be two *Manila* Ships inſtead of one, the News of the *Centurion* being upon the Coaſt having hindered the Ship of the preceding Year from making her Voyage. When they were out of ſight of Land, the Commodore ordered all his People upon the Quarter-deck, and unfolded his Intention to them in a ſhort pathetic Speech, which had a vaſt Effect, and perſuaded them ſo ſtrongly that the Galoon would become their Prize, that when the Commodore enquired of the Butcher why he had ſeen no Mutton at his Table for ſome Days paſt, the Fellow ſeriouſly anſwered, There were but two Sheep alive, and he hoped his Honour would not be angry, if he kept thoſe to entertain the General of the Galoon.

It was the laſt Day of *May*, New Stile, before they came in ſight of Cape *Spiritu Santo*, where they continued to cruiſe till the 20th of *June* Old Stile, when the Veſſel which they had ſo long expected came in ſight about Sun-riſe, having the Standard of *Spain* flying at the Top-gallant-maſt-head, and to the Commodore's great Surprize ſhe bore down upon him as if reſolved to engage him, which he had not expected. The Engagement began ſoon after, and laſted near an Hour and a half, when the Galoon ſtruck her Colours, having had 67 Men killed in the Action, and 84 wounded; among whom was the General or Admiral *Don Jeronimo de Montero*, a *Portugueſe* Gentleman, who acted with great Bravery, and almoſt wept for Shame when he diſcovered the inſignificant Force that had ſubdued him. On-board the *Centurion* two Men were killed; and 17, among whom was a Lieutenant, wounded. The great Slaughter on-board the Galoon was chiefly owing to 30 choice Fellows who were diſtributed among the Tops before the Engagement with Small-arms; and moſt of them having been long practiſing how to ſhoot at Marks, did ſome Execution with every Shot they fired. Mr. *Anſon* himſelf was every where preſent in the Engagement, acting with his uſual Spirit and Recollection; and the honourable Mr. *Kepple* attended to diſtribute his Orders between Decks with great Reſolution.

This Prize was named *Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga*; ſhe carried 550 Men, had 36 Guns mounted for Action, beſides 28 Pateraroes, each of which was adapted to bear a Four-pound Ball: Her Cargo was worth 400,000 *l.* Sterling. The other Galoon had ſailed much ſooner than uſual, and very probably had reached *Manila* long before the *Centurion* arrived off Cape *Spiritu Santo*. The Commodore immediately appointed his Prize a Poſt Ship in his Majeſty's Service, under the Command of Mr. *Saumarez*, firſt Lieutenant of the *Centurion*; and having taken proper Meaſures for ſecuring the Priſoners, which were double his

Number of Men, he ſteered back for the River of *Canton*, and on the 12th of *July* came to anchor once more off the City of *Macao*. Soon after their Arrival here they were viſited by a Cuſtom-houſe Officer; who upon taking an Inventory of the Guns, Ammunition, and Men on board, ſeemed vaſtly ſurprized at the mention of 400 Firelocks and near as many Barrels of Powder, adding that he dared not ſet down ſuch Force, leſt the Regency ſhould be alarmed, for that no Ships ſo armed had ever entered *China* before.

A few Days being elapſed, in which Mr. *Anſon* brought his Ships farther up the River, he diſpatched his ſecond Lieutenant to *Canton*, with a Letter to the Viceroy, requeſting a proper Supply of Proviſions, and propoſing to pay his Excellency a Viſit. A Meſſage in Anſwer to this Letter was brought by three Mandarines, granting the neceſſary Supply of Proviſions, intreating him to poſtpone his Viſit till the Weather ſhould become more moderate; and requeſting as a Favour that the *Spaniſh* Priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, leſt the Emperor, coming to the Knowledge of his Allies being in Confinement in his Dominions, ſhould reſent it; and at the ſame time obſerving that a Compliance with this Requeſt, would be conſidered as great Favour conferred upon his Excellency.

Mr. *Anſon* conſented to reſtore them to their Liberty, after ſome Heſitation, made on purpoſe to enhance the Obligation; but when the Mandarines came to talk of the Duties uſually paid by Ships, Mr. *Anſon* cut them ſhort, by poſitively declaring that he would not ſubmit to pay any, this Ordinance relating only to trading Veſſels; and as he neither intended to buy or ſell, he did not imagine the Emperor's Orders could poſſibly affect him. The Priſoners were ſoon put on-board two Junks ſent from *Canton* for that purpoſe; and the Report they made of the Humanity of Mr. *Anſon*, who was glad to get rid of them, wrought very powerfully in his favour among the *Chineſe*. It would be an endleſs Taſk ſhould we undertake to enumerate the many Artifices, Frauds, and Extortions practiſed by this intereſted Race upon the Commodore and his People, from his coming into the River *Canton* in *July*, to the 13th of *October*, when being diſappointed of a Quantity of Biſcuit, and other Proviſions that had been promiſed him, as well as amuſed with numberleſs falſe Stories, he determined in Perſon to viſit the Viceroy at his Capital, taking ſuch effectual Meaſures for ſecuring the *Centurion* and her vaſt Wealth from the Machinations of theſe treacherous and lucrative People, that they did not dare, during his Abſence, to contrive any thing that could tend to his Diſturbance.

Leaving Captain *Brett* to command the Veſſel, he embarked on-board his own Boat for *Canton*, rowed by 18 of his Hands dreſſed uniformly in Scarlet Jackets, blue Silk Waiſtcoats, Caps of the ſame Stuff trimmed with Silver Buttons, and Silver Badges: He was attended by the Supercargoes of the *Engliſh*, *Swediſh*, and *Daniſh* Ships, and beſides his own, the Boats of all the trading Veſſels; ſo that his Retinue had a very grand Appearance. In his Paſſage he was ſaluted by all the *European* Ships then lying in *Wampo*, their uſual Place of Mooring, the *French* excepted. Mr. *Anſon* had not been long at *Canton* before he ſaw his Bread and other Proviſions, for which he had bargained and paid indeed before-hand, in great Forwardneſs; and as he was on the Spot, took proper Meaſures for obviating the Delays which the Contractors would otherwiſe have made. While he remained in this City a Fire broke out, which would have certainly proved the Deſtruction of the whole Place, had not Mr. *Anſon*'s Men exerted themſelves greatly in ſuppreſſing, and at length extinguiſhed it; for which Service he received the Thanks of the chief Merchants and principal People of *Canton*. The Aukwardneſs and Ignorance of the *Chineſe* in their Endeavours to put it out is very ſurpriſing, if we conſider the vaſt Character given of their Ingenuity, Wit, and Abilities, by the Jeſuits; a Character to which they are very unequal, according to the Accounts we have of this Expedition.

November 30th being at length appointed for Mr. *Anſon*'s Viſit to the Viceroy, he was attended from the outer Gate of the City to the Parade before the imperial Palace wherein the Viceroy reſided, by a Guard of 200 Soldiers; and in the Parade he found a Body of at leaſt 1000 Men under Arms, newly cloathed upon this Occaſion. The Reception the Commodore met with was very polite: A Seat was appointed for him near the Viceroy's own Perſon, who thanked him for the Aſſiſtance his People had afforded at the Fire, granted the Order for putting his Proviſions on-board, and did not once mention a Word of the Duties exacted uſually from Ships. This Conference gave the Commodore vaſt Satisfaction; ſo that his Proviſions being now ready to be ſupplied, and the Licence for that Purpoſe obtained, he had nothing to detain him longer in *China*, except the Sail of his Prize, which he diſpoſed of to ſome Merchants at *Macao* for 6000 Dollars, which was a prodigious cheap Price; but the Purchaſers knew that he wanted to get out to Sea, and therefore took the Advantage of his preſſing Situation; it being his Intention to reach *Europe* if poſſible before any Ships could carry thither the News of his having taken the *Acapulco* Ship, and the Enemy thereupon be prepared to deprive him of her vaſt Wealth.

He got under Sail on the 15th of *October* 1743, bound to *England*; on the 11th of *March* he came to anchor in the Table Bay of the *Cape*; and the 15th of *June* 1744, came ſafely to anchor at *Spithead*, having, under Cover of a thick Fog, paſſed through a *French* Fleet then cruiſing in the Chops of the Channel. Thus, after a Series of Adventures which continued three Years and nine Months, in which Mr. *Anſon* experienced many Strokes of adverſe Fortune, and was more than once, to all Appearance, ruined and undone, did this Expedition happily conclude.

THE chief Command of the *Britiſh* Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies* devolved upon Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, Knt. who in *February* 1743, ordered Captain *Knowles*, Commander of the *Suffolk* of 70 Guns, who was well acquainted with the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, to take under his Command the *Burford* of 70 Guns, the *Aſſiſtance*, *Norwich*, and *Advice* of 50 Guns, the *Scarborough* of 20 Guns, and three Sloops, and to proceed to *Antigua*, where he was to be joined by the *Eltham* of 40, and the *Lively* of 20 Guns; and, with this Squadron, to make an attempt on *La Guira* and *Porto Cavallo*. Commodore *Knowles*, with theſe eight Men of War, and three Sloops, having 2,300 Sailors and Marines, with 400 of *Dalzell*'s Regiment on-board, ſailed from *Antigua* on the 12th of *February*; and, after touching at *St. Chriſtopher*'s, proceeded to *La Guira*: But the Governor of *Caraccas* had received Intelligence of this Expedition almoſt two Months before, and neglected nothing that tended to his Security, by erecting new Batteries, and augmenting the Garriſons with a numerous Body of *Indians*, *Mulatoes*, and *Negroes*; beſides, he had prevailed on the *Dutch* Governor of *Curacoa*, an Iſland of the leſſer *Antilles*, about 50 Leagues North of the Coaſt of *Caraccas*, to ſupply him with a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition.

On the 18th of *February*, Commodore *Knowles*, with his Squadron, arrived within ſight of *La Guira*, and began the Attack about Twelve at Noon, which was carried on with great Spirit, and oppoſed with equal Reſiſtance. As there was a great Swell, the Ships could not approach any nearer than within a Mile of the Town, which made it impoſſible to land the Soldiers; but all the Ships behaved with Reſolution. At the Beginning, the *Spaniſh* Flag was ſhot down, which was ſoon hoiſted again; ſome conſiderable Breaches were made in the Fortifications; the Churches were intirely demoliſhed; and a great Number of Houſes deſtroyed. There were only three Ships in the Harbour; and ſome Boats were manned from the Squadron, either to cut out the Ships, or ſet them on-fire; but could not ſucceed. The Attack continued till almoſt Eight at Night; and though the *Spaniſh* Magazine blew up, yet the Darkneſs of the Night put an End to the Engagement. The *Burford*, *Norwich*, *Eltham*, and *Aſſiſtance*, received ſo much hurt, as intirely diſabled them from keeping the Line of Battle, and continuing the Attack; on which they were ordered directly to *Curacoa* to refit. The *Suffolk* received 146 Shot, the other Ships were conſiderably damaged; ſo that the Attempt miſcarried, after the Loſs of one Lieutenant, and 92 Men killed, and 308 wounded; and, among the latter, was the brave Captain *Luſhington*, Commander of the *Burford*, who had his Thigh taken off by a Chain-ſhot, and expired at *Curacoa*, in the Governor's Houſe, two Hours after he was carried aſhore; whoſe [illegible] was highly regretted, as he was an accompliſhed Officer; of equal Honour and Merit; of diſtinguiſhed Bravery and Humanity. However the *Spaniards* had little Reaſon to be elated; their Town and Fortifications being greatly prejudiced, with the Loſs of 700 Men.

Commodore *Knowles*, having refitted his Squadron at *Curacoa*, was determined the *Spaniards* ſhould feel the Effects of his Viſit; and, as he was now re-inforced by ſome *Dutch* Volunteers, who had been injured by the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to attack *Porto Cavallo*; though the *Spaniards* had put this Town in a good Poſture of Defence, having upwards of 1200 Seamen, belonging to the Ships and Gallies, in the Harbour; and the Factors, Companies Servants, Gunners, and Soldiers, were about 300 Men more; beſides about 4000 *Indians*, *Mulatoes*, and *Blacks*. Commodore *Knowles* accordingly ſet ſail from *Curacoa* on the 20th of *March*, intending to have ſtretched over directly for *Porto Cavallo*; but, by reaſon of a ſtrong Lee-current, it was the 15th of *April* before he could come to an Anchor, with his Squadron, under the Keys of *Barbarat*, a little to the Eaſtward of that Place. The Commodore, taking a View of the Situation of the *Spaniards*, ſaw 12 of their ſmalleſt Ships, and three Gallies, hauled up to the Head of the Harbour, out of Gun-ſhot; and two large ones, one of 60, and another of 40 Guns, moored cloſe over to the other Shore, as there was not depth of Water for them to go up the Harbour. One Ship was laid acroſs the Channel, in the Mouth of the Harbour, ready to ſink, to prevent any Entrance, with a Chain from the Caſtle to her Stern, and another from her Head to the Main; where the *Spaniards* had lately erected three faſcine Batteries, which extended a conſiderable Length. On a low Point, called *Ponta Brava*, were two other new faſcine Batteries, one of 12 Guns, the other of ſeven; but Commodore *Knowles*, perceiving they were ill deſigned, and might eaſily be flanked, thought it would be no difficult Matter to render himſelf Maſter of them; and that, if the Attempt ſucceeded, the Guns of both might be made uſe of againſt the Caſtle. Accordingly it was agreed, at a general Conſultation held the next Morning, to ſend in two Ships in the Afternoon, to cannonade thoſe Batteries, and to land the Volunteers, with about 400 Seamen, the Detachment of *Dalzell*'s Regiment, all the Marines, and the *Dutch* Volunteers, to take Poſſeſſion after the Ships had ſilenced them; their Retreat being ſecurely guarded by the *Aſſiſtance* Man of War, which lay within Piſtol-ſhot of the Shore. The *Lively* and *Eltham*, that were ſent in to cannonade the Batteries, made them quiet by Sun-ſet; and by dark all firing had ceaſed on both Sides; when the Forces, conſiſting of 1200 Men, Sailors and Soldiers, landed, under the Command of Major *Lucas*; and on their March, which was all the way on a Beach by the Water-ſide, the Commodore accompanied them in his Boat. About Eleven o'Clock, the Van ſeized one of the faſcine Batteries; but the *Spaniſh* Centinel, firing off his Muſket, gave an Alarm to the Garriſon, and the other Batteries; on which two Guns were fired from the faſcine Batteries, which put the Forces into Diſorder; who, not obſerving the proper Watch-word, fired at one another: This put them in ſuch great Confuſion, that the Land-officers called out to caſt off their Muſkets, ſtoop, and run, which they did with the utmoſt Precipitation; each Man taking his Comrade for a *Spaniard*: Nor did they recover from this ſhameful Fright and Diſorder, till they found themſelves in Security on-board the Ships. On the 21ſt, a general Conſultation of Officers was held, wherein, Conſideration being had of the late Miſcarriage of the Seamen and Land-forces againſt the faſcine Batteries, it was reſolved to form one general Attack, with all the Ships and Forces, againſt the Caſtle and faſcine Batteries. In purſuance of this Reſolution, on *Sunday* the 24th, before Noon, a ſmall Breeze ſpringing up, the Commodore making the Signal, weighed, and ran down in the Order agreed on; the *Aſſiſtance*, *Burford*, *Suffolk*, and *Norwich*, to batter the Caſtle; and the *Scarborough*, *Lively*, and *Eltham*, againſt the two faſcine Batteries. They began cannonading about Eleven o'Clock, and continued till paſt Nine at Night, with great Obſtinacy on both Sides. The *Spaniards* ſometimes ſlackened their Fire, good Execution being done upon them in diſmounting their Guns, beating ſeveral Embraſures into one, and ſilencing the faſcine Batteries: But, as Night came on, they grew briſker in their Fire, and did more Miſchief; ſome of the Ships having expended all their Ammunition; others the greateſt Part; and moſt of them being ſo ſhattered in their Maſts and Rigging, as ſcarce to be able to ſet a Sail; the Commodore made the Signal to cut, and, after the Loſs of 200 Men, went and anchored about a random Shot Diſtance. During the Cannonading, the *Spaniards* had ſunk the Ship that lay in the Mouth of the Harbour, which effectually ſtopped up the Channel. The next Morning the Squadron weighed, and got again under the Keys of *Barbarat*, to refit; and, in the Evening, were joined by the *Advice*, which had loſt Company three Days after they had ſailed from *Curacoa*. On the 28th, at a general Conſultation, it was agreed, that the Squadron was no longer in a Condition to undertake any Enterpriſe againſt the *Spaniards*; upon which the Commodore ſent away the Station-ſhips to their reſpective Stations; and, after an Exchange of Priſoners with the Governor of *Porto Cavallo*, the Commodore, with the other Ships, returned to *Jamaica* [*].

On the 9th of *Auguſt* 1742, Sir *Charles Wager*, Admiral of the White, and *Philip Cavendiſh*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue, being deceaſed, his Majeſty filled up the Vacancies in the royal Navy, by appointing Sir *John Norris*, Knt. Admiral of the Red; *John Balchen*, Eſq; Admiral of the White; *Thomas Matthews*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red; *Nicholas Haddock*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the White; Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, Knt. Vice-admiral of the Blue; *James Steuart*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; *Richard Leſtock*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; and Sir *Charles Hardy*, Knt. Rear-admiral of the Blue.

As the *French* were expediting a conſiderable Armament at *Breſt*, a Fleet of 12 Men of War was ordered in the Summer to rendezvouſe at *Spithead*, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*; but as no Intelligence arrived that the *French* Squadron was in Readineſs for the Sea, Sir *John Norris* did not take the Command of theſe Ships till the Beginning of the next Year, when the Squadron was augmented, and proceeded to prevent the intended Invaſion from *Dunkirk*.

The naval Armaments, in the *Mediterranean*, continued in the ſame Situation as at the Concluſion of the preceding Year; the Fleet under Admiral *Matthews* remaining ſtill at the Iſles of *Hieres*, to prevent the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleet from ſailing out of *Toulon* [†].

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[*] The ſhort Abſence of the Station-ſhips from Antigua, encouraged the Spaniſh Privateers to act with great Audacity; and one of them even ventured ſo far, as to land part of her Crew on the Eaſt-end of St. Chriſtophers, and carried off 32 Negroes belonging to Lieutenant-general Fleming: However, they never attempted to retaliate the Invaſion made by Commodore Knowles; and both the Britiſh and Spaniſh Squadrons remained, for the reſt of the Year, inactive in the Ports of Cuba and Jamaica; though the Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers were ſucceſsful in making a conſiderable Number of valuable Prizes. On the 17th of April, Captain Tucker in the Fowey Man of War, on his Cruiſe off Cape Corientes, about twenty Leagues on the weſt of Cuba, took the San Joſeph el Deſiderio, a Regiſter-ſhip, commanded by Joſeph d'Oroſio, of 200 Tons, 12 Guns, and 70 Men, with a Cargo computed, by the Spaniards, to be worth 100,000l. bound from Cadiz to La Vera Cruz. On the 2d of June, the St. Albans, on her Cruiſe, about nine Leagues to windward of Carthagena, took a large Spaniſh Settee, called the Noſtra Senora de Monſerrate, of 18 Carriage-guns, and 20 Swivels, having near 200 Men on-board, of which 57 were Eccleſiaſtics; who at firſt made a Sign of Reſiſtance, by firing ſeveral Shot at the Man of War; but the Veſſel was ſoon run on-ſhore, to give the People an Opportunity of eſcaping, which moſt of them did; however, the St. Albans got the Veſſel off, and ſhe proved a conſiderable Prize. On the 19th of June, Lord Bamff, who commanded the Haſtings Man of War, ſtationed at Virginia, on his Cruize off the Azores, took a French Polacre, called Le St. Jean, bound from La Vera Cruz, with 1,300,000 Pieces of Eight, regiſtered at Cadiz. And, on the 23d of July, his Lordſhip took a Spaniſh Privateer, called the Noſtra del Roſaria St. Antonio y las Animas, of 10 Carriage-guns, and 20 Swivels, and 74 Men, commanded by Don Alexo Gallardo, of St. Domingo, from which Place ſhe had been out about ſix Months, but only fifteen Days from Cape Francois. Captain Barnaby, in the Litchfield Man of War, on his Cruiſe off Porto Rico, in the Month of September, took and deſtroyed four Spaniſh Privateers, burnt a Sloop in Aguada-bay, and demoliſhed a Battery on-ſhore, which the Sloop had got under, of four Guns; after which he landed ſome Men, with an Officer, who ſpiked up the Guns, burnt the Carriages and Guard-houſes, and brought off the Colours, in the Preſence of a Multitude of Spaniards; of whom the Engliſh were ſuppoſed to have killed about 200, and with the Loſs of only one Man. Some Privateers fitted out at St. Chriſtopher's, were very active and ſucceſsful; and the Spaniards loſt this Year in America, no leſs th[illegible] 95 Veſſels, of which a conſiderable Number were very valuable Prizes.

[†] While Admiral Matthews thus lay at anchor in the Bay of Hieres, ſome of his Sailors, on the 10th of April, went on-ſhore for Refreſhments to the little Town of Hieres, eight Miles Eaſt of Toulon; but, the French Garriſon refuſing them Entrance into the Town, a Scuffle enſued. The Governor

On the 19th of *February* 1743, Captain *Martin*, in the *Ipſwich*, together with the *Revenge* and *Ann* Fire-ſhip, went into *Ajaccio*, a Port-town in the Iſland of *Corſica*, 53 Leagues South of *Genoa*; where lay the *St. Iſidore*, a *Spaniſh* Ship of War of 70 Guns, which had been there almoſt a Year. Captain *Martin* ſummoned M. *de Lage*, the *Spaniſh* Commander, to deliver up the *St. Iſidore*; and, upon his Refuſal, ſent a Broad-ſide to the *Spaniards*, which they returned: But the *Spaniſh* Commander being wounded, and perceiving he could not avoid being taken, ſet his Ship on-fire, which, about an Hour after, blew up with 50 of her Men; the reſt of the Crew, being about 200, eſcaping on-ſhore [a].

The time was now come for the *French* to join the *Spaniards* openly; when it was determined at *Verſailles* to enable the *Spaniſh* Fleet to attack the *Britiſh* Squadron under Admiral *Matthews* before he received the Reinforcements he had long ſolicited, and were now preparing for the *Mediterranean* Service; his capital Ships being almoſt unfit for Sea [b].

On the 30th of *December*, Admiral *Matthews* received Intelligence, that the *Breſt* Squadron was actually ſailed, and conſiſted of five Ships of 70 Guns, ſix of 60, two of 50, four of 40, and four of 20, in all eleven Ships of the Line, and ten Frigates. Immediately, upon this Information, the *Britiſh* Admiral ſent two Expreſſes to order the Ships at *Minorca* to put to Sea with the utmoſt Expedition, and not wait for the careening: And, as he kept the Ships with him conſtantly in Readineſs to proceed upon Service, the Admiral expected he ſhould be in a Condition to prevent the Deſigns of the *French*, though they intended to favour the Eſcape of the Squadron at *Toulon*, where Monſieur

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Governor of Provence ſent a Reinforcement of 600 Men; and, as the Engliſh were aſſiſted from the Fleet, the Fray was not terminated before 30 French and 120 Engliſh were killed: Though the French Governor afterwards acquainted Admiral Matthews, that, as he knew it was not his Fault, he had repreſented the Quarrel in ſuch a Light to the French Miniſtry, as he hoped would prevent any ill Conſequences. The Conjunct-ſquadron continued in Toulon till the Beginning of the enſuing Year; and nothing afterwards happened between the French and Engliſh on the Coaſt of Provence, till the Departure of the Spaniſh Squadron, under the Protection of the French, which they effected early in the enſuing Year; though Admiral Matthews took all poſſible Care, by the prudent Diſpoſition of his Cruiſers, to augment the Diſtreſs of the Spaniſh Army in Italy, by intercepting their Supplies; in which the Britiſh Cruiſers acted with equal Vigilance and Succeſs, while the Admiral frequently attended the Court of Turin, in his miniſterial Character, and to regulate the Stations of his Cruiſing-ſhips, in the moſt ſerviceable Situation, for the Security of Italy, and the Preſervation of the Britiſh Trade.

[a] Captain Ambroſe, Commander of the Rupert of 70 Guns, continued to act with his uſual Vigilance; and on the 1ſt of March, the Rupert, and Feverſham of 40 Guns, commanded by Captain Hughes, purſued a Barcolongo into the Bay of Almeria, in the Province of Granada, which they took with 1000 Quintals of Lead for Muſket-ball, and 300 Pieces of Timber, for the Uſe of the Spaniſh Artillery. They afterwards went up to the Town of Vineros, on the Coaſt of Valencia, where they run on-ſhore a Spaniſh Veſſel, and burnt both Ship and Cargo, conſiſting of Corn, Calavances, Beans, Oil, and Pork, for the Uſe of the Spaniſh Fleet at Toulon. The Men of War then ſent the Maſter of a French Tartane, which was in the Bay, to acquaint the Inhabitants, unleſs they ranſomed the Town, it would be beat about their Ears. The Inhabitants ſent word, that, in a time limited, an Anſwer ſhould be given; but, in the interim, they acquainted the Intendant of the Province with the Situation of Affairs, who ordered 200 Soldiers to prevent the Sailors from landing. The Soldiers, on their Arrival, would not ſuffer the Inhabitants to ranſom the Town, but obliged them to ſend a Defiance to the Captains of the Men of War; who, thereupon, immediately fired upon the Town, which they continued to do all Night. In the Morning, the Wind changing, the Men of War were obliged to get out of the Bay, but ſent the Maſter of the French Tartane into the Town, to know what Damage had been committed, who ſoon brought word, that the Tower, and great part of the principal Church, were beaten down, and moſt of the Houſes demoliſhed or damaged, to the Amount of 50,000 Dollars; beſides the deſtroying of 30 Settees, which had been hauled up near the Town for Security. Captain Ambroſe and Captain Hughes afterwards viſited ſeveral other Ports on the Coaſt of Spain, and took out of ſeveral Harbours no leſs than ſixteen Ships, without the Loſs of one Man. Captain Wyndham in the Monmouth, and Captain Cockburne in the Medway, with a Frigate of 20 Guns, being ſtationed off the Canaries on the 20th of May, attacked the Town of Santa Cruz, in the Iſland of Gomera; but, after a ſmart Cannonading on both Sides, the Men of War, finding it impracticable to land their Men, ſtood off to Sea, having received but an inconſiderable Damage; though the Spaniards had the greater Part of the Town, and three Forts intirely demoliſhed. The Men of War continued their Cruiſe with good Succeſs; and, on the 12th of May, 150 Leagues weſt from the Lizard, took the St. Michael, a Spaniſh Privateer belonging to Bilboa, of 18 Carriage-guns, beſides Swivels, and 126 Men, commanded by Lorencus Bornet, a Dunkirker, and ſeveral of the Crew were alſo Subjects of France. The Monmouth returned to her Station; and on the 8th of Auguſt, about twenty Leagues from Teneriffe, took a Spaniſh Ship of 300 Tons, 14 Guns, and 110 Men, bound from Cadiz to La Vera Cruz, with a Cargo conſiſting of 800 Bales of dry Goods, 66 Ton of Quickſilver, 50 Ton of Iron, ſome Wax, Saffron, Oil, and Wine; all which, excluſive of the Quickſilver, was valued at 100,000l. and carried into the Downs. Captain Geary, Commander of the Squirrel Man of War, cruiſing off the Maderas, on the 29th of January, in company with the Miſtake-ſloop, which was a Prize he had before taken and manned, burnt a Spaniſh Privateer-ſloop, called the St. Elmo, on the Shore of a little Village, called Paul, near the Weſt-end of the Iſland of Tonſhal. On the 10th of February, Captain Geary, in the Latitude of 36 deg. 59 m. North, Madeira bearing South 92 Leagues Diſtance, diſcovered a Veſſel, which he came up with and took the next Day, when the Prize proved to be a French Ship, called the Pierre Joſeph, hired by the Spaniards at Cadiz, and bound from La Vera Cruz and the Havanna to that Port, as was confeſſed by ſome of her Officers, for her Papers were all thrown over-board: The Supercargo, and ſeveral of the Paſſengers, were Spaniards in Diſguiſe, who pretended to have been bound to Miſſiſippi; but the Maſter was a Frenchman, who acknowledged he had no Intereſt in the Cargo, which belonged intirely to the Spaniards, and conſiſted of 73 Cheſts of Silver, five Bales of Cochineal, 57 of Indigo, one Caſe of Vanel, 60 of Sugar, and 3500 Hides. The Ship was brought into the Downs, and, in clearing, ſeveral Caſkets of Jewels, and a great Quantity of Dollars, were found concealed in the Ballaſt; and the Prize was ſo valuable, that the Share of each Foremaſt Man amounted to 150l. The Romney of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain Greenville on the 22d of February, chaced and took a large Regiſter-ſhip off Faro, on the Coaſt of Portugal, called the Roſario el Sacramento, bound from La Vera Cruz to Cadiz, laden chiefly with Cochineal, and ſome Cheſts of Silver, computed to be worth 120,000l. which was carried into Gibraltar. On the 29th of May, the Portmahon Man of War, commanded by the Honourable Captain Henry Aylmer, in Latitude 50 deg. 16 min. North, fell in with a Spaniſh Privateer, called the Santa Thereſa de Jeſus, belonging to St. Sebaſtian, of 16 Carriage-guns, and 147 Men, many of whom, as well as Francis Bonnet their Commander, were Frenchmen: The Privateer endeavoured to eſcape, but after maintaining a running Fight from Five till Ten in the Morning, ſhe ſtruck to the Portmahon, who had one Man wounded, and the Spaniards had ten Men killed and fourteen wounded in the Engagement; after which the Privateer was carried into Briſtol. This Year the Spaniards took 136 Britiſh Prizes in the European-ſeas, and 26 in America, being 162 in all, valued at 567,000l. The Britiſh Men of War and Privateers, took 51 Spaniſh Veſſels in Europe, and 95 in America, in all 146, computed to be worth 438,000l. which, added to 313,000l. the Value of the Acapulco Prize, taken by Commodore Anſon, makes 754,000l. ſo that the Balance of the naval War, for the Captures of this Year, was 184,000l. in favour of the Engliſh. The whole Loſs ſuſtained by the Spainards, ſince the Commencement of the War, to the Concluſion of the preſent Year, was 657 Ships, eſtimated, by the loweſt Computation, at 2,585,000l. and this being added to 1,564,000l. for the Damages done to their Fortifications by Admiral Vernon in the Weſt-Indies, and the Deſtruction of their Merchandiſe and Shipping, by Commodore Anſon in the South-ſeas, will make the whole Loſs, on the Part of Spain, to amount, on the 31ſt of December 1743, to 4,149,000l. The Spaniards had taken, ſince the Beginning of the War, 664 Britiſh Veſſels, valued at 2,324,000l. which, together with 50,000l. the Value of the Britiſh Goods and Effects ſeized in Spain, on the Declaration of the War, amounted to 2,374,000l. ſo that, at the Concluſion of this Year, there was a Balance of 1,775,000l. in favour of the Engliſh.

[b] Faithfully and obediently to purſue his Inſtructions, the Britiſh Admiral ſo diligently diſcharged this important Command, as entirely to win the Royal Confidence and Affection of his Sardinian Majeſty, whom he frequently attended in his miniſterial Capacity, and during his Abſence committed the Charge of the Fleet to the Conduct of Admiral Leſtock. But though Admiral Matthews had ſufficiently ſecured the Port of Villa Franca, and the adjacent Coaſt, from any Danger of an Invaſion, while he was in Villa Franca Harbour, on the 15th of September, he repreſented to Lord Carteret, "That it was his indiſpenſible Duty to acquaint his Lordſhip, that unleſs ſome Ships were under Orders to join him, it would be totally impracticable "for him to execute his Inſtructions; and that it was with Concern he was compelled to ſay, the Service under his Command had, for upwards of 10 "Months paſt, been cramped beyond Belief itſelf, and was ſo at that Juncture, greatly to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Service, and the common Cauſe; "and he took leave to repeat again, that the conſtant Anſwer of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to his preſſing Demands for a Supply of Ships "being ſent him, would do no Buſineſs." So bad was the Condition of the Mediterranean Fleet, and in ſuch a Neceſſity for Supplies, that Admiral Matthews apprehended, that, if it ſhould turn out a French War, the Fleet under his Command was by no means in a ſufficient Condition for it in any reſpect. In the firſt place, he complained he had not a ſufficient Force to enable him to keep ſending a proper Number of Ships to refit and careen; and if he had, the want of Artificers at Minorca, would not let him depend upon their joining him in any reaſonable Time: Many of the Ships with him had been ſo long out of England, that were they to be ſent down to be repaired, they could not be refitted ſo as to join him in three Months, if capable of being repaired without a Dock. The Admiral had repreſented the State and Condition of the Ships ſo often, and to ſo little Purpoſe, that he was tired of complaining: And he had recommended it to the Lords of the Admiralty, to order out ſome great Ships to relieve others that had not been docked or careened for almoſt three Years; and complained, that the keeping out the Ships ſo long, was their utter Deſtruction, and not only a great Diſcouragement to the Officers and Men, but alſo injurious to the Service: But the conſtant Reply he received from the Lords of the Admiralty, was, that they would ſupply him when the other Services would permit them. While Admiral Matthews was in this Neceſſity for Ships, Men, Stores, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, his Caulkers and Carpenters were continually employed; and this honourable Commander frankly told the Duke of Newcaſtle, "That he ſhould endeavour, to the utmoſt of his Power, during the little Time he hoped to continue in his Majeſty's Favour, to execute all "his Commands; and wiſhed, for the ſake of his Country, that he had been better ſupported, to have been enabled to have carried on the S[illegible]ce "agreeable to his Inclination and Ambition; but that had not been his good Fortune."

ſieur *de Court*, the *French* Admiral, was arrived, and propoſed being ready to proceed to Sea with the conjunct Fleet on the 20th of *January*. No ſooner did the *Britiſh* Admiral receive this latter Information, than he quitted the Court of *Turin*, where he had been concerting the neceſſary Meaſures with his *Sardinian* Majeſty for the Security of the Coaſt of *Italy*; diſpatched Expreſſes every where to collect all his Strength together, to enable him to encounter the Armaments at *Toulon*; and embarked at *Villa Franca*, on his Return to the main Body of the Fleet then at *Hieres* under the Command of Admiral *Leſtock*[a].

Mr. *Matthews* had been lately promoted to the Rank of Admiral of the Blue; Mr. *Leſtock* was advanced to be Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Mr. *Rowley* Rear-admiral of the White; the two latter put themſelves under the Command of Mr. *Matthews* on his Arrival at *Hieres*; where, on the 3d of *January*, he found himſelf at the Head of no more than 20 Sail, and four of them but of 50 Guns; which had made an inconſiderable Figure, if the conjunct Fleet had put to Sea at ſo favourable an Opportunity. However the *Britiſh* Admiral, on the 11th of *January*, found his Fleet was reinforced by the Arrival of ſeveral Ships from *Minorca*, and ſome Cruiſers, to 38 Sail, which was ſomewhat ſuperior to the conjunct Squadron in *Toulon*: And the *Britiſh* Admiral did not doubt to do his Duty with thoſe, if they were not joined by the *Breſt* Squadron, having the Pleaſure to find all his Men in high Spirits, and the Ships in as good Order as it was in his Power to put them.

A LIST of the BRITISH FLEET.

VAN.

REAR-ADMIRAL ROWLEY.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	3	Stirling Caſtle	Cowper	480	70
	4	Warwick	Weſt	400	60
	3	Naſſau	Lloyd	480	70
		Cambridge	Drummond	600	80
Oxford Feverſham	2	Barfleur	R. Ad. Rowley C. D. Langle	750	90
Winchelſea	3	Princeſs Caroline	Oſborn	600	80
		Berwick	Hawke	480	70
		Chicheſter	Dilke	600	80
	4	Kingſton	Lovet	400	60

CENTER.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	4	Dragon	Watſon	400	60
	3	Bedford	Townſend	480	70
		Princeſſa	Pitt	480	74
Guernſey		Norfolk	Forbes	600	80
Chatham Saliſbury	2	Namur	Ad. Matthews Capt. Ruſſel	750	90
Durſley Galley		Marlborough	Cornwall	750	90
Ann Galley F.	3	Dorſetſhire	Burriſh	600	80
		Eſſex	Norris	480	70
	4	Rupert	Ambroſe	400	60
	3	Royal Oak	Williams	480	70

REAR.

VICE-ADMIRAL LESTOCK.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	4	Dunkirk	Purvis	400	60
	3	Somerſet	Slaughter	600	80
		Torbay	Gaſcoigne	480	70
Nonſuch Romney	2	Neptune	V. A. Leſtock Capt. Stepney	750	90
Diamond	3	Ruſſel	Long	600	80
Mercury Fireſh.		Buckingham	Towrey	480	70
		Boyne	Frogmore	600	80
		Elizabeth	Lingen	480	70
		Revenge	Berkeley	480	70

Seamen in all	15,000
Soldiers	800
Guns	2490
Ships	40

A LIST of the COMBINED FLEET.

VAN. FRENCH.

COMMODORE GABARET.

Frigates	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	4	Le Diamont	de Maſine	380	50
		Le Toulouſe	d' Aſtrour	480	60
		Le Serieux	de Chaylus	500	64
L'Attalante		L' Eole	de Gravier	500	64
Le Flore	3	L' Eſperance	Com. Gabaret	580	74
		L' St. Eſprit	de Pioſin	580	74
	4	Le Boree	de Marqueſe	500	64
		L' Aguilon	de Vandrevil	360	50

CENTER. FRENCH.

ADMIRAL DE COURT.

Frigates	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	4	Le Tygre	de Saurin	400	56
		Le Trident	de Caylus	500	64
	3	Le Duc d'Orleans	d' Orvez	580	74
Le Zephire		Le Terrible	Ad. de Court	600	74
Le Volag		Le Ferme	de Sergne	580	74
	4	Le Solide	de Chateauneuf	500	64
		Le Leopard	de Galifet	500	64
		L' Ancion	de Lauce	400	56

REAR. SPANIARDS.

ADMIRAL NAVARRO.

Frigates	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
	4	Le Superbe	Juan Valdez	500	60
		Le Poder	Rodriguez	500	60
		Le S. Fernando	de la Vega	500	60
	3	Le Conſtant	de Tourtaga	600	70
		L' Iſabella	Peſtachodi	700	70
Two Frigates	1	Le R. Inf. D. Philip	Ad. Navarro	1300	114
	3	Le Hercule	Coſme d'Alvarez	600	70
		L' Amerique	Fran. Petruchi	600	70
		Le Neptune	Hen. Olivarez	500	60
		L' Orient	Joach de Villena	500	60
		Le Berillant	Blaiſe de la Barrera	500	60
	4	Le Retiro	Juan Souriane	450	54

Seamen	16,500
Guns	1820
Ships	34

The two Fleets conſiſted of an equal Number of Ships of the Line, and were equally manned: The Combined-ſquadrons left four *Spaniſh* Ships, of 50 Guns each, behind them, in Toulon, for want of Men; or rather to afford an Opportunity of better manning the reſt of the Fleet; for the French Admiral depended more on the Cleanneſs, than the Strength, of his Ships.

The Combined-ſquadrons being ready to ſail, Admiral *de Court* hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Terrible*; and, on the 8th of *February*, all the Ships were preparing to ſail out of *Toulon*. On the ſame Day Admiral *Matthews* received Advice, that three Expreſſes arrived at *Toulon* the Day before, and that the Conjunct-fleet would put to Sea the next Morning. Between Three and Four that Afternoon, Capt. *Marſh* of the *Winchelſea*, having ſtood athwart of the *Petit Paſſe* of the Bay of *Hieres*, made a ſignal that ſome of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships were under ſail, coming out of *Toulon*-road; and the *Eſſex*, under the Iſland of *Porquerole*, repeating the ſame Signal, Admiral *Matthews* anſwered both by firing a Gun, and made the Signal for unmooring the Fleet, and putting the Ships in a Condition for Action; which was done with the utmoſt Alacrity and Expedition.

The *French* and *Spaniards* having hauled out of the Port into the Road, on the 9th in the Morning, came out of the Harbour, and were employed all Day in forming a Line of Battle, without the *Spaniards* being able to get into it; either becauſe their Ships went badly, or were indifferently managed; which occaſioned the Combined-fleets to hale their Wind, and keep to windward. While the *Britiſh* Admiral made the Signal to weigh, and got the whole Fleet under ſail, they perceived ſeveral of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships; on which the *Britiſh* Fleet continued all the Afternoon plying to windward, between the Iſlands and the Main-land, in the Bay of *Hieres*, expecting the Combined-fleet would come down; but as they did not, Admiral *Matthews*, having left Cruiſers to watch their Motions, anchored at Night in the Bay of *Hieres*.

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[a] Admiral Matthews, before his Departure from Villa Franca, left two Men of War, and four Frigates, to cruiſe off Port Spezzia, in the Territory of Genoa, becauſe he ſuſpected ſome Embarkations, with Troops and Supplies, would be ſent thither from Languedoc or Provence, the French having equipped ſeveral Gallies at Marſeilles, and retained a conſiderable Number of Tranſports in their Service.

By break of Day next Morning, the *Britiſh* Fleet weighed with the Land-breeze; the Sailors on-board Admiral *Matthews* ſaw, from the Maſt-head, fifteen Sail of the Conjunct-ſquadron, the reſt being concealed by the Iſland of *Porquerole*; and, at Seven o'Clock, Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for the Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle, one a-ſtern of the other, with a large wind, and for thoſe to lead, who were to lead with their Starboard-tacks aboard by a Wind: Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, and Rear-admiral *Rowley*, repeated the Signal, and anſwered it, by making ſail a-head with their Diviſions: The *Britiſh* Fleet made all the Sail they could to meet the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were ſtanding at the ſame time towards them with a ſmall Weſterly-breeze; but the *Britiſh* Fleet having but little Wind, and that at North with a high Weſtern-ſwell, the Ships were hindered from getting out of the Bay, in the Diſpoſition of Battle, according to the Signal Abroad; and the two Diviſions of the Admiral and Vice-admiral, having got into the Southern-paſſage of the Bay, mixed together Heads and Sterns athwart, juſt upon being on-board of one another, intirely governed and conducted by the Swell, with all their Boats a-head, endeavouring to tow the Ships clear of one another; and it was with great Difficulty they eſcaped out of the Bay free from Prejudice. At Three o'Clock, the Eaſterly-wind prevailing, Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for the Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle, one Ship a-breaſt of another; the Vice and Rear-admiral repeated the Signal, and the Fleet made ſail. The Combined-ſquadrons brought to in a Line of Battle, but for want of Wind, and having a very ugly Sea, it was Night before the *Britiſh* Admiral could get near them; having continued the Signal all Day for the Line of Battle, and kept it out for ſome time after it was Night; and having at Six o'Clock made the Signal to bring to on the Larboard-tack, which was repeated by the Vice and Rear-admirals, the former being in a Line a-breaſt with Admiral *Matthews*, within three Miles of the Combined-ſquadrons, two of whoſe Ships bore away from him. Admiral *Matthews* having brought to, kept within ſhore about the Diſtance of two Leagues off the *French* and *Spaniards*, who brought to under their Top-ſails; though Admiral *de Court* intended to ſtretch over to the Southward, if poſſible, without coming to an Engagement. The Wind continued variable in the Eaſtern-quarter all Night; and Admiral *Matthews* ordered the *Eſſex* to lie a Mile to Leeward of him, and the *Winchelſea* a good Muſket-ſhot to Leeward of the *Eſſex*, to watch the Motions of the Combined-ſquadrons, and to make the proper Signals, and ſtand after them, in caſe they ſhould make ſail; though the Admiral was ſo near, that he could count the Confederate-ſhips after the Moon was down.

At Day-break on the 11th, the Confederate-ſquadrons, having made ſail in the Night with little Wind eaſterly, were further off than the Night before, Cape *Sicie* bearing N. E. by N. eight Leagues, about two or three Leagues to Leeward, and a-ſtern of the *Engliſh*, who had been driven by the Currents between them and *Toulon*, Cape *Sicie* bearing N. N. W. four Leagues. Monſieur *de Court* made the Signal for the Line of Battle upon a Wind, the *Spaniards* compoſing the Rear, upon account of the Nearneſs of the *Engliſh*, who were bearing down; their Rear, according to the Journal of the *French* Admiral, being very much extended, ſo that from the Head-moſt-ſhip of their Van, to the Stern-moſt of their Rear, the Diſtance was at leaſt three Leagues: The Combined-fleet was alſo too much extended, and might take up about two Leagues. For, Admiral *Matthews*, on the Appearance of Day, found the Diviſions of his Fleet in a good deal of Diſorder; and when it was dawning, and the Admiral had made ſail, and, the Signal for the Line of Battle a-breaſt, Vice-admiral *Leſtock* was full five Miles a-ſtern of him, occaſioned by his having brought too ſo far to windward. In the mean time the Combined-fleet made ſail with their Top-ſails, and ſometimes ſetting their Fore-ſails ſtretching, in good Order of Battle, to the Southward: The *Britiſh* Fleet continued to follow them, but as the Rear was at ſo great a Diſtance from the Center, and the Van not ſo cloſe as it ſhould have been, Admiral *Matthews*, at half an Hour paſt Seven o'Clock, made the Signal for Rear-admiral *Rowley*, and his Diviſion, to make more ſail, which the Vice-admiral repeated, and ſoon after perceived the like Signal for himſelf. At Eight o'Clock Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for the Fleet to draw into the Line of Battle, one Ship a-breaſt of another. At Nine another Signal was made for the Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle, one Ship a-ſtern of another, with a large Wind; and, half an Hour after, a Signal was made for the Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle, one Ship a-head of another; theſe Signals were properly repeated both by Vice-admiral *Leſtock* and Rear-admiral *Rowley*.

Rear-admiral *Rowley* led the Van, but could never come near the *French* Squadron, as Monſieur *de Court* would ſometimes lie to, as if he deſigned ſtaying for them; but when they drew near him, he made ſail again, till at laſt he had left moſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships a good way a-ſtern of him. Admiral *Matthews* was then fully convinced the *French* Commander never would come to a general Engagement, but judged by his way of acting, that his Deſign was to draw him down the *Streights*, where he was ſuſpicious the *Breſt* Squadron might reinforce him, when the *French* would have it in their Power to compel the *Engliſh* to a very diſadvantageous Engagement; and this made the *Britiſh* Admiral determine to bring on an Engagement, without the due Diſpoſition of the Line of Battle, for fear, while he was waiting to put the other Diviſions in order, the Conjunct-ſquadrons would get out of his Reach.

Accordingly, at half an Hour paſt Eleven, Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for engaging: This was repeated by Rear-admiral *Rowley*. Monſieur *de Court* no ſooner obſerved the *Britiſh* Admiral made the Signal for an Engagement, than he hoiſted his Colours, as did every Ship of the Confederate-fleet; making more ſail, and continuing their Courſe to the Southward up the *Streights*, with an Intention of gaining the Wind, or to draw the *Engliſh* on to fight, at a Diſadvantage, upon unequal Terms. The *French* went very faſt a-head in excellent Order; but there was a conſiderable Vacancy in the *Spaniſh* Line: And Monſieur *de Court* was of Opinion, that this Confuſion induced Admiral *Matthews*, who was on the very Point of attacking the *French* Admiral, to tack with the ſtrongeſt Ships, with an Intention to ſurround *Don Navarro* in the *Royal Philip*, and four other Ships with her out of the Line.

Admiral *Matthews*, with his Diviſion, continued to follow the *French* and *Spaniards*; and, about One o'Clock, the Center of the *Britiſh* Fleet was a-breaſt of the Rear of the Confederate-ſquadrons; the *Britiſh* Van near a-breaſt with the *French* Diviſion in the Center, while Commodore *Gabaret* was greatly a-head of the Confederate-fleet; and Vice-admiral *Leſtock* was a great way a-ſtern of the *Britiſh* Fleet, with little Wind, and a great Swell; ſo that Rear-admiral *Rowley*, inſtead of being far enough a-head to attack the *French* Commodore in the Van, was where Admiral *Matthews* ſhould have been; the Admiral, inſtead of being far enough a-head to attack Monſieur *de Court* in the Center, was where Vice-admiral *Leſtock* ſhould have been; and Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, inſtead of being far enough a-head to attack the *Spaniſh* Admiral in the Rear, was left a great Diſtance a-ſtern; and though he ſaw the urgent Neceſſity of engaging, without waiting till the Ships were properly collected in their ſeveral Stations, according to the Line of Battle, either out of Envy to the Chief-commander, or by the moſt rigid Adherence to a Decorum of Diſcipline, he neglected the Opportunity of advancing with the Admiral, who was then bearing down upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral in the *Royal Philip*, which Vice-admiral *Leſtock* looked upon as contrary to the Signal of the Line of Battle then Abroad, by which, and the Rules of War, he expected the *Spaniſh* Squadron to have fallen to his Share; though if the Engagement had been deferred till he got into his Station, it was evident there would have been not the leaſt Occaſion of firing a Gun, while the Conjunct-ſquadrons were ſo far a-head, and were capable of ſailing three Miles to one; nor is it probable that the *Britiſh* Fleet would have come up at all, had it not been for the Obſtinacy of Admiral *Navarro*, who had but little Regard for the *French* Admiral, though his Preſervation was afterwards intirely owing to the Conduct of Monſieur *de Court*.

Admiral *Matthews* in the *Namur*, and Captain *Cornwall* in the *Marlborough*, finding they could not come up with the *French*, bore down together upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and the *Iſabella*, his ſecond a-ſtern, and began the Action, within Piſtol-ſhot, about half an Hour paſt One o'Clock, with great Intrepidity. At the ſame time Capt. *Forbes*, in the *Norfolk*, bore down and engaged the *Conſtant*, the ſecond a-head of *Don Navarro*; and the *Princeſſa*, *Somerſet*, *Bedford*, *Dragon*, and *Kingſton*, fired at the *Poder*, the Ship next a-head of the *Conſtant*; for the *Orient*, *Amerique*, and *Neptune*, the three Head-moſt-ſhips of the *Poder*, exchanged a Broad-ſide with the Head-moſt-ſhips of the *Britiſh* Center, and continued their Courſe to the Southward with the *French* Squadron, making in all nineteen Ships of the Line; and the five other *Spaniſh* Ships were at a conſiderable Diſtance a-ſtern of their Admiral; though theſe Ships might have been kept before the Wind by Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, if the Neceſſity, ſo ſtrong before his Eyes, could have prevailed on him to conceive himſelf juſtified in breaking the Line, while the Signal was unaltered. Vice-admiral *Leſtock* was ſtill at a great Diſtance from the Line; but, about Two o'Clock, Rear-admiral *Rowley*, and Capt. *Oſborne* in the *Princeſs Caroline*, got a-longſide of the *French* Admiral, and the *Ferme*, his ſecond, and engaged them for ſome time; the *Berwick* and *Chicheſter* alſo fired at the *French*, but at too great a Diſtance; while the *Naſſau*, *Warwick*, and *Sterling-caſtle*, the three other Fore-moſt-ſhips of this Diviſion, though there was no Signal of Direction to the contrary, did not engage, according to the Signal Abroad, but kept their Wind, endeavouring to prevent the *French* from tacking and doubling upon them, who had ſo great a Superiority, as nineteen againſt ſeven, the *Kingſton* and *Cambridge* having got ſo far a-head as to fall in among the Center. Admiral *Rowley* continued the Engagement, againſt the *French* Admiral, with great Obſtinacy and Judgment, aſſiſted moſt courageouſly by Capt. *Oſborne*; and, as ſeven other Ships of the *French* Diviſion began to fire, this prevented Admiral *de Court* taking his Diviſion to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*; neither could Commodore *Gabaret* do it with the Van, without running the Hazard of being ſurrounded by the Van of the *Engliſh*, which had the Wind of them, and kept it with ſuch Diſcretion, as prevented the reſt of the *French* Ships from engaging, and added to the Applauſe and Reputation of their Commanding-officer.

A conſtant Fire was maintained with great Warmth, by Admiral *Matthews* and the *Marlborough*, againſt *Don Navarro* and his Second, who all behaved with great Bravery and Reſolution; but the *Norfolk*, after three Quarters of an Hour, obliged the *Conſtant* to bear away out of the Line, much diſabled; on which the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and his Second a-ſtern, notwithſtanding their warm Exerciſe againſt the *Namur* and *Marlborough*, fired ſome Guns at her to bring her back, but to no Purpoſe; for ſhe continued to lie to Leeward of them, and never more returned to the Battle: The *Norfolk* did not think proper to quit the Line in Purſuit of her; and having no Antagoniſt, ſhe fell to windward, having 20 Men killed, and 25 wounded, and her Rigging, Maſts, and Yards, conſiderably ſhattered. The *Namur* and *Marlborough*, being juſt aboard of one another, obliged Admiral *Matthews* to fill his Sails, and go a-head in the Heat of Action, though his Maſts, Yards, and Rigging, were ſo much diſabled, as to occaſion the greateſt Difficulty in managing the Ship; which was increaſed in having little Wind with an ugly Swell, and the Mizen-top-ſail being handed, to prevent the Maſts and Rigging tumbling about their Ears, though he reeved new Braces three ſeveral Times; ſo that he could not give the *Marlborough* the Aſſiſtance Captain *Cornwall* wanted, whoſe Behaviour merited all imaginable Applauſe: And though the Admiral engaged within Piſtol-ſhot, he had but nine Men killed, and forty wounded; and among the latter was Captain *Ruſſel*, who had his Arm taken off by the firſt Broad-ſide.

The gallant Captain *Cornwall* had loſt both his Legs by an unfortunate Shot; and the *Marlborough*, at Three o'Clock, had her Main and Mizen-maſts ſhot by the Board, whoſe Fall compleated the Death of her heroic Commander: Neverthele ſs ſhe was fought bravely by her Lieutenant, and continued to make good Fires upon her Opponents, although ſhe had no Aſſiſtance from her Neighbours in the Line, that continued lying to windward, and firing at the *Spaniſh* Ships in the Rear, not within Gun-ſhot; though the Admiral had ſent Orders for them to bear down to her Aſſiſtance. In the mean time the *Poder* obliged the *Princeſſa* and *Somerſet* to quit the Line, and the *Dragon*, *Bedford*, *Kingſton*, *Guernſey*, and *Saliſbury*, continued to fire at her, though at too great a Diſtance; which was perceived by Captain *Hawke* in the *Berwick*, who gallantly bore down within Half-muſket-ſhot, and vigorouſly engaged the *Poder*; having, at the firſt Broad-ſide, killed 27 of her Men, and diſmounted ſeven of her lower Guns: The *Poder* was ſoon after diſmaſted, and ſtruck to Captain *Hawke*, who ſent ſeveral Boats to take Poſſeſſion of the Ship. The *Royal Philip* lying diſabled, with her Stern to the *Marlborough*, her Seconds gone, and the Ships a-ſtern not yet come up, at Four o'Clock the *Ann Galley* Fire-ſhip was ordered to prime, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, and go down upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and burn him; but, before the Fire-ſhip could get ready, the *Spaniſh* Ships a-ſtern paſſed by Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, who fired a Broad-ſide at the Sternmoſt-ſhip, but could not ſtop her from going a-head, which gave them an Opportunity of reinforcing the *Spaniſh* Admiral, juſt as the *Ann Galley* Fire-ſhip was approaching the *Royal Philip*, when theſe Ships fired at the Fire-ſhip all the way ſhe was advancing. The Fire-ſhip being within a Cable's Length of the *Spaniſh* Admiral, was ſet on-fire; but the *Spaniards* pouring into her Bows a great Number of Shot, immediately ſunk her, though, when ſhe ſunk, ſhe was not her Length from the *Royal Philip*, and went down all in a Blaze with Captain *Mackey*, her brave Commander, his Lieutenant, Gunner, and 12 Men, whoſe Fate was participated by 50 *Spaniards*, who were ſent, in a Launch, from the *Royal Philip* to take her; and as they arrived cloſe under her, the very Moment ſhe blew up, periſhed in the Flames. At this Time the *Namur* lay right a-head of the *Spaniards* in ſo ſhattered a Condition, as to be incapable of getting to the Aſſiſtance of the *Marlborough*, any more than her Stern-chaſe-guns, which were kept warmly playing within leſs than Muſket-ſhot on the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and the other four *Spaniſh* Ships which had paſſed by Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, who, in return, raked the *Namur* fore and aft, for a conſiderable time. The *Marlborough* was towed out of the Line about Five o'Clock, almoſt tore to-pieces. Admiral *Matthews* then made the Signal for the Line a-head, and wore round, which they that were a-ſtern of his Diviſion, only did after him; being the *Dorſetſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Rupert*, and *Royal Oak*, who having formed the Line with the Admiral, engaged the *Royal Philip*, and ſix other *Spaniſh* Ships, that by this time were come up, and got into a cloſe Line with their Admiral.

Rear-admiral *Rowley* and the *Princeſſa* had warm Work, for three Glaſſes, with the *French* Admiral and his Second; but Monſieur *de Court*, perceiving if Vice-admiral *Leſtock* ſhould take his Station, that the *Spaniſh* Diviſion muſt be intirely defeated, was intent on the Preſervation of the *Spaniards*; and, at Three o'Clock, made the Signal for the Van to tack, to go to the Aſſiſtance of the Rear, imagining he had then a fair Opportunity of incloſing Admiral *Matthews* between two Fires; but this Signal was not put in Execution till very late, becauſe Commodore *Gabaret* was prevented from tacking by the Vigilance of the *Sterling-caſtle*, *Warwick*, *Naſſau*, and *Chatham*, who, while Commodore *Gabaret* was endeavouring to gain the Weather-gage, an Advantage every prudent Officer is deſirous of obtaining, kept ſo well to windward, as to prevent the *French* from tacking ſo ſoon as they would have done: At length, in ſpight of the Endeavours of Captain *Cooper*, who commanded the *Sterling-caſtle*, to the contrary, the Van of the *French* Squadron tacked about Five o'Clock, which obliged Rear-admiral *Rowley* to tack alſo, with a View of joining the *Britiſh* Center, which otherwiſe muſt have been immediately overpowered by the Superiority of the *French*; becauſe Vice-admiral *Leſtock* had not, during all this Time, brought up his Diviſion to reinforce the Center; though undoubtedly he had the ſame Opportunity of joining Admiral *Matthews*, as the four Stern-moſt-ſhips of the *Spaniſh* Diviſion had of arriving time enough to the Aſſiſtance of *Don Navarro*.

Immediately when the *French* had gained the Tack, which they did all together, Admiral *de Court* ſet his Foreſail, and ſtood away, leaving Admiral *Rowley* engaged with his two Seconds, who alſo went off in about twenty Minutes; on which Rear-admiral *Rowley* made the Signal, for the Ships in his Diviſion, to bear down into his Wake, and proceeded to the Northward, with all imaginable Expedition, for ſuccouring the *Britiſh* Center. The *French* Squadron followed them very cloſely, and ranged within Piſtol-ſhot of four or five of the *Britiſh* Van, where they could have raked them fore and aft, and had in their Power, by ſo ſuperior a Force, to have deſtroyed them; but the *French* were ſo deſirous of diſengaging the *Spaniſh* Admiral, that they paſſed by without firing a Shot; becauſe, to ſubdue the *Britiſh* Van, while their Rear was vanquiſhed, could be no incitement to them; the Redemption of their Rear, in the deſperate Condition they ſeemed to be in, was the important Point in View. The *French* Squadrons came up juſt as the *Poder* had ſtruck to the *Berwick*; ſo that Captain *Hawke* had only time to take out the *Spaniſh* Captain, and four of his principal Officers, it being impoſſible to do any thing with the *Poder*, as it was almoſt dark, and ſhe had not a Maſt ſtanding, which obliged Capt. *Hawke* to leave her to the *French*; but one of his Lieutenants, and 23 Men, could not be got out of her, notwithſtanding their firſt Lieutenant had done all he could to perſuade them to quit her, but in vain. The *Spaniſh* Squadron being all compacted, and joined by the *French*, their whole Fleet was ranged in good Order of Battle; at half an Hour paſt Five, Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for the *Britiſh* Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle a-head: At this time the *Namur*, and ſome others of the ſame Diviſion, continued their Engagement with the *Royal Philip*, and the Stern-moſt-ſhips that had joined her; but Night coming on, firing ceaſed on all Sides; and the *Britiſh* Fleet, being all formed in a Line, paſſed on, leaving the *Spaniſh* Ships greatly ſhattered, and almoſt intirely diſabled.

The Conjunct-fleet took the Opportunity of the Night, which was very dark, to eſcape from the *Britiſh* Fleet, and to avoid renewing the Engagement, being buſily employed in towing their Crippled-ſhips before the Wind. The *Britiſh* Admiral thought it imprudent to continue the Engagement any longer than duſkiſh; ſince the neceſſary Orders by Signals, for conducting the Fleet, could not have been diſtinguiſhed, nor indeed an Enemy known from a Friend: As in that caſe Confuſion and Diſorder muſt have enſued, Judgment and Superiority of Strength, with all other Advantages, muſt have yielded to mere Chance; no commendable or juſtifiable Way of determining Battles, on which the Fate of Nations is dependent, unleſs irreſiſtible Neceſſity obliges it.

Admiral *Matthews*, at Eight o'Clock at Night, ſhifted his Ship, and hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Ruſſel*, not caring, ſhould there be an Engagement the next Morning, to riſk the falling of all the Maſts belonging to the *Namur*; and the Admiral acquainted both the Vice and Rear-admirals of his Removal, directing them to keep near him all Night: At the ſame time he intimated to Vice-admiral *Leſtock* a Surpriſe at his Behaviour, hoping he would be able to give a good Reaſon for his Conduct; and directed him, in caſe they ſhould ſee the confederate Fleet, when the *Ruſſel* made the Signal for the Line of Battle a-head of each other, to lead with the Rear Diviſion, either with the Starboard or Larboard Tacks; in regard Rear-admiral *Rowley*'s Maſts were much wounded, and, for ought the Admiral knew, ſo might the Maſts of thoſe Ships that were engaged with him.

The Wind continued variable all Night, and ſometimes calm: At Day-break, about Six o'Clock on the 12th, the *Britiſh* Fleet found the confederate Ships again to leeward of them, with their crippled Ships in tow, bearing S. W. by W. diſtant ſix Leagues, and Cape *Sicie* N. N. E. at the Diſtance of ſeven Leagues: The *Somerſet* of 80 Guns, belonging to Vice-admiral *Leſtock*'s Diviſion, was advanced three or four Miles a-head, and engaged the *Hercules*, a *Spaniſh* Ship of 70 Guns, which had been ſeparated from her Diviſion, till the *French* made up to her Aſſiſtance; when the *Somerſet* retired, but not before ſhe had done conſiderable Damage to the *Hercules*. At Nine o'Clock Vice-admiral *Leſtock* made a Signal for his Diviſion to give Chace to the S. W. and crouded ſail a-head, having before ſent his Compliments to the Admiral by Captain *Long*, with his Opinion, that they could do nothing unleſs they engaged in a proper Diſpoſition of Battle. At Eleven o'Clock Admiral *Matthews* made the Signal for the Fleet to draw into a Line of Battle, one Ship a-breaſt of another, and the whole Fleet gave Chace in a good cloſe Line, the *French* ſtanding away from them with all the Sail they could make; the *Spaniſh* Squadron being a-head, and to leeward of the *French*, with four of their Ships diſabled, among which was the *Royal Philip*, whoſe Flag was flying without a Top-maſt on end, or a Yard acroſs, in tow of the *Iſabella*. The confederate Fleet retreated in great Diſorder, and the *Britiſh* Fleet purſued them, perfectly well-formed in a Line of Battle; the latter had but little Wind all the Day, but by Six o'Clock Vice-admiral *Leſtock*, with his Diviſion, got within a League of the Confederates, the Body of the *Spaniſh* Squadron bearing S. W. by W. and the Body of the *French* S. W. by S. The *Poder* had been ſo greatly diſabled as to retard the *French* in their ſailing; but when the *Britiſh* Fleet was bearing down ſo near upon them, the *French* Admiral ordered the *Diamant* to take out as many of the *Spaniards* on-board the *Poder* as ſhe could; ſeveral Boats were ſent on-board, and all the Men being taken out, ſhe was left behind. Admiral *Matthews* then ſent the *Eſſex* a-head to burn the *Poder*, not being able to ſpare any of his Squadron to carry her to *Minorca*, having juſt before ſent the *Marlborough* thither under Convoy of the *Oxford*; the *Poder* was accordingly ſet on-fire, and ſhe blew up about half an Hour after Nine: There was alſo great Reaſon to believe, that if there had been any Wind, the *French* would have left the other *Spaniſh* crippled Ships, as moſt of them had ſuffered greatly. This Afternoon Captain *Watkins*, in the *Burford* of 70 Guns, joined the Fleet, and fell into the Line; who had been in the Bay of *Hieres* the Day before, and hearing the Report of Guns, and ſeeing the Smoke, he made directly for it. Though the Moon ſhone very bright, the *Britiſh* Fleet, at Ten o'Clock, loſt ſight of the Confederates; and, having but little Wind at N. N. E. Admiral *Matthews* brought to, that the ſternmoſt Ships might get up with him.

On *Monday* the 13th, at Two in the Morning, the *Ruſſel* fired 10 Guns, the Signal for the Fleet to make ſail, which was repeated by Rear-admiral *Rowley*, and alſo by the Vice-admiral; who continued his Courſe to the weſtward, with a freſh Gale, and at Day-break made the Signal for ſeeing above 20 Sail of the confederate Fleet then bearing about W. S. W. ſeven or eight Leagues, and the Wind flying about to the N. N. W. The Signal was then made for the Vice-admiral to ſend Ships to chace; the whole Fleet continued the Purſuit with all the ſail they could croud; and in a ſhort time Vice-admiral *Leſtock* more plainly diſcerned the Confederates, being able to ſee them from the Deck, and the *Royal Philip* in tow: But the Wind at Nine o'Clock coming to the eaſtward, and blowing very hard, Admiral *Matthews*, ſuſpecting that the *French* Admiral intended to decoy him down the *Streights*, where he might probably be reinforced by the *Breſt* Squadron, thought it moſt prudent to give over the Chace, eſpecially as ſeveral of his Ships were greatly wounded in their Maſts; and accordingly, at Nine, the Admiral made the Signal to leave off chacing, and ſent the *Winchelſea* to recall the Vice-admiral; who, at Ten o'Clock, loſt ſight of the Confederates, and the *Britiſh* Fleet was never able to diſcover them afterwards.

The *Britiſh* Fleet lay too till the next Day at Noon, when, having moſtly repaired their Damages, they made ſail to the N. W. in hopes of meeting the confederate Fleet, and continued that Day and Night making ſail in for the Shore. But the combined Squadrons ſteering W. S. W. had got on the Coaſt of *Spain*, where, on the 14th, they ſeparated in a ſtrong Gale: After which the *French* put into *Alicant* on the 16th, and the *Spaniards* arrived at *Carthagena* on the 17th.

On the 15th, at Day-light, Cape *Creaux* bore N. by W. ſeven Leagues diſtant from the *Britiſh* Fleet; when the

Rupert and *Winchelſea* were ordered into the Bay of *Roſes*, to ſee if they could diſcover any of the confederate Ships there; but they rejoined the Fleet without finding any.

When Admiral *Matthews* found all his Endeavours to overtake the conjunct Fleet, or to procure Intelligence of them, ineffectual, he conjectured they were gone down the *Streights*; where, if he continued to purſue them, he was apprehenſive that the four *Spaniſh* Ships left at *Toulon*, might be manned by the *French*, and convoy to *Italy* any Reinforcements they pleaſed, while there were only two Men of War and four Frigates to oppoſe them; and this was ſo important a Conſideration for the Security of *Italy*, that the Admiral determined, if poſſible, to return immediately to his former Station at *Toulon*, in *Hieres-bay*, to be ready to defeat ſuch Embarkations, and ſupport the Allies of *Great-Britain*, agreeably to his Inſtructions, and the State of Affairs in *Italy*. With this material View the *Britiſh* Admiral diſpatched the *Sutherland* Hoſpital-ſhip with the wounded Men to *Minorca*, and laboured, for ſeveral Days, againſt contrary Winds and Storms, to get back to the Bay of *Hieres*: which however he ſaw impracticable: and found himſelf obliged to return to *Minorca*; he then bore away on the 28th, and next Day anchored in *Mahon* Harbour[a].

The Confederates loſt only one Ship, the *Poder* of 60 Guns, in the Engagement; a Loſs with which the *Spaniards* were wery well ſatisfied, as it furniſhed them with an Opportunity of getting all their other Ships into their own Harbours, eſpecially as they had taken all their Men out of the *Poder*, which was of no ſervice to the Captors. The *Royal Philip* was greatly damaged, having 500 Men either killed or wounded; among the former was *Don Nicholas Geraldine*, the *Spaniſh* Captain; and among the latter was Admiral *Navarro*, who received two ſlight Wounds in the Engagement: The *Neptune* loſt her Captain, *Don Henry Olivarez*, with his firſt Lieutenant, four Officers, and near 200 Men; the *Iſabella* loſt ſome of her Officers, and 300 Men; but the reſt of the Confederate-ſhips received no conſiderable Damage. The *Britiſh* Fleet, beſides the Loſs of the *Anne-Galley* Fireſhip, ſuffered chiefly in their Maſts and Rigging, where the Confederate-ſhips principally directed their Shot; the *Namur* was greatly wounded in her Rigging, having 15 Men killed, and the Captain and 50 wounded; the *Marlborough* received greater Damage, and loſt her Captain, with 40 Men killed, and 100 wounded; the *Barfleur* had but little Hurt; and the whole Loſs in the *Britiſh* Fleet, did not exceed above 400 Men killed and wounded: But the greateſt Loſs was occaſioned by the unfortunate Death of the heroic Captain *Cornwall*, who, when his Admiral was diſabled, intrepidly puſhed in with the *Marlborough* between the *Namur* and the *Spaniſh* Squadron; and with a Bravery moſt of the Fleet were Strangers to, took on himſelf the whole Fire of the *Spaniſh* Line; by his noble Behaviour extorting a Confeſſion, from the Commanders he engaged with, that at leaſt one *Britiſh* Captain honourably maintained the Glory of his Nation; where, had he ſurvived, he had merited the greateſt Honours; but that Ardour of Bravery, which deſerved, unfortunately prevented them: However, he had a greater Reward than it was in the Power of the moſt grateful to confer, the Happineſs of dying for his Country, the Honour of being lamented by every Man of Virtue, and of being numbered among the greateſt Ornaments of his Family. This brave Man fell univerſally regretted; the Admiral very pathetically lamented his Fate, the Fleet ſenſibly felt ſo material a Loſs, the *Britiſh* Nation affectionately revered his Memory; and, to pay the higheſt Honours to the Aſhes of ſo great a Man, he was thought meritorious of having a Monument erected to him, by the Concurrence of the Senate, and at the public Expence of that People in whoſe Defence he had ſo gloriouſly reſigned his lateſt Breath; a Death worthy of the greateſt Man; an Honour equal to the greateſt Worth.

Admiral *Matthews* attributing the whole Miſcarriage of this Engagement to the Miſconduct of Admiral *Leſtock*, in a few Days after wrote him a Letter of Suſpenſion, and ordered him for *England*, to anſwer at a proper Time for his unaccountable Behaviour on the Day of Battle.

When Mr. *Leſtock* arrived in *England*, he daily found the Indignation of the People againſt him to increaſe: This made him extremely ſolicitous with the Duke of *Newcaſtle* for procuring a Trial. His Grace having laid his Letters and Information before his Majeſty, the Affair was referred in *July* to the Lords of the Admiralty, for their Opinion, who ſoon after ſent their Judgment to his Majeſty: But it was the 29th of *Auguſt* before the Vice-admiral could obtain his Majeſty's Order to the Lords of the Admiralty, ſignifying his Pleaſure to bring him, with all poſſible Expedition, to his Trial; of which he was immediately informed by the Secretary of the Admiralty; and that their Lordſhips intended to have a Court Marſhal held in *England* for that Purpoſe as ſoon as Admiral *Matthews* and Vice-admiral *Leſtock* ſhould be ready for it. When the Vice-admiral was acquainted with the Royal Reſult, he ſent a Liſt to the Lords of the Admiralty, of ſuch Witneſſes as he thought proper to be ſent for from the *Mediterranean*, to diſprove the Accuſation laid againſt him by Admiral *Matthews* in his Queries and Replies[b]. which had been tranſmitted to the Miniſtry, by way of Charge, againſt the Vice-admiral.

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[a] In this manner did Fortune, Miſconduct, and Dilatorineſs in many of the Britiſh Officers, contribute to the eaſy Eſcape of the confederate Squadrons. During the whole Battle the Behaviour of ſeveral of the Britiſh Officers was one continued Violation of all the Rules of War: For it is impoſſible not to diſcover that much more might have been done by ſome of the Britiſh Ships in the Center, but much more by thoſe in the Rear; and it is evident that the Confederates were indebted for their Eſcape to this Folly and Miſconduct, rather than to their own Courage; though, if Bravery is a Sign of Merit in a commanding Officer, the Conduct of Admiral Matthews was ſuperior to the Aſperſions of Envy or Detraction; he certainly engaged with a Reſolution worthy of the Britiſh Flag; he declined no perſonal Danger, omitted no Precaution that was in his Power to uſe, ruſhed into the Engagement with the utmoſt Intrepidity; and would, if not prevented by Accidents it was not in the Power of Bravery to ſurmount, have deſtroyed the ſtrongeſt of the confederate Ships: He was as bravely ſeconded by the great and unfortunate Captain Cornwall, whoſe Example was nobly followed by Captain Forbes: Rear-admiral Rowley, Captain Oſborne, and Captain Hawke, gallantly performed their Duty; but few others diſtinguiſhed themſelves: And from all the various Accounts of the Battle, it appears that moſt of the Britiſh Ships continued, through the whole Engagement, at ſuch a Diſtance from the Scene of Action, that they could only hear the Fire, without feeling the Bullets of the confederate Fleet; and that they amuſed themſelves with the Appearance of a Battle, in which they did not in reality engage, ſpending thoſe Vollies upon the Air and the Water, which might have pierced the oppoſite Squadrons, and ſunk their Rivals to the Bottom: While thoſe who thought it their Duty to approach nearer to their Adverſaries, and who really endeavoured to ſerve their Country, and ſupport their Admiral, found themſelves abandoned by their Aſſociates, and retired, notwithſtanding their Bravery, in deſpair of being ſeconded.

[b] Admiral Matthews, conſcious of the Diſcontent the Iſſue of the late Engagement muſt neceſſarily occaſion in England, thought it his Duty, for the better Satisfaction of the Public, and the Vindication of himſelf, to draw up ſeveral Queries tending to point out the Miſconduct of the Vice-admiral, which were ſent to him on the 20th of February, with a Letter, deſiring him to anſwer the Queries, which he did on the Day following. By theſe Queries the Vice-admiral was interrogated, “Why he did not bring-to, the Night before the Engagement, agreeable to the Signal; and his Rea-
“ ſon for bringing-to at leaſt five Miles to windward? If he did not ſee the Signal to engage; and his Reaſon for not repeating the Signal, and endea-
“ vouring to cut off the four ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron; and for not making the Signal for any of his Diviſion to perform that Service,
“ eſpecially as he had clean Ships in his Diviſion; and to give his Reaſon for ſhortening ſail, and altering his Courſe, by haling upon a Wind?” To which the Vice-admiral anſwered, “That his Diviſion was in the Line, within four Miles of the Enemy, when they brought-to; but that, at Eight
“ o'Clock in the Morning, he was brought to windward of the Admiral by the Variation of the Wind: That he did ſee the Signal to engage, which
“ is never to be repeated; affirming, that he had been in two general Battles, and that this Signal was not repeated in either: That it was impoſſible
“ for him to make more ſail than he did; and from the time the Admiral bore down upon the Royal Philip, till the time he made the Signal to
“ leave off Chace, the little Wind, and the Diſtances of the Ships a-ſtern of him, put it out of his Power to direct the three clean Ships to go a-
“ head of him; conſequently before this Time, when he neither knew, nor ſaw, that the Admiral intended to attack the Spaniards, which according
“ to the Line of Battle ſhould have fallen to his Share, it did not become him to make any Alteration in the Line, as by Signal then abroad: But had
“ the Admiral dropped a Boat, with Inſtructions to the Ships of his own Diviſion, and the Rear between them both, to have attacked the four ſtern-
“ moſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron, they would have forced them a-ſtern, for the coming up of the reſt of the Rear.” Admiral Matthews, not judging theſe Anſwers ſatisfactory, drew up his Replies to them; and on the 4th of March ſent them to Vice-admiral Leſtock, deſiring him to conſider them well, and anſwer them as ſoon as he had ſo done. In theſe Replies, Admiral Matthews acknowledged, “That the 13th Article of the fighting
“ Inſtructions, does not mention that the Signal for engaging the Enemy ſhould be repeated by the other Flag-officers; but he had reaſon to believe
“ that every Captain in the Vice-admiral's Diviſion, for want of his having repeated it, as Rear-admiral Rowley did, judged he was to keep the

Admiral *Matthews* reſigned his Command to Admiral *Rowley* on the 22d of *September*, N. S. off *Genoa*; and repaired to *England* by Land, arriving in *London* on the 19th of *September*, O. S. Immediately on his Arrival, he was acquainted by the Secretary of Admiralty, with the Orders their Lordſhips had received from his Majeſty, for enquiring into the Conduct of Vice-admiral *Leſtock* at a Court-Martial; and that therefore they deſired to know the Particulars of what the Admiral had to charge againſt him; and what Evidence he deſired might be brought to ſupport the ſaid Charge: To which Admiral *Matthews* ſent an Anſwer on the 27th of *November*, ſignifying that he could not find his Papers to know the Names of ſome of the neceſſary Evidences till two Days before; but that his Charge againſt the Vice-admiral was contained in the Queries, with the Addition of one more Article, which was, "That the Vice-admiral was guilty of a moſt ſcandalous Breach of Truſt, by ſending his own Captain to Captain *Purvis*, at that Time under Confinement, in order to be tried at a Court Martial for Miſbehaviour in the time of Service, with Inſtructions for Captain *Purvis* how to conduct himſelf at the Court Martial, and that he would do him no Harm."

In *March* following, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, "That they would, in a grand Committee of the whole Houſe, enquire into the Cauſe of the Miſcarriage of the Attack made in the *Mediterranean* on the joint Fleets of *Spain* and *France*, by the *Britiſh* Fleet, which was ſuperior in Number of Ships to them both;" and Mr. *Cornwall*, Brother to the late much-lamented Commander of the *Marlborough*, was appointed Chairman of Committee.

As this was ſo important an Affair, in which not only the Reputation of the *Britiſh* Arms was concerned, but alſo the Characters of two eminent Commanders; the Houſe was determined to proceed with all the Solemnity ſuitable to ſo great an Occaſion; for at this time Vice-admiral *Leſtock* had the Addreſs to bring a mutual Accuſation againſt the Admiral; ſo that no leſs a charge than Treachery on the one ſide, and Raſhneſs of the other, was depending before the repreſentative Body of the Nation, who had thought the Cauſe worthy of their Attention. Accordingly they ſat ſeveral Days upon the Affair. The Enquiry being finiſhed, and the Evidence cloſed, the Vice-admiral, who had been permitted to hear it, was heard at the Bar in his own Defence; and the chief Admiral, in his Place, being a Member of the Houſe.

Vice-admiral *Leſtock* made the ſame Defence as he had formerly done by his Anſwers and Rejoinder, to the Queries and Replication of Admiral *Matthews*, depending on his Adherence to Diſcipline, to invalidate the Charge, and clear his Integrity. He alſo obſerved, it had been inſinuated that he held a Correſpondence with the Enemy, a Rumour that was never laid to his Charge by Admiral *Matthews*, however his Enemies might have propagated this Report againſt him for want of ſufficient Matter: But this was ſo ridiculous in itſelf, that he only thought proper to ſay, he was never on-ſhore but once while the Fleet lay at *Hieres*, and that was with the Leave of Admiral *Matthews*, to meet a *French* Officer, who had taken him a Priſoner in the late War, and treated him nobly; when Admiral *Rowley* and Captain *Martin* bore him company all the time they converſed together: And after remarking on the Evidence, in Vindication of his own Conduct, he attributed the whole Blame of this unſucceſsful Engagement, to the Impatience, Temerity, and Imprudence of Admiral *Matthews*, who by haſtily fighting at ſuch a Diſadvantage, as he affirmed, endangered the whole Fleet intruſted to his Command; and afterwards, by a quite contrary Conduct, ſuffered the confederate Squadrons to eſcape by calling the Vice-admiral off the Chace.

The Houſe came to ſeveral Reſolutions,[a] upon which to found a more exact and ſevere Enquiry, and addreſſed[b] his Majeſty to order a Court-Martial to examine this Affair completely.

Accord-

Line, and not to make ſail a-head of the Vice-admiral, in order to engage, which many of them could, and would have done, had they not expected his repeating the Signal. The Admiral affirmed, that had the Vice-admiral not clapped upon a Wind with his whole Diviſion, by all the Accounts he had received, the Vice-admiral and his Diviſion, though not all their Sails abroad, might, and muſt have engaged the ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniards in one quarter of an Hour at leaſt; by which means the Royal Philip could not have eſcaped the Admiral, as he was within Muſket-ſhot of her when all the ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron came up, and tore the Namur to pieces; adding, that the Vice-admiral's Neglect of that Piece of Service, was obvious and plain; and it was certain, that all the Captains in his Diviſion judged they were to follow the Vice-admiral, notwithſtanding the Signal for engaging was out; telling the Vice-admiral, if he had been pleaſed to have undeceived them on that Head, it would have been doing not only the Duty of an Officer, but likewiſe a friendly part to the Admiral. The Admiral expreſſed his Concern to find that Vice-admiral Leſtock judged it was neceſſary for the Admiral to have dropped a Boat a-ſtern, to order not only the Ships of his Diviſion a-ſtern of the Namur, but likewiſe thoſe of the Rear, which were in the Line of Battle a-head of the Vice-admiral, to do their Duty. The Situation the Admiral was in at that Time, did not permit him to ſee that ſuch Orders were neceſſary; but he deſired to know, why the Vice-admiral did not do it, who was at leiſure, and tell him that ſuch Orders were neceſſary? yet acted contradictory to his Judgment, by firſt ſhortening ſail, and ſoon after clapping upon a Wind." To theſe Replies the Vice-admiral, on the 16th of March, ſent ſome Anſwers, by way of Rejoinder, to Admiral Matthews, the material Purport of which were, "That the Repetition of the Signal to engage by the Rear-admiral, contrary to the Tenor of the 19th Article of the fighting Inſtructions, and all Precedent from their Predeceſſors, was no Precedent to the Vice-admiral; neither did Reaſon oblige the Vice-admiral to anſwer for the Expectations of the Captains of his Diviſion, when they were ſo unjuſtly grounded, and ſo inconſiſtent with Diſcipline and Service. Nor did he apprehend, that as ſoon as the Signal for Battle appeared abroad, it was a Juſtification, or an Authority to an Officer, to break the Line while the Signal for the Line of Battle was kept out, and to engage in Diſorder and Confuſion. That he did the utmoſt to cut off the four ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron; and, as his laſt Recourſe to bring on an Engagement, where he had the Proſpect of diverting thoſe Ships from endeavouring to deſtroy the Fireſhip, as well as to ſtop them from getting a-head to the Aſſiſtance of the Royal Philip, he fired a Broadſide at the neareſt Ship, which was the ſternmoſt; the Shot of which did not all fall ſhort of her, but ſhe directly bore away, and made more ſail, which was what the Neptune could not do. That he never broke the Line of Battle, neither did he ever ſhorten ſail, nor hale upon a Wind, till the Admiral haled down the Signal for Battle, and the Signal for the Line of Battle, and made the Signal to give over Chace; when it was his Duty to ſhorten ſail, and clap on a Wind, in Obedience to the commanding Officer, who he affirmed made a Signal before the four ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron got up to the Namur. That he was rather to leeward with his Diviſion, than to windward of the Line of Battle; therefore the Captains of his Diviſion, notwithſtanding the Signal for engaging was out, did their Duty in following him. That he wiſhed the Admiral had had a little more Patience before he engaged; and ſince the ſole Dependence was on his Diviſion, to have waited until the Line had been formed, and the Vice-admiral had come up to cloſe with him, agreeable to a Meſſage which the Lieutenant of the Namur brought to the Vice-admiral in the Morning of the Day of Battle: And if the Admiral had deprived himſelf of his Aſſiſtance by his great Impatience, in never ſuffering the Vice-admiral to cloſe with him, and did not give him more Authority by proper Signals, he was no ways anſwerable: That his Endeavours to hinder the four ſternmoſt Ships of the Spaniſh Squadron from getting a-head, ſtopped them from getting near enough to attack the Namur, till long after the Signal was made to leave off Chace; and when they did fire upon the Admiral, it muſt have been at the Cloſe of Day, when ſoon after all Firing ceaſed: affirming, that it was neither in his Power to prevent thoſe Ships getting a-head, either by diſabling them, or obliging them to put afore it, unleſs the Admiral had, inſtead of making the Signal to give over Chace, made the Signal for the Vice-admiral and his Diviſion to give Chace; and then, though he could not come up to diſable them, yet he might have certainly kept them afore it, and the Vice-admiral, with his Diviſion, been juſtified in breaking the Line of Battle, which Signal was then abroad."

[a] "That the Britiſh Fleet, at the time of the Engagement, was ſuperior in Force to the combined Fleets of France and Spain: That the Miſcarriage in that Action reflected on the Honour of his Majeſty's Arms, and was highly detrimental to the common Cauſe, and to the Intereſt of the Britiſh Nation: That there was Reaſon to apprehend, from the Evidence laid before the Committee, that this Miſcarriage was owing to a Miſconduct and Miſbehaviour in ſome of the Commanders and Officers of the Britiſh Fleet."

[b] "That he would be graciouſly pleaſed, to give Directions that Court-Martials might be held, in the moſt ſpeedy and ſolemn Manner, to enquire into the Conduct of Admiral Matthews, Vice-admiral Leſtock, Captain Burriſh, Captain Richard Norris, Captain Williams, Captain Ambroſe, Captain Frogmore, and Captain Dilk, in and relating to the late Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet, and the combined Fleets of France and Spain off Toulon; as alſo of the Lieutenants of his Majeſty's Ship the Dorſetſhire then abroad; and of all other Officers who were, or ſhould be charged with any Miſconduct in that Action, and to try them for the ſame: And that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint a proper Perſon, or Perſons, to collect all the Evidence neceſſary for the Trials of the ſaid ſeveral Commanders and Officers, and to proſecute them effectually, in order to bring thoſe to condign Puniſhment, through whoſe Miſconduct it ſhould be found that ſuch Diſcredit had been brought upon his Majeſty's Arms, the Honour of the Nation ſacrificed, and ſuch an Opportunity loſt of doing the moſt important Service to the common Cauſe." On the 18th of April, the Houſe of Commons, with their Speaker, waited on, and preſented this Addreſs to his Majeſty, who anſwered them, "That he would give proper Orders for the ſpeedy and effectual holding of Courts-Martial, according to their Deſire: That he was ſenſible how much depended upon preſerving an exact Diſcipline in the Fleet, and of the Neceſſity there was of bringing to Juſtice, ſuch as had failed in their Duty on this important Occaſion."

Accordingly his Majeſty directed the Lords of the Admiralty to appoint the proper Officers for holding the Courts-Martial, on this Occaſion; which was opened on the 23d of *September*, on board his Majeſty's Ship the *London*, at *Chatham*, conſiſting of the following Members, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, Preſident, Rear-Admiral *Mayne*, Commodore *Smith*; the Captains, *Parry*, *Windham*, *Chambers*, *Rentone*, *Allen*, *Franclyn*, Sir *William Hewitt*, *Coleby*, *Layton*, *Hamer*, Sir *Charles Malloy*, *Geary*, *Callis*, *Rodney*, *Erſkine*, *Pittman*, *Elliot*, *Spragg*, *Swanton*, *Stewart*, and *Orme*. The Court was afterwards removed to *Deptford*; and, on the 9th of *October*, paſſed Sentence on Capt. *Burriſh*, Capt. *Williams*, and Capt. *Ambroſe*: Capt. *Burriſh* was declared guilty of part of the Charge, againſt him, as he did not do his utmoſt to bear down upon, fight, or engage with the Enemy in his ſtation; and, by his not doing ſo, did not give proper Aſſiſtance to the Marlborough, till after he bore down, in Conſequence of a Meſſage from the Admiral: for which Failures of his Duty, the Court unanimouſly adjudged him, to be caſhired, and for ever rendered incapable of being an Officer in his Majeſty's Navy. The Court agreed, that Capt. *Williams* failed in his Duty, by not being in a Line with the Admiral, and by continuing to Windward of the Line during the greateſt Part of the Engagment, and within a Diſtance to do proper Execution during the greateſt Part of the Time he was engaged: but, in regard to his long Services, and good Character in the Navy, as his Eye-ſight was very defective, and as his Expreſſions and Behaviour manifeſted an Eagerneſs to have engaged the Enemy more vigorouſly, had he been properly ſeconded; and for other favourable Reaſons, the Court were unanimouſly of Opinion, that all theſe Conſiderations weighed greatly in Mitigation of the Puniſhment that might be otherwiſe due; and therefore only adjudged him to be unfit to be employed any more in his Majeſty's Service at Sea; but recommended him, to the Lords of the Admiralty, to be continued upon the half-pay, according to his Seniority. Capt. *Ambroſe* was declared, to have had it in his Power to have engaged cloſer than he did: but, in regard he had both before, and ſince, the Action, borne the Character of a vigilant and diligent Officer; and that his Failure in the Action ſeemed to have ariſen from a Miſtake *in Judgment*, the Court only adjudged him to be caſhiered from ſerving in the Royal Navy, during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and to be mulcted one Year's perſonal Pay, to be applied to the Uſe of the Cheſt at *Chatham*.

Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, having withdrawn from the Court, Admiral *Mayne* ſat as Preſident, on the Trials of Admiral *Matthews* and Vice-Admiral *Leſtock*, aſſiſted by Rear-Admiral *Bynge*, and fourteen other Members; who, on the 3d of *June*, 1746, paſſed Sentence on the Vice-Admiral, declaring him to be honourably acquitted, againſt the Whole, and every Part of the Charge brought againſt him.

The Trial of Admiral *Matthews* took up a conſiderable Time[*].

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[*] The following were the Articles of the Charge againſt him, and his Anſwers to the ſeveral Charges which were exhibited by Vice-Admiral Leſtock. I. That during the Time the combined Fleets of *France* and *Spain* continued in View, from the 8th to the 13th of February 1743, he did not ſummon a Council of War, contrary to the conſtant Practice, and in Breach of his Duty. *Anſwer.* That the holding or not holding Councils of War, is left to the Diſcretion of the Commander in Chief, and not required by any Rule or Order in the navy. II. That he did not appoint proper Night-Signals, particularly, that on the Night of the 10th of February 1743, no Signal was appointed to bring to, by which the Windwardmoſt Ships would have brought to firſt; or to keep the Line, although the *Britiſh* Fleet was bearing down on the Enemy. *Anſ.* That he made and appointed all the Signals which he had ever received from the Flags he had ſerved under; and, that a Signal, by which the windwardmoſt Ships would have brought to firſt, would not have been neceſſary, if Vice-Admiral Leſtock, and his Diviſion had been in a Line a-breaſt, as they ought to have been, becauſe there would have been no Ship for him to run foul on. III. That in the Morning of the 11th, he ſailed away with the Center of the Fleet, although the Diviſions of the Vice and Rear-Admirals, were to the windward ſeveral Miles, and the former a-ſtern; by which the ſaid Diviſions had not time to come up and cloſe the Order of Battle; and the Diſtance between them and the Center was increaſed, the latter ſtill bearing down to the Enemy, though the Admiral ſent a Meſſage to Vice-Admiral Leſtock, acquainting him that he would lie by. *Anſ.* Acknowledges that Vice-Admiral Leſtock's Diviſion was, on the Morning of the 11th, ſix Miles to windward, and Rear-Admiral Rowley's a little to windward and a-head: declares, he did not begin to ſail till the Vice-Admiral was under ſail alſo; that he did not make ſuch way as to increaſe the Diſtance between them, but often yawed the Ship to and fro, to give him time to come up, and abſolutely denies that he ſent the Meſſage mentioned in the Charge. IV. That on the Morning of the 11th of February, the Fleet not being formed in Order of Battle, purſuant to the Signal, but the Center being ſo ſeparate from the two other Diviſions, as above, he made the Signal to engage, affording thereby an Opportunity to the Enemy of drawing the Fleet to join Battle at a Diſadvantage, by ſtretching ſouthward and gaining the Wind. *Anſ.* Admits he made the Signal to engage, as ſet forth in the Charge; but alledges that the Line not being formed, was cauſed by Vice-Admiral Leſtock's Behaviour, who did not give Orders to his Captains to keep Station over Night, nor continue ſail the next Morning; and that he could not delay the Signal to engage, without ſuffering the Enemy to elude an Engagement, the French being then edging away, and the Spaniards crouding to join them. V. and VI. That he attacked the Enemy, contrary to the 19th Article of the fighting Inſtructions, irregularly, and to great Diſadvantage. *Anſ.* That he conformed to this Article as long as it was in his Power, and that he was at length neceſſitated either to depart from it, or not to engage at all, by Vice-Admiral Leſtock's ill Conduct; and that it appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary to engage as he could, in hopes to weaken the Enemy before they were joined by the Breſt Squadron, then hourly expected, which would greatly have endangered the Britiſh Navy; and that this Junction was thereby effectually prevented. VII. That after the Engagement was begun, he deſerted the Marlborough when ſhe was preſſed by the Enemy; and after ſhe was diſabled, ſent no Ship to her Aſſiſtance, which it was in his Power to have done, keeping back from the Fight with his whole Diviſion, contrary to Duty. *Anſ.* That his Ship being diſabled, he judged it proper to put himſelf in a Condition to make ſail a-head, and leave the ſeven Sail of Spaniſh Ships to Vice-Admiral Leſtock's Diviſion, which he inſiſts he was at Liberty to do, the Admiral commanding in Chief not being tied down to any particular Station. That he did not deſert the Marlborough, till he was in danger of her coming on board of him, which, conſidering the Swell, might have been fatal to them both; and that he then ordered the Dorſetſhire to aſſiſt her, who accordingly engaged the Royal Philip till ſhe bore away; and that he afterwards gave the Marlborough ſuch Aſſiſtance as he could, though ſhe did not make proper Signals of Diſtreſs. VIII. That no more than five of the Spaniſh Ships engaged within Gun-ſhot, three of which were diſabled by the Norfolk, Berwick, and Marlborough; and that although he had it in his Power ſo to have diſpoſed of the reſt of his Fleet, as utterly to have deſtroyed the ſaid five Ships; yet he ſuffered four of them to eſcape, by withdrawing from the Engagement with fourteen Ships under his Command: and that he did not direct them to join in Battle, nor did he puniſh thoſe Captains who failed in their Duty, or appoint others in their room. *Anſ.* Denies that no more than five of the Spaniſh Ships engaged, and inſiſts there were ten; ſays, he cannot underſtand the Aſſertion in the Charge, that he might have diſpoſed the Ships of his Diviſion, ſo as to have deſtroyed the ſaid five Ships; but blames Vice-Admiral Leſtock for not ſtopping the four which run away; and abſolutely denies that he connived at any Breach of Duty in the Captains. IX. That he ſent the Fire-ſhip to burn the Royal Philip, without allowing the Captain ſufficient time to prime, or covering or conducting her while ſhe performed that Service, by which Neglect the Fire-ſhip was loſt, without Damage to the Enemy. *Anſ.* Denies the whole Charge, for that he himſelf gave preparatory Orders to the Captain of the Fire-ſhip, at Nine in the Morning, and ſent Orders to Capt. Burriſh to cover her; but that the Captain of the Fire-ſhip neglected his Signals, and blew up too ſoon. X. That ſoon after the Fire-ſhip blew up, he cauſed the Signal for the Line of Battle to be hauled down, and the Signal to give over Chace to be hoiſted; leaving a Sixty-gun Ship, which had ſtruck to the Berwick, to be retaken, with twenty of her Men, and one of the Lieutenants on board; that he plied to Windward the whole Night of the 11th, to avoid the Enemy, without ſending Cruiſers to obſerve the Motions of their Fleet, ſo that in the Morning of the 12th, he was five or ſix Leagues to Windward of it. *Anſ.* That he was obliged to wear, to prevent putting the Fleet into Confuſion, and to make the Signal for leaving off Chace, to prevent a Separation of the Fleet: that the Poder's being retaken was inevitable, as ſhe was totally diſabled, and there was neither Time nor Wind to take her in tow; nor did he hear that the ſaid Ship had been taken till the next Morning: that he ſtood to the Northward, to keep between the Enemy and Toulon; and denies that he plied to Windward to avoid the Enemy; and alledges, that he could not ſend out Cruiſers, without expoſing them to be taken, the confederate Ships being clean, and his own foul. XI. On the 12th, being in Purſuit of the confederate Fleet, which retreated not in Order of Battle; and perceiving the Spaniſh Squadron a-head, and to leeward of their Confederates, four of them, one being the Royal Philip, appearing to be diſabled, and the latter in tow, the Night being Moon-light, the Weather favourable, and the Britiſh Fleet having the Weather-gage, and being able to have kept in Sight of the Enemy, by making more ſail, as they appeared leſs and leſs perceptible, or ſhortening ſail as the whole Fleet came up, he nevertheleſs brought to, with the whole Fleet under his Command, and ſuffered the Enemy, then flying, to eſcape. *Anſ.* Acknowledges that during the Chace, on the 12th, moſt of the Spaniſh Ships were to leeward of the French, and that they did not appear to be in a regular Line; that the Spaniſh Admiral was in tow, and the Poder diſabled; but denies there were any more in that Condition: admits that he gave over Chace; but alledges, as his Reaſons for ſo doing, that, on his ſending out a Ship of his Squadron, the French bore away, and ſtood for the Spaniards, who were then four Leagues from him; that ſeveral of his own Ships were diſabled, all of them foul, that he gained little on the Enemy the whole Day, and that he thought it better, in theſe Circumſtances to bring to, than to ſuffer himſelf to be drawn down the Streights, and abandon the Coaſt of Italy, which he had Orders to preſerve, next to the Deſtruction of the Confederate Fleet, and againſt which there was a formidable Embarkation intended by France and Spain, of which he had received Advice from the Britiſh Miniſter at Paris, and otherwiſe. XII. That as the Britiſh Fleet drew near to the Enemy on the 12th, they diſabled the Sixty-gun Ship which had been taken by the Berwick, and retaken by the French, upon which he ſent Capt. Norris to burn her, whereas ſhe might have been preſerved for the King's Uſe, by ſending a Frigate with her to Minorca, eſpecially as ſhe had many valuable Stores on board, and her Fore and Mizen maſts ſtanding. *Anſ.* Admits that though he might have ſaved this Ship, yet he burnt her; but denies it to have been a Breach of Duty, though it was a Sacrifice of his private Intereſt. XIII. That he gave the Signal for giving

A great Number of Witneſſes were examined, both in Support of the Charge, and in Vindication of the Admiral: but, the Court having ſeveral Adjournments, it was the 22d of *September*, 1746, before Sentence was pronounced; when Admiral *Matthews* was adjudged incapable of ſerving in the Royal Navy for the future: at the ſame Time, the Admiral deſired a Copy of the Minutes of the Court, but was referred to the Lords of the Admiralty[a].

CHAP. VI.

Of NAVAL AFFAIRS in the EAST INDIES, AMERICA, and EUROPE, in the Year 1744.

THE Houſe of Commons, on the 9th of *December*, voted 40,000 Seamen for the Service of the enſuing Year; 21,358 *Britiſh* Forces to ſerve in *Flanders*; 19,028 Land Forces, including 1815 Invalids, for Guards and Garriſons; and 11550 Marines, in all 51,936 Men. *Great Britain* paid this Year no leſs than Ten Millions; a prodigious Sum!

While the *Britiſh* Parliament were conteſting the moſt expedient Method of proſecuting the War, the Court of *Verſailles* had collected a powerful Squadron, at *Breſt*; and aſſembled an Army in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*, and *Dunkirk*, which appeared intended for ſome important Deſign: and, to guard againſt any ſudden and violent Attempt, our Fleet was ordered to rendezvous at *Spithead*, and ſeveral Ships were ordered to be in Readineſs for Service in the Port of *Chatham*. The Court of *Verſailles*, however they diſguiſed their Intentions, or for whatever primary Deſign the *Breſt* Fleet was equipped, had now certainly meditated an Enterprize againſt *Britain*; and, in order to the more eaſy Accompliſhment of their Project, ſtill propoſed to give *England* a King, in the Perſon of the Pretender[b].

When the *Britiſh* Miniſtry received Information of the Arrival of this young Adventurer in the Territories of *France*, they were no longer dubious of what the Squadron at *Breſt* and the Forces along the Coaſt were intended for. Orders were ſent on the 3d of *February*, from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to Mr. *Thompſon*, the *Britiſh* Reſident at *Paris*, "For him immediately to go to Monſieur *Amelot*, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, and let him know, that his *Britannic* Majeſty, conſidering the Engagements his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was under by Treaties, with regard to the Pretender and his Deſcendants, had commanded his Reſident to acquaint him with the Informations the King had received of the Pretender's eldeſt Son being arrived in *France*; and that his *Britannic* Majeſty did not doubt, but that if theſe Accounts were founded, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would, purſuant to the Treaties, give effectual Orders, that the ſaid Perſon might be forthwith obliged to quit the *French* Dominions, if he ſhould be ſtill there; and that he might not be countenanced or protected by any of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Officers or Subjects." On the 7th of *February* Mr. *Thompſon* communicated his Orders to Monſieur *Amelot*, who replied, he could give no anſwer till he had ſeen the King: and it was the 14th before Mr. *Thompſon* received any; when Monſieur *Amelot*, by Order of the King, made the *Britiſh* Reſident a kind of Declaration to the following Effect, "That Engagements entered into by Treaties were not binding any further than thoſe Treaties were religiouſly obſerved by the contracting Parties on all Sides. That, when the King of *England* ſhould have cauſed Satisfaction to be given, upon the repeated complaints that had been made to him of the Infractions of thoſe very Treaties of which he then demanded the Performance, which Violations were committed by his Orders, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would then explain himſelf upon the preſent Demand made by Mr. *Thompſon*, in the Name of his *Britannic* Majeſty.[c]"

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giving over Chace on the 13th, when Vice-Admiral Leſtock had given the Signal for ſeeing twenty Sail of the Enemy, and at the ſame Time was gaining on them very faſt; having the Weather-gage and a freſh Gale, which would have obliged the Enemy to fight, or have given up their Ships. *Anſ.* Admits the Signal for ſeveral Ships, but the Number does not remember; and that Vice-Admiral Leſtock might gain upon them: but affirms that no Perſon in his Ship could ſee them, even from his Maſt-head; though if they had, he would not have purſued them, for the Reaſons above: and declares that, by this Conduct, he ſaved Italy, which was of more Importance to the common Cauſe than the taking the Royal Philip, which was all that could be expected from continuing the Chace. XIV. and XV. That he had been guilty of many Breaches of Duty, and was the principal Cauſe of the Miſcarriage of the Fleet. *Anſ.* That he is not conſcious of any ſuch Breaches of Duty; and hopes to prove, by his Witneſſes, that he was not the principal Cauſe of ſuch Miſcarriage.

[a] Such a Sentence was intirely contradictory to the Expectations of the Public: for, notwithſtanding the Judgment of the Court, the Nation could not be led into a Perſuaſion, that the Vice-Admiral ought to be exculpated for not fighting, and the Chief Admiral to be puniſhed for fighting. The Hand of Severity ſeemed too rigorouſly held up; for the general Part of the Nation, who by this Time were well acquainted with, and were competent Judges of the Affair, conceived there was not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt either the Honeſty or Courage of Admiral Matthews; with regard to his Fidelity no Suſpicion had been ſtarted; and his Bravery ſeemed too ſelf-evident to ſtand in need of any Proof or Vindication.

[b] Cardinal Tencin, who ſucceeded the late Cardinal de Fleury in the Cabinet of Verſailles, was indebted for the ſacerdotal Purple to the Recommendation of the Chevalier de St. George, the Pretender to the Britiſh Crown; and the Cardinal, in return for ſo great an Obligation, immediately on his Admiſſion into the Miniſtry, projected a Scheme in favour of his Pretenſions; a Scheme, that when it made ſome Compenſation for the Favours he had received, at the ſame time, contributed to the Gratification of the ambitious Principles of France: the Cardinal was even ſo intent on ſuch an Expedition, as to occaſion a Report, that, in November 1743, he procured a ſecret Convention, for this Purpoſe, to be ſigned between the Pretender, France, and Spain; wherein it was ſtipulated, that France ſhould ſupply the Son of the Pretender with a Body of 25,000 Troops to invade England; and, in caſe of Succeſs, ſhould maintain 30,000 Men, and Spain 10,000, in Great Britain, to ſupport him in Poſſeſſion. The young Adventurer, afterwards more eminently diſtinguiſhed by promoting the Rebellion in Scotland, had received the moſt extraordinary Encouragement to repair into the Dominions of France, and embark in ſo important an Enterprize: the Deſign was communicated to the Duke of Ormond, by the Pretender, who deſired his perſonal Service, but the Duke wrote to him in Anſwer, "That his advanced Age would not permit him to expoſe himſelf to freſh Viciſſitudes of Fortune; and that thoſe which he had already undergone, cauſed him to reſolve to continue a quiet Spectator of whatever Events might happen." The young Adventurer, on the 29th of December, left Rome, where he had long reſided with his Father, in a very myſterious manner; attended only by one Servant, and furniſhed by Cardinal Acquaviva, with the Diſguiſe and Paſs-ports of a Spaniſh Courier: after traverſing Tuſcany, he arrived at Genoa, on the 13th of January; he then proceeded to Savona, and embarked for Antibes, where he landed on the 17th; and continuing his Journey to Paris, entered that City on the 30th; when he had a private Audience of the King: after which he ſet out incognito for Breſt, to join the general Officers, and proceed on the Expedition.

[c] The Miniſtry of Verſailles preſerved the utmoſt Secrecy on this important Deſign; 15,000 Troops, in Flanders and Picardy, were aſſembled at Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne, commanded by Count Saxe, the Prince of Monaco, Monſieur de Matignon, and five other Lieutenant Generals, attended by the young Chevalier, and ſeveral Engliſh, Scotch and Iriſh Gentlemen, who had formerly devoted their Lives and Fortunes in the Intereſt of his Father. A great Number of Tranſports were collected on this Occaſion, and an Embargo was laid on all the Shipping in Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne: the Tranſports were ordered to be victualled only for four or five Days; and, as it was univerſally conjectured their Deſign was to land either in Scotland or on the Coaſt of Kent, the Maſter of the Britiſh Packet-boat was detained upwards of four Days at Calais, and his Veſſel ſearched by a File of Muſketeers with ſome Officers for his Diſpatches from the Britiſh Reſident, before he was permitted to ſail for England. To favour the Deſcent of this intended Embarkation, the Breſt Squadron was ordered to come round the Channel and take the Tranſports under their Convoy; this Squadron was commanded by Monſieur de Roqueſeuille, and conſiſted of the following Ships:

Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
FIRST DIVISION.			
Le Superbe	de Roquefeuille	600	76
Le Neptune	de Camilly, Com.	600	74
Le Juſt	de Nemond	580	74
Le Lis	d'Epinay	560	70
Le Fleuron	des Roches	500	64
L'Elizabeth	de Fouilleuſe	500	64
Le St Louis	de Soligni	480	60
Le Triton	du Guet	400	54
Le Mercure	de la Motte	400	56
La Venus	de Daſhe	200	26
SECOND DIVISION.			
Le Dauphin Royal	de Bareil	600	86
Le St. Michel	de Tournelles	500	64
Le Conſtant	de Conflans	480	60
Le Mars	de Perier	580	68
La Perfaite	de Maiſon Port	340	46
La Medee	de Hockquart	200	26

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On the very Day that the *French* Squadron ſailed out of *Breſt*, they were diſcovered by the *Phœnix* Man of War; who returned with the utmoſt Expedition to *Plymouth*, where the Commander arrived on the 3d of *February*, and ſent an expreſs to the Lords of the Admiralty; upon which Sir *John Norris* was immediately ordered to ſet out, and take upon him the Command of the Fleet rendezvouſing at *Spithead*; and Orders were ſent to ſeveral Regiments to march towards the ſouthern Coaſt. Sir *John Norris* arrived at *Spithead* on the 6th of *February*, and took under his Command three ſhips of 100 Guns, four of 90, ſix of 70, ſix of 50, four of 40, and ſix of 20, which were ready manned by the Vigilance of ſixteen Tenders, employed in preſſing men from all the homeward-bound ſhips: and, with this Force, the *Britiſh* Admiral proceeded to Sea, with an Intention to delude the *French* by getting to the the *Downs*, and joining the Ships that he expected from *Chatham*; which he happily accompliſhed.

M. *de Roqueſeuille* ſtrictly executed all his Orders: he continued beating up the Channel, with contrary Winds and bad Weather, till the 17th of *February*; when he came a-breaſt of the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſent out a Frigate for Intelligence of what Force was aſſembled at *Spithead*: which brought him Information that no Ships could be diſcovered in that Port. He then ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* Fleet had retired into *Portſmouth* Harbour, diſpatched Commodore *Bareil*, with five Men of War, to *Dunkirk*, to haſten the Arrival of the Tranſports with the Troops on board. Himſelf with the Remainder of the Fleet, continuing three Days off the *Iſle of Wight*, where they had terrible Weather; in ſo much, that having his Main-yard damaged, and apprehending that it would break, he made a Signal of Diſtreſs; but the Wind coming fair, the Admiral with the whole Fleet anchored on the 22d of *February*, in the Evening, off *Dungeneſs*, a ſteep Promontory on the Coaſt of *Kent*, about eighteen Miles S. W. of *Dover*, and eight Miles eaſt of *Rye*, on which a Light-houſe is erected. In this Situation he next Day diſcovered the *Britiſh* Fleet under Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Charles Hardy*, and Vice-Admiral *Martin*, which was now ſuperior to the *French*, tiding it round the ſouth Foreland; which they did very faſt, as the Tide of Flood favoured them; but when it was almoſt ſpent, and the Ebb ſucceeded, the *Britiſh* Squadron veered, and anchored about two Leagues from the *French*. If the Wind or Tide had continued, the *French* Officers certainly believed they could not have delivered themſelves from the Danger that ſurrounded them; for, beſides that the *Britiſh* Squadron was more numerous, they were much ſuperior in Force, and had the *French* blocked up in a Bay, where, without a particular Act of Providence, they could ſcarce have avoided falling into the Hands of their Enemies.

The *French* were in this miſerable Situation, when M. *de Roqueſeuille* ſummoned all the Captains to a Council; wherein it was reſolved, “ To weigh their Anchors “ a-peek, at Sunſet, and remain ſo till the Beginning of the “ Tide, at Seven o'Clock in the Evening, and then to “ double the Bay to the Weſtward, and afterwards to make “ all the Sail they could, to endeavour to get out of the “ Channel, and return to *Breſt* without obſerving the “ Order of Battle.” When their Anchors were looſening, it began to blow freſh from E. N. E. which increaſing every Minute ſoon became a Storm, and drove them at the Rate of four Leagues an Hour, under their Mizen-ſail only; ſo that the next Morning, at Day-break, they were North and South off *Portland* and Cape *Barfleur*: after which they were ſeparated by a thick Fog, and arrived at *Breſt* in a very diſorderly Manner, being greatly ſhattered in the Storm, to which they owed their Preſervation.

The *Britiſh* Squadron was much damaged in the Storm; and Sir *John Norris* finding the *French* had entirely effected their Eſcape, returned to his Station in the *Downs*; where he arrived on the 27th of *February*, having before detached Sir *Charles Hardy*, with all the three Deck Ships to *Portſmouth*, where they could ride with greater Security.

However, this Diſappointment did not overthrow the Scheme of raiſing a Rebellion, by ſending the Pretender's eldeſt Son into *Scotland*, at the Head of a *French* Force. But their firſt Attempt miſcarrried[a].

This was ſuch an open Violation of Peace, that the *French* Miniſtry could no longer palliate their hoſtile Intention; therefore M. *Amelot*, at *Verſailles*, acquainted Mr. *Thompſon*, the *Britiſh* Reſident at *Paris*, in the Name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that things were come to ſuch a paſs, that a Declaration of War muſt enſue on their Part; upon which Mr. *Thompſon* replied, that his Nation was thoroughly prepared to take the proper Meaſures. This Notice of the *French* Miniſtry was immediately tranſmitted by Mr. *Thompſon* to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; who, on the 21ſt of *March*, ſent for the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Repreſentatives, of the City of *London*, and acquainted them with the Intelligence he had received from Mr. *Thompſon*; deſiring them to communicate it to the Merchants and Traders, that they might act to the beſt Advantage on ſuch an Occaſion. Accordingly, on the 20th of *March*, the *French* King publiſhed his Declaration of War. And, on the 31ſt of *March*, his *Britannic* Majeſty publiſhed a Declaration of War againſt *France*.

As the War was commenced with *France*, the *Britiſh* Miniſtry exerted their utmoſt Efforts, to make the *French* ſenſible, they were miſtaken in imagining that the *Britiſh* Subjects would grow weary of the immenſe Charges to ſupport their naval Reputation; or doubt their being in a Capacity to oppoſe ſo many Enemies at one and the ſame time. His *Britannic* Majeſty, for the Encouragement of his Ships of War, and Privateers, publiſhed a Declaration, on the 3d of *April*, whereby it was declared, “ That the Flag “ Officers, Commanders, Officers, Seamen, Marines, “ and Soldiers, on board every Ship or Veſſel of War in “ his Pay, and on board Privateers, ſhould have the ſole “ Intereſt and Property, of, and in, all and every Ship, “ Veſſel, Goods, Merchandiſes, and Effects, which they “ ſhould take, during the Continuance of the War againſt “ *France*; but ſubject to the Payment of the accuſtomed “ Duties; to be divided and diſtributed in the following “ Proportions, that is to ſay: That the neat produce of all “ ſuch Prizes ſhould be divided into eight equal Parts; “ three-eight Parts whereof ſhould belong to the Captain, “ or Captains, actually on board at the taking of any “ Prize; but, in caſe any Prize ſhould be taken by any “ Ship or Ships of War under the Command of a Flag “ or Flags, the Flag-Officer or Officers, being actually “ on board, or directing or aſſiſting in the Captures, “ ſhould have one of the three-eight Parts. The Proclamation then declared the Diſtribution of the other “ Shares: and, for encouraging Privateers, his Majeſty “ further declared, that the Prizes brought into Port, “ ſhould continue in their Poſſeſſion, having only Custom-houſe Officers on board. The Proclamation then ratified the Contracts between Owners of Privateers and “ their

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The French Admiral, being joined between Uſhant and the Lizard, by five other Men of War from Rochford, entered the Britiſh Channel on the 3d of February, when the Squadron was diſcovered by the Biddeford and Kinſale Men of War; who were convoying the Store-ſhips to Jamaica: on which Capt. Young, who commanded the Kinſale, left the Convoy under the Protection of the Biddeford, and returned to Plymouth; when he tranſmitted an Expreſs to the Lords of the Admiralty, concerning the Appearance of ſo formidable a Squadron in the Britiſh Seas. The French came up with ſome of the Store-ſhips bound to Jamaica; and the Atlas, one of the Fleet, was brought to by a French Man of War of ſixty Guns, who ordered the Maſter of the Atlas to fall under the Stern of the French Admiral, which he did; and was ordered, by the Admiral, to follow him: but Night coming on, the Atlas left the French Squadron, the Lizard bearing N. and by E. twenty-three Leagues Diſtance, and proceeded to Plymouth.

[a] While the Britiſh Government was ſo prudentially preparing to repel the Danger that impended over it; the French were expeditiouſly providing every thing for the intended Invaſion: a general Embargo was laid on the Shipping on the French Coaſt, and all Communication on their Part was entirely prevented. Commodore Bareil, with five Men of War under his Command, arrived at Dunkirk, and the Troops were daily embarking with the utmoſt Diſpatch on board the Tranſports; though the Reluctance of the Soldiers to go on board was ſo great, that it was found neceſſary to execute one of them upon the Strand, to ſtrike a Terror into the reſt. Above 7,000 of theſe Troops were actually put on board, at Dunkirk, with great Quantities of Arms and Military Stores; but the ſame Storm that chiefly contributed to the Preſervation of the Squadron under Monſieur de Roqueſeuille, occaſioned the Deſtruction of ſeveral of the Tranſports at Dunkirk; ſome of them were loſt, others drove on Shore, and a great Number rendered incapable of Service: by which, and the Loſs of a conſiderable Number of the Soldiers, this openly daring and formidable Project was entirely diſconcerted: the Troops returned to Calais, the French Generals repaired to Paris, and the young Adventurer to Verſailles.

“their Men, and conſigned the Shares of Prizes, which were not demanded in three Years, to *Greenwich* Hoſpital.[*]”

On the 23d of *June* there was a grand Promotion in the Navy; when *Nicholas Haddock*, Eſq; and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, were appointed Admirals of the Blue; *James Stuart*, Eſq; and Sir *Charles Hardy*, Vice-admirals of the Red; *Thomas Davers*, Eſq; and the honourable *George Clinton*, Eſq; Vice-admirals of the White; *William Rowley*, Eſq; and *William Martin*, Eſq; Vice-admirals of the Blue; *Iſaac Townſend*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; *Henry Medley*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; and *George Anſon*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.

The *Mediterranean* Fleet under the Command of Admiral *Matthews*, being in the utmoſt Neceſſity for Stores and Proviſions, a conſiderable Number of Storeſhips were ordered to be convoyed there by Sir *Charles Hardy*, with a Squadron of eleven Ships of the Line, and a Bombketch. The Vice-admiral, with the Storeſhips, ſet ſail from *St. Helens* on the 18th of *April*, and conducted his Convoy to *Liſbon*, where he was detained for a conſiderable time; for the *French* received early Information of the Stores to be convoyed to the *Mediterranean*; and as the Detention of theſe Supplies would prevent Admiral *Matthews* from attempting any thing, the *French* were determined to intercept or delay the Paſſage of Vice-admiral *Hardy*. Accordingly the *Breſt* Squadron, conſiſting of 14 Ships of the Line, and ſix Frigates, commanded by Monſieur *Rochambault*, ſailed out, two by two, and met in the appointed Latitude; from whence they proceeded to, and blocked up Sir *Charles Hardy* and the Storeſhips in the *Tagus*, who was afraid to put to Sea while a ſuperior Fleet was waiting to intercept the Convoy.

On the 6th of *July*, the *Dutch* Squadron of 20 Men of War, commanded by Admiral *Baccbereſt*, arrived on the *Britiſh* Coaſt, and was ordered to *Portſmouth*, where a large Fleet was aſſembled under Sir *John Balchen*, who was joined on the 15th of *July* by the *Dutch* Squadron. As ſoon as the *Britiſh* Miniſtry received Intelligence that Sir *Charles Hardy* and the Storeſhips were blocked up in the *Tagus*, Sir *John Balchen* received Orders to ſail with the firſt favourable Wind, and proceed in queſt of the *Breſt* Squadron, to diſengage Sir *Charles Hardy* from his Detention at *Liſbon*. Sir *John Balchen*, on the 7th of *Auguſt*, ſailed on this Expedition from *Spithead*, with the following Fleet, and 200 Sail of Merchant-ſhips bound for the Coaſt of *Portugal* and the *Mediterranean*:

BRITISH DIVISION.

Sir JOHN BALCHEN, Admiral, in the *Victory*.

Ships.	Guns.
Hampton Court	70
Auguſta	60
Captain	70
Victory	110
Princeſs Amelia	80

Vice-admiral MARTIN, in the *St. George*.

Falkland	50
Suffolk	70
St. George	90
Exeter	60

Vice-admiral STUART, in the *Duke*.

Sunderland	60
Monmouth	70
Duke	90
Prince Frederic	60
Princeſs Mary	60

Ætna
Scipio } Fire-ſhips.
And Fly Sloop.

DUTCH DIVISION.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Haerlem	70	Admiral *Baccbereſt*.
Dordrecbt	54	Vice-admiral *t'Hooft*.
Damiata	64	Vice-admiral *Schryver*.
Leeuwenborſt	54	Rear-admiral *Reynſt*.
Edam	54	Captain *Trenſel*.
Aſſendelft	54	*Boudaen*.
Delft	54	*Welleſteyn*.

And two Frigates.

Sir *John Balchen*, with the whole confederate Fleet, came and caſt Anchor, on the 9th of *September*, off the Rock of *Liſbon*, where he was joined by the Squadron under Sir *Charles Hardy*, and the Storeſhips which had been detained there by the Appearance of the *French* Squadron; after which the *Britiſh* Admiral convoyed the Storeſhips to *Gibraltar*. The *Breſt* Squadron, which had continued cruiſing ſome time on the Coaſt of *Algarva*, received Advice that Sir *John Balchen* was advancing; upon which Monſieur *Rochambault* thought proper to paſs the *Streights*, and leave the Sea entirely open to the *Britiſh* Fleet.

Sir *John Balchen* only victualled and reinforced the *Mediterranean* Fleet and the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, and then proceeded to cruiſe down the Coaſt of *Portugal* in ſearch of the *Breſt* Squadron; but finding that the *French* Commander had retired into *Cadiz*, the *Britiſh* Admiral returned on his way to *England*. The confederate Squadrons left the Coaſt of *Galicia* on the 28th of *November*, and entered the Bay of *Biſcay* on the 30th. Before they arrived off *Uſhant*, a violent Storm aroſe on the 3d of *October*, which diſperſed the whole Fleet, and brought ſeveral of the Ships into imminent Danger: The *Exeter* loſt her Main and Mizen Maſts, and was obliged to throw 12 of her Guns over-board to ſave her from foundering; the *Duke*, which had Vice-admiral *Steuart* on-board, had all her Sails and Rigging tore, with 10 Feet Water in her Hold, and the Crew momentarily expected to be ſwallowed up. Many others were greatly diſabled; but at length the whole Fleet, except the *Victory*, arrived at *St. Helens* on the 10th of *October*, in a very ſhattered Condition. Sir *John Balchen* was not ſo fortunate as the reſt of the Officers under his Command; for the *Victory*, on the 4th of *October*, was ſeparated from every one of the Fleet, and drove on the Coaſt of *Alderney*, an Iſland belonging to the *Britiſh* Crown, ſituated about three Leagues Weſt from *Cape la Hogue* in *Normandy*, and oppoſite to *Portland*, at the Diſtance of about eight Leagues from the *Engliſh* Shore, where ſhe ſtruck on the Caſkets, a large and dangerous Ledge of Rocks, between two and three Leagues S. E. of *Guernſey*, and ſomewhat to the N. W. of, and about a League and half diſtant from *Alderney*. The Admiral made ſeveral Signals of Diſtreſs, which were diſtinctly heard by the Inhabitants of *Alderney*; but the Tempeſt was ſo violent no Aſſiſtance could be given; the *Victory* continued her Signals in the Night, and towards Break-of-day unhappily ſunk: By which melancholy Accident, one of the braveſt amongſt the *Britiſh* Admirals, and Captain *Faulkener*, an experienced Officer, fatally periſhed, with 1100 Sailors, and amongſt them 50 Gentlemen Volunteers: Sad Diſaſter! a Misfortune ſenſibly felt by the Public, and greatly deplored by the Private, becauſe the *Victory* carried 110 Braſs Guns; and, for her fine Dimenſions, and rich Ornaments of Painting and Gilding, ſhe was eſteemed the moſt beautiful Ship in the Royal Navy; not only the largeſt Ship in the *Britiſh* Fleet, and the fineſt Set of Guns, Maſts, Rigging, and Yards, went to the Bottom; but, tragical Cataſtrope! with them the Nation loſt a conſiderable part of the Flower of her Navy, and many Families of Diſtinction were put into Mourning for the Loſs of their volunteer Relations[*].

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[*] Soon after another Proclamation was publiſhed, for appointing the Shares that Flag-officers ſhould receive out of any Prize; which were ſettled as following: “Firſt, a Flag officer commanding in chief, upon Service, ſhould have one-eighth Part of all Prizes taken by Ships under his Command: Secondly, a Flag-officer, ſent to command at Jamaica, or elſewhere, ſhould have no Right to any Share of Prizes taken by Ships employed there before he arrived within the Limits of his Command: Thirdly, when an inferior Flag-officer, or private Ships, were ſent out to reinforce a ſuperior Flag-officer at Jamaica, or elſewhere, the ſaid ſuperior Flag-officer ſhould have no Right to any Share of Prizes taken by them before their Arrival within the Limits of his Command: Fourthly, a chief Flag-officer returning home from Jamaica, or elſewhere, ſhould have no Share in Prizes taken by the Ships left at Jamaica, or elſewhere, after he had got out of the Limits of his Command: Fifthly, if a Flag-officer was ſent to command in the Out-ports of the Kingdom, he ſhould have no Share in Prizes taken by Ships that ſailed for that Port by Order from the Admiralty: Sixthly, when more Flag-officers than one ſerved together, the Eighth-part of all Prizes taken by any Ships of the Fleet or Squadron, ſhould be divided in the following Proportion; that is to ſay, That if there ſhould be but two Flag-officers, the chief ſhould have two-third Parts, and the other ſhould have the remaining Third-part; but if the Number of Flag-officers ſhould be more than two, the chief ſhould havn only One-half, and the other Half ſhould be divided equally among the other Flag-officers: Seventhly, that Commodores, with Captains under them, ſhould be eſteemed as Flag-officers with reſpect to their Right, to an Eighth-part of the Prizes, whether commanding in chief, or ſerving under Command.”

The *Eaſt-India* Company dreading the ſuperior Force of the *French* in their *Eaſt-Indian* Settlements, they applied to the Lords of the Admiralty for a Squadron to be ſent for the Protection of their Trade and Settlements, and to annoy thoſe of the *French* in the *Indies*; and accordingly a Squadron was appointed for this Service, under the Command of Commodore *Barnet*, conſiſting of the following Ships:

Ships.	Commanders.		Men.	Guns.
Deptford	Commodore *Barnet*	—	400	60
Medway	Captain *Peyton*	— —	400	60
Preſton	Lord *Northeſk*	— —	300	50
Diamond	Captain *Moore*	— —	120	20
		Total	1220	190

Commodore *Barnet*, with his Squadron, ſailed from *Portſmouth* for *India* on the 5th of *May*, and on the 26th of the ſame Month arrived at *Porto Prayta*, on the Iſland of *St. Jago*, the chief of the *Cape Verd Iſlands* in *Africa*, ſubject to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Commodore found riding in the Road of *St. Jago*, a *Spaniſh* Privateer, called the *Amiable Maria*, of 14 Carriage, and 12 Swivel Guns, and 79 Men; together with a Pink of 250 Tons, under *Spaniſh* Colours; which he at firſt took no notice of, having no Intention to violate the Neutrality of the *Portugueſe* Port: But being afterwards informed that the Privateer had taken the Pink, which was the *Molly* of *Glaſcow*, together with a Brigantine from *New-York*, and burnt two other *Engliſh* Ships, which were all at anchor in the *Iſle of May*, ſituate 33 Leagues Weſt of *St. Jago*, and whoſe Men they left upon that Iſland; the Commodore acquainted the Governor, that finding the Privateer had ſo notoriouſly violated the Neutrality at the *Iſle of May*, he did not think himſelf obliged to obſerve any with regard to her. The Commodore accordingly ſummoned the Privateer and Pink, to ſurrender, which they did, and he took Poſſeſſion of them: The Commodore then ſent the Pink to the *Iſle of May*, for the Maſters and Sailors of the *Britiſh* Veſſels; and ſeeing the Brigantine in the Offing, which was taken by the Privateer, and drove out of *Porto Prayta* Road, the Commodore ſent his Tender out to retake her; which found her without a Man on-board, the *Spaniards* having eſcaped on-ſhore to the Town of *St. Jago*, where they reported, that after the Brigantine drove out of the Bay, the ſeven *Engliſhmen* who were in her roſe upon them, and after a bloody Battle, in which five of the *Engliſh* were killed, the other two jumped overboard and were drowned; after which the *Spaniards*, ſeeing the Tender coming to them, thought proper to make their Eſcape in the Boat; though ſome of the *Spaniards* were killed, and all the reſt dangerouſly wounded. The Commodore put the proper Maſters and Men in Poſſeſſion of the Pink and Brigantine, and gave them all the Proviſions and Stores they laid claim to, together with their Effects of all kinds, ſo far as he was able to recover them.

Commodore *Barnet* afterwards proceeded on his Voyage; and, having doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, arrived at *Madagaſcar*, where he took in Water and Proviſions: After which the Squadron ſeparated, with Orders to rendezvouſe at *Batavia*, the Capital of all the *Dutch* Colonies and Settlements in *India*, ſituate on the N. E. Part of the Iſland of *Java*, in 106 Degrees of Eaſt Longitude, and ſix of South Latitude, the whole Iſland being dependent on the *Dutch*. The Commodore in the *Deptford*, and Lord *Northeſk* in the *Preſton*, ſailed with an Intention to get into the Streights of *Sunda*, and thence to the Streights of *Banca*, in the Latitude of 30 Degrees South, and 150 Degrees Eaſt Longitude; while Captain *Peyton* in the *Medway*, and Captain *Moore* in the *Diamond*, proceeded for the Streights of *Malacca*, in the Latitude of two Degrees North, and 100 Degrees Eaſt Longitude; their Deſign being to intercept the *French* Company Ships, then expected to be on their Return to *Europe* without any Convoy, the *French* having neglected to ſend any more than one Ship of 50 Guns for the Protection and Security of their *Indian* Commerce. The Commodore and Lord *Northeſk* diſguiſed their Ships by painting and rigging them in the *Dutch* manner; and, in this Condition, arrived in the Streights of *Banca*, where they continued at anchor till the 25th of *January*, when they ſaw three large Ships coming down; and ſoon diſcovering that they were *French* built, the Commodore concluded that they were two *China* Ships, under Convoy of the 50 Gun Ship, from *Pondicherry*. The Commodore got under ſail to receive them, and ſo effectually diſguiſed the *Deptford* and *Preſton*, that the *French* came within Muſket-ſhot, making no doubt of their being *Dutchmen*, till the Commodore and Lord *Northeſk* ſtruck the *Dutch*, and hoiſted proper Colours; but the *French* were ready for firing as ſoon as the Commodore. The *French* Ships belonged to the Company, and were laden from *Canton* to *Europe*; the one was called the *Dauphin*, commanded by Captain *Butler*; the other was the *Hercules*, commanded by Captain *Dufrein*; and the third was the *Jaſon*, commanded by Captain *Delametrie*; they were about 700 Tons, with 30 Guns, and 150 Men each, very deeply and richly laden, chiefly with Tea, *China*-ware, and Silk. Commodore *Barnet* gave the *French* Commodore a Broadſide, which he and his Conſorts returned, and a ſharp Engagement enſued. Commodore *Barnet* ordered Lord *Northeſk*, at the beginning of the Action, to board one of the *China*-men as ſoon as poſſible, leaving the *Dauphin* for the Commodore to board; but ſome of the firſt Shot from the *French* cut the Tiller Ropes of both the Men of War as they were ſheering on-board them; by which Accident the Opportunity was loſt, and Commodore *Barnet* feared ſome of the *French* would have eſcaped; but he ſoon got into a Situation to ſtop them. The *Preſton* was not long getting into her Station; and, after a gallant Reſiſtance, the three *Frenchmen* ſtruck in about three Glaſſes; when the Commodore ſent Officers and Men to take Poſſeſſion of the Prizes, and to bring the *French* Captains and Supercargoes on-board the *Deptford*, where they were generouſly received, and ſhewn all the Favour and Friendſhip the moſt accompliſhed Officer could have expected. Commodore *Barnet* found himſelf poſſeſſed of a valuable Acquiſition; and was informed, by the Supercargoes, that the Cargo of each Ship would in *France* have been worth more than 100,000 *l.* Sterling.

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[*] His Britannic Majeſty had, at the beginning of the Year, appointed Admiral Balchen to ſucceed Sir John Jennings in the Government of Greenwich Hoſpital, as a Compenſation for the Services he had formerly done for his Country: But as this unfortunate Expedition had deprived him of enjoying that Munificence, his Prince, ſtill regardful of the Worth of ſo excellent a Commander, endeavoured to alleviate the Sorrows of his diſconſolate Lady, by appointing her an annual Penſion of 500 *l.* during her Life. The fatal Loſs of the Victory was not unaccompanied with more ſimilar and unhappy Incidents; for the Colcheſter Man of War of 40 Guns, and 400 Men, as ſhe was ſailing on the 21ſt of September, from the Nore for the Downs, unluckily ſtruck upon the Sands between the Long Sand and Kentiſh Knock, the ſame Evening about Seven o'Clock; in which melancholy Situation they continued till Ten, before they could get a Boat out to ſend for Aſſiſtance; when they ſent one out with a Lieutenant and 13 Men, who made the beſt of their way for Harwich: During which time the Lights were put up in the Shrouds, 140 Guns fired as Signals of Diſtreſs; which were anſwered by the Royal Sovereign in the Nore: But the Wind being full Eaſt, it was impoſſible to ſend any Relief to the Colcheſter. In this dangerous Condition they were obliged to ſcuttle the Ship, to prevent her from ſinking among the Sands; and remained in this deplorable manner till the 23d in the Evening, when the Boat returned from Harwich with ſix Fiſhing-veſſels; but the Sea being rough they could not get to the Colcheſter before Morning; when they got on-board, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Crew: Three hundred ſixty-five Men, with the Captain, who behaved with great Calmneſs and Reſolution, were taken out alive; the Sick all periſhed, which were 16 in Number; and 13 were drowned, in attempting to ſave themſelves in the Long-boat. The Survivors were taken to Harwich, but the Ship was ſoon after buried beneath the Sands. A Court-Marſhal was afterwards held upon the Pilot for his Negligence, in careleſsly ſuffering the Ship to be wrecked; and he was ſentenced to ſuffer two Years Impriſonment. On the 20th of November, the Rye Man of War of 20 Guns, and 100 Men, commanded by Captain Ormond Tomſon, was run aſhore about ſix Leagues from Yarmouth; but the Captain and Crew were happily preſerved, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Veſſels which brought them to Yarmouth; where the Misfortune was attributed to the Cowardice of the Captain, who was affrighted at ſeeing two large Veſſels in the Offing with French Colours; and, in his Panic, took the ſhameful Method of eſcaping, by running his Ship on-ſhore; though a little Bomb-veſſel, in company, ſet him an Example of the Duty expected from a Britiſh Commander, by preparing for Defence.

The *Medway* and the *Diamond* were alſo diſguiſed like *Dutchmen*, and in their way to the Streights of *Malacca*, called at *Achen*, a conſiderable Port Town, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Achen*, and of *Sumatra*, ſituate in 90 Deg. 30 Min. Eaſt Longitude, and 5 Deg. 30 Min. South Latitude, where they found a *French* Privateer, fitted out and ſent by the Company, from *Pondicherry*, to cruiſe in the *China* Seas. The Men of War carried the Privateer with them through the Streights of *Malacca*, and in their Paſſage took a *French* Ship from *Manila*, having on-board 72 Cheſts of Dollars, containing 3000 each, and two Cheſts of Gold, alone worth 30,000*l*. The *Medway* and the *Diamond*, with their two Prizes, afterwards proceeded to the Streights of *Banca*, where they lay waiting in Expectation of meeting with the *French* Ships from *Canton*, till they ſaw the *Calmar*, a *Swediſh* Indiaman, on-board of which was an *Engliſh* Officer, diſpatched by the Commodore with Intelligence of his Capture to the Lords of the Admiralty; who informed Captain *Peyton* of the Succeſs the Commodore had met with: Upon which the *Medway* and *Diamond* reſolved to go to their Rendezvous at *Batavia*, where they ſoon after met with the Commodore.

In the *Weſt-Indies* every thing remained on both ſides on the defenſive: But it being publickly known that the *Spaniſh* Admiral intended this Year to convoy the Galoons to *Europe*, on the 9th of *March* the *Britiſh* Miniſtry ordered a Fleet to be got ready for the *Weſt-Indies*, to relieve Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, conſiſting of two Ships of 80, two of 70, one of 60, four of 50, and three of 40 Guns, beſides two Bomb-veſſels and Tenders; which it was expected would have enabled the *Britiſh* Nation to partake of the *Spaniſh* Treaſure. And War being declared againſt *France* on the 30th of *May* in *Jamaica*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, on the 2d of *June*, with ſix Men of War, ſailed towards the *French* Settlements [a], but returned without undertaking any Enterprize.

France on her part caſt her Eyes on the *American* Shore, by whoſe Trade her Marine was ſupported; and the Chevalier *Queſnel*, Governor of *Cape Breton*, immediately on the firſt Intelligence of the Declaration of Hoſtilities, fixed his Attention on the Acquiſition of *Nova Scotia*, fitted out a ſmall Armament from *Louiſburg*, conſiſting of two armed Sloops of eight Carriage Guns, beſides Swivels, and ſmall Arms, with 94 Men each; and ſeveral other ſmall Veſſels, with 70 Soldiers on-board, under the Command of Captain *Duvivier*; arrived at *Canſo* on the 11th of *May*; and finding the Place in a very indifferent Poſture of Defence, without any Delay ſummoned the Garriſon to ſurrender. Captain *Heron* at that Time commanded the Garriſon, conſiſting only of one Company of the Regiment commanded by Colonel *Richard Philips*, being the whole Force in Garriſon at *Newfoundland* and *Nova Scotia*, who, finding he was deprived of the Aſſiſtance of the Station-ſhip of 20 Guns, and that he was incapable of defending the Place, inclined to a Capitulation, which was granted on the 13th, upon Condition, "That, if he ſurrendered himſelf, the ſame Day, Priſoner of War, with his whole Garriſon, as well Men as Women, for one Year, with all the Arms, Artillery, and military Stores, that every thing ſhould be reſtored: That Captain *Duvivier* would uſe his beſt Endeavours, with the Governor of *Cape Breton*, to engage him to grant to the Ladies of the Officers of the Garriſon, Liberty to return with their Effects whither they ſhould think proper, on his Arrival at *Louiſburg*: That the Garriſon ſhould be conducted back to *England*, or *Annapolis Royal*, at the Expiration of one Year;" and, upon theſe Conditions, the *French* took Poſſeſſion of the Place, who deſtroyed the Fortification, and demoliſhed all the Buildings.

The *French* Governor then proceeded for *Annapolis Royal*; but that Garriſon having been timely reinforced from *New-England*, he, after lying before the Town a long time, retired to *Cape Breton* without making one regular Attack.

This Expedition of Monſieur *Duvivier* alarmed the Province of *New-England*, and the other *Britiſh* Colonies, who were unanimouſly inclined to return the Hoſtility; and the Volunteers from *New-England*, were continued for two Years on Duty at *Annapolis*.

However Captain *Young*, Commander of the *Kinſale* Man of War of 40 Guns, was afterwards ſtationed on the Coaſt of *Nova Scotia*, where he had Intelligence that ſeveral Sail of *French* Ships were at anchor in the Harbour of *Fiſhotte*, to the northward of *Newfoundland*; upon which he immediately ſet ſail for *St. John's*; where he manned a Prize with 80 of his Ship's Company, and 80 Volunteers from the Garriſon, and mounted her with 20 Guns, which he ſent, in company with three Privateers, manned with 100 Men each, to attempt the Harbour of *Fiſhotte*, and ſeize the *French* Veſſels. The Prize boldly entered the Harbour, and after an Engagement of five Hours, with the Loſs of 10 Men killed, and 30 wounded, took three Ships of 14 Guns each, and two of 12 Guns each; killed 46 Men, and took 332 Priſoners; burnt their Fiſhing-ſtages, and ſeized 80 Tons of Oil; without any Aſſiſtance from the Privateers, who did not get in till the Action was over [b].

Admiral *Matthews* reſigned his Command to Vice-admiral *Rowley* on the 8th of *September*, as obſerved before, leaving him off *Genoa*, with a formidable Fleet, conſiſting of four Ships of 90 Guns, eight of 80, eleven of 70, four of 60, ſeven of 50, four of 40, and three of 20; being 34 Ships of the Line, and ſeven Frigates, beſides Fire-ſhips, Bombs, and Sloops.

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[a] Commodore Warren took ſeveral valuable Prizes from the French, and cut off ſeveral Ships bound with Proviſions to Martinico, whereby that Iſland was reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs; a Diſtreſs that compelled the Governor to iſſue out Orders for converting a Proportion of all the Cane Lands into Proviſion Ground, for planting Manoac, and other Kinds of Grain, for Bread. On the 4th of July, Mr. Hodge, the Deputy-governor of Anguilla, one of the Caribbee Iſlands, ſituate 33 Leagues North of St. Chriſtopher's, aſſiſted by two Privateers, diſpoſſeſſed the French of their Part of the Iſland of St. Martin's, one of the Leſſer Antilles, lying Eaſt of Porto-Rico, which is about 75 Miles in Circumference, and was firſt planted by the French in 1645. About the ſame time the French Inhabitants of St. Bartholomew, another of theſe Iſlands, about 36 Miles in Compaſs, and ſeven Leagues North of St. Chriſtopher's, ſubmitted to, and put themſelves under the Protection of his Excellency William Matthew, Eſq; the Britiſh Governor of the Leeward-Iſlands, declaring themſelves Subjects to his Britannic Majeſty.

[b] Nothing more material was undertaken againſt the French till the enſuing Year, when the important Settlement of Cape Breton felt the Reſentment of the Britiſh Colonies, and fell a Sacrifice to the victorious Arms of Britain. The Governor and Council of Jamaica were impatient till a Reinforcement arrived to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and gave Directions for a Petition to be preſented to his Britannic Majeſty for a Body of 4000 Troops to be ſent thither for the Defence and Security of the Iſland: But no Armament could be immediately fitted out, and it was the 18th of November before a Squadron ſet ſail to reinforce Sir Chaloner Ogle. But the Inhabitants of Jamaica, while they were concerting the moſt effective Meaſures for their Security againſt the Incurſions of Men, were viſited with a more dreadful Calamity, from which no human Aſſiſtance could defend them: For on the 20th of October a violent Hurricane aroſe, which began about Six o'Clock in the Evening, and laſted till Six in the Morning, the Wind being due South during the whole Time, which did incredible Damage. The new Fort at Moſquito Point was quite demoliſhed, many Houſes blown down, the Wharfs at Kingſton, Port-Royal, and Paſſage-Fort deſtroyed, and moſt of the Goods entirely waſhed away. Sir Chaloner Ogle, very fortunately, happened to be out on a Cruiſe with the greateſt part of his Squadron; but there were nine Men of War, and 96 Merchant-ſhips in the Harbour of Port-Royal, 104 of which were ſtranded, wrecked, or foundered; ſo that only the Ripon Man of War rode it out, though ſhe was deprived of her Maſts. The Prince of Orange Man of War, Bonetta Sloop, and Thunder Bomb, were wrecked, but the People ſaved; the Montagu, St. Albans, and Experiment, ran aſhore, but the Crews eſcaped; the Greenwich ſunk, and Captain Allen, Lieutenant Batterſworth, and 70 Men, were drowned; the Lark Hulk was alſo ſunk, and about 20 white Men, and 90 Negroes drowned; but the greateſt part of the Merchant-ſhips were afterwards got off, and the Cargoes ſaved. The Inhabitants of Port-Royal momentarily expected to be ſwallowed up by an Inundation, the Town being two or three Feet overflowed from the Harbour, and the Sea threatening imminent Deſtruction, which the Wall moſt happily prevented. In the Country, ſeveral Plantations, Houſes, and Works, were ruined; many of the People, both white and black, were drowned; beſides great Quantities of Cattle, Sheep, Poultry, and Proviſions, were deſtroyed, by the Fury of the Tempeſt, and Rapidity of the overflowing Rivers. Fatal was the Loſs, and ſurprizing the immenſe Damage this Hurricane occaſioned; which awakened the Remembrance of the calamitous Tempeſt that happened in the Year 1692, attended with a terrible Earthquake, when the Town of Port Royal was almoſt entirely ſwallowed up. The Britiſh Government had another Loſs in America on the 17th of January, when the Aſtrea Man of War of 20 Guns, commanded by Captain Swanton, was burnt as ſhe lay at Anchor in the Harbour of Piſcataway, in New Hampſhire, 70 Miles North of Boſton in New-England. The Fire broke out in the Forehold, and inſtantly the Beams under the Forecaſtle were in a Blaze; the Crew laboured hard, and once thought they had got the better of it, but the Water alongſide was no ſooner in the Buckets but it became Ice; by which Means the Fire broke out again with great Violence, and rendered all their Endeavours to extinguiſh it ineffectual; for in a few Hours ſhe was burnt down to the Water-edge. The Loo Man of War, commanded by Captain Uting, was alſo loſt as ſhe was cruiſing in the Streights of Bahama, together with a Prize he had lately taken; but all the Crew were providentially ſaved.

Vice-Admiral *Rowley*, being informed of the Arrival of the Storeſhips at *Gibraltar*, came thither, on the 28th of *October*, from *Port-Mahon*; whence he ſent a large Fleet of Ships, returning from *Turkey*, beſides ſeveral other Merchantmen, for *England*, under Convoy of nine Ships of the Line; whilſt the Vice-Admiral returned, on the 30th, with the reſt of the Fleet, and all the Tranſports, to *Port-Mahon*; from whence he ſailed upon the 7th of *October*, in queſt of the *French* Squadrons[a], with all the Ships of the Line, together with all the Trade homeward bound. The Vice-Admiral, on the 13th, ſpoke with the Maſter of a *Dutch* Ship from *Alicant*, who gave Information, that the *Royal Philip* was ready refitted; and that it was reported, there, that Admiral *Navarro* was under poſitive Orders to ſail, with the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Squadron, on a Deſign to ſurprize and deſtroy the *Britiſh* Ships at *Gibraltar*. Upon this Intelligence, Vice-Admiral *Rowley*, on the 14th, arrived, with the Fleet off *Alicant*; but found no Ships in that Road. The ſame Night two Ships a-head were detached to look into *Carthagena*; which they accordingly did, and ſaw the *Spaniſh* Flag, with two Commodores, or Chefs d'Eſcadre, with twelve ſail of *Spaniſh* Men of War of the Line, and four Frigates or Fireſhips, with their Sails bent ready for Sea; and ſix others with their Topmaſts through the Cap. Upon the 18th Vice-Admiral *Rowley* joined Commodore *Oſborne*, and his Squadron; who gave the Vice-Admiral Intelligence, that ſeven *French* Men of War ſailed from *Cadiz*, about fourteen Days before, and took with them the *Solebay* Man of War, of twenty Guns, commanded by Capt. *Bury*, which they had taken on the Coaſt of *Spain*: but whether they were gone upon a Cruiſe, or were returning to *Breſt*, was uncertain. Vice-Admiral *Rowley*, on the 21ſt of *October*, received certain Intelligence that ſix Sail of *French* Men of War, had paſſed the Mouth of the Streights on the 12th; which occaſioned the Vice-Admiral to make the beſt of his way thither; and, on the 22d, he arrived off Cape St. *Mary's*, on the Coaſt of *Algarva*, in *Portugal*; where he ſaw three Sail to the Weſtward of him, ſuppoſed to be *French* Men of War, to which his Cruiſers gave Chace, but could not overtake them: after which the Vice-Admiral returned to his Station[b].

In purſuance of an Application, made by the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*, for a Re-inforcement to be ſent to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; Vice-Admiral *Davers* was ordered there, with a Squadron of ſix Ships of the Line, and two Frigates, to convoy the Victuallers and ſtoreſhips; to relieve Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who had Permiſſion to return to *England*; and to give Protection to the outward-bound Trade, to that Iſland, and other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*. The Vice-Admiral, on the 18th of *November*, ſet ſail from St. *Helens* in the *Cornwall* of eighty Guns, with the reſt of the Fleet, Tranſports, and Merchant Ships. The firſt Night after he ſailed, the Vice-Admiral loſt Company with moſt of the Fleet, and arrived at *Madeira* on the 10th of *December*; having met with a great deal of bad Weather in his Paſſage: but, within three Days after his Arrival at *Madeira*, the Vice-Admiral was joined by Capt. *Legge*, in the *Strafford* of Sixty-guns, Capt. *Holmes*, in the *Enterprize* of forty Guns, by the *Merlin* Sloop, and about Twenty-Sail of Merchant Ships; with which he ſet ſail for *Jamaica*, on the 28th of *December*; but the Squadron was ſo much retarded, by the reſt of the Fleet under Convoy, that the Vice-Admiral did not arrive at *Jamaica*, with the Victuallers and Storeſhips, till the 11th of *March* following.

The *Britiſh* Cruiſers, and Privateers, were more ſucceſsfully employed, in the *European* Seas only, than the *French* and *Spaniards* were together both in *Europe* and *America*. Capt. *Bury*, Commander of the *Solebay* Man of War, of twenty Guns, and 100 Men, on the 23d of *February*, ſunk a *Spaniſh* Privateer, under a Watch-tower near *Pedro Point*. The *Solebay*, on the 25th, took the *Concordia*, a *Spaniſh* Regiſter Ship, of thirty-ſix Guns, and 160 Men, after eight Hours Reſiſtance; in which forty *Spaniards* were killed, and only one *Engliſhman*: the Prize was carried into *Gibraltar*, where ſhe proved a conſiderable Acquiſition, her Loading, conſiſting of Gold and Cochineal, being valued at 600,000 *l.*

The *Dreadnought* Man of War, of 60 Guns, commanded by Capt. *Boſcawen*, in company with the *Grampus* Sloop, commanded by Capt. *Toll*, being part of the Squadron under Sir *Charles Hardy*, came up with a Ship, on the 27th of *April*; which proved to be the *Medea*, a *French* Man of War, of twenty-ſix Guns, and 240 Men, commanded by the Chevalier *de Hockquart*. The *Dreadnought* and *Grampus*, purſued the *Medea* for about fifty Hours; when ſhe ſtruck, and was carried into *Portſmouth*.

Capt. *Aylmer*, Commander of the *Port-Mahon* Man of War, of 20 Guns, being on a Cruiſe off *Cape-Clear*, on the 19th of *May*, fell in with, and took, a *French* Ship called the *Golden Lion*, of 300 Ton, eighteen Carriage Guns, and ſixty Men; bound from *Miſſiſippi* and the *Havanna*, to *Rochelle*; the Prize had 50,000 *l.* in Silver on board, beſides a large and valuable Cargo of Tobacco, Skins, and Furs; and was carried into *Briſtol*.

On the 20th of *May*, Capt. *Young*, Commander of the *Kinſale* Man of War, of forty Guns, took, and carried into *Scilly*, a rich *Martinico* Ship, valued at 80,000 *l.* It would be too troubleſome to enumerate the other particular Prizes taken by the *Britiſh* Cruiſers, and Privateers: ſince the very Number of Privateers, alone, were very formidable; *London* having fitted out forty, *Dover* three, *Rye* one, *Portſmouth* two, *Poole* one, *Topſham* two, *Exeter* two, *Dartmouth* two, *Plymouth* three, *Falmouth* one, St. *Ives* one, *Biddeford* one, *Briſtol* twenty, *Liverpool* three, *Dublin* three, and *Guernſey* three; in all eighty-eight, and moſt of them of conſiderable Force: which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Men of War, had brought into the *Britiſh* Dominions above 6,000 *French* Priſoners, in leſs than half a Year after the Commencement of the War with *France*[c].

The *French* and *Spaniards* alſo made ſome conſiderable Captures from the *Engliſh*. The *Grand Begonia*, of *Bilboa*, a *Spaniſh* Privateer, of 20 ſix Pounders, fourteen Swivels, and 230 Men, commanded by Don *Auguſtine Zimora*, greatly infeſted the *Britiſh* Channel, and took many valuable Prizes; as alſo did ſeveral other of the *Spaniſh* Privateers, belonging to St. *Sebaſtians*, *Cadiz*, *Vigo*, and other Places.

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[a] As Admiral de Torres was ſpeedily expected from the Havanna, the French thought it incumbent upon them to give the Galloons all the Security they could, to prevent them from becoming Prizes to the Britiſh Cruiſers. Accordingly the Toulon Squadron, conſiſting of ſixteen Ships of the Line, and four Frigates, ſailed out of the Port, in three Diviſions, on the 20th of September, under the Command of Monſieur de Gabaret. It was imagined that the Ships from Toulon, would join the Breſt and Carthagena Squadrons, in order, when united, to form a Fleet capable of oppoſing that of Great Britain in the Mediterranean: or that, contenting themſelves to cruiſe by Diviſions, they would endeavour to ſecure their Commerce, particularly that of the Levant, which had ſuffered prodigiouſly. The Toulon Squadron put into Malaga, and both this, and the Breſt Squadron, making together thirty Ships of the Line, and ten Frigates, put to Sea, on the 6th and 7th of October; either with a Deſign of waiting for Admiral de Torres, who was daily expected in Europe; or to cruiſe on the Store-ſhips which Admiral Balchen convoyed to Gibraltar.

[b] The French Admiral had no Intention to make the principal Part of this Expedition, tend ſolely to the Preſervation of the Spaniſh Fleet. Accordingly, the greateſt Part of the French Fleet was diſperſed, in ſeveral ſmall Squadrons, to North America, and the Weſt Indies; while others were cruiſing from Malta quite to the Bottom of the Mediterranean, for the Protection of the Turkey Trade, and to give the Britiſh Squadron ſufficient Employment, without watching for the Arrival of Admiral de Torres from the Havanna. The Remainder of the French Fleet returned to Breſt, which diſguſted the Spaniſh Miniſtry; who were deſirous of getting them to join the Squadron at Carthagena, and to act, in Conjunction, in the Mediterranean, or elſewhere, as ſhould be moſt requiſite and convenient.

[c] In America the Orford Man of War, on the 14th of January, took the Santa Helena, of twenty Carriage Guns and 180 Men; and another Privateer, of fourteen Carriage Guns, ſixteen Swivels, and 190 Men; which were both new built at the Havanna, and carried them into Port Royal in Jamaica. The Rippon Man of War, on the 23d of April, as ſhe was cruiſing in the windward Paſſage, fell in with the Conde de Chimon, a Spaniſh Man of War, of eighteen Carriage Guns, eight Swivels, and 140 Men; which ſhe took, after a ſlight Engagement, under the Iſland of Tortuga. The Prize was a prime Sailor, exceedingly well fitted, and uſed to ſail with twenty-four Guns, but this time with leſs, on account of her Merchandize which conſiſted of 1,200 Cheſts of Quickſilver, and a great Quantity of other valuable Effects, which ſhe was carrying to Vera Cruz. On the 11th of June, Capt. Lampriere, in the Fame Privateer, belonging to Rhode Iſland, met with a Caracca Ship, of 300 Ton, 22 Guns, and 200 Men; bound from Cadiz for New Spain; her regiſtered Cargo amounting to 300,000 l. Capt. Lampriere purſued, and took her, with the Loſs of his own Ship, which he run aſhore, near the Sugar-key; and afterwards carried the Prize to Jamaica. Capt. Herbert, Commander of the Woolwich, one of the Station-ſhips under Commodore Warren at Antigua, on the 24th of June, took a Ship from Cadiz for Vera Cruz, valued at 100,000 l. and, the next Day, took another Regiſter Ship, on the ſame Voyage, eſtimated to be worth 300,000 l. which he carried into Barbadoes.

The *French* alſo fitted out a great Number of Privateers, who carried many Prizes into *Dunkirk*, *Boulogne*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, *Cherburg*, *Granville*, *St. Maloes*, *Morlaix*, *Breſt*, *Port Louis*, *Rochelle*, and the Ports in the *Mediterranean*. Though the *Medea* fell into the Hands of part of the Squadron commanded by Sir *Charles Hardy*; yet the *French* had ample Satisfaction by taking the *Northumberland* Man of War, a new Ship of ſeventy Guns, and 480 Men, commanded by Capt. *Watſon*: for the *Northumberland*, on the 4th of *June*, being on a Cruiſe, fell in with three *French* Men of War, being the *Mars*, of ſixty-eight Guns, and 580 Men, commanded by Monſieur *de Perrier*; the *Conſtant*, of ſixty Guns, and 480 Men, commanded by Monſieur *de Conſlans*; and the *Venus*, of twenty-ſix Guns, and 250 Men, commanded by Monſieur *Dacher*. The *Northumberland* gallantly reſiſted the Superiority of her Antagoniſts, for three Hours; when the *Mars* was conſiderably wounded, and bore away: upon which the *Conſtant* and *Venus* redoubled their Fire, and a ſmart Engagement enſued; till Capt. *Watſon* was mortally wounded: when, by the Cowardice of the Maſter and Gunner, the *Northumberland* was ordered to ſtrike, and did ſtrike, without the Knowledge of her Commander, who had behaved with the greateſt Reſolution, and was determined to defend his Ship to the laſt Extremity. When the *French* boarded the *Northumberland*, their Officers declared, that they little expected ſhe would ſtrike to them; for their Ships were ſo diſabled in their Maſts, Sails, and Rigging, that they would have been glad themſelves to have eſcaped by the Favour of the Night. The *French* loſt about 130 Men in the Engagement, and the *Northumberland* about ſeventy killed and wounded: the *French* carried their noble Prize into the Harbour of *Breſt*, with all the Acclamations of triumphal Joy; where the *Britiſh* Commander died of his Wounds. The Officers of the *Northumberland* were uſed with the greateſt Humanity, during their Confinement in *France*; and ſoon after their Releaſe, and Arrival in *England*, their Conduct was inquired into, by a Court-Martial; at which were preſent Vice-Admiral *Steuart*, and Rear-Admiral *Medley*, and thirteen Captains; who honourably acquitted the Officers, and ordered the firſt Lieutenant the Thanks of the Court, for diſcharging his Duty in a brave and prudent manner: but the Maſter was ſentenced to be impriſoned in the *Marſhalſea* for Life.

Another part of the *Breſt* Squadron, being upon a Cruiſe, on the 16th *June*, took the *Seaford* Man of War, of twenty Guns, and 100 Men, commanded by Capt. *Pie*. Some other Ships of the *Breſt* Squadron, alſo took eleven Merchant Ships, from different Parts; after which the whole Squadron ſet ſail for the *Mediterranean*, where they took ſeveral mercantile Veſſels, and the *Solebay* Man of War, of twenty Guns, and 100 Men commanded by Capt. *Bury*: the *French* alſo took the *Grampus* Sloop of war; and carried all their Prizes into *Breſt*[a].

CHAP. VII.

Of NAVAL TRANSACTIONS *in* EUROPE *and* AMERICA *in* 1745, &c. *The Siege of* LOUISBURG *and Conqueſt of Cape* BRETON.

ON the 25th of *December* 1744, the new Miniſtry being confirmed, his Majeſty iſſued out a new Commiſſion of Lords of the Admiralty, when his Grace *John* Duke of *Bedford*; *John* Earl of *Sandwich*; *Archibald Hamilton*, Eſq; commonly called Lord *Archibald Hamilton*; *Vere Beauclerk*, Eſq; commonly called Lord *Vere Beauclerk*; *Charles* Lord *Baltimore*; *George Anſon*, and *George Greenville*, Eſqrs; were conſtituted, and appointed, to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, and all the Dominions, Iſlands, and Territories, thereunto reſpectively belonging.

The new Lords of the Admiralty, on their preſiding at the Board, iſſued ſtrict Orders to all the Ships of War, in the ſeveral Ports of the *Britiſh* Dominions, to be fitted for immediate Service; as an Inſtance that the Naval Operations were the ſupreme Dependence of the Kingdom. Vice-Admiral *Medley* was ordered to re-inforce the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; and the *Britiſh* Coaſt was properly guarded, by cruiſing Veſſels, to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of the *French* Privateers: but the principal Attention was directed to the Tranſactions in the Northern Colonies of *America*; where the *Britiſh* Subjects had formed the bold Deſign of expelling the *French* from their Settlement of Cape *Breton*[b]; the

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[a] This Year the Spaniards took eighty-four Britiſh Veſſels, in the European Seas, and thirty-eight in America, in all 122; which made the whole Number of the Britiſh Veſſels taken by the Spaniards, ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 786: and the Value of theſe, computed at 3,500 l. each, was 2,751,000 l. which, added to the 50,000 l. the Value of the Britiſh Goods, and Effects ſeized in Spain, on the Declaration of the War, amounted to 2,801,000 l. The Britiſh Men of War and Privateers took 119 Spaniſh Veſſels in Europe, and ſeventy-five in America, in all 194: this made the whole Number of the Spaniſh Veſſels, taken by the Engliſh, ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 850; which, eſtimated at 3,000 l. each, were worth 2,550,000 l. and this added to 2,181,000 l. for the Damages done to their Fortifications by Admiral Vernon, in the Weſt Indies; and the Capture of the Acapulco Prize, with the Deſtruction of their Merchandize and Shipping, by Commodore Anſon, in the South Seas, made the whole Loſs, on the Part of Spain, to amount, on the 31ſt of December 1744, to 4,731,000 l. ſo that, at the Concluſion of this Year, there was a Balance from Spain, of 1,930,000 l. in favour of the Engliſh. The French had taken, ſince the Commencement of the War on the 24th of March 1744, forty-one Britiſh Veſſels in America, and 187 in Europe, in all 228; which, computed at 3,500 l. each, amounted to 798,000 l. The Britiſh Men of War and Privateers took 252 French Prizes in Europe, and 94 in America, in all 346; which, calculated at the ſame Value with the Britiſh Veſſels, amounted to 1,571,000 l. and this added to 360,000 l. for the Prizes taken by Commodore Barnet in the Eaſt-Indies, amounted to 1,571,000 l. ſo that, upon balancing an Account of the reſpective Prizes, taken between the French and Engliſh, there remained a Surplus of 773,000 l. in favour of the Engliſh; though the French made their own Loſs immenſely greater.

[b] Cape Breton is ſituated between ſixty-one and ſixty-two Degrees of weſt Longitude, and between forty-five and forty-eight Degrees of north Latitude; and, with Newfoundland, about ſixteen Leagues diſtant from it, forms the ſouth Entry into the Bay, or Gulph of St. Laurence: the Streight of Canſo, which ſeparates it from Nova Scotia, is little more than five Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth: ſo that the Poſſeſſion of this Iſland commands the Navigation to Canda, by the River of St. Laurence. The Iſland is about 150 Miles in Length, from N.E. to S.W. and about 99 broad from E. to W. its Shape is very irregular, being ſo deeply indented with Rivers and Lakes, that the North and South Parts, are only joined by an Iſthmus, of about 600 Yards over, which ſeparates the bottom of the Bay of Toulouſe, near the Mouth of the Streight of Canſo from the Lakes of Labrador, that diſcharge themſelves into the Atlantic Ocean, by two Channels, of unequal Breadth, formed by the Iſle of Verderonne, or de la Boularderi, which is about twenty-two Miles in Length. The Climature of this Iſle is not very different from that of Quebec, and Canada; and, though the Fogs are more frequent here, the Air is not reckoned unhealthy: the Soil is tolerably good, and the Mountains may be cultivated even to the Tops; but the beſt Lands are ſuch as incline to the South, being defended from the N. and N.W. Winds, by the Mountains which lie on the Side of the River St. Laurence. The Marquis du Maiſon Fort has reported, that, in the Year 1732, the Iſland produced a conſiderable Quantity of Grain; but though there were more than 4,000 Inhabitants, they found their account much better in Fiſhing than Huſbandry; which conſequently occaſioned the Land to lie waſte, the Natives procuring all Neceſſaries by their Fiſh. Here are Oaks of a prodigious Size; Pine-trees fit for Maſts; and, in general, all ſorts of Timber, eſpecially the Cedar, the Aſh, the Maple, the Plane, and the Aſp. Domeſtic Animals, ſuch as Horſes, black Cattle, Sheep, Swine, and Poultry thrive well: though hunting, and fiſhing, yield the Inhabitants a plentiful Subſiſtence for a great Part of the Year; for no Place in the World abounds more plentifully with Cod, or has greater Conveniences for drying it; and the Fiſhery for Seals, Porpoiſes, and Sea-cows, is both eaſy and profitable: here are ſeveral good Mines of excellent Coal, which, as they lie on the mountainous Part of the Iſle, require no neceſſity of digging for them: and there is alſo a good Quantity of Lime-ſtone. All the frequented Ports of this Iſland lie from the Eaſt, inclining to the South, for fifty Leagues, beginning from Port Dauphin to Port Toulouſe; and are, the Bay of Gabaron; the Port of Louiſburgh; Port de Baleine; the Bays of Panadou, Miray, Morienne, Indiana, Spaniſh-bay, and Port Dauphin: the northern Coaſt is very ſteep, and inacceſſible; as is alſo the weſtern Side, to the Streight of Canſo; and all the reſt of the Coaſt ſcarce affords Anchorage, but for ſmall Barks, in the little Bays between the Iſles. The French had ſtrongly fortified Louiſburg, the principal Town in the Iſland, which they were ſenſible was naturally ſeated for a Staple of Trade, between Old and New France: they found it was able, of its own Growth, to ſupply Old France with Fiſh, Train-oil, Pit-coal, Lime, and Timber

Scheme was ſo prudently conducted in *America*, and ſo vigilantly put in execution, that the *French* Government were entirely unapprized of ſo important a Reſolution, till it was too late to make any Oppoſition againſt the Force under Commodore *Warren*; who, on the Repreſentation of the Project to the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, was ordered to quit his Station, at the Leeward Iſlands, and take his Squadron to the Aſſiſtance of theſe brave Adventurers in the Reduction of the *French* Colony.

The Inhabitants of the ſeveral Colonies of *New England*, conſiſting of thoſe of the *Maſſachuſet's-Bay*, *New-Hampſhire*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode-iſland*, ſo chearfully concurred in ſeaſonably expediting the Proſecution of the Enterprize, that an Army of 3,850 voluntary Soldiers, principally ſubſtantial Perſons, and Men of beneficial Occupations, were aſſembled at *Boſton*; with eighty-five Tranſports, and eight Privateers of twenty Guns and 100 Men each, beſides ten Snows, Brigantines, and Sloops, of Force, for their Convoy, to Canſo, in *Nova Scotia*; where they were to wait the Arrival of Commodore *Warren*. This brave, determined, though undiſciplined, Band of Soldiers, embarked from *Boſton*, on the 20th of *March*, for *Canſo*; and, "pray for us, while we fight for you," was the valiant and endearing Language, wherewith they animated their deſponding Countrymen, on their Departure from their Families, their Fortunes, and their Occupations.

The whole Fleet arrived at *Canſo*, on the 2d of *April*, after a turbulent Paſſage, and a Courſe of 167 Leagues, with the Loſs of only one Soldier, and three Seamen: where they waited, till the 25th of *April*, for the Arrival of Commodore *Warren*, who then appeared with the *Superb* of ſixty Guns, and the *Launceſton*, and *Eltham*, of forty Guns each; but the Commodore was immediately joined by the *Mermaid* of forty Guns, and was to be reinforced by ſeveral other Men of War, ordered by the *Britiſh* Government on the ſame Expedition.

Early in the Morning of the 30th of *April*, theſe Men of War, Privateers, and Tranſports, arrived ſafe in *Gabaron-bay*, the Place appointed for a Deſcent, within four Miles of the Rampart of *Louiſburg*[a]: ſo that the *French* had no time to get in Proviſion, or Force from the neighbouring Country, to their Aſſiſtance. The Debarkation of the Troops was inſtantly put in Execution; though no ſooner were the the Whale-boats got out for their landing, but Capt. *Morepang* came down from the City, with a Detachment of 100 Men, to prevent the Attempt: however the Privateers, lying at Anchor near the Shore, fired ſmartly at the *French*; while 200 of the Forces landed, and defeated the Detachment, with the Loſs of ſix Men killed, five taken Priſoners, and the reſt totally diſperſed among the Woods, and prevented from returning to the City; though the *Engliſh* did not loſe ſo much as a ſingle Man. The Land Forces were now to march directly up to the Rampart of the City, through a boggy Country, full of Rocks, Hills, and Thickets, to incloſe the Town; while Commodore *Warren*, with the Men of War and Cruiſers, poſted himſelf off the Harbour of *Louiſbourg*, ſo as to intercept all Reinforcements and Supplies by Sea.

The Land-Forces, by ſetting fire to the Storehouſes near the Grand Battery, and full of Combuſtibles, ſo frightened the Enemy, that they deſerted the Battery in great Confuſion. The *Engliſh* poſſeſſed of this important Fort, turned its Guns on the City, as ſoon as they could drill them: by which the Garriſon and Town ſuffered much. Another Party gained the Eminence of *Greenhill*, on which they planted a Battery of Cannon, which greatly annoyed the Town, and covered their Approaches till they were able to open a Faſcine-battery of twenty-eight Guns, within 200 Yards of the Walls[b].

While the Land Forces were ſo ſucceſsfully employed, on both ſides of the Harbour on Shore, Commodore *Warren* was equally vigilant, and fortunate, by Water; where he ſo ſecurely blocked up the Mouth of the Harbour, that, during the whole Continuance of the Siege, only one Veſſel got in to the Relief of the City, and that with the utmoſt Difficulty. The Commodore took care to have convoyed, with the greateſt Security, ſeven Tranſports, from *Boſton*, with military Stores, and ſix Months Proviſion, for the Land Forces; which arrived on the 17th of *May*, in *Gabaron-bay*. The Commodore was now joined by the *Canterbury*, and *Sunderland*, of ſixty Guns, and the *Cheſter* of fifty Guns; which were ſo properly ſtationed, that, on the 20th of *May*, two *French* ſhips, and a Snow, were taken, and ſent into *Gabaron-bay*; while the Commodore, with the *Mermaid*, commanded by Capt. *Douglas*, and the *Shirley* Galley, commanded by Capt. *Rowſe*, went out in Chace of a large Ship; which, after the Loſs of ſixty *French* and five *Engliſh*, was taken the 21ſt, and proved to be the *Vigilante*, a new *French* Man of War, of ſixty-four Guns, and 560 Men, commanded by the Marquis *du Maiſonfort*, laden with Stores, a great Number of heavy Cannon, and 1,000 half Barrels of Gun-powder; beſides Stores for the City of *Louiſburg*, and other Stores for a ſeventy Gun Ship building at *Canada*; the whole Cargo valued at 60,000 *l.* the Commodore alſo took, on the ſame Day, a large Brigantine from *France*, laden with Brandy and Stores: by which happy Acquiſitions the *French* were deprived of all their expected Succour by Sea, and the City kept in the utmoſt Neceſſity.

It was now agreed to attack the Iſland Battery, which prevented the Men of War from entering the Harbour, and

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Timber for building; and to furniſh New France with European Commodities, at a cheap and profitable Rate; whereby the two Colonies, mutually aſſiſting each other, were equally beneficial to themſelves, and the whole Nation of France: Beſides, there was no ſafer or more convenient Retreat for Ships bound from all Parts of America, whether chaſed by Enemies, ſurprized by bad Weather, or in want of Water, Wood, or Proviſions: and, in time of War, this Port might ſend out Cruiſers to ruin the Trade of New England, and ſeize upon the whole of the Cod Fiſhery; which would enable the French to furniſh Spain and the Levant, with that Commodity, and ſo introduce a wider Channel of Opulence into the Dominions of France.

[a] The Port of Louiſburg, or Engliſh-harbour, is but a League diſtant, by Sea, from the Bay of Gabaron, and one of the beſt in all America; being about four Leagues in Circumference, and having, in every Part of it, ſix or ſeven Fathom Water: the Anchorage is good, and Ships may run aſhore, on the Sands, without danger: the Entrance is not above 400 Yards broad, between two ſmall Iſles; and is known twelve Leagues off at Sea, by the Cape of Larembec, which lies a little to the N. E. In the N. E. Part of the Harbour was a fine careening Wharf for Men of War to heave down, and very ſafe from all Winds: on the oppoſite Side were the fiſhing Stages, with Room for 2,000 Boats to make their Fiſh: and, on the ſtarboard Side of the Harbour, going in, was a Light-houſe, on a high rocky Point, which might be diſtinguiſhed in a clear Night, five Leagues off at Sea. The City was built on a Point towards the Sea, on the ſouth Side of the Harbour; and was improved with Fortifications that coſt upwards of two Millions of Livres in building: the Streets are regular and broad; principally compoſed of Stone Houſes; with a ſpacious Citadel, on the weſtern Part of the Town, near the Ramparts erected for the Security of the Land Side: At a ſmall Diſtance from the Citadel is a large Parade which forms a handſome Square, about 200 Feet in Length, and the ſame in Breadth; on the north Side of the Square was the Church, and the Apartments belonging to the Governor; the other three Sides of the Square were taken up with Barracks, Boom-proof, and where the French put their Women and Children during the Siege: The greateſt Extent of the City is from the Citadel to the eaſtern Gate, called the Duke de Penthievre, which is more than half a Mile; and to walk round all the Ramparts, mounted with heavy Cannon, was at leaſt two Miles and a Quarter. The Road from the Town to the Country, is by the weſtern Gate, over a Draw-bridge, where was a Circular Battery, of ſixteen Guns, twenty-four Pounders, ſeated on and commanding the upper Part of the Harbour: Between this and the eaſtern Gate was the Iron battery, mounting thirty Guns: Oppoſite to this was the grand Battery of thirty-five forty-two Pounders, which commanded both the Entry and all the Bay; and at the Mouth of the Harbour was the Iſland-Battery, of thirty-four forty-two Pounders: The Walls, Ramparts, and Baſtions of the City, had 148 Embraſures, though only ſixty-four Cannon mounted; but there were ten Mortars of thirteen Inches bore, and ſix of nine Inches; and the Garriſon conſiſted of 1,200 regular Soldiers, under the Command of Monſieur Chambon: but the Fortifications on the Land Side were not entirely finiſhed at the Time of the Siege; there being no Outworks, Glacis, or Covered-way: Beſides, though the Baſtions and Curtains were of Maſonry to the Summit, which was thirty-ſix Feet above the Field, yet theſe, and the Quoins and Embraſures, were cemented with ſuch indifferent Mortar, that they were incapable to reſiſt the Fury of a ſtrong and continual Battery.

[b] As the principal Effort, for the Reduction of the City, was to be made from the Faſcine-battery; this occaſioned General Pepperell to order ſeveral Guns, of forty-two Pounders, to be dragged from the Grand to the Faſcine-battery, notwithſtanding it was two Miles diſtant: ſuch was the Courage, the Eagerneſs, the Activity, and unfainting Strength of the Beſiegers, that they readily and chearfully executed every Part of their laborious Duty; they deſpiſed the Thoughts of Fatigue; their Toil was Glory, their Danger Virtue: Inſpired with theſe animating Sentiments, they were ſupported under their conſtant Labour, in drawing Stores, carrying Cannon over Hills and Vallies, over Rocks, and through Moraſſes, up to the Middle in Mire; in digging Trenches, raiſing of Batteries, firing Shot and Bombs inceſſantly, both Day and Night, againſt the City; and this with ſuch ſuprizing Succeſs, eſpecially from Men inexpert in Military Affairs, as to do continual Execution among the French; diſmounting their Cannon, beating down their Houſes, Walls, and Flankers; annoying them beyond all Expectation.

and alſo incommoded the Forces at the grand Battery; accordingly, on the 23d of *May*, a great Number of Men were buſily employed in furniſhing about fifty Whale-boats, with Paddles, Ladders, and other Conveniencies for their Attempt; and, about Twelve o'Clock, 500 Men, of the Land Forces and Marines, embarked from on board the Men of War, with a View of reducing the Fortreſs: but, at that Time there aroſe ſuch a prodigious Fog, that they could not ſee where to land, notwithſtanding they were in the Nut of the Shore; and, when it began to clear up, they were obliged to draw off; though then there were only fourteen Men in the Iſland Battery. This obliged the *French* to a more cautionary Defence, by garriſoning the Battery with 360 Men: the Beſiegers were ſo far from being intimidated, that, on the 27th of *May*, they renewed the Attempt, with 320 Men; who embarked about two o'Clock in the Morning, and endeavoured to ſcale the Walls of the Fort: but the *French* diſcovered them; and, as ſoon as the Boats came near to the Shore, fired their large Cannon with Cartridge-ſhot, and deſtroyed ſeveral of the Boats, as well as the Men: notwithſtanding thoſe that actually landed fought till Sun-riſe, and then called for Quarter; having thirty-ſix Men killed, and 118 taken Priſoners, in this daring Attempt. Though defeated in their Deſign, the Beſiegers collected freſh Courage from Diſappointment; for, on the 1ſt of *June*, they erected a new Battery at the Light-houſe, and hoiſted up ſome of the heavieſt Cannon, and Mortars, on the Cliff, which overlooked and commanded the Iſland-battery: this was done with ſuch ſurprizing Strength, Agility, and Diſpatch, that the *French* were prodigiouſly amazed to find ſo laborious a Work executed in one Night; a Work that promiſed a ſucceſsful Event to the Beſiegers; becauſe one Flanker of the Battery fronted the Sea, and the other was directly oppoſite to the Iſland-battery; ſo that the Beſiegers could ſweep the Platform of the Iſland-battery, and command all the Shipping that went in, or came out, of the Harbour.

The Beſiegers were now beginning to ſlacken their Fire, not having a ſufficient Quantity of Powder for any more than four Rounds at the Grand-battery; but this Miſfortune was opportunely removed, by the Arrival of ſome Veſſels from *Boſton*, with 600 Barrels of Powder, and Stores for the Army: Theſe Veſſels brought Intelligence that 1,000 Men were voluntarily raiſed, in *New England*, to reinforce the Troops: Advice was alſo brought that the *French* Fleet of Men of War, deſtined for the Relief of *Cape Breton*, was detained at *Breſt* by the *Britiſh* Squadron: This diffuſed a general Joy through the Army, animating the Men with new Life, additional Spirits, and indefatigable Strength; which was augmented by the Capture of a *French* Ship of fourteen carriage Guns, and above 300 Ton, laden with Stores and Proviſions for the City; and was the more to be regretted by the *French*, as they ſubſiſted entirely on Salt-fiſh, Bread, and Peaſe: beſides, the Beſiegers had Information from two Deſerters, that there were not above 100 Barrels of Powder left in the City, for all the Batteries; and, to this, the Governor had the Mortification to hear of the Capture of three other Veſſels laden with Stores and Proviſions for the Garriſon.

By the extraordinary Diſpatch of the Orders, for naval Aſſiſtance, from the *Britiſh* Government, the Commodore, on the 11th of *June*, was alſo reinforced by the *Princeſs Mary* of ſixty Guns, with the *Hector*, and the *Lark* of forty Guns; ſo that the whole Fleet conſiſted of four Ships of ſixty Guns, one of fifty Guns, and five of forty Guns; beſides the *French* Man War, ſeveral Privateers, and other Veſſels of Force. The *French* Priſoners taken in the *Vigilante*, and ſome others who were made Captives by Land, being upwards of 1,000 Men, were ſent to *Boſton*: after which the Beſiegers redoubled their Fire againſt the City, and the Iſland-battery; and alſo erected another Faſcine-battery, of five Guns of forty-two Pounders, about a Mile to the Weſtward of the Grand-battery, directly fronting the Circular-battery of the City: from all which they made ſuch a continual Fire, that the *French*, on the 14th of *June*, were greatly diſtreſſed in the Iſland-battery by the Bombs and Shot, which made great Execution, from the Lighthouſe-battery; and every thing was preparing for a general Aſſault, both by Land and Water, when, on the 15th, a Flag of Truce came from the City, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, to the *Britiſh* Camps, with Offers from the Governor to deliver up the City: upon which General *Pepperell*, and Commodore *Warren*, directed the Flag of Truce to attend, at Eight o'Clock the next Morning, for their Reſolution on ſo important an Affair; and all the Batteries were commanded to ceaſe firing till further Orders. The Flag of Truce attended at the Time appointed, and carried back the Terms of the Capitulation propoſed by Commodore *Warren* and General *Pepperell*; which were agreed to by Monſieur *Chambon*, the Governor of *Louiſburg*; whereby the *French* were permitted to enjoy all their perſonal Effects, and to be tranſported to *France* at the Expence of the Beſiegers.

The *French* Flag was ſtruck on the 17th, and the *Britiſh* Flag hoiſted up in its place, at the Iſland-battery; of which the Beſiegers took Poſſeſſion early in the Morning. At Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, Commodore *Warren*, with all the Men of War, Privateers, Store-ſhips, and Tranſports, made a fine Appearance on their Entrance into *Louiſburg* Harbour; and, when all were ſafely moored, they proceeded to fire on ſuch a victorious and joyful Occaſion. About Four o'Clock, in the Afternoon, the *Britiſh* Forces marched to the South-gate of the City, which they entered, and proceeded to the Parade, near the Citadel: The *French* Troops were all drawn up in regular Order; and the *Britiſh* Forces received the uſual Salutes, every Part being performed with all the Decency and Decorum imaginable: after which the Guard and Watch of the City, Garriſons, and other Places, were delivered to the *Britiſh* Troops; and, on the 4th of *July*, the Garriſon, and a great Number of the Inhabitants, embarked on board fourteen Cartel Ships, convoyed by the *Launceſton* Man of War, who conducted them to *Rochfort* [a].

In this manner, after a continual Siege of forty-ſeven Days, the *Britiſh* Forces cauſed the Reduction of the City of *Louiſburg*, and the Subjection of the whole Iſland of *Cape Breton* to his *Britannic* Majeſty [b].

The Beſiegers, from the Inveſtiture to the Surrender of the City, fired 9,000 Shot, and 600 Bombs: which occaſioned the Deſtruction of the principal Part of the City, the Demolition of the Citadel and Hoſpital, and the Death of 240 of the Garriſon: though the Beſiegers, in all their cloſe and conſtant Aſſaults and Skirmiſhes, had not above twenty ſlain at the Batteries, nor above 100 in all: it was alſo ſurprizing, that, in ſuch a Climate and Seaſon, and under ſuch exceſſive Fatigues, the Beſiegers did not loſe above 100 Men by Sickneſs; though the Camp-dyſentery was common in the Army: and alſo of ſo many Veſſels tranſporting, and cruiſing, in the ſtormy Months of *March* and *April*, that only one of 100 Men ſhould be loſt, ſeems almoſt miraculous; eſpecially as, during all the Siege, there was an uninterrupted Series of fair Weather, till the ſurrender of the City, when all the Rigour of the Seaſon was felt in the utmoſt Severity of continual Storms, and exceſſive Rains, for ten Days together.

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[a] Where the Clemency of the Britiſh Commanders, at Cape Breton, was ill requited by Commodore M^c^ Nemarra, the Commander of the French Squadron in that Port, who treated the Britiſh Captain and Sailors with an unexpected Severity, denying them the Liberty of going on Shore to purchaſe freſh Proviſions, and ordering the Centinels to ſhoot every Engliſhman who attempted to land: though this Inhumanity was not ſo much the Effect of a Reſentment for the Loſs of ſo important a Place, as for the Detention of Marſhal Belleiſle, at that Time a Priſoner in England; for the French declared, that the Cartel of Francfort had been violated, in Prejudice to this Nobleman; and till he was admitted to the Benefit of that Treaty, they diſregarded every Stipulation of the ſame Nature; of which their Behaviour after the Battle of Fontenoy was but too recent an Inſtance, ſtill bleeding freſh in the Memory of the Britiſh Subjects. [b] Congratulations, from every Quarter, were ſent to his Britannic Majeſty, on ſo joyful an Occaſion: the Government engaged to reimburſe the Expences of the Expedition: his Majeſty granted to General Pepperell the Dignity of a Baronet; and Commodore Warren was immediately appointed Rear-admiral of the Blue, in Recompence for their eminent Services; but the Goverment of the Iſland was ſoon after beſtowed on Commodore Knowles, who ſucceeded to the Command of the Ships on that Station: a large Train of Artillery, and ſeveral Engineers, were ſent from Woolwich, for the better Security of the Iſland: two American Regiments were raiſed and put in Garriſon at Louiſburg; the one commanded by Governor Shirley, and the other by Sir William Pepperell; and theſe were afterwards reinforced by the Regiment commanded by General Fuller, and the Regiment commanded by Colonel Warburton, who were ordered from Gibraltar, and ſet ſail on the 28th of October, for Louiſburg, under Convoy of the Dover Man of War: ſeveral Families were tranſported from England to inhabit the Country; which the French were never able to reconquer, and had never regained it, but as the Price and Condition of a Peace, to ſtop their victorious Progreſs on the Continent of Europe. The Britiſh Parliament, before the Reſtoration of this valuable Acqueſt, to the French, thought proper to reimburſe the Money which the Provinces of New-England had expended in the Reduction of the Iſland: and accordingly, in the Seſſion at the cloſe of the Year 1747, the Houſe of Commons voted the Sum of 183,649 l. 2 s. 7 d. to be repaid the Maſſachuſet Colony; 16,355 l. 13 s. 4 d. to the Colony of New-Hampſhire; 28,863 l. 19 s. 1 d. to the Colony of Connecticut; 6,332 l. 12 s. 10 d. to the Colony of Rhode-Iſland; and 547 l. 15 s. to Capt. Gibſon, a Volunteer in the Expedition: in all 235,749 l. 2 s. 10 d.

Amongſt the *American* Iſlands the *French* Commodore *Caylus* ſtruck great Terror with his ſuperior Force, Vice-admiral *Davers* not being in a Condition to drive him out of thoſe Seas. *Antigua* and *Jamaica* were both apprehenſive of a Viſit from the Enemy: But at laſt his Attention terminated againſt the little Iſland of *Anguilla*, whoſe Inhabitants laſt Year had diſpoſſeſſed the *French* from the Iſland of *St. Martin*. The *French* Squadron detached on this Expedition, was commanded by Captain *Latouche*, who with two Men of War, three private Sloops, and two Tenders, arrived at the Iſland on the 21ſt of *May*, and landed 650 Men, which were bravely oppoſed by the Governor, and his inconſiderable Handful of Men, amounting to no more than 112 in Number. The Governor, not at all intimidated at the Superiority of the *French*, poſted his little Force in the moſt advantageous Situation of a narrow Paſs, where they threw up a ſmall Breaſt-work, and poſted 32 of their Company to defend it; the *French* advanced to this Poſt; when Governor *Hodge* encouraged his Men with a ſhort and honeſt Speech, informing them, "That he was "an utter Stranger to all manner of military Diſcipline, "ſo had nothing to recommend to them but to load and "fire as faſt as they could, and ſtand by one another in "the Defence of their Country." This animated his brave Fellows; they all ſhook Hands, and ſolemnly bound themſelves to each other, either to drive away the *French*, or periſh in the Attempt; and then prepared for the Engagement. The *French* met with an unexpected Repulſe; they could not overcome the Reſolution of Men aſpiring to Victory, or devoted to Death; they were ſlaughtered before the Breaſt-work, and in leſs than a quarter of an Hour entirely routed, with the Loſs of 32 Men killed, 25 dangerouſly wounded, and 46 diſperſed into the Woods, and left on the Iſland, while their Companions thought proper to return to *Leogane*: Neither the Governor nor his Men received any Damage; but the *French* had a Captain and three other Officers killed on the Spot; Captain *Latouche* was wounded in two Places; and his ſecond Captain, and the firſt Lieutenant of the other Ship, died of their Wounds next Morning on-board.

As the Force under Vice-admiral *Davers* was inſufficient for the Protection of *Jamaica* and the *Leeward-Iſlands*, the *Britiſh* Government ordered Vice-admiral *Townſend* to proceed with a Squadron from the *Mediterranean*, and reinforce the Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*. Vice-admiral *Townſend* ſet ſail from *Gibraltar* on the 2d of *Auguſt*, with the *Lenox* of 70 Guns, the *Dreadnought*, *Worceſter*, and *Kingſton*, of 60; the *Hampſhire*, *Argyll*, and *Severn*, of 50; the *Gibraltar* of 20 Guns; and the *Comet* Bomb. The Squadron, on the 3d of *October*, arrived off *Martinico*, where the Vice-admiral was joined by the *Pembroke* of 60 Guns, and the *Woolwich* of 50; when the whole Squadron conſiſted of 11 Ships. The Iſland of *Martinico* had been long kept in the utmoſt Neceſſity for Proviſions and Supplies; but the *French* had lately ſent Commodore *Macnemara* from *Rochfort* with ſeven Men of War, and 200 Sail of Ships, laden with Merchandize and Proviſions, under Convoy. Vice-admiral *Townſend* expected, and waited for the Arrival of the *French* Commodore till the 31ſt of *October*, when, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, the Vice-admiral diſcovered 40 Sail, being the *French* Commodore with four Ships of his Squadron, and part of his Convoy, coming round the South-end of *Martinico*, cloſe under the Shore, which the *Britiſh* Squadron ſtemmed with, and ſoon drew nigh enough to make them; when five or ſix appeared to be pretty large Ships; whereupon the Vice-admiral formed the Line of Battle: But, finding the *French* Commodore endeavour to avoid him, the Vice-admiral hauled down the Signal for the Line, ordered a general Chace, and purſued the *French* with all poſſible Expedition; which ſucceeded ſo well, that ſeveral of the *French* Ships were driven to Leeward, and taken up by ſome of the *Britiſh* Squadron. Vice-admiral *Townſend* continued to purſue the Men of War, and one of them, called the *Ruby*, of 60 Guns, carrying away her Top-maſt, the *Lenox* got near enough to exchange ſome Broadſides, and forced her on-ſhore into a ſandy Bay, under a Fortification on the South-ſide of the Iſland. The Commodore, in the *Magnanimous* of 80 Guns, with great Difficulty got under the Protection of *Fort-Royal*, and a Battery of 40 Guns on the oppoſite Shore; but, being in great Hurry and Confuſion, run a-ground, where he lay forty-eight Hours, and received conſiderable Damage. Vice-admiral *Townſend* ſpent the Remainder of this and all the three following Days, in cutting out, burning, and deſtroying the Merchant-ſhips; of which 15 were taken, three burnt, and ſome bulged upon the Rocks the firſt Day of the Purſuit; though the *French* had above 30 Sail either taken, ſunk, burnt, or deſtroyed; Which was a ſevere Stroke on their *Weſt-India* Trade, and in particular aggravated the Diſtreſs of the Inhabitants of *Martinico*, who were already in a deplorable Condition.

Vice-admiral *Townſend* afterwards put into *Prince Rupert's Bay*, in the Iſland of *Dominico*, about nine Leagues North of *Martinico*, and 47 N. W. of *Barbadoes*; from whence he repaired to *Antigua*, and continued on that Station till the 9th of *November*; when he proceeded to lie off *St. Piers* in *Martinico*: By which Diſpoſition the Iſland was precluded from receiving any Supplies, and a Privateer of 20 Guns, and 200 Men, commanded by Captain *Ballanki*, who had done the greateſt Miſchief of any Privateer in *America*, fell into the Hands of the *Britiſh* Squadron. The Vice-admiral alſo took five *Dutch* Ships bound to *Martinico*, with Proviſions from *St. Euſtatia*; and ſo cloſely inveſted the Iſland, that the Scarcity of Proviſions occaſioned the Deaths of ſeveral Thouſands of Negroes, and common People of *Martinico*[*].

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[*] Theſe were all the material Tranſactions of this Year in America, excluſive of all the valuable Captures made by ſeveral of the Britiſh Men of War and Privateers. In January the Flamborough Man of War of 20 Guns, took a French Ship of 320 Tons, 24 Guns, and 120 Men, from the Havanna for Cadiz, with 60,000 Pieces of Eight, ſome Cheſts of Gold-duſt, and other rich Merchandize; and, after an obſtinate Engagement, in which the French had 42 Men killed, carried the Prize into South Carolina. The Flamborough alſo took a Spaniſh Regiſter Ship worth 50,000 *l.* The Roſe Man of War of 20 Guns, commanded by Captain Frankland, being cruiſing on the Carolina Station, on the 12th of January fell in with the Conception, a French Ship of 400 Tons, 20 Guns, and 326 Men, from Carthagena for the Havanna; and, after a ſmart Engagement of eleven Glaſſes, in which the Conception had 110 Men killed: the Roſe, with the Loſs of five Men, took the Prize into Charles Town in South Carolina, where ſhe proved a very valuable Acquiſition, her Cargo conſiſting of 800 Serons of Cocoa, in each of which was depoſited a Bar of Gold; 68 Cheſts of Silver Coin, containing 310,000 Pieces of Eight; wrought Plate of equivalent Value; a complete Set of Church Plate; a large Quantity of Gold Buckles and Snuff-boxes; a curious two-wheeled Chaiſe of Silver, the Wheels, Axletree, and other Parts, of the ſame Metal; a large Quantity of Pearls, Diamonds, and other precious Stones; and above 600 lb. weight of Gold; the whole worth 200,000 *l.* Some Merchants of London had fitted out three Privateers, intended for a Joint Cruiſe, under the Command of Captain Talbot, who was to act as the Commodore; with the Prince Frederic of 28 Guns, and 240 Men; the Duke, Captain Morecock, of 20 Guns, and 150 Men; and the Prince George, of 20 Guns, and 134 Men. The Squadron ſet ſail from Cowes, in the Iſle of Wight, on the 2d of June; but on the 7th the Prince George unfortunately overſet and ſunk; and though the Commodore immediately went to her Aſſiſtance, he could ſave no more than 20 Men out of the 134. However, not diſcouraged with ſo unfavourable a Beginning, the Prince Frederic and Duke continued their Courſe off the Coaſt of Portugal; but, meeting with no remarkable Succeſs, they ſteered for the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands, ſituate between 25 and 33 Degrees of Weſt Longitude, and between 36 and 40 Degrees of North Latitude; being nine in Number, and ſubject to the Crown of Portugal. The two Privateers, on the 20th of June, made the Iſle of St. Mary, the ſouthermoſt of the Azores; when they ſtood away to the weſtward, to cruiſe between theſe Iſlands and the great Bank of Newfoundland. Their Cruiſe was unſucceſsful till the 10th of July, and then, between Five and Six in the Morning, they diſcovered three Sail bearing Weſt; which happened to be the Marquis d'Antin of 450 Tons, 24 Guns, and 68 Men, commanded by Captain Magon Serpere; the Lewis Eraſmus of 500 Tons, 28 Guns, and 66 Men, commanded by Captain Pedro Lavigne Luenell; and the Notre Dame de Deliverance of 300 Tons, 22 Guns, and 60 Men, commanded by Captain Pedro Litant; all three of them belonged to St. Maloes, and having been out four Years in the South-Seas, on the Coaſts of Chili and Peru, and now on their Return, immenſely rich, from Lima in Peru. The two Privateers bore down on the French, who made little account of them, and kept their Wind; but a quarter paſt Seven, Captain Talbot fired a Gun at them, when the French hoiſted

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The naval War in *Europe* was ſucceſsfully proſecuted on all ſides by the Cruiſers and Privateers; but the reſpective Squadrons never came to any general Engagement. However the *Britiſh* Government took care to ſtation a Squadron at *Plymouth*, under the Command of Vice-admiral *Martin*, who diligently attended the Motions of the *French* Fleet at *Breſt*, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful Cruiſes in the Channel, while Rear-admiral *Medley* was ordered from *Spithead* with a Squadron of ſeven Men of War, conſiſting of the *Ipſwich* of 70 Guns, the *Jerſey* of 60, the *Harwich* and the *Wincheſter* of 50, and the *Goſport*, *Ludlow-Caſtle*, and *Maidſtone* of 40, as Convoy to nine Sail of *Eaſt-India* Men, and above 100 Sail of Merchant-ſhips, as far as the Streights of *Gibraltar*; when the Rear-admiral was to reinforce the Squadron under Vice-admiral *Rowley*. Rear-admiral *Medley* ſet ſail on the 21ſt of *February* from *Spithead*; but on the 27th ſeveral of his Convoy received conſiderable Damage, by running foul of one another in *Torbay*, on the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*; after which the Rear-admiral conducted the *Portugal* Fleet to *Liſbon*, and then proceeded to meet Vice-admiral *Rowley* at *Minorca*, where he joined him on the 10th of *April*.

Vice-admiral *Rowley* had poſted his Cruiſers in ſuch convenient Stations, as proved extremely detrimental both to the *French* and *Spaniards*; but when he received his expected Reinforcement, he proceeded with Rear-admiral *Medley*, and 24 Ships of the Line, to block up the *Spaniſh* Squadron in the Port of *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* had the *Royal Philip*, and the *Iſabella* refitted, with five Ships of 64 Guns, two of 60, five of 54, and one of 50, clean, full-manned, and ready to put to Sea, in hopes of convoying the Tranſports to *Italy*, and in expectation of effecting a Junction with the *Breſt* Squadron; but all their Schemes were fruſtrated by the Vigilance of Vice-admiral *Rowley*, who not only prevented the *Spaniſh* Fleet from putting to Sea, but alſo detached Commodore *Oſborne*, with 12 Sail of the Line, to cruiſe off *Cadiz*, and interrupt the Proceedings of the *Breſt* Squadron, which was really intended for a more important Service than the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*; for this Armament was ſecretly augmenting, with a Deſign to favour the Enterprize then in Agitation for uſhering the young Pretender to the *Britiſh* Throne on the public Theatre, in a very formidable and illuſtrious Character: But a Part of this Squadron lay cruiſing between *Liſbon* and *Gibraltar*, where they took the *Blandford* Man of War of 20 Guns, commanded by Captain *Dodd*, who refuſed, at the Peril of his Life, to make any Diſcovery of the *Britiſh* Squadron; however they had Intelligence of the Situation of Commodore *Oſborne*, and avoided him.

Immediately on the Declaration of Hoſtilities by the *Genoeſe* againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, Vice-admiral *Rowley* ſent Commodore *Cooper*, with a part of his Fleet, to bombard the Coaſt of *Genoa*; and before the middle of *September*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, and *Final*, felt this dreadful Calamity, though they eſcaped tolerably well in compariſon of *St. Remo*, which was almoſt reduced to Aſhes by the Thunder of the *Britiſh* Ships. Not ſatisfied with thus puniſhing the Infidelity of the terrified *Genoeſe*, Commodore *Cooper* proceeded to *Baſtia*, the Capital of *Corſica*, where a conſiderable Body of Malecontents were in Arms under the Marquis *Rivola*, who acted openly for their *Hungarian* and *Sardinian* Majeſties, and had ſtrongly ſolicited the Aſſiſtance of the *Britiſh* Admiral, to expel the *Genoeſe* from an Iſland they had ſo long held in a deſpotical Subjection. Upon the Arrival of Commodore *Cooper*, the Caſtle and City were cannonaded and bombarded for two Hours with extraordinary Fury; and though the Marquis *de Mari* had a Garriſon of 600 Men, he was obliged to abandon the Caſtle, and retire to *Calvi*, where he expected to be followed by the diſguſted *Corſicans*; who, before the Cloſe of the Year, obliged the *Genoeſe* to ſurrender the Caſtle of *St. Fiorenzo*, and the Tower of *Mortella*[*].

The Time was come for the *French* Miniſtry to execute the Scheme in favour of the Pretender, as they gave out, but in reality, as their laſt Shift, to force the *Engliſh* into

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their Colours, and formed a Line: The Duke, being ſomewhat too haſty, went to windward, and immediately began to fire away; while Captain Talbot bore to leeward, and advanced within Piſtol-ſhot of the neareſt Ship to him, which was the Marquis d'Antin; where they entertained each other exceeding ſmartly, for three Hours, before the French ſubmitted. During the time that the Prince Frederic was engaging the Marquis d'Antin, the Lewis Eraſmus got on his Bow, and put Captain Talbot between two Fires; who, as ſoon as the firſt Ship had ſtruck, loſt no time, but went and returned the Viſit to the Lewis Eraſmus; at the ſame time that the Notre Dame de Deliverance crouded away from the Duke, who had Orders to chace her, while Captain Talbot attacked the Lewis Eraſmus; where he found ſuch warm Work, that it was three Hours before ſhe would ſtrike: Though the Captain of the Duke, ſeeing Night coming on, and apprehending that Captain Talbot would be puzzled to take care of the diſabled Ships, quitted the Chace, and let the third make her Eſcape. Captain Talbot all along conceived that his Adverſaries were Martinico Ships, but was agreeably ſurprized to underſtand they were richly laden with the Treaſures of Peru and Chili; a Treaſure that might well repay him and his Sailors for their Trouble; though the Prince Frederic had one Lieutenant and five Men killed, and 25 wounded; the Duke had ſeven Men killed, and eight wounded: The Lewis Eraſmus had only the Captain and one Man killed, and four wounded; and the Marquis d'Antin had no more than the Captain and ſix Men killed, and eight wounded; but this was owing to the Engliſh Captain firing more at their Rigging than between the Decks, for fear of ſinking them. The Prizes loſt all their Maſts, and were obliged to be towed by the Prince Frederic and Duke to Kinſale in Ireland, where they happily arrived on the 30th of July; when Captain Talbot found that the Prizes had a Treaſure of 2,665,315 Dollars in Specie; Piſtoles and Doubloons, to the Value of 300,693 Dollars; Gold Bars to the Value of 32,000 Dollars; and wrought Plate to the Value of 11,000 Dollars; amounting in all to 3,009,008 Dollars, being 677,026 *l.* beſides 800 Tons of Cocoa, and other valuable Effects; which were convoyed by three Men of War to Briſtol, and conducted in 45 Waggons to the Tower of London; the whole Weight of Treaſure, including the Package, amounting to ſeventy-eight Tons, thirteen hundred, one-quarter, and ſixteen Pounds; the Proprietors having 700,000 *l.* to their Share, and every common Seaman being intitled to 850 *l.* for his Dividend. The Notre Dame de Deliverance, that eſcaped from the Duke Privateer, made the beſt of her way to Cape Briton, imagining the French had ſtill Poſſeſſion of the Iſland; where ſhe was taken on the 20th of July by the Sutherland and Cheſter Men of War, and carried into Louiſburg; when ſhe appeared as valuable a Prize as either of her Conſorts, her Cargo conſiſting of 18 Serons of Gold, weighing 1170 lb. Averdupoiſe, 15,399 Double Doubloons, 162 Gold Snuff-boxes, weighing 952 Ounces; 1,072,000 Pieces of Eight; 764 Ounces of Virgin Silver, 31 Pounds of Silver Ore; ſeveral Diamond Rings and Solitairs; 876 Serons of Cocoa, 203 Serons of Jeſuits Bark, 191 tanned Hides, 181 Dozen of Fans, and 36 Bales of Carmenian Wool; the whole amounting to upwards of 460,000 *l.* which was ſafely conducted to Portſmouth, under Convoy of four Men of War. In Auguſt the La Charmante, a French Eaſt-India Ship of 600 Tons, 28 Guns, and 99 Men, was taken by the Princeſs Mary and Canterbury Men of War, and carried into Louiſburg, with a Cargo worth upwards of 200,000 *l.* About the ſame time the Cheſter and Mermaid Men of War, brought into Louiſburg, the Heron, another Ship belonging to the French Eaſt-India Company, with a Cargo worth 140,000 *l.* The French had alſo a Man of War of 24 Guns, and another of 20 Guns, taken and carried into Antigua; and the Britiſh Cruiſers, and Privateers, made ſeveral other conſiderable Captures both from the French and Spaniards. The French, on the 12th of Auguſt, took the Falcon Sloop of War, and carried her into Martinico: But the moſt conſiderable Prizes taken either by the French or Spaniards in America, were no ways of an Equality with the valuable Captures made by the Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers: For the French took only the Falcon, one Britiſh Privateer, and 66 mercantile Veſſels in America; and the Spaniards took one Privateer, and 58 Merchant Veſſels: So that the whole Number of the Britiſh Ships that this Year fell into the Hands of the French and Spaniards in America, was one Sloop of War, two Privateers, and 123 Merchant Veſſels: But the Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers in America, took five French, and two Spaniſh Men of War; nine French, and five Spaniſh Privateers; 93 French, and 47 Spaniſh Merchant Ships: In all ſeven Men of War, 14 Privateers, and 140 Merchant Veſſels.

[*] The Cruiſers and Privateers were numerous and active, and ſeveral obſtinate Engagements happened, particularly between the Engliſh and French; though at the beginning of the Year the Britiſh Nation began to be alarmed at the Conduct of ſome of their naval Commanders, in permitting two French Men of War to eſcape, without coming to an Engagement: For Captain Moſtyn, who commanded the Hampton-Court of 70 Guns, being cruiſing in the Channel, in conſort with Captain Griffin, in the Captain of 70 Guns; Captain Fowkes, in the Dreadnought of 60 Guns; and Captain Brett, in the Sunderland of 50 Guns; ſaw three Sail about three Leagues diſtant, and ſteered after them; which happened to be the Neptune and Fleuron, two French Men of War, the former of 74 Guns, and 700 Men; and the latter of 60 Guns, and 600 Men; with the Dartmouth Privateer which they had lately taken. Captain Griffin purſued, and retook the Privateer; but the Sunderland had carried away her Main-top-maſt, and could not join in purſuing the Men of War; neither could the Dreadnought keep company with the Hampton-Court; ſo that Captain Moſtyn was obliged to abandon the Chace. Such a Conduct diſguſted the Britiſh Nation, who upbraided ſome of the Commanders with Cowardice; which occaſioned the Captains to deſire a legal Examination into their Conduct: And accordingly a Court-Martial was held on the 31ſt of January, on-board the Lenox, in Portſmouth Harbour, compoſed of Vice-admiral Steuart, Rear-admiral Medley, and 15 Captains; who, after examining the Evidences, and inſpecting into the Log-books of the reſpective Ships, were unanimouſly of Opinion, that Captain Moſtyn had done his Duty as an experienced and good Officer, and as a Man of Courage and Conduct: They juſtified the Conduct of Captain Griffin; and alſo declared that Captain Fowkes, and Captain Brett, had performed their Duty in every reſpect: Though this Deciſion was far from ſatisfying the Public, who conceived that the French Ships muſt have neceſſarily ſtruck to the Superiority of the Britiſh Captains; and that the Matter merited a more particular and ſtricter Enquiry. The

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a premature Peace: And the young Adventurer, who was to be the Dupe of their Politicks, had been ſo long buoyed up with the Expectations of a Crown by their Aſſurances, that he in a manner forced them into a Performance of their Aſſiſtance. Mr. *Walſh*, an *Iriſh* Merchant at *St. Maloes*, ſtrongly attached to his Intereſt, procured him a Frigate of 18 Guns, 900 Stands of Arms, 800 Broadſwords, and 2000 *l.* in Money; with which the young Pretender embarked at *Port-Lazare* in *Britany*, attended by five Servants, and ſeven of his exiled Adherents, being the Marquis of *Tulliberdine*, General *Mac-Donald*, *Æneas Mac-Donald* Banker in *Paris*, Mr. *Kelly*, Colonel *Strickland*, Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, Colonel *Sullivan*, and *Roy Steuart*. With this inconſiderable Force the young Adventurer ſet ſail on the 14th of *July* 1745; but off the Height of *Belliſle* he was joined by the *Elizabeth*, a *French* Man of War of 66 Guns, which the Miniſtry had fitted out to attend and convoy him in this Expedition. As his Deſign was to ſail round *Ireland*, and land in the N. W. of *Scotland*, the Ships proceeded to the ſouthern Coaſt of *Ireland*; but in their Paſſage they were attacked on the 20th by the *Lion* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Brett*; who, after a long Engagement diſabled the *Elizabeth*, and obliged her to return to *Breſt*; while the Frigate eſcaped, and continued her Courſe ſo expeditiouſly, that on the 23d of *July* the young Pretender found himſelf among the Weſtern Iſles of *Scotland*, where he continued cruiſing till the 26th, between the Iſlands of *Bara* and *South-Viſt*: But finding there was no Probability of being joined by the *Elizabeth*, the Frigate at laſt ſtood in for the Coaſt of *Lochabar*, one of the maritime Counties in the N. W. of *Scotland*, principally inhabited by Papiſts, and on the 27th of *July* landed the young Pretender, with his Companions, at *Moidart*, between the Iſlands of *Sky* and *Mull*.

The young Pretender went immediately to the Houſe of Mr. *Mac-Donald* of *Kenloch Moidart*; where he remained for ſome time, before he was in any Condition to make a public Appearance. The Chiefs of the Clans affected to his Service, continually reſorted to him, paying him every Mark of Reſpect and Obedience, though they were greatly diſappointed in the manner of his Arrival, for they had been promiſed, and they expected, he would make a magnificent Figure at the Head of 16,000 of the beſt Troops of *France*, well ſupplied with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, to be ſafely tranſported and landed, under the Protection of a potent Fleet. However, this did not diſcourage the Clans from repairing to their expected Leader; being ſtill flattered by their Chiefs, that the promiſed Succours were at hand, and would certainly arrive before there was any Occaſion of coming to Action.

Having collected about 2200 diſaffected Highlanders, he took the Field, avowed his Pretenſions, and on the 11th of *Auguſt* erected his Standard, with the Motto *Tandem triumphans*. As he had procured the Commiſſion of Generaliſſimo of the *French* Troops, he next aſſumed the Title of Prince-Regent; and, on his public Appearance, publiſhed two Manifeſtoes in the Name of his Father, the one dated in 1743, when the former Invaſion was intended, and another dated the 10th of *Auguſt* 1745, in which he declared his Son Regent for *Scotland*, with large Promiſes of ſecuring the *Scots* in their Rights and Liberties, of diſſolving the Union, and repealing the Malt Duty. The Rebels immediately formed an Encampment in the Neighbourhood of *Fort William*, one of the three Fortreſſes erected by Marſhal *Wade* for the Security and Tranquillity of the Highlands, at *Innerlochy* in the County of *Lochabar*, 100 Miles N. W. of *Edinburgh*, and 28 Miles S. W. of *Fort Auguſtus* in the County of *Inverneſs*.

This Beginning attended by a Defeat of a Party ſent to reconnoitre them from *Fort William*, and their future Succeſs, which favoured their Advance as far as the Town of *Derby* in *England*, ſtruck the Capital of the Iſle itſelf with Terror and Amazement: But the Unanimity and Vigour with which all Denominations acted on this Occaſion, in favour

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Rupert and Guernſey Men of War, the former commanded by Captain Ambroſe, and the latter by Captain Corniſh, on the 24th of March, took the Maria Fortunata, a Spaniſh Regiſter Ship from Cadiz to Buenos Ayres, of 350 Tons, 16 Guns, and 64 Men, beſides Paſſengers, among whom was the Governor of Paraguay; which was a valuable Prize, the Cargo having coſt above 100,000 *l.* at Cadiz, where Inſurances were made on the Ship to the Amount of 550,000 Dollars. The Sunderland Man of War, commanded by Captain Brett; and the Cheſter of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain Geary; on the 26th of March took the Elephant a French Man of War of 20 Guns, and 140 Men, commanded by Monſieur Sallette, from Miſſiſippi to Rochfort, with 24,000 Pieces of Eight, ſome Indigo, Hides, Logwood, and Tobacco; with the Superintendant of Miſſiſippi, his Wife and Family; two Merchants, and ſome Land-officers, Paſſengers; who were all brought into Plymouth. The Sheerneſs Privateer, commanded by Captain Furneſſ, on the 30th of March took the La Frigate de Affairs, a French Eaſt-India-man homeward-bound from Mocha, laden with Coffee, and 300 Tons Burden; which was carried into Briſtol. Captain Griffin, in the Captain Man of War, being on a Cruiſe between Portland and the Caſkets, on the 24th of May, took the Grand Turk Privateer of 32 Guns, and 240 Men, belonging to St. Maloes; which was afterwards admitted into the Royal Service as a Man of War. The Veſtale, another Privateer, of 18 Guns, and 160 Men, who was in company with the Grand Turk, was taken at the ſame time by the Monmouth Man of War of 70 Guns, and both the Prizes carried into Plymouth. Captain Griffin, on the 2d of June, alſo took the Achilles Privateer of St. Maloes, of 22 Guns, and 148 Men, and ſent her into Plymouth. On the 25th of May, the Garriſon of Oſtend were alarmed, about One o'Clock in the Morning, by a terrible Firing at Sea; which was an Engagement under the Cannon of the Ramparts, between the Bridgewater of 20 Guns, commanded by Lord George Graham, the Sheerneſs of 20 Guns, and a Tender, who were cloſely engaged with the Real Privateer of 28 Guns, the Princeſs de Penthievre of 26, and a Dogger of 18, all belonging to Dunkirk, who had taken four Britiſh Veſſels in the northern Seas, and three others in the Channel, which were then under their Convoy. The Engagement continued above four Hours, when the Men of War run the two great Privateers, and four of the Prizes, on-ſhore, and ſecured the other Prizes; though the French Dogger made her Eſcape: The Diſpute was very ſharp and bloody, the Privateers fighting with the greateſt Reſolution, and ſuffering themſelves to be drove on-ſhore, with the Loſs of 84 Men killed, and 76 wounded, before the Engliſh could oblige them to ſtrike their Colours. Captain Brett, who had been Lieutenant of the Centurion, under Commodore Anſon, was lately, at the Requeſt of the Commodore, promoted from the Sunderland to the Command of the Lion of 60 Guns; and being on a Cruiſe in the Channel, on the 9th of July, fell in with the Mercury, a French Man of War of 64 Guns, and another Ship of 16 Guns, when they began a remarkably obſtinate and bloody Engagement, which laſted five Hours, within Piſtol-ſhot: But the Lion was ſo much diſabled in her Maſts and Rigging, as to do nothing with her Sails; which gave the French an Opportunity of eſcaping; yet not before the Mercury had 160 Men killed, and 140 wounded: The Lion had 47 Men killed, the Captain, and moſt of his Officers, and 107 Men wounded; though the Captain of Marines behaved with the greateſt Puſillanimity, for which he was afterwards tried by a Court-Martial, and deſervedly ſentenced to be ſhot, as an Example of Cowardice. In Auguſt, as Vice-admiral Martin was cruiſing in the Channel with a Squadron of ſeven Men of War, he took the Panther a French Man of War of 20 Guns, and 260 Men, commanded by Monſieur Keruzaret, of the Order of St. Lewis; with a Privateer, and ſeveral other Veſſels. The St. Eſprit, a French Man of War of 74 Guns, as ſhe was convoying ſome Merchant-ſhips from Cadiz on the 10th of Auguſt, was attacked by the Jerſey Man of War of 60 Guns, commanded by Captain Hardy, who engaged the St. Eſprit for two Hours and an half, when ſhe bore away with the Merchant-ſhips to refit at Cadiz: But the St. Eſprit was ſo greatly diſabled, that ſhe ſunk immediately after ſhe got into Port. The French were more ſucceſsful than the Spaniards in their maritime Acquiſitions, having fitted out a greater Number of Privateers, and given more Encouragement to their Sailors. On the 22d of April, Captain Belleiſle, in the Apollo Privateer of 54 Guns, and 500 Men, as he was cruiſing on the Coaſt of Jerſey, fell in with, and took the Angleſea Man of War of 40 Guns, and 250 Men, commanded by Captain Elton, who, after an obſtinate Engagement, was killed, as alſo was the firſt Lieutenant, and 60 of the Crew either killed or wounded; when the ſecond Lieutenant ſtruck the Colours, and ſurrendered the Ship; for which, on his Arrival in England, he was tried by a Court-Martial, and ſentenced to be ſhot, which was accordingly executed, though he died with every Sign of a brave and intrepid Man. The Apollo was afterwards very ſucceſsful, and, among other Prizes, took the Dartmouth Galley Privateer. The Elizabeth, a French Man of War of 66 Guns, on the 2d of November, took the Briſtol Privateer of 30 Guns, and 300 Men. The Mercury Man of War, on the 6th of the ſame Month, alſo took the Black Prince of Liverpool of 50 Guns, and 400 Men, being the ſtrongeſt Privateer fitted out ſince the War by the Britiſh Merchants. Several other of the French Men of War and Privateers, made Captures of many Britiſh Privateers, and mercantile Veſſels; but the Spaniards made no conſiderable Prizes. The Spaniards this Year took 43 Britiſh Veſſels in the European Seas, and 59 in America, in all 102; which made the whole Number of the Britiſh Veſſels taken by Spaniards, ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 888. The French had this Year made Captures of two Britiſh Men of War, the Wolf Sloop, and the Mercury Snow of War, 21 Privateers, and 327 Merchant Veſſels, in the European Seas; which, with the Captures in America, made the whole Number of the French Prizes for this Year conſiſt of two Men of War, two Sloops of War, one Snow of War, 22 Privateers, and 388 Merchant Veſſels, in all 415; making the whole Number of the Britiſh Veſſels, taken by the French ſince the Declaration of Hoſtilities, amount to 643; and thoſe taken in the preſent Year, both by the French and Spaniards, to conſiſt of 517, including the Men of War and Privateers. But the Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers were more ſucceſsful than both the French and Spaniards together; for they took 73 Spaniſh Veſſels in Europe, beſides the Captures in America; which made the whole Loſs that the Spaniards ſuſtained, during the Courſe of this Year, conſiſt of 122 Ships; making the whole Number of the Spaniſh Ships and Veſſels taken by the Engliſh, ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 972. The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers alſo took, this Year, from the French, 297 Ships and Veſſels in the European Seas; which, added to the Britiſh Captures in America, made the whole Loſs ſuſtained this Year by the French, to conſiſt of 404 Ships and Veſſels; making the whole Number of Prizes taken from the French, ſince the 24th of March 1744, amount to 750; and from both the French and Spaniards, in this Year, to 526; which was nine Ships more than the French and Spaniards had taken together.

favour of the Eſtabliſhment, broke all their Meaſures, drove them to Deſpair, obliged them to retreat to the Highlands, and to diſperſe; and ought to be a Bar to the like Attempt for the future.

The Government no leſs ſenſible of the Danger, than the People, omitted no Meaſures neceſſary to prevent all Supplies being ſent to the Rebels, and to repel their Force. His Majeſty prepared to take the Field in Perſon; a Camp was ordered to be formed on *Finchley-Common*, in the Neighbourhood of the Metropolis; and the brave *Vernon* was ſtationed to watch the *French* Attempts to throw Succours into this Nation to ſupport the Rebels.

This gallant Commander narrowly watched all the Preparations along the Coaſt of *France*, while Rear-admiral *Byng* continued in his Station on the eaſtern Coaſt of *Scotland*: For his Majeſty ſent an Expreſs to Admiral *Vernon*, on the 4th of *November*, for communicating to him the Intelligence of the *French* having actually begun a conſiderable Embarkation of *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Troops at *Dunkirk*; directing the Admiral to gather what Force of Ships he could immediately together, and to uſe his beſt Endeavours, either to prevent them from getting out of *Dunkirk*, or, if they came out, to take and deſtroy them. The Admiral had but an inconſiderable Force to oppoſe any formidable Invaſion, of which the Earl of *Sandwich*, who preſided in the ſecond Place at the Board of Admiralty, was ſo ſenſible, that on the 14th of *November* he informed the Admiral by Letter, "That he hoped the Admiral was convinced that his Lordſhip was not the only Perſon at the Board uneaſy to ſee one of his Character and Rank in the Service, in a Command, which, to be ſure, ſeemed not properly conſiſtent with the Dignity of his Station: But that ſuch were the Difficulties of the Times, and ſo many were the Services required to be executed, with an inſufficient Force, that though the Inclination of the Lords of the Admiralty would be to ſee the Admiral at the Head of the whole Fleet of the Kingdom, the Circumſtances of their Affairs at preſent were ſuch, and the Services required from them ſo various and diſtant, that they had been obliged to act contrary to their Intentions, in this, as well as in many other Deſtinations of the Force under his Directions." Admiral *Vernon* pointed out to the Board of Admiralty, that though he had but a ſmall Force, he had a large Diſtrict for being watchful of any Attempts from the *French*: However, as he ſet out with a Reſolution to overlook all Objections for the national Benefit, he was determined to do his Royal Maſter the beſt Service in his Power, with ſuch a Force, and ſuch an Authority, as ſhould be committed to him. Great Preparations were making at *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*; ſeveral Regiments were aſſembling there, and a great Number of Tranſports were collected: This occaſioned Admiral *Vernon* vigilantly to exert himſelf for covering the Counties of *Kent* and *Suffolk*, the Mouths of the two great Rivers of *Medway* and *Thames*, and purſuing the *French* to *Scotland*: He made ſuch an excellent Diſpoſition, with his Cruiſers, that the *French* were intimidated from making any Embarkation from *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*, and changed this Reſolution for another, which was to make an Attempt from *Boulogne* and *Calais* with ſmall Veſſels, which they intended to puſh on-ſhore on the Coaſt of *Dungeneſs* in *Kent* [a].

Though Admiral *Vernon* diligently inſpected into the Motions of the *French*, this could not deter them from ſending out a Reinforcement to *Scotland*, under the Command of Lord *John Drummond*, Brother to the Duke of *Perth*, and who had long bore a Commiſſion in the Service of *France*; this Reinforcement conſiſted of five Companies of the *Iriſh* Regiments commanded by Lord *Drummond*, beſides ſome other of the *Iriſh* Regiments in *France*; who were embarked on-board three Privateers, and ſet ſail on the 21ſt of *November* from *Dunkirk* for *Montroſe* in *Scotland*. Admiral *Vernon* had Intelligence of their ſailing, and ſo prudently ſtationed his Cruiſers, that, on the 22d, the *Sheerneſs* Man of War of 20 Guns, commanded by Captain *Bully*, fell in with one of them, formerly called the *Soleil*, but lately named the *Eſperance*, which he took and brought into *Dover*. Among the Priſoners were *Charles Ratcliffe*, Eſq; Brother to the late forfeiting and unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who was attainted in 1715, and had ſince reſided in *France*, where he aſſumed the Title of Earl of *Derwentwater*; and the Son of this unfortunate Gentleman was alſo on-board, with about 30 other Officers, and 140 Soldiers; but Lord *John Drummond*, with the reſt of his Men, were ſafely landed, by the two other Veſſels, in *Scotland*. Soon after the *Milford* Man of War of 40 Guns, commanded by Captain *Hanway*, fell in with another Veſſel, called the *Lewis* XV, with nine Captains, ten Lieutenants, two Surgeons, and 210 *French* Soldiers on-board, which he took, and carried up to *Leith*.

Admiral *Vernon* apprehended their Deſign; he had already prevented their Embarkation from *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*; he now proceeded immediately to Sea; and, by his prudent Diſpoſitions, intimidated them from ſailing either from *Calais* or *Boulogne*, entirely fruſtrating all their Deſigns of an Invaſion, if any ſuch was intended; though he had no more than four Ships of the Line, ſix from 50 to 20 Guns, with 19 Sloops, Privateers, Tenders, and Cutters: So that the *Britiſh* Nation was no longer apprehenſive of the Storm that was ſo long hovering on their Coaſt. But theſe eminent Services of this gallant Admiral were ill rewarded; for, as he acquainted the Duke of *Bedford*, "He was hunted out of his Command by the operative Hand of ſome malicious and induſtrious Agent, that was too well ſkreened over for his being able to diſcover him, and point out who it was;" and, accordingly, Vice-admiral *Martin* ſucceeded to the Command, though not till Admiral *Vernon* had the pleaſing Satiſfaction of ſeeing a whole Nation pay a due Reſpect to that Merit which was contemptuouſly treated by thoſe from whom the greateſt Regard was neceſſarily expected; for the whole Kingdom was ſenſible, that the Activity of this experienced Commander had put an abſolute Check on the *French*, and baniſhed every Idea of an intended Deſcent.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the NAVAL TRANSACTIONS *in the* EAST *and* WEST INDIES, *the Reduction of* MADRASS *by the* FRENCH; *their Defeat at Fort St.* David's, D'Anville's *Expedition againſt the* BRITISH *Settlements in* NORTH AMERICA; *Admiral* LESTOCK's *Expedition againſt* BRITANY, *&c. in the Year* 1746.

THE *French* Miniſtry, in order to defeat the Expedition of Commodore *Barnet* againſt their Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, granted Monſieur *Mabé de Bourdonnais*, Governor of the Iſles of *France* and *Bourbon*, two *French* Settlements in the *Indian* Ocean, about 34 Leagues E. of *Madagaſcar*, a Commiſſion, dated 11 *April*, 1745, whereby by it was ordered, "That all Captains and Officers of the "*India* Company's Ships, ſhould acknowledge him for "their Commander, and to obey him as ſuch, be it that "he ſhould go on board any of the ſaid Ships, or that he "might judge proper to ſend them on any particular Ex"pedition." This Commiſſion was received by Monſieur *de la Bourdonnais* on the 6th of *January* following, at *Pondicherry*; upon which he applied his whole Attention how to oppreſs the *Britiſh* Company; and, as the moſt effectual Way, determined to attempt the Reduction of *Madraſs*[a], and the other ſettlements, rather than loſe his Time, in uncertain Cruizes, by endeavouring to intercept the Ships belonging to the *Britiſh* Company.

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[a] Above 700 Smugglers had their Reſidence in and about the Neighbourhood of Deal, Dover, Ramſgate, and Folkſtone, who carried on a perpetual and infamous Trade with France; a Trade which had converted thoſe employed in it, firſt from honeſt induſtrious Fiſhermen, to lazy, drunken, and profligate Smugglers, and now to dangerous Spies on all the Proceedings on the Coaſt for the Information of France. All the Road from Dunkirk to Oſtend was narrowly obſerved by the Britiſh Cruiſers, which obliged the French to bring all their Embarkations from thoſe two Places, to Boulogne and Calais, freighted with Artillery, Ammunition, and military Stores; though ſome of them were intercepted by Admiral Vernon, whoſe Cruiſers took five Galliot Hoys coming down from Havre de Grace to Boulogne; a Dogger from Dunkirk to Calais, with five Pieces of Cannon, 100 Barrels of Gun-powder, and other military Stores, was blown up; two Shallop Fiſhing-boats ſunk; twelve others chaced on-ſhore; and three with Cannon and military Store, brought into Dover; beſides a Privateer of ſix Guns, and 50 Men; all deſigned for favouring the intended Invaſion; 6000 of the Iriſh Troops were to be embarked in large Ships for Scotland; but the Embarkation of the French national Troops, conſiſting of 12,000 Men, commanded by Count Lowendahl, and the younger Son of the Pretender, was to be ſomewhere in England, for which all the Fiſhing-boats on the Coaſt were taken up, and with which the French intended to attempt their Paſſage upon the next Full Moon, which was on the 24th of December; for they had aſſembled in the Harbour of Boulogne no leſs than 15 Sail of Ships, Snows, Brigs, and Doggers, 36 Galliot Hoys, and about 90 Fiſhing-boats. They had alſo ſix Privateers of conſiderable Force, a half Galley, ten Galliot Hoys, and a great Number of Shallops, at Calais, all ready for ſailing, with ſeveral Engliſh Smugglers for Pilots.

In the mean Time Commodore *Barnet* died, and the Command of the *Britiſh* Squadron in the *Indies* devolved upon Capt. *Peyton*; who after ſending home the *Deptford* and *Diamond* Men of War, and being reinforced with three others, had the following Ships:

Ships	Commander	Men	Guns
Medway ———	Commodore *Peyton* ———	400	60
Preſton ———	Lord *Northeſk* ———	300	50
Harwich ———	Captain *Carteret* ———	300	50
Wincheſter ———	Lord *Thomas Bertie* ———	300	50
Medway's Prize ———	Captain *Griffith* ———	240	40
Lively ———	Captain *Stevens* ———	120	20
	Total	1660	270

With this Force the new Commodore cruiſing between the Coaſt of *Coromandel* and the Iſland of *Ceylon*, at the Diſtance of forty-four Leagues to the South-weſt of *Madraſs*, on the 24th of *June* anchored in *Negapatam* Road, and at Day-break, on the 25th, made ſeveral Ships to the Offing, to which he went out with his Squadron, and found them to be the Squadron commanded by Commodore *de la Bourdonnais*, who had loſt the *Inſulaire* in the River of *Bengal*: both Squadrons prepared for an Engagement; but, the Wind being light, they could not get up with each other till half an Hour paſt Four in the Afternoon; at which time the Engagement began, and continued till about Seven, when it grew dark, and occaſioned the Separation of both the Squadrons: the *Engliſh* having 14 Men killed, and 46 wounded; and the *French* having 27 Men killed, and 53 wounded. The two Squadrons continued near one another all the ſucceeding Day, without renewing the Engagement; but, at Four in the Afternoon, the *Britiſh* Commodore ſummoned a Council of War, when it was agreed to avoid engaging with the Enemy, and to proceed to *Trinquimale-bay*, on the north-eaſt Part of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, as the *French* did to *Pondicherry*. Commodore *Peyton* was refitting his Ships till the 3d of *Auguſt*, when he came on the Coaſt, and appeared off *Negapatam*; where the *French* Commodore came after him, to ſee if he would adventure a general Engagement: but, as no ſuch thing was intended, the *Britiſh* Squadron diſappeared on the 10th of *Auguſt*, and proceeded up the Bay of *Bengal*: upon which the *French* returned to *Pondicherry*, where they arrived on the 13th.

Commodore *de la Bourdonnais* was intent on the Reduction of *Madraſs*, for which he had made the neceſſary Preparations; but, as he was deſirous of knowing whether the *Britiſh* Commodore would endeavour to fruſtrate the Attempt, he appeared before *Madraſs*, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, and fired on the *Princeſs Mary*, one of the Ships belonging to the Company, of thirty-ſix Guns and eighty Men, which was returned from the Ship and the Fort: each Ship belonging to the *French*, gave a Broadſide as ſhe ſtood to the Northward, and another as ſhe returned to the Southward; when the *French* Commodore ſtood for *Pondicherry* to ſee if Commodore *Peyton* would repair to *Madraſs*, and continue there to defend it. The *Britiſh* Commodore, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, ſtood into *Pullicat* Road, to the Northward of *Madraſs*; where he ſent Lieutenant *Wemys* on board a Veſſel in the Road, who was there told of all the Circumſtances of the *French* attacking the Ship *Princeſs Mary*, and of their then being between *Madraſs* and *Pondicherry*: upon which Commodore *Peyton* diſappeared, leaving the principal Settlement belonging to the *Britiſh East-India-Company* to fall an eaſy Conqueſt to the *French*: for Commodore *de la Bourdonnais* was ſo animated on this Intelligence, that he immediately determined on attacking *Madraſs*[b], before which

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[a] Madraſs, otherwiſe Madraſſipatam, or Fort St. George, is the Seat of the Britiſh Preſidency in the Aſiatic Indies, ſituated in the Province of Arcot, on the Coaſt of Coromandel, in eighty Degrees of eaſt Longitude, and thirteen of north Latitude, being ſeventy Miles to the North of Pondicherry: the Company purchaſed this Settlement, and the adjacent Territory, of the King of Golconda; but the Mogul, afterwards making a Conqueſt of the Country, looked upon himſelf intitled to this, as well as the reſt of the Towns in that Kingdom. The principal Commodities, purchaſed of the Natives, for the Uſe of the Company, were Calicoes, Chints, Muſlins, and ſometimes Diamonds: This was an extenſive and advantageous Commerce, which the Company had enjoyed, almoſt in an uninterrupted Courſe, for upwards of 100 Years: the Proximity of Madraſs to Pondicherry occaſioned it to ſuffer in ſome Branches of its Trade, ſince the Peace of Utrecht; from which time the French ſeemed to be more intent upon extending their Commerce to, and in, the East-Indies, where they were become powerful Competitors againſt the Britiſh Company: but, notwithſtanding this claſhing of Intereſts, Madraſs acquired ſome new Advantages: the Troubles in Perſia induced many Armenians to leave their Country and ſettle in India, where ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Traders fixed their Reſidence and Families in the Preſidency of Madraſs; the Irruption of the Morattaes in Carnatica, in the Year 1740, was another Event that brought ſeveral eminent and wealthy Merchants to Madraſs; inſomuch that the Settlement was become the Admiration of all the Aſiatic People, and the Envy of all its European Neighbours; for it had, a great Number of Years, brought in a clear annual Revenue of 70,000 Pagodas, or, reckoning each Pagoda at ſeven Shillings and Eight-pence, 26,833 l. 6 s. 8 d. Sterling, by the Duties on the Trade of the Aſiatic Inhabitants, and their Conſumption; which was a Sum far exceeding the whole Charges of the Place, Civil and Military, according to the Eſtabliſhment in Peace: the neat Gain, one Year with another, on the Head of Profit and Loſs in the Madraſs Books, ariſing from the Revenue, Silver Coinage, with the Sale of Woollen and other European Goods, amounted to near 90,000 Pagodas, or 34,500 l. Sterling, annually, after all Charges, Civil and Military, of the Coaſt were paid: Beſides the Factory generally inveſted a Million of Pagodas, or 383,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. Sterling, in the Commodities of the Country, and uſually ſent 6,000 Bales of Calicoes yearly to Europe; which brought a very great Accumulation of Treaſure to the Proprietors of the India Stock.

[b] The City of Madraſs is divided into the white and the black Town, the former being 7,000 Feet in Circumference, and the latter above 4,300; the whole being full two Miles in Extent. The Governor, Nicholas Morſe, Eſq; was the principal Perſon in the Settlement, who had ſix Counſellors for his Aſſiſtants; and, for the better Regulation of the Settlement and Commerce, there were ſix ſenior Merchants, two junior Merchants, five Factors, ten Writers, two Miniſters, a Surgeon, two Aſſay-maſters for coining, a Judge, an Attorney-general, and a Secretary; who reſided in the white Town, where none but Europeans were permitted to live; whoſe Habitations were tolerably well built with Brick, having lofty Rooms, and flat Roofs: they had alſo an elegant Church for the Governor, and another for the Portugueſe Catholics. The black Town, which is properly called Madraſs, or Chinepatan, was inhabited by the Aſiatic Merchants, Armenians, and other Traders, whoſe Buildings made but an indifferent Figure, conſiſting chiefly of thatched Cottages; however the People were very numerous, being upwards of 250,000, and many of them very opulent: as they had an univerſal Toleration, a Chriſtian Church was built for the Armenians; and the Indians had ſeveral Pagodas, or Temples, for the Exerciſe of their Religion: the whole City was governed by a Mayor and Aldermen, who uſually held a Court in the Town-houſe, where Juſtice was adminiſtered to the black Inhabitants; but Diſputes between the Europeans were generally determined by the Governor, and his Council. The Fortreſs, called Fort St. George, was ſeated in the Middle of the white Town, with the Road before it, and a River behind it; being a regular Square of about 100 Yards, fortified with four Baſtions of Iron-ſtone; where the Governor had his Reſidence in a handſome, lofty, ſquare Stone-Building; and where the Warehouſes belonging to the Company were kept. The black Town was indefenſible, becauſe the Walls were too low; thoſe on the eaſt and weſt Side without ſo much as a Ditch before them, and the others were deemed incapable of ſuſtaining the dead Weight of Cannon, much leſs the Shock of firing them. The white Town was in a tenable Condition, if the Garriſon had been properly ſupplied and augmented: At the north End of this Part of the City ran a hollow Curtain, above 600 Feet long, from Eaſt to Weſt, which divided it from the black Town, at each End whereof ſtood a Baſtion, one Flank of each, carrying two Guns each, defended the Wall; but there was no Ditch, or other Defence, without it; two large Gates were in this Wall, and the Houſes of the black Town within ſixty Feet of it: on the eaſt Side towards the Sea, from North to South, was above 1,600 Feet; but where the Wall was tolerably high, it was very narrow, which rendered it extremely weak and defective: at the ſouth End of the white Town ran another hollow Curtain, almoſt 400 Feet in Length, from Eaſt to Weſt, in the ſame manner as at the north End, and defended exactly the ſame, except that there was but one Gate cloſe under one of the Baſtions: the weſt Side, towards the Land, was almoſt 1,700 Feet from South to North; where, in ſome Parts, there was no Wall at all, in others a very defective one, and but one ſmall Battery about Midway, between the two Baſtions, without proper Flanks to ſcour the River, which, towards the north End, run in a Curve weſtward, cauſing that End of the Town to be ſo much wider than the South; the River being in ſome Places very ſhallow, eſpecially towards the Southward, where there was no Wall: There was no Communication from one End to the other, but through the Streets of the Town; the whole being as weak and defective as the other Side. Such was the Condition of this important Settlement when Commodore de la Bourdonnais was preparing to beſiege it; ſuch had been its Condition for eight Years before; and the Company ſtill neglected to ſend a ſkilful Engineer over, notwithſtanding Commodore Barnet had apprized the ſecret Committee of the Inſecurity of their Settlement, by a Letter, dated on board the Deptford in Madraſs-road, on the 24th of September 1745,

wherein

he arrived, with his whole Squadron, on the 3d of *September*, having 3,200 *Europeans* on board, with 500 *Coffrys*, and a conſiderable Number of *Cepboys* and *Peons*, the Natives of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

The *French*, on the 1ſt of *September*, landed 600 Men twenty Miles to the Southward of *Madraſs*, which they marched over Land to *St. Thomé*, about three Miles to the Southward of it, and there ſecured the landing of another Part of their Men on the 4th, without any Interruption from the Garriſon, which was incapable of ſending a Detachment conſiderable enough to make any material Oppoſition: the Town was immediately inveſted on the Land Side, the *French* making their grand Camp at *Chindadre Pettah*; while the Quadron prevented any Relief by Sea. Moſt of the *Aſiatic* Inhabitants deſerted their Dwellings, and flew up into the Country with ſuch of their valuable Effects as they could carry off; and though the Nabob, or Vice-Roy, of *Arcot*, was expected to ſend ſome Aſſiſtance to the Garriſon of *Madraſs*, yet ſuch was his avaricious Temper, that it could not reſiſt the powerful Policy of *French* Corruption, the Nabob preferring the Gold of *France* before the Ties of Honour, and the Security of that Settlement from which he had frequently received very rich and valuable Preſents to engage him in its Intereſt.

The Garriſon immediately abandoned the black Town, having withdrawn, or nailed up all the Cannon; in the mean Time the *French* were ſending their Artillery on Shore, and, on the 6th, they got nine Mortars planted behind the Garden-houſe, on the north Side of the Town, and ſix to the Southward, from whence they inſtantly began to make a vigorous Eſſay of their military Skill; chiefly depending upon the Reduction of the Town by the falling of their Shells. The *French* did little Execution on the 7th, when Mr. *Smith*, the Engineer, Bombardier, and Gunner of *Madraſs*, died of a Fever: the ſame Afternoon the *French* made an expeditious Diſcharge from their Mortars, and continued throwing their Bombs the reſt of the Day and Night. On the 8th the Beſiegers continued the Fire from both their Bomb-batteries on the white Town, and before the next Morning it was computed they had thrown about 700 Shells; though the Deſtruction was not very great in the Town, neither were the Beſiegers much incommoded by the Garriſon, many of whom had been plundering in the black Town, and, what with too much Arrack, and too little Reſt, were become, in a manner, incapable of ſtanding to their Arms in the Night, or of being properly ſerviceable in the Day. On the 9th, the *French* played both their Bomb-batteries ſo briſkly, moſt Part of the Day and Night, the laſt eſpecially, that they threw near 500 Shells ſince Day-break; ſome of the Ships alſo firing on the Town in the Night, accompanied with frequent Alarms on the Land-ſide, occaſioned many of the military *Topaſſes*, and all thoſe of the Gun-room to deſert, by dropping down from the Walls next the Sea; whereby ſome of the batteries became quite expoſed and defenceleſs: this awakened all the Fears of the Governor and Council, for the Security of the Place; they had received Advice this Afternoon, that the Beſiegers were preparing to raiſe a large Battery of eighteen Pounders, and had ſent for almoſt all their Seamen on Shore to join in a general Aſſault, as it was apprehended, the next Night; beſides many of the Inhabitants became importunate with the Governor and Council to ſurrender.

The military Officers were dubious whether the Place was tenable, or no, againſt the Number of the Beſiegers: the Garriſon had no Place that was Bomb-proof to ſleep in: there did not appear the leaſt Probability, to the Governor and Council, of their being in a Capacity to reſiſt the Beſiegers, if they aſſaulted the Garriſon even the next Night; or ſhould they continue bombarding a Day or two longer, though the Garriſon might not perhaps loſe many Men thereby, all who remained would neceſſarily become more enfeebled, and leſs capable of Reſiſtance, becauſe they were already extremely harraſſed and fatigued, by being three Days expoſed to the exceſſive Heats of that Seaſon, and as many Nights without Reſt or Repoſe. Upon theſe Conſiderations, and ſeeing no Hopes of the *Britiſh* Squadron returning to their Relief, nor any Succour coming from the Country Government, it was agreed to ſurrender, or rather to treat with the *French* Commander for the Ranſom of the Place. For this Purpoſe *William Monſon* and *John Hallyburton*, Eſqrs. were deputed to wait on and treat with Monſieur *de Bourdonnais*; which Intercourſe ended with a Capitulation [a] offered by the *French* Commander, and

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wherein that experienced and judicious Commander repreſented, ‘That he muſt ſpeak his Surprize to find a Place of ſuch Conſequence as this was to the Company, in ſuch a Condition: the Works ſeemed rather built by Chance than Deſign; the Baſtions were placed contrary to all Rules, and the Curtain was no better than a long unflanked Garden-wall, and the Garriſon was ſo weak, that, if he was Governor, he ſhould never ſleep ſound in a French War, if there were 500 Europeans in Pondicherry: that he had ſeen, and conſidered the Plan of the Works propoſed; thought it a very good one, and when it was compleated, the Town would be ſufficiently fortified on that ſide; but then, that ſomething muſt be done towards the Sea, where there were Embraſures for Form, not Uſe, there being no Rampart to mount Guns upon: that the Diſtance between the Baſtions was very great, and there was again a long weak Wall without Flank or Defence; ſo that two ſixty Gun Ships would, in two Hours time, make an entire Breach, from Baſtion to Baſtion.’ Governor Morſe, as the Company had ſo long neglected to ſend a ſkilful Engineer, did all that lay in his Power for the Security of the Place; and, in 1745, ſent for the beſt he could get from Bombay. But, had the Fortifications been in the beſt Order, they would have been of little Uſe, without a ſufficient Number of Men to defend them; and this was the preſent Caſe: for though, long before the Commencement of the War with France, the Company had promiſed to augment the Garriſon of Madraſs to 600 Europeans, excluſive of the Gun-Room Crew; yet the Recruits were ſo few, that when the French came before it, the whole Garriſon conſiſted of only 300 Europeans, twenty-three of which were Portugueſe Deſerters from Goa, thirty-four were in the Hoſpital, and there were ſuch Numbers incapable of Service, that all the effective Europeans to be depended upon did not exceed 200, to which might be added, the Crew of the Princeſs Mary, being eighty Men; and about 200 Topaſſes, a black degenerate wretched Race of the antient Portugueſe, and little to be depended upon, as there was not one in ten poſſeſſed of any of the neceſſary Requiſites for a Soldier. The principal Officer among the Garriſon was one Peter Eckman, an ignorant ſuperannuated Swede, who was formerly a common Soldier, and now bore the Rank of firſt Lieutenant; he was aſſiſted by two other Lieutenants, and ſeven Enſigns: to all which might be added, that though the Garriſon had near 200 Pieces of Cannon, yet they wanted Men that were capable of playing them; beſides that the Want of military Stores was equal with the Paucity of military Men.

[a] ‘That Fort St. George, and the Town of Madraſs, and their Dependencies, that 21ſt Day of September, at Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, ſhould be delivered up to Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, with the whole Garriſon, Officers, Soldiers, and Council; and all the Engliſh in general, that were in the Fort and Town, ſhould remain Priſoners of War.——That all the Council, Officers, Servants, and other Engliſh Gentlemen of the better ſort, ſhould have liberty to go and come wherever it ſhould ſeem good to them, even to Europe, on Condition that they ſhould not bear Arms againſt France, offenſively or defenſively, till they were exchanged, according to the Terms preſcribed to the French by Mr. Barnet.——That to facilitate the Engliſh Gentlemen the Ranſom of the Place, and to render valid the Acts which ſhould in Conſequence paſs, the Governor and Council ſhould ceaſe to be Priſoners of War, the Moment they ſhould enter into Negotiation, and Monſieur de la Bourdonnais obliged himſelf to give them an authentic Act twenty-four Hours before the firſt Sitting.——That the Articles of the Capitulation being ſigned, thoſe of the Ranſom ſhould be regulated amicably between Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, and the Engliſh Governor, or his Deputies, who ſhould engage to give up, in good Faith, all the Effects, Merchandize already received from the Merchants, or to be received, the Books of Accompts, Magazines, Arſenals, Veſſels, Ammunition, and Proviſion, and all other other Goods belonging to the Company, without being permitted to reſerve any thing, whether in Matters of Gold or Silver, Merchandize, Moveables, or other Effects whatever, contained in the Fort, the Town, or Suburbs, to whomſoever they belonged, without excepting any thing, in ſuch manner as was the Right of War.——That the Garriſon ſhould be conducted to Fort St. David, as Priſoners of War; and if, by Ranſom, the Town of Madraſs ſhould be re-delivered, the Engliſh ſhould be at liberty to repoſſeſs their Garriſon to defend themſelves againſt the Country People, for which there ſhould be returned to the French, by the Engliſh, an equal Number of Priſoners; and if they had not, at preſent, a ſufficient Number of them, the firſt Frenchmen that ſhould be made Priſoners after the Capitulation ſhould be free, to the complete Number of their Garriſon.——That the Sailors ſhould be ſent to Cuddalore, and the Exchange of them ſhould begin with thoſe who were actually then at Pondicherry, and the others ſhould paſs in their own Ships to England; but they could not bear Arms againſt France until an Exchange had been made of a like Number of Sailors in India or Europe, but in India by Preference.——That, on theſe Conditions, the Water-gate ſhould be delivered up to Monſieur de la Bourdonnais; at Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Gates of the Town ſhould be relieved by his Troops; and they ſhould make a Declaration to Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, of all Mines, Countermines, and other ſubterraneous Works charged with Powder.’ As the Inſtructions of the French Commodore were not to make any new Settlement, it followed of courſe, he had in his Power only this Alternative, either to deſtroy ſuch as he ſhould become Maſter of, or treat for a Ranſom; the latter was the more adapted to his Intereſt; and, as he had only agreed that it ſhould be regulated in a friendly Manner, the Britiſh Deputies demanded of him a further Explanation; when he made them this Anſwer: ‘Gentlemen, I do not ſell Honour: the Flag of my King ſhall fly over Madraſs, or I will die at the Foot of the Walls: In regard to the Ranſom of the Town, and in every thing that is intereſting, you ſhall be ſatisfied with me; (and, taking the Hat of one of the Deputies, he ſaid) here is nearly the Manner how we will regulate Matters; this Hat is worth ſix Rupees, you ſhall give me three or four for it, and ſo of the reſt.’ The French Government

and accepted and ſigned by the *Engliſh* Governor of *Madraſs*. Upon which Monſieur *de la Bourdonnais* entered the Town, with Part of his Men, the reſt remaining in the Camp. The Magazines, Warehouſes, and other Places; were delivered over to the *French* Officers and Commiſſaries, and the *Engliſh* Soldiers and Sailors were carried on board the *French* Ships in the Road; while the Governor and Council ſettled with the *French* Commodore, the Price of the Ranſom, at 1,100,000 Pagodas, or 421,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Sterling, beſides a very valuable private Preſent to the Commodore; who, upon theſe Terms was willing to evacuate his Conqueſt, and leave the *Engliſh* in full Poſſeſſion of their Preſidency.

Soon after the *French* Commodore, being ſtrengthened with the Arrival of three more Men of War from *Europe* at *Pondicherry*, on the 27th of *September* 1746, threatened a Total Extirpation of the *Engliſh* from the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; but a Storm, in the Night of the 2d of *October* prevented the Execution of his pernicious Schemes; and gave the Governors of *Fort St. David*, *Bombay*, and *Bengal*, an Opportunity of putting themſelves in a more defenſible Situation; which Governor *Hynd* very diligently obſerved, at *Fort St. David*, by ſtrengthening the Fortifications, and taking a conſiderable Number of the *Indian* Militia into his Pay. On the 8th of *December*, the greateſt Part of the *French* Garriſon of *Pondicherry*, conſiſting of 1,000 Regular Troops, 200 trained *Peons*, and many others, arrived within a Mile of the Bound-hedge of *Fort. St. David*, with a large Train of Artillery: but Governor *Hynd* detached 1,600 of his military *Indians*, with Orders to attack the *French* immediately, and harraſs them, as much as poſſible all Night; which they did; and, at Day-break began a regular Engagement: the *French* forced their way quite to the Garden-houſe, when the *Moors* came advancing upon them, and 100 Men of the Garriſon ſallying out at the ſame Time, the *French*, fearing to be ſurrounded, retreated with great Precipitation; and, being cloſely purſued, loſt above 200 Men; among them four Officers of Diſtinction, with all their Tents, Ammunition, ſix Camels, two Mortars with their Shells, two Cheſts of Arms, four Drums, and all their Proviſions: after which the *French* returned to *Pondicherry*, where they renewed their Preparations for another Attempt on *Fort St. David*; in which they were alſo diſappointed by the Arrival of Commodore *Griffin*, with three Ships of ſixty Guns, one of fifty, and one of forty, to reinforce the *Britiſh* Squadron.

At home our Miniſtry ſeemed to be in earneſt to attempt *Quebec*[*], the principal Settlement of the *French* in *North America*; and at the ſame Time the *French* Miniſtry were bent upon the Recovery of *Cape Breton*. Our Armament on this Occaſion was ſet afoot with the greateſt Alacrity and Satisfaction of the Subjects both in *Britain* and *Britiſh America*. A large Squadron was aſſembled, in *April*, at *Portſmouth*; a great Number of Tranſports were collected; and ſeveral Regiments were embarked, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Sinclair*, which were deſigned to proceed for *Louiſburg* in *Cape Breton*; and, with that Garriſon, and alſo with ſuch Troops as ſhould be levied for that Purpoſe in the Colonies of *North America*, to Attempt the immediate Reduction of *Canada*. The Deſign was communicated to the reſpective Governors of *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pennſylvania*, by Letters diſpatched from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; wherein the Governors were ordered to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for raiſing as many Men, within their Governments, as the Shortneſs of the Time would admit, for proceeding on the Expedition. The *Britiſh* Colonies readily gave their Concurrence in a Deſign ſo viſibly calculated for their own Security and Advantage: The Province of the *Maſſachuſet's-Bay* ſignalized their Zeal in a manner no ways inferior to what they had done in the preceding Year when *Cape Breton* fell into their Poſſeſſion; the Great and General Council of this Province voted to give all neceſſary and proper Encouragement for inliſting 3000 Volunteers; and the other Provinces exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly, in following their Example, that no leſs than 10,000 Men were ready to co-operate with the regular Troops on their Arrival in *America*; which they had the more Reaſon to expect, becauſe *William Gooch*, Eſq; Lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, was appointed to act as Major-general in the Expedition, and was created a Baronet. But though ſuch formidable Preparations were made for this Undertaking, it ſerved for no other Purpoſe than to alarm the *French*, who took their Advantage of the Delays and Procraſtinations made uſe of to detain this Armament at *Portſmouth*, while

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Government of Pondicherry ratified the Treaty of Ranſom; but Monſieur de la Bourdonnais was no ſooner reimbarked for Madraſs, than the French Governor, and his ſuperior Council, declared it null and void, by publiſhing a Proteſt againſt it, on the 20th of September, thereby declaring, 'That 'the Treaty of Ranſom, made by the pure Will, and without lawful Authority, of Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, and with Priſoners who could not 'engage for other than themſelves, eſpecially in an Affair of this Importance, was totally void; that they annulled it, and regarded it as if no ſuch 'thing had happened; and that Affairs at Madraſs ſhould reſt upon the Foot they were the Moment that the Capitulation was ſigned.' To this Governor Morſe, on the 25th of September, returned them a Counter-Inſtrument, in the Name of his Britannic Majeſty and the Eaſt-India-Company, 'Proteſting againſt all thoſe who might oppoſe the full and entire Execution of the Capitulation, and the Conditions agreed upon; rendering them reſponſible for all that might happen thereupon: he complained farther of the injurious Suſpicions that had been ſcattered in public, that the Engliſh would 'not fulfil their Engagements; and repreſented that if the Britiſh Hoſtages, if the Parole of Honour of all Madraſs, were not ſufficient to ſatiſfy the 'French Gentlemen of Pondicherry; the Reſpect which was due to a Nation like his, ought, at leaſt to have ſuſpended a Judgment thus inſulting, 'till the Engliſh had failed of their Words, which would never come to paſs.' Commodore de la Bourdonnais was inclinable to perfect the Treaty of Ranſom; but, though he had put Monſieur de Paradis, who had been appointed by the Governor of Pondicherry to command the City of Madraſs, and ſeveral of his Officers under an Arreſt, the Commodore was obliged to revoke the Terms of the Ranſom, and re-demand the Parole he had given to the Britiſh Governor and Council; who, on the 13th of November, were carried Priſoners to Pondicherry, while the reſt of the Engliſh Inhabitants were ordered to quit Madraſs; upon which they diſperſed to different Places, leaving the French in Poſſeſſion of all their Effects. The Promiſe of a Ranſom was the principal Inducement, that prevailed on Governor Morſe, to make ſo ſpeedy a Surrender; and if the French had not ſo perfidiouſly broke their Engagement, the Price of the Ranſom would have been a very favourable Circumſtance to the Engliſh Company: For the French obtained a Booty of Silver, Woollen Goods, Velvets, Copper, Iron, Lead, and Stores for Uſe and Sale, to the Value of 73,000l; in Plate, Furniture, Mint Neceſſaries, and other ſmall Articles, 12,000l; 1,600 Bales of Callicoes, 7,000 Bags of Salt-Petre, and 800 Landies of Redwood, valued at 72,800l. prime Coſt, in all, 157,800l. They alſo took the Princeſs Mary, with the Mermaid and Advice Snows employed in the Service of the Company; to which might be added a much more conſiderable Sum, from the Deprivation of ſo important a Branch of Commerce, and the Loſs of Revenues; beſides the Expence of the public Buildings, which coſt upwards of 160,000l. and which the French intended to demoliſh, if they had not received freſh Inſtructions, in conſequence of the Engliſh having taken Cape Breton; which cauſed the French to alter their Meaſures, with the View of exchanging the one for the other: But tho' the Engliſh afterwards, in purſuance of the general Treaty of Peace, left Cape Breton in a better Condition than when it was taken; yet the French acted very differently at Madraſs, where they deſtroyed the Fortifications, and principal Buildings before they delivered it up.

[*] Quebec is a large and beautiful City, founded by Samuel Champlain in 1608, ſituate 120 Leagues Diſtance from the Sea, on the north-weſt Side of the ſpacious River of St. Laurence, the moſt navigable River in the World, the Courſe of it being 250 Leagues from its Iſſue out of the Lake Ontario, to its diſemboguing itſelf into the Gulph of St. Laurence: this Gulph is eighty-eight Leagues in length; the Mouth of the River is thirty Leagues wide, and it is no where leſs than from four to five broad up to the Iſle of Orleans, within eight Leagues of Quebec; but above that Iſland it narrows ſo much, that before Quebec the River is not above a Mile over, though it there forms a very magnificent Harbour, capable of containing 100 Men of War of the Line; which makes Quebec extremely remarkable on account of the Singularity of its Situation, for perhaps it is the only City in the Univerſe that can boaſt of a Freſh-water Harbour, of ſuch Dimenſions, and at ſo great a Diſtance from the Sea. Quebec is ſituated in ſeventy-four Degrees of weſt Longitude, and forty-ſeven Deg. thirty-five Min. of North Latitude; being 300 Miles N. W. of Boſton in New England. The Buildings are large, and all of Stone; but the Inhabitants are not above 7,000: The City is as an epiſcopal See, and is the Reſidence of the Vice-Roy of Canada, who is ſtiled Governor and Captain-General of New France and Louiſiana. Quebec is naturally ſtrong, though not regularly fortified; but the French have been long at work to render it capable of a Siege; they have erected ſeveral Batteries of Cannon, and built a Citadel, called Fort St. Lewis, which is the Reſidence of the Governor, and the principal Security of the City; however they have more than once been in danger of a Siege. The Engliſh, in the Year 1670, made an unſucceſsful Attempt againſt Quebec; though the Squadron conſiſted of thirty-four Ships, and arrived ſafely in the Harbour before the City. In 1711, a more formidable Armament was fitted out, for the ſame Purpoſe, under Sir Hovenden Walker, who commanded the Fleet, and General Hill, who commanded the Land-Forces: but this Attempt was entirely fruitleſs, chiefly becauſe the Navigation of the River St. Laurence was unknown to the Admiral; who, contrary to the Advice of his Pilot, approaching too near the ſeven Iſles, on the northern Coaſt of the River, loſt moſt of his principal Ships, and 5,000 of his beſt Troops.

while the Miniſtry at *Verſailles* ſent a ſtrong Squadron[a], with upwards of 3000 Soldiers on-board, under the Duke *d'Anville*, on an Expedition againſt *Cape Breton*, or *Nova-Scotia*, and for the Security of *Canada*: So that, after ſeveral Embarkations and Debarkations, the *Britiſh* Miniſtry altered the Deſtination of their Forces againſt *Quebec*, for a Deſcent on *Britany*.

And had not Providence interpoſed in favour of the *Britiſh* Subjects, by cutting off the Duke *d'Anville*, the *French* Admiral, with an Apoplexy on the 26th of *September*, and their Vice-Admiral *Tourmel* with a Frenzy[b], and by the Small-pox, which carried off 1,500 Soldiers and 800 Sailors and upwards, and drove away the *Canadeans*, who upon his Arrival at *Chiboctou* had repaired to the *French* Standard; there is no doubt but that they would have been able to carry their Point[c].

Our Armament dwindled away into nothing: for, the Seaſon for an *American* Expedition being loſt by unaccountable Delays, the Miniſtry contented themſelves with a Project to favour the Meaſures of the *Auſtrian* General now in *Provence*, by ordering a Deſcent on the Coaſt of *Britany*. It was alſo reſolved to make this Deſcent near Port *l'Orient*, with a further View of diſtreſſing the *French Eaſt-India* Company.

The Squadron appointed for this Service conſiſted of ſixteen Ships of the Line, eight Frigates, two Bomb-veſſels and thirty Tranſports and Storeſhips, having on board 5,800 Men, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Sinclair*, with whom was joined *Richard Leſtock*, Eſq; who was now not only relieved from his Suſpenſion, but appointed Admiral of the *Blue*.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 14th of *September*, and made the Coaſt of *Britany* near the north Entry of the Bay of *Biſcay* on the 17th, but kept hovering about, to the great Terror of the *French* till the 20th, when they landed in good order in *Quimperlay-bay*[d]. In which time the Country was putting itſelf into the beſt Defence, but were not able to diſpute the Ground with the Invaders, who ſpent the firſt Night unmoleſted in the ſmall Pariſh Hamlets.

The *Britiſh* Forces, on the 21ſt in the Morning took Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Plemure*, about a League diſtant from *Port l'Orient*, and there eſtabliſhed their general Quarters. During this March, the neceſſary Meaſures were taken by the *French*, at *Port Louis*, for preventing the Paſſage of the *Britiſh* Ships up the Harbour; while the Inhabitants of the Province were crouding to the Defence of *Port l'Orient*; for which Purpoſe the Nobility and Gentry mounted on Horſeback, the Town Militia was in Arms, and ſuch a Number of Volunteers threw themſelves into the City, that the greateſt Part of them were obliged to be ſent back, after the moſt uſeful had been ſelected. Admiral *Leſtock* intended to have ventured a Paſſage with his Ships, under the Cannon of *Port Louis*, in order to attack *Port l'Orient* by Sea and Land at the ſame Time; but he could not execute this Scheme, on account of the Precaution that had been taken to circumvent ſuch an Attempt. However, the Army marched, on the 22d, from *Plemure*, to a Hill about half a League diſtant from *Port l'Orient*; from whence Lieutenant-General *Sinclair* cauſed the City to be ſummoned to ſurrender: upon which the Deputy-Governor for the King, the Deputy-Governor for the *India-Company*, and a Brigadier came with a Flag of Truce, and offered to ſurrender the Town, on Condition that the Inhabitants ſhould be unmoleſted, no Houſes plundered, their Magazines to be ſecured to them, and the *Britiſh* Forces to pay for whatever they had. The *Britiſh* General made anſwer, that he ſhould enter the Town on no other Terms than as the *French* King did *Ghent* and *Bruges*; inſiſting upon a Contribution of two Millions of Livres; adding, that the Guard-coaſts and regular Troops muſt be Priſoners of War, and that the City ſhould be pillaged for four Hours: the General gave them three Hours to ſend an Anſwer, which they did with a determinate Reſolution not to ſurrender the Town upon any ſuch Terms.

The *Britiſh* Forces remained on the ſame Hill till the 23d, waiting for the Arrival of the Artillery, which the Seamen were dragging up to the Camp, and when it reached the Army, they marched down towards the City, where the Inhabitants had got a great Number of Guns out of the Shipping, and mounted them on the Ramparts, from whence they began to fire very briſkly on the Approach of the Beſiegers. The *Britiſh* Engineers, on the 25th of *September*, in the Morning, opened a Battery of twelve Pieces of Cannon and a Mortar, and played very ſucceſsfully againſt the Town, which returned the Fire from four Batteries of twelve and twenty-four Pounders, beſides ſome Guns from their Shipping, which were brought to flank the Beſiegers. On the 26th the Beſiegers began to fire red-hot Shot from ſix twelve Pounders, and threw them into the Town very faſt; the Mortar alſo continued to play, ſo ſucceſsfully, that the Town was on fire in ſeveral Places, but the Inhabitants were very expeditious in extinguiſhing the Flames; while a ſtrong Party of the Garriſon made an Attempt to deſtroy the Beſiegers Battery, by diſguiſing themſelves in a Dreſs like that of the *Scotch* Highlanders, and ſallying out on the Guard at the Battery, who let them come ſo near as to receive their firſt Fire, which diſcovered the Intention of the *French*, who were ſaluted with a Parcel of Grape-ſhot, and drove back with great Precipitation. The Firing was continued on the 27th; but the *French* Fire was much ſuperior to that of the Beſiegers, on account of their additional Batteries: but notwithſtanding the Fortifications of the Town were ſo untenable that the Magiſtrates were actually on the Point of ſurrendering the Place; they, to their equal Joy and Surprize, found the Fire of the Beſiegers end with the Day, when every thing was carried on in the moſt ſecret manner for a Retreat, which was effected without any Interruption: for the Beſiegers returned the ſame

Night,

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[a] Which conſiſted of the following Ships:

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Le Northumberland	Duke D'Anville, Adm.	70	580
Le Trident	V. Adm. Tourmel	64	500
L'Ardent	M. Perier	64	500
Le Mars	Colombe	64	500
Le Leopard	Sergue	64	500
L'Alcide	Crenay	64	500
Le Caſibon	Noailles	60	480
Le Tygre	Du Queſne	56	400
Le Mercurie	l'Allure	56	400
Le Diamont	Maſiac	50	360
Le Boree	Blenac	50	360
La Megare	Kyſan	30	200
L'Argonaute	Queſtain	26	200
Le Prince d'Orange	Fougert	26	200

The whole Squadron conſiſted of eleven Ships of the Line, three Frigates, three Fireſhips, and two Bombs, having 6,186 Sailors on board; beſides twenty Privateers, and other Veſſels, from ten to twenty-four Guns; which were alſo joined by fifty-ſix Sail of Tranſports, laden with Stores and Proviſions, and two Tenders with Artillery; the whole Fleet conſiſting of ninety-ſeven Sail, having on board the two Battalions of the Regiment of Ponthieu, the Battalion Militia of Saumur, the Battalion Militia of Fontenoy le Comte, and a Battalion of Marines, in all 3,500 Men; with 40,000 ſmall Arms, and a proportionable Quantity of Ammunition, and Blankets, for the Canadean French and Indians, and thoſe of Nova Scotia, which were expected to join them.

[b] Vice-Admiral Tourmel, on the 29th of September, called a Council of War on-board the Trident, which held upwards of ſeven Hours; wherein it was debated what was proper to be undertaken: the Vice-Admiral declared it was impoſſible to make any Attempt upon Cape Breton, and was for immediately attacking Annapolis; becauſe he was apprehenſive of the Arrival of the Britiſh Fleet from Portſmouth: but the major Part of the Council were for refitting the Squadron before they proceeded to the Bay of Fundy; and the Diſputes were ſo high, as to exaſperate the Vice-Admiral in ſo violent a manner, that, on the 1ſt of October, he was ſeized with a Fever, and ſoon after became delirious, which ſo extremely agitated him, that, imagining himſelf among the Engliſh, he laid his Hand on his Sword, and ran it through his Body, living but juſt long enough to confer the Command on Monſieur de la Jonquiere.

[c] The French Commander was obliged to ſuſpend the Execution of his Projects, to concert the Preſervation of the Remainder of his Forces, and to conduct his ſhattered Squadron to a Place of more Security than the Neighbourhood of an hoſtile Country: a Council of War was aſſembled, on the 10th of October; and, as the Fleet was refitted, it was determined to ſend four of the ſmaller Men of War, and ſome of the Tranſports, to Quebec, and to return with the others immediately to Europe. This Reſolution began to be executed on the 12th, when the enfeebled Fleet ſailed from Chiboctou, after converting eight of their Ships into Hoſpitals; which returned with a more favourable Paſſage than they found in going.

[d] Between the Iſland De Grouaes and the main Land of Lower Britany, where Port Louis is ſituated about ſeven Miles up the eaſtern Part of the Harbour, and Port l'Orient, on the oppoſite Side, where the River Blavet diſembogues itſelf into the Bay, about two Miles above Port Louis.

Night, to their Camp at *Plemure*; and reimbarked, without any Obſtacle, on the 28th; leaving four Pieces of Cannon, the Mortar, and a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition and Stores before the City; where they had 61 Men killed, and 40 wounded, during the Siege: Though the *Britiſh* Sailors, in the mean time, plundered and burnt the Village of *Dovelair* and *Larm*, and ruined all the adjacent Country.

The Reimbarkation of the *Britiſh* Troops being effected, the Fleet ſet ſail on the 1ſt of *October* for the Bay of *Borneuf*, off Point *Quiberon*, to the South of *Quimperlay* Bay; which made the *French* imagine that the *Britiſh* Admiral had a Deſign to attempt ſomething upon the Coaſts of *Poitou* or *Xaintonge*. On the 4th a Body of Troops was landed on the Peninſula of *Quiberon*, where they found no Oppoſition, for all the Inhabitants got off with the moſt valuable of their Effects: The Sailors took Poſſeſſion of *Hedic* and *Houac*, two ſmall barren Iſlands inhabited only by Fiſhermen; where they took two Forts guarded by 25 Men each; the *Exeter* Man of War alſo engaged the *Ardent* Man of War of 64 Guns, which had left the Squadron under the Duke *d'Anville* on the Diſperſion of the Fleet off *Acadia*; the Engagement was very obſtinate, but the *Ardent* was run on-ſhore, where the *Britiſh* Sailors ſet her on-fire; after which the Soldiers were reimbarked again; and on the 8th of *October*, the whole Fleet left the Coaſt of *France*, and returned to *England*, after expoſing themſelves to the Deriſion of all *Europe*; firſt, by being aſſembled for an Attempt that they did not make; and then for making ſuch an Attempt as the Nation ought to be for ever aſhamed of.

Our Proceedings in the *Weſt-Indies* were not more honourable, where Commodore *Cornelius Mitchel*, being ſent by Vice-admiral *Davers*, in the *Strafford* of 60 Guns, with the *Lenox* of 64 Guns, commanded by Captain *Laurence*; the *Plymouth* and *Worceſter* of 60 Guns, the *Milford* of 44, and the *Drake* Sloop, to intercept a *French* Convoy for *Martinico*, conſiſting of four Men of War, and 60 Merchantmen, ſhamefully let them eſcape: For the *Britiſh* Squadron, at Seven in the Afternoon, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, being within four Miles of the *French*, Commodore *Mitchel* made a Signal to ſpeak with all his Ships; they got cloſe to him, and every Captain was aſked his Opinion, whether it was better to engage that Evening, or defer it to the Morning, which laſt prevailed; with Orders to keep in ſight all Night to windward; and be ready to engage at Day-light: But the *French* Merchantmen not only eſcaped in the Morning, but Commodore *Conſtans* gave a ſhort Chace to ſome of the *Britiſh* Squadron, and held a ſmall Engagement, after which he followed his Convoy; and at Night the *Britiſh* Commodore [a] ordered his Squadron to put out their Lights, and make ſail, becauſe the *French* were following them; ſo that the whole *French* Fleet got into *Cape Francois*, without the Loſs of a ſingle Ship. After this Commodore *Conſtans* returned to *Europe*, and in his Paſſage met with a *Britiſh* Fleet of Merchantmen ſailing for the *Leeward Iſlands*, under Convoy of the *Woolwich* and *Severn* Men of War, of 50 Guns each; but the *French* Commodore permitted the Merchantmen to paſs, and attacked the *Severn*; which, after an obſtinate Engagement of two Hours, was taken and carried into *Breſt*.

Vice-admiral *Davers* died of a Fever at *Jamaica*, on the 13th of *October*; and Commodore *Smith* was ſent to ſupercede Commodore *Mitchel* in the Command; who was ſoon after tried by a Court-Marſhal for his Behaviour in the Affair with Commodore *Conſtans*, and for neglecting the Service of his Station; and was mulct five Years Pay, and judged incapable of ſerving again in the Royal Navy [b].

The naval Tranſactions in the *European* Seas afforded nothing more remarkable than the Aſſiſtance given by Vice-admiral *Medley* to the *Auſtrian* General at the Siege of *Antibes*: However, the *Britiſh* Squadron in the *Mediterranean* acted very vigilantly along the Coaſt of *Spain*, and the Riviera of *Genoa*, where they intercepted ſeveral *Spaniſh*, *Genoeſe*, and *Neapolitan* Veſſels, with military Stores and Proviſions for the Forces in *Italy*: While Commodore *Townſend* was ſtationed, with ſix Men of War, off the Iſland of *Corſica*, to encourage the Malecontents to ſhake off their Subjection to the *Genoeſe*. The Squadron commanded by Vice-admiral *Martin* for the Channel Service, was very active in ſuppreſſing the *French* Privateers [c]; and when the Vice-admiral reſigned the Command, he was ſucceeded in *July* by Admiral *Anſon*, who was appointed Vice-admiral of the Blue; Commodore *Gaſcoyne* was promoted to the Rank of Rear-admiral of the Blue; and Captain *Griffin* was alſo appointed Commodore of a Squadron, conſiſting of five Ships, deſtined to the *Eaſt-Indies* for the Relief of Commodore *Barnet*.

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[a] Commodore Mitchel was afterwards continued in the Command of the Squadron ſtationed for the Security of the Britiſh Leeward Iſlands; but his Conduct gave great Offence to the Inhabitants, and occaſioned frequent Complaints from the Council and Aſſembly of Antigua, where the Trade was almoſt ſuſpended by the Vigilance of the French Privateers, who were ſuffered to make amazing Depredations, while the Britiſh Men of War were ranging out of their Stations, in Expectation of intercepting ſome opulent Veſſel from the Spaniſh Main, inſtead of being conſtantly employed in cruiſing to windward of the Britiſh Iſlands for the Protection of Trade.

[b] The Cruiſers and Privateers in the Weſt-Indies, both Britiſh, French, and Spaniſh, made ſeveral conſiderable Captures. On the 2d of January, a French Man of War of 36 Guns, and 250 Men, commanded by Captain la Touch, who made the Deſcent on Anguilla but ſix Months before, was taken by an Engliſh Man of War and carried into Antigua. Another French Man of War of 54 Guns, loaden with Stores and Ammunition for ſeveral Ships building at Canada, and a large Quantity of Money for Payment of the Forces, was taken on the 4th of Auguſt, near the Banks of Newfoundland, by the Pembroke Man of War of 60 Guns: And another French Man of War of 24 Guns, was taken on the 12th of October by a Rhode Iſland Privateer. On the 3d of April, two Spaniſh Regiſter Ships were taken by two Privateers of St. Kits, commanded by the Captains Rouſe and Purnel, and carried into Jamaica; where the Prizes appeared to be ſo valuable, that every Fore-maſt Man had 350 *l.* to his Dividend. On the 4th of April, a Spaniſh Galloon was taken on the northern Coaſt of America by a Britiſh Man of War of 20 Guns, and a Privateer, and carried to Boſton in New England; being a very opulent Prize, with a Million Sterling in Bullion on-board. On the 10th of June, the Dublin Privateer, a Ship of Force, fitted out by the Merchants of that Metropolis, and commanded by Captain Eaton, fell in with a Spaniſh Regiſter Ship, called the Noſtra Signora de Begona, of 400 Tons and 18 Guns, to the weſtward of the Azores, which ſtruck to the Privateer, and was carried into Dublin, with the Governor of Guatimala, and a Cargo of Cochineal, Indigo, Hides, Snuff, and Money, to the Value of 50,000 *l.* Neither the French nor Spaniards took ſuch valuable Prizes in the Weſt-Indies as the Engliſh; though on the 7th of July the Albany Sloop of War, commanded by Captain Colby, who ſailed expreſs from Louiſburg to Admiral Warren at Boſton, was taken by the Caſtor, a French Man of War, and carried into Chiboctou, where all the Engliſh Sailors were left among the Indians. The Captures of the Britiſh Men of War and Privateers this Year in America, were not greatly exceeded by the Captures taken by both the French and Spaniards; for the French took only the Albany Sloop of War, one Privateer, and 149 mercantile Veſſels in America; and the Spaniards took four Privateers, and 74 mercantile Veſſels; ſo that the whole Number of the Britiſh Ships that fell this Year into the Hands of the French and Spaniards in America, was one Sloop of War, five Privateers, and 223 Merchant-ſhips: The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers, took from the French three Men of War, 38 Privateers, two Guinea Ships, 94 Domingo and Martinico Veſſels, two from Newfoundland, and four others, in all 143 from the French: They alſo took from the Spaniards 13 Privateers, ſix opulent Regiſter Ships, and 41 mercantile Veſſels, in all 60; making the whole Liſt of Prizes taken this Year, from the French and Spaniards in America, 200; which was 20 leſs than what were taken by the French and Spaniards from the Engliſh.

[c] The Cruiſers and Privateers were ſucceſsful on all ſides; and though the French and Spaniards took more than the Engliſh, the Balance was in favour of the latter, on account of the extraordinary Value of ſome of the Prizes. The Portland Man of War, of 50 Guns and 300 Men, commanded by Captain Stevens, being on a Cruiſe on the 26th of February, fell in with the Auguſta, a French Man of War of 50 Guns and 470 Men, lately come out of Breſt on a Cruiſe; the Auguſta bore down upon the Portland within Piſtol-ſhot, and immediately hoiſted French Colours, which was inſtantly anſwered by the Portland; a ſharp Engagement enſued, which continued two Hours and a half, Yard-arm and Yard-arm; when the Auguſta was greatly diſabled, and ſtruck, after having 47 Men killed, and 94 wounded; but the Portland happened to have only five killed, and 14 wounded, and brought her Prize into Plymouth. The Portland, on the 19th of November, alſo fell in with the Subtile, a French Man of War of 26 Guns, and 194 Men, belonging to Breſt; which was taken 73 Leagues W. S. W. from Uſhant, and brought into Torbay. The Nottingham of 60 Guns, commanded by Captain Saumarez, being on a Cruiſe to the S. W. of Cape Clear, on the 11th of October, fell in with the Mars of 64 Guns, and 500 Men, commanded by Monſieur Colombe, which was one of the Ships that ſeparated from the Duke d'Anville off Acadia, and was on her Return from Martinico; the Engagement continued two Hours, when the Mars ſtruck, having loſt 23 Men killed, and 19 wounded; the Nottingham had only three Men killed, and nine wounded, and brought the Prize into Plymouth. On the 24th of November, the Namur chaſed into the Squadron commanded by Vice-admiral Anſon, the Mercury, lately a French Ship of War of 56 Guns, and 400 Men, but then ſerving as an Hoſpital-ſhip to the French Squadron lately commanded by the Duke d'Anville: The Mercury, being a good Sailer, was got a-head of the Remains of the French Squadron, and ſteering directly for Breſt, when ſhe was taken. On the 26th of December, the Glouceſter of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain Saunders, and the Lark of 40 Guns, commanded by Captain Cheap, fell in with, and took the Fort de Nantz, a Spaniſh Galloon of 32 Guns, and 200 Men, Burden 650 Tons, from La Vera Cruz; and the Havanna for Cadiz, with 105 Cheſts of Silver regiſtered, each Cheſt containing about 3000 Dollars, a great Quantity of Gold and Silver unregiſtered, with Cocoa, and other Things, to the Value of 300,000 *l.* which was brought into Plymouth. The French this Year took from the Engliſh one Man of War, a Sloop of War, eight Privateers, and 318 Merchant Veſſels in the Eu-

CHAP. IX.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *in the* EAST *and* WEST-INDIES; *and the* TRANSACTIONS *of our* FLEETS *in* EUROPE, *to the Concluſion of the* PEACE *at* AIX LA CHAPELLE, *and the Settlement of* NOVA-SCOTIA.

THE Year 1747 gives a further Inſtance of the Attention paid by the *French*, to the Advantages reaped by the Powers of *Europe* from their Poſſeſſions and Strength in *America*: For though the Expedition againſt *Nova Scotia*, under the Duke *d'Anville*, terminated to their Diſadvantage, the *French* were ſtill in hopes of obtaining the Colony, and with the Aſſiſtance of the *Canadeans*, to prove a troubleſome Enemy to the *Britiſh* Settlements on the northern Coaſt of *America*, if they could not ſucceed in the Recovery of *Cape Breton*; and they were alſo ambitious to add more of the *Britiſh* Settlements in the *Eaſt-Indies* to their Obedience. Accordingly a Force was fitted out for theſe Purpoſes at *Breſt*; the Armament deſtined for *America* being to be commanded by Monſieur *de la Jonquiere*, and the Force to the *Eaſt-Indies* by Monſieur *de St. George*, which were to ſet out together: But the *Britiſh* Government had Intelligence of the Time they were to ſail, and took care to have them intercepted.

The *Britiſh* Squadron intended to diſappoint the Meaſures of the *French*, was commanded by Vice-admiral *Anſon*, and Rear-admiral *Warren*, conſiſting of the following Ships:

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Prince George	Vice-admiral *Anſon* Captain *Bentley*	90	750
Devonſhire	Rear-adm. *Warren* Captain *Weſt*	66	480
Namur	*Boſcawen*	74	480
Monmouth	*Harriſon*	64	400
Prince Frederic	*Norris*	64	400
Yarmouth	*Brett*	64	400
Princeſs Louiſa	*Watſon*	60	400
Defiance	*Grenville*	60	400
Nottingham	*Saumarez*	60	400
Pembroke	*Fincher*	60	400
Windſor	*Hanway*	60	400
Centurion	*Denis*	50	300
Falkland	*Barradel*	50	300
Briſtol	Hon. *Will. Montague*	50	300
Ambuſcade	Capt. *John Montague*	40	250
Falcon Sloop	*Gwynn*	10	100
Vulcan Fire-ſhip	*Pattigrew*		100

This Squadron departed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April*, to cruiſe off *Uſhant* and *Breſt*, where they continued till the 20th, and then ſtood to the South-weſt, in order to make *Cape Finiſterre* on the Coaſt of *Galicia*; in which Situation they lay cruiſing till the 3d of *May*, when, the Cape bearing South-eaſt diſtant 24 Leagues, the *Britiſh* Admiral fell in with the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 38 Ships, nine of which ſhortened Sail, drawing into a Line of Battle a-head, and the reſt of the Fleet ſtretched to the weſtward, with all the Sail they could ſet, having ſix Frigates for their Convoy; while the *French* Commodores waited[*], with a ſeeming Reſolution, to engage the *Britiſh* Squadron, and give their Convoy an Opportunity of eſcaping.

Vice-admiral *Anſon* formed his Squadron into a Line, and, at One in the Afternoon, made the Signal for the leading Ships to lead large: At Two the *French* hawled down their Signal for the Line; and, as their Convoy was now well a-head, began to ſheer off: Upon which Vice-admiral *Anſon*, obſerving that their Aim was to gain time, and endeavour to eſcape under favour of the Night, made the Signal for the whole Fleet to chaſe and engage, without any regard to the Line of Battle. The *Centurion* having got up with the ſternmoſt Ship of the *French* about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, began to engage her; upon which two of the largeſt *French* Ships bore down to her Aſſiſtance. The *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windſor*, being the next headmoſt Ships, ſoon entered into Action with five of the *French* Squadron, where they were very warmly engaged on both ſides: The *Centurion* ſoon loſt her Main-top-maſt, which occaſioned her to drop a-ſtern; though Captain *Denis* uſed all poſſible Diſpatch to come into Action again; and the brave Captain *Grenville*, of the *Defiance*, obſerving how deſperate the *Namur* was beſet, got on her Starboard-bow, and took moſt of the Fire of one Ship from her. The *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windſor*, after having diſabled their Opponents in ſuch a manner that the *Britiſh* Ships a-ſtern muſt ſoon come up with them, made ſail a-head to prevent the Van of the *French* from eſcaping; as did alſo ſeveral other Ships of the *Britiſh* Fleet; while Rear-admiral *Warren* came up with Commodore *de la Jonquiere* in the *Serieux*, and having received his Fire, which was very terrible, ran up within Piſtol-ſhot, and then returned it, continuing a briſk Fire till the *Serieux* ſtruck. Rear-admiral *Warren* then made up to Commodore *de St. George* in the *Invincible*, who had loſt her Main-top-maſt with the *Namur*: The Rear-admiral having given the *Invincible* his Broadſide, had the Pleaſure to ſee himſelf ſeconded, and his Blow repeated, by his noble Friend Captain *Montague* in the *Briſtol*, whoſe Broadſide diſmaſted the *Invincible*, and drove all the Men from her Guns, who were terrified at the Havoc made among them by the reſpective Fires from the *Devonſhire* and *Briſtol*; however, they gave the *Briſtol* their whole Muſketry fore and aſt, and

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ropean Seas; which, with the Captures in America, made the whole Number of the Prizes taken this Year by the French, conſiſt of one Man of War of 50 Guns, two Sloops of War, nine Privateers, one Eaſt-Indiaman, and 466 Merchant Veſſels, in all 479; making the whole Number of the Britiſh Ships and Veſſels taken by the French, ſince the Declaration of Hoſtilities, amount to 1122. The Spaniards this Year took 105 Britiſh Veſſels in the European Seas, and 78 in America, in all 183; which made the whole Number of the Britiſh Ships and Veſſels taken by the Spaniards, ſince the 23d of October 1739, amount to 1071; and thoſe taken in the preſent Year, both by the French and Spaniards, to conſiſt of 662. The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers took nine Privateers, four Regiſter Ships, and 15 other Spaniſh Veſſels, in the European Seas; which, with the Captures in America, made the whole Loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards, during the Courſe of this Year, to conſiſt of 22 Privateers, ten Regiſter Ships, and 56 other mercantile Veſſels, in all 88; making the whole Number of Spaniſh Ships and Veſſels, taken by the Engliſh ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 1060. The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers, alſo took this Year from the French, four Men of War, 53 Privateers, and 203 mercantile Veſſels in the European Seas, beſides ſeven Sloops in the Eaſt-Indies, in all 270; making, together with the Captures in America, the whole Number of Prizes taken from the French, during the Courſe of this Year, to conſiſt of ſeven Men of War, 91 Privateers, 23 Turky Ships, five Guinea Ships, 143 Martinico and Domingo Ships, 21 Newfoundland Ships, ſeven Sloops belonging to the French Company in the Eaſt-Indies, and 113 other mercantile Veſſels, in all 410, which was 69 leſs than the Prizes taken this Year by the French only, and 164 leſs than thoſe taken by the French and Spaniards together; making the whole Number of Prizes taken from the French, ſince the 24th of March 1744, amount to 1160, being 38 more than thoſe taken by the French.

[*] With the following Ships to maintain the Engagement:

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Le Serieux	M. de la Jonquiere, Chef d'Eſcadre	66	556
L'Invincible	M. de St. George	74	700
Le Diamant	Hoquhart	56	450
Le Jaſon	Beccard	52	355
Le Rubis	M'Carty	52	328
La Gloire	Saleſſe	44	330

Ships belonging to the Eaſt-India-Company, fitted out as Men of War.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
L'Apollon	De Santons	30	132
Le Philipart	Cellie	30	170
Le Thetis	Macon	20	100
Le Dartmouth	Penoche	18	50

and dropt a-ſtern. While the *Namur*, *Defiance*, *Windſor*, *Yarmouth*, *Pembroke*, and *Devonſhire*, were engaging ſome of the *French*, and purſuing the others, Vice-admiral *Anſon* made up to the *Invincible*, and going to fire into her, all the *French* Ships in the Rear ſtruck their Colours between Six and Seven o'Clock, as did all thoſe which were in the Line before Night; the *Diamant* being the laſt that ſubmitted, after maintaining an Engagement with the *Briſtol*, within Piſtol-ſhot, for almoſt three Hours, when Captain *Montague* found her Poop and Quarter-deck like a Slaughter-houſe, covered over with Blood. Vice-admiral *Anſon* brought to at Seven, having detached the *Monmouth*, *Yarmouth*, and *Nottingham*, to purſue the Convoy, who then bore Weſt by South at about four or five Leagues diſtance, being followed by the *Falcon* Sloop all the time of the Engagement, whoſe Captain was ordered to make Signals for a Guidance to the other Ships, by which means the *Vigilante* and *Modeſte* of 22 Guns each, with the *Dartmouth*, formerly a *Britiſh* Privateer of 18 Guns, and 50 Men, were taken, being the only *Eaſt-India* Ships that flew from the Engagement, as well as ſix others of the Convoy [a], all the reſt eſcaping under Cover of the Night.

On their Return to *London*, Vice-admiral *Anſon* was created a Peer, by the Title of Lord *Anſon*, Baron of *Soberton*, in the County of *Southampton*; and Rear-admiral *Warren* was inveſted with the Order of the *Bath*. Theſe Honours were ſoon followed by a general Promotion in the Navy, when Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, *James Steuart*, Eſq; and the honourable *George Clinton*, Eſq; were appointed Admirals of the White; *William Rowley*, *William Martin*, and *Iſaac Townſend*, Eſqrs; Admirals of the Blue; *Henry Medley*, Eſq; Lord *Vere Beauclerk*, and Lord *Anſon*, Vice-admirals of the Red; *Perry Mayne*, Eſq; and Sir *Peter Warren*, Knight of the *Bath*, Vice-admirals of the White; *John Byng*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue; *Henry Oſborn*, *Thomas Smith*, and *Thomas Griffin*, Eſq; Rear-admirals of the Red; *Edward Hawke*, *William Chambers*, and *Charles Knowles*, Eſq; Rear-admirals of the White; and the honourable *John Forbes*, and the honourable *Edward Boſcawen*, Eſq; Rear-admirals of the Blue.

The *Britiſh* Miniſtry received Intelligence, that a large Sail of *French* Merchantmen from *Domingo*, were preparing to ſail for *Europe*, under Convoy of four Men of War; wherefore the Lords of the Admiralty ordered the *Kent* and *Hampton-Court* of 70 Guns, the *Eagle* and *Lion* of 60, the *Cheſter* of 50, the *Hector* of 44, with the *Pluto* and *Dolphin* Fire-ſhips, to proceed immediately to Sea under the Command of Captain *Fox*, in the *Kent*; who, on the 20th of *April*, arrived upon his cruiſing Station off the Bay of *Biſcay*, where he continued his Cruiſe between *Uſhant* and *Cape Finiſterre*, for the Interception of the *Domingo* Fleet. On the 20th of *June*, at Four in the Morning, the *Britiſh* Squadron began to deſcry the *French*, being then in the Latitude of 47 Deg. 18 Min. North Cape *Ortegal* in *Galicia*, the moſt northern Promontory in *Spain*, bearing S. E. diſtant 146 Leagues: This homeward-bound *St. Domingo* Fleet conſiſting of 170 Sail, under the Convoy of Commodore *de la Motte*, with the *Magnanime* of 74 Guns, the *Alcide* of 64, the *Arc en Ciel* of 58, and the *Zephyre* of 36. The *French* were at windward, the Wind at N. N. E. the *Britiſh* Squadron chaſed them the whole Day, and at Night the *French* Men of War bore off the *Kent* N. N. E. about two Leagues. The *Britiſh* Ships being foul and ſickly, by the long Continuance of their Cruiſe, could not gain upon the *French* Men of War, on the 21ſt, from Eleven o'Clock till Five in the Afternoon, with all Sails ſet, though the *French* were under their Top-ſails and Fore-ſails; but about a quarter after Five, the *French* Commodore finding the *Engliſh* approaching very near him, ordered the Men of War to ſet their Main-ſails, and Top-gallant-ſails, and went away without making any Signal either by Light or Gun, eſcaping in the Night, and abandoning his Convoy. On the 22d of *June*, there being but very little Wind, the *Britiſh* Ships purſued the *French* Merchant-ſhips which had ſeparated, and took ſeveral; but on the 23d, the Wind blew freſh in the Southweſt Quarters, with very thick Weather, and prevented the *Britiſh* Ships from overtaking them; however the *Advice* of 50 Guns, commanded by Captain *Haddock*, being a clean Ship, and cruiſing in the Soundings, fell in with, and took ſeveral of them. The *Kent* took five of the *French* Merchantmen, the *Hampton-Court* five, the *Eagle* ſix, the *Lion* nine, the *Cheſter* four, the *Hector* and *Dolphin* Fireſhips four, and the *Advice* eight, which they conducted to *Plymouth*. Beſides theſe, five others were taken by a Squadron commanded by Sir *Peter Warren*, which ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *June*, to intercept what might eſcape Commodore *Fox*: The whole Number of Prizes being 46, having 1248 Sailors on-board, with a very valuable Cargo of Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, Coffee, and Hides, of which all their Ladings conſiſted.

The Lords of the Admiralty having alſo received Information that a very large Fleet of Merchant-ſhips, bound from the Ports of *France* to the *Weſt-Indies*, were collecting together at the *Iſle* of *Aix*, and that a ſtrong Squadron of Ships of War had ſailed from *Breſt* to eſcort them [b], they made the neceſſary Preparations to intercept them alſo; and immediately on the Return of Sir *Peter Warren* and Captain *Fox*, a Fleet was ordered out from *Plymouth* on this Deſtination, under the Command of Rear-admiral *Hawke*, conſiſting of the following Ships:

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Devonſhire	Rear-adm. *Hawke* Captain *Moore*	66	550
Kent	*Fox*	64	480
Edinburgh	*Cotes*	70	480
Yarmouth	*Saunders*	64	500
Monmouth	*Harriſon*	70	480
Princeſs Louiſa	*Watſon*	60	400
Windſor	*Hanway*	60	400
Lion	*Scot*	60	400
Tilbury	*Harland*	60	400

Nottingham

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[a] The French behaved extremely well; but the Engliſh Sailors far excelled them both in Diſcipline and Firing; and, as only eight Engliſh Ships were engaged, the Superiority was not very conſiderable; moſt of the Britiſh Ships ſuffered in their Maſts and Rigging, and loſt about 520 Men killed and wounded; the French alſo loſt about 700 Men killed and wounded: But the greateſt Loſs among the Conquerors, was the Death of Captain Grenville, of the Defiance, who was an excellent Officer, regretted by the whole Fleet, lamented by his Admiral, and deplored by his King and Country; he was not only an Honour to his illuſtrious Family, not only a Glory to his Nation, but an Ornament to human Nature; whoſe unhappy Fate awakened the brighteſt Muſe of Britain, to bathe his Urn with the tributary Tear of Friendſhip, painting out his Virtues in all the tender Flow of elegiac Sorrow; and whoſe Worth is perpetuated on a Pedeſtal erected to his Memory, in the beautiful Gardens belonging to Lord Cobham at Stowe, where none but the nobleſt, braveſt, and the wiſeſt of Mankind, have been ſelected for the Ornaments of theſe conſecrated Walks of Wiſdom. Captain Boſcawen of the Namur, was wounded in the Shoulder with a Muſket-ball; but no other Officer of the Britiſh Fleet was hurt. M. de la Jonquiere, the French Chef d'Eſcadre, was ſhot under the Blade-bones of both his Shoulders; one of his Captains was killed, and another loſt his Leg. The French Fleet was to have ſeparated in a Day or two, when the Invincible and Jaſon were to have proceeded to the Eaſt-Indies with the Trade and Storeſhips; the other Ships being bound for Canada with Soldiers and Stores, to enable the Inhabitants to retake Cape Breton, and conquer Annapolis: Fortunately for the Britiſh Nation they were again diſappointed; the Arms of Britain were now more fatal to the French, than the Seas and Winds had been in the preceding Year; and the victorious Fleet conducted their noble Prizes to Portſmouth, with all the Joy attendant on triumphal Glory; where the very Bullion taken in the French Fleet, amounted to 7*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for the Share of every private Man; 38*l.* 4*s.* to every petty Officer; 133*l.* to every Officer; and 293*l.* to every Lieutenant.

[b] Two hundred and fifty-two Merchant-ſhips, under Convoy of the following Men of War:

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Le Tonant	M. de Letendeur Chef d'Eſcadre	80	822
L'Intrepide	Count de Vaudreuil	74	686
Le Terrible	Count Dugue	74	686
Le Monarque	M. de Bedoyerre	74	686

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Le Neptune	M. Fromentierre	70	686
Le Trident	M. Demblimont	64	650
Le Fougeux	M. Duvigneau	64	650
Le Severn	M. Durouret	56	550
	Total	556	5416

The French Commander had alſo another Ship, called the Content, of 60 Guns, and 500 Men, belonging to the Eaſt-India Company, and many Frigates from 36 Guns downwards; the Men of War, and Merchantmen, ſet ſail together from the Iſle of Aix, on the 6th of October, with an E. N. E. Wind, which ceaſing, they were obliged to anchor in the Road of Rochelle; from whence they ſailed the next Morning, directing their Courſe off Rochebone, to get into the Latitude of Belleiſle, near the ſouthern Coaſt of Britany, where they arrived on the 10th, and ſtretched ſail from the Land.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Nottingham	*Saumarez*	60	400
Defiance	*Bentley*	60	400
Eagle	*Rodney*	60	400
Glouceſter	*Durell*	50	300
Portland	*Stevens*	50	300
	Total	854	5890

The above Fleet ſet ſail from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *Auguſt*, and continued cruiſing off the Coaſt of *Britany*, in Expectation of intercepting the *French*.

On the 14th of *October*, at Seven in the Morning, being in Latitude 47 Deg. 49 Min. N. and Longitude from Cape *Finiſterre* one Deg. two Min. W. the *Edinburgh* made the Signal for ſeven Sail in the S. E. Quarter; upon which Rear-admiral *Hawke* immediately made the Signal for all the Fleet to chace; about Eight he ſaw a great Number of Ships, ſo crouded that he could not count them; but at Ten he made a Signal for the Line of Battle a-head. The *French* Commodore, when he firſt ſaw the *Britiſh* Squadron, in the Horizon, making ſwiftly after him, took them for ſome of his own Fleet; it happening daily, that, in ſpite of all his Vigilance, many Ships of the Convoy loſt company in the Night, to ſail more at liberty; but, when he diſcovered what they were, he ordered the Signal for the Trade to make the beſt of their way with the *Content* and the Frigates; at the ſame time ordering the Signal of Battle for the Men of War, who formed betwixt the Merchantmen and *Britiſh* Squadron; the *Intrepide*, *Trident*, and *Terrible*, making the Van; the *Tonant* and *Monarque* being in the Centre; with the *Severn*, *Fougueux*, and *Neptune*, in the Rear. It was of great Conſequence that this Line ſhould form ſuddenly; but the Preſervation of the Merchant-ſhips being the principal Object, it was neceſſary to leave Intervals; ſo that before 252 Veſſels could paſs through, a conſiderable Time elapſed, during which the *Britiſh* Admiral made his Diſpoſitions; though in the mean time the *French* Merchantmen being paſſed, and ſailing W. N. W. their Men of War tacked, and ſtood with their Heads to the S. W. the Wind being at S. E.

Rear-admiral *Hawke* diſcovering the Intention of the Enemy was to favour the Eſcape of their Merchantmen, and finding he ſhould loſe time in forming his Line, while the *French* were ſtanding away, at Eleven he made the Signal for the whole *Britiſh* Squadron to chace; and half an Hour after obſerving his headmoſt Ships to be within a proper Diſtance, he made the Signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed. The *Lion* and *Princeſs Louiſa* began the Engagement about a quarter of an Hour before Twelve, paſſing amidſt a terrible Fire, from the Rear to the Van of the *French*, in which they were followed by the reſt of the Ships as they came up; the *Lion*, *Louiſa*, *Tilbury*, *Eagle*, *Windſor*, and *Yarmouth*, behaving with the greateſt Intrepidity, though the *French* received them with the utmoſt Bravery. Rear-admiral *Hawke*, in paſſing on to the firſt Ship he could get near, received ſeveral Fires at a diſtance, till he came cloſe to the *Severn*, whom he ſoon ſilenced, and left to be taken up by the Frigates aſtern: Then perceiving the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh* ſomewhat diſabled by the *Tonant*, the *Devonſhire* kept her Wind as cloſe as poſſible to aſſiſt them; but this Attempt was fruſtrated by the *Eagle*'s falling twice on-board the *Devonſhire*, having had her Wheel ſhot to pieces, all the Men at it killed, and all her Braces and Bowlings gone; which drove the Rear-admiral to leeward, and prevented his attacking either the *Monarque* or *Tonant*, within any Diſtance to do Execution: However he attempted both, eſpecially the latter; but, while he was engaged with her, the Breechings of all the Lower-deck Guns of the *Devonſhire* broke, and the Guns flew fore and aft, which obliged her to ſhoot a-head, becauſe her Upper and Quarter-deck Guns could not reach the *Tonant*. Captain *Harland*, in the *Tilbury*, obſerving that the *Tonant* fired ſingle Guns at the *Devonſhire*, with a view to diſmaſt her, ſtood on the other Tack between her and the *Devonſhire*, and gave her a very ſmart Fire. By the time the new Breechings were all ſeized, onboard the *Devonſhire*, ſhe was got almoſt along-ſide the *Trident* of 64 Guns, which the Rear-admiral engaged as ſoon as poſſible, and ſilenced by as briſk a Fire as he could make: But juſt before the Rear-admiral attacked her, obſerving the *Kent*, which ſeemed to have little or no Damage, at ſome Diſtance a-ſtern of the *Tonant*, he flung out the Signal for Captain *Fox* to make ſail a-head to engage her, as the Admiral judged it was in his power to get cloſe up with her, ſhe being ſomewhat diſabled, having loſt her Main-top-maſt. The Admiral alſo, on ſeeing ſome of the *Britiſh* Ships at that time not ſo cloſely engaged as he could have wiſhed, and not being well able to diſtinguiſh who they were, flung out the Signal for coming to a cloſe Engagement; and ſoon after the *Devonſhire* got along-ſide, within Muſket-ſhot of the *Terrible*.

In the mean time, ſuch others of the *Britiſh* Ships as had entered into the Engagement, were laboriouſly employed againſt the Vigilance and Activity of the *French*, who ſeemed determined to ſell their Liberty at an expenſive Rate. Captain *Saunders*, in the *Yarmouth*, lay two Hours and a half cloſely engaged with the *Neptune*, who had 100 Men killed, and 140 wounded, and was almoſt entirely diſmaſted before ſhe ſtruck, which ſhe did about Four o'Clock. The *Monarque*, *Fougeux*, and *Severn*, ſurrendered about the ſame time; the *Trident* ſtruck about Five to Admiral *Hawke*, as alſo did the *Terrible* about Seven.

During the Heat of the Battle, the *Intrepide* tacked about towards the *Tonant*, and paſſed through the midſt of the *Britiſh* Ships, firing on both ſides. The Moment the *Intrepide* came up with the *Tonant*, ſhe got under her Stern, and they continued fighting together for half an Hour, with five of the *Britiſh* Ships that invironed them, and which fell back behind the *Intrepide*. Captain *Saunders*, in the *Yarmouth*, being impatient to ſee the *French* Admiral and the *Intrepide* getting away, and none of the *Britiſh* Ships following them, ardently wiſhed to go after them, and propoſed it to Captain *Saumarez* in the *Nottingham*, and Captain *Rodney* in the *Eagle*, who were within Hale, and conſented to purſue them: The three *Britiſh* Ships came up with the *Tonant* and *Intrepide* about Eight, and engaged them almoſt an Hour; but Captain *Saumarez* being unfortunately killed by the firſt Shot from the *Tonant*; the *Nottingham* hauled her Wind, which gave the *French* an Opportunity of eſcaping under favour of the Night; when they proceeded to a ſmall Port 100 Leagues W. of *Uſhant*, where they repaired their battered Ships, and returned to *Breſt*; having loſt upwards of 200 Men on-board the *Tonant* and *Intrepide*.

Rear-admiral *Hawke* having obſerved that the *Terrible*, *Monarque*, *Neptune*, *Trident*, *Fougeux*, and *Severn*, had ſtruck, and it being very dark, he thought proper to bring too for that Night: As the *French* Ships were large, except the *Severn*, they took a great deal of Drubbing, and loſt all their Maſts excepting two, who had their Fore-maſts left: And as to the Eſcape of the *French* Convoy, it was not poſſible for Rear-admiral *Hawke* to detach any Ships after them at firſt, or during the Action, beſides the Frigates; and that he thought would have been imprudent, as he obſerved the *Content*, and ſeveral other large Ships, among them[*]; however, he took a Step which ſeemed the moſt probable to intercept them, for as ſoon as he could man and victual the *Weazle* Sloop, he detached her with an Expreſs to Commodore *Legge*, who commanded the Squadron ſtationed about the *Leeward Iſlands*, with Information of what had happened.

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[*] The French had above 800 Men killed and wounded, and 3300 taken Priſoners: Among the Slain was M. Fromentierre, who commanded the Neptune; and the French Commodore was amongſt the wounded, having a bad Contuſion in the Right Shoulder, and another in the Leg. The Engliſh had 154 Men killed, and 558 wounded; among the former was the brave Captain Saumarez, but no other Officer of Diſtinction. The French fought with unuſual Reſolution; and their Commander publickly reported, on his Arrival in France, "That a little more Equality had put him out of "danger of Inſult: But that they could not think of having, till the King ſhould pleaſe to furniſh the Count de Maurepas with the Means of re-eſta-"bliſhing the Marine upon the Footing he deſired to have it, and till they were a little better perſuaded in France of the Neceſſity of providing a na-"val Power." The Britiſh Admiral reported, "That all his Commanders, Officers, and Companies, behaved with the greateſt Spirit and Reſolution, "in every Reſpect like Engliſhmen: Only he was ſorry to acquaint the Lords of the Admiralty, that he muſt except Captain Fox[*], whoſe Conduct, on "that Day, he begged their Lordſhips would give Directions for enquiring into at a Court-Martial."

[*] Captain Fox was univerſally cenſured, and a Court-Martial was appointed to examine into his Conduct, which began at Portſmouth on the 25th of November, where Sir Peter Warren ſat as Preſident, aſſiſted by the Rear-admirals Oſborne, Forbes, and Chambers, with ten Captains; the Charge

Rear-Admiral *Hawke* arrived with his ſix Prizes at *Portſmouth* on the 31ſt of *October*, and was ſoon after created Knight of the *Bath*, for his gallant Behaviour.

In the *Mediterranean* Vice-Admiral *Medley* (with the *Barfleur*, of 90 Guns; the *Carolina*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Norfolk*, *Ruſſel*, *Somerſet*, and *Torbay* of 80; the *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, and *Royal Oak*, of 70; and the *Dunkirk*, of 60 Guns; beſides Frigates; which were augmented, in the Beginning of the Year, by the *Rupert* and *Superb*, of 60 Guns; the *Colcheſter* and *Litchfield*, of 50; and the *Winchelſea* of 20, under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Byng*, who convoyed a large Sail of Merchantmen for the Streights;) continued to block up the *Spaniſh* Squadron in *Carthagena*. He alſo aſſiſted the *Auſtrian* General on the Coaſt of *Villa Franca*; and endeavoured to intercept the Arrival of any Succours to the *Genoeſe*; neither the *French* nor *Spaniards* ever attempting to make the leaſt Oppoſition againſt him, who died on the 5th of *Auguſt*; when the Command devolved to Rear-Admiral *Byng*: but nothing material happened under his Direction, excluſive of the Capture of ſeveral Veſſels deſtined for the Aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*.

The late Deſtruction of the *Frensh* Squadrons in the Bay and the weſtern Ocean, had put ſuch a Stop to their naval Power in *Europe*, that our Merchant Ships were convoyed both in and out with great Security[a]. Only in the *Eaſt-Indies* the *French* had a Superiority of Ships: Therefore

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againſt him; read by the Judge Advocate, being, "That he did not come properly into the Fight, nor do his utmoſt to engage, diſtreſs, and endamage the Enemy, nor aſſiſt ſuch Ships as did:" but the Evidence proved to the Satisfaction of the Court, "That the Kent engaged the Fougeux three Quarters of an Hour, within Muſket and Piſtol Shot, till ſhe ſtruck to her; that the Kent then ſhot a-head, and engaged the Tonant for half an Hour, till ſhe carried away the Tonant's Top-maſt, when the Kent forced a-head, her Braces, Preventers, and Hoppers being all ſhot away." The Trial ended on the 21ſt of December, when the Court was of opinion, "That Part of the Charge was proved, that Capt. Fox had been guilty of backing his mizen Top-ſail, and leaving the Tonant, contrary to the 10th and 11th Articles of War; they, however, acquitted him of the Charge of Cowardice; but, becauſe he paid too much Regard to the Advice of his Officers, contrary to his better Judgment, paſſed Sentence that he ſhould be diſmiſſed from the preſent Command of the Kent." This Officer had long ſerved in the Navy with unblemiſhed Reputation, his Character was ſoon reſtored, and his Majeſty, in Auguſt 1749, promoted him to the Rank of a Rear-admiral; while the brave Admiral Matthews ſtill continued under Suſpenſion, notwithſtanding his Conduct in the Mediterranean had been juſtified by the late Behaviour of Vice-admiral Anſon and Rear-admiral Hawke, who, both of them, purſued the ſame Meaſures, in following a fugitive Enemy, without regard to the Line of Battle.

[a] Commodore Legge, on the 2d of January, ſet ſail from St. Helens, in the Captain of 70 Guns; with the Sunderland and Dragon of 60; and the Rye of 20; having under his Convoy a large Fleet of Merchant Ships for Jamaica, and the Leeward Iſlands, which met with no Interruption in their Paſſage. On the 12th of Auguſt, a Fleet of homeward-bound Merchantmen, from Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, conſiſting of eighty-ſix Sail, were convoyed for England by three Men of War, and proceeded without any Moleſtation from the Enemy; though they met with a violent Storm in north Latitude 38, 150 Leagues from Bermudas, in which the Lyme Man of War, of twenty Guns, was overſet, and all her Crew, except four, periſhed; ſix of the Merchantmen foundered, but the Crews were ſaved; and two others were loſt with all their Men. The Trade for North America was alſo ſafely convoyed, in the Summer, under the Protection of the Warwick of 60 Guns, commanded by Capt. Erſkine, and the Lark of 40 Guns, commanded by Capt, Cruikſhanks; who, in their Paſſage, being off the Weſtern Iſles, on the 14th of July, fell in with the Glorioſo, a Spaniſh Man of War of 74 Guns, and 750 Men, which the Warwick engaged for a conſiderable Time; but, being unaſſiſted by the Lark, and greatly diſabled, Capt. Erſkine, with the greateſt Mortification, ſaw the Glorioſo eſcape; for which Capt. Cruikſhanks was afterwards ſuſpended by Rear-admiral Knowles. The Baltic Trade was alſo ſafely convoyed by the Flamborough Man of War, with the Lancaſter, Grampus, and Hazard Sloops; and Rear-admiral Chambers, with nine Men of War, protected the Navigation of the Channel. The naval War in the Weſt Indies was productive of no material Enterprize: The French had a Squadron of ſix Ships of the Line at Martinico, under Commodore M^c^Namarra; the Spaniards had ſeven Ships of the Line at the Havannah, under Vice-admiral Reggio; and the Engliſh had the Cornwall of 80 Guns; the Lenox of 70; the Elizabeth, Plymouth, and Worceſter, of 60; the Milford and Enterprize of 40; the Biddeford of 20, and the Merlin Sloop, under Commodore Dent, at Jamaica; while Commodore Legge was ſtationed at the Leeward Iſlands, with the Captain of 70 Guns; the Dreadnought, Sunderland, and Dragon of 60; the Goſport, Sutherland, Mary Galley, and Ludlow-Caſtle of 40; the Centaur and Rye of 20; with the Porcupine, Richmond, and Saxon Sloops, and the Comet Bomb; but the French and Spaniſh Squadrons lay inactive, while Commodore Legge intercepted their Commerce, and gave Security to the Britiſh Navigation; for the Weazle Sloop, which had been diſpatched by Rear-Admiral Hawke, to give Commodore Legge Intelligence of the French Merchant Fleet, that failed under Convoy of Monſieur de Letendeur, arrived at Barbadoes early enough for the Commodore to take ten of them; but nothing elſe, excluſive of the reciprocal Captures happened this Year in America. The Men of War and Privateers made ſeveral valuable Acquiſitions. The Flora, a French Man of War of 22 Guns, was taken on the Coaſt of Martinico, by the Greyhound Privateer, and carried into St. Chriſtophers, on the 2d of January. The Veſtal, a Spaniſh Regiſter Ship of 700 Ton, 60 Guns, and 600 Men, Paſſengers included, from Cadiz for La Vera Cruz, was taken, on the 3d of March, by the Enterprize Man of War, of 40 Guns, after an obſtinate Fight of ſeven Hours, and carried into Jamaica; having 975 Barrels of Quickſilver, a great Quantity of Bale Goods, and other Effects on board, to the Value of 150,000 l. but neither the French nor Spaniards took any extraordinary Prize in America. The Bellona of Nantz, a French Privateer of 36 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns, was taken, on the 2d of February, by the Edinburgh, Nottingham, and Eagle Men of War, and carried into Plymouth, where ſhe was converted into a Man of War. The Royal Family Privateers, conſiſting of five Ships of Force, under the Command of Capt. Walker, and fitted out by the Proprietors of the Prince Frederic and Duke Privateers, which took the two rich South-Sea Ships in 1745, made Captures of two Spaniſh Galleons outward bound, one of them, called the Nympha, carrying 36 Guns, and 350 Men, valued at 180,000 l. The Revenge Privateer of Granville, of 22 Guns, and 230 Men, was taken, on the 9th of June, and brought into Portſmouth, by the Maidſtone Man of War, commanded by the Hon. Capt. Van Keppel; but the Maidſtone was ſoon afterwards loſt, by chaſing another French Privateer too near the Shore; tho' the Captain and Crew were providentially ſaved, and ſent Priſoners to Nantz in Britany. The Etoile, a French Man of War of 46 Guns, was blown up by the French on the 2d of July, to avoid being taken by ſome of the Squadron under Sir Peter Warren in a Bay to the Windward of the Iſland Liſarga. On the 12th of Auguſt, the Viper Sloop of War, cruiſing about thirty-four Leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Uſhant, fell in with the Hector, a Spaniſh Regiſter Ship from the South-Seas, of twenty-eight Guns and fifty-ſix Men, which ſhe took, after ſome Reſiſtance, and carried her into Mount's-bay in Cornwall: the Hector had landed her Treaſure, which amounted to 300,000 l. at the Canaries; but a Dutch Ship, which was ſent from the Canaries to Cadiz with 60,000 l. of the ſame Treaſure, and 400 Hogſheads of Wine, was taken by the Kingſton, Cumberland, and Hardwicke Privateers, under Commodore Acton; and the Prince of Orange Privateer alſo took the Maria Catherina, from the Canaries for Hamburgh, with 60,000 Ducats of the ſame Treaſure. The Bellona Man of War, commanded by the Hon. Capt. Barrington, as ſhe was cruiſing to the weſt of Uſhant, on the 18th of Auguſt, fell in with a French Eaſt-India Ship, from Port L'Orient, called Le Duc de Chartres, of 700 Ton, 30 Guns, and 195 Men, laden with military Stores, and Proviſions; which the Bellona took, and brought into Mount's-bay, after a gallant Engagement, in which the French had 25 killed, and 18 wounded, and the Bellona three killed and ſeven wounded. The Renomme, a French Man of War of 40 Guns and 300 Men, with Commodore Conflans on board, who was going to his Government of St. Domingo, was taken on the 14th of September, after a ſmart Engagement, by the Dover Man of War of 40 Guns, commanded by Capt. Shirley, who carried the Prize into Plymouth: Capt. Shirley, ſoon after, took the Heureux Privateer of St. Maloes, of 22 Guns, and 195 Men, which he brought into Falmouth; and the Caſtor, a French Man of War of 28 Guns and 300 Men, was alſo taken about the ſame Time by the Hampſhire Man of War, of 50 Guns, and brought into Plymouth. The Glorioſo, a Spaniſh Man of War, of 70 Guns and 700 Men, after her Engagement with the Warwick and Lark, landed her Treaſure at Ferrol, which was brought from the Havannah, and conſiſted of 1,300,000 l. in Specie; but, on the 7th of October, ſhe fell in with the Dartmouth Man of War of 50 Guns, commanded by Capt. Hamilton, and the Ruſſel of 80 Guns, commanded by Capt. Buckle: The Dartmouth immediately engaged the Glorioſo, but unfortunately blew up, and all the Crew, except Lieutenant O Bryan, and eleven Men, periſhed; however the Ruſſel, aſſiſted by the Royal Family Privateers, obliged the Glorioſo to ſtrike, after the Spaniards had twenty-five killed, and as many wounded. No particular Ship of Force was taken by the French or Spaniards, excepting the Louiſburg Fireſhip, commanded by Capt. Delamotte, which was taken, on the 4th of January, after a brave Reſiſtance by a French Privateer, and carried into Granville. The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers, were equally ſucceſsful with their victorious Admirals: their Prizes, for this Year, exceeding thoſe taken by the French and Spaniards together: for they took in America, one Man of War, 36 Privateers, 98 Sail of Domingo and Martinico Ships, one to Newfoundland, and four others, in all 140, from the French: they alſo took 16 Privateers, 11 Regiſter-ſhips, and 28 other Ships from the Spaniards in America, in all 55; ſo that the whole Number of Prizes taken this Year, both from the French and Spaniards amounted to 195; the Britiſh Veſſels taken by the French, in America, were one Privateer, five Guinea-ſhips, four from Newfoundland, and 184 trading to the Sugar colonies, in all 194: the Spaniards alſo took from the Engliſh in America, two Privateers, three Ships from Newfoundland, two from New-England, and 82 in the Trade to the Leeward Iſlands and Jamaica, in all 89; ſo that the whole Number of Britiſh Prizes taken this Year, in America by the French and Spaniards, amounted together to 283, which exceeded the Number of Prizes taken by the Engliſh by 88. The Britiſh Squadrons, Cruiſers, and Privateers, in the European Seas, made Captures of 17 French Men of War, one Sloop of War, 80 Privateers, eight Eaſt-India Men, three Guinea Ships, 127 in the Trade to Domingo and Martinico, eighteen from Newfoundland, eleven Turkey Ships, and 148 others, in all 413; they alſo took from the Spaniards one Man of War, eleven Privateers, ſeven Regiſter-ſhips, and ſeventeen others, in all 36, excluſive of 47 Barks; which made the whole Number of Prizes taken this Year, in the European Seas, from both the French and Spaniards, amount to 449: the French took from the Engliſh in the European Seas, one Man of War, one Fireſhip, nine Privateers, ſeven Turkey Ships, eight Guinea Ships, 22 from Newfoundland, 22 from New-England and Virginia, 54 from the Leeward Iſlands, and 102 others, in all 226, and the French alſo took one of the Eaſt India Ships belonging to the Britiſh Company in Aſia: the Spaniards alſo took from the Engliſh, in the European Seas, one Guinea Ship, four from Newfoundland, four from New-England, 14 from the Leeward Iſlands, and 19 others, in all 42; ſo that the whole Number of Britiſh

fore Rear-Admiral *Boſcawen* was ordered there, with a Squadron of ſix Ships of the Line, one Frigate, a Sloop, Bomb-ſhip, Hoſpital-ſhip, and a Tender, having 2,000 Marines on board, to reinforce Rear-Admiral *Griffin*[a], and return the Viſit at *Madraſs*, by an Invaſion at *Pondicherry*; but this Squadron did not depart from *Portſmouth* till the 1ſt of *November*, when the Rear-Admiral ſet ſail with fifteen *India* Ships under his Convoy; they arrived at *Madeira* on the 14th of *December*, from whence they ſet ſail the 26th, and anchored at the *Cape of Good Hope* on 28th of *March* 1748; they left the *Cape* on the 8th of *May*, and, after making an unſucceſsful Attempt againſt the *French* at the Iſland of *Mauritius*, 400 Miles eaſt of *Madagaſcar*, the whole Squadron arrived ſafe at *Fort St. David* on the 29th of *July*.

The *Britiſh* Nation, notwithſtanding the Detriment ſhe had ſuſtained by the Interception of Commerce, and the Loſs in the Royal Navy, was ſtill capable of continuing the Maritime War, and of proſecuting it with redoubled Vigour: the Royal Navy now conſiſted of ſix Ships of 100 Guns, thirteen of Ninety, ſixteen of Eighty, twenty-five of Seventy, thirty-two of ſixty, and thirty-four of Fifty, being 126 Ships of the Line; beſides thirty Frigates of forty Guns, and forty-five of Twenty; forty-three Sloops, ſixteen Bombs, and nineteen Fireſhips, in all 279; of which two of 100, four of 90, ten of 80, twenty-one of 70, twenty-eight of 60, thirty-two of 50, twenty-eight of 40, forty-two of 20, thirty-five Sloops, twelve Bombs, and eleven Fireſhips, in all 225, were in Commiſſion, being ninety-ſix more than thoſe in Employment at the Commencement of the *Spaniſh* War.

Towards the Concluſion of this Year his Majeſty being adviſed to pacific Meaſures, and the Miniſtry having got a great Majority in the new Parliament lately choſen by their Influence, many of the zealous Advocates for the War being turned out by the laſt Election; the King on the 10th of *November* 1747, acquainted his Parliament from the Throne, "That ſome Overtures, for a general Pacification had lately been made to him, on the Part of *France*; and though "ſome of the Terms propoſed were ſuch as could not be "approved, yet, as he had no other Aim but to bring "about a ſafe and honourable Peace, he had ſhewn the "utmoſt Inclination to facilitate it, in Conjunction with "his Allies; and a Congreſs was actually agreed to be "held at *Aix la Chapelle*, whither the ſeveral Miniſters "would ſoon repair; and he hoped all the Powers concerned would bring with them the ſame Diſpoſitions to "effectuate this great Work, on juſt and reaſonable Conditions, which he ſincerely had.

"That in this Situation, he was confident his Parliament would agree in Opinion with him, that it was neceſſary to be vigilant and attentive to every Event; and "that there would be no Reaſon to expect a good Peace, "but by being timely prepared to carry on a vigorous and "effectual War. He therefore relied on their hearty and "and powerful Support, to enable him to proſecute the "War, in caſe the Obſtinacy of his Enemies, in not agreeing to juſt and reaſonable Terms of Accommodation, "ſhould render it unavoidable."

Both Houſes of Parliament ecchoed the Voice of the Court; and notwithſtanding the Aſſurances of a Peace and the heavy Debt of 64,593,797 *l.* already contracted by the Nation, they granted the Sum of 8,507,930 *l.* for the Service of the Year 1748[b]. Theſe potent Supplies were appropriated to the Continuance of 40,000 Seamen, for which 2,080,000 *l.* was granted; 1,300,000 *l.* for 49,000 Land Forces; 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* for 11,500 Marines; 1,000,000 *l.* towards the Diminution of the Navy Debt; 208,827 *l.* for the Ordinary of the Navy; for Ordnance for Land Service 342,064 *l.* 1,743,313 *l.* for Allies and Auxiliaries, of which 400,000 *l.* was to enable the Queen of *Hungary* to make an effectual Campaign; 300,000 *l.* to make good Engagements with the King of *Sardinia*; 470,223 *l.* for the Pay and Subſiſtence of 22,000 *Hanoverians*; 167,881 *l.* for the Proportion of the Subſidy for 30,000 *Ruſſians*, and defraying their March to *Upper Sileſia*, with 150,000 *l.* for their Forage and Proviſions, from thence till their Return to *Poland*; 8,620 *l.* to the Elector of *Mentz*; 26,846 *l.* to the Elector of *Bavaria*; 161,607 *l.* for 6,000 *Heſſians*; and 57,792 *l.* for 4,000 *Wolfembuttle* Troops from the 25th of *March* to the 24th of *December* 1748; 235,749 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* to reimburſe the Provinces of *New England*, their Expences in reducing *Cape Breton*; 500,000 *l.* to carry on the War; and 152,237 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.* to the *Scotch* Claimants for their Juriſdictions; which, with other leſs incidental Charges, took up the whole Appropriation of the Supplies.

On the 13th of *May* 1748, his Majeſty cloſed this Seſſion of Parliament by a Speech from the Throne, importing, "That at the Opening of this Seſſion, he informed "them a Congreſs had been agreed upon by the ſeveral "Powers at War; and he had now the Satisfaction to acquaint them, that Preliminaries, for reſtoring a general "Peace, had been ſigned between his Miniſter, and thoſe "of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the States General of "the United Provinces; the Baſis of which was a general "Reſtitution of Conqueſts made, during the War, on all "Sides.

"That in Conſequence of theſe Preliminaries, which "had been ratified by all the contracting Parties, a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities had actually taken place in the Low "Countries, and in the Channel: and certain Periods "were fixed, according to former Practice, for its Commencement in other Parts of the World.

"That, in this important Tranſaction, his great Views "had been ſteadily to adhere to the true Intereſts of *Europe*, to purſue and maintain thoſe of his own Kingdoms

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Prizes taken this Year, by the French and Spaniards together, in the European Seas, amounted to 268; which was 181 leſs than the Prizes taken by the Engliſh; who had, this Year, taken both in Europe and America, from the French and Spaniards together, 644 Prizes; whereas they only took 551 from the Engliſh, which was 93 leſs than the former; making the whole Number of Ships and Veſſels taken from the Spaniards, ſince the Commencement of the War, amount to 1,151, from the French to 1,713, and from both together to 2,864; the Spaniards alſo took 1,202, during the ſame time, from the Engliſh, and the French alſo took 1,543, being together 2,745, and 119 leſs than the Prizes taken by the Engliſh.

[a] Commodore de la Bourdonnais, after the Reduction of Madraſs, attempted to increaſe his Reputation by the Capture of Fort St. David; but the Arrival of Commodore Griffin obliged the French to deſiſt from the Enterprize, after the Loſs of their Cannon and Baggage. Commodore Griffin took the Command from Capt. Peyton, and found himſelf at the Head of a formidable Squadron, conſiſting of the York, Princeſs Mary, Exeter, and Medway, of ſixty Guns; the Harwich, Preſton, and Wincheſter, of fifty; the Eltham, Pearl, and Medway's Prize, of forty; and the Lively of twenty Guns: the French Squadron was alſo reinforced, and conſiſted of the Achilles and Centaur of 74 Guns; the Bourbon and Mars of 56; the Neptune of 54; the Brilliant, and Lacrime of 50; and the St. Louis of four Guns: which had been refitted, but were never brought out to encounter the Britiſh Commodore, though he blocked up Pondicherry, during all the Month of Auguſt; and, by his Diſpoſitions, prevented them from receiving any manner of Supplies for a conſiderable time afterwards: he alſo burnt the Neptune Man of War in Madraſs-road, on the 23d of September; though the French took the Princeſs Amelia, one of the Ships belonging to the Eaſt-India Company, who put in there, imagining it had been in the Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; for the French kept the Britiſh Colours flying at Fort St. George; and this Stratagem had like to have deceived more of the Britiſh Commanders in the Service of the Eaſt-India Company: the Britannia eſcaped only through the Miſconduct of the French; the Exeter might have met with the ſame Fate as the Amelia, had ſhe not been forewarned of her Danger by a Britiſh Man of War, who happened to be cruiſing off the Place, juſt as ſhe was coming to an Anchor; and the Oxford, too, afterwards very fortunately had a Perſon on board capable of diſcourſing in the Country-language, and by that means learnt of a Catamaran, who was fiſhing off the Port, that the Place was in Poſſeſſion of the French: however, Commodore de la Bourdonnais, in the mean time, quitted the French Service, and returned, with the principal Part of the Plunder of Madraſs, which he had converted into Jewels, in a Dutch Ship from Batavia for Holland, which was taken by a Britiſh Privateer, and carried into Falmouth: though his Lady, with moſt of the Jewels, arrived in a Portugueze Ship at Liſbon; the Commodore was conducted to London in the Cuſtody of two Meſſengers; he was treated with the utmoſt Politeneſs, and afterwards ſent to France, where he ſuffered a long Confinement in the Baſtile, on account of a Debt of a Million of Livres to the India Company. The Force under Commodore Griffin was inſufficient either to reduce Pondicherry, or recover Madraſs: becauſe the French had repaired the Fortifications of the Former, where they had mounted 180 Pieces of Cannon, and erected ſix additional Forts to flank the exterior Works; the Magazines, and Arſenal, were well provided; and the Garriſon, with the military Indians, formed a Body of 4,500 Men; Madraſs was alſo put into a defenſible Situation; and the Miniſtry of Dehli, inſtead of aſſiſting the Engliſh in the Repoſſeſſion of their Indian Preſidency, profeſſed a Neutrality, nor could the Mogul be induced to interfere in the Quarrel between the two Nations; which occaſioned the Britiſh Commander to relinquiſh all his Expectations of retrieving the Potency and Character of his Country, till the Arrival of a proper Reinforcement, which was ſpeedily expected under Rear-admiral Boſcawen, when Pondicherry was threatened with a Siege.

[b] Continuing the Land tax at four Shillings in the Pound, the Malt duty, 1,000,000 l. to be taken out of the Sinking-fund, and 6,300,000 l. on a Loan by Subſcription, chargeable on a new Subſidy of Poundage upon all Goods and Merchandizes to be imported into Great Britain.

in particular, and to procure for his Allies the beſt Terms and Conditions, that the Events of a War, in ſome Parts unſucceſsful, would admit.

“That he had, in the Courſe of this Negotiation, acted with the moſt unreſerved Confidence and Communication towards his Allies; and he hoped that, when they had maturely weighed the Situation of Affairs, the Neceſſity from thence ariſing, and the Care and Attention which had been ſhewn for their Advantage and Security, they would not delay to accede to theſe Preliminary Articles, but concur in effectuating the good Work of Peace.

“That the vigorous and powerful Support his Parliament had given him, during this Seſſion, towards carrying on the War, had ſtrengthened his Hands, in proceeding thus far in the Meaſures of Peace. Nobody could ſuggeſt the leaſt Failure on the Part of *Great Britain*, which, not only for the Sake of its own particular Intereſt, but of the common Cauſe, had taken on itſelf a Share of the Burthen, unexampled in former Times. That he hoped ſoon to ſee this neceſſary Work brought to Perfection, with the Concurrence of all his Allies, with whom it was his firm Intention to cultivate the moſt perfect Harmony, and to cement and ſtrengthen, if poſſible, the Ties of ancient Union and Friendſhip, in ſuch a Manner as might render the Peace ſecure and durable.

“That he could not ſufficiently expreſs his entire Satiſfaction in the whole Conduct of his Parliament during this Seſſion; and he recommended to them, to promote, in their ſeveral Countries, a right Senſe of thoſe Meaſures, which had been ſo neceſſarily taken for the Security and Eaſe of his People. Concluding, that as it was the earneſt Deſire of his Heart, to ſee the Crown of *Great Britain* maintain that Figure, Strength, and Weight, in making War and Peace, which juſtly belonged to it, it was equally ſo, to ſee his good Subjects enjoy the Bleſſings of Tranquillity and Proſperity.”

The Parliament was then prorogued to the 30th of *June*; and afterwards, by different Prorogations, to the 29th of *November*.

His Majeſty had made ſeveral naval Promotions; *William Rowley*, Eſq; was appointed Admiral of the White; Lord *Vere Beauclerk* and Lord *George Anſon*, Admirals of the Blue; *Perry Mayne*, Eſq; Sir *Peter Warren*, and the Honourable *John Byng*, Eſq; Vice-Admirals of the Red; *Henry Oſborn*, the Honourable *Fitzroy Henry Lee*, and *Thomas Smith*, Eſqrs; Vice-Admirals of the White; *Thomas Griffin*, Eſq; and Sir *Edward Hawke*, Vice-Admirals of the Blue; *William Chambers*, and *Charles Knowles*, Eſqrs; Rear-Admirals of the Red; the Honourable *John Forbes*, and the Honourable *Edward Boſcawen*, Eſqrs; Rear-Admirals of the White; and *Robert Mitchel* and *Charles Watſon*, Eſqrs; Rear-Admirals of the Blue. As the Duke of *Bedford* ſucceeded the Earl of *Cheſterfield* as Secretary of State, the Earl of *Sandwich* was appointed firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and *John Stanhope*, Eſq; filled up the Vacancy at that honourable Board. As ſoon as his Majeſty had concluded the Seſſion of Parliament, he immediately ſet out for *Holland*, where he was convoyed by a Squadron commanded by Lord *Anſon*, and arrived at *Helvoetſluys* on the 22d of *May*; he proceeded to *Hanover*, where he was ſoon after followed by the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who continued there with his Majeſty till the Concluſion of the definitive Treaty of Peace, which was not executed till the 7th of *October*.

This Peace, however neceſſary for the Courtiers, was much diſliked by the Nation in general: who were fully perſuaded that the War, continued vigorouſly and prudently for another Year, muſt have entirely deſtroyed the Trade and Navigation, and thereby humbled the Ambition of *France*; and obliged the grand Monarque to accept of ſuch Terms as *Great Britain* thought convenient to impoſe upon ſo treacherous a Neighbour. For not only in *Europe*, but in *America* alſo, the *French* and their Allies were threatened with a total Ruin of their Marine; without their being in a Capacity to make any Reſiſtance in thoſe Seas, where Rear-Admiral *Knowles*, who was ſent from *Cape Breton*, to command the *Britiſh* Squadron at *Jamaica*, formed a Deſign of attacking *St. Jago de Cuba*; for which Place he ſet ſail from *Port Royal*, on the 13th of *February* 1748, with eight Ships of the Line, ſtrengthened with a Detachment of 240 Men, from the Regiment commanded by Governor *Trelawney*, who accompanied the Admiral in the Expedition: but the Winds continuing northerly, ſo as to prevent the Ships approaching on the Coaſt of *Cuba*, it was agreed to make an Attempt upon the *French* at *Port Louis* [a], on the ſouth Side of *Hiſpaniola*, where the Admiral arrived on the 8th of *March*, with the following Squadron:

Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
Cornwall	Rear-Admiral *Knowles* Capt. *Cadwick*	600	80
Plymouth	*Dent*	400	60
Elizabeth	*Taylor*	400	64
Canterbury	*Brodie*	400	60
Strafford	*Rentone*	400	60
Warwick	*Innes*	400	60
Worceſter	*Andrews*	400	60
Oxford	*Toll*	300	50

Weaſel and *Merlin* Sloops.

Rear-Admiral *Knowles* immediately made a Diſpoſition of his Ships for the Attack, which was begun on the 8th of *March* about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, within almoſt Piſtol-ſhot of the Walls: the Cannonading was very warm from the Garriſon during the time the Squadron was advancing; but as ſoon as the Ships employed in the Attack were got into their Stations, and moored in a cloſe Line a-head, they returned the Fire with great Violence and Succeſs; though Capt. *Rentone*, in the *Strafford*, was killed by a Shot, which took off his Thigh before his Ship came to an Anchor. A ſtrong Fire was reciprocally maintained, and the Garriſon ſet fire to a Ship, which they endeavoured to drop on board the *Cornwall*, or the *Elizabeth*; but Boats were ſent off which towed the Fireſhip clear, and took poſſeſſion of two other Veſſels deſigned for the ſame purpoſe; notwithſtanding the *French* Muſketry played very ſmartly on the Boats all the time. After a warm Cannonading, for about three Hours, Rear-Admiral *Knowles* found the *French* were drove from their Guns and ſilenced; upon which he ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender; who ſoon ſent an Officer off with Propoſitions, which the Admiral rejected, and ſent back the Officer with a Copy of the Conditions [b] which he would allow, giving the Governor but an Hour to determine on them; within which time they were accepted.

In conſequence of which, Major *Scot*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*, was ſent on Shore to take Poſſeſſion of the Fort; the Troops were immediately landed; and marched in according to the Capitulation: the Garriſon had 160 Men killed and wounded; the Loſs on board the Ships was only 70 killed and wounded, but among the former was the brave Capt. *Rentone*,

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[a] Port Louis was a Fort all of Stone, the Merlons ſeven Feet thick on the Top, ſtanding on an Iſland about a Mile from the Town of St. Louis; there were ſeventy-eight Guns mounted in the Fort, moſtly 42, 36, and 28 Pounders, beſides five Mortars, with great Quantities of all kind of Ammunition and Stores: the Garriſon conſiſted of 600 Men, commanded by Monſieur Chaleaunoye, who brought three Companies of Soldiers into the Town the Night before the Attack.

[b] “That the Governor ſhould ſurrender inſtantly the Fort up to the Admiral, and no military Officer or Soldier in it to ſerve againſt his Britannic Majeſty, or his Allies, for the Space of a Year and a Day.——That on theſe Conditions, the Admiral conſented that the Garriſon ſhould march out with their Arms, Colours flying, and Drums beating; but without Cannon, Mortars, or any Ammunition whatſoever.——“That all the Officers ſhould be allowed to carry ſuch Baggage as, upon Honour, was their own, but ſubject to be inſpected, if demanded; and that all the Negroes and Mulattoes, that were abſolutely their Servants or Property, the Admiral would compliment them with; but all other Negroes and Mulattoes, that were in the Fort, ſhould be delivered up as Right of Capture, together with the Fort, and all the Cannon, Munitions, and Appurtenances.——“That, upon theſe Conditions, the Admiral agreed, that, in the Evening, the Garriſon might march out as before-mentioned; at the ſame Time the Keys of the Caſtle ſhould be delivered up to the Officer whom he ſent to take Poſſeſſion, and the Troops of his Britannic Majeſty ſhould march in as the others marched out.——That, for what Lenity the Admiral was diſpoſed to ſhew the Town and Inhabitants, the Conditions ſhould be ſettled, between the Governor and him, the next Day.”

one, and the gallant Capt. *Cuſt*, who went a Volunteer in the Expedition. The Rear-Admiral found three Ships, a Snow, and three Privateer Sloops in the Harbour, which he took Poſſeſſion of; but as the Fort was not worth keeping, he blew it up; and, after ſettling the Conditions for the Security of the Town, proceeded to put into Execution his firſt Deſign againſt St. *Jago de Cuba*; where his Squadron arrived on the 5th of *April*. Capt. *Dent* of the *Plymouth*, being the ſenior Captain, demanded, as his Right, that he might go in firſt, ſeconded by the *Cornwall*; but, on his Approach, he found a Boom acroſs the Harbour; alſo two large Ships, and two ſmall ones filled with Combuſtibles, and ready to ſet fire on the firſt Attempt to break the Chain: the Ships fired ſeveral Broadſides at the Caſtle, and the *Cornwall* had ſome Men killed: but Capt. *Dent* conſulting his Officers, it was agreed that they muſt loſe their Ships, if they attempted to break the Chain; and, therefore the Rear-Admiral relinquiſhed the Enterprize, and returned to *Jamaica*; but ſo greatly diſappointed, that, on their Return to *England*, Capt. *Dent* was tried by a Court Martial, on an Accuſation, exhibited by the Rear-Admiral for Miſconduct, from which he was honourably acquitted: though the Conduct of Admiral *Vernon*, when the Attempt was made againſt *St. Jago de Cuba* in 1741, might have ſatisfied Rear-Admiral *Knowles*, of the Impracticability of entering the Harbour, and attacking the Place by Sea.

Rear-Admiral *Knowles* gave great Security to the *Jamaica* Trade; and Commodore *Pocock*, who ſucceeded Commodore *Legge* on the Leeward Station, not only protected the Trade to the *Caribbee Iſlands*, but blocked up the *French* in *Martinico*, and reduced them to the greateſt Neceſſity; tho' nothing elſe, more material than reciprocal Captures, happened in any Part of *America*, till the Engagement between the *Britiſh* and *Spaniſh* Squadrons off the *Havanna*. Rear-admiral *Knowles*, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, began to cruiſe off the *Tortuga* Banks, to intercept the *Spaniſh* annual Plate Fleet from *La Vera Cruz*, daily expected at the *Havanna*: upon which Don *Andre Reggio*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, ſet ſail from the *Havanna* to engage the *Britiſh* Squadron, and protect the Plate Fleet from *La Vera Cruz*. Admiral *Reggio*, on the 29th of *September*, having diſcovered, at a Diſtance, a Convoy of fourteen Sail, eſcorted by two Ships of War, and ſteering towards the *Bahama* Channel, ordered two of his Ships to chace them, and followed himſelf with the reſt of the Squadron in Line of Battle. The Convoy had left *Jamaica* on the 25th of *Auguſt*, under the Eſcort of the *Lenox* Man of War, commanded by Capt. *Holmes*, who obſerved the *Spaniſh* Squadron, and made a Signal for his Convoy to ſave themſelves as well as they could; while he endeavoured to join Rear-admiral *Knowles*, which he did the next Morning, and informed him of what had happened; upon which the Rear-admiral made ſail to meet the *Spaniards*, and came up with them on the 1ſt of *October*, in the Morning, between the *Tortugas* and the *Havanna*; when both the Squadrons prepared for an Engagement, and conſiſted of the following Ships:

The *Britiſh* Squadron.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Cornwall	Rear-adm. *Knowles* Capt. *Taylor*	80	600
Lenox, 70 Guns but only 56 aboard	*Holmes*	56	400
Tilbury	*Powlett*	60	400
Strafford	*Brodie*	60	400
Warwick	*Innes*	60	400
Canterbury	*Clarke*	60	400
Oxford	*Toll*	50	300
	Total	426	2,900

The *Spaniſh* Squadron.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men
Africa	Vice-admiral *Reggio*	74	710
Invincible	Rear-adm. *Spinola*	74	700
Conqueſtadore	Don *de St. Juſto*	64	610
Dragon	*de la Pas*	64	610
New Spain	*Barella*	64	610
Royal Family	*Forreſtal*	64	610
Galga	*Garrecocha*	36	300
	Total	440	4,150

The *Spaniſh* Admiral immediately formed his Line of Battle, the *Invincible* leading the Van, followed by the *Conqueſtadore*; the *Africa*, and *Dragon*, in the Center; the *New Spain*, and *Royal Family*, in the Rear; and the *Galga* Frigate without the Line. Rear-admiral *Knowles* had formed his Diſpoſition by placing the *Tilbury* in the Van, followed by the *Strafford*; the *Cornwall*, and *Lenox*, in the Center; the *Warwick*, and *Canterbury*, in the Rear; with the *Oxford* out of the Line. Admiral *Reggio* waited for Admiral *Knowles*, who, notwithſtanding he had the Advantage of the Wind, did not appear to make uſe of it till about Two o'Clock, when the *Spaniards* began to fire, though at too great a Diſtance to do any Execution: but ſoon afterwards the *Britiſh* Admiral made the Signal for the *Tilbury* to bear down nearer the *Spaniards*; the *Strafford* followed; the *Cornwall* edged down cloſe upon the *Spaniſh* Vice-admiral; the *Lenox* made up to the *Dragon*; and about half an Hour after Two the Action began, with a briſk Fire on both ſides; though the *Spaniards* had the Advantage, becauſe the *Warwick* and *Canterbury* were too far a-ſtern to fire a Shot for upwards of two Hours. Rear-admiral *Knowles*, having ſingled out Admiral *Reggio*, and being got within Piſtol-ſhot, diſcharged all his Artillery, and Muſketry at the *Africa*, with eight Cohorns; but he was ſo warmly received by the *Spaniſh* Admiral, that, after being ſomething more than half an Hour in Action, he was obliged to fall a-ſtern of his own Squadron, with the Loſs of his Main-top-maſt, and the Yard ſhot in two, by which he was unable to come into the Line again. So auſpicious a Beginning ſeemed to promiſe the *Spaniſh* Admiral a complete Victory: but the *Conqueſtadore*, having her Main-top-ſail-ties ſhot, was obliged to drop a-ſtern of the *Spaniſh* Squadron; where Rear-admiral *Knowles*, having refitted his Ship, came down to attack her: the Action between the *Cornwall* and the *Conqueſtadore*, was long and bloody, in which Don *de St. Juſto*, the *Spaniſh* Captain was killed; but the ſecond Captain, who made a gallant Defence, did not ſurrender the Ship till the Granade-ſhells had ſet her on fire three ſeveral Times; when the *Conqueſtadore* ſtruck. At the Time the *Cornwall* retired out of the Line, the *Lenox* ſhot up into her Place, a-breaſt of the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where Captain *Holmes* had exceſſive hot Work; having three of the *Spaniſh* Ships playing upon him above an Hour; when the *Warwick* and *Canterbury* came up, very ſeaſonably to his Aſſiſtance. The Action was now cloſer and warmer than ever, and continued ſo till Eight in the Evening, when the *Spaniards* edged away towards the *Havanna*, it being but a little Diſtance from them: the *Britiſh* Ships bore after, doing great Execution, being Yard-arm and Yard-arm; but the *Spaniſh* Squadron, tho' greatly diſabled, got into Port, except the *Conqueſtadore* which was taken, and the *Africa*, which had loſt all her Maſts but the Bowſprit, and even that was ſhot through in five Places: in this Condition Vice-admiral *Reggio* received ſeveral Broadſides from the *Lenox*, which obliged him to run his Ship on Shore in the Gulph of *Xiviras*, where he immediately began to refit her in order to get into the *Havanna*; in which he would have ſucceeded if the *Britiſh* Squadron, which had been parading with the *Conqueſtadore* in Sight of the *Havanna* till all their Ships were new rigged, had not ſurprized him on the Third of *October*; whereupon he reſolved to ſet fire to the *Africa*, rather than ſee her in the Hands of the *Britiſh* Admiral; and ſhe ſoon after blew up[*]. The *Spaniards* had eighty-ſix Men killed, and 197 wounded in the Battle; among the former were Don *Thomas de St. Juſto*, Captain of the *Conqueſtadore*, Don *Vincent de Quintana* ſecond Captain of the *Africa*, with Don *Pedro Garrecocha*

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[*] Admiral Knowles, and his Officers, concerned in the Battle with the Spaniſh Admiral, were highly diſguſted with the Conduct of one another during the Engagement: Some of the Officers ſided with the Admiral; Inactivity gave increaſe to their Reſentment; and mutual Recriminations were urged with the greateſt Acrimony: Theſe Diſſentions were maintained with ſuch a Spirit of Vehemence, as to be continued till their Arrival in England, where the Affair was thought worthy of the public Conſideration: and, accordingly, the Lords of the Admiralty appointed a Court-martial to examine into the Conduct of Rear-admiral Knowles, and ſuch of his Officers who had been charged with Miſconduct. Admiral Rowley, as Preſident,

cocha the Captain of the *Galga*; and among the latter was Admiral *Reggio*, with fourteen other Officers: the *Engliſh* had fifty-nine Men killed, and 120 wounded, but no Officer among them.

The *Britiſh* Admiral, after the Deſtruction of the *Africa*, returned to his Parade off the *Havanna*, in Expectation of intercepting the Galleons, on board of which was a Treaſure of forty Millions of Dollars: but all theſe Hopes were fruſtrated with the News of the preliminary Articles of Peace, by which all Hoſtilities were ceſſated.

In the *Eaſt-Indies*, Rear-admiral *Griffin* prevented the *French* from attacking *Fort St. David*, where he continued with his Squadron, which conſiſted of three Ships of 60 Guns, two of 50, two of 40, one of 38, two of 32, one of 20, and 2 Tenders, having 3,065 Men on board. While Rear-admiral *Griffin* lay at anchor under the Walls of *Fort St.-David*, the *French* Squadron was diſcovered, on the 9th of *June*, by the Captain of the *Lively* Man of War, off of *Negapatam*, who immediately proceeded to *Fort St. David* to give this Intelligence to the Admiral. The *French* Squadron conſiſted of one Ship of 70 Guns, one of 64, one of 54, one of fifty, two of 40, and three Frigates, having 3,200 Men on board; which, on the 10th of *June*, made their Appearance within four Leagues of *Fort St. David*: whereupon Rear-admiral *Griffin* ſummoned a Council of War, when it was reſolved to proceed to Sea immediately; but this Reſolution was ſo long retarded that the *French* Squadron got out of Sight before the *Britiſh* Squadron came out of the Harbour: though Rear-admiral *Griffin*, at One the next Morning weighed Anchor, and ſtood to the N. E. with an eaſy Sail, and, about Six, anchored, with ſeven of his Squadron and two Indiamen, within three Leagues of *Pondicherry*, with an Expectation of meeting the *French*: the *Britiſh* Squadron lay there till Four in the Afternoon, when a Signal was made for a Council of War, when it was agreed to go to *Madraſs*, and, if poſſible, to be there by Day-break: but, by this unfortunate Delay, the *French* arrived at *Madraſs*, where they landed their Men, Money, and Stores, and ſailed again from thence before the *Britiſh* Squadron appeared before it. Rear-admiral *Griffin* afterwards returned to *Fort St. David*, where, on the 29th of *July*, Rear-admiral *Boſcawen* made his Arrival, and aſſumed the Command, while Rear-admiral *Griffin* was preparing to return to *England*.

Vice-admiral *Byng*, who commanded in the *Mediterranean*, received Orders from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, dated the 11th of *July*, to return to *England*, and to leave only *ſeven* Men of War in thoſe Seas. But on his Arrival at *Spithead*, on the 13th of *October*, ſix Ships of the Line were ſent to reinforce the Squadron left by him on the Coaſt of *Italy*.

Rear-Admiral *Hawke*, on the 16th of *January*, ſet ſail from *Plymouth* with a Squadron of nine Ships of the Line, to cruiſe on the Coaſt of *France*; where, on the 31ſt of *January*, he deſcried a Sail, about Break of Day, to Leeward, and ordered the *Nottingham* of 60 Guns, commanded by Capt. *Harland*, and the *Portland* of fifty Guns, commanded by Capt. *Stevens*, to give Chace. After a long Purſuit, the *Nottingham* came up with the Chace, and fired ſeveral Guns to bring her to; but ſhe paid no Reſpect: the *Nottingham* then run up cloſe along-ſide, and began a vigorous Attack; ſhe then brought to, hoiſted a *French* Jack, gave the *Nottingham* a Broadſide, and a briſk Firing enſued, which continued two Hours; when the *Portland* came up, exchanged a Broadſide, and ſheered off: the *Nottingham* ſtill maintained the Fight againſt a Ship of ſuperior Force, and ſo greatly diſabled her in her Maſts and Rigging that ſhe began to retreat, but being cloſely followed ſhe was obliged to renew the Engagement, when the *Portland* bore down again, and engaged almoſt an Hour, and then ſtood off: upon which the *Nottingham*, being greatly diſabled, came up with the *Portland*, when the two Captains conſulted in what manner to renew the Battle; but their Antagoniſt obſerving them in Council, and ſeeing them bear down together, more formidable, as more in Concert than before, ſtruck juſt as the Day was gone. The *Britiſh* Captains, to their great Satisfaction, found their Prize to be the *Magnanime*, a *French* Man of War of 74 Guns, and 700 Men, commanded by the Marquis *d'Albert*, Chef d'Eſcadre of a Squadron which ſailed from *Breſt* on the 13th of *January*, conſiſting of the *Magnanime*, the *Alcide* of 64 Guns, the *Arc-en-ciel* of 54, and a Frigate, which were to be joined at *Cadiz*, or the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, by the *Conquerant* of 70 Guns, the *Content*, of 64, and *l'Oriſlame* of 54, from *Toulon*, to proceed to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with Supplies for the Defence of *Pondicherry* and *Madraſs*, againſt Admiral *Boſcawen*. The *Nottingham* was engaged ſix Hours with the *Magnanime*; the former had ſixteen Men killed, and eighteen wounded, the *Portland* had four Men wounded; and the *French* had 45 Men killed, and 105 wounded. Sir *Peter Warren*, on the 13th of *April*, was alſo ſent from *Spithead*, upon a Cruiſe, with a ſtrong Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War; but he met with nothing material; and, on the 9th of *May*, the *Spence* Sloop was diſpatched with Expreſs to Sir *Peter Warren* and Sir *Edward Hawke* to return to *England*, in Purſuance of the Preliminaries; who arrived at *Spithead* on the 24th of *July*. Commodore *Townſend*, who ſucceeded Rear-admiral *Mitchel* in the Command of the Squadron ſtationed at *Fluſhing* for the Defence of *Zealand*, alſo received Orders, on the 16th of *May*, to commit no more Hoſtilities againſt the *French*: by which all the Blaze of War was extinguiſhed; though the *Britiſh* Government took care to keep up the maritime Force in the reſpective Stations; for which Purpoſe Rear-admiral *Watſon*, on the 9th of *June* ſet ſail from *Spithead* with a Squadron for *Cape Breton*, and the outward-bound Ships for the *Weſt-Indies*: ſeven Ships belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company from *China*, and one from *Bencoolen*, made a ſafe Arrival, on the 9th of *July*, in the Harbour of *Leith* in *Scotland*: the *Dreadnought* and *Sutherland* Men of War arrived in the *Downs*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, with the Trade from *Barbadoes* and the Leeward Iſlands, conſiſting of 136 Sail; and all the mercantile Intereſt of *Britain* was ſecurely guarded where-ever her Commerce extended.

By the ſixteenth Article of the Preliminary Treaty of Peace, concluded between the *Britiſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Miniſters at *Aix la Chapelle*, on the 19th of *April*, it was agreed, " That all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe at Sea, in the " Time mentioned in an Act ſigned at *Paris*, on the 19th " of *Auguſt* 1712:" which Act was the Convention for a Ceſſation of Arms previous to the Treaty of *Utretcht*, whereby it was ſtipulated, that Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe at the Expiration of twelve Days, from the Day of the Signature of the Preliminaries, for the Channel and northern Seas; ſix Weeks from thoſe Seas to *Cape St. Vincent* in *Portugal*;

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dent, opened the Court Martial, on board the Charlotte Yatch at Deptford, on the 11th of December 1749, aſſiſted by Sir Edward Hawke, Rear-admiral Forbes, and five Captains belonging to the Navy; when the Trial of Rea-radmiral Knowles came on, which continued for eight Days following; when the Court, on the 20th of December, unanimouſly agreed, " That it appeared that Rear-admiral Knowles, by forming the Line to " the northward, upon ſeeing the Spaniards in the Morning, acted properly, and like an Officer; but, while he was ſtanding for the Spaniards, he " might, by a different Diſpoſition of his Squadron, have begun the Attack with ſix Ships, as early in the Day as four of them were engaged; " and that, therefore, by his neglecting to do ſo, he gave the Spaniards a manifeſt Advantage: but in the Situation the Squadron was at the Time the " Tilbury returned the Spaniſh Fire, the Rear-admiral ſeemed to have acted properly in making the Signal for Battle, and beginning the Engagement " then as he did: That it appeared the Cornwall continued in cloſe and ſmart Action better than an Hour, and that Rear-admiral Knowles " remained on board her, with his Flag, after ſhe was diſabled from continuing the Action, though he might, upon her being diſabled, have ſhifted " his Flag on board another Ship; and the Court were unanimouſly of Opinion, that he ought to have done ſo, in order to have conducted and di" rected, during the whole Action, the Motions of the Squadron entruſted to his Care and Conduct: but as it appeared that Rear-admiral Knowles " expreſſed great Earneſtneſs and Zeal to get into Action, and, while the Cornwall was engaged, ſhewed great perſonal Courage; the Court una" nimouſly thought, that his not removing his Flag aroſe from Miſtake, and not from Backwardneſs to bring his Perſon into Action; and, upon " Conſideration of the whole Conduct of Rear-admiral Knowles, relating to the Action, the Court unanimouſly agreed, that he failed under Part of " the fourteenth Article of the Articles of War, namely the Word Negligence, and alſo under the twenty-third Article. And the Court did, there" fore, unanimouſly adjudge, That he ſhould be reprimanded for not bringing up the Squadron in cloſer order than he did, and not beginning the At" tack with as great Force as he might have done, and alſo for not ſhifting his Flag upon the Cornwall's being diſabled: and he was thereby re" primanded accordingly." Some of the Captains were alſo tried, and acquitted; but it was not ſufficient to pacify their Animoſity; ſeveral Challenges were given on this Occaſion, particularly one by Captain Clarke to Captain Innes, that brought on a Duel which terminated in the Death of the latter, who was ſhot in Hyde-Park; for which the former was tried at the Old-Baily, where he was convicted of, and received Sentence of Death for the Murder; though his Majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to grant him a free Pardon, and is lately commiſſioned for a 90 Gun Ship.

Portugal; ſix Weeks more from that Cape to the equinoctial Line; and ſix Months from the Day of ſigning the Preliminaries to any Place beyond the Line, and in all Parts of the World: but the Court of *Madrid*, and the Republic of Genoa, did not accede to the Preliminaries, till the 17th of *June*; and then the Ceſſation of Hoſtilities was limited with regard to them, in the ſame manner as with the *French*. This entirely prevented any other naval Engagements in the *European* and *American* Seas; but Admiral *Boſcawen* undertook the Siege of *Pondicherry*, before any Intelligence of the Preliminaries arrived in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

On the Arrival of Rear-admiral *Boſcawen* at *Fort St. David*, his Squadron conſiſted of nine Ships of the Line, beſides two Frigates, a Sloop, and two Tenders, having 3580 Sailors on board: ſo that it was determined immediately to undertake the Siege of *Pondicherry*: upon which he immediately ſet about landing the neceſſary Stores and Troops from the Ships, and formed a Camp about a Mile from *Fort St. David*, where the Troops were reinforced by the Marines ſerving in the Squadron of Rear-admiral *Griffin*; by which the Army conſiſted of 3,690 Soldiers, and 148 Artillery People, excluſive of 120 *Dutch*, lent from their Settlements, and 2,000 *Indians*; who were vigilantly making Preparations for marching over land to *Pondicherry*; where they were to be conducted by the Rear-admiral; while the Management a-float was left to Capt. *Liſle* of the *Vigilant*, who had orders to anchor, with the whole Squadron, two Miles to the Southward of *Pondicherry*, and remain there till farther Orders: Capt. *Pawlet*, of the *Exeter*, being ſent before, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, to anchor off the Town, and two Days after the *Chicheſter*, *Pembroke*, and *Swallow* Sloop, were ſent to join him, with Directions to take the Soundings all about, or to ſee how nigh the Ships could come to the Town, upon occaſion, and to cut off all Communication, upon that Side, from the *French* Squadron, which was then cruiſing in the Streights of *Malacca*.

Every thing being prepared, the Army began to march, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, towards *Pondicherry*, from which they were at the Diſtance of about twenty-four Miles: they continued their march, on the 9th and 10th, without any Appearance of an Enemy; but, on the 11th, the *French* made a ſhew of about 300 Foot and ſome Horſe, at an Intrenchment they had thrown up, about four Miles Diſtance from the Town, which they abandoned at the Approach of the Army. The Garriſon of *Pondicherry* conſiſted of 2,000 *Europeans*, and 3,000 *Indians*: Governor *Dupleix*, and Monſieur *Paradis*, the chief Engineer and Director of all their military Affairs, had taken the moſt ſeaſonable and beſt Precautions for the Defence and Security of their Settlement, having Intelligence of the Deſtination of the *Britiſh* Squadron, long before the Arrival of Admiral *Boſcawen* in the *Indian* Sea: they had erected ſeveral additional Fortifications about the Town; they had put the Fort of *Aria Coupan*, ſituate on the Side of a River from whence it is denominated, at about three Miles Diſtance from the Town, in a defenſible Condition, and they apprehended no Danger from the Beſiegers.

Rear-admiral *Boſcawen*, having Information, from a Deſerter, that the Garriſon of the Fort of *Aria Coupan* conſiſted only of 100 Men, White and Blacks, reſolved to make an Attempt, with the Grenadiers and Piquets, to gain a Lodgment in the Village contiguous to it, and to raiſe a Bomb-battery there. Accordingly, on the 12th of *Auguſt*, early in the Morning, this Detachment, accompanied by a Body of *Indians*, marched up to the Village; but they were unfortunately prevented from ſucceeding in their Attempt, by the Cowardice of the *Indians* employed in carrying up the intrenching Tools, who, on a Shot coming among them, all run away; while the *French* flanked the Detachment from two Batteries they had raiſed on the other Side of the *Aria Coupan* River; which made it neceſſary for the Detachment to retire towards the Sea, to open the Communication with the Ships, to get on Shore Cannon and proper Materials for raiſing Batteries, and carrying on their Approaches againſt the Fort in Form, which they now found to be regularly defended with a Berme, Draw-bridge, and Covered-way: but they were obliged to lie on their Arms all Night, having loſt ſeveral Men in the Attack of the Village, one Lieutenant being killed, and three Officers wounded, beſides Major *Goodyer*, the commanding Officer of the Artillery, who was wounded, by a Cannon Ball in the Leg, which was the moſt ſenſible Loſs they could have ſuſtained, as he was a very able and experienced Officer, and would have conducted their Approaches in a quite different manner to what the Engineers did. The next Morning the whole Army marched to join the Detachment; and, in the Afternoon 1100 Seamen, whom the Admiral had cauſed to be diſciplined on board, and exerciſed in Platoons under the Command of Captain *Lloyd*, were landed, who mounted Guard, and did all other Duties with the regular Troops. The Rear-admiral, having landed four twelve and four eighteen Pounders on the 16th at Night, began to work on a Battery of four Guns againſt the Fort; which was completed and opened the next Morning: but this was ineffectually conſtructed by the Engineers; and, on the 18th, a Battery erected by the Artillery Officers, was opened with great Succeſs, which the Garriſon with a Troop of ſixty *European* Horſe, ſupported by as many Foot and ſome Seamen, made a moſt hazardous and unſucceſsful Attempt to deſtroy; for though the Beſiegers Advanced-guard in the Trench adjoining to the Battery at firſt gave way, they ſoon rallied and repulſed the *French* with conſiderable Loſs, the commanding Officer of the Horſe being taken Priſoner: ſoon after one of the *French* Batteries blew up, and deſtroyed about 120 Men; upon which the Beſiegers immediately got ſome Royals into the Village, and began to bombard the Fort; which, about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, was alſo blown up; when the Beſiegers marched directly and took poſſeſſion of it, but found that the Garriſon were precipitately withdrawn, having left their Cloaths and every thing behind them.

On the 20th, the Rear-admiral removed his Camp to *Aria Coupan*, and, from that Day to the 25th, his People were employed in repairing the Fort, which being completed, they croſſed the River, and, the ſame Evening got Poſſeſſion of a ſtrong Poſt in the bound Hedge of *Pondicherry*, about a Mile from the Walls; the *French* having abandoned it, though it was very capable of Defence by a ſmall Number of Men, and ſo ſituated, as to have coſt a great many in the Attack, had it been diſputed. This Poſt being to the North Weſt of the Town, the Admiral ordered the Ships down to the Northward of it; where, on the 28th, he opened a Communication that Way, and began to land Trenching-tools and other Neceſſaries to break Ground before the Place, which, was begun on the 30th at Night, in purſuance of a Plan produced by one of the Engineers, and which ſeemed the moſt feaſible.

The *French*, on the 1ſt of *September*, made a Sally upon the Beſiegers Intrenchments, with 500 *Europeans*, and 800 *Indians*, but were repulſed by the Advanced-guard of 100 Men, with conſiderable Loſs; Monſieur *Paradis* being mortally wounded, three or four others of their beſt Officers killed, and about 100 Men killed and wounded. The *Britiſh* Engineers continued working every Night, without any material Progreſs, and the Batteries were not completed till the 25th of *September*, when they began to play, conſiſting of one of eight Guns, one of four Guns, with one Bomb-battery of five large Mortars and fifteen Royals, beſides another of fifteen Cohorns. The *French*, on their Part, were very active and induſtrious, having, in the mean Time, raiſed three Faſcine-batteries to play upon the Trenches of the Beſiegers, which gave them great Annoyance, and put them to the Neceſſity of making two Batteries, one of three, the other of two Guns, to play againſt them, till the grand Batteries were finiſhed; beſides which the *French* had formed an Inundation in the Front of the Beſiegers Works, ſo as to render it impoſſible to carry them on any farther.

The Rear-admiral, upon the firſt breaking Ground, directed Capt. *Liſle* to order the Bomb-ſhip in, and to bombard the Citadel Night and Day, which ſhe continued to do; but in a few Days the Garriſon began to bombard her, and had got her Length ſo exactly, that ſhe was obliged always to diſcontinue her Fire in the Day-time. The Seaſon being now far advanced, and the *French* too formidably defended, the Admiral found there was nothing left to do, but endeavouring to annoy them as much as poſſible, and thereby reduce them to a Neceſſity of ſurrendering; ſo that, with this View, he ordered Captain *Liſle* to extend the Men of War before the Town in Line of Battle, to warp in, and begin to cannonade in the Morning after the Batteries were opened; which he did: But tho' the *French* at firſt returned it very briſkly, they ſoon ſlackened, and afterwards continued quiet towards the Sea, while they plied the Batteries warmly on the Land-ſide: However, this Cannonading from the Ships was of little Prejudice to the Town; neither was the Fire from thence material, except by occaſioning the Death of Captain *Adams* of the *Harwich*, whoſe Thigh was carried away by a Cannon-ball.

The Beſiegers Batteries continued firing, and beat down great part of the Defence where the Attack was intended: But as they could not carry on the Approaches, by reaſon of the Inundation, and as the Men were not ſufficient to begin a new Attack, or carry on the Siege, the Admiral had only to endeavour to make a Breach in the Curtain, at the Diſtance he then was; which being found impracticable, by the Superiority of the *French* Batteries, the Admiral hereupon aſſembled a Council of War on the 30th of *September*, where the State of Affairs being taken into Conſideration, and it appearing that the Strength of the Army was greatly reduced, and daily leſſening by Sickneſs, occaſioned by their Fatigue; that the Ships of War could be of no Service againſt the Town, having cannonaded a whole Day without apparent Effect; that the Monſons and rainy Seaſon were daily expected, which would not only oblige them to raiſe the Siege with the Loſs of the Artillery and Stores, but in all probability render the Rivers impaſſable, deſtroy the Roads, and cut off the Retreat of the Army to *Fort St. David*, beſides the Riſk of the Ships being driven off the Coaſts: For theſe Reaſons it was unanimouſly reſolved to embark the Stores and Cannon, and raiſe the Siege. From the 1ſt of *October* to the 4th, the Beſiegers were employed in getting off their Things from the Shore: On the 5th they ſet fire to the Batteries, and reimbarked their Sailors; and on the 6th, in the Morning, the Army began to march for *Fort St. David*, where they arrived the next Evening, unmoleſted by the *French*, having demoliſhed the Fort of *Aria Coupan* in the way. Thus terminated this Expedition, with the Loſs 757 Soldiers, 43 Artillery Men, and 265 Seamen, to the Beſiegers; and about 500 *Europeans* among the *French*. The *Britiſh* Admiral diſplayed all the Abilities of a gallant and experienced Commander; but Policy often defeats Bravery; ſeaſonable Intelligence of the Diſpoſitions of an Enemy, is frequently more advantageous than the Superiority of Numbers; and by theſe the *French* were providently aſſiſted; by theſe all the Courage of the *Britiſh* Admiral was diſappointed, *Pondicherry* was ſtill a Place of Liberty, *Madraſs* was ſtill in Captivity, and the *French* too formidable to dread any future Attempts; which is all to be attributed to the long Detention of Admiral *Boſcawen* in *England*, which the *French* were not only apprized of, but had ſent a Squadron with Supplies to fruſtrate his Expedition; tho' all Hoſtilities were ſpeedily terminated by the Arrival of Intelligence of the Ceſſation of Arms, and the Concluſion of a general Peace[a]; but Admiral *Boſcawen* had the Miſfortune to ſee ſeveral of his Ships, and above 1200 of his Sailors, miſerably periſh in a Storm on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

His *Britannic* Majeſty being returned from *Hanover*, opened the next Seſſion of Parliament on the 29th of *November*, whereby he acquainted the Lords and Commons of the ſigning of the definitive Treaty of Peace; but it was not proclaimed till the 2d of *February* 1749.

As all the military Operations were terminated by a general Pacification, the contending Powers began to reduce their Forces[b]: The *Britiſh* Ships of War, continued in Commiſſion, were only ſix of 90 Guns, twelve of 80, fourteen of 70, twenty of 60, nineteen of 50, eleven of 40, and eighteen of 20, being 71 Ships of the Line, and 29 Frigates, beſides Sloops and Tenders; for which 10,000 Sailors were continued in the Service of the Royal Navy.

As the *French* were put into the Repoſſeſſion of *Cape Breton*, it was natural for the *Britiſh* Miniſtry to fix their Attention on the Cultivation and Improvement of their long-neglected Settlement of *Nova Scotia*; where, by a proper Colonization of Proteſtants in ſo valuable a Tract of Territory, more than an equal Participation of the Profits

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[a] The Britiſh Cruiſers and Privateers, made ſome valuable Captures this Year both in the European and American Seas; having taken in Europe, from the French, three Men of War, 37 Privateers, three Eaſt-India Ships, 61 Turky Ships, 16 in the Trade to Newfoundland and Canada, 72 in the Trade to the Leeward Iſlands, and 62 others; being in all 254. They alſo took from the French, in America, 37 Privateers, nine Ships in the Trade to Newfoundland and Canada, 166 Martinico and Domingo Ships, two Guinea-men, and four others, in all 218; making the whole Number of Captures taken from the French, during this Year, amount to 472. The Prizes taken this Year from the Spaniards, in the European Seas, conſiſted of five Privateers, ſeven Regiſter Ships, and 13 others, being 25 in all: Their Loſs in America was three Men of War, 15 Privateers, 43 Regiſter Ships, and 12 others, being 73; making the whole Number of Spaniſh Veſſels, taken this Year, amount to 98: So that the whole united Loſs of the French and Spaniards together, for this Year, amounted to 570 Ships. Both the French and Spaniards, this Year, alſo made ſome conſiderable Captures from the Engliſh; the French having taken, in the European Seas, one Privateer, one Eaſt Indiaman, four Turky Ships, one Guinea Ship, 13 in the Trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, eight Newfoundland Ships, 18 in the Trade to Virginia, New-England, and other Places on the northern Continent of America, with 85 others, being 131: The French alſo took in America one Man of War, three Privateers, ſeven Guinea Ships, 126 in the Trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, 12 Newfoundland Ships, and 55 Veſſels trading to the northern Continent of America, being 204; making the whole Number of Prizes taken this Year by the French, amount to 335: The Spaniards alſo took, in the European Seas, 12 Ships in the Trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, five Newfoundland Ships, 13 in the Trade to the northern Continent of America, and 22 others, being 52; they alſo took in America, one Britiſh Privateer, five Guinea Ships, 34 in the Trade to Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, and 66 in the Trade to the northern Continent of America, being 106; making the whole Number of Prizes taken this Year by the Spaniards, amount to 158; and the French and Spaniſh Captures together to 493; being 77 leſs than the Prizes taken this Year by the Engliſh. A conſiderable Number of theſe Prizes were taken after the Expiration of the Time limited by the 16th Article of the Preliminaries for the Ceſſation of Hoſtilities: But a Method was immediately taken for a due Regulation of Captures, conformable to the preliminary Treaty, by the Britiſh, Dutch, and French Plenipotentiaries at the Conferences at Aix la Chapelle; who, on the 27th of June, ſigned a Declaration, whereby it was agreed, "That Commiſſaries, ſufficiently authorized, ſhould be named by all the Parties, within the Space of two Months, who ſhould aſſemble at St. Malo, or in ſuch other Places as his Moſt "Chriſtian Majeſty, his Britannic Majeſty, and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces ſhould agree, to order the reciprocal Reſtitution, "or Indemnity for Prizes taken, as well in the Mediterranean as in the northern Ocean, as far as Cape St. Vincent, and from that Cape to the Line, "after the Term of ſix Weeks, reckoning from the Signature of the Preliminaries:" Theſe Commiſſaries were accordingly appointed, they proceeded to regulate the Claims relating to the Prizes, and, after ſeveral tedious Debates, adjuſted the Differences. The Spaniards, ſince the Commencement of the War, had loſt 1249 Ships, and the French 2185, being 3434 together; the Engliſh alſo loſt 1360 Ships taken by the Spaniards, and 1878 taken by the French, making together 3238, which was 196 leſs than thoſe taken by the Engliſh during the whole Courſe of the War. Several of the Spaniſh Prizes were immenſely rich, a great Number of the French were of conſiderable Value, and ſo were many of the Engliſh; but the Balance was almoſt two Millions in favour of the latter.

[b] While his Britannic Majeſty was reducing his maritime Power, the French Monarch was carefully augmenting the naval Force of France; nor was it long before the French had put their Marine in ſo reſpectable a Condition, as to boaſt of their Ability to equip 100 Ships of War on the firſt Emergency, which were to be ſupported on a new Footing, by the Aſſignation of perpetual Funds. The French Monarch made no conſiderable Reduction in his military Force; a Militia of 70,000 Men was eſtabliſhed; ſo that France ſoon gave ſufficient Indications of her Capacity of renewing the Terrors of War. It has been obſerved, by a noble Author, that the War with France, which was productive of the Treaty of Utrecht, coſt the Britiſh Nation upwards of 60 Millions in the whole, and left it 50 Millions in Debt: Beſides, after repeated, as well as unexpected Succeſs in Arms, put the Inhabitants, and their Poſterity, in a worſe Condition, not only than any of their Allies, but even their conquered Enemies. However, by that Treaty, the Britiſh Confederates obtained a valuable Augmentation of Territory in the Netherlands, and therefore there could not be ſo much Reaſon for complaining then, as there was in the preſent War; which, at the ſame time that it diminiſhed the Poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Auſtria, left the enormous Debt of eighty Millions upon the Britiſh Nation. Though the War with Spain was avowedly commenced to obtain an unmoleſted Navigation in America, and to procure a proper Satisfaction for the Britiſh South-Sea Company; yet the Definitive Treaty ſtipulated nothing more than a Suſpenſion of Arms between the two Crowns, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Commerce between their Subjects reciprocally, without mentioning a word of the Differences which gave Riſe to the War in regard to America. By the 16th Article of the Definitive Treaty, the Aſſiento Trade was confirmed only for four Years, though there was nine Years Non-enjoyment of the Traffic; the Spaniſh Miniſtry were now as refractory in ſatisfying the Demands of the Britiſh South-Sea Company, as they were before the Commencement of the War, notwithſtanding the Britiſh Troops had evacuated the Iſland of Rattan; and they were even ſo intractable, as to reject all the Expedients offered on this Subject by Mr. Keene the Britiſh Ambaſſa-

fits of the *French* Fiſhery would fall to the *Engliſh*; a potent Barrier would be erected for the Security of the *Britiſh* Provinces in *North-America*, and a perpetual Seminary for Sailors would be eſtabliſhed. The Earl of *Halifax* was the principal Promoter of a Scheme ſo highly advantageous to the national Intereſt, in which he was aſſiſted by ſeveral other conſiderable Perſons, who undertook this firſt Eſſay of the Improvement of the Arts of Peace, in purſuance of the Royal Recommendation from the Throne. A Propoſal was preſented, by the Promoters of this valuable Undertaking, to his *Britannic* Majeſty, for the eſtabliſhing a civil Government in *Nova Scotia*, as alſo for the better peopling and ſettling the Province, and extending and improving the Fiſhery thereof, by granting Lands within the ſame, and giving other Encouragements to ſuch of the Officers and private Men lately diſmiſſed his Majeſty's Land and Sea Service, as ſhould be willing to ſettle in ſo beneficial a Province: Upon which his Majeſty ſignified his royal Approbation of the Purport of ſuch Propoſals; and the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, on the 7th of *March* 1749, by the Command of his Majeſty, gave Notice, that proper Encouragement would be given to ſuch of the Officers, and private Men, lately diſmiſſed his Majeſty's Land and Sea Service, as were willing to accept of Grants of Land, and to ſettle with or without Families, in the Province of *Nova Scotia*, a Grant of 50 Acres of Land, in Fee Simple, was promiſed to every private Soldier or Seaman, free from the Payment of any Quit-rents or Taxes for the Term of ten Years; at the Expiration whereof no Perſon was to pay more than One Shilling a Year, for every 50 Acres ſo granted; and an additional Grant of 10 Acres was promiſed to each private Soldier or Seaman, having a Family, for every Perſon, including Women and Children, of which his Family ſhould conſiſt: A Grant of 80 Acres, on the like Conditions, was offered to every Officer under the Rank of Enſign in the Land Service, and that of Lieutenant in the Sea Service; and to ſuch as had Families 15 Acres more, for every Perſon of which their Family conſiſted: A Grant of 200 Acres, on the like Conditions, was offered to every Enſign, 300 to every Lieutenant, 400 to every Captain, and 600 to every Officer above the Rank of Captain in the Land Service; as alſo the like Quantity of 400 Acres, and on the ſame Conditions, to every Lieutenant in the Sea Service; and 600 Acres to every Captain; and to ſuch of the above mentioned Officers as had Families, a further Grant of 30 Acres was offered, over and above their reſpective Quotas, for every Perſon of which their Families conſiſted. It was alſo promiſed, that the Lands ſhould be parcelled out to the Settlers as ſoon as poſſible after their Arrival, and a Civil Government eſtabliſhed; and that proper Meaſures ſhould alſo be taken for their Security and Protection; that the Coloniſts ſhould be ſubſiſted during their Paſſage, as alſo for the Space of twelve Months after their Arrival; and that they ſhould be furniſhed with Arms and Ammunition, as far as would be judged neceſſary for their Defence; with a proper Quantity of Materials and Utenſils for Huſbandry, clearing and cultivating their Lands, erecting Habitations, carrying on the Fiſhery, and ſuch other Purpoſes as ſhould be neceſſary for their Support. It was alſo promiſed that, for the Benefit of the Settlement, the ſame Conditions which were propoſed to private Soldiers, or Seamen, ſhould likewiſe be granted to Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Maſons, Joiners, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, and all other Artificers, neceſſary in Building or Huſbandry, not being private Soldiers or Seamen; and alſo that the ſame Conditions as were propoſed to thoſe who had ſerved in the Capacity of Enſign, ſhould extend to all Surgeons, whether they had been in his Majeſty's Service or not, upon their producing proper Certificates of their being duly qualified. A great Number of diſbanded Soldiers, diſcharged Sailors, poor Artificers, and Labourers, to the Number of 4000, accepted of theſe Grants, and received Orders for Admiſſion, with their Families and Effects, on-board the 84 Tranſports deſtined for this Service, which were all ordered to have on-board the Ventilators invented by Dr. *Hales*, and which ſoon after ſet ſail under Convoy of a Squadron of Men of War, with two Regiments of Soldiers on-board, which were to continue in the Province under the Command of the honourable *Edward Cornwallis*, Eſq; who was appointed Captain-general, and Governor in chief, in and over the Province of *Nova Scotia*, and who accompanied the Coloniſts in their Voyage. The whole Fleet ſafely arrived at *Nova Scotia*, and on the 21ſt of *June* anchored in the Bay of *Chiboctou*, in the very Centre of the ſouthern Coaſt of the Province, having *Annapolis Royal* on the left, and *Canſo* on the right, where the Duke *d'Anville* intended to have made his Deſcent in 1746. The Governor immediately landed the Troops and the Coloniſts; a Town was planned out at the Head of *Chiboctou* Harbour, which was ſoon built, fortified, and divided into Lots, and called *Halifax*, in honour of the noble Lord who principally aſſiſted in promoting the Eſtabliſhment of the Colony. Every thing was carried on in a very proſperous Condition, excepting ſome little Diſturbances by the native *Indians*; who, through the Intrigues of the *French* Miſſionaries, were exaſperated at the Foundation of ſo formidable a Settlement; but theſe Inconveniencies had all the Appearance of a ſpeedy Reduction, and ſome Thouſands of *German* Proteſtants were ſent over at the Expence of the *Britiſh* Government. The infant Colony wore an auſpicious Aſpect, promiſing not only to greatly over-balance the Expence of the Government, but to exceed all the real and imaginary Advantages that might have reſulted from the Poſſeſſion of *Cape Breton*; for, in order to rival the *French* in the Cod-Fiſhery, it was only neceſſary to confine them to the Limits ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which excludes them from all the Banks of *Nova Scotia*; and it does not appear by that, or any other Treaty, that they have a Right to fiſh to the ſouthward of Cape *Bonaviſta* or *Newfoundland*, between whoſe Banks and the former, there are no others of any Note or Conſequence: Beſides the Iſland of *Sable*, and Cape *Sable* Banks, on the South-weſt Coaſt of *Nova Scotia*, are ſo commodiouſly ſituated, as to admit of a fine Fiſhery in the Winter, whenever the Country ſhould be ſettled and ſtocked with Proviſions, which would in a few Years be of more Conſequence to *Great-Britain*, than any thing the *French* can be capable of proſecuting to ſupport their Rivalſhip at Cape *Breton*; and by cultivating a good Underſtanding with the Natives of *Nova Scotia*, which the Intereſt of the new Coloniſts muſt incline them to do, even the *Canadean French* may grow leſs formidable in Power, and inſignificant in Trade: So that, from this early Appearance of the national Utility of this neceſſary Settlement, the Inference was obvious, that thoſe eminent Perſons who firſt promoted the Eſtabliſhment of the Colony, and had thereby ſo zealouſly contributed to the Glory and Intereſt of their Country, muſt reap immortal Honour for having ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as the generous Authors of the Happineſs of many deplorable Families, who might have lived a Burden to the Community, and periſhed miſerably at home.

Ambaſſador, who made the ſtrongeſt Solicitations for compromiſing the Differences unadjuſted by the Definitive Treaty. With regard to the Queen of Hungary, ſhe found herſelf ſtript of the noble Dutchy of Sileſia, for an Aggrandizement to his Pruſſian Majeſty in Germany: In Italy ſhe had made the Ceſſion of a very ample Territory, as a Recompence for the Services of the King of Sardinia; and, to all this, ſhe was finally obliged to ſurrender a whole Sovereignty to the Infant Don Philip. The Dutch were indeed re-eſtabliſhed in all their Territories: However the French ſucceeded in the Scheme for which they kindled up the deſtructive Flame of War; though they ſuffered extremely in their maritime Intereſt, they ſtill carefully protected the territorial Property of their Confederates; they ſtill found a Method of preventing the Spaniards from admitting the Britiſh Subjects to a free Navigation; and they had ſufficiently, for this time, diſplumed the Wings of the Auſtrian Eagle. Thus, after ſuch a general Effuſion of Blood, and ſuch an Expenditure of Wealth, France found herſelf ſucceſsful in her Views; ſhe conſented to Peace only to prepare and ſtrengthen herſelf for the Renewal of War; hence the Settlement at Tobago: the Revival of her Negotiations in the North, where ſhe was ſtill predominant at the Court of Stockholm, and where ſhe renewed the Subſidy Treaty with his Daniſh Majeſty: Hence the Re-exertion of her political Intrigues at Conſtantinople, where ſhe obtained the Depoſition of the Mufti, the Diſgrace of the Grand Vizir, and endangered the Safety of the Imperial Sultan, by irritating the turbulent Janiaaries againſt every eminent Ottoman who had recommended a pacific Diſpoſition during the Contentions among the Chriſtian Powers: Hence the Emiſſaries of France were again ſwarming in every Court of Europe, her Frontier Fortifications repaired, her Marine re-eſtabliſhed and improved; and, what was ſtill worſe, the obtaining a new Alliance in Italy with his Sardinian Majeſty, by promoting the Marriage of the Infanta Donna Maria of Spain, with Victor Amadeus Maria, Prince of Piedmont.

Scarce had the definitive Treaty of Peace been ratified; before the Miniſtry of *France* began to indicate a ſpeedy Infraction of ſo ſolemn a Deed; the Submiſſion of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry in ſending Hoſtages to *Paris*, inſpirited the *French* to a bolder Attempt; for they apprehended that *Britain* would tamely ſuffer an Indignity that might contribute manifeſtly to the Prejudice of her Intereſt, as well as the Diminution of her Honour. While the *Britiſh* Miniſtry were projecting the Proteſtant Colonization of *Nova Scotia*, the Miniſtry of *Verſailles* fixed their Attention on aggrandizing their Power in the Sugar Colonies: Orders were ſent to the Marquis *de Caylus*, the Governor of *Martinico*, and the other *French* windward Iſlands in *America*, to fortify *Tobago*, one of the Neutral Iſlands, ſituate 20 Miles North-eaſt of the Iſland of *Trinity*, and 120 Miles South of the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, being 32 Miles long, and 12 Miles broad; and which, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as well as the Iſlands of *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, and *Dominica*, was agreed to remain unſettled, and unfortified, till the Right of Sovereignty was determined; though the *Britiſh* Governor of *Barbadoes*, and the *French* Governor of *Martinico*, both nominally ſtiled themſelves Governors of theſe Iſlands. The Marquis *de Caylus*, on the 26th of *November* 1748, publiſhed a Proclamation, aſſerting the Sovereignty of *France* to *Tobago*, and the other neutral Iſlands; declaring, that he would protect the Inhabitants of *Tobago*, and prohibiting their having any Correſpondence with the *Britiſh*, *Dutch*, or *Daniſh* Colonies. The *French* Governor accordingly ſent two Men of War, with 150 Soldiers, beſides Settlers, to fortify *Tobago*, where they arrived, and erected a Battery at *Courlander*'s Bay, on the old Foundation. This Intelligence was carried to Captain *Tyrrel*, who commanded the *Britiſh* Ships on the Station of *Barbadoes*; upon which Governor *Greenville* aſſembled the Council of that Iſland; and the Reſult of this Meeting was, to diſpatch Captain *Tyrrel* with the *Cheſterfield* of 40 Guns, the *Richmond* of 20, and the *Speedwel* Sloop, to obſerve the *French* at *Tobago*: But this Commander had only the Mortification of perceiving the *French* fortifying the Iſland, and preventing the *Engliſh* from cutting Wood there, while his Hands were tied up from making any Reſiſtance.

If the *French* were permitted to keep the Poſſeſſion of *Tobago*, *Barbadoes* would be of little Value in Peace, and of no Safety in War. The Merchants of *London* trading to the *Weſt-Indies*, were as truly ſenſible as the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes*, that the Continuance of the latter to be a People, would depend on the Succeſs of the Repreſentation of this Affair, for the effectual Interpoſition of his *Britannic* Majeſty with the Court of *France*. As ſoon as the Declaration of the *French* Governor relating to the ſettling of *Tobago*, was communicated to the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, a Courier was diſpatched to *Verſailles*, with Directions for Colonel *York*, the *Britiſh* Reſident there, to make Remonſtrances on this Subject; who returned the Courier with a Declaration from the *French* Miniſtry, utterly denying their having any knowledge of the Proceedings of the Governor of *Martinico*, with Aſſurances that they had diſpatched Orders to him to deſiſt from ſuch Proceedings. This Declaration of the Court of *Verſailles* was repreſented, by a Letter from the Duke of *Bedford*, to a numerous Company of the Merchants of *London*, who had aſſembled on this Occaſion: However the Actions of the *French* were contradictory to their Profeſſions; they wanted nothing more than to eſtabliſh the Settlement of *Tobago*, though they pretended to be ignorant of what was tranſacting there; and they protracted the Time ſo long, as to occaſion the legiſlative Body of *Barbadoes* to make ſeveral Addreſſes and Applications to his *Britannic* Majeſty and his Miniſtry on this important Affair, before they could obtain the Evacuation of the Iſland, which at laſt was procured by an Order ſigned by the *French* Monarch for evacuating that Iſland, as well as *St. Vincent*, *St. Dominica*, and *St. Lucia*; though the Marquis *de Caylus* afterwards declared, in his dying Moments, that he had poſitive Directions from the *French* Miniſtry concerning his Conduct at *Tobago*.

CHAP. X.

Of the NAVAL AFFAIRS *of* GREAT-BRITAIN, *from the Concluſion of the Peace at* AIX LA CHAPELLE, *to the Commencement of the preſent War with* FRANCE.

IN this Seſſions of Parliament was brought in and paſſed that Bill *amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea*[*]. This Bill met with great Oppoſition both in the Houſe, and from the Gentlemen of the Navy without; and is the ſame ſo loudly complained of by ſome Sea-Officers, for reſtraining the Court-Martial from extending their Lenity to the late Admiral *Byng*.

This Bill was moved for by the Lord *Barrington*, *December* 12, and his Lordſhip, together with the Lord *Vere Beauclerc*, the Lord *Duncannon*, Mr. *Ellis*, Mr. *Cleveland*, Mr. *Doddington*, and Mr. *Corbet*, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame. *February* 1, the ſaid Bill was preſented to the Houſe by the Lord *Barrington*, read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time. *Monday* the 6th it was ordered to be read a ſecond time on the *Friday* following, which it was accordingly; and it was reſolved, that the Houſe would on the *Monday* ſevennight following reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the ſaid Bill; but that Order being put off till the 24th, the following Petition was then preſented to the Houſe, *viz.*

To the honourable the COMMONS *of* Great-Britain *in Parliament aſſembled:*

The humble Petition of the ſeveral Admirals, Captains, and Commanders of or belonging to his Majeſty's royal Navy, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed,

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners finding by the Votes of this honourable Houſe, that a Bill hath been brought in and read a firſt and ſecond time, and committed, intitled, *A Bill for amending, explaining and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea*, do moſt humbly beg leave to repreſent, that in the ſaid Bill there are ſeveral Clauſes contained, which (ſhould the ſame paſs into a Law) would, as your Petitioners humbly apprehend, greatly tend to the Injury and Diſhonour of your Petitioners, and all other Officers of his Majeſty's Navy, as alſo to the Detriment of his Majeſty's Service.

That as the preſent Laws, for the Government of his Majeſty's Navy, have been always found ſufficient for that End; and the Power of the Lord High-admiral co-operating with the Zeal of the Sea-officers, hath been hitherto effectual to ſecure the Service of thoſe on Half-pay, upon the moſt preſſing Occaſions, your Petitioners humbly hope, they ſhall not be ſubjected to many Hardſhips and Diſcouragements that muſt attend an Alteration of the preſent Laws, with regard to them in many Particulars.

Wherefore your Petitioners moſt humbly pray, that they may have leave to be heard by their Counſel, before the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the ſaid Bill is committed, againſt ſuch Parts thereof as they apprehend will be injurious to themſelves, and the reſt of the Officers of his Majeſty's Navy; or, that they may have ſuch other Relief, as to this honourable Houſe, in their great Goodneſs, ſhall ſeem meet.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

This Petition was ſigned by three Admirals and 47 Captains; but we muſt obſerve, that no Admiral or Captain who was a Member of the Houſe could ſign the Petition; nor had any of thoſe that were abroad an Opportunity to ſign it, otherwiſe we may ſuppoſe that it would have been ſigned by a great many more; for it was preſented to the Houſe by Sir *John Norris*, ſince deceaſed, and the Motion ſeconded by Sir *Peter Warren*. After it was read, the firſt

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[*] See the Introduction to this Hiſtory, p. xxi.

Motion was for referring it to the Conſideration of the ſaid Committee, and the Petitioners to be heard before the ſame by their Counſel, if they thought fit; but this Motion being waved, becauſe it was ſaid, that the Bill might be ſo amended in the Committee, as to remove all the Objections the Petitioners had to it; and a Motion being made for the Petition's being ordered to lie on the Table, it was moved, by way of Amendment, that it ſhould be ordered to lie on the Table, *until the Report was received from the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Bill for amending*, &c. *was committed*; *and that the Petitioners ſhould be then heard by their Counſel upon this Petition, if they thought fit*; but this Amendment being oppoſed, there enſued a long Debate, in which, beſides the two Gentlemen above-mentioned, the Lord *S—ge*, *H—y B—ſt*, Eſq; *R—t N—t*, Eſq; A—l *V—n*, G—l *O—pe*, &c. ſpoke for the Amendment; and *H—y F—x*, Eſq; *H—y P—m*, Eſq; *W—m P—tt*, Eſq; *G—ge L—n*, Eſq; *&c.* ſpoke againſt it. At laſt the Houſe divided, and the Queſtion was carried againſt the Amendment by 227 to 121.

As it was late before this Debate ended, the Committee was put off till the *Friday* following, being *March* 3, when the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee on the ſaid Bill, as it did again on the 8th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 21ſt, 23d; *April* the 5th, 7th, and 10th; during which Time there were ſeveral long Debates upon Amendments offered and rejected; the chief of which were as follow, *viz. March* 3, a Motion was made to leave out the Words (as well in time of Peace, as in time of War) in the Clauſe which eſtabliſhes the Articles of War; and the Queſtion was put, if thoſe Words ſhould ſtand part of the Bill, which was carried in the Affirmative by 186 to 113.

March 8, a Motion was made to inſert theſe Words, (knowing him to be ſuch) after the Word (Rebel) in the third Article of War; but the Queſtion was carried in the Negative by 115 to 62. *March* 23, a Motion was made to add at the End of the Clauſe for appointing the third Officer in Command to preſide at a Court-Martial, when there was a material Objection againſt the ſecond, the following Words, *viz.* Provided always, that in every Caſe when ſuch material Objection ſhall occur, and where the Perſon next in Command to the Officer or Commander in chief, ſhall be ſet aſide, in purſuance of this Clauſe, ſuch Objection ſhall be made in Writing, and annexed to the Proceedings and Sentence of ſuch Court-Martial, which Proceedings ſhall be carefully preſerved in the Office of the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral. Upon the Queſtion's being put, this Amendment was agreed to by 43 to 38; but the Reader will ſoon ſee why it is here mentioned.

April 5, In the firſt Draught of the Bill the *Oath* to be taken by the Members of a Court-Martial was, *That none of them ſhould diſcover the Vote of any particular Member, unleſs thereunto required by lawful Authority*; therefore in the Committee a Motion was made to leave out the Words (*lawful Authority*) in order to inſert theſe Words, (the Courts of Juſtice in ſuch Caſes where they have now by Law a Right to interfere, or *by either Houſe of Parliament*). As to leaving out the Words (*lawful Authority*) no Objection was made; but it being propoſed to inſert in their room the Words (*Act of Parliament*) it occaſioned a Debate; and at laſt the Queſtion was put for the Chairman to leave the Chair, which was carried in the Negative by 111 to 67; after which the Words firſt propoſed to be inſerted, were rejected, and the laſt agreed to without a Diviſion.

April 10, a Clauſe was offered for providing, that in caſe of any capital Crime to be tried in *Great-Britain*, or in the narrow Seas, the Number of the Court-Martial ſhould not be leſs than 13, of which nine ſhould be for the Sentence of Death; and in all other Parts where *five* might conſtitute a Court-Martial, *four* of the *five* ſhould concur in the Sentence of Death. But upon the Queſtion's being put, the Clauſe was rejected without a Diviſion.

Next Day, *April* 11, Lord *Vere Beauclerk*, Chairman of the Committee, reported to the Houſe the Amendments made by the Committee to the Bill, which Report was ordered to be taken into Conſideration upon that Day ſevennight. Accordingly, *April* 18, the Houſe proceeded to take the ſaid Report into Conſideration, which took up that Day, and alſo the 20th; on which laſt Day, when the Queſtion was put for agreeing to the above-mentioned Amendment made *March* 23, a new Debate aroſe, and at laſt, upon putting the Queſtion, it was carried in the Negative by 83 to 77. And a Motion being the ſame Day made, to leave the Word (*Act*) out of the Amendment made to the *Oath of Secrecy*, April 5, in order to inſert in its ſtead the Words, (*by either Houſe*) another Debate aroſe, and the Queſtion being at laſt put, if the Word (*Act*) ſhould ſtand part of the Amendment, it was carried in the Affirmative by 107 to 79. But the moſt remarkable Thing that happened upon the Report, was the leaving out that Article of War for ſubjecting the Half-pay Officers of the Navy to the ſame Diſcipline as if actually upon full Pay. This had occaſioned a moſt ſtrenuous Debate in the Committee, and a new one upon the Report, but at laſt ſome of the chief Miniſters yielded, and it was agreed to be left out, without a Diviſion.

April 20, the Houſe having gone through the Report, the Bill was ordered to be ingroſſed; and on the 24th, it was read a third time, and ſeveral new Amendments made, after which it was paſſed and ſent to the Lords; where it occaſioned a Debate upon the general Neceſſity and Scope of the Bill; of which we have the following Minutes preſerved, under fictitious Names, in the *London Magazine* for the Year 1749.

In this Debate the firſt that ſpoke was C. CLAUDIUS NERO, whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

IN all wiſe Governments it is a ſtanding Maxim not to make any new Law, unleſs there appears to be a Neceſſity for ſo doing; and therefore, with regard to the Bill now before us, there are two Queſtions neceſſary for our Conſideration, which are, firſt, Whether a new Law be neceſſary for the Government of his Majeſty's Ships and Forces by Sea: And, ſecondly, Whether the Bill now before us be ſuch a one as ought to be paſſed into a Law. As to the firſt Queſtion I muſt own, that I have always had a very great Regard for the Law paſſed in the 13th of K. *Charles* II. It was a Law concerted by as great Men[*] as ever were at the Head of Affairs in this Kingdom, and under that Law our Navy has been governed for near 90 Years, without any Complaint, and with more Glory, I believe, than will be acquired under any Law that can be ſubſtituted in its room. That Law was drawn up by the great Admiral *Montague*, ſoon after Earl of *Sandwich*, who had before ſhewn himſelf an excellent Officer both by Sea and Land; and it was approved of by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Denzil Holles*, Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftſbury*, and ſeveral other great Men, who were of the King's Council, before it was offered to either Houſe of Parliament for their Approbation. I ſhall grant it had ſome Defects, as every human Law muſt have, and Laws have ſince been paſſed for remedying thoſe Defects; but in my Opinion none of them have anſwered the End intended; and thoſe Defects were thought ſo trivial, that both the *Dutch* Wars in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and the *French* War in the Reign of King *William*, as well as that in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, were carried on, and glorioully carried on, without any Law for remedying thoſe Defects, except that Law made in the Beginning of King *William*'s Reign, which appoints an Oath to be taken by the Judges in every Court-Martial; and whether ſuch an Oath be of any Service or no, I very much queſtion; becauſe a Man who is ſo wicked as to reſolve to act unjuſtly, will ſhew no Regard to that or any other Oath that can be framed by the Legiſlature.

I may therefore juſtly obſerve, Sir, that from the Year 1661, to the Year 1720, our Navy was governed by that Law of King *Charles* II. without any material Alteration or Amendment; but in the Year 1720, we began to think of extending the Power of Courts-martial, and with this View a Clauſe was inſerted in an Act then paſſed, by which it was enacted, That Seamen guilty of any of the Offences mentioned in the Act of the 13th of *Charles* II. upon the Shore in any foreign Parts, ſhould be tried and puniſhed by a Court Martial. Now to determine whether this was an Amendment or the contrary, we muſt conſider that by the Act of *Charles* II. the Juriſdiction thereby given to Courts-Martial, is expreſsly confined to ſuch of the Offences therein mentioned, as ſhould be committed upon the main Sea, or in Veſſels hovering in the main Stream of great Rivers, only beneath the Bridges nigh to the Sea, within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty, and only by Perſons in Service and Pay in the Fleet, or Ships of War. So that if any of thoſe Offences had been committed upon the Shore, or at Land, even in foreign Parts, not within the *Britiſh* Dominions, the Offender was to be brought home and tried by the common Law; or if committed in any of our Plantations, he was to be tried by the Common-law Courts eſtabliſhed in that Plantation.

Thus we ſee, Sir, how careful the Parliament was in the Year 1661, of incroaching upon the Liberties of the Subject, the chief part of which conſiſts in their being tried, when accuſed of any Crime, by God and their Country; that is to ſay, by an impartial Judge, and a Jury of their Neighbours in the Country; and in their not being ſubjected even to a Trial, till a Jury of Neighbours has found ſufficient Cauſe to ſuſpect their being guilty, by finding a Bill of Indictment againſt them. And if we conſider the Circumſtances of Affairs at that Time, we ſhall have ſtill greater Reaſon to extol the Caution of that Parliament; for though they in ſome Caſes ſhewed too much Complaiſance to the Crown, yet with reſpect to the Army and Navy, their Complaiſance, even in the Honey-moon of the Reſtoration, was far from being extraordinary. The Court was then puſhing for a Mutiny-bill with regard to the Army, but the King's Miniſters foreſaw that it would be impoſſible to prevail with that Parliament to eſtabliſh a Standing-army by Law, therefore they compounded the Matter, and contented themſelves with obtaining this, which is a ſort of Mutiny-bill with regard to the Navy, and this they took care to confine in the manner I have mentioned.

I muſt indeed, Sir, admit, that with regard to Offences committed on-ſhore in foreign Parts, not ſubject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, the Bill was too much confined, becauſe ſuch Offences ought, I think, to be made triable by a Court-Martial of the Squadron to which the Offenders belong; and this was the Defect which was made the Pretence for the Law in 1720; but our Parliament was then grown ſo very complaiſant, that they extended the Juriſdiction of Courts-Martial to Offences committed on-ſhore in any foreign Part whatever, by which they have made a moſt dangerous Incroachment upon the civil Power in all his Majeſty's Plantations; therefore this may be called an Alteration, but, I am ſure, it cannot be called an Amendment.

From the Year 1720, Sir, to the Year 1745, there was no new Law introduced that can be properly called a Law, for regulating the Government of his Majeſty's Navy; but in that Year ſome Gentlemen who had juſt got into the Adminiſtration, began to be poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Lawgiving, which made them diſcover ſeveral Defects never before thought of in our Laws, for regulating the Government of the Navy; and to remedy thoſe Defects, they cook'd up a Bill which was that Seſſion paſſed into a Law; but how did they ſucceed? Why, but laſt Year they were forced to give us a new Specimen of their Cookery, and to bring in and paſs a Bill for repealing the Law they had made but three Years before; and now they have brought in a Bill not only for repealing the Law they made laſt Year, but alſo for repealing all the Laws now in being for regulating the Government of the Navy.

This, Sir, ſeems to be no great Encouragement for us to accept of any more Specimens of their Cookery, eſpecially this, which is to deſtroy what the Navy has glorioully ſubſiſted on for ſo many Years. If they had confined their Bill to the repealing of all the Laws made ſince 1661, for the Government of his Majeſty's Navy, I ſhould have made no Difficulty in giving my Conſent to it; becauſe every Alteration ſince made has, I think, made the Caſe worſe inſtead of better. King *William*'s Law for appointing an Oath to be taken by the Judges, has only added Perjury to Injuſtice; and I ſhould rather chuſe to have Offences committed on-ſhore in foreign Parts remain unpuniſhed till the Offenders could be ſent home, than to have the civil Power in all our Plantations diveſted of the Right to try and puniſh Seamen for Offences committed within its Juriſdiction. Even that Clauſe in the Act of the 8th of the late King againſt Piracy, which I forgot to mention, and which ſubjects the Captain of a King's Ship to a Penalty, who ſhall receive on-board any Merchandize, in order to trade with the ſame, I think very unneceſſary; becauſe it is in the Power of the Admiralty to caſhier or diſmiſs any ſuch Merchant Captain with Infamy from the Service. And as to the Novelties introduced by the Law paſſed laſt Year, I think every one of them either uſeleſs or of pernicious Conſequence.

As to theſe Novelties, Sir, I ſhall beg leave to take notice of ſome few of them; and firſt, as to that by which it is enacted, That no Commander in chief of any Fleet or Squadron, or Detachment thereof, ſhall preſide at any Court-Martial in foreign Parts, I muſt really think it ridiculous. Will you, or can you think the King ever will truſt the Command of a Fleet or Squadron to a Man who is not fit to be truſted with preſiding at a Court-Martial? To pretend, that the chief Commander, by being Preſident, may influence the Court to do as he pleaſes, is contrary to Experience. I knew an Inſtance to the contrary. A chief Commander, who was in his Nature a little paſſionate and full of Reſentment, had appointed a Court-Martial to try a Man who had offended him. He was himſelf Preſident, as by the old Law he was of courſe; and after the Fact had been inquired into, and the Witneſſes on both Sides examined, he was going to pronounce it as the unanimous Opinion of the Court, that the Priſoner was guilty; but after a little Pauſe, one of the Captains ſtood up and ſaid, he hoped the Preſident would not pronounce ſuch a Sentence as being the unanimous Opinion of the Court, for that he was of a contrary Opinion; and after he had given his Reaſons, another ſtood up, and declared himſelf of the ſame Opinion; then another; after him a third. In ſhort, every Member preſent declared againſt the Opinion of their chief Commander; ſo that inſtead of being unanimouſly condemned, the Man was almoſt unanimouſly acquitted.

This ſhews, Sir, that by the old Law the chief Commander of a Squadron, though Preſident of the Court-Martial by him appointed, could not influence the Court to do whatever he pleaſed: But by the next Novelty I am to take notice of, you have put it in the power of every chief Commander of a Squadron, to have ſuch a Court-Martial as he may influence, without being either Preſident, or having a Vote therein: And to ſhew this I muſt obſerve, that by the old Law and Cuſtom of the Navy, when any of the King's Ships had the Court-Martial Flag out, not only all the Captains of that Squadron were obliged to repair on-board, and had their Seat and Vote in that Court-Martial, but every Poſt Captain of a King's Ship, that happened by Accident to come in ſight of the Court-Martial Flag, was obliged to repair on-board, and had his Seat and Vote in that Court-Martial: A remarkable Inſtance of which happened in the famous Trial of the Lord *Torrington*, the Beginning of King *William*'s Reign, which was a Trial that no Captain would have choſen to be preſent at, becauſe by acquitting he was ſure of diſobliging the Miniſtry, and by condemning he might probably be guilty of great Injuſtice towards the Priſoner; yet Sir *John Norris*, who by mere Accident came in ſight of the *Kent* Frigate at *Sheerneſs*, on-board of which the Court-Martial was then ſitting, and the Flag for that Purpoſe out, as ſoon as he ſaw that Flag out, he was ſo obſervant of his Duty, that he left his Ship, repaired on-board the *Kent* Frigate, and was one of thoſe who joined in unanimouſly acquitting that noble Lord, contrary to their own Intereſt, becauſe they thereby run the Riſk of being diſmiſſed the Service, and never again employed in the Navy, at leaſt during that King's Reign; which is another Inſtance of its being difficult to obtain any undue Influence over Courts-Martial, whilſt they remained upon the antient Footing, though a late Inſtance has convinced many People, that the thing is not now abſolutely impoſſible; becauſe, it ſeems, the Officers of our Navy, as well as all other Ranks of Men in the Kingdom, are become a little more complaiſant to their Superiors than was uſual in former Days.

But if the obtaining of ſuch an Influence was not abſolutely impoſſible, even under the antient Regulation, I am ſure it is made much more eaſy by the Law paſſed laſt Seſſion, which enacts, That no Court-Martial ſhall conſiſt of more than *nine*, or leſs than *five* Perſons; and ſhall be compoſed of ſuch Commanders there preſent, as are next in Seniority to the Officer who preſides at the Court-Martial; for by this means it muſt always be before-hand known, who are to be the Members of the Court-Martial, which will afford an Opportunity for undue Practices, and Methods may be taken to detach intractable Captains from the Squadron before the Court-Martial be appointed. Then as to the Courts-Martial in *Britain* or *Ireland*, the Admiralty is intruſted with a moſt dangerous Power, which is that of directing a Flag-officer, or Captain of any Ship of War, who ſhall be in any Port within *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, to hold Courts-Martial there, and to preſide thereat; and that though there be but two Poſt Captains there beſides himſelf, he being in that Caſe impowered, by a following Clauſe, to call any two Commanders of his Majeſty's Veſſels then in that Port, under the Degree of a Poſt Captain, in order to make a ſufficient Number to hold a Court-Martial; ſo that the beſt Officer in the Navy may find his Life at the Mercy of a Flag-officer or Captain, and the Commanders of two little Sloops ſent to that Port, on purpoſe to ſacrifice him to the Reſentment of a Miniſter, whom he may perhaps have offended by a brave and honourable Diſcharge of his Duty to his Country.

Sir, it is of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to exclude Men of a high Rank from preſiding or ſitting in a Court-Martial, or to impower Men of a low Rank to preſide or ſit there; becauſe the lower a Man's Rank is in the Navy, the more he will always be expoſed to the Influence of an ambitious or revengeful Miniſter; and therefore, if there were no other Reaſon, I ſhould be for repealing the Law paſſed laſt Seſſion for regulating the Navy. But there is another Novelty introduced by that Law, which is the Oath to be taken by the Members of a Court-Martial. They are not only to ſwear, that they will duly adminiſter Juſtice, as was preſcribed by the Law of King *William*, which was a Law paſſed on purpoſe for the Trial of the Lord *Torrington*, whom I have already mentioned; but they are to ſwear, not to diſcover any thing that paſſes in Debate relating to the Trial: Nay, even the Judge-advocate is to ſwear to the ſame Secrecy. How ridiculous is this, Sir? How contrary to the whole Tenor of our Conſtitution? An Oath of Secrecy is an Oath taken by no Court of Juſtice I know of in the World, except the Court of Inquiſition; and as that Court is in its own Nature a Court of Injuſtice, Cruelty, and Oppreſſion, I hope it will never be made a Precedent for any new Regulation here. In this happy Country the Proceedings of all our Courts of Juſtice are open and publickly known; no Judge is afraid or aſhamed of the Opinion he gives, or of the Reaſons on which he founds that Opinion. Even in the moſt ſolemn Trials in this Houſe, our Proceedings are open to the whole World; and we give our Votes in the moſt public manner. This is the great Security for the Impartiality and Honeſty of all our Courts of Juſtice: Were it in their Power to conceal from the World what they do, or the Opinions they give, Bribery and Corruption would ſoon be as frequent, and have as powerful an Effect, as it has at any Election in the Kingdom; for it has always been, and always will be, the Prayer of Rogues,

Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

And this Prayer will be effectually anſwered by this Oath of Secrecy, eſpecially in our Courts-Martial, which muſt never conſiſt of a Number leſs than *five*; becauſe, let the Proceeding or Sentence be never ſo infamous, no particular Member can be charged with it by the People, as every one of them will at leaſt inſinuate that he voted againſt it.

This, Sir, is another Reaſon why I think that the Act of laſt Seſſion ought to be repealed; and as to the new Regulations thereby introduced, relating to Ships of War wrecked, or taken by the Enemy, it was before in the Power of the Crown to continue the Pay to thoſe Officers and Seamen that had faithfully and diligently performed their Duty, if not as Pay, at leaſt by way of Gratuity; and I do not think, the Continuance of the Pay ought to be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, becauſe the Loſs of a Ship may be owing to ſome Neglect, or Act of Imprudence, which it will be impoſſible to prove to the Satiſfaction of a Court-Martial under no manner of undue Influence; therefore, I think, this Matter ought to be ſtill left at the Diſcretion of the Crown; and I am apt to think, that when a Ship is entirely loſt, it ought to be left to the Diſcretion of the Crew, whether they will continue under the Command of their Officers or no; becauſe, if the Majority of them approve of the Conduct of their Officers, they will, for their own Safety, compel the reſt to agree to it: On the other hand, if a Ship ſhould be loſt by the Ill-conduct of the commanding Officer, and the Lives of the whole Crew brought into immediate Danger, I think it is hard, nay, I believe it will be impoſſible to compel them to ſubmit any longer to his Command; and if by Mutiny they ſave their Lives, they will of courſe turn Pirates, or enter into foreign Service, to prevent their being puniſhed for that Mutiny. 'Tis true, a Caſe lately happened, where the greateſt part of a Crew expoſed themſelves to greater Danger, by mutinying againſt their Captain, than they could have done by ſubmitting to the Continuance of his Command; but this will very ſeldom happen, and therefore I think the Danger on the other ſide will be much greater and more frequent.

I have now ſhewn, I think, Sir, that if there be any Inconſiſtency in our Laws relating to the Sea-ſervice, it proceeds from the ill-concerted Laws that have been made ſince the Year 1661. I remember that ſeveral Years ago, ſome young Gentlemen took it into their Heads, that a new Law was neceſſary for the Amendment of our Law in general, and the Deſign became a Topic of Converſation in all Companies; upon which a learned Judge, now dead, obſerved, that the beſt way to amend our Law, would be to repeal all the Laws that had been made for that Purpoſe within the laſt hundred Years. I have the ſame way of thinking with reſpect to all the Laws relating to the Sea-ſervice paſſed ſince 1661; which convinces me, that we ought to be extremely cautious of making any new Law for regulating that Service. By the well-concerted Law paſſed at that Time, and the Cuſtom of the Navy eſtabliſhed thereupon, our Navy has been ever ſince ſo well governed, that we have ſucceſsfully carried on four, I may ſay five, naval Wars, and fought many a glorious Sea-engagement; therefore I cannot think that any new Law is neceſſary, unleſs it be, as I have ſaid, a Law for repealing all the Laws relating to the Sea-ſervice paſſed ſince the Year 1661.

But now, Sir, with regard to the Bill at preſent under our Conſideration, which has been ſo much and ſo often corrected and amended, that I may call what we have now before us the third Edition; and what is ſurpriſing, this third Edition ſeems to me to be the worſt of the three; for ſome of the beſt Clauſes that were in the firſt are now left out, particularly that relating to Store-ſhips and Tranſports employed in the Government's Service, the Captains and Crews of which were, by the firſt Edition of this Bill, made liable to the martial Law, while they continued in that Service. This was really a new and an uſeful Regulation; and the firſt War you engage in, you will find it abſolutely neceſſary to agree to ſome ſuch Regulation; for by the want of ſuch a one, the beſt concerted naval Expedition may be diſappointed. But as ſome People are fond of Popularity, and will court it at any rate, this Clauſe was made a Sacrifice to that View, which is a ſort of Sacrifice I ſhall never make, let the Conſequence be what it will.

Thus, Sir, the Bill has now made its Appearance before us without any ſuch Clauſe to recommend it; nor has it, indeed, any one new Clauſe to recommend it, but a great many Clauſes that ought, I think, to induce us to reject it; for the moſt of the Objections I have made againſt our late Laws, are rendered ſtronger by new Improvements upon the reſpective Clauſes in this Bill, and all the Clauſes in former Laws, which I have objected to, are re-enacted by this. I ſhall not repeat any of the Objections I have already ſtated againſt the Act of laſt Seſſion, but I muſt take notice of ſome of the Improvements made by this Bill. Laſt Year our naval Lawgivers were, it ſeems, of

Opinion, that no Court-martial ought to conſiſt of above nine Members, but this Year they have altered their Opinion, and increaſed the Number to 13; and they have added a Clauſe for preventing its being in the Power of the Admiralty or Officer impowered to hold Courts-martial, to direct or aſcertain the particular Number of Perſons of which any Court-martial ſhall conſiſt. I confeſs I do not well underſtand the Meaning of thoſe two Clauſes; for though they do not expreſly abrogate the old Law, which obliges every Captain who comes in ſight of the Flag to go on-board and take his Place in the Court, yet they abrogate it in Effect; becauſe if there be already 13 there, the Chance-comer cannot take his Place, unleſs one of the others be obliged to retire. Suppoſe then that ſome of the 13 are his Juniors, and that upon his taking his Place the junior of them muſt retire. If this be the Caſe, does not every one ſee, that increaſing the Number to 13 makes it more eaſy to have a pack'd Court-martial, whoſe Proceedings cannot be controled by Chance-comers, than if the higheſt Number had been continued at *nine*? Becauſe, in the former Caſe *ſeven* Chance-comers muſt arrive, and all ſenior to the *ſeven* youngeſt that are there, before they can control the Proceedings of the Court; whereas in the latter Caſe *five* ſenior Captains, arriving by chance, would do the Buſineſs.

Courts-martial, Sir, are dangerous Weapons in the Hands of a wicked Miniſter, but become much more dangerous when they are put under ſuch Regulations as may enable him to pack them to his Purpoſe. We, in this Houſe, cannot approve of any ſuch Regulations; our Anceſtors have often ſuffered by ſuch pack'd Courts of Judicature. Thank God! we have, by a Law obtained ſince the Revolution, freed ourſelves and Poſterity from that Danger. No Member of this Houſe can now be tried, unleſs by the whole Body of his Peers, or at leaſt as many of them as can attend; and as we have freed ourſelves from the Danger of being tried by a pack'd Court of Judicature, I hope we ſhall never conſent to any Regulation that may, in the leaſt, expoſe any of our Fellow-ſubjects to the ſame ſort of Danger.

Then, Sir, as to the Oath to be taken by the Judges in a Court-martial, it was before ridiculous, but now it is quite abſurd. By the Law paſſed laſt Seſſion, they were not to diſcloſe the Vote of any particular Member of the Court, *unleſs thereunto required by lawful Authority*; but by the Oath preſcribed in the Bill now before us, they are not to diſcloſe the Vote of any Member, *unleſs thereunto required by Act of Parliament*. This puts it out of the Power of either Houſe of Parliament to inquire into the Conduct of any Member of a Court-martial, unleſs the Crown pleaſes to conſent to an Act for that Purpoſe. Suppoſe a brave Admiral ſhould be condemned and ſhot by the Sentence of a Court-martial, pack'd for the Purpoſe by a revengeful favourite Miniſter; if this Bill paſſes, even the Parliament itſelf could not inquire into the Proceedings of that Court-martial, or puniſh any one upon that account, while that Miniſter continued to ingroſs the Ear of his Maſter. We may all remember a late Inſtance, where a brave Admiral, I will not ſay, glorioufly diſobeyed his Orders, but I may ſay, glorioufly went a little farther than his Inſtructions, and thereby acquired great Honour to himſelf, and great Advantage to his Country. If ſuch a Bill as this had been then paſſed into a Law, I believe that Admiral would have been in ſome Danger of being tried and condemned by a Court-martial.

This Oath, Sir, is one of the moſt abſurd that ever was invented; becauſe it may prevent an innocent Man from being able to juſtify himſelf againſt a Proſecution at common Law. We know that the Members of a Court-martial may, by their Proceedings, expoſe themſelves to an Action or Proſecution at common Law. A late Court-martial in the *Weſt-Indies* actually did ſo; and in an Action brought againſt one of them here at home, he was caſt in a large Sum of Money for what he did there as Member of a Court-Martial; and a later and more famous Court-martial, who certainly underſtood nothing of the common Law, whatever they did of the naval, brought themſelves into ſuch a Scrape as would have ruined them, if the learned Judge they offended, had not been ſo much of a Chriſtian as to remember that Prayer, *Good Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do*. In all ſuch Caſes, ſurely, any Member of the Court-martial might juſtify himſelf by proving, that he oppoſed and voted againſt the illegal Proceeding, upon which the Action or Proſecution is founded; but if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, it will be impoſſible for him to bring ſuch a Proof.

To what I have ſaid, I muſt add, Sir, that this Oath makes the Increaſe of the Number of which a Court-martial may conſiſt, ſtill more dangerous; for if any Jobb is to be done, the Infamy muſt reſt upon all the Members preſent; and though every one of them may, and probably will privately inſinuate that he voted againſt it, yet no one of them dare openly aſſert, much leſs prove, that he voted againſt it; which will of courſe render every one of them leſs concerned about the Infamy they expoſe themſelves to; for the Burden of Infamy is like all other Burdens, the more Shoulders there are to ſupport it, the lighter it ſits upon every one; and in a little time we may have ſuch a Number of Court-martial Jobbers, that they will keep one another in countenance, which will make it eaſy for a Miniſter to get them to do whatever he has a mind.

When I have ſaid this, Sir, I cannot avoid taking notice of the extraordinary Improvement made by the 5th Article of War, by this Bill to be eſtabliſhed, and the reſtraining Proviſo in which this Article is excepted. In the Act of 1661, there is an Article which ſays, that all Spies ſhall be puniſhed with Death; but then that Law concludes, as I have already ſaid, with a general Proviſo, without any Exception, that Juriſdiction ſhall be thereby given only for ſuch of the Offences aforeſaid, as ſhall be done upon the main Sea, or in Veſſels hovering in the main Stream of great Rivers, and only by Perſons in Service and Pay. Thus the Juriſdiction given by that Law is confined to proper Places and proper Perſons; but the 5th Article of War in this Bill ſays, that all Spies, and all Perſons whatſoever, who ſhall be found to bring or deliver any ſeducing Letters or Meſſages from any Enemy or Rebel, or endeavour to corrupt any Officer, Mariner, or other in the Fleet, to betray his Truſt, being convicted thereof by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall be puniſhed with Death: And this Article is expreſsly excepted in the Proviſo, which confines the Juriſdiction of Courts-martial to Offences committed upon the main Sea, or in great Rivers, and by Perſons in actual Service and full Pay; ſo that every Man in the Kingdom ſeems to be ſubjected to the Juriſdiction of a Court-martial, if he be accuſed of endeavouring to corrupt an Officer or Mariner to betray his Truſt, and that whether the Perſon accuſed be in Pay or no, and whether the Offence be alledged to have been committed at Sea or at Land. Nay, I do not know, but that the beſt Lord in the Kingdom may by this means be ſubjected to be tried and condemned to die by a Court-martial; and therefore if you go into a Committee on this Bill, I hope the Opinion of the Judges will be aſked upon this Queſtion.

I could mention, Sir, a great many more Inaccuracies in this Bill, and dangerous Conſequences that may ariſe from its being paſſed into a Law. In ſhort, it ſeems to be a Bill deſigned for extending the Juriſdiction of Courts-martial, not only over the whole *Britiſh* Dominions, but to every *Britiſh* Subject that reſides in any part of the World, where the *Britiſh* Flag can appear; for a *Britiſh* Merchant at *Liſbon*, *Cadiz*, or elſewhere, may be kidnapped on-board, and tried for endeavouring to corrupt ſome of the Officers or Sailors to betray their Truſt. Therefore, if there were a Neceſſity for a new Bill relating to the Sea-ſervice, this is not, I think, a proper Bill for the Purpoſe; but I have already declared, that I do not think any ſuch Bill neceſſary: I am ſure, the Neceſſity is not ſo urgent, eſpecially, now in time of Peace, as to require our paſſing ſome ſuch Bill before the End of this Seſſion of Parliament: However, if you incline to go into a Committee upon it, I ſhall not be againſt it, and ſhall not therefore oppoſe the Motion.

Upon this, CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS ſtood up, and ſpoke to the Effect following,

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

THE noble Lord has been pleaſed to expreſs great Regard for the Act of King *Charles* II. relating to the Sea-ſervice, and for the Admiral who, very probably, had a Share in drawing it up; As to that Admiral, I believe, no one can doubt my Regard for him: He certainly deſerved the Honours that were conferred on him, and he no way merited the Reproach caſt upon him by the royal Commander of our Fleet at that time, as was in a few Hours after made manifeſt by the Event, and by his gallant Behaviour and glorious Death. But as to the Act itſelf, I muſt confeſs, I have no great Regard for it: So far as it goes, it is well enough; but it has many Defects, and, therefore, if our Fleet has been well governed, if it has acquired Glory, thoſe Effects have been owing to the Nature of the People, and not to the Law, which is, in many Reſpects, extremely deficient, ſome of which I ſhall beg leave to take notice of; and, firſt, with regard to Spies; by the Law, as it ſtands at preſent, no Court-martial, either at home or abroad, can try or puniſh a Spy, let the Proofs of a Man's being ſuch be never ſo evident, unleſs he be a Man at that very time in Service and Pay in the Fleet, or Ships of War; nay, if a Man, not in Service or Pay, ſhould get on-board the Fleet, or any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, with a Deſign to debauch the Officers or Sailors, and to perſuade them to mutiny, deſert, or run away with the Ship, and ſuch Practices ſhould be fully proved upon him, neither the Admiral or Commodore of a Squadron, nor the Commander of any ſingle Ship, has Power to ſecure ſuch a Criminal: They may, indeed, turn him a-ſhore, but they cannot legally confine him, in order to his being brought home and tried by the common Law, which makes it very dangerous for our Squadrons or Ships of War to hover or anchor upon the Coaſts, or in the great Rivers of any of thoſe Countries, where there are any *Britiſh* Subjects, that are known to be diſaffected to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

Another great Defect is this, Sir, that a Man in Service and Pay, cannot by that Law be tried or puniſhed by a Court-martial even of the Squadron he belongs to, for any Offence or Crime committed on-ſhore. This, 'tis true, was remedied by the Act of the 6th of the late King, as to Crimes committed on-ſhore in foreign Parts; but even the noble Lord himſelf has allowed it to be a Defect in the Act of King *Charles* II. ſo far as relates to foreign Parts not ſubject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*; and, notwithſtanding what he has ſaid, I muſt think, it was right to extend the Juriſdiction of Courts-martial to Crimes committed on-ſhore by Perſons in actual Service and Pay, even in our own Plantations. If by the Crime ſo committed any inhabitant of that Plantation ſhould be injured, to be ſure, the Admiral or Commander would give up the Criminal to be tried and puniſhed by the civil Power in that Plantation; but when the Crime relates only to the Service, or to thoſe only that are in the Service, it was right to give the Cogniſance of it to a Court-martial, tho' committed on ſhore. And as the Men belonging to a Squadron or Ship of War muſt often be employed a-ſhore, even here at home, as well as abroad, in ſeveral Sorts of neceſſary Service, ſuch as fitting out the Ship, or Squadron, taking in freſh Water or Proviſions, and the like, if they then commit any Crime, in which no Man that is not employed in the Service has any Concern, I am of Opinion, that ſuch Crimes ſhould be made cogniſable by a Court-martial; for otherwiſe the Men, when employed on-ſhore about ſuch neceſſary Services, might not only neglect or diſobey the Commands of their Officers with Impunity, but might actually mutiny, and beat and abuſe their Officers, and the Officers could have no Remedy but an Action at Law, againſt Fellows from whom they could recover neither Damages nor Coſts.

A third Defect, Sir, in the Act of King *Charles* II. and, indeed, in all our Laws relating to the Sea-ſervice, before that of laſt Year, was, that if any Admiral or Commander of a Squadron ſhould die, or be called home, or otherwiſe removed, the Perſon ſucceeding to him in the Command, could not call a Court-martial without a new Commiſſion for that Purpoſe; ſo that a whole Squadron might, for a long time, remain without a Power to try any Criminal, the Conſequence of which was a general Encouragement to mutiny; and when Men were accuſed of any Crime, tho' perhaps falſely accuſed, there was a Neceſſity for keeping them confined in Irons till a new Commiſſion arrived. Of this Inconvenience, Sir, we had a late remarkable Inſtance; for when Admiral *Vernon* got leave to return home from the *Weſt-Indies*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who ſucceeded him in the Command, was a whole Year without a Power to try or puniſh any Criminal on-board that numerous Squadron, by the Ship's being taken, which carried him a Commiſſion to appoint Courts-martial; and before Advice could be had there, or at home, of the Loſs of that Ship, and the Ship with a new Commiſſion could arrive in the *Weſt-Indies*, a whole Twelve-month had elapſed, which might have been of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, if that Admiral had not been a Man of great Diſcretion, and well beloved in the Navy.

A fourth Defect, Sir, which was never remedied till laſt Year, was that, if 20 Commanders of Men of War ſhould arrive with their Ships at any one Port, yet no Court-martial could be held for the Trial of any Offender or Perſon accuſed, which was often found to be a great Inconvenience, and ſometimes was the Occaſion of innocent Mens being kept for a long time confined. But a few Years ſince, the Captain of one of our Men of War happened to take Offence at his Lieutenant, and confined him in Irons. While he was thus confined, the Ship arrived at *Liſbon*: There were, at that Time, more than five Men of War at that Port: The Lieutenant repreſented his Caſe to the other Captains, and petitioned to be tried, but as none of them had a Commiſſion for calling a Court-martial, no trial could be had, and the Ship put to Sea again with the firſt Lieutenant ſtill in Irons. When they were at Sea, they happened to come in ſight of an Enemy's Ship, and were making ready to engage, but the Captain then appeared ſo evidently to be mad, that the Officers all agreed to confine him, and to give the Command of the Ship to the firſt Lieutenant. Accordingly they ſet him at Liberty, gave him the Command, and after his fighting the Ship bravely, and bringing her home, it was found, that he had never been guilty of any Offence, but that his Confinement was intirely owing to his Captain's not being in his right Senſes. Thus not only a brave innocent Man ſuffered a long Confinement, but one of his Majeſty's Ships was in danger of being loſt, by the Captains then at *Liſbon* having no Power to hold a Court-martial; for had they had ſuch a Power, the Lieutenant would have been tried and acquitted, and the Captain would probably have been confined, as being in his then Condition incapable of having any Command.

A fifth Defect, Sir, and a Defect not yet remedied, is, that if any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhould be attacked by a ſuperior Force, and after a brave Reſiſtance reduced to the laſt Extremity, yet if the Captain ſhould give Orders to ſtrike, or ſhould yield up his Ship to the Enemy, he is, by the Laws in being, to be puniſhed with Death, even though it ſhould be proved, that his Ship was in immediate Danger of ſinking. If Captain *Watſon* had not been killed in the Engagement, I do believe he would not have yielded up his Ship ſo ſoon as ſhe was; but it is highly probable, that he would have been forced to yield at laſt; and yet if he had at laſt ſtruck, in order to prevent the Ship's being ſunk, and his whole Crew as well as himſelf drowned, he muſt have been tried by a Court-martial as ſoon as he returned home, and muſt have been condemned to die by that Court-martial, in purſuance of the Articles of War as they are now worded: And if he had accordingly ſuffered, I am ſure it would have been extremely cruel.

A ſixth Defect, which is likewiſe, Sir, a Defect not yet remedied, that if any of his Majeſty's Ships ſhould take an Enemy's Ship, the Captain muſt not, before Judgment in a Court of Admiralty, order any of the Goods to be taken out of the Ship, except thoſe above Deck, and the Ship's Stores, even though the Ship ſhould be ſo ſhattered as to be in the utmoſt Danger of ſinking. And a ſeventh Defect is really ſuch a one as ſeems to be a Scandal to the Nation; for by the 9th Naval Order or Article of War, eſtabliſhed by the Act of King *Charles* II. it is ſaid, That if a Ship taken as Prize make no Reſiſtance, none of the Officers or Mariners being Foreigners, ſhall be ill treated; which ſeems to give leave to treat thoſe ill that reſiſt. Thank God! Sir, our brave Countrymen have always had too much Generoſity to make uſe of the Leave hereby given them; but this is no excuſe for the Order itſelf. It is a Reproach to us to have an Article of War that gives leave for mal-treating an unfortunate but brave Enemy; and therefore, I hope, it will, by our paſſing this Bill, be expunged out of our Law Books. Its remaining ſo long there has, 'tis true, redounded much to the Glory of our brave Sailors; but, I am ſure, it has not redounded much to the Glory of our Lawgivers.

Beſides theſe Defects, Sir, and ſeveral more I could mention, I muſt obſerve, that there are many Frauds, Abuſes, and Cruelties that may be committed on-board his Majeſty's Ships of War, and which cannot be puniſhed by a Court-martial, as our Laws ſtand at preſent, becauſe a Court-martial can inflict no Puniſhment that is not expreſly appointed by the Act of King *Charles* II. or warranted by the Laws and Cuſtoms uſed at Sea before that Act was paſſed. Falſe Muſters, for example, cannot now be puniſhed by the Sentence of a naval Court-martial. It has been a Practice too frequent, I believe, eſpecially in the *Weſt-Indies*, for Captains of his Majeſty's Ships to lend their Men to Maſters of Merchant-ſhips, and lie in Harbour till thoſe Men returned. It has been known, that a Captain of a 20 Gun Ship, which ſhould have 130 Men on-board, has lent out 100 at a Time. The Men find their Account in it, becauſe they have higher Wages from the Merchants, and in Conſideration of this they aſſign their Pay and Proviſions on-board the King's Ship to the Captain or ſome Truſtee for him; but during the whole Time of their Abſence, the Government is cheated, and the Publick Service neglected; nay, we have had Diſputes between Captains about Men belonging to one of his Majeſty's Ships, who have been preſſed out of the Merchant Service by the Captain of another. This Practice may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, in Time of War, and yet it cannot be puniſhed any other Way than by caſhiering, which is far from being an adequate Puniſhment, becauſe it is ſo ſeldom that any ſuch Practice can be proved.

There are likewiſe, Sir, many Sorts of Cruelties which may be exerciſed on-board his Majeſty's Ships, and cannot be puniſhed by the Sentence of a Court-martial. But lately a Captain was accuſed of beating a Man on-board his Ship, for a ſmall Fault, in the moſt cruel and mercileſs Manner: The Fact was fully proved, but no proper Puniſhment could be inflicted. And then as to Frauds, they appear in ſo many different Shapes, that it would be tedious to give an Account of all that have come to my Knowledge; therefore I ſhall mention only two. Some Years ſince, a Captain of one of his Majeſty's Ships had the good Luck to take a very rich Prize: He was not content with his own Share, but he reſolved to cheat one of his Midſhipmen out of his: With this View, about two Months after the Prize was taken, he falſifies the Books of the Ship, gets this Midſhipman entered as a common Man, and a Relation of his own then on-board, entered as a Midſhipman. This was fully proved, but a Court-martial could give no Redreſs, nor inflict any Puniſhment. The other Fact I ſhall mention is of a rich Man of War of 74 Guns, which was drove a-ſhore in the *Weſt-Indies*, by one of our Squadrons there: As ſoon as ſhe was a-ground her Crew deſerted her, and our Commodore ſent an Officer with a proper Number of Men, and with Orders to bring her off, or if that could not be accompliſhed, to ſet her on fire: Accordingly, the Officer and his Men landed, and ſome Time after they landed the Ship was ſeen in a Blaze. The Officer returned to the Squadron, and it was ſuppoſed, that he had done nothing but his Duty. But ſome Time after, it began to be whiſpered among the Men, that the Ship might have been eaſily got off, being a ſtrong new Ship; but that the Officer had plundered her privately of a great deal of Money and Jewels, and had then ſet her on fire to conceal the Theft he had committed. Upon this he was called before a Court-martial, the Fact was fully proved, but the Court could paſs no Sentence, nor inflict any Puniſhment; tho' he highly deſerved Death for depriving his Country of ſuch an uſeful and valuable Prize.

In theſe and many other ſuch Caſes, Sir, all that the Court-martial could do, was to report the Facts as fully proved, to the Board of Admiralty; and all that Board could do was to caſhier the Officer, a Puniſhment generally too mild for the Crime committed. It muſt therefore be allowed, that in the Act of 1661, there are a great many Defects; and, indeed, I am no Way ſurpriſed at that Act's being in ſo many Reſpects deficient, when I conſider with what Precipitancy it was paſſed; for by the Journals, I find, that it was but a few Days under Conſideration in the other Houſe, and much fewer in this.

I hope, Sir, I have now ſhewn to the Satisfaction even of the noble Lord himſelf, that a new Law is neceſſary for the right Government of his Majeſty's Navy and Ships of War. It is what has been long wanted, and loudly called for, by all thoſe of my Acquaintance that have any Concern with the Navy. If there be any Defects or Imperfections in the Bill now before us, I will ſay, they are not owing to thoſe that had firſt the Care of drawing it up. The Bill has certainly undergone ſeveral Alterations, I will not ſay Amendments, in the other Houſe, but thoſe Alterations were not agreed to with a View to gain any popular Applauſe or Favour. Many of them were ſubmitted to thro' Neceſſity, not Choice; for when a Law muſt have the Approbation of a popular Aſſembly before it can be eſtabliſhed, the Promoters of it muſt depart from ſeveral of their firſt Opinions, and give up ſeveral Clauſes they may think right, in order to obtain the Approbation of that Aſſembly; and however much the noble Lord may deſpiſe popular Applauſe, or popular Favour, while we retain our Liberties, it muſt be courted, and indeed ought to be courted, as far as may not be abſolutely inconſiſtent with Juſtice and publick Good.

I ſhould now, Sir, anſwer the Objections made by the noble Lord againſt the Bill, but as the Objections he made, were not againſt the general Scope or Frame of the Bill, but only againſt ſome particular Clauſes, and as thoſe Clauſes may be amended in the Committee, if the Objections ſhould be there found to have any Weight, I ſhall ſuſpend what I have to ſay in anſwer to thoſe Objections, till you go into a Committee on the Bill, when I hope to ſhew, that none of them have any ſolid Foundation; for which Reaſon I ſhall now conclude with this general Obſervation, That the Salvation of every Thing that can be dear to us depends now, more than ever, upon our Navy, that the Diſcipline of the Navy cannot be preſerved without lodging a Power in Courts-martial ſufficient for that Purpoſe, and that we may extend this Power with the more Freedom, becauſe as Parliaments muſt now be annual, if any Court-martial ſhould make a bad Uſe of the Powers they are intruſted with, the Members thereof may the very next Seſſion be ſeverely puniſhed by an Inquiry and Proſecution in Parliament, which is a Check, that will, I believe, effectually keep them within the Bounds of their Duty.

To this C. CLAUDIUS NERO replied in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

I was glad to hear the noble Lord expreſs a Regard for the Admiral who, as he ſays, had probably a Share in drawing up the Navy-bill, which was paſſed into a Law in 1661. In my Opinion, that Admiral had not only a Share, but the chief Share in drawing up that Bill. The Clerks of Parliament might perhaps be employed to dreſs it up into a Form, but the whole Subſtance of it, I am convinced, was dictated by him, becauſe he was not only the moſt capable, but the Admiral in the greateſt Favour at that Time, and moſt juſtly in the greateſt Favour, for he was eſteemed by all Mankind, and never blamed by any but that unfortunate Prince, the then Duke of *York*, whoſe Conduct afterwards ſhewed, that he was as bad a Judge of Meaſures as of Men.

After having done this Juſtice, Sir, to the Admiral, I ſhall next endeavour to do Juſtice to his Offſpring, I mean the Law, which we are now going to expunge out of our Records; and this I ſhall do by making ſome Remarks upon what the noble Lord has been pleaſed to charge as Defects in that Law, which I ſhall ſhew to be either no Defects, or ſuch as ought to be charged to Miſconduct, or the Ignorance of Courts-martial, and not to the Law. The pretended Defect relating to Spies, is ſo far from being a Defect, that it is a Proof of the Virtue of the Draughtſmen and Promoters of that Law. They had ſuch a Regard for the Conſtitution of their Country and the Liberties of their

Fellow-ſubjects as to think, that no military Court ought to have Juriſdiction over any but ſuch as were in military Service; and therefore they confined the Power of Courts-martial, even with reſpect to Spies, to thoſe that were in Service and Pay. Can this Reſtriction ever be attended with any Inconvenience to the Service? No Man can be a Spy on-board our Fleet, unleſs he be in Service and Pay, becauſe none but ſuch ought to be admitted on-board, when there is Danger to be apprehended from any Diſcovery, either of their Strength or Deſigns; and if a Man, in no Service or Pay, ſhould be taken up as a Spy in any of our Sea-port Towns, ſurely he ought to be tried by our common Law-courts, and not by a Court-martial, eſpecially if he be a Subject of *Great-Britain*; but now, it ſeems, in order to enable Courts-martial to puniſh Spies, we are to ſubject every *Britiſh* Subject to the Danger of being kidnapped or ſeduced on-board a Man of War, and there tried by a Court-martial, for being a Spy, or for endeavouring to corrupt the Sailors to betray their Truſt.

Then, Sir, with regard to Crimes or Offences committed on ſhore, by Officers or Seamen in actual Service and Pay. In this too the Legiſlators of 1661, ſhewed a due Regard to the Conſtitution and Liberties of their Country; nor can this Regard ever be detrimental to the Sea Service; for when Part of the Crew of a Ship or Squadron are employed on ſhore, in any Service neceſſary for the ſame, they muſt return on-board as ſoon as that Service is performed, otherwiſe they may be tried and puniſhed by a Court-martial for Deſertion. Can we ſuppoſe, Sir, that a Sailor will venture to diſobey, much leſs abuſe or beat his Officer, on ſhore, when he knows, that he muſt preſently return again on-board, and remain there, perhaps, for many Months, under the abſolute Command of that Officer? It is not poſſible to ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing, and accordingly we find, that after ſo many Years Experience, there has never been any ſuch Complaint. The Danger of the Service ſuffering by the Want of any ſuch Power in Courts-martial, muſt, therefore, be altogether imaginary; and ſurely we ought not to give up the Liberties of the Subject, for the ſake of guarding againſt imaginary Dangers.

Beſides, Sir, if this were a Defect in the Law of 1661, it can be no Reaſon for a new Law, becauſe it is already ſufficiently, and I think more than ſufficiently provided for by the Law of the 6th of the late King; and one of my chief Objections againſt the Bill now before us ariſes from its extending the Juriſdiction of Courts-martial to Offences committed on the Shore even here in *Great-Britain*, which I cannot but look on as a Beginning to incroach upon the Common-law; and in ſuch Caſes *principiis obſta* is a Maxim I ſhall always obſerve.

As little do I think it a Defect in the Law of 1661, to enact generally, that whoever ſhall yield or cry for Quarter, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch Puniſhment as the Offence deſerveth; becauſe, Sir, in all ſuch Caſes, Neceſſity is tacitly excepted; but by enacting thus generally, you throw the Proof of the Neceſſity upon the Officer who yields up his Ship to the Enemy; whereas by enacting, as you have done in this Bill, that the Perſon who treacherouſly or cowardly yields, or cries for Quarter, ſhall ſuffer Death, you load the Crown or Proſecutor with the Proof of that Treachery or Cowardice, which, I believe, in moſt Caſes will be found very difficult. This is, therefore, creating inſtead of ſupplying a Defect; and if any new War ſhould enſue, I ſhall expect to hear of Officers yielding up their Ships in a cowardly Manner, without meeting with that Puniſhment they juſtly deſerve: While on the other hand, no Man can pretend, that ever any Officer ſuffered for the Loſs of his Ship, if he proved, that he defended her gallantly and to the laſt Extremity.

What was mentioned by the noble Lord relating to the Goods on-board a Ship taken as Prize, I muſt likewiſe think, Sir, to be very far from being a Defect. A Caſe of Neceſſity is there alſo underſtood to be tacitly excepted; and, I think, it is better to leave it to be implied than to have it expreſſed; for here likewiſe it may make a very material Difference as to the Proof: Upon the old Law the Accuſation run for taking ſuch Goods out of ſuch a Prize-ſhip, and the Accuſer was only obliged to prove that they were taken out: The Officer alledged, in his Defence, that they were taken out through Neceſſity, becauſe the Ship was in Danger of ſinking, or the like, and this he was obliged to prove. Whereas, by the Clauſe or Article as it is now worded by this Bill, the Accuſation, I fear, muſt run, that the Goods were taken out of the Prize-ſhip without any Neceſſity; and unleſs the Accuſer can bring ſome Sort of Proof, that there was no Neceſſity for ſuch taking out, he will not be able to ſupport his Accuſation, or to oblige the Officer to bring any Proof of the Neceſſity he was under. In this reſpect, therefore, if there be any Difference between the old Law and the Law now propoſed, it is in Favour of the old Law; becauſe by the old Law no dutiful Officer can ſuffer, but by the new Law, if interpreted as I have ſuggeſted, a very undutiful Officer may eſcape Puniſhment.

Another Defect, Sir, which I can think no Defect at all, is that the noble Lord was pleaſed to exclaim againſt as a Scandal to the Nation, and a Reproach to the Legiſlature; and by which, he ſaid, that Leave ſeemed to be given to our Sailors, to maltreat a brave, but unfortunate Enemy. I am as much for treating ſuch an Enemy with Generoſity and Humanity, as any Man can be; but in all Caſes, I think, except where a Ship makes no Reſiſtance, this ought to be left to the Diſcretion of our Officers and Seamen, or at leaſt of the crown. I do not think we ought to make a ſtanding Law for preventing the Crew of an Enemy's Ship from being ſtripped or pillaged, unleſs all the Nations we can ever have any War with, would agree to eſtabliſh the ſame Sort of Law with reſpect to us. It may be right to prevent, by a ſtanding Law, the Crew of an Enemy's Ship that makes no Reſiſtance, from being ſtripped, pillaged, or any way ill uſed, becauſe it will be an Inducement to make no Reſiſtance when they have little or no Hopes of eſcaping; but in all other Caſes our Seamen ought to have a Liberty, at leaſt, to treat an Enemy when taken, in the ſame Manner that Enemy treats them when taken; and therefore I muſt think, that by the Bill now before us, we are marring inſtead of mending the Law of 1661.

As to the ſeveral other pretended Defects in that Law, Sir, they appear to be ſuch either from our own Miſconduct, or the Ignorance of our Courts-martial, or rather our Judge-advocate. When an Admiral dies, or is removed, I know, that he who ſucceeds in the Command, cannot call a Court-martial without a new Commiſſion; nor can an Admiral, who detaches a Part of his Squadron, give a Commiſſion to the Commander of that Detachment to hold Courts-martial; but both theſe Inconveniences proceed from the Form of the Commiſſion: And as ſuch Commiſſions are not of any ancient Date: As the Power of granting them is not by the common Law or Preſcription, but proceeds entirely from the Statute of 1661; and as the Words of that Statute do not preſcribe any particular Form, I do not ſee, why the Lords of the Admiralty may not alter the Form without an Act of Parliament; for if the Commiſſion were directed to the Admiral of ſuch a Squadron, or any Perſon ſucceeding him in the Command thereof, and his Deputy or Deputies, both theſe Inconveniencies would be prevented.

As to the Inconvenience ariſing from no Man's having a Power to call a Court-martial, though a Number of his Majeſty's Ships ſhould meet together in any foreign Port, it may be eaſily remedied by giving ſuch a Commiſſion to the ſenior Captain upon every foreign Station; and as to Cruelties and Barbarities exerciſed by Officers on-board, they may be puniſhed by Proſecutions at common Law, as ſoon as the Ship arrives at any Port within his Majeſty's Dominions, to which, I think, they ought to be left expoſed, leſt they ſhould be encouraged by the Favour of the Officers upon the Bench of a Court-martial, to their Brother Officer at the Bar.

Laſtly, Sir, as to the falſe Muſters, and every Fraud that can be committed by Officers or Seamen in his Majeſty's Service, they may, I think, be ſufficiently puniſhed by our Courts-martial, if ſuch Courts will but make uſe of the Power given them by ſome of the Articles of War in the Act of 1661, eſpecially the 33d Article thereby eſtabliſhed. For example, if I had been upon a Court-martial to try the Officer who burnt the 74 Gun Ship, in the Manner mentioned by the noble Lord, I ſhould have made no

Difficulty to find him guilty of a Breach of the 26th Article of War, which inflicts the Puniſhment of Death upon any one that ſhall willingly ſet fire to a Ship not appertaining to an Enemy; for that Ship did not, at the Time he ſet fire to her, belong to an Enemy, but was by Law the Property of the Squadron or Ship he belonged to. But when Courts-martial are compoſed of Men who have as little Judgment, as they have Knowledge of Law, and directed by a Judge-advocate in both reſpects as deficient as themſelves, I do not wonder at their extending their Power ſometimes farther than they ought, and at other Times not ſo far as they may.

The laſt of theſe two Failings is, however, the leaſt dangerous, and that which, I believe, they will be moſt ſeldom guilty of. For this Reaſon, Sir, I am againſt extending their Power; for I ſhall always chuſe rather, that Courts-martial, either by Sea or Land, ſhould now and then be obliged to extend their Power farther than the Strictneſs of Law will admit of, and plead the Neceſſity of the Service for their Excuſe, than that they ſhould be enabled by Law to extend their Power farther than is conſiſtent with the Safety of the Lives or Liberties of the Subject.

Having now, Sir, done Juſtice to the Law of 1661, as well as to the great Admiral who was the Adviſer and Promoter of it, I muſt obſerve, that the ſhort Time it required, in paſſing through both Houſes of Parliament, is rather an Argument in its Favour than againſt it. When a Law is wiſely concerted, well digeſted, and ſkilfully drawn up, it paſſes quickly through both Houſes, becauſe it meets with no Oppoſition, and requires very few Amendments. If any wrong Head oppoſes or offers an Amendment, his Objections, or Arguments, are preſently anſwered to the Satisfaction of the Houſe: He is deſerted by his Friends, and his Amendment rejected, which diſcourages any new Objection or Amendment. But when an unneceſſary or imperfect Bill is brought into ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, it preſently creates an Oppoſition, ſome right Amendment is offered, this Amendment is agreed to, and this is an Encouragement to every Man to offer his Amendment. Some are rejected, many approved, every one occaſions a Debate, and thus the Bill happens to be hung up for ſeveral Weeks in each Houſe of Parliament. Whether this will be the Fate of the Bill now before us, I do not know: It has been, I think, above nine Weeks in the other Houſe: How long it will be in this, I cannot foretel; but as many of the Clauſes, in my Opinion, ſtill ſtand in need of Amendments, it muſt yet remain ſeveral Days in this Houſe, if you reſolve to paſs it into a Law; and as I think the Bill quite unneceſſary, and incapable of being made a good one, I ſhall not give myſelf or you the trouble to propoſe any Amendment."

The Advocates for this Act endeavoured to recommend their Propoſal to the Public, by a Pamphlet publiſhed under the Name of a Sea Officer, who begins his Performance thus: "The Multiplicity of Laws relating to the Sea Service, having been found to be attended with many Inconveniences, it hath been thought expedient to reduce them into one; and a Bill for that Purpoſe lies now before the Houſe of Commons, intitled, (as above.)

This Bill having been ſome time ſince printed, the better to enable all Perſons to judge and adviſe in ſo important a Matter, occaſion has thence been taken, to repreſent ſome Parts of it, as intended to veſt an unprecedented and tyrannical Power in the Lords of the Admiralty, and as ſubjecting all Officers, more particularly thoſe upon Half-pay, to a Degree of Slavery hitherto unknown to our Conſtitution. This hath given Umbrage to ſeveral Sea-officers, who thereupon petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the Mitigation of ſome of its Clauſes, requeſting more eſpecially that the 34th Article might be left out, and the 33d more fully explained.

Theſe Articles are as follow:

Art. 33. *If any Flag-officer, Captain, or Commander, or Lieutenant belonging to the Fleet, ſhall be convicted before a Court-martial of behaving in a manner unbecoming the Character of an Officer, he ſhall be diſmiſſed from his Majeſty's Service.*

Article 34, as it ſtood at firſt in the Bill:

All the Half-pay Officers belonging to his Majeſty's Navy, ſhall be ſubject to Diſcipline and Command, when the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral, ſhall require their Service and Attendance.

Art. 34, as it was amended, and the Amendment ſhewn to the Officers when they petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty:

All Half-pay Officers belonging to his Majeſty's Navy, when ordered upon Service by the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral for the time being, ſhall, in caſe of their Diſobedience to ſuch Commands, be liable to be tried and puniſhed by a Court-martial, in ſuch manner as the ſaid Court ſhall judge meet, according to the Nature and Degree of the Offence.

This Amendment did not ſatisfy the Officers, and therefore they petitioned the Houſe of Commons to be heard by Council againſt the Bill; which, the Author ſays, raiſed great Prepoſſeſſions without Doors againſt it; and that to examine the Foundation of theſe, it was neceſſary to explain the Origin of granting Half-pay, the Motives for doing it, and the Conditions with which it hath been always attended.

The allowing of Half-pay to Sea-officers, he ſays, was firſt introduced in the Reign of King *Charles* II. was originally granted only to Flag-officers, and was ſome Years extended to the Commanders of firſt and ſecond Rate Ships. But in 1693, it was reſolved by King *William* in Council, that the Sea-pay of the Flag-officers, Commanders, Lieutenants, Maſters, and Surgeons of the Navy, ſhould be twice as much as it had been; and that the entire old Pay (which was conſequently half the increaſed Pay) ſhould in time of Peace be continued to ſuch of thoſe Officers as were within the Deſcription of that Order of Council, upon this expreſs Condition, that they ſhould be ready at all times to obey ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from the Lord High-admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing that Office for the time being.

However, ſays the Author, this Order of Council being made during the War, it could not take place immediately: And when the Peace was concluded, it became neceſſary to reconſider it. Accordingly I find, that in the Year 1698, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty preſented to the Lords Juſtices in Council a Draught of a new Eſtabliſhment both for Full-pay and Half pay; which Draught having been (as it ſhould ſeem) laid before the Houſe of Commons, they addreſſed the King, that he would be pleaſed to take into Conſideration, and ſettle the ſaid Eſtabliſhment. And it was accordingly confirmed by his Majeſty in Council, *April* 18, 1700.

This ſeems to have been the firſt Regulation of this kind in which the Parliament interfered, and therefore it appears to be the moſt authentic Declaration of the Intention of the Public in granting Half-pay, and of the Duty incumbent on thoſe who receive it; ſince upon this Draught, and the Eſtimate which attended it, the neceſſary Sums for ſupporting it were granted by the Commons.

This Regulation, with regard to Half-pay, begins with obſerving, "That it will be much for his Majeſty's Service, and for the Safety of the Kingdom, to have always a competent Number of Sea officers ſupported on-ſhore, who may be within Reach to anſwer any ſudden or emergent Occaſions;" and therefore propoſes, that there be nine Flag-officers, 50 Captains, 100 Lieutenants, and 30 Maſters, conſtantly paid in the Manner there ſpecified. It farther directs, "That all Officers entitled to Half-pay, ſhall, at all times, be ready to obey ſuch Orders as they ſhall receive from the Board; to which End they are to tranſmit an Account, from time to time, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, of the Places of their reſpective Habitations, that ſo, when his Majeſty's Service requires their Attendance, they may the more readily be called thereunto."

By an Order of Council made in the Year 1715, this Eſtabliſhment of Half-pay of the Year 1700, was extended to all the Captains and Lieutenants which were then unprovided for: But ſtill under the ſame Injunctions to them, as before, to keep themſelves, at all times, ready to receive the Commands of the Admiralty; the Articles relating thereto being copied *verbatim* from thoſe of the Year 1700.

From this Account of the Half-pay, he argues, that Half-pay Officers were always obliged to be ready at a Call, and that even the common Law would perhaps be open againſt one that ſhould refuſe to ſerve when called upon; ſo that the ſaid 34th Article of the Bill was not to create a new Species of Offence, but to appoint the Method of Trial for an old one; and by this Method the Power of the Lords of the Admiralty was rather abridged than extended; ſince by referring the Matter to the Judgment of a Court-martial, it ſhould ſeem as if they gave up their hitherto unqueſtioned Right of ſtriking the Offender off the Liſt of Officers on Half-pay.

The Author then proceeds to ſhew the Neceſſity of this Article, by obſerving, that as our Fleet is our great Security, we ought to be continually provided with a ſufficient Number of able and experienced Sea-officers; but that after a long Peace we may, upon the breaking out of a War, find ourſelves abſolutely unprovided; becauſe Engagements on-ſhore, and new Habits of Life, might inſenſibly ſteal upon our Sea-officers, and might, without any Imputation on their Spirit or Courage, divert them from the Thoughts of a Profeſſion, which they conſidered themſelves at liberty to abandon when they pleaſed. Whereas, ſhould this 34th Article paſs into a Law, we ſhall not only be ſecured of the Service of thoſe who receive the public Pay in time of Peace, but we ſhall have them likewiſe readier, experter, and more preſent to their Profeſſion; becauſe the Neceſſity of ſerving when called for, will oblige them to make their Profeſſion the continual Subject of their Thoughts, and thereby prevent their forgetting the Skill they have acquired.

If it ſhould be urged, ſays the Author, that many of theſe Gentlemen may hereafter be ſo far incapacitated by Age, or by their former Wounds and Fatigues, that it would be Inhumanity to expect their Service; and yet through the Pique of ſome powerful Enemy they may, for this very Reaſon, be called on, he anſwers, That this Objection is much ſtronger at preſent, ſince now the Admiralty have an unqueſtioned Right to order any Half-pay Officer on Service, and to ſtrike him off the Liſt of Half-pay, if he diſobeys, and perhaps to proceed to farther Extremities: Whereas, if ſuch Diſobedience were to be tried by a Court-martial, every excuſe of Age, Sickneſs, or domeſtic Engagements, would doubtleſs have its full Force; ſince the Severity of Courts-martial to their Brother-officers hath as yet been rarely heard of.

Upon the whole then, ſays he, it may be affirmed, with great Truth, that this 34th Article, although oppoſed with ſuch Vehemence, does not place the Half-pay Officer in a worſe Situation than what he now ſtands in; that inſtead of increaſing, it rather diminiſhes the Power of the Lords of the Admiralty, and by ſecuring the Service of the veteran Commanders to the Public, it ſeems to be extremely neceſſary for the Honour of the Fleet, and the Safety of the Nation.

The Author then proceeds to a ſhort Examination of the 33d Article, and ſays, that in the Courſe of the late War ſeveral Enormities had been committed by Commanders of Ships, ſuch as Fraud, Cruelty, and many Inſtances of a ſimilar Nature, which were ſuppoſed not to be cogniſable by Courts-martial, becauſe not explicitly deſcribed in the Articles of War; and that for this Reaſon it was thought expedient to inſert this Article in the Bill. Therefore, ſays he, I ſhall now finiſh theſe Remarks with obſerving, that though the defending Mankind againſt the Attempts of arbitrary Power and Tyranny is, of all human Actions, the moſt beneficent and honourable; yet the ſupporting the Intereſts and extending the Immunities of private Bodies of Men, in oppoſition to the public Utility and the Safety of the Nation, is an Undertaking of a far different Kind: And, whatever name it may be diſguiſed under, is, in its Nature, much nearer allied to Tyranny than to Patriotiſm.

To this Pamphlet there were two Anſwers publiſhed; one, intitled, *A Detection of the Conſiderations on the Navy-Bill, by a Seaman.*

The Author of this Pamphlet begins with Objections to the whole of the Navy-bill, as being calculated to give the Board of Admiralty a Power to enſlave and ruin, at pleaſure, every one within its Reach; after which, he objects againſt ſeveral particular Articles, and then comes to the 34th and 33d; as to the former of which he obſerves, that with reſpect to Sea-officers in Half-pay, it has been the ſettled Method to leave Notes at the Admiralty-office, of the Place of their Reſidence, and when any Commands from that Board were communicated to them, by Meſſage or Letter, they either attended ſuch Commands, or were ſtruck out of the Half-pay Liſt: In this Method no Law was neceſſary; nor indeed ought any to be made about it for three Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe this Rule anſwered all the Ends of a Statute, and executed itſelf. Secondly, becauſe ſuch Law is not reciprocal, unleſs Officers in Half-pay are called upon Duty, and preferred in due Rotation. And, laſtly, becauſe the bringing of the Admiralty Juriſdiction upon the Land, is an Attempt to ſap the Baſis of the Conſtitution, which can admit of no legal Juriſdiction on-ſhore to interfere with the *common Law*.

He afterwards obſerves, that the Rule regarding Half-pay Sea-officers, by the Eſtabliſhment, is clear, rational, and ſelf-executive, as neither the Crime nor the Puniſhment can poſſibly be miſunderſtood; but by this Article it will be otherwiſe; for, ſays he, who in their Senſes ever dreamt of making a Law for the ſubjecting of one or many Men to the pure, ſimple, and abſolute Diſcretion of a Court for uncertain Crimes, under the general Term of Diſobedience, which may mean juſt what the ruling Power pleaſes? If this was common Senſe, how eaſily might this Gentleman reduce our voluminous Laws into one, by only enacting, that whoever diſobeys the Commands of his Superior, ſhall be puniſhed at the Diſcretion of the Court of *King's Bench*. The meaning of Laws, Sir, is, that the Offender can never commit a Crime, but he is aware of the Puniſhment which is ſpecially and notoriouſly before his Eyes, *in terrorem*. So that what this Gentleman by Miſtake calls Law, is abſolute Power; and therefore was ſuch a Thing to be enacted, no Man is obliged to obey it.

He adds a good deal more, to ſhew the Uncertainty of this intended Law, and the many bad Conſequences that may enſue from it; and then he proceeds to conſider the 33d Article, which he ſhews to be liable to the ſame Objection of Uncertainty, and ſays, that the Conſiderer ought to have conſidered, that Frauds and Cruelties are Crimes cogniſable by the common Law, where none that apply ever fail of ſuitable Redreſs; but had not this been the Caſe, why may not theſe or any other Crimes be ſpecified? for the Words *unbecoming an Officer* are vague and uncertain, and the Puniſhment of an Officer, or not, will depend more upon the Intereſt he has in his Judges, than upon the Nature of his Crime; and when Crimes are not aſcertained, what may be eſteemed criminal in one, or at one Court-martial, may not be thought ſo at another.

And afterwards he adds thus: The Conſiderer ought likewiſe to have known, that in Caſes really criminal the Admiralty have a regular Judicature of their own, where Matters of this Nature may be better tried than by a Court-martial; where the civil Law co-operates with the Law of the Land, and where, if any thing of this kind is wanting, it ought to be looked upon as the proper Place of Redreſs.

The other Pamphlet publiſhed upon this Occaſion was intitled, *An Examination and Refutation of the Conſiderations, by a real Sea-officer*; and the Author, after a ſhort Account of the Application made by the Sea-officers, firſt to the Admiralty, and then to the Houſe of Commons, examines the Poſition laid down by the Conſiderer, that the Admiralty will not, by the 34th Article, acquire any new Powers, nor the Officer ſuffer any new Subjection; as to which he obſerves, that both the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Officers who applied to them, were certainly of a different Opinion, otherwiſe the latter would never have made any ſuch Application, and the former, out of pure Complaiſance, would have agreed to their Requeſt of having this Article left out of the Bill.

The Author then proceeds to ſhew, that the Admiralty will by this Article acquire a new and a very dangerous

Power, which is that of forcing a Half-pay Officer upon an improper Service. Upon this he ſhews, that the Admiralty have now ſufficient Power to make a Half-pay Officer accept of any Service that is conſiſtent with his Honour and his Duty; but have not, indeed, Power ſufficient to force him upon any Service that is not, eſpecially if he be one that can ſubſiſt without his Half-pay: Whereas, ſhould this Article paſs into a Law, they will acquire a Power to compel any Half-pay Officer to go upon any Service they command, let it be never ſo improper; becauſe they have the appointing who ſhall be his Judges in a Court-martial, and thoſe Judges have a Power to inflict what Puniſhment they pleaſe upon his Diſobedience. From whence the Author concludes, not only, that the Admiralty will acquire new Powers, but alſo that all Half-pay Officers will be brought under not only a new but an inſufferable Subjection.

Then he examines the Expediency of this new Law, as to which he aſks, Can any thing be ſaid to be expedient to be done, that never was yet found neceſſary, nor for which the leaſt reaſonable Foundation appears at preſent to think it ever will be neceſſary? Has it in the Courſe of this long War, in which the utmoſt Strength of our naval Power has been exerted, at any time appeared, that the Admiralty's Summons has been inſufficient to procure the Services of the Half-pay Officers, or if one has excuſed himſelf, has there not been ten to ſupply his Place? In the time of the late Rebellion, did they not throng to the Admiralty to be employed in any way or manner their Lordſhips thought fit to direct them? Are there not many Captains now to be called upon, who have ſolicited Commands for a conſiderable Time together, and for whom no Room was found? If this then ſhould be the Caſe, where is the Neceſſity for Laws to compel, where Compulſion has not been found neceſſary?

It was reſolved in the next Seſſions of Parliament, to employ only 10,000 Seamen for the Year 1750; and that for their Maintenance, including the Ordnance for the Sea-ſervice, there ſhould be granted 52,000 *l.* It was alſo reſolved, that there ſhould be allowed 293,625 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay for Sea-officers.

In the Year 1750, there came early Advice that there had been ſigned a Treaty between Commodore *Holbourn*, authorized by Mr. *Grenville* Governor of *Barbadoes* for that Purpoſe, and the Marquis *de Caylus*, for the reciprocal Evacuation of the Iſland of *Tobago*, and for the immediate Demolition of the Forts raiſed by the *French* on that Iſland. A Copy of this Treaty arrived at the Duke of *Bedford*'s Office on the 5th of *January*[a].

On the 18th of the ſaid Month Captain *Charles Holmes* was honourably acquitted at a Court-martial held at *Deptford* on a Charge of bad Conduct, and Breach of Orders, Diſobedience to Signals, and of not doing his utmoſt againſt the *Spaniſh* Squadron in an Engagement off the *Havannah* on *October* 1, 1748, exhibited againſt him by Admiral *Knowles*.

The Lords of the Admiralty on the 20th received a Letter from the Honourable Rear-admiral *Boſcawen*, dated at *Fort St. David*'s the 20th of *April* laſt, giving an Account, that a Storm of Wind came on at N. N. W. in the Night of the 12th of the ſame Month, which continued all the next Day, but the Height of it was between Eight at Night on the 13th, and Two the next Morning, ſhifting all around to the Eaſtward till it came to South, where it ended: That in the ſaid Storm his Majeſty's Ships the *Namur* of 74 Guns, and *Pembroke* of 60 Guns, were intirely loſt, with almoſt all their People, there being only two Midſhipmen and 24 Men out of thoſe who were on-board the former, and 12 from the latter ſaved by ſwimming a-ſhore from the Wrecks. Of the former about 40, with the Admiral, Captain *Marſhal*, &c. were happily on-ſhore and on duty, and near 70 ſick at the Hoſpital. That the *Namur* foundered, and the *Pembroke* was loſt on a Place called *Calderon-Ledge*, a little to the Southward of *Porto-Novo*: That he had luckily the Day before ſent his Majeſty's Ships *Tartar*, *Apollo*, *Dealcaſtle*, *Swallow*, and *Edgbaſton Eaſt-India* Ship, to a Place called *Davacota*, to the Southward of *Porto-Novo*; but they being at Sea, and more to the Southward, are all ſaved, and returned to *Fort St. David*, though without their Maſts, and in a moſt miſerable ſhattered Condition, except the *Apollo* of 40 Guns, which Ship was not heard of, and he was greatly apprehenſive ſhe was likewiſe loſt, with all her People on-board, being 350. That at the time the Storm began there were in that Road, beſides his Majeſty's Ships afore-mentioned, the *Lincoln* and *Winchelſea*, *Eaſt-India* Ships; the *St. Francis* Tender, and 19 Country-ſhips and Veſſels, every one of which was loſt, but their Crews almoſt all in general happily ſaved, as they drove on-ſhore; the *St. Francis* went to Sea at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, but had not been heard of ſince: That the Number drowned in the *Namur* was 520, including the firſt, ſecond, and fourth Lieutenants, Maſter, Gunner, and two Lieutenants of Marines; and in the *Pembroke* about 330, among whom were the Captain, and all the Officers, except the Captain of Marines and Purſer, who were aſhore with Leave.

He farther gave an Account, that the *French* had been likewiſe Sharers in that Calamity, having loſt two Ships and ſeveral Veſſels at *Pondicherry*, and two more Ships at *Madraſs*, which were all they had on the Coaſt; and there were eleven Country-veſſels foundered in *St. Thorme* Road: That nothing had eſcaped the Storm that was at Anchor any where nigh *Fort St. David*; and that all along the Coaſt was the moſt terrible and ſhocking Scene that could be imagined, the Sea and Shore being covered with Wrecks and dead Bodies.

March 1, the Courts-martial ended at *Deptford* on the ſeveral Captains accuſed by Rear-admiral *Knowles*, and Sentence was paſſed on Capt. *Digby Dent*, as follows, viz.

The Court, purſuant to an Order from the Right Hon. the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiral to Sir *Edward Hawke*, dated *Feb.* 16, 1749, proceeded to inquire into the Conduct and Behaviour of Capt. *Digby Dent*, in an intended Attack upon the Port of *St. Jago de Cuba*, on *March* 29, 1748; and having heard the Witneſſes produced, and maturely conſidered their Evidence, the Court are unanimouſly of Opinion, that Capt. *Digby Dent* is not blameable for his Conduct, in not attempting to force the Port of *St. Jago*, conſidering the unexpected Obſtacle that preſented itſelf upon his drawing near the Mouth of the Harbour: And the Court do therefore hereby unanimouſly acquit him of any Blame upon that Account.

On the 16th of *April* Rear-admiral *Boſcawen* arrived at *Portſmouth* with part of his Squadron from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The Managers of the Act for encouraging the Herring Fiſhery, paſt in the Year 1749, were about this time preparing to carry that grand and important Deſign into Execution; building Buſſes and making of Nets[b], &c. and received the firſt Produce of their Labour on the 5th of *July*.

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[a] Extract of a Letter from Barbadoes, March 14. About a Month ago arrived here Expreſs from England, the Jamaica Sloop of War, Captain Galbreath, Commander, with Diſpatches for our Governor, which are ſaid to contain Orders from the French King to M. Caylus, to ſee the Iſlands of St. Lucia, Domingo, St. Vincent, and Tobago, evacuated with all poſſible Expedition. Upon which, as ſoon as Preparations were made by our Men of War here, Mr. Holbourne, our Commodore, wiith the Roſe, Captain Bladwell, and the Jamaica Sloop, Captain Galbreath, ſailed for Martinico. At their Arrival there, a Boat was ſent off to forbid their landing; whereupon the Commodore ſent his Diſpatches on-ſhore by his Secretary and Captain Bladwell, charging them to inquire the Reaſon why they were not permitted to land; and they were anſwered, that it was by Order of M. de Caylus, who was then gone to ſome diſtant Part of the Iſland (as was pretended, for it is now well known he was actually on the Spot) but that they ſhould have their Anſwer in 12 Hours. The Anſwer accordingly came, and that was to depart, M. de Caylus having no Orders from his Maſter about Evacuations. Our Commodore then hoiſted his Flag on-board the Sloop for the greater Expedition back, and left the Taviſtock to follow; which Ship touched at St. Lucia by the way, but was ordered by the French to depart in 12 Hours, which ſhe accordingly did. It is very ſurpriſing, that the French King ſhould ſign an Inſtrument for the Evacuation of thoſe Places, and that the Governor of Martinico ſhould not yet be acquainted with it. I muſt confeſs myſelf at a loſs to reconcile this Oddity in Politics, any otherwiſe than by the following Circumſtance: That M. de Caylus having, as is ſaid, large Poſſeſſions in thoſe Places, is gaining time to reap his Crop, it being now the Height of their Harveſt. If theſe Shufflings, and this Diſreſpect to the Britiſh Flag, ſhould not be reſented at home in a proper Manner, we may bid adieu to our Sugar-colonies.

[b] The Subſtance of the Act of Parliament, intitled, An Act for the Encouragement of the BRITISH WHITE HERRING FISHERY, made in the Year 1749.—1. From the paſt Miſcarriages that have attended many Joint-ſtock excluſive trading Companies, the Parliament have, in their great Wiſdom, been pleaſed to impower his Majeſty to grant Letters Patent to an incorporated Society, under the Name of THE FREE BRITISH FISHERY, who

In the Month of *May* Admiral *Stuart* was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet in the room of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, deceaſed.

The Parliament, in the Beginning of this Year, paſſed an Act for extending and improving the Trade to *Africa*: On the Day after the ſecond reading of the Bill, a Petition of the *African* Company was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth their Property in the Forts and Fortifications on the *African* Coaſt, and offering to ſurrender the ſame together with their Charter, on condition, that the Houſe would grant them 180,000 *l.* or an Annuity for the ſame, at the Rate of 3 *l.* per cent. per ann. redeemable by Parliament, to commence from *March* 31, and ſubject in the firſt Place to the Payment of the Company's juſt Debts, within a time to be limited, the Surplus to belong to the Proprietors of the Stock, in proportion to their reſpective Shares. And at the ſame time a Petition of their Creditors was preſented to the Houſe and read, relying upon the Goodneſs of the Houſe to provide for their Payment.

Both theſe Petitions were referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe, in which it was ſaid, that the Public ought not to pay the Company any more than the preſent Value of their Forts and Settlements, according to the Survey thereof to be made. On the other hand, it was inſiſted, that in Juſtice and Equity the Public was indebted to the Company in a greater Sum than what they now demanded; for thoſe Forts and Settlements ſhould have been purchaſed by the Public the Moment the Trade was laid open, and ſhould from that time have been ſupported at the public Expence; but ſo hardly had the Company been dealt with, that in the Year 1698, the Trade was laid open by Act of Parliament, without allowing them any Conſideration for their Forts or Settlements, or any thing towards the future Support thereof, but a Duty which never was, nor ever could be collected; nor were they from that time to the Year 1730, ever allowed any thing by the Public for the Support of their Forts and Fortifications upon the Coaſt of *Africa*; and if they have exhauſted their Capital, and run themſelves in debt, firſt by erecting thoſe Forts, and afterwards by ſupporting them, the Public ought in Juſtice and Equity to make it good; for from what the *French* have lately done upon the Gum-coaſt, it is plain they or the *Dutch*, or both, would have uſurped an excluſive Privilege of trading to the whole Coaſt of *Africa*, if our Company had not erected and ſupported Forts and Garriſons upon that Coaſt; and as the Company ſupported them for 31 Years after the Benefit of their excluſive Privilege was taken from them, if we compute their Expence at 10,000 *l.* a Year, the leaſt it was ever rated at, we muſt admit, that the Public owes them 310,000 *l.* without allowing any thing for Intereſt, or for the Expence of erecting thoſe Forts; and ſuppoſing you deduct from this Sum what the Company ever received by means of the Duty impoſed in 1698 upon the ſeparate Traders, the Reſidue will amount to a larger Sum than is now demanded by the Company, as the Price of their Property.

This however did not prevail with the Committee to allow the Company any certain Sum.

In *November* 1750, and not before, arrived at *Whitehall* the definitive Convention between the Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, in this Form:

HIS Majeſty the King of *Spain*, and his Majeſty the King of *Great-Britain*, having expreſſed an equal Deſire to adjuſt the diſputable Points, which, at the Signature of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, remained unſettled, with regard to their reſpective Pretenſions, and to the Commerce of their Subjects; and their ſaid Majeſties being willing to terminate all Things thereto relating by a friendly

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who are not veſted with an excluſive Power of Trade. 2. The Society are impowered to make By-laws. They are to direct what Seals or Marks ſhall be put on every Barrel of Fiſh. The Penalty of counterfeiting ſuch Seals or Marks is 500 *l.* for each Offence, to be recovered in any of his Majeſty's Courts of Record at Weſtminſter, or in the Court of Seſſion in Scotland; the one Moiety to be paid to the ſaid Society, and the other to ſuch as ſhall ſue for the ſame. 3. The Society are impowered to raiſe a Capital Stock of 500,000 *l.* and make Calls for Payments of the Subſcriptions. 4. The Society may ſell the Shares of thoſe who refuſe to pay, after Notice of Call given in the Gazette.—Subſcriptions to be paid into the Bank of England. 5. 3 *l.* per Cent per Annum, for the Sums employed in the Fiſhery, to be paid to the Society for 14 Years. 6. An Account of the ſaid Sums to be given annually to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.—The Account to be atteſted upon Oath. 7. 100,000 *l.* to be employed in the Fiſheries within 18 Months from the Date of the Subſcription. 8. The Accounts to be laid before Parliament. 9. All Loſſes to be made good by the ſucceeding Years Gain, &c. 10. Sums contracted to be paid in ſix Months, deemed to be employed as a capital Stock. 11. No Transfer to be made of the ſaid capital Stock for five Years. 12. Executors and Aſſignees of Bankrupts, &c. may transfer. 13. 30 Shillings per Ton Bounty to be paid out of the Cuſtoms, for decked Veſſels, built for the Fiſheries, after the Commencement of this Act. 14. Every ſuch Buſs employed in the White Herring Fiſheries, that ſhall be intitled to the Bounty of 30 *s.* per Ton, ſhall be decked, built in Great-Britain, and proceed on the ſaid Fiſhery from ſome Port in Great-Britain, manned and navigated, as by the Law now in Force is directed.—See Navigation Act.—Before ſuch Buſs proceed on her Voyage, and is intitled to the Benefit of this Act, ſhe ſhall be viſited by a proper Officer of the Cuſtoms of the Port, who ſhall take an Account of the Tonnage by Admeaſurement, and certify the ſame to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, and that ſhe had ſuch a Quantity of Fiſhing-nets, and other Stores to be uſed in the ſaid Fiſhery as hereafter mentioned, and is otherwiſe a proper Veſſel for the ſaid Fiſhery.—And, upon its appearing, by the Oath of one or more Owner or Owners, or Agent, by them appointed, or of a proper Officer of the Society, and of the Maſter of ſuch Veſſel, written at the Foot of the ſaid Certificate, and made before the Collector and Comptroller of ſuch Port, who are required and impowered to adminiſter the ſame, That it is their determined Reſolution, that ſuch Buſs ſhall proceed reſpectively, ſo manned, and otherwiſe furniſhed, either to Braſſey's Sound in Shetland, and be at the Rendezvous of the ſaid Fiſhery there, on or before the 11th Day of June, and ſhall not ſhoot their Nets before the 13th Day of the ſaid Month, and ſhall continue following and fiſhing among the Shoals of Herrings, as they move, ſouthwards, to the 1ſt of October, or ſhall proceed to Campbeltown in Argyleſhire, and be at the Rendezvous of the ſaid Fiſheries, on or before the 1ſt Day of December, unleſs they ſhall have ſooner compleated their Loading of Fiſh; and ſhall fiſh in a regular Manner with other Veſſels, which ſhall be employed in the ſaid Fiſhery; and ſhall keep a Journal of their Proceedings.—And if, after ſuch Certificate had, and Oath made, ſuch Owner or Owners, or Officer of the ſaid Society, and Maſter of ſuch Buſs, do alſo become bound, with two ſufficient Sureties, unto his Majeſty, in the Penalty of ſuch Sum as ſhall be equal to treble the Bounty, on the Tonnage of his Veſſel, for the faithful Dealing of the ſaid Maſter, and Ship's Company, in regard to the ſaid Veſſel and Voyage, then it ſhall be lawful for the Collector and Comptrollor of ſuch Port to grant, to the Maſter and Owners of ſuch Buſs or Veſſel, full Licence to proceed on ſuch Voyage as aforeſaid. 15. And, to prevent Diſputes which may ariſe, whether a Veſſel be properly qualified for the Herring Fiſhery, according to the Meaning of the Act, and intitled to a Certificate from the Cuſtom-houſe Officers; it is enacted, That every ſuch Veſſel ſhall be a decked Veſſel, built in Great-Britain, after the Commencement of this Act, and ſhall have on-board 12 Wincheſter Buſhels of Salt, for every Laſt of Fiſh which ſuch Veſſel is capable of holding; which Salt ſhall be barrelled up in new Barrels, and as many more new Barrels as ſuch Buſs is capable of carrying, and ſhall have two Fleets of tanned Nets, proper for the Herring Fiſhery.—That every ſuch Buſs or Veſſel, of the Burden of 70 Tons, and deſigned for this Fiſhery, ſhall, on proceeding to Sea, have on-board one Fleet of Nets, each 30 Yards full on the Rope, and 17 Fathoms deep, and ſo in Proportion for any Veſſels of a greater or leſſer Tonnage, and be provided with one other Fleet of 50 like Nets, on-board a Jagger or Tender, which is to attend the ſaid Fiſhery, or left on-ſhore in a proper Place, for the Uſe of the ſaid Buſs. 16. All Veſſels of 20 Tons, to have on-board, at the Rendezvous, not leſs than ſix Men, and every Veſſel of greater Burden ſhall, over and above the ſix Men, have one for every five Tons, which ſhe ſhall exceed 20 Tons. 17. Officers of the Cuſtoms to go on-board every Veſſel at her Return to Great-Britain, to view her Condition and Lading; who is to certify the ſame, with the Tonnage, and Names of the Maſter and Perſons on-board.—The Maſter to make Oath, that his Veſſel was at one of the Places before-mentioned, at the Time appointed by this Act.—Certificates, &c. to be tranſmitted to the Commiſſioners from whence the Veſſel departed,—who are to cauſe Payment to be made to the Owners thereof, after the Rate of 30 *s.* per Ton,—which Bounty of 30 *s.* per Ton, is to be paid yearly for 14 Years. 18. This Act not to exclude any of his Majeſty's Subjects from carrying on the White Herring Fiſhery. 19. Perſons ſubſcribing 10,000 *l.* into the Stock of the Society, under the Name of the Fiſhing-Chamber, and who ſhall carry on the Fiſhery on their own Account of Profit and Loſs, and ſhall ſend their Accounts of Monies expended in the ſaid Fiſhery, atteſted by three of the Committee, and ſigned by the Accomptant of the Chamber, to the Society of London, &c. ſhall be intitled to receive 3 *l.* per Cent. per Annum. 20. Fiſhing-Chambers not to have any Profit, &c. from the Trade of the Society. 21. Receiver-general to pay, yearly, the Sum of 3 *l.* per Cent. to the Society of London, who are to pay over the ſame to the reſpective Fiſhing-Chambers intitled thereto."——Wedneſday 19, 1750. At a General Meeting of the Perſons named in the Act of Parliament for encouraging the Britiſh White Herring Fiſhery, held at the King's-Arms Tavern in Exchange-Alley, on Notice given for that Purpoſe, purſuant to an Order of their Excellencies the Lords of the Regency, the following Liſt of Governor, Preſident, Vice-preſident, and Council, was agreed by a great Majority to be propoſed to the Crown, for Officers to be named in the Charter.——His Royal Highneſs FREDERICK, Prince of Wales, Governor; Slingſby Bethell, Eſq; Preſident; Stephen-Theodore Janſſen, Eſq; Vice-preſident. For the Council; Lieutenant-general Handyſyde, John Edwards, Francis Craieſtyn, Edward Vernon, Robert Bootle, William Northey, George Stevens, Richard Baker, Claude Johnſon, Eſqrs. Sir Nathanael Curzon, Bart. William Davis, Andrew Drummond, Mich. Wilkins Conway, Jonathan Watſon, Eſqrs. Lieutenant general Oglethorpe, George Dunbar, Velters Cornwall, George Dodington, Robert Crammond, Samuel Clarke, Roger Hogg, William Bowden, Eſqrs. Sir Bouchier Wrey, Bart. John Lidderdale, John Turner, Simon Rogers, Charles Raymond, John Vaughan, Francis Gwinn, and George Bowes, Eſqrs. And it was at the ſame time agreed, that Edward Vernon, Eſq; Lieutenant-general Oglethorpe, and Mr. Alderman Janſſen, be deſired to wait on their Excellencies the Lords of the Regency, with the above Liſt of Perſons, to be humbly propoſed to the Crown for Officers to be named in the Charter for the intended Corporation of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery.

ly Compenſation, for that Effect authorized their Miniſters Plenipotentiary, (*Don Joſeph de Carvajal de Lancaſtre*, and *Benjamin Keene*) who, in conſequence of their Inſtructions, have agreed on the following Articles:

I. His *Britannic* Majeſty cedes to his Catholic Majeſty his Right of Enjoyment of the Aſſiento of Negroes, and of the annual Ship, during the four Years, ſtipulated by the 16th Article of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*.

II. His *Britannic* Majeſty, for a Compenſation of 100,000 *l.* Sterling, which his Catholic Majeſty promiſes and engages to pay at *Madrid* or at *London*, to the Royal Aſſiento Company, within the Term of three Months or ſooner, from the Day of the Signature of this Treaty, cedes to his Catholic Majeſty all that might be due to the ſaid Company in any manner, on account of the ſaid Aſſiento; inſomuch that this Compenſation ſhall be eſteemed and regarded as a full and entire Satisfaction on the part of his Catholic Majeſty, and ſhall extinguiſh for the preſent, for the future, and for ever, all Rights, Pretenſions, or Demands, which might be formed in conſequence of the ſaid Aſſiento or annual Ship, directly or indirectly, either on the part of his *Britannic* Majeſty, or on the part of the Company.

III. The Catholic King cedes to his *Britannic* Majeſty all that he might demand, in conſequence of the ſaid Aſſiento and annual Ship, as well with regard to the Articles already liquidated, as thoſe which might be eaſy or difficult to liquidate; ſo that neither on one ſide, nor the other, is ever the leaſt mention to be made thereof.

IV. His Catholic Majeſty conſents, that the *Britiſh* Subjects ſhall pay no greater or other Duties for the Merchandizes which they import or export at the different Ports of his Catholic Majeſty, than thoſe which they paid for the ſame Merchandize in the Time of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, regulated by Schedules and Ordinances of the ſaid King, or of his Predeceſſors: And tho' the *Pie del Fardo* was not founded upon any royal Ordinance, his Catholic Majeſty declares nevertheleſs, that he wills and ordains, that it be obſerved for the preſent and the future as an inviolable Law, and that all the ſaid Duties be levied with the ſame Advantage and Eaſe to the ſaid Subjects.

V. His Catholic Majeſty permits the ſaid Subjects to take Salt in the Iſland of *Tortuga*, without any Moleſtation, as they did in the Time of King *Charles* II.

VI. His Catholic Majeſty conſents, that the ſaid Subjects ſhall not pay any other Duties than thoſe paid by the Subjects of his Catholic Majeſty in the ſame Place.

VII. His Catholic Majeſty grants the ſaid Subjects all the Rights, Privileges, Franchiſes, Exemptions, and Immunities whatſoever, which they enjoyed before the laſt War, in virtue of Schedules or royal Ordinances, by the Articles of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce made at *Madrid* in 1667. The ſaid Subjects ſhall be treated in *Spain* on the ſame Footing with the moſt favoured Nations. In conſequence, no Nation ſhall be rated at leſs Duties for the Merchandize they ſend into or carry out of *Spain* by Land, than the ſaid Subjects pay for ſuch as they import or export by Sea. All the Rights, Privileges, Franchiſes, Exemptions, and Immunities, that are permitted to any Nation, ſhall be granted to the ſaid Subjects; and his *Britannic* Majeſty conſents, that the ſame thing be granted and permitted to the Subjects of *Spain*, in the Kingdoms of his ſaid *Britannic* Majeſty.

VIII. His Catholic Majeſty promiſes to take all the Care poſſible on his Part, to aboliſh all the Innovations, which have appeared to be introduced in the Commerce; and in order to avert them for the future, his *Britannic* Majeſty promiſes likewiſe, on his ſide, to take all poſſible Care to prevent all Innovations of that Kind.

IX. Their Catholic and *Britannic* Majeſties confirm, by the preſent Treaty, that of *Aix la Chapelle*, and all other former Treaties, which are hereby confirmed in all their Articles and Clauſes, excepting ſuch as are derogated by the preſent Treaty; as alſo the Treaty of Commerce concluded at *Utrecht* in 1713, except thoſe Articles, which are found contrary to the preſent Treaty, which become aboliſhed and of no Force, namely, the three Articles of the ſaid Treaty of *Utrecht*, commonly called explanatory.

X. All the reciprocal Differences, Rights, Demands, and Pretenſions, which have ſubſiſted between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Great-Britain*, wherein no other Nation has any Part, Intereſt, or Right of Intervention, being hereby accommodated; the two ſerene Kings mutually engage for the punctual Execution of this Treaty of reciprocal Compenſation, which ſhould be ratified by their ſaid Majeſties, and the Ratifications exchanged within the Term of ſix Weeks from the Day of the Signature hereof, or ſooner if poſſible.

In Faith of which, we, Miniſters Plenipotentiary of his Majeſty the King of *Spain*, and of his Majeſty the King of *Great-Britain*, in virtue of our reſpective full Powers, have ſigned the preſent Treaty, and thereto affixed the Seals of our Arms. At *Madrid*, *Oct.* 5, 1750. Signed,

Don Joſeph de Carvajal de Lancaſtre (L. S.)
Benjamin Keene (L. S.)

In *December* was held a Court-martial at *Chatham* (Vice-admiral *Hawke* Preſident) for the Trial of Rear-admiral *Griffin*, in regard to his Conduct in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which paſſed Sentence on him as follows: *viz.* That he fell under the 27th Article in the 13th of *Charles* II. *viz.* negligently performing the Duty impoſed on him; for which Reaſon they adjudged him to be ſuſpended from his Rank as a Flag-officer during his Majeſty's Pleaſure.——Mr. *Griffin* ſurprized at the Sentence, did not ſpeak for ſome time; but at laſt aſked for a Copy of the Sentence, which was agreed to; and on going off the Quarter-deck, he ſaid, It was a hard Sentence.—The Charge againſt him conſiſted of eight Articles; which, to ſum them together, were for Neglect of Duty, Miſconduct, and miſpending his Time in fruitleſs Councils, inſtead of getting out and engaging the Enemy.

The Parliament, which did not meet till the 17th of *January* 1751, reduced the Number of Seamen to 8000 for this Year, and allowed 41,600 *l.* for their Maintenance, including the Ordnance for Sea-ſervice. They alſo granted 290,302 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea-officers.

They alſo granted 10,000 *l.* for ſupporting the Settlements on the Coaſt of *Africa*; and reſolved, That one other Seaman be allowed upon the Books of every Ship of War in Sea-Pay, in every 100 Men that their Compliment ſhall conſiſt of, for ſuch Time only as the Number of Men employed in the Service of the royal Navy ſhall not exceed 20,000; and that the Produce of the Wages of ſuch Seamen, and the Value of their Victuals, be given and applied towards the Relief of poor Widows of Commiſſion and Warrant-officers of the Royal Navy, according to ſuch Rules, Orders, and Regulations, as his Majeſty hath, or ſhall eſtabliſh or appoint for that Purpoſe, over and above the one Seaman allowed them by an Act of the 6th of his preſent Majeſty's Reign.

A compleat Abſtract *of the* Engliſh *and* French *Navy.*

ENGLISH.

Proportion of Men for the Number of Ships of each Rate, with the total Number neceſſary for the Equipment of the whole Navy, as it ſtood in *July* 1751.

	No.	Rates.	Guns.	Men in each.
Line of Battle, 89.	5	1ſt	100	900— 4500
	11	2d	90	800— 8800
	6	3d	80	700— 4200
	9		74	700— 6300
	10		66	600— 6000
	22		70	500—11000
	26	4th	60	400—10400
Frigates, &c. 190.	32		50	350—11200
	42	5th	40	300—12600
	49	6th	20	150— 7350
	42	Sloops.	18 to 8	100— 4200
	25	Bombs and Fireſhips.	10 to 6	45— 1125

Total 279 Ships and Veſſels. Total 87675

The Reaſon of placing the 66 Guns Ships before the 70, is, they are of the *French* Eſtabliſhment; and alſo ſuch of our own as have been cut down from Three-deckers, and are much ſuperior in the Weight of Metal, Tonnage, and Number of Men, to the Seventy-gun Ships.

FRENCH.

Proportion of Men for the Number of Ships, being the uſual Complement they carry, with the total Number of Ships, *&c.* as it ſtood in *June*, 1751.

	No. of Ships.	Guns.	Men in each.
Line of Battle, 47.	3	84 to 80	900— 2700
	22	74 to 70	800—17600
	15	64 to 60	650— 9750
	7	56 to 50	600— 4200
Frigates, &c. 27.	5	48 to 40	500— 2500
	22	30 to 18	300— 6600

Total 74 Ships and Veſſels. Total 42350

Ships of 50 Guns are, according to the *French* Eſtabliſhment, of the Line of Battle; but in our Service they are not accounted ſo, although we had ſeveral built the laſt War, that carried the ſame Weight of Metal as the 60 Gun Ships; and ſeveral of the ſmall old-built 50 Gun Ships were converted to 40, as the *Romney*, &c.

N. B. The above Liſt of the *French* Navy, was excluſive of 30 Ships more then on the Stocks.

The Year 1752, in our marine Hiſtory, was uſhered in with Advices from Commodore *Keppel*, then Commander of a Squadron in the *Mediterranean*; who on the 7th of *January* tranſmitted hither a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Tripoly*, concluded and ſigned the 19th of *September* laſt, by him the ſaid Commodore *Keppel*, and *Robert White*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Conſul-general at *Tripoly*, and the Divan, *Kiaja*, Bey, and Baſhaw of the State and Kingdom of *Tripoly*.

And the ſaid Commodore alſo tranſmitted hither a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between his Majeſty and the State of *Tunis*, concluded and ſigned the 19th of *October* laſt, by the ſaid Commodore and *Charles Gordon*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Conſul-general at *Tunis*, and the Lord *Ali Paſcha*, Begler Bey and ſupreme Commander of the ſaid State of *Tunis*.

The Parliament granted 10,000 Men for the Sea-ſervice for this Year, at the Rate of 4 *l.* a Man *per* Month, which, by cutting off 11 Days from the Calendar in this Year, was reduced to 12 Months and 19 Days, in all 355 Days: So that the Allowance which for the ſame Number of Men, in any other Year, would have amounted to 520,000 *l.* was reduced to 507,142 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* ½. It was alſo reſolved, That 277,718 *l.* 16 *s.* 5 *d.* be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea-officers, for 1752, conſiſting of 355 Days. That 9699 *l.* 9 *s.* be granted upon Account, towards the Support of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*. That 100,000 *l.* be granted towards the Buildings, Rebuildings, and Repairs of his Majeſty's Ships, for 1752. That 21,042 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* ½ be granted upon Account, for defraying the Charges incurred by ſupporting and maintaining the Settlement of *Nova-Scotia* in 1751, and not provided for by Parliament. That 40,450 *l.* 10 *d.* be granted upon Account, for ſupporting and maintaining the Settlement of *Nova-Scotia* for the Year 1752. That 900,000 *l.* be granted towards paying off and diſcharging the Debt of the Navy[*]. That 10,000 *l.* be granted towards the Support of the *Britiſh* Forts and Settlements upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, to be applied in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhould think proper. That 112,142 *l.* 3 *s.* 3 *d.* be granted for a full Compenſation and Satisfaction to the *Royal African Company of* England, for their Charter, *&c.* to be applied as follows, *viz.* To their Creditors 84,652 *l.* 12 *s.* 7 *d.* To the Commiſſion for ſtating the Claims of the ſaid Creditors, 1695 *l.* 3 *s.* To the Proprietors of the *African* transferable Stock, poſſeſſed therof *Dec.* 31, 1748, being 10 *l.* *per* Cent. 23,688 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* To ditto Proprietors, ſince become poſſeſſed thereof, being 5 *l.* *per* Cent. 2105 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.*

In the Beginning of *May* the *Badger* Sloop of War arrived at *Plymouth* from the Coaſt of *Guiney*, which Place ſhe left the Beginning of *March*, and brought Advice, that upon Commodore *Buckle*'s Arrival there with three Men of War and the above Sloop, he found three *French* Men of War on the ſaid Coaſt, *viz.* one of 64, one of 54, and another of 20 Guns, who were about building a Fort, in order to make a Settlement at *Anamaboe*: Upon which the Com-

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[*] An Eſtimate of the DEBT of his Majeſty's NAVY on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it ſtood on Dec. 31, 1751.

HEADS of the Naval Eſtimates.	Particulars. l.	s.	d.	Total. l.	s.	d.
Wear and Tear, Ordinary and Tranſports.						
Due to pay off and diſcharge all the Bills regiſtered on the Courſe of the Navy for Stores, Freights of Tranſports, &c. ſupplied for the Service thereof	416620	14	2	818942	8	8
To pay off and diſcharge Bills regiſtered on the ſaid Courſe for Premiums allowed by Act of Parliament on naval Stores	46784	4	5			
For Freight of Tranſports and Tenders, and for Stores delivered into his Majeſty's ſeveral Yards, for which no Bills were made out on Dec. 31, 1750; alſo ſeveral Bills of Exchange	62674	5	10			
To his Majeſty's Yards and Rope-yards for the Ordinary and Extraordinary	224349					
For Half-pay to Sea-officers according to an Eſtabliſhment made by his late Majeſty in Council on that Behalf	68514	4	3			
SEAMENS Wages.						
Due, to pay the Men, &c. unpaid on the Books of Ships paid off	269016	1	11 ½	704098	10	8 ½
To Ships in Sea-pay, on December 31, 1751.	417660					
To diſcharge and pay off all the Bills entered in Courſe for Pilotage, Surgeons Neceſſaries, Bounties to Widows and Orphans of Men ſlain at Sea, &c.	17422	8	9			
Victualling Debt as per Eſtimate received from thoſe Commiſſioners, viz.						
Due, for ſhort Allowance to the Companies of his Majeſty's Ships in Pay, and which have been paid off	15378	9	8	346752	4	6
For paying off all the Bills entered on their Courſe	311687	2	10			
For Proviſions delivered, and Services performed, for which no Bills were made out on Dec. 31, 1751.	6633	7				
For Neceſſary-money, extra Neceſſary-money, Bills of Exchange and Contingencies	1221	18	4			
To the Officers, Workmen, and Labourers employed at the ſeveral Ports	11831	6	8			
Sick and hurt; the Debt of that Office as per Eſtimate received from thoſe Commiſſioners, viz.						
Due, for the Quarters and Cure of ſick and wounded Seamen ſet on-ſhore from his Majeſty's Ships at the ſeveral Ports, and for Priſoners of War and Contingencies relating to the ſaid Service				13228	19	5
The Total amounts to				1883022	3	3 ½
From whence deducting the Money in the Treaſurer's Hands	108963	4	4 ¾	207229	6	8 ¼
And alſo the Money that remained to come in of the Supplies of the Year, as on the other Side	98266	2	3 ½			
The Debt will then be				1675792	16	7 ¼
N. B. In this Debt is included for Charge of Tranſports between Jan. 1, 1750, and Dec. 31, 1751.	8644	10	8 ½	10299	10	6
And it appears, by an Account received from the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, that the Expence of Victuals ſupplied the Soldiers between Jan. 1, 1750, and Dec. 31, 1751, amounts to	1654	19	9 ½			
For which Sum of 10,299 l. 10s. 6d. no Proviſion has been made by Parliament, but, if thought fit, to be granted as the like was provided for in former Years.						
The nett Debt of the Navy will then be				1665493	6	1 ¼

Commodore deſired them to deſiſt, the Property or Right to that Place being in the Crown of *Great-Britain*, otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to compel them by Force to abandon their Enterprize; and accordingly he made ready for an Engagement: But the *French* Commodore, after a little Parlying and Conſideration, thought fit to ſheer off and quit the Coaſt. Commodore *Buckle* having afterwards had ſome Conferences with the Natives of the Country, they told him, that they ſhould be very glad to ſee a Settlement made at *Anamaboe*, and rather by the *Engliſh* than by the *French*, and therefore deſired that our Nation would go to work as ſoon as poſſible, for they wanted to ſee a good Trade carried on there. One in the Aſſembly indeed obſerved, that there was Room enough on the Coaſt for both *Engliſh* and *French*, and that it was indifferent to them which of the two prevailed, provided they would deal fairly with his Countrymen. After theſe Conferences, Commodore *Buckle* ſailed to *Cape-Coaſt Caſtle*, and there had Intelligence, that the Captains of the aforeſaid *French* Men of War, a little before abandoning *Anamaboe*, told the Natives, that they might expect to ſee them again in ten Months at leaſt; for as they had given a valuable Conſideration (about 15,000*l.* Sterling) for leave to ſettle there, they were reſolved to carry their Point ſooner or later.

On the 20th of *September*, the *Eaſt-India* Company received an Expreſs from the *Malabar* Coaſt, over Land, dated *March* 27, adviſing, that all Things were ſettled at *Surat* and *Anjango*, and that the Natives had given the *Engliſh* Factory 200,000 Rupees, to make good all Damages the Company may have ſuſtained in the late Troubles. And by Letters from *Fort St. David's*, dated *February* 27, brought by the *Warwick* Indiaman, they had Advice, that Captain *Clive* had obliged the *French* and their Allies to retire from before *Arcott*, killed a great Number of Men, and put the reſt to flight. That the *Engliſh* under *Jingan* had drove the *French* from before *Trichenapali*. That two Nabobs in the *French* Intereſt had come over to the *Engliſh* with a great Number of Men, and that the *French* in their Return were ſurrounded, and were in great Diſtreſs for want of Proviſions. Theſe Letters add, that M. *Dupleix* had ſent Propoſals to the *Engliſh* for an Accommodation; in the Preamble of which he ſet forth, that he had only ſuccoured the *Indians* that ſued to him for Aſſiſtance, and hoped that every thing would be ſettled to the mutual Satisfaction and Advantage of the two Companies, and that all Animoſities and Hoſtilities would ceaſe.

The *French* Encroachments on our Back-ſettlements in *North-America*, were every Day more intolerable; and what they cared not openly to avow, they prevailed with and ſupported the *Indians* in their Intereſt to purſue. Thus, on *June* 21, about Nine in the Morning, 240 *French* and *French* Indians ſurprized the *Twigtwees* in their Corn-fields, and came ſo ſuddenly on them, that the White Men, who were in their Houſes, had the utmoſt Difficulty to reach the Fort. Three not being able to get in, ſhut themſelves up in one of the Houſes adjoining. There were about 20 Men and Boys, including the White Men, in the Fort. The *Indians* having taken Poſſeſſion of the White Men's Houſes, advanced towards the Fort, firing very briſkly, which was as warmly returned; then attacked the Loghouſe where the three Men were ſhut up, who having Plenty of Arms and Ammunition, and being well ſecured by the Strength of the Houſe, might have defended themſelves againſt the whole Body of the Enemy: Notwithſtanding which they could not be prevailed on to fire a Gun, but cowardly hid themſelves under Skins, ſuffered the Houſe to be taken, and themſelves made Priſoners; and then diſcovered to the Enemy the Weakneſs of the Fort.

The *French* and *Indians* in the Afternoon informed the *Twigtwees*, that if they would deliver up the White Men that were in the Fort, they would break up the Siege and go home. After a Conſultation, it was agreed by the *Indians* and Whites, that as there were ſo few Men, and no Water in the Fort, it was better to deliver up the White Men, with Beaver and Wampum, to the *Indians*, on Condition they would do them no further Injury, than let the Fort be taken, and all be at their Mercy. The White Men were delivered up accordingly, except *Burney* and *Andrew*, whom the *Indians* hid. One of the White Men delivered up to them, being wounded in the Belly, they ſtabbed and ſcalped him, took out his Heart and eat it; and as they had a conſiderable Reward for killing an *Engliſhman*, they cut off his Fingers, and carried them with them to *Canada*, to prove him ſuch. The *Indians* upon receiving the White Men (whom they carried away Priſoners) delivered up all the *Indian* Women whom they had taken, and ſet off with their Plunder, amounting to above 3000*l.* They killed one *Engliſhman*, and took ſix Priſoners. One *Mingoe*, one *Shawneſſe*, and three *Twigtwees*, they killed; among whom was the old *Planguiſha* King, called by the *Engliſh*, *Old Briton*, whom they boiled and eat. The *French* and *Indians* loſt 15 in the Battle. They carried off all their Dead, except four of the *Chapawas*, whoſe Cuſtom is to leave the Dead: One of them was the head King, and the other of them the next head Man of that Nation. The other *Indians* that aſſiſted the *French*, were called *Ottowawas*.—One hundred of the *Chapawas* went over to the Six Nations, becauſe they would not help the *French*. The Six Nations did not yet declare War, but called in all their Warriors, and were making ſuch Preparations, as gave reaſon to expect a Declaration very ſoon.

A moſt unfortunate and terrible Accident happened this Year to Captain *Codd*, and his People, in the Ship *Marlborough* of *Briſtol*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and loaded with Slaves: Of which we have the following Account by *John Harris*, in a Letter from *Bonny*, to his Father at *Briſtol*; who writes,

"The 11th of *October* laſt we got over the Bar of *Bonny*, and the 14th, being a fine Day, our Captain thought proper to waſh the Slaves, ſo ordered Tubs and Swabs to be got ready; all the People being buſy, except the Centries, the Gold-coaſt Slaves roſe upon the Quarter-deck, and alarmed the whole Ship, knocked the Centries down at the Barricado,

There was remaining in the Hands of the late and preſent Treaſurers of the Navy, on Dec. 31, 1751, in Money as under-mentioned, and may be reckoned towards ſatisfying the aforeſaid Debt of the Navy.

In what Treaſurers Hands.	In Money.	Wear and Tear ordinary and tranſp. l. s. d.	On the Heads of Seamens Wages. l. s. d.	Victuals. l. s. d.	Total. l. s. d.
William Corbett, Eſq;	In Money.	3079 10 11 ½	1379 1 7	98 1 8	4792 18 1 ½
	Dº towards the Debt for ſick and hurt Seamen	———	236 3 11	———	
Rt. Hon. Sir John Ruſhout, Bart.	In Money. —	7816 4 1 ¼	182 19 6 ½	1827 19 8	10485 5 3 ¼
	Dº towards the Debt for ſick and hurt Seamen	———	658 2	———	
Rt. Hon. George Doddington, Eſq;	In Money. —	6779 7 5 ¼	16610 9 11 ½	201 15 5 ¼	25466 5 11 ½
	Dº towards the Debt for ſick and hurt Seamen	———	1874 13 1 ½	———	
Rt. Hon. Henry Legge, Eſq;	In Money. —	15375 8 2 ¼	44883 3 1 ½	5239 17 10 ¼	68218 14 11 ¼
	Dº towards the Debt for ſick and hurt Seamen	———	2720 5 9 ½	———	
		33050 10 8 ¼	68544 19 ½	7367 14 7 ½	108963 4 4 ½

There remained on Dec 31, 1751, to come in of the Supplies of the Year 1751, 98266*l.* 2 s. 3 d. ½.

Barricado, and toſſed them over-board; then taking a Blunderbuſs up, they knocked the Captain down with the But-end, who got up again, and made the beſt of his way up into the Fore-top. We ſtood the Awning as well as we could, having nothing to defend ourſelves but an empty Muſket, and a few Platform Boards; we had not been there long before they killed our Boatſwain's Mate and another Man; then ſeeing it was in vain to ſtand any longer, we made to the Rigging, ſome to the Mizzen-top-maſt-head, and others to the Main-top, where we ſtood and ſaw their Barbarity, who fired up at us all the time; our Doctor and another Man got into the Punt, and were barbarouſly murdered; they ſhot the Doctor in his Side, then taking a Gun, ſtruck him over the Head with it ſeveral times; but perceiving he was not quite dead, they got the Cook's Mall, and beat his Brains out, and toſſed him and the other overboard; our chief Mate was ſtabbed in the Body, and the ſecond Mate's Throat cut from Ear to Ear, and another Man killed in the Steerage. After they had murdered almoſt all the Officers, and moſt of the Men, they purſued us again, firing at us as faſt as they could load their Pieces; our third Mate, being at the Mizen-top-maſt Head, was ſhot through the Thigh, who then went down, and relied on their Mercy, when four of them cut him Limb from Limb. We ſeeing ſuch Cruelty uſed, knew no Means to ſecure ourſelves; we went down the Main-top-maſt Stay into the Fore-top, where we ſaw the Captain and three more in a miſerable Condition; then we went up into the Croſs-trees, where they fired at us as bad as before; I was ſhot in my Right-arm and in my Belly, but I paſſed it off as light as I could; for if I had then behaved otherwiſe, they would have thrown me overboard as they did the reſt of the wounded.

After begging for our Lives about two Hours, they ſeeing our Number was but ſmall, bid us come down, and they would not kill us. We ventured down on the Fore-top, when the Gold-coaſt Slaves called me by my Name, *Harris*, *Harris*, to come down! I went down, and they ſhoved me along the Deck from one to the other, that I thought I ſhould have been killed amongſt them. Then they brought me aft, and put me and *George Macargo* in Irons; (we were about 12 in Number, which they thought too many to be ſaved, ſo threw four overboard alive) but we were ſoon releaſed to work the Ship; we put the Ship about, and ſtood for the Land, which we diſcovered in two Days and two Nights; we ſtood off and on to get the beſt Bower-anchor. Then the Gold-coaſt Slaves made us hoiſt out the Long-boat and Yawl, thinking they could go to the windward Coaſt ſooner than the Ship; they loaded the Long-boat as deep with Goods and ſmall Slaves as ſhe could ſwim; but the *Bonny* Slaves, not being willing to ſtay on-board, leaped into the Boats by Force, and ſunk them both. The Gold-coaſt Slaves would not let them come on-board again, which drowned upwards of 100 of them. This created ſo much Diſcontent between the Gold-coaſt and the *Bonny* Slaves, that they fell to fighting with great Fury all that Night; in the Morning they agreed to leave off fighting while they dreſſed and eat ſome Victuals; which done, they fell to it as they did the Day before. We then cut the Cable, and came to an Anchor in ſight of the Ships lying off *Bonny*; but the Gold-coaſt Slaves not liking to ſee the Ships, threatened our Lives; we ſatisfied them as well as we could. We had not lain here long, before they ordered the Boatſwain to lower the Punt down, thinking to ſend the *Bonny* Slaves on-ſhore, a Boat-load at a time; but for fear of Delay, they thought proper to ſend a White Man in her; I was ordered in and out of the Boat two different times, when they ſent two Blacks in; but the Cook told them, it was better to ſend me in the Boat, becauſe I knew beſt what to do in her: We loaded the Boat, and rowed for our Lives to the Shore, it by this time growing dark. I lay at a Trader's Houſe, and the next Day I went on-board the *Earl of Radnor*, Captain *Wright*, belonging to *Briſtol*.

Our Ship lay here two or three Days after I left her: The *Hawk*, belonging to *Briſtol*, who is come in here, paſſed by her, and ſaw ſhe looked like a Ship that had been plundered by Slaves, fell under Stern, and hailed her. They told them that the Captain, Mate, and ſix more, were gone on-ſhore, and the reſt were all ſick; they ſent their Yaul up to us to know the Truth of it, and ſoon found the contrary; they made no Stay, but went on-board again directly, and engaged her in the Night, but all to no purpoſe. In the Morning the Gold-coaſt Slaves cut the Cable, and I believe ſhe is either loſt or drove to Sea, with about eight White People on-board. I hear ſince that the Boatſwain leaped over-board, and ſwam to the *Hawk*; but I have not ſeen him.

The Captain was alive two Days in the Fore-top in great Miſery. On the ſecond Night we made an Excuſe to ſet ſome Sails forward, when we got him down the Fore-ſtay into the Fore-ſtay-ſail Netting, and put the Sail over him. In the Morning, they ſeeing the Skirt of his Coat, went to him, cut his Belly open, and toſſed him over-board."

The Number of Seamen for the Year 1753, were continued the ſame as they were in the laſt; their Maintenance, including the Ordnance for the Sea-ſervice, was 520,000 *l.* The Commons alſo granted 280,206 *l.* 13 *s.* 11 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, and Half-pay to Sea-officers; 10,000 *l.* for the Support of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*; 94,615 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.* for maintaining *Nova-Scotia*; and 16,000 *l.* for building a Fort at *Anamaboe*, &c. on the Coaſt of *Africa*.

In 1754 the ſame Number of Seamen were continued at the Rate of 520,000 *l.* for one Year: The Parliament alſo granted 278,747 *l.* 12 *s.* 9 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea-officers; 10,000 *l.* to *Greenwich-hoſpital*; 100,000 *l.* for Building, *&c.* of the Navy; and 1642 *l.* 10 *s.* for paying a Bounty to 40 Navy-chaplains, who had ſerved for five Years during the late War [a].

The *French* ſtill continued to aſſert their Right to the neutral Iſlands, and to encroach on the *Britiſh* Settlements in *America*, as may be fully diſcovered by the Advices in the Note below [b], and by the following Letter from *Williamſburgh*

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[a] This Reſolution was founded on a Petition from ſome of the late Chaplains in his Majeſty's Navy, preſented and read, Dec. 6, ſetting forth, That they had ſerved during the late War, and when their Ships were paid off, were moſt of them left deſtitute of any Support; that they were the only Officers in his Majeſty's Service, who were intirely unprovided for, when diſcharged, and that when employed, they were of no more Expence to the State than an ordinary Seaman, the reſt of their Pay ariſing from Deductions out of the Mens Pay, and was, by that means, more uncertain than that of any other Officers; that they had, ſoon after the Concluſion of the Peace, by Petition to his Majeſty, repreſented their diſtreſſed Circumſtances, and that his Majeſty referred their Petition to the Lords of the Treaſury, who reported, that their Services were not within their Knowledge, but more properly cogniſable by the Lords of the Admiralty; but that if his Majeſty inclined to think them proper Objects of Relief, it would be neceſſary to cauſe proper Eſtimates of the Expence to be laid before Parliament; that their ſaid Petition being likewiſe referred to the Lords of the Admiralty, their Lordſhips repreſented, that after the Peace of Utrecht, the Houſe of Commons, June 5, 1714, granted 3000l. upon Account, to be equally diſtributed among the Chaplains that had ſerved in the Fleet during the then late War, and were not otherwiſe provided for; and that their Lordſhips did recommend them as Objects deſerving Relief; therefore the Petitioners expreſſed their Hope, that the Houſe would grant Relief for ſuch of them as ſerved perſonally, during the late War. This Petition being ordered to lie on the Table, an Addreſs was ordered for a Liſt of the Chaplains who had ſerved in the Fleet, during the late War, and who were not otherwiſe provided for; which was accordingly preſented the 18th, and Feb. 22, an Eſtimate was preſented of the annual Charge of allowing a Bounty to 40 Chaplains who had ſerved in the Fleet for 5 Years, during the late War, 20 at 2s. 6d. a Day each, and 20 at 2s. which Eſtimate was referred to the Committee of Supply.

[b] The following is an Extract of a Letter from Charles-Town in South-Carolina, dated February 12. On Saturday arrived here his Majeſty's Sloop Jamaica, and on Sunday his Majeſty's Ship Shoreham, commanded by Captain Julian Legge, from their Cruize in the Windward-paſſage; by which we are informed, that on their Arrival at Turks-iſland, the Caico's and Heneaga, they met with no French Inhabitants, nor had any yet ſettled there: The only Marks of Poſſeſſion they found on thoſe Iſlands, were Croſſes and large Poſts erected, to which were affixed Copper-plates, whereon were engraved the French King's Arms, and an Inſcription to this Effect, The Continuation of the Poſſeſſion of Lewis XIV. King of France, 1753: All which Marks of Poſſeſſion they cut down and brought away; and, leſt the French ſhould ill treat the Bermudians who were on thoſe Iſlands, when they ſhould find their Marks taken away, Capt. Legge thought proper to direct Lieut. Sergeant of the Jamaica, who was the Officer that went on-ſhore, to leave at thoſe Keys the following Declaration, viz. "To prevent any Violence being uſed to any of the People who live on Grand-key, Salt-key, or Seal-key, it is thought proper to leave this Declaration, that we cut down the Arms of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the Croſſes that were ſet up as Marks of Poſſeſſion on the ſaid Iſlands, and carried the ſame away, purſuant to Inſtructions for ſo doing: And farther, that his Britannic Majeſty will not ſuffer any Marks of Poſſeſſion to be put up on any of the Keys or Iſlands known by the Name of Turks-iſlands. Dated the 21ſt of January, 1754." We are farther informed, that a Sloop belonging to Capt. David Cutler Braddock, of Providence, (commanded by Capt. Mackay)

liamſburgh in *Virginia*, dated *June* 4, 1754, to a Merchant in *London*.

SIR,

"IN the Name of Curioſity, what are you doing in England? If we might judge of you by the Rules of good Senſe and good Policy, I ſhould imagine you to be in all the Hurry of Preparation for War: For you will not ſurely ſuffer the moſt notorious and repeated Violations of Rights and Treaties to go on unrevenged? The *French* have long ſince commenced actual Hoſtilities againſt us here; have not only entered upon our Territories *manu forti*, but have taken from us our Forts and Strong-holds, ſuch as they were. In ſhort, all our Colonies are in the utmoſt Hurry and Confuſion from the approaching Danger. By this Situation of our Affairs, you, Gentlemen-merchants of the Mother-country, muſt expect to be, in great meaſure, affected with us: For, whilſt we are ſending our Youth to the Repulſion of the Enemy, and Recovery of our Frontiers, Cultivation muſt be, and is, neglected: And, without a full Attention to our produce, how ſhall we be able to

Mackay) which ſailed from thence at the ſame time with the Men of War, (and on-board whom Capt. Legge had put one of his Mates to obſerve Signals) arriving at Turks-iſland the Day before them, was taken by an armed Sloop, manned with Spaniards, who firſt ſtripped Capt. Mackay and his Crew naked, afterwards whipped and obliged them to jump over-board and ſwim to the Shore for their Lives, and then carried off the Veſſel.—Extract of a Letter from Virginia, Feb. 9. In October laſt a Meſſenger was ſent to inquire, whether the French had built Fort at the Back of our Settlements, who is returned with the following Account: That there have been 1500 regular Forces ſent from France; that they have built three Forts upon the Ohio, on ſome Lands of which ſeveral Gentlemen in London and Virginia have a Grant from the King. The French expected to be repulſed, but, finding no Oppoſition, they intend to keep Poſſeſſion. They uſed our Meſſenger very well, and gave him a Guard of 200 Men to eſcort him through the Indians. It is expected that a Number of Forces will be raiſed, as we have a ſufficient Quantity of Gunpowder from London, with 30 Pieces of Cannon. If the French are not ſoon drove off, and Forts built by the Engliſh on the Miſſiſippi, they will have ſuch Strong-holds, that it will never be in our Power to expel them.—Some Extracts from the Journal of Major GEORGE WASHINGTON, ſent by ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Eſq; Governor of Virginia, to the Commandant of the French Forces on the River Ohio; with the Governor's Letter and the French Officer's Anſwer. Oct. 31, 1753. The Major ſet out from Williamſburgh in Virginia, and travelling by the way of Fredericksburg, Wincheſter, Will's-creek, he arrived, Nov. 22, at the Mouth of Turtle-creek on the river Monongahela, where he had an Account of the Death of the French General in Chief in thoſe Parts, and of their Troops returning into Winter-quarters. From thence he travelled about 10 Miles to the Forks of the Ohio, where the Monongahela is joined by the River Aligany, and where he ſays, a Fort might be of great Uſe, and might be eaſily erected. From hence he went to the Loggs-town, and tells us as follows: "According to the beſt Obſervations I could make, Mr. Giff's new Settlement (which we paſſed by) bears about W. N. W. 70 Miles from Will's-creek; Shanapin's, or the Forks N. by W. or N. N. W. about 50 Miles from that; and from thence to the Logg's-town, the Courſe is nearly Weſt about 18 or 20 Miles: So that the whole Diſtance, as we went and computed it, is at leaſt 135 or 140 Miles from our back Inhabitants. 25th, Came to Town four or ten Frenchmen, who had deſerted from a Company at the Kuſkuſkas, which lies at the Mouth of this River. I got the following Account from them. They were ſent from New-Orleans with 100 Men, and 8 Canoe-loads of Proviſions to this Place; where they expected to have met the ſame Number of Men, from the Forts on this Side Lake Erie, to convoy them and the Stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off. I inquired into the Situation of the French on the Miſſiſippi, their Number, and what Forts they had built. They informed me, that there were four ſmall Forts between New-Orleans and the Black-iſlands, garriſoned with about 30 or 40 Men, and a few ſmall Pieces in each: That at New-Orleans, which is near the Mouth of the Miſſiſippi, there are 35 Companies, of 40 Men each, with a pretty ſtrong Fort mounting 8 Carriage-guns; and at the Black-iſlands there are ſeveral Companies, and a Fort with 6 Guns. The Black-iſlands are about 130 Leagues above the Mouth of the Ohio, which is about 350 above New-Orleans. They alſo acquainted me, that there was a ſmall palliſado'd Fort on the Ohio, at the Mouth of the Obaiſh about 60 Leagues from the Miſſiſippi. The Obaiſh * heads near the Weſt-end of the Lake Erie, and affords the Communication between the French on Miſſiſippi and thoſe on the Lakes. Theſe Deſerters came up from the lower Shanoah-town with one Brown, an Indian-trader, and were going to Philadelphia." At this Place he met one of the Kings of the Six-nations, who informed him, "That the French had built two Forts, one on Lake Erie, and another on French-creek, near a ſmall Lake about 15 Miles aſunder, and a large Waggon-road between: They are both built after the ſame Model, but different in the Size; that on the Lake the largeſt. He gave him a Plan of them, of his own Drawing." And further told him, that three Nations of French Indians had taken up the Hatchet againſt the Engliſh. "Here, ſays he, another Indian King informed me, that an Indian from Venango brought News, a few Days ago, that the French had called all the Mingo's, Delawares, &c. together at that Place; and told them, that they intended to have been down the River this Fall, but the Waters were growing cold, and the Winter advancing, which obliged them to go into Quarters: But that they might aſſuredly expect them in the Spring, with a far greater Number; and deſired that they might be quite paſſive, and not to intermeddle, unleſs they had a Mind to draw all their Force upon them: For that they expected to fight the Engliſh three Years (as they ſuppoſed there would be ſome Attempts made to ſtop them) in which time they ſhould conquer: But that if they ſhould prove equally ſtrong, they and the Engliſh would join to cut them all off, and divide the Land between them: That though they had loſt their General, and ſome few of their Soldiers, yet there were Men enough to reinforce them, and make them Maſters of the Ohio." This Speech, he ſaid, was delivered to them by one Captain Joncaire, their Interpreter in Chief, living at Venango, and a Man of Note in the Army. After ſome Account of his Negotiations with the Indians, his Journal goes on as follows: "Nov. 30, we ſet out with a Guard of four Indians, and travelled on the Road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without any thing remarkable happening, but a continued Series of bad Weather. This is an old Indian-town, ſituated at the Mouth of French-creek on the Ohio; and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the Loggs-town, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go. We found the French Colours hoiſted at a Houſe, from which they had driven Mr. John Frazer, an Engliſh Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander reſided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. Joncaire, informed me, that he had the Command of the Ohio: But that there was a General-officer at the near Fort, where he adviſed me to apply for an Anſwer. He invited us to ſup with them; and treated us with the greateſt Complaiſance. The Wine, as they doſed themſelves pretty plentifully with it, ſoon baniſhed the Reſtraint which at firſt appeared in their Converſation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely. They told me, that it was their abſolute Deſign to take Poſſeſſion of the Ohio, and by G—they would do it: For that although they were ſenſible the Engliſh could raiſe two Men for their one, yet they knew their Motions were too ſlow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Diſcovery made by one La Solle 60 Years ago; and the Riſe of this Expedition is, to prevent our ſettling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of ſome Families moving out in order thereto. From the beſt Intelligence I could get, there have been 1500 Men on this Side Ontario Lake: But upon the Death of the General all were recalled to about 6 or 700, who were left to garriſon four Forts, 150, or thereabouts, in each. The firſt of them is on French-creek, near a ſmall Lake, about 60 Miles from Venango, near N. N. W. the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater Part of their Stores are kept, about 15 Miles from the other. From this it is 120 Miles to the carrying Place, at the Falls of Lake Erie, where there is a ſmall Fort; which they lodge their Goods at, in bringing them from Montreal, the Place whence all their Stores come from. The next Fort lies about 20 Miles from this, on Ontario-lake. Between this Fort and Montreal there are three others, the firſt of which is near oppoſite to the Engliſh Fort Oſwego. From the Fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about 600 Miles, which they ſay requires no more, if good Weather, than four Weeks Voyage, if they go in Barks or large Veſſels, ſo that they may croſs the Lake: But if they come in Canoes, it will require five or ſix Weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the Shore. 5th, Rained exceſſively all Day, which prevented our travelling. Capt. Joncaire ſent for the Half-king, as he had but juſt heard that he came with me: He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excuſed it in the beſt Manner I was capable, and told him, I did not think their Company agreeable, as I had heard him ſay a good deal in Diſpraiſe of Indians in general. But another Motive prevented me from bringing them into his Company: I knew he was Interpreter, and a Perſon of very great Influence among the Indians, and had lately uſed all poſſible Means to draw them over to their Intereſt; therefore I was deſirous of giving no Opportunity that could be avoided. When they came in, there was great Pleaſure expreſſed at ſeeing them. He wondered how they could be ſo near without coming to viſit him; made ſeveral trifling Preſents; and applied Liquor ſo faſt, that they were ſoon rendred incapable of the Buſineſs they came about, notwithſtanding the Caution which was given. 6th, The Half-king came to my Tent, quite ſober, and inſiſted very much that I ſhould ſtay and hear what he had to ſay to the French. I fain would have prevented his ſpeaking any thing, till he came to the Commandant; but could not prevail. He told me, that at this Place a Council-fire was kindled, where all their Buſineſs with theſe People was to be tranſacted; and that the Management of the Indian Affairs was left ſolely to Monſieur Joncaire. As I was deſirous of knowing the Iſſue of this, I agreed to ſtay: But ſent our Horſes a little way up French-creek, to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near Night. About Ten o'Clock they met in Council. The King ſpoke much the ſame as he had before done to the General; and offered the French Speech-belt which had before been demanded, with the Marks of four Towns on it, which Monſieur Joncaire refuſed to receive; but deſired him to carry it to the Fort to the Commander. 7th, Monſieur La Force, Commiſſary of the French Stores, and three other Soldiers came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every Stratagem had been uſed to prevent their going up with me. I had laſt Night left John Daviſon (the Indian Interpreter whom I brought with me from Town) and ſtrictly charged him not to be out of their Company, as I could not get them over to my Tent; for they had ſome Buſineſs with Kuſtalogs, chiefly to know the Reaſon why he did not deliver up the French-belt which he had in keeping: But I was obliged to ſend Mr. Gift over to-day to fetch them; which he did with great Perſuaſion. At Eleven o'Clock we ſet out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by exceſſive Rains, Snows, and bad travelling, through many Mires and Swamps. Theſe we were obliged to paſs, to avoid croſſing the Creek, which was impoſſible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was ſo high and rapid. We paſſed over much good Land ſince we left Venango, and through ſeveral extenſive and very rich Meadows; one of which was near four Miles in length, and conſiderably wide in ſome Places. 12, I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the ſecond Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Buſineſs, and offered my Commiſſion and Letter: Both of which he deſired me to keep till the Arrival of Monſieur Riparti, Captain at the next Fort, who was ſent for and expected every Hour. This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. Lewis, and named Legardeur de St. Piere. He is an elderly to make the proper Returns to *England*? What will really be the Conſequence of theſe Proceedings, God only knows! But certainly you ought not to be indifferent as to the Danger, becauſe at preſent it is at a Diſtance from you.

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* Or Wabaſh, written by the French Ouabach.

It requires not a very great Degree of Knowledge and Judgment to comprehend, that on the Security and Proſperity of the Colonies, depends the preſent flouriſhing Condition of the Mother-country. The immenſe Quantities of Goods which are annually imported into *America* from *England*, to the Amount of ſome Millions Sterling; the great Number of Shipping and Hands employed in the Exportation of them, make up, I doubt not, the moſt conſiderable Part of your preſent trading Intereſt: And, by manufacturing the Materials for this particular Commerce, what Numbers of Individuals, nay Families, are wholly ſupported in *England!* How enriched are its Merchants! It is by the proſperous Condition of your Trade, that you have gained ſuch an Abundance of Caſh among you: And it is owing to that Trade, and that Abundance, wholly, that your Lands are become ſo valuable. In ſhort, *Great-Britain* is chiefly indebted to us, that ſhe makes ſo rich, ſo potent, and reſpectable a Figure in *Europe*. A Truth that, however evident, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, from the Tenor of their paſt Conduct, has not been ſo obvious to your Miniſtry; or, in other Words, to thoſe in Power, whoſe immediate Duty it was to inform themſelves concerning it.

It does not eſcape our Notice here, how ready and generous *England* has been, and ſtill is, to grant Subſidies, upon every paltry Alarm, to ſome petty *German* Princes, to the tune of ſome Hundreds of Thouſands, merely for the ſake of preſerving, as the Miniſters call it, the Balance of Power. How much has been done to preſerve the Balance of Trade, or even our undoubted Rights in *America*, let them declare who know it. In ſhort, and to tell the plain Truth in few Words, we are looked upon by your great Men, as a Subject too low for their ſublime Politics; by your Country 'Squires and Coxcombs, as a Set of Tranſports and Vagabonds; and by your Boards, as unruly Children, that want more to be corrected than encouraged. Thanks to their Wiſdoms, in taking ſo little Care of our Breeding.

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elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was ſent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about ſeven Days before me. At Two o'Clock the Gentleman who was ſent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, &c. again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain to tranſlate, who underſtood a little Engliſh. After he had done it, the Commander deſired I would walk in, and bring my Interpreter to peruſe and correct it; which I did. 13th, the chief Officers retired to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimenſions of the Fort, and making what Obſervations I could. It is ſituated on the South, or Weſt-fork of French-creek, near the Water; and is almoſt ſurrounded by the Creek, and a ſmall Branch of it which forms a kind of Iſland. Four Houſes compoſe the Sides. The Baſtions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, ſtanding more than 12 Feet above it, and ſharp at top; with Port-holes cut for Cannon, and Loop-holes for the Small-arms to fire through. There are eight 6 lb. pieces mounted, in each Baſtion, and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Baſtions are a Guard-houſe, Chapel, Doctor's lodging, and the Commander's private Store; round which are laid Plat-forms for the Cannon and Men to ſtand on. There are ſeveral Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers dwelling; covered, ſome with Bark, and ſome with Boards, made chiefly of Logs. There are alſo ſeveral other Houſes, ſuch as Stables, Smiths-ſhop, &c. I could get no certain Account of the Number of Men here; but according to the beſt Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred, excluſive of Officers, of which there are many. I alſo gave Orders to the People who were with me, to take an exact Account of the Canoes which were hauled up to convey their Forces down in the Spring. This they did, and told 50 of Birch-bark, and 170 of Pine; beſides many others, which were blocked out, in readineſs to make. 14, As the Snow increaſed very faſt, and our Horſes daily became weaker, I ſent them off unloaded, under the Care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient Diſpatch to Venango, and there wait our Arrival, if there was a Proſpect of the River's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shanapin's-town, at the Forks of Ohio, and there to wait till we came to croſs Aliganey, intending myſelf to go down by Water, as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two. As I found many Plots concerted to retard the Indians Buſineſs, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavoured, all that lay in my Power, to fruſtrate their Schemes, and hurry them on to execute their intended Deſign. They accordingly preſſed for Admittance this Evening, which at length was granted them privately, with the Commander, and one or two other Officers. The Half-king told me, that he offered the Wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair Promiſes of Love and Friendſhip; ſaid he wanted to live in Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would ſend ſome Goods immediately down to the Loggstown for them. But I rather think the Deſign of that is, to bring away all our ſtraggling Traders they meet with, as I privately underſtood they intended to carry an Officer, &c. with them. And what rather confirms this Opinion, I was enquiring of the Commander, by what Authority he had made Priſoners of ſeveral of our Engliſh Subjects. He told me, that the Country belonged to them; that no Engliſhman had a Right to trade upon thoſe Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Perſon Priſoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the Waters of it. I inquired of Capt. Riparti about the Boy who was carried by this Place, as it was done while the Command devolved on him, between the Death of the late General, and the Arrival of the preſent. He acknowledged, that a Boy had been carried paſt, and that the Indians had two or three white Mens Scalps, (I was told by ſome of the Indians at Venango, eight) but pretended to have forgotten the Name of the Place which the Boy came from, and all the particular Facts, though he had queſtioned him for ſome Hours, as they were carrying him paſt. I likewiſe inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James M'Clochlan, two Penſylvania-traders, whom they had taken with all their Goods. They told me, that they had been ſent to Canada, but were now returned home. This Evening I received an Anſwer to his Honour the Governor's Letter, from the Commandant. 15th, The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Proviſion, &c. to be put on-board our Canoe, and appeared extremely complaiſant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to ſet our own Indians at Variance with us, to prevent their going till after our Departure; Preſents, Rewards, and every thing which could be ſuggeſted by him or his Officers.—I cannot ſay that ever in my Life I ſuffered ſo much Anxiety as I did in this Affair: I ſaw that every Stratagem, which the moſt fruitful Brain could invent, was practiſed to win the Half-king to their Intereſt; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at.—I went to the Half-king, and preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt Terms to go: He told me the Commandant would not diſcharge him till the Morning. I then went to the Commandant, and deſired him to do their Buſineſs, and complained of Ill-treatment; for keeping them, as they were Part of my Company, was detaining me. This he promiſed not to do, but to forward my Journey as much as he could. He proteſted he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the Cauſe of their Stay; though I ſoon found it out:—He had promiſed them a Preſent of Guns, &c. if they would wait till the Morning. As I was very much preſſed by the Indians to wait this Day for them, I conſented, on a Promiſe, that nothing ſhould hinder them in the Morning. 16th, The French were not ſlack in their Inventions to keep the Indians this Day alſo: But as they were obligated, according to Promiſe, to give the Preſent, they then endeavoured to try the Power of Liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I urged and inſiſted with the King ſo cloſely upon his Word, that he refrained and ſet off with us as he had engaged." The reſt of the Journal contains only an Account of his fatiguing and dangerous Journey back to Williamſburgh, where he arrived Jan. 16, 1754; therefore we ſhall conclude with the Governor's Letter, and the French Officer's Anſwer. Copy of the Governor's Letter. Sir, The Lands upon the River Ohio, in the Weſtern-parts of the Colony of Virginia, are ſo notoriouſly known to be the Property of the Crown of Great-Britain, that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surpriſe to me, to hear that a body of French Forces are erecting Fortreſſes, and making Settlements upon that River, within his Majeſty's Dominions. The many and repeated Complaints I have received of theſe Acts of Hoſtility, lay me under the Neceſſity of ſending in the Name of the King my Maſter, the Bearer hereof, George Waſhington, Eſq; one of the Adjutants-general of the Forces of this Dominion; to complain to you of the Incroachments thus made, and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of Great-Britain, in open Violation of the Law of Nations, and the Treaties now ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. If theſe Facts are true, and you ſhall think fit to juſtify your Proceedings, I muſt deſire you to acquaint me, by whoſe Authority and Inſtructions you have lately marched from Canada with an armed Force, and invaded the King of Great-Britain's Territories, in the manner complained of? that according to the Purport and Reſolution of your Anſwer, I may act agreeably to the Commiſſion I am honoured with, from the King my Maſter. However, Sir, in Obedience to my Inſtructions, it becomes my Duty to require your peaceable Departure; and that you would forbear proſecuting a Purpoſe ſo interruptive of the Harmony and good Underſtanding which his Majeſty is deſirous to continue and cultivate with the Moſt Chriſtian King. I perſuade myſelf you will receive and entertain Major Waſhington with the Candor and Politeneſs natural to your Nation; and it will give me the greateſt Satiſfaction if you return him with an Anſwer ſuitable to my Wiſhes for a long and laſting Peace between us. I have the Honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, Sir, Your moſt obedient, humble Servant, ROBERT DINWIDDIE. Williamſburg, in Virginia, October 31, 1753. Tranſlation of the French Officer's Anſwer. Sir, As I have the Honour of commanding here in Chief, Mr. Waſhington delivered me the Letter which you wrote to the Commandant of the French Troops. I ſhould have been glad that you had given him Orders, or that he had been inclined to proceed to Canada, to ſee our General; to whom it better belongs, than to me, to ſet forth the Evidence and Reality of the Rights of the King my Maſter, upon the Lands ſituate along the River Ohio, and to conteſt the Pretenſions of the King of Great-Britain thereto. I ſhall tranſmit your Letter to the Marquis Duguiſne. His Anſwer will be a Law to me; and if he ſhall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be aſſured I ſhall not fail to diſpatch it to you forthwith. As to the Summons you ſend me to retire, I do not think myſelf obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your Inſtructions, I am here by Virtue of the Orders of my General; and I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but that I am determined to conform myſelf to them with all the Exactneſs and Reſolution which can be expected from the beſt Officer. I do not know that, in the Progreſs of this Campaign, any thing has paſſed which can be reputed an Act of Hoſtility, or that is contrary to the Treaties which ſubſiſt between the two Crowns; the Continuation whereof as much intereſts, and is as pleaſing to us, as the Engliſh. Had you been pleaſed, Sir, to have deſcended to particularize the Facts which occaſioned your Complaint, I ſhould have had the Honour of anſwering you in the fulleſt, and, I am perſuaded, moſt ſatisfactory Manner. I made it my particular Care to receive Mr. Waſhington, with a Diſtinction ſuitable to your Dignity, as well as his own Quality and great Merit. I flatter myſelf that he will do me this Juſtice before you, Sir; and that he will ſignify to you in the Manner I do myſelf, the profound Reſpect with which I am, Sir, Your moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant, LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE. From the Fort ſur la Riviere au Beuf, the 15th of December 1753.

It has been for many Years paſt, that the *French* have uninterruptedly been forming a Force on the Back of our Colonies, from the *Miſſiſippi* to *Canada*; by gaining over the *Indians* to their Alliance, and erecting Forts at proper Diſtances, which might have a ready Communication from North to South. They had a triple Policy in this: 1. That by ſecuring the Alliance of the *Indians*, they might engroſs the Peltry and Fur Trade. 2. That by ſuch a Chain of Forts and Strength, they might not only prevent the Extenſion of our Colonies, but even ſtraighten and diſtreſs them at pleaſure. 3. That by ſuch an Eſtabliſhment and Poſſeſſion, they might be able to procure the back Parts of *America* by Negotiation and Treaty, whenever our Miniſtry might be provoked to look into our Rights, and take up the Reſolution of calling them to account for ſuch a Procedure.

As far as my Obſervation has gone, it has ever been through Negligence and Negotiation that *Britain* has, firſt, permitted her proper Rights and Advantages to become diſputable, by ſuffering them to be invaded, without an immediate proper Reſentment: And after ſhe has come to the Reſolution of aſſerting them, ſhe has too eaſily condeſcended to a Treaty; and at length been contented, or made ſatisfied, with a Diviſion. It is this kind of Conduct that I doubt we ſhall have more Reaſon to be afraid of hereafter, than we ſeem to be at preſent, leſt the Miniſtry ſhould not grant us a Subſidy. For after all the Inconveniences which we muſt inevitably go through, after the great Expences and Loſſes we muſt actually ſuffer, as well of Lives as in Matters of Property, before we ſhall be able to regain our Forts and Frontiers; if there ſhould be any Compoſition made with the *French*, as to the Lands on this ſide the *Miſſiſippi*, it will be only protracting the evil Day, and prove to be ſo much Blood and Treaſure expended to little purpoſe. For how can our Colonies be ever ſafe with a *French* Enemy on their Backs? Or, whilſt ſuch a Danger is hanging over them, what Security can be given to the Induſtrious, that they ſhall reap the Fruit of their own Labours? To conclude, we deſire to be conſidered only as a petty *German* Prince, with relation to your Liberality; but with reſpect to the Rights of the *Britiſh* Empire, and the Rights of induſtrious Subjects, we hope to be impowered and encouraged not only to aſſert, but to recover, to defend and enjoy them in their full and juſt Extent, in ſpite of all the Power, Perfidy, and Stratagem of the *French*, and even of the Devil himſelf, ſhould he think fit to join them. I am, Sir, *&c.*"

Things being now brought to an open Rupture between the *French* and *Engliſh*, the *Virginians* were worſted, as appears by the following Advices from *Virginia* and *Penſilvania*.

Williamſburgh, July 19. On *Wedneſday* laſt arrived in Town Col. *George Waſhington* and Capt. *James Maccay*, who gave the following Account to his Honour the Governor, of the late Action between them and the *French*, at the *Great Meadows* in the Weſtern-part of this Dominion.

" The 3d of this inſtant *July*, about Nine o'Clock, we received Intelligence that the *French*, having been reinforced with 700 Recruits, had left *Monongbela*, and were in full March with 900 Men to attack us. Upon this, as our Numbers were ſo unequal (our whole Force not exceeding 300) we prepared for our Defence in the beſt manner we could, by throwing up a ſmall Entrenchment, which we had not time to perfect, before our Centinel gave notice, about Eleven o'Clock, of their Approach, by firing his Piece, which he did at the Enemy, and, as we learned afterwards, killed three of their Men; on which they began to fire upon us, at about 600 Yards Diſtance, but without any Effect: We immediately called all our Men to their Arms, and drew up in Order before our Trenches; but as we looked upon this diſtant Fire of the Enemy only as an Artifice to intimidate, or draw our Fire from us, we waited their nearer Approach before we returned their Salute. They then advanced in a very irregular Manner to another Point of Woods, about 60 Yards off, and from thence made a ſecond Diſcharge; upon which, finding they had no Intention of attacking us in the open Field, we retired into our Trenches, and ſtill reſerved our Fire, as we expected, from their great Superiority of Numbers, that they would endeavour to force our Trenches; but finding they did not ſeem to intend this neither, the Colonel gave Orders to fire, which was done with great Alacrity and Undauntedneſs. We continued this unequal Fight with an Enemy ſheltered behind the Trees, ourſelves without Shelter, in Trenches full of Water, in a ſettled Rain, and the Enemy galling us on all Sides inceſſantly from the Woods, till Eight o'Clock at Night, when the *French* called to parley: From the great Improbability that ſuch a vaſtly ſuperior Force, and poſſeſſed of ſuch an Advantage, would offer a Parley firſt, we ſuſpected a Deceit, and therefore refuſed to conſent that they ſhould come amongſt us; on which they deſired us to ſend an Officer to them, and engaged their Parole for his Safety: We then ſent Capt. *Van Braam*, and Mr. *Peyronee*, to receive their Propoſals; which they did, and about Midnight we agreed that each Side ſhould retire without Moleſtation, they back to their Fort at *Monongebela*, and we to *Wills's-creek*: That we ſhould march away with all the Honours of War, and with our Stores, Effects, and Baggage. Accordingly the next Morning, with our Drums beating and Colours flying, we began our March in good Order, with our Stores, &c. in Convoy: But we were interrupted by the Arrival of a Reinforcement of 100 *Indians* among the *French*, who were hardly reſtrained from attacking us, and did us conſiderable Damage by pilfering our Baggage. We then proceeded, but ſoon found it neceſſary to leave our Baggage and Stores; the great Scarcity of Proviſions obliged us to uſe the utmoſt Expedition, and having neither Waggons nor Horſes to tranſport them. The Enemy had deprived us of all our Creatures, by killing, in the Beginning of the Engagement, our Horſes, Cattle, and every living thing they could, even to the very Dogs. The Number of the killed on our Side were 30, and 70 wounded; among the former was Lieutenant *Mercier*, of Capt. *Maccay*'s independent Company; a Gentleman well reſpected, whoſe Bravery would not permit him to retire, though dangerouſly wounded, till a ſecond Shot diſabled him, and a third put an End to his Life, as he was carrying to the Surgeon. Our Men behaved with ſingular Intrepidity, and we determined not to aſk for Quarter, but, with our Bayonets ſcrewed, to ſell our Lives as dearly as we poſſibly could. From the Numbers of the Enemy, and our Situation, we could not hope for Victory; and from the Character of thoſe we had to encounter, we expected no Mercy, but on Terms that we poſitively reſolved not to agree to.

The Number killed and wounded of the Enemy, is uncertain; but by the Information given by ſome *Dutch* in their Service to their Countrymen in ours, we learn that it amounted to above 300; and we are induced to believe it muſt be very conſiderable, by their being buſy all Night in burying their Dead, and yet many remained the next Day; and their wounded, we know, were conſiderable by one of our Men, who had been made Priſoner by them after ſigning the Articles, and who, on his Return told us, that he ſaw great Numbers much wounded and carried off upon Litters.

We are alſo told by ſome of their *Indians* after the Action, that the *French* had an Officer of diſtinguiſhable Rank killed. Some conſiderable Blow they muſt have received, to induce them to call firſt for a Parley, knowing, as they perfectly did, the Circumſtances we were in."—— Thus far the Account in the *Virginia* Gazette, to which they ſubjoin, in Italicks.

" Thus have a few brave Men been expoſed to be butchered, by the Negligence of thoſe who, in Obedience to their Sovereign's Command, ought to have been with them many Months before; and it is evidently certain, that had the Companies from *New-York* been as expeditious as Capt. *Maccay*'s from *South-Carolina*, our Camp would have been ſecure from the Inſults of the *French*, and our brave Men ſtill alive to ſerve their King and Country."

Capitulation granted by M. De Villier, *Captain and Commander of Infantry and Troops of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to thoſe* Engliſh *Troops actually in the Fort of* Neceſſity, *which was built on the Lands of the King's Dominions,* July 3, *at Eight o'Clock at Night,* 1754, *viz.*

AS our Intentions have never been to trouble the Peace and good Harmony which reigns between the two Princes in Amity, but only to revenge the Aſſaſſination which has been done on one of our Officers, Bearer of a Citation, as appears by his Writing; as alſo to hinder any Eſtabliſhment on the Lands of the Dominions of the King my Maſter: Upon theſe Conſiderations we are willing to grant Protection or Favour to all the *Engliſh* that are in the ſaid Fort, upon the Conditions hereafter mentioned.

Article 1. We grant the *Engliſh* Commander to retire with all his Garriſon, and to return peaceably to his own Country; and promiſe to hinder his receiving any Inſult from us *French*; and to reſtrain as much as ſhall be in our Power, the Savages that are with us.

2. It ſhall be permitted him to go out and carry with him all that belongs to them, except the Artillery, which we keep.

3. That we will allow them the Honours of War, that they march out Drum beating, with a Swivel-gun, being willing to ſhew them that we treat them as Friends.

4. That, as ſoon as the Articles are ſigned by the one Part and the other, they ſtrike the *Engliſh* Colours.

5. That To-morrow, at Break of Day, a Detachment of *French* ſhall go to make the Garriſon file off, and take Poſſeſſion of the Fort.

6. And as the *Engliſh* have few Oxen or Horſes, they are free to hide their Effects, and come and ſearch for them when they have met with their Horſes; and that they may for this End, have Guardians in what Number they pleaſe, upon Condition they will give their Word of Honour not to work upon any Building in this Place, or any Part this Side of the Mountain, during a Year, to be accounted from this Day.

7. And as the *Engliſh* have in their Power an Officer, two Cadets, and moſt of the Priſoners made in the Aſſaſſination of the *Sieur de Jamonville*, that they promiſe to ſend them back with Safe-guard to the *Fort Du Girne*, ſituated on the *Fine River*. And for Surety of this Article, as well as this Treaty, Mr. *Jacob Vambram* and *Robert Stobo*, both Captains, ſhall be put as Hoſtages till the Arrival of the *Canadians* and *French* above-mentioned.

We oblige ourſelves on our Side to give an Eſcort to return in Safety theſe two Officers, we promiſe our *French* in two Months and half at fartheſt: A Duplicate being made upon one of the Poſts of our Blockade the Day above.

Con. Villier.

There were about 400 of our People in the Fort, who were attacked by 900 *French* and 200 *Indians*, and had fired at each other moſt Part of the Day, when the *French* Commandant offered them the above Capitulation, which was ſoon agreed to by Major *Waſhington*. After our Men had marched out of the Fort the next Morning, the *Indians* attacked them, killed a great many of them, and the few Horſes and Cattle they had left, and plundered their Baggage, notwithſtanding the Capitulation; and when the *French* Commander was applied to, he pretended to be extremely concerned, and, drawing his Sword, ran among the *Indians*, where, inſtead of the expected Reproof, he highly applauded their Courage and Bravery. Theſe 200 *Indians* were our own Allies whom the *French* had ſeduced, part of them of the Six-nations, and the others were *Delawar Indians*.

This Defeat rouſed the *Britiſh* Court, which immediately ordered two Regiments to be tranſported from *Ireland* to *Virginia*; yet his Majeſty took no notice of theſe Hoſtilities in his Speech at the Opening of the Parliament on *November* 14.

However, it is certain the Miniſtry, though unwilling to come to an open Rupture, had it been poſſible to accommodate Matters with *France*, were not regardleſs of the national Safety; and had already augmented the Number of Seamen, for the Service of the Year 1755, to 12000, by a Reſolution of Parliament on the 25th of *November* laſt. In the ſame Seſſions it was alſo reſolved to allow 280,288 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* for the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea-officers; 10,000 *l.* to *Greenwich*-hoſpital; 100,000 *l.* for building and repairing of Ships; 700,000 *l.* towards paying off the Navy-debt; and one Million for enabling his Majeſty to augment his Forces by Sea and Land.

The Duke *De Mirepoix*, Ambaſſador from *France*, who in the Beginning of the Year 1755 returned to *England* from the Court of *Verſailles*, did all in his Power to lull the *Britiſh* Miniſtry into a State of Inactivity and Indifference by fair Profeſſions of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſincere Intentions and Deſires to adjuſt, finally and expeditiouſly, all Diſputes ſubſiſting between the two Crowns concerning their *American* Territories and Rights. But the repeated and undoubted Intelligence, which at the ſame time was received from *France*, *Holland*, *Italy*, &c. of the great naval Preparations making in every Port of *France*, and of a conſiderable Number of Land-forces drawn out of their veteran Corps deſtined for *America*, could not fail to be attended with a general Alarm here; and made it indiſpenſably neceſſary for the King to cauſe ſuch a Number of Ships of War to be equipped, as might fruſtrate any Attempts of *France*, and protect, at the ſame time, the *Britiſh* Rights and Dominions. This was done. The utmoſt Efforts were exerted [a]; and with ſuch Succeſs, that before the End of *April* our Fleet was ready to put to Sea. It actually ſailed too the 22d of that Month, under the Command of Vice-admiral *Boſcawen*. The Strength of his Squadron was as follows.

	Guns.			Ships.	Men.
Of	74	2	11 Line.	12	5945
	70	3			
	64	1			
	60	4			
	50	1			
	Sloop 1, Frigate 1				
May the 9th, ſent with Diſpatches					
	24	1			140

We had at the ſame time, without leaving our Coaſts unguarded or expoſed, a Reinforcement in Readineſs to follow the Vice-admiral; as it in fact did, upon the earlieſt Intelligence of the *French* Fleet being ſailed from *Breſt*.

May the 11th, ſailed with Rear-admiral *Holburne*.

	Guns.			Ships.	Men.
Of	74	1	6	7	3170
	70	4			
	60	1			
	24	1	1		

This was about eight Days after Monſieur *de Macnamara* [b] ſailed, with eighteen Ships of the Line and eight Frigates, which had been fitted out at *Breſt* and *Rochfort*.

Both Squadrons ſaw and fell in with each other more than once on the *American* Coaſt; though the Fogs, ſo frequent and thick in that Latitude, ſeparated them before they could come near enough to engage. One Part however our Admiral came up with, and took two Ships, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, of 64 Guns each, the latter having on-board four Companies of the Queen's Regiment, four of the Regiment of *Languedoc*; and, divided betwixt both, about 7600 *l.* Sterling for the Payment of the Troops [*].

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[a] On Thurſday January 23, a Proclamation was iſſued to encourage Seamen to enter themſelves on-board his Majeſty's Ships of War, by offering each able Seaman, between twenty and fifty Years of Age, who ſhall enter voluntarily, 30s. Bounty-money; and every ordinary Seaman, 20s. Bounty-money. The ſame Night the Preſs for Seamen was very warm below Bridge, and the next Day there was a very warm Preſs for Land-men, to man the Guard-ſhips in the Room of thoſe who were to be removed on-board the Ships lately commiſſioned, and ordered to be got ready with all Expedition for Service. Public Notice was given at Greenwich-hoſpital, for all the Seamen who were willing to go to Sea, to give in their Names, and that they ſhould not fail of the uſual Encouragements. On Saturday Feb. 8, a Proclamation was publiſhed for recalling all Maſters of Ships, Pilots, Mariners, Seamen, Shipwrights, and other Seafaring-men, his Majeſty's natural born Subjects, from the Service of all foreign Princes and States, and prohibiting ſuch Perſons from entering their Service: Alſo for giving farther Encouragement to Seamen, to enter themſelves on-board his Majeſty's Ships of War, by increaſing the Bounty from 30s. to 3 l. to every able Seaman, and from 20s. to 2 l. to every ordinary Seaman, between the Age of 20 and 50, who ſhould voluntarily enter before the 10th of March next. And for granting a Reward of 2 l. to any Perſon diſcovering any able Seaman, and 30s. for every ordinary Seaman, who ſhould ſecrete themſelves, ſo that ſuch Seamen ſhould be taken for his Majeſty's Service, by any Sea-officer employed for raiſing Men.

[b] Monſieur de Macnamara, after being out at Sea ſome Days, returned with ſix Ships of the Line and three Frigates. So that ſeventeen proceeded to North-America; whereof, three of the Line and three Frigates were *armés en guerre*: ten were only *armés en flute*, as they term it; that is, they had no other than their Upper-deck-guns, and ſerved as Tranſports to carry their Troops. The ſeventeenth was to be uſed as an Hoſpital-ſhip.

Mr. *Boſcawen* was joined on the 21ſt of *June* by Rear-admiral *Holburne*. The ſame Day he advanced within a Mile of *Louiſbourg* Harbour, and ſeeing there four large Ships and two Frigates, he knew that Monſieur *du Perrier* had out-ſailed him, and was ſafe in Port. He then proceeded to his Rendezvous, being the beſt adapted for preventing the Squadron under Monſieur *de la Motte* from getting into the Gulph of *St. Laurence*; though this too, under Cover of Fogs, and by hard Gales of Wind, had the good Fortune to arrive at the Place of its Deſtination. The Ships, under Mr. *Boſcawen*'s Command, becoming now very ſickly, he went to *Halifax*, there to ſend on-ſhore and refreſh the Sailors that were no longer fit for Service: And he left Rear-admiral *Holburne* with five or ſix Ships cruiſing off *Louiſbourg*. But the ſame Diſtempers began to diſcover themſelves, and to ſpread amongſt this Part of our Fleet likewiſe, Mr. *Holburne* burying no leſs than 200 Men out of his own Ship; and, in the whole Squadron, we loſt upwards of 2000. This was owing to the Severity of the Weather at their firſt coming upon the Coaſt, and to the pernicious Humidity of the Fogs, which commonly inflames and renders mortal the Fever attending Seamen at the firſt fitting out of a Fleet.

That Part of the *French* Squadron which had gone to *Quebec*, eſcaped back to *Europe* in the Month of *September*, through the Streight of *Belliſle*. By this Streight is to be underſtood the Channel, which ſeparates *Newfoundland* from the Continent of *America*, running north-weſt and ſouth-weſt; an unfrequented and very hazardous Navigation, which had never before been attempted by any Fleet or Squadron of Ships. Whilſt Mr. *Holburne* continued cruiſing before *Louiſbourg*, the ſtrong Gales of Wind at the Fall of the Year, often drove him many Leagues to Leeward, which gave the *French* an Opportunity of coming out as they did. On the 20th of *September* he came up with three of their Ships, one of which ſeparated from the reſt and was chaced, though ſhe could not be overtaken, by the *Centurion* and *Litchfield*. The *Edinburgh*, *Dunkirk*, and *Norwich*, purſued the other two, and the *Dunkirk* came near them, but directly to windward; ſo that, as there was no Proſpect of Aſſiſtance from the reſt, ſhe was called off by the Admiral. The other Ship that had been left at *Louiſbourg*, I mean the *Eſperance* of 74 Guns, was taken in her Return to *Breſt* by ſome of thoſe under the Command of Rear-admiral *Weſt*.

On the 24th of *July* 1755, ſailed with Sir *Edward Hawke*, to cruiſe to the weſtward, and followed him ſhortly after,

	Guns.		
Of	90	2	18 Two of theſe followed him the Beginning of *Auguſt*.
	80	2	
	74	1	
	70	8	
	66	1	
	60	3	
	50	1	
	44	1	
	Sloop	1	

Sailed at the ſame Time to cruiſe to the Weſtward,

Of	70	1
	60	1

And a few Days afterwards,

Of	60	1

On the 29th of *September* 1755, Sir *Edward Hawke* returned into Port with ſome of his Squadron. Some came in about ten Days before, and two or three of them a few Days afterwards.

On the 14th of *October* 1755, Vice-admiral *Byng* ſailed from *St. Helen's* to cruiſe to the Weſtward. His Squadron, including ſuch Ships as were ſent out after him, was as follows,

	Guns.		
Of	90	1	22
	74	1	
	70	11	
	66	1	
	64	1	
	60	5	
	50	2	
	44	1	
	24	3	
	Sloops	2	

About the Middle of *November* 1755, Vice-admiral *Boſcawen* returned to *England*, with 13 Sail of the Line, and two Frigates.

On the 22d of the ſame Month, Vice-admiral *Byng* returned to *Spithead*, and moſt of his Squadron entered into Port about the ſame time. One of the 70 Gun Ships came in the 4th of *November*; one did not return till the 9th of *December*; and two continued out four Days after that.

On the 9th of *January* his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint *Henry Oſborne*, Eſq; to be Vice-admiral of the Red; *Thomas Griffin*, Eſq; and Sir *Edward Hawke*, Vice-admirals of the White; *Charles Knowles*, Eſq; Hon. *John Forbes*, and Hon. *Edward Boſcawen*, Vice-admirals of the Blue; *Charles Watſon*, and *Temple Weſt*, Eſqrs; Rear-admirals of the Red; *George Pococke*, Eſq; and the Hon. *George Townſhend*, Rear-admirals of the White; *Savage Moſtyn*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.

On the 25th of *March*, his Majeſty, by a moſt gracious Meſſage to the Houſe of Lords, ſignified the Neceſſity of augmenting our Forces by Sea and Land, in order to provide for the Security of our Colonies in *America*, as well as for the Defence of theſe Kingdoms; their Lordſhips preſented the following Addreſs to his Majeſty thereon:

The humble Addreſs of the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Meſſage.

Nothing can more clearly demonſtrate your Majeſty's paternal Concern for the Welfare and Proſperity of your People, than the Royal Care and firm Reſolution, which you have had the Goodneſs to repeat to us, to maintain the juſt Rights and Poſſeſſions of your Crown againſt all Encroachments, and to protect the Commerce of your Kingdoms.

The Preſervation of the public Peace is an Object which your Majeſty, out of your benevolent Diſpoſition for the Good of your faithful Subjects, as well as of Mankind in general, will always have at heart; and we thankfully acknowledge your great Wiſdom, in taking the moſt vigorous and effectual Meaſures to prevent the Infraction of it.

Duty and Affection to your Majeſty, Zeal for your Royal Perſon, Family, and Government, have always been the great Motives of our Conduct. Warmed with theſe Sentiments, and unalterably fixed in the ſame Principles, we are fully convinced of what high Importance it is, to ſtrengthen your Majeſty's Hands, in the preſent Situation of Affairs.

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[*] From the London Gazette. Whitehall, July 15. By Letters received by the Gibraltar Man of War, from Vice-admiral Boſcawen, dated off Louiſburg, June 22, 1755, there is an Account, that on the 10th of that Month, the Alcide, a French Man of War of 64 Guns and 480 Men, commanded by M. Hockquart, and the Lys, commanded by M. Lageril, pierced for 64 Guns, but mounting only 22, and having eight Companies of Land Forces on-board, being ſeparated from the French Squadron commanded by M. Bois de la Mothe, fell in with the Engliſh Fleet off the Banks of Newfoundland, and that a Skirmiſh happened between the ſaid French Men of War and his Majeſty's Ships the Dunkirk and Defiance, in which the Alcide and Lys were taken. The French Ship the Dauphin Royal, which had been in company with the two above-mentioned, diſappeared in the Fog. Other Accounts ſay, that the Engagement happened off Cape Roze, the ſouthermoſt Point of Newfoundland, in N. Latitude 48; that Captain Howe, of the Dunkirk, on meeting with the French Ships, hailed them, and ordered them to pay the uſual Compliment to the Britiſh Flag; and upon their refuſing fired a Broadſide; that the Engagement laſted five Hours; that they fought ſo cloſe, that a Man killed on the Yard of one of the French Men of War, fell into the Dunkirk, which loſt 90 Men in the Engagement; and that on-board the Ships taken were many general Officers and Engineers, and a large Sum of Money. Some Letters add, that a third French Ship ſtruck to the Defiance, Captain Andrews, but afterwards ſtole away under favour of the Fog; and that theſe three ſeparated from the French Fleet in a Fog, the Day before the Engagement.

And we do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, aſſure your Majeſty, that we will chearfully and vigorouſly ſupport your Majeſty, in making ſuch Augmentations of your Forces, by Sea and Land, and in taking ſuch other Meaſures, as Events may make neceſſary, for maintaining the Honour, Rights, and Poſſeſſions of your Crown, and the true Intereſts of your People, and for the Security of your Dominions; and that we will zealouſly ſtand by, and aſſiſt your Majeſty, in repelling any Attempts whatſoever, that may be made to ſupport, or countenance any Deſigns, which may be formed againſt your Majeſty, and your Kingdoms."

His Majeſty'*s moſt Gracious Anſwer.*

My Lords,

"I thank you for this affectionate Addreſs. Nothing ſhall be wanting on my part, that may tend to the effectual Support of the juſt Right and Poſſeſſions of my Crown, and of the true Intereſts of my People. The Confidence which you repoſe in me, ſhall always be made uſe of with the ſtricteſt Regard to theſe great and important Objects."

A Liſt of SHIPS *in Commiſſion*, March 13, 1755.

Ships Names.	Captains.	Guns.
Royal George,	*Roger Martin,*	100
Barfleur,	Lord *Harry Poulet,*	90
St. George,	*John Storr*	90
Prince,	*Charles Saunders,*	90
Ramillies,	*Francis Holborn,*	90
Prince George,	*G. Bridges Rodney,*	90
Torbay,	*Charles Colby,*	74
Culloden,	*Henry Ward,*	74
Monarch,	*Henry Harriſon,*	74
Terrible,	*Philip Durell,*	74
Buckingham,	*Michael Everit,*	70
Yarmouth,	*Harry Norris,*	70
Naſſau,	*George Cockburn,*	70
Somerſet,	*Francis Geary,*	70
Fougaux,	*John Douglaſs*	70
Mars,	*John Amburſt,*	70
Vanguard,	Hon. *John Byron,*	70
Captain,	*Charles Catford,*	70
Grafton,	*Charles Holmes,*	70
Elizabeth,	*John Montague,*	70
Ipſwich,	*Richard Tyrrel,*	70
Orford,	Lord *Northeſk*	70
Chicheſter,	*John Brett,*	70
Northumberland,	Lord *Colvil,*	70
Edinburgh,	*Thomas Stanhope,*	70
Lancaſter,	Hon. *J. Hamilton,*	66
Dunkirk,	Hon. *Richard Howe,*	60
Auguſta,	*Saltrin Willet,*	60
Anſon,	*Robert Manu,*	60
Nottingham,	*Samuel Marſhall,*	60
Kingſton,	*William Parry,*	60
Weymouth,	*Thomas Hanway,*	60
York,	*Hugh Piggot,*	60
Litchfield,	*Charles Stevens,*	50
Wincheſter,	*Edward le Craſs,*	50
Newcaſtle,	*William Holbourn,*	50
Medway,	*Peter Dennis,*	60
Defiance,	*Thomas Andrews,*	60
Thirty-eight Ships.	In all	2652
Ambuſcade,	*Joſhua Rowley,*	40
Lyme,	*Samuel Falkner,*	20
Winchelſea,	*Francis Drake,*	20
Arundel,	—— *Lloyd,*	20
Blandford	*Richard Watkins,*	20

Beſides Sloops, Yachts, &c.

Ships under Orders for Fitting.

Ships Names.	Guns.	Ships Names.	Guns.
Royal Sovereign,	100	*Hampton-Court,*	70
Bedford,	70	*Monmouth,*	70
Sterling Caſtle,	70	*Greenwich,*	60
Swiftſure,	70	*Rocheſter,*	50
Prince Frederick,	70	*Falmouth,*	50
Eſſex,	70		

State of the Royal NAVY of *France*, as it ſtood in *January* 1755.

Sixty-four Men of War.

7	of	80 Guns.	28	of	64 Guns.
13	——	74	8	——	50
8	——	70			

Twenty-eight Frigates, *viz.*

2	of	46 Guns.	3	of	26 Guns.
1	——	44	6	——	24
1	——	40	4	——	20
1	——	36	2	——	16
1	——	34	1	——	12
6	——	30			

Beſides ſix Frigates on the Stocks at *Rochfort*, viz. one of 54 Guns, and five of 46. In all 98 Ships and Frigates.

On *Friday* the 25th of *April*, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and, amongſt other Bills, gave his Aſſent to one for the better raiſing of Marines and Seamen; to prevent the ſpreading of the Cattle Diſtemper; and to ſeveral other public and private Bills. After which his Majeſty made a moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; in which he acquainted the two Houſes, that the Zeal they have ſhewn for ſupporting the Honour, Rights, and Poſſeſſions of his Crowns, hath afforded him the greateſt Satisfaction: That his Deſire to preſerve the public Tranquillity has been ſincere and uniform: That he hath religiouſly adhered to the Stipulations of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*; and made it his Care not to injure, or offend any Power whatſoever; but never could entertain a Thought of purchaſing the Name of Peace, at the Expence of ſuffering Encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what juſtly belongs to *Great-Britain*, either by ancient Poſſeſſion or ſolemn Treaties: That the Vigour and Firmneſs of his Parliament on this important Occaſion, have enabled him to be prepared for ſuch Contingencies as may happen: That if reaſonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation can be agreed upon, he will be ſatisfied, and, in all Events, rely on the Juſtice of his Cauſe, the effectual Support of his People, and the Protection of the Divine Providence.

After which the right honourable the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to *Tueſday* the 27th of *May* next.

The Preſs for Seamen was carried on with great Vigour in all Parts of the United Kingdom, and in *Ireland*; but great Numbers entered voluntarily. Such a patriotic Spirit prevailed, that almoſt all the conſiderable Towns gave large Rewards, in Addition to his Majeſty's Bounty, to ſuch able-bodied Seamen and Landmen as would enter into his Service.

By Letters of the 28th of *June*, from Lieutenant-governor *Lawrence*, dated *Halifax* in *Nova-Scotia*, the Government were informed that his Majeſty's Forces had gained an Advantage, and defeated the *French* in that Colony. "I "have," ſays Mr. *Lawrence* to Sir *Thomas Robinſon* one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, "the Honour "to acquaint you, that the *French* Fort at *Beauſejour* [*] ſur"rendered to Lieutenant-colonel *Monckton* the 16th In"ſtant, and the next Day a ſmall Fort upon the River "*Gaſpereau*, running into the Bay *Verte*, where the *French* "had their principal Magazine for ſupplying the *French*

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[*] The Fort at Beauſejour (in Engliſh the Fair-Reſidence) taken from the French, as alſo that of Bay Verte, were both built by them ſince the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Theſe Forts ſtand about 12 Miles aſunder, on both ſides of the Iſthmus of Nova-Scotia; Beauſejour in the Bottom of the Bay of Fundy, and Bay Verte is in the S. W. ſide of the Peninſula. From theſe Forts the French have furniſhed the Cape-Sable or Micmack, and the Iſland of St. John Indians, who make 300 fighting Men, with Arms, Proviſion, and Cloathing. With theſe Indians the French have conſtantly harraſſed our Infant Colony of Nova-Scotia, and reduced it frequently to great Diſtreſs, by carrying off the Engliſh, and ſcalping Numbers, and by deſtroying their Plantations. One Night theſe Indians, with diſguiſed French, ſurpriſed the Village of Dartmouth; they burnt the Houſes, and put all the Inhabitants to Death. When the French had built the above Forts, they threatened to deſtroy all the French Subjects of England, if they did not retreat behind theſe Forts, which obliged them to deſtroy their Settlements, or put themſelves under their Protection. Theſe are the People called Acadians in the Treaty of Capitulation; and they became the Subjects of Great-Britain when Nova-Scotia was reduced in 1710. There are about 10 or 15000 of theſe French Neutrals, as they are called, in the Province: But by the Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms in reducing theſe Places, theſe People, who were lately

Inhabitants and *Indians.* In theſe Forts were found a great Quantity of Proviſions, and Stores of all Kinds, of which Colonel *Monckton* has not yet had time to tranſmit me a particular Account. I incloſe you the Terms of Capitulation. Notwithſtanding the Fort at *Beauſejour* had 26 Pieces of Cannon mounted, they ſurrendered after four-Days Bombardment, before we had even mounted a ſingle Cannon upon our Batteries. Our Loſs upon this Occaſion is very inconſiderable, not above 20 killed, and as many wounded. Major *Preble*, of the Irregulars, is ſlightly wounded in the Shoulder; Enſign *Tongue*, of Major-general *Warburton*'s Regiment, acting as Sub-engineer, received a Shot in his Thigh, as he was taking a Survey of the Ground for the Trenches and Batteries to be raiſed againſt the Fort; and Enſign *Hay*, of Colonel *Hopſon*'s, who had been taken Priſoner by the *Indians*, in going alone from our Fort to the Camp, was killed by one of our Shells in the *French* Fort, which fell through a ſort of Caſemat, and alſo killed three *French* Officers, and wounded two more.

“ At Colonel *Monckton*'s firſt Arrival, the *French* had a large Number of Inhabitants and *Indians*, 450 of which were poſted at a Blockhouſe, which they had on their ſide of the River *Meſſaguaſh*, to defend the Paſs of that River: Here they had thrown up a ſtrong Breaſt-work of Timber for covering their Men, and had Cannon mounted on the Blockhouſe. At this Place they made a Stand for about an Hour, but were forced by our Troops with ſome Loſs, leaving their Blockhouſe, and the Paſs of the River, clear for our People, who marched, without further Interruption, to the Ground intended for their Encampment. As we had not Men enough to inveſt the Fort entirely, ſeveral got away; and, when the Fort ſurrendered, there remained 150 Regulars, and about 300 Inhabitants, ſeveral of which, with their Officers, were wounded. We do not yet exactly know the Numbers that were killed in the Fort, but we believe their Loſs has not been trifling, as ſeveral lay half buried upon the Parade. Colonel *Monckton* has new named the Fort, and called it *Fort Cumberland.* He gives the Troops, under his Command, great Praiſe for their good Behaviour, and the Spirit and Reſolution with which they acted upon this Occaſion.

“ Colonel *Monckton* is proceeding to the Fort of *St. John's River*, which I flatter myſelf will give him very little Trouble, as their main Strength, which was *Beauſejour*, is gone: He has likewiſe my Orders to leave a Garriſon in that Fort, as it is an infinitely better one than ours, as well for Situation as Strength. The deſerted *French* Inhabitants are delivering up their Arms. I have given him Orders to drive them out of the Country at all Events; though if he wants their Aſſiſtance in putting the Troops under Cover (as the Barracks in the *French* Fort were demoliſhed) he may firſt make them do all the Service in their Power. Our Poſſeſſion of the Iſthmus, it is to be hoped, will bring over the *Mickmack Indians* to our Intereſt.

“ I cannot cloſe my Letter to you, Sir, without taking notice how much I am obliged to Lieutenant-colonel *Monckton*'s military Skill and good Conduct for our Succeſs at *Beauſejour*; Captain *Rous*, who commanded the naval Part of this Expedition, has been of the greateſt Service to it; and I have reaſon to believe our ſucceeding ſo ſoon, and with ſo little Loſs, is much owing to the good Management of Mr. *Brewſe*, who acted there as chief Engineer.

“ *Propoſals for the Capitulation of* Beauſejour.

“ The Commander, Officers, Staff-officers, employed for the King and Garriſon of *Beauſejour*, ſhall march out with Arms and Baggage, by Beat of Drum, with lighted Matches.

“ The Commander ſhall have at the Head of his Garriſon ſix Pieces of the largeſt Cannon, one Mortar, and 50 Charges of Powder for every Piece.

“ They ſhall be provided with the neceſſary Carriages to carry them to *Bay Verte*, from whence the Garriſon ſhall embark in their Veſſels to go where they ſhall think proper.

“ The Garriſon ſhall carry with them 200 Quarters of Flour, and 100 Quarters of Bacon.

“ The Garriſon ſhall be allowed the neceſſary Time to go from this Port to *Bay Verte*, and from *Bay Verte* to their Deſtination.

“ The *Acadians* ſhall not be moleſted on account of their having taken Arms; and inaſmuch as they were forced to do it on pain of Death, no Harm ſhall be done to them.

“ The *Acadians* ſhall be permitted to continue in their Religion; they ſhall be allowed Prieſts, and no Violence committed againſt them.

“ Such of the *Acadians* as are ſo diſpoſed, may withdraw to the Territories of the *French* King with their moveable Effects, and have the Liberty ſo to do during the Space of one Year, to commence from the Day of the preſent Capitulation; and the *French* ſhall be allowed to furniſh the *Acadians* with the neceſſary Ships for that Purpoſe in the Courſe of the Year.

“ With regard to ſuch Articles of this Capitulation as may be expreſſed in an obſcure Manner, they ſhall be interpreted to the Advantage of the *French*, and executed *bona fide.*

“ *Terms of Capitulation granted to the Commander and Garriſon of* Beauſejour.

“ The Commander, Officers, Staff-officers, and others, employed for the King and the Garriſon of *Beauſejour*, ſhall march out with their Arms and Baggage, Drums beating.

“ The Garriſon ſhall be ſent directly by Sea to *Louiſburg*, at the Expence of the King of *Great-Britain*.

“ The Garriſon ſhall be provided with ſufficient Proviſions for their Paſſage to *Louiſburg*.

“ With regard to the *Acadians*, as they have been forced to take up Arms on pain of Death, they ſhall be pardoned for the Part they have been taking.

“ Laſtly, The Garriſon ſhall not bear Arms in *America* for the Space of ſix Months.

“ The Terms above-mentioned, are granted upon Condition that the Garriſon ſhall be delivered up to the Troops of the King of *Great-Britain*, at Seven o'Clock this Afternoon.”

By Letters received from Rear-admiral *Holborne*, dated off *Halifax* the 28th of laſt Month, there was an Account that his Majeſty's Ship the *Mars*, of 70 Guns, was unfortunately loſt at the Mouth of that Harbour, by the Fault of the Pilot, but the Crew and Guns were ſaved.

This Defeat of the *French* was ſoon followed with the News of a Defeat on our Part on the Back of *Virginia*: For, on the 26th of *Auguſt*, it was publiſhed in the *London Gazette*,

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lately turned dangerous Enemies, will be reduced to become Subjects of the Crown of England. The Infant Colony of Nova-Scotia, by keeping Poſſeſſion of theſe Forts, will be preſerved from the Depredations of theſe Indians; and when the Fort at St. John's River is ſubdued, all the Province of Nova-Scotia will be reduced, and brought under our Subjection; no Part of which, though ceded by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they ſuffered us to enjoy or take Poſſeſſion of, but the S. E. Peninſula, where all we have to ſhew for 450,000 l. granted by the Britiſh Parliament for the ſecuring and ſettling Nova-Scotia, is only the erecting four ſmall Towns, and three or four Forts. St. John's Fort, at the Mouth of the River ſo called, which empties itſelf into the Weſt-ſide of the Bay of Fundy, oppoſite to, and diſtant 10 Leagues from Annapolis-Royal, was built by the French ſince the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. This Fort commands 150 fighting Indians hereabouts, whom they occaſionally iſſue out upon the N. E. Parts of New-England. At the Mouth of the River is a Road for any Ships; on the North-ſide is a Streight, where no Ship can paſs but at the Top of the Tide, when the Water is upon the Level, for a Low-water the Fall is 30 Feet. On this Entrance, lined on both Sides by a ſolid Rock, the French Fort ſtands. Above this Streight the River is a Mile broad, and admits a delightful Navigation for large Ships 60 Miles up the Country, it having its Source from three Branches of St. Lawrence's River; one of which is directly oppoſite to Quebec. The French by this River have conveyed Succours, &c. both in Peace and War to Quebec from Old France, to avoid the Riſk of St. Lawrence's River: And they can have a Communication with France in Winter, when St. Lawrence is frozen for five Months; and alſo by it they have an Harbour for their Men of War and Privateers, more convenient for annoying our Colonies than Louiſbourg, the Dunkirk of America, and it is the only Port at all times on the Ocean for conveying Stores to Old France, and Lumber to their Sugar Iſlands, as Sugar-mills, Cork, the Frames of Houſes, &c. In ſhort, they reap every Advantage from this River, that the Engliſh derive from New-England.

Gazette; “By his Majeſty's Ship the *Sea-Horſe*, from *Virginia*, Advice has been received, that Major-general *Braddock*, having advanced with 2000 Men, and all the Stores and Proviſions, to the little Meadows (about 20 Miles beyond *Fort Cumberland*, at *Wills's Creek*) found it neceſſary to leave the greateſt Part of his Waggons, &c. at that Place, under the Command of Colonel *Dunbar*, with a Detachment of 800 Men, ordering him to follow as faſt as the Nature of the Service would admit. The General having by this means leſſened his Line of March, proceeded with great Expedition, his Corps then conſiſting of about 1200 Men, and 10 Pieces of Artillery, together with the neceſſary Ammunition, Stores, and Proviſions. On the 8th of *July* he encamped within 10 Miles of Fort *du Queſne*; and on the 9th, on his March through the Woods towards that Fort, was attacked by a Body of *French* and *Indians*, who made a ſudden Fire from the Woods, which put the Troops into great Confuſion, and occaſioned their retiring with great Precipitation, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of the General and the Officers, many of whom were killed whilſt they were uſing all poſſible Means to rally the Men. The General, who exerted himſelf as much as Man could do, after having five Horſes killed under him, was ſhot through the Arm and the Lungs, of which he died the fourth Day. Sir *Peter Halket* was killed on the Spot, Two of the General's Aids-de-camp (Captain *Orme* and Captain *Morris*) were wounded. His Secretary (Son to Governor *Shirley*) was killed. Sir *John St. Clair*, Quarter-maſter-general, and his Aſſiſtant Mr. *Leſlie*, both wounded. It is reckoned that there were about 200 killed, and 400 wounded; the latter are moſtly collected at *Wills's Creek*, to which Place Colonel *Dunbar*, with the Remainder of the Troops, was retired: From whom a more particular Account is expected[*].”

A LIST *of the* FLAG-OFFICERS *of his Majeſty's Fleet*, July 1, 1755.

James Steuart, Eſq; Admiral of the Fleet.

Hon. *George Clinton*, —	Admirals of the White.
Sir *William Rowley*, —	
Knt. of the *Bath*, —	
William Martin, Eſq; —	Admirals of the Blue.
Iſaac Townſend, Eſq; —	
Rt. Hon. Lord *Anſon*, —	
Perry Mayne, Eſq; —	Vice-admirals of the Red.
Hon. *John Byng* — —	
Henry Oſborne, Eſq; —	
Thomas Smith, Eſq; —	Vice-admirals of the White.
Thomas Griffin, Eſq; —	
Sir *Edward Hawke*, —	
Knt. of the *Bath*, —	
Charles Knowles, Eſq; —	Vice-admirals of the Blue.
Hon. *John Forbes*, —	
Hon. *Edw. Boſcawen*, —	
Charles Watſon, Eſq; —	Rear-admirals of the Red.
Temple Weſt, Eſq; —	
George Pocock, Eſq; —	Rear-admirals of the White.
Hon. *G. Townſhend*, —	
Savage Moſtyn, Eſq; —	Rear-admirals of the Blue.
Fran. Holburne, Eſq; —	

234 Captains, 85 Maſters and Commanders, 632 Lieutenants, were upon the Admiralty Liſt, *July* 1, 1755.

Lord *Harry Powlett*, Captain of the *Barfleur*, was tried by a Court-martial at *Portſmouth* for leaving his Station at

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[*] The following Liſt has been received of the Officers killed and wounded upon this Occaſion.—Major-general Braddock, dead of his Wounds; Robert Orme, and Roger Morris, Eſqrs. Aids-de-camp, wounded; William Shirley, Eſq; Secretary, killed; Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quarter-maſter-general, wounded; Matthew Leſlie, Gent. Aſſiſtant to the Quarter-maſter general, wounded.——Sir Peter Halket's Regiment: Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, killed; Lieutenant-colonel Gage, wounded; Captains Tatton and Gethins, killed; Lieutenants Littler and Dunbar, wounded; Lieutenant Halket, killed; Lieutenant Treeby, wounded; Lieutenant Allen, killed; Lieutenants Simpſon, Lock, Diſney, and Kennedy, wounded; Townſend and Nartlow, killed; Pennington, wounded.——Colonel Dunbar's Regiment: Lieutenant-colonel Burton, and Major Sparks, wounded; Capt. Cholmley, killed; Captains Bowyer and Roſs, wounded.——Subalterns: Barbut and Walſh m, wounded; Crimble, Wideman, and Hanſard, killed; Glandwin and Edmeſton, wounded; Brereton and Hart, killed; Montreſeur, M'Mullen, Crow, and Sterling, wounded.——Artillery: Captain-lieutenant Smith, killed; Lieutenants Buchannan, M'Cloud, and M'Culler, wounded.——Engineers: Peter M'Keller, Robert Gordon, and ——Williamſon, Eſqrs. wounded.——Detachment of Sailors: Lieutenant Spendelow, and Mr. Talbot, Midſhipman, killed; Captain Stone, of General Laſcelles's Regiment, killed; Captain Floyer, of General Warburton's Regiment, wounded.——Independent Companies of New-York: Captain Gates, wounded; Lieutenant Sumain, killed; Lieutenants Howarth and Gray, of Captain Demerie's independent Company, wounded.——Virginia Troops: Captain Stevens, wounded; Captains Poulſton and Peronie, killed.—Subalterns: Hamilton, Wright, and Splitdorff, killed; Stuart, wounded; Waggoner, killed.——Some Remarks on the late Engagement near Fort du Queſne, on the Monongahela River in North-America: Firſt, it is obvious, that the Diſorder and precipitate Retreat of the Regiments of Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, were the immediate Effect of a Panick, excited by their being ſurprized, and fired upon in Flank by the French Indians that lay in Ambuſh in the Woods. Secondly, that the chief Leader only can be regarded as the firſt Cauſe of this unfortunate Defeat, who was guilty of a ſhameful Neglect in not previouſly ſearching the Woods and Thickets, by ſmall flanking Parties of our Indians: This Neglect is more ſurpriſing, ſince this neceſſary Caution is a point of Duty that is well known almoſt to every Officer that has been employed upon real Service abroad; and practiſed even in Subalterns Commands in cloſe Countries. Thirdly, that the private Men of the aforeſaid Regiment cannot juſtly be taxed with Cowardice; ſince any other Regiments, in the like Situation, would moſt probably have miſbehaved in the ſame manner. For there are no Troops, however brave and experienced, that are not ſuſceptible of a Panick, from ſo conſiderable and fatal a Surprize as the above-mentioned; which, beſides, always occaſions the Surpriſed to magnify greater in their Minds the moſt trivial Dangers; and ſome Inſtances might be adduced of more ſhameful Defeats of the moſt excellent veteran Troops from the like Cauſe. The American Militia behaved with extraordinary Bravery; ſince Militia, in the moſt advantageous Situation, can ſeldom be made to ſtand the Fire of a ſuperior, or even equal Number of regular Troops; eſpecially after they are abandoned by their own Regulars and principal Hopes; but theſe gallant Militia, forming the rear Column, and being probably at a good Diſtance from the ſecond, were not expoſed to the Indian Attack from the Woods in Flank, nor liable to be put in Diſorder by the precipitate Retreat of the firſt and ſecond Columns or Regiments; they were therefore free from the Cauſes of the Panick and Diſorder of theſe two Regiments in their Front, and conſequently remained cooly, and in good Order, to repel the Attack of the Enemy, and cover the Retreat of the Engliſh, who, otherwiſe, would probably have fallen all together a Sacrifice under the Fire of the Enemy, or into their Hands. The French Leader behaved like a good Officer, who drew his Men, though much inferior in Number to ours, from their Lines or Retrenchments, in order to invite General Br——k to come precipitately into the Snare he had prepared for him; and if the Ambuſcade was diſcovered, he might, if neceſſary, retire within his Retrenchment, and from thence, if forced, under the Cannon of Fort du Queſne; he alſo judiciouſly made choice of this Ground, where, by the favour of a narrow Front, his ſmall Command might reſiſt a much ſuperior Number. General Br——k having advanced, probably by one indifferent Road, in a cloſe and deſart Country, at a conſiderable Diſtance from our Colonies, certainly ought not to have engaged the Enemy, though inferior in Number, without the greateſt Circumſpection, and taking every poſſible Advantage, and making ſure of a Victory; ſince, if defeated, he ran the great Hazard of having his Troops cut off, or ſtarved in their Retreat, and muſt inevitably loſe his Cannon and other military Stores; and ſince Victory would probably yield great Advantage to our Cauſe, and the Loſs of it is a very conſiderable Diſappointment. In this Action it doth not appear that any Uſe was made of the Engliſh Indians; ſhould they not have been ordered to advance againſt the Enemy, in the Woods on each ſide of the Field of Action, oppoſite to the Flanks of our Troops, where they muſt have diſcovered the French Ambuſcade, and prevented the fatal Surprize of our Men?—And if none of the Enemy lay there in Ambuſh, our Indians ought to have been commanded to advance to the Enemy's Flanks, and charge them while our regular Troops attacked them cloſely in Front. Our General had 10 Field-pieces with him, but no uſe, as far as we have yet learned, was made of them. If the French were advantageouſly poſted, why did he not play his Cannon for ſome time againſt them before he advanced to cloſe Action; this would, doubtleſs, have had a good Effect, and in the mean while ſome one might accidentally diſcover the Ambuſh, or advert to the neceſſary Precaution of ſearching the Woods and Thickets in Flank; and if the French had a Breaſt-work in their Front, the Cannon might have done ſome Execution by playing them in Ricochet, or they might be played to amuſe the Enemy, while our General endeavoured to counterchicane them, by diſpatching the Indians with a Detachment of the New-England Militia, in the beſt manner, through the Woods, in order to ſurprize and attack the French in Flank; which might naturally occur to him in ſuch a Situation. It would appear that our firſt Column fired at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Enemy, and when Men have thrown away their Fire, they are more ſuſceptible of a Panick. The Event, perhaps, might have been much more proſperous, notwithſtanding the Ambuſh, if the two firſt Columns had been ordered to advance as quickly upon the Enemy as poſſible, without breaking their Order, and keep up their Fire till they came within ten Yards of them, then give them a Volley, and ruſh in upon them with ſcrewed Bayonets; for though our Troops are better diſciplined than the French, and probably fire a little faſter, yet this, I am of Opinion, is always our beſt Method againſt them, becauſe our Men are generally heavier and ſtronger-bodied, and will ſeldom fail, in cloſe Action, to break them. But if the Enemy was covered by a Breaſt-work, there was a Neceſſity of keeping up the Fire of our Men till they got on top of the Breaſt-work, ſince every Shot that is fired before is loſt, or can only do Execution by the greateſt Accident. As ſoon as the French Indians began to fire on the Flanks of Halket's Regiment, it ſhould have been ordered to retire immediately without firing, till out of the Reach of the Flanking-fire from the Woods; then to halt and face the Enemy, bringing up the Cannon in their Front, and playing them upon the French till the French Indians were repulſed, and the Woods in Flank ſcoured by our Indians, and a ſufficient Detachment of the New-England Militia; then might our Troops have attacked with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs, while the ſaid Detachment with our Indians attacked the French in Flank, if they ſhould run the Hazard of keeping their Ground.—It muſt be owned, however, that General Br——k did gallantly, and deſerved a much better Fate, as did all the brave Officers who ſuffered under his Command.

Sea without Leave of his Admiral, Sir *Edward Hawke*, then on a Cruiſe; of which Court theſe were the Proceedings:

At a Court-martial held on-board his Majeſty's Ship the *Prince George*, in *Portſmouth* Harbour, the 20th, 21ſt, and 22d of *October* 1755.

Preſent, *Henry Oſborne*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red, Preſident.—Capt. *Roger Martin*, Hon. Capt. *John Hamilton*, Capt. *George Bridges Rodney*, Capt. *John Montagu*, Hon. Capt. *George Murray*, Capt. *Thorpe Fowke*, Capt. *Richard Tyrrel*, Capt. *William Lloyd*, Capt. *R. Edwards*.

In purſuance of an Order from the Right Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty to Vice-admiral *Oſborne*, dated the 9th Inſtant, to inquire into the Conduct of Lord *Harry Powlett*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Barfleur*, which proceeded to Sea in *July* laſt, under the Command of Sir *Edward Hawke*, for ſeparating from Sir *Edward*, and returning into Port.

The Court having heard the Evidence, and alſo what the Priſoner had to offer, are of Opinion, that he did not judge and act right in giving chace on the 24th of *Auguſt*, to a Sail ſeen in the South-weſt, when three Sail were ſeen in the North-eaſt, which might probably be Part of the Fleet; but it having clearly appeared to them that his Intentions were upright towards the Service, as he had before uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to rejoin the Fleet, on the Station it was in when he ſeparated from it, and did afterwards uſe the like Endeavours to join it on the Rendezvous, they do not think this Error deſerving of Puniſhment, and do therefore unanimouſly only judge it proper to admoniſh him, as he is hereby admoniſhed, to be more cautious in his future Conduct.

As to his returning into Port, the Court are of Opinion that, conſidering the Defects of the Ship's Rudder, his proceeding therein was very juſtifiable, and therefore they do unanimouſly acquit him of all Blame upon that Account, and he is hereby acquitted accordingly.

Henry Oſborne, *Roger Martin*, *Geo. Murray*, *John Hamilton*, *T. Fowke*, *G. B. Rodney*, *Richard Tyrrel*, *J. Montagu*, *W. Lloyd*, *R. Edwards*.——*Charles Fearne*, Judge-advocate.

Reſolutions of the Court. That in conſequence of verbal Orders from Sir *Edward Hawke*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, in the Morning, Lord *Harry Powlett*, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Barfleur*, gave chace to a Sail in the South-eaſt, to Leeward of the Fleet, from Ten o'Clock in the Morning till Noon, when ſhe ſpoke with the Chace; that after he had done ſo, he made ſail, and ſtretched to the Weſtward till Two o'Clock, then tacked, and ſtood towards the Fleet till Seven, when Lord *Harry* directed the Maſter to ſet the Admiral, and at that Time, by the Maſter's Judgment, the Admiral bore North-eaſt and by North, three or four Leagues. That by comparing the Log-books of the *St. George* and *Barfleur*, and working a Traverſe of both Ships Courſes between the Hours of Ten in the Morning (when the *Barfleur* began to chace) and Seven in the Evening, thoſe Ships were at the laſt named Hour full three Leagues diſtant from each other. That about Six o'Clock in the Evening, a Signal was ſeen flying on-board the Admiral, by ſome of the Officers on-board the *Barfleur*, for recalling Cruiſers. That near, or about Seven o'Clock, ſome of the Fleet were ſeen ſtanding on one Tack, and ſome on the other, which made it doubtful on-board the *Barfleur*, whether the Fleet ſtood to the Eaſtward or Weſtward. That towards Eight o'Clock, by the Diſtance of the *Barfleur*, and Night coming on, ſhe loſt Sight of the Fleet. That in the Doubt they were under on-board the *Barfleur* of the Poſition of the Fleet, Lord *Harry Powlett* did, upon adviſing with the Maſter, give Orders, as the probable Method for joining it, for the Ship to continue ſtanding to the Eaſtward till Midnight, and then, if nothing of them ſhould be ſeen, to go about to the Weſtward. That in conſequence of ſuch Directions, the *Barfleur* continued ſtanding to the Eaſtward till Midnight. That there were not any Lights ſeen on-board the Admiral from the *Barfleur*, during the whole Night. That as no Lights were ſeen, the *Barfleur*, in conſequence of the aforenoticed Orders of Lord *Harry Powlett*, was tacked to the Weſtward at Midnight. That from the time of Lord *Harry Powlett*'s ſpeaking with the Chace at Noon of the 23d till Break of Day the next Morning, he continued to crowd all the Sail he could ſet in order to join the Fleet. That between Five and Six in the Morning of the 24th, the Midſhipman at the Maſt-head called out, that he ſaw three Sail bearing about E. and by N. That thereupon the Lieutenant of the Watch, thinking it was Part of the Fleet, prepared to put about in order to join them. That while Preparation was making for that Purpoſe, a Sail was ſeen from the Maſt-head in the South-weſt Quarter. That thereupon the Lieutenant went down to acquaint Lord *Harry Powlett* with what the Midſhipman at the Maſt-head had diſcovered in both Quarters. That upon ſuch Information, Lord *Harry Powlett* gave Orders to chace the Sail to the S. W. That about Nine o'Clock in the Morning, while the *Barfleur* was chacing this Sail to the South-weſt, another Sail was ſeen from the Maſt-head in the South-eaſt, upon which the *Barfleur* ſhaped her Courſe between both. That ſhe continued chacing till about Five or Six in the Afternoon, when the Sail firſt chaced made Sir *Edward Hawke*'s diſtinguiſhing Signal. That thereupon the *Barfleur* left her, and gave chace to the other Sail in the South-eaſt Quarter, and ſpoke with her between Six and Seven o'Clock. That then the *Barfleur* made ſail to the Northward, and continued ſtanding ſo till *Wedneſday* Morning, when the Ship having ſteered very hard for three or four Days before, and it being a fine Morning, the Tiller was unſhipped, and the Gooſe-neck ſhifted an Inch and half further forward, it having bore ſo hard upon the Sweep as almoſt to have worn it through. That this being finiſhed, ſhe made ſail again to the North-ward, about Nine in the Morning. That, a few Hours afterwards, the Carpenter made a Report to the Officer of the Watch, that the Stern-poſt was looſe and worked much, that the ſecond and third Pintles of the Rudder (which had been before ſurveyed and complained of) worked much more than they had done, and that the Upper-brace upon the Stern-poſt was looſe. That upon this Report, Lord *Harry Powlett* ſent the firſt Lieutenant and Maſter with the Carpenter to examine into it, who obſerved the Oakum to be worked out of the Wooden-ends, the Upper-brace to be drawn half an Inch from its Place, and the two Pintles of the Rudder to be looſe, and they cauſed the Stern-poſt and Standard to be frapped together, and then both to the Mizen-maſt; and Lord *Harry Powlett* ordered the two After-guns in the Gun-room to be ſtruck into the Hold, to eaſe the After-part of the Ship. The Ship continued ſtanding on to the Northward till *Thurſday* Morning, and then tacked and ſtood to the Eaſtward. That the Carpenter continuing to urge the dangerous Condition of the Ship, Lord *Harry Powlett* did the next Day (being *Friday*) order him, with his two Mates, to inſpect ſtrictly into the Defects of the Rudder and Stern-poſt, and to make a careful and exact Report to him thereof, which they did under their Hands. That in their Report they repreſented, that having ſtrictly inſpected into the Defects of the Rudder and Stern-poſt, they found the Head of the Stern-poſt to work, but not ſo much as it did before, on account of the two After-guns being taken away, the Weather more moderate, and the Stern-poſt being frapped to the Standard and to the Mizen-maſt; but they could not judge of the bad Conſequence attending in a Gale of Wind, or large Sea; that they alſo found the Upper-brace ſtarted from the Bedding of the Stern-poſt half an Inch, the ſecond and third Pintles to be looſe and work much, notwithſtanding they drove the large ſquare Staples agreeable to the Reſult of a late Survey: That between the ſecond and third Brace they farther found the Boarding of the Rudder to be cloſe and well to the Stern-poſt, and five Feet and a half higher up it was flown aft from the Poſt one Inch bare, occaſioned, as they judged, by the Brace drawing aft, all which Defects, they were of Opinion, had proceeded by the Ship's general Weakneſs, and her viſibly falling abaft, plainly appearing by the Gooſe-neck of the Tiller drawing from the Sweep, one Inch and a half. That the *Barfleur* ſtood to the Eaſtward till about *Saturday* Noon, in order to get into Sir *Edward Hawke*'s Rendezvous, having got into the Latitude the Evening before. That then Lord *Harry Powlett* directed the Maſter to work the Bearings of *Uſhant*, by whoſe reckoning

oning it bore about E. N. E. 32 Leagues, and that then Lord *Harry* declared to the Maſter, that he had got into Sir *Edward*'s Rendezvous. That ſome Hours afterwards, Lord *Harry* told the Maſter, that ſeeing nothing of the Fleet, and by the Carpenter's Report to him of the Badneſs of the Stern-poſt and Rudder, and other Defects he had given in, he did not think it adviſeable to keep the Sea any longer, and aſked the Maſter's Opinion thereupon; who telling his Lordſhip, that he thought the Rudder bad enough to bring the Ship into Port; Lord *Harry* ordered him to ſhape his Courſe for *Spithead.* That all Lord *Harry's* Officers, who have been before this Court, ſeverally declared, that if they had been called upon by their Captain, in a general Conſultation, they ſhould have approved and adviſed the Meaſure of proceding into Port when the *Barfleur* did. That Lord *Harry* expreſſed, by the general Tenor of his Converſation with his Officers, an earneſt Deſire to rejoin Sir *Edward Hawke*, and a deep Regret of being obliged to return into Port.

The Court then agreed unanimouſly in Opinion in the following Reſolutions upon Lord Harry Powlett*'s Conduct.*

THAT from the time Lord *Harry Powleett* ſpoke with the Sail to which he gave chace, by the Admiral's Directions, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, to Break of Day the next Morning, he uſed his beſt Endeavours to rejoin the Fleet. That after the Break of Day, on the 24th, he did not uſe proper Endeavours to join the Fleet. That upon the Report made ſoon after Day-light of the 24th to Lord *Harry Powlett*, by the Lieutenant of the Watch, of three Sail being ſeen to the Eaſtward, which the Lieutenant told Lord *Harry Powlett*, he believed to be Part of the Fleet, and of another Sail being ſeen in the South-weſt Quarter, Lord *Harry* did not judge and act right in giving chace to the Sail ſeen in the South-weſt, in preference to the three Sail ſeen to the Eaſtward, ſuppoſed to be Part of the Fleet. That after Lord *Harry Powlett* left off Chace the Evening of the 25th, he uſed all proper Endeavours to rejoin the Fleet; firſt in the Station he had left them on, when ſeparated from them, and afterwards on the Station of Rendezvous. That after getting upon the Rendezvous (conſidering the Nature of the Defects of the Rudder, as found upon Examination made by the firſt Lieutenant, Maſter, and Carpenter, and afterwards reported upon a Survey taken by the Carpenter and his two Mates) Lord *Harry Powlett* was very juſtifiable in leaving the Rendezvous at the time he did, and returning into Port.

His Lordſhip's *Defence, after the Examination of the Witneſſes.*

"I hope, Gentlemen, now the Witneſſes have been examined, my Conduct has appeared to you in a favourable Light. I ſhall not take up more of your Time, than to make ſome few Remarks, and to give ſome Reaſons for that Part of my Conduct which the Witneſſes may not have informed you of. In the firſt place, Sir, it is granted by Sir *Edward Hawke*, that the *Barfleur* chaced from the Fleet, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, by his Directions, that the Remainder of that Day ſhe crowded all her Sail, to endeavour to rejoin the Fleet, is undeniable, but the Diſtance ſhe was from them in the Evening of the 24th is differently aſſerted by his Witneſſes and mine.

Captain *Storr*, of the *St. George*, and Mr. *Hobbs*, the firſt Lieutenant, have declared, that in the Evening of the 24th they ſaw the *Barfleur* three or four Miles on the *St. George*'s Lee-quarter; but I muſt beg leave to obſerve, Sir, that neither of theſe Witneſſes do pretend to ſay, they obſerved any thing of the Tranſactions of the *Barfleur*, from the time of ſpeaking with the Chace at Noon, to the time they imagined her to be at the before-mentioned Diſtance, on the Lee-quarter, at Seven o'Clock in the Evening; neither, Sir, on being croſs-examined, were they poſitive, but only thought it was the *Barfleur*, without being able to give any Reaſon why or wherefore ſhe ſhould be got into that Station.

I beg leave to obſerve to the Court, Sir, that the *Barfleur* having, by her Log-book, run from Ten in the Morning, which was the time of her giving Chace, till Twelve at Noon, when ſhe ſpoke with her S. S. E. four Miles, and after that to the Weſtward five Miles, during which time the *St. George*, by her Log, went five Knots, ſix Fathoms, to the E. N. E. and N. E. by E. that after the *Barfleur* tacked at Two o'Clock, ſhe went eleven Miles to the E. N. E. and N. E. by E. between that Hour and Seven in the Evening; and the *St. George*, by her Log, eight Miles, ſix Fathoms, on the ſame Courſe. Nothing can be plainer, Sir, than that it was impoſſible for the *Barfleur* to be nearer to the *St. George* at Seven in the Evening, than ten or twelve Miles.

I beg leave likewiſe to obſerve, Sir, that it is corroborated by the firſt, ſecond, third, and fifth Lieutenants of the *Barfleur*, as well as by the Maſters of the *Naſſau* and *Medway*.

It has appeared by the Log-books, that the *Orford* did that Day chace to Leeward, that her Signal was made to return at Two in the Afternoon, but that no mention is made of her rejoining before Night.

It has appeared by ſeveral Witneſſes, that a Ship was in the Evening of the 24th between the Fleet and the *Barfleur*, and much nearer to the Fleet than the latter. I ſhall therefore, Sir, put the beſt Conſtruction I can think of on the Evidence given by Capt. *Storr* and Mr. *Hobbs*, which is, that they muſt have miſtaken the Ship they repreſented to Sir *Edward Hawke* for the *Barfleur*.

Two more Witneſſes, *viz.* the Maſter and Mate of the *St. George* did appear to aſcertain the Diſtance the *Barfleur* was from the *St. George*, in the Evening of the 24th of *Auguſt*. But, Sir, ſuch palpable Contradictions, ſuch notorious Falſities ſo plainly appeared againſt them, that I dare ſay this Court will lay no Streſs on their Evidence.

Their having been guilty of ſuch Male-practices in the Log-book of the Admiral's Ship, the Record of the whole Fleet, has ſo plainly appeared to this Court, that I need not take up your Time to invalidate ſuch Evidences.

It has appeared, Sir, that in the Evening of the 24th, I imagined, as did the Officers of the *Barfleur*, that the Fleet was tacked, and in conſequence of that, and not ſeeing any Lights, I order'd the Ship to be tacked at Twelve o'Clock at Night, and to ſtand the other way till Sunriſe.

Whether the Fleet did tack that Evening, or not, will appear by the Log-books; all that I know, is, I thought they did, and by the Rendezvous Sir *Edward* gave that Day, which was in the N. W. Quarter, as well as by the Orders he gave us to take all *French* Ships, I did conclude he would ſtand that Way. However, I took what I thought the ſureſt Method to rejoin him, which was the ſtanding on till Twelve at Night, and ſeeing no Light to ſtand the other way till Morning; whether the Wind varied, or whether the Fleet had more than we, I cannot ſay, but I imagine ſomething of that ſort has been the Occaſion of our Separation that Night; it is an Accident, I believe, has often happened at Sea, and, I dare ſay, the Court will do me the Juſtice to believe, it was contrary to my Intention.

It has appeared, Sir, that the next Morning being out of Sight of Sir *Edward Hawke*, ſeeing only three Sail in the N. E. and one to the Weſtward, I gave chace to her. I could not have the leaſt Suſpicion by her Situation and Manner of Standing (as has appeared to the Court) that ſhe had ſeparated from the Fleet, but, on the contrary, I believed her to be a Homeward-bound Ship, as firmly as I believe any thing.

I thought it rather a meritorious Act to ſpeak with every thing that had the Aſpect of *French*, I could not foreſee any bad Conſequence that could attend it. I had great Probability of overtaking the Fleet the next Day, had the Wind ſhifted, and if not ſhould have rejoined them in the Rendezvous, had not my Ship been diſabled.

I imagined it to be the Maxim of my Admiral, as well as of all Admirals cruiſing, to endeavour to ſpeak with every thing that ſhould appear; I therefore, as I thought, followed his Steps, and I looked on it as my indiſpenſable Duty, at that Time, ſo to do.

Had I not given chace to that Ship, Sir, and ſhe had proved to be a *French* Man of War (this Court would not have judged by Conſequences but) thoſe clamorous People who expect every Officer to foreſeee all Conſequences; who pretend by their Clamours to dictate all Proceedings; would not have fitted out the Ship who (they would have ſaid) refuſed to ſpeak with a *French* Man of War, under pretence of rejoining the Fleet; a Fleet, ſay they, that was not in ſuch preſent Need of Aſſiſtance, as they were double the Strength of any *French* Squadron then on the Sea.

I will alſo ſuppoſe, Sir, that the Ship I chaced had proved to be a *French* Man of War, and that I had had the good Fortune to take her, what would then have been ſaid with regard to this Chace?

I apprehend, Sir, the giving chace as I did, was not acting in Diſobedience to any Order or Signal whatſoever; and if, Sir, it ſhould be ordained, that no Ship belonging to a Fleet is, on loſing Company with that Fleet, to give chace out of the Way of rejoining it, the Conſequence of ſuch an Order muſt be, that many Enemy's Ships will eſcape being taken. By the Direction, Sir, I judged the Ship chaced to be in from the Fleet (which Fleet I knew was bound the contrary way) there was no Probability of any Ship ſpeaking with her except the *Barfleur*. In doing this, Sir, I could have no private View: No Benefit could ariſe to me from a Capture, more than to the reſt of the Fleet. It was my Zeal, Sir, for his Majeſty's Service, and my Inclination to diſtreſs the Enemy, that prompted me to give chace.

I believe Sir, it has appeared to the Court, that after diſcovering the Chace to be an *Engliſh* Man of War in the Evening of the 24th, and that ſhe did not chuſe to ſpeak with me; for after ſhe made the Signal, I ſtood on a little with a Deſign to ſpeak to her, in caſe ſhe ſhould be a Ship looking out for Sir *Edward Hawke*; I intended therefore to acquaint the Captain where he might find the Fleet, as Sir *Edward* had on the 23d changed his Rendezvous. After leaving off chace, Sir, as I ſaid before, and ſpeaking with a Veſſel which was within two Miles of me, I hope it has appeared, both by the Log-book and the Witneſſes, that my full Intention was to rejoin the Fleet in the Rendezvous, which Fleet at that time muſt be about eighteen or twenty Leagues to windward of me.

I believe it has appeared, Sir, that in my Way thither on the 27th, the Carpenter, introduced by the firſt and fifth Lieutenants, acquainted me of the Stern-poſt being ſtarted, the Upper-brace and two next Pintles of the Rudder being looſe, and the bad Conſequence that might attend the Ship's keeping the Sea in that Condition; likewiſe the frapping of the Stern-poſt, and the taking away the two After-guns, to eaſe the Ship; the Rudder drawing ſo far aſt as to oblige us that Morning to ſhift the Gooſe-neck of the Tiller farther forward; the Swags I perceived it to take, and the Looſeneſs of the Pintles and Brace being very viſible, I was convinced the Rudder's coming off would be inevitable, ſhould we lay by in bad Weather.

All the Shipwrights I ever talked with on that Head were of Opinion, a Ship ſhould not keep the Sea with the Rudder looſe; and I own I do not know what can be greater Diſtreſs than the Loſs of it.

The Report of the Survey on the *Barfleur*'s Defects in *Portſmouth* Dock, as likewiſe what Mr. *Gray*, the Aſſiſtant, has depoſed on Oath, are convincing Proofs the Defects of it were very bad.

As to the Stern-poſt being ſtarted, Sir, I was not a judge of; it was very viſible the Oakum was worked out between the Wooden-ends and it; the Carpenter inſiſting both to me and the Officers how ſure he was of it, I believed it might be ſo; and on my ordering him and his Mates to ſurvey it again on the 29th (the Report of which is here for your Inſpection) they ſtill perſiſted in the ſame thing. The Rudder I knew, as I have ſaid before, was very looſe; I believe it has appeared ſo to the Court; and that was my principal Reaſon for coming in.

I would not for the World, Gentlemen, have it thought I meant the leaſt Diſobedience to Sir *Edward Hawke*; I would have been glad to have joined him. You ſee, Gentlemen, that after this Diſaſter befel the Ship, I run down in the Latitude of 48° 00' within between twenty and thirty Leagues of *Uſhant*, in hopes of meeting him, which not doing, I ordered the Carpenter and his two Mates to take a freſh Survey of the Rudder and Stern-poſt, reporting the Condition to me from under their Hands, which Report lays on your Table, and has been read to the Court: I then thought it incumbent on me to bring the Ship into Port. Till the Carpenter acquainted me, Sir, of the Diſaſter which had befel the Ship, the going into Port was the fartheſt of my Thoughts; fluſhed as we were a Day or two before with what I looked on as a Declaration of War, made the Thoughts of going in, both irkſome and uneaſy to me.

I will beg to intrude one Minute more on the Patience of the Court; juſt to ſuppoſe, I had, notwithſtanding the Carpenter's Repreſentation to me, and, I may ſay, the Certainty of the Badneſs of the Rudder, perſiſted in keeping the Sea; and that (as moſt probably would have been our Fate) the Rudder had broke looſe; what the Conſequence of ſuch a Loſs might have been, no Man can pretend to ſay; but, perhaps, the Ship might have been taken by the Enemy, for want of being able to ſteer her; perhaps ſhe might have been drove into an Enemy's Port, and thereby, not only the Ship, but the Uſe of 700 Subjects would have been loſt to the Nation: What Reflections would then have been caſt on me! Would it not then have been ſaid, that through Obſtinacy I perſiſted till I loſt the Ship? Would not this very Survey of the Carpenter and his two Mates have appeared as Evidence againſt me, as well as the Atteſtations of all my Officers.

Altho', Sir, I could enumerate many Inſtances of the like Nature, I think it would both take up too much of your Time, and be at preſent needleſs: I ſhall, therefore, only add, that as it has been a particular Satisfaction to me to have my Conduct inquired into by Judges of ſuch Abilities, ſo their Approbation of it would give me the greateſt Pleaſure."

Governor *Wentworth* acquainted the Right Hon. Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, by Letter dated at *Portſmouth* in *New-Hampſhire*, Sept. 19, 1755, that he had juſt received by the Poſt the incloſed printed Copy of Major-general *Johnſon*'s Letter from his Camp at *Lake-George*, after a ſharp Engagement with Baron *de Dieſkau*, the *French* General.

Camp at Lake-George, Sept. 19, 1755. To the Governors of the ſeveral Colonies who raiſed the Troops on the preſent Expedition.

Gentlemen,

Sunday Evening the 7th Inſtant I received Intelligence from ſome *Indian* Scouts I had ſent out, that they had diſcovered three large Roads about the South-bay, and were confident a very conſiderable Number of the Enemy were marched, or on their March towards our Encampment at the Carrying-place; where were poſted about 250 of the *New Hampſhire* Troops, and five Companies of the *New-York* Regiment. I got one *Adams*, a Waggoner, who voluntarily and bravely conſented to ride expreſs with my Orders to Colonel *Blanchard* of the *New-Hampſhire* Regiment, Commanding-officer there. I acquainted him with my Intelligence, and directed him to withdraw all the Troops there within the Works thrown up. About half an Hour, or near an Hour after this, I got two *Indians* and two Soldiers to go on foot with another Letter to the ſame Purpoſe.

About Twelve o'Clock that Night the *Indians* and Soldiers returned with a Waggoner who had ſtole from the Camp, with about eight others their Waggoners and Forces without Orders. This Waggoner ſays they heard and ſaw the Enemy about four Miles from this Side the Carrying-place. They heard a Gun fire, and a Man call upon Heaven for Mercy, which he judged to be *Adams*. The next Morning I called a Council of War, who gave it as their Opinion, and in which the *Indians* were extremely urgent, that 1000 Men ſhould be detached, and a Number of their People would go with them, in order to catch the Enemy in their Retreat from the other Camp, either as Victors, or defeated in their Deſign. The 1000 Men were detached under the Command of Colonel *Williams*, of one of the *Boſton* Regiments, with upwards of 200 *Indians*. They marched between Eight and Nine o'Clock. In about an Hour and half afterwards we heard a heavy firing, and all the Marks of a warm Engagement, which we judged was about three or four Miles from us; we beat to Arms, and got our Men all in Readineſs. The Fire approached nearer, upon which I judged our People were retreating, and detached Lieutenant-colonel *Cole*, with about 300 Men, to cover their Retreat. About Ten o'Clock ſome of our Men in the Rear, and ſome *Indians* of the ſaid Party, came running into Camp, and acquainted us, that our Men were retreating, that the Enemy were too ſtrong for them. The whole Party that eſcaped returned to us in large Bodies.

As we had thrown up a Breaſt-work of Trees round our Encampment, and planted ſome Field-pieces to defend the ſame, we immediately hauled ſome heavy Cannon up there to ſtrengthen our Front, took Poſſeſſion of ſome Eminencies on our Left-flank, and got one Field-piece there in a very advantageous Situation: The Breaſt-work was manned throughout by our People, and the beſt Diſpoſition made through our whole Encampment, which Time and Circumſtances would permit. About half an Hour after Eleven, the Enemy appeared in Sight, and marched along the Road in very regular Order directly upon our Center: They made a ſmall Halt about 150 Yards from our Breaſt-work, when the regular Troops, (whom we judged to be ſuch by their bright and fixed Bayonets) made the grand and center Attack. The *Canadians* and *Indians* ſquatted and diſperſed on our Flanks. The Enemy's Fire we received firſt from their Regulars in Platoons, but it did no great Execution, being at too great a Diſtance, and our Men defended by the Breaſt-work. Our Artillery then began to play on them, and was ſerved, under the Direction of Captain *Eyre*, during the whole Engagement, in a Manner very advantageous to his Character, and thoſe concerned in the Management of it. The Engagement now became general on both Sides. The *French* Regulars kept their Ground and Order for ſome time with great Reſolution and good Conduct; but the warm and conſtant Fire from our Artillery and Troops, put them into diſorder: Their Fire became more ſcattered and unequal, and the Enemy's Fire on our left grew very faint. They moved then to the right of our Encampment, and attacked Colonel *Ruggles*, Colonel *Williams*, and Colonel *Pitcomb*'s Regiments, where they maintained a very warm Fire for near an Hour, ſtill keeping up their Fire in the other Parts of our Line, though not very ſtrong. The three Regiments on the right ſupported the Attack very reſolutely, and kept a conſtant and ſtrong Fire upon the Enemy. This Attack failing, and the Artillery ſtill playing along the Line, we found their Fire very weak, with conſiderable Intervals: This was about Four o'Clock, when our Men and the *Indians* jumped over the Breaſt-work, purſued the Enemy, ſlaughtered Numbers, and took ſeveral Priſoners, amongſt whom was the Baron *de Dieſkau*, the *French* General of all the regular Forces lately arrived from *Europe*, who was brought to my Tent about Six o'Clock, juſt as a Wound I had received was dreſſed. The whole Engagement and Purſuit ended about Seven o'Clock.

I do not know whether I can get the Returns of the Slain and Wounded on our Side to tranſmit herewith; but more of that by and by.

The greateſt Loſs we have ſuſtained was in the Party commanded by Colonel *Williams* in the Morning, who was attacked, and the Men gave way, before Colonel *Whiting*, who brought up the Rear, could come to his Aſſiſtance. The Enemy, who were more numerous, endeavoured to ſurround them; upon which the Officers found they had no way to ſave the Troops but by retreating; which they did as faſt as they could. In this Engagement we ſuffered our greateſt Loſs; Colonel *Williams*, Major *Aſhley*, Captain *Ingerſal*, and Captain *Puter*, of the ſame Regiment; Captain *Farrell*, Brother-in-law to the General, who commanded a Party of *Indians*, Captain *Stoddart*, Captain *M'Ginnes*, Captain *Stevens*, all *Indian* Officers, and the *Indians* ſay, near 40 of their People, who fought like Lions, were all ſlain: Old *Hendrick*, the great *Mohawk Sachem*, we fear is killed. We have abundant Reaſon to think we killed a great Number of the Enemy; amongſt whom is Monſ. *St. Piere*, who commanded all the *Indians*. The exact Number on either Side I cannot obtain; for though I ſent a Party to bury our Dead this Afternoon, it being a running ſcattered Engagement, we can neither find all our Dead, nor give an exact Account. As faſt as theſe Troops joined us, they formed with the reſt in the main Battle of the Day; ſo that the killed and wounded in both Engagements, Officers excepted, muſt ſtand upon one Return.

About Eight o'Clock laſt Night, a Party of 120 of the *New-Hampſhire* Regiment, and 90 of the *New-York* Regiment, who were detached to our Aſſiſtance, under the Command of Captain *M'Ginnes*, from the Camp at the Carrying-place, to reinforce us, were attacked by a Party of *Indians* and *Canadians*, at the Place where Colonel *Williams* was attacked in the Morning: Their Engagement began between Four and Five o'Clock. This Party, who our People ſay were between 3 and 400, had fled from the Engagement here, and gone to ſcalp our People killed in the Morning. Our brave Men fought them for near two Hours, and made a conſiderable Slaughter amongſt them. Of this brave Party two were killed, and eleven wounded, and five miſſing. Captain *M'Ginnes*, who behaved with the utmoſt Calmneſs and Reſolution, was brought on a Horſe here, and, I fear, his Wounds will prove mortal. Enſign *Falſam*, of the *New-Hampſhire* Regiment, wounded through the Shoulder.

I have this Morning called a Council of War, a Copy of the Minutes of which I ſend you herewith.

Monſieur le Baron *de Dieſkau*, the *French* General, is badly wounded in the Leg, and through both his Hips, and the Surgeon very much fears his Life. He is an elderly Gentleman, an experienced Officer, and a Man of high Conſideration in *France*. From his Papers, I find he brought under his Command to *Canada*, in the Men of War lately arrived at *Quebec*, 3171 regular Troops, who were partly in Garriſon at *Crown-Point*, and encamped at *Ticonderoro*, and other advantageous Paſſes, between this and *Crown-Point*. He tells me he had with him Yeſterday Morning 200 Grenadiers, 800 *Canadians*, and 700 *Indians* of different Nations. His Aid-de-Camp ſays, (they being ſeparately aſked) their whole Force was about 2000. Several of the Priſoners ſay about 2300. The Baron ſays, his Major-general was killed, and his Aid-de-camp ſays, the greater Part of their chief Officers alſo. He thinks by the Morning and Afternoon Actions, they have loſt near 1000 Men, but I can get no regular Accounts. Moſt of our People think from 5 to 600. We have about 30 Priſoners, moſt of them badly wounded. The *Indians* ſcalped of their Dead already near 70, and were employed after the Battle laſt Night, and all this Afternoon, in bringing in Scalps; and great Numbers of *French* and *Indians* yet left unſcalped. They carried off Numbers of their Dead, and ſecreted them. Our Men have ſuffered ſo much Fatigue for three Days paſt, and are conſtantly ſtanding upon their Arms by Day, half the whole upon Guard every Night, and the reſt lay down armed and accoutred, that both Officers and Men are almoſt wore out. The Enemy may rally, and we judge they have conſiderable Reinforcements near at hand; ſo that I think it neceſſary we be upon our Guard, and be watchful to maintain the Advantages we have gained. For theſe Reaſons I do not think it either prudent or ſafe to be ſending out Parties in Search of the Dead.

I do not hear of any Officers killed at our Camp but Colonel *Titcomb*, and none wounded but myſelf, and Major *Nichols* of Colonel *Titcomb*'s. I cannot yet get certain Returns of our dead and wounded; but from the beſt Accounts I can obtain, we have loſt about 130 who are killed, about 60 wounded, and ſeveral miſſing from the Morning and Afternoon's Engagement.

I think we may expect very ſhortly another and more formidable Attack, and that the Enemy will then come with Artillery. The late Colonel *Williams* had the Ground cleared for building a ſtockaded Fort. Our Men are ſo haraſſed, and obliged to be ſo conſtantly upon watchful Duty, that I think it would be both unreaſonable, and I fear in vain, to ſet them at work upon the deſigned Fort.

I deſign to order the *New-Hampſhire* Regiment up here to reinforce us, and I hope ſome of the deſigned Reinforcements will be with us in a few Days. When theſe freſh Troops arrive, I ſhall immediately ſet about building a Fort.

My Wound is in my Thigh, is very painful. The Ball is lodged, and cannot be got out; by which Means I am, to my Mortification, confined to my Tent.

10th. This Letter was begun, and ſhould have been diſpatched Yeſterday; but we had two Alarms, and neither Time nor Prudence would permit it. I hope, Gentlemen, you will place the Incorrectneſs hereof, to the Account of our Situation. I am, Gentlemen, moſt reſpectfully,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

An exact STATE of the BRITISH NAVY, as it ſtood a little before the End of September 1755.

Names	Guns	Men	Sailed	Are at	Admirals	Commanders.
First Rates.						
Royal Sovereign	110	1100		River Medway		
Royal George	100	1000	May, 1755	Spithead		R. Martin.
Royal Anne	100	1000		Woolwich		
Royal William	100			Portſmouth		
Britannia	100			Dº.		
London	100			Dº. building		
Second Rates.						
St. George	90	700	July 24	Bay of Biſcay	Hawk	Storr.
The Prince	90	700	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Saunders.
Prince George	90	700	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	G. R. Bridges.
Barfleur	90	700	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Ld. H. Paulet.
Ramillies	90	700	September	Downs	Smith	C. Dorrel.
Marlborough	90			Portſmouth } rebuilt and ready		
Namur	90			Chatham } rebuilt and ready		
Union	90			Portſmouth } rebuilt and ready		
Princeſs Royal	90			River Medway		
The Duke	90					
Sandwich	90			Standgate		
Blenheim	90			Portſmouth		
Neptune	90			Dº.		
Third Rates.						
Newark	80	600	September	Blackſtakes		Young.
Invincible Fr.	80	600				
Cambridge	80	600		Deptford, new built and ready		
Norfolk	80			Woolwich, building		
Boyne	80			Portſmouth		
Princeſs Carolina	80			Sheerneſs, hoſpital-ſhip		
Ruſſel	80			Chatham, Church-ſhip		
Cornwall	80			Portſmouth		
Culloden	74	600	July 24	Bay of Biſcay	Hawk	Ward.
Torbay	74	700	April 26	North-America	Boſcawen	Coleby.
Monarch Fr.	74	700	Dº.	Dº.	Moſtyn	North.
Terrible Fr.	74	700	May 11	Dº.	Holborn	Durell.
Magnanime Fr.	74			Portſmouth		
Bedford	70	400	September	Spithead		Douglas.
Berwick	70			Portſmouth		
Buckingham	70	480	July 24	Bay of Biſcay	Weſt	Everit.
Captain	70	480	Dº.	Dº.	Hawk	Catford.
Edinburgh	70	480	April 26	North-America	Boſcawen	C Stanhope
Elizabeth	70	480	July 24	Bay of Biſcay	Hawk	C. Montagu.
Eſſex	70	480	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Harland.
Prince Frederick	70	480		Spithead		Porter.
Fougeux Fr.	70	480	July 24	N. America	Boſcawen	Sprye.
Grafton	70	480	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Holms.
Hampton-Court	70	480	September	The Nore		C. Broderic.
Ipſwich	70	480	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Tyrrel.
Intrepide Fr.	70	480	September	Medway		
Kent	70	500	March, 1754	Eaſt-Indies		Watſon.
Lenox	70			Medway		
Mars Fr.	70	480	April 26	N. America, loſt	Boſcawen	Amhurſt.
Monmouth	70	480	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Harriſon.
Naſſau	70	480	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Cockburn.
Northumberland	70	480	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	Ld. Colvil.
Orford	70	480	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Stevens.
Princeſſa Sp.	70			Portſmouth		
Revenge	70	480	September	The Nore		Cornwall.
Sterling-Caſtle	70	480	Dº.	Blackſtakes		Corniſh.
Swiftſure	70	480	Dº.	Dº.		Keppel.
Suffolk	70			Portſmouth		
Trident Fr.	70	480	September	Spithead		G. Murray.
Vanguard	70	480		B. of Biſcay	Hawk	J. Byron.
Yarmouth	70	480	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	C. Norris.
Chicheſter	70	480	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Brett.
Princeſs Amelia	66			Portſmouth		
Devonſhire	66	600		Chatham, fitting		
Cumberland	66	500	March, 1754	Eaſt-Indies	Pocock	
Lancaſter	66	400	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Hon. J. Hamilton.
Somerſet	64	480	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	Geary.
Fourth Rates.						
St. Albans	60	400		Plymouth		
Anſon	60	400	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	Mann.
Auguſta Fr.	60	400	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Willet.
Canterbury				Portſmouth		
Defiance	60	400	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	Andrews.
Dunkirk	60	400	Dº.	Dº.	Dº.	Howe.
Dragon	60					
Dreadnought	60	400	September	Blackſtakes		Wickham.
Eagle	60	400		B. of Biſcay		Hamer.
Exeter	60					
Jerſey	60			Chatham, fitting		
Kingſton	60	400		Dº		Parry.
Princeſs Louiſa	60	400		Portſmouth		C. Noel.
Lyon	60			Dº.		
Princeſs Mary	60	400		Dº.		
Medway	60	400	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Dennis.
Montagu	60			Sheerneſs, building		
Nottingham	60	400	April 26	N. America	Boſcawen	Marſhal.

Names.		Men	Sailed	Are at	Admirals	Commanders.
Princeſs of Orange	60	400		Chatham, fitting		
Plymouth	60			Portſmouth		
Rippon	60			Woolwich, building		
Rupert	60			Portſmouth		
Strafford	60			Chatham		
Sunderland	60			Portſmouth		
Superbe Fr.	60			Chatham		
Tilbury	60			Portſmouth, fitting		
Tyger	60	400	March, 1754	Eaſt-Indies		
Centurion	60	400	D°.	Virginia		
Vigilante Fr.	60			Chatham		
Warwick	60	400	September	Weſt-Indies		Showdam.
Weymouth	60	400	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Hanway.
Windſor	60	400	September	Spithead		Faulkener.
Worceſter	60					
York	60	400	July 24	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Pigot.
Litchfield	54	350	D°.	D°.	D°.	Barton.
Newcaſtle	54	350	D°.	D°.	D°.	Lloyd.
Norwich	54	350	March, 1754	N. America	Boſcawen	Barrington.
Advice	50	300	1754	Antigua		
Antelope	50	300	September	Spithead		Gayton.
Aſſiſtance	50			Plymouth		
Briſtol	50	300		D°.		Lloyd.
Cheſter	50			Portſmouth		
Colcheſter	50	300	September	On a Cruiſe		Gardner.
Deptford	50	300	1754	Port-Mahone		Edgcumbe.
Falmouth	50	300	September	Spithead	Smith	Brett.
Faulkland	50			Plymouth		
Glouceſter	50					
Greenwich	50	300	Auguſt	Weſt-Indies		Rodham.
Guernſey	50			Chatham		
Hampſhire	50	300	September			
Harwich	50	300		Deptford, ready to launch		
Iſis Fr.	50	300	September	Spithead		Wheeler.
Leopard	50					
Nonſuch	50					
Oxford	50	300	September	Spithead		Harman.
Panther	50					
Portland	50	300	September	Spithead		Beard.
Preſton	50			Deptford, building		
Rocheſter	50	300	September	On a Cruiſe		Duff.
Ruby	50					
Saliſbury	50	300	March, 1754	Eaſt-Indies		Knowler.
Severn	50	300		Jamaica		Cotes.
Sutherland	50	300	September			
Taviſtock	50					
Wincheſter	50	350	September	Weſt-Indies		
Fifth Rates.						
Angleſea	44	250				
America	44			Chatham		
Adventure	44			Woolwich		
Cheſterfield	44	250	September	Spithead		Lloyd.
Ambuſcade Fr.	40	250	July	B. of Biſcay	Hawk	Rowley.
Aſſurance	40					
Crown	40			Chatham		
Diamond	40			Deptford		
Dover	40			Portſmouth		
Prince Edward	40	250	September			Evans.
Eltham	40					
Expedition	40					
Enterprize	40			Sheerneſs, fitting		
Glory Fr.	40					
Goſport	40	250		On a Cruiſe		
Haſtings	40			Sheerneſs, fitting		
Humber	40	250	Sept. 1.			Gilchriſt.
Hector	40		September			
Jaſon Fr.	40					
Prince Henry	40					
Kingſale	40			Deptford		
Lark	40			Woolwich		
Launceſton	40			Chatham		
Liverpool	40			Woolwich		
Loo	40			Sheerneſs		
Ludlow-Caſtle	40			Portſmouth		
Lynn	40	250	September	Spithead		Craig.
The Mary	40			Woolwich		
The Pearl	40					
Penzance	40	250		On a Cruiſe		
The Pool	40					
Rainbow	40			Woolwich, fitting		
Roebuck	40	250		On a Cruiſe		
Romney	40	250		Spithead		Milbank.
Saphir	40			Deptford		
Southſea-Caſtle	40			D°.		
Thetis	40					
Torrington	40			Sheerneſs		
Woolwich	40	250	Auguſt	Baltic		
Sixth Rates.						
Renown	20					
Amazon Fr.	20					
Arundel	20	140	1754	Virginia		
Biddeford	20			Deptford, new building		
Blandford	20		Auguſt			Watkins.
Boſton	20	140		Portſmouth		Watkins.
Bridgewater	20	140	1754	Eaſt-Indies		
Centaur	20	140	September	Downs		Brown.
Deal-Caſtle	20			Deptford, building		
Dolphin	20					
Experiment	20	140	1754	Streights		

Fowey

Names	Guns	Men	Sailed	Are at	Admirals	Commanders.
Fowey	20					
Fox	20					
Garland	20					
Glaſgow	20			Woolwich		
Greyhound	20	140	September	On a Cruiſe		
Hind	20					
Lyme	20	140	September	On a Cruiſe	Hawk	Vernon.
Mercury	20					
Mermaid	20	140	1754	N. America		
Nightingale	20	140	1755	D°.		
Phœnix	20	140	1754	Mediterranean		
Port-Mahon	20	140		D°.		
Queenborough	20	140	September	Sheerneſs		
Roſe	20	140	D°.	On a Cruiſe		Rowley.
Seahorſe	20	140	D°.	D°.		Nucella.
Seaford	20	140	D°.	N. America		
Sheerneſs	20	140	D°.	On a Cruiſe		Graves.
Shoreham	20	140		N. America		
Solbay	20	140	September	Medway, new		
Surpriſe	20	140	D°.			
Sphinx	20	140		On a Cruiſe		
Succeſs	20	140		N. America		
Siren	20	140		D°.		
Tartar	20	140		D°.		
Tryton	20	140				
Unicorn	20	140	1754	Port-Mahon		Buckle.
Raven	20	140		D°.		
Wager	20	140		Deptford		
Winchelſea	20	140		On a Cruiſe		
Gibraltar	20	140		D°.		Halwell.
Kings-Fiſher	20	140	1754	Eaſt-Indies		
Hazard	18	110		N. America		
Hornet	18	110		D°.		
Jamaica	18	110		South-Carolina		
Waſp	18	110		On a Cruiſe		
Porcupine	16					
Weazle	16	110		On a Cruiſe		
Baltimore	14					
Faulcon	14					
Ferret	14	100				
Otter	14			On a Cruiſe		
Saltaſh	14					
Shark	14			Deptford		
Swallow	14			D°.		
Speedwell	14	100		Spithead		
Scorpion	14					
Tryal	14					
Hound	14					
Albany	12	100		Spithead		
Badger	12					
Cruiſer	12	100		On a Cruiſe		
Diſpatch	12					
Drake	12					
Fortune	12					
Grampus	12					
Peregrine	12	100		On a Cruiſe		
Savage	12	100		B. of Biſcay	Hawk	
Swan	12	100		On a Cruiſe		
Swift	12	100		D°.		
Vultur	12	100		D°.		
Viper	12	100		D°.		
Hawk	10					

Beſide theſe, there is a great Number of Bomb-ketches, Fire-ſhips, Tenders, &c. belonging to the Navy.

At the opening of the next Seſſions of Parliament on the 13th of *November* 1755, his Majeſty made the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE preſent critical Conjuncture of Affairs, and my conſtant Inclination to have the Advice and Aſſiſtance of my Parliament on all important Occaſions, have made me deſirous to meet you here as early as poſſible.

Since your laſt Seſſion, I have taken ſuch Meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the Protection of our Poſſeſſions in *America*, and to the regaining of ſuch Parts thereof, as had been encroached upon, or invaded, in violation of the Peace, and contrary to the Faith of the moſt ſolemn Treaties.

For this Purpoſe, the maritime Force of this Kingdom has been got ready with the utmoſt Application and Expedition, and been principally employed; ſome Land Forces have been ſent from hence to *North America*; and all proper Encouragement has been given to the ſeveral Colonies there, to exert themſelves in their own Defence, and in the Maintenance of the Rights and Poſſeſſions of *Great Britain*.

With a ſincere Deſire to preſerve my People from the Calamities of War, as well as to prevent, in the midſt of theſe Troubles, a general War from being lighted up in *Europe*, I have been always ready to accept reaſonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation; but none ſuch have hitherto been propoſed on the part of *France*. I have alſo confined my Views and Operations to hinder *France* from making new Encroachments, or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert our Right to a Satisfaction for Hoſtilities committed in a Time of profound Peace; and to diſappoint ſuch Deſigns, as, from various Appearances and Preparations, there is reaſon to think have been formed againſt my Kingdoms and Dominions.

By theſe Methods, I have purſued the Plan which I formerly pointed out to you, and for which I had the Satisfaction to receive the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of your vigorous Support.

What other Power can object to Proceedings ſo abſolutely neceſſary to our own Defence and Security? My good Brother, the King of *Spain*, ſees with Concern theſe Differences; and the Part which he generouſly takes in the common Welfare of *Europe*, makes him earneſtly wiſh the Preſervation of the public Tranquillity. He has alſo given Aſſurances, that he will continue in the ſame pacific Sentiments.

In purſuing theſe great Ends, I make no Doubt of the vigorous and chearful Support of my Parliament; and that, whilſt I am engaged in this juſt and national Cauſe, the affectionate Aſſurances which they gave me the laſt Seſſion, will be effectually made good. In conſequence thereof, I have greately increaſed my naval Armaments, augmented my Land Forces in ſuch a manner as might be the leaſt burdenſome; and have concluded a Treaty with the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, and another with the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, which ſhall be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you Eſtimates for the Service of the enſuing Year, and likewiſe Accounts of the extraordinary Expences which have been made this Year, in purſuance of the Power given me by Parliament. I ſee, with great Concern, that the neceſſary Services before-mentioned will require large Supplies. I aſk only ſuch as ſhall be requiſite for the effectual carrying on of thoſe Meaſures, which ſhall be neceſſary to ſupport what has been begun, according to your Inclination, for the Security of my Kingdoms and Dominions, and for the Purpoſes which have been already mentioned to you. Whatever you grant ſhall, with the ſtricteſt Œconomy, be applied to thoſe Uſes only for which it ſhall be given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I rely upon your Duty and good Affections, which I have ſo often experienced. There never was a Situation in which my Honour, and the eſſential Intereſts of *Great-Britain*, called more ſtrongly for your Zeal, Unanimity, and Diſpatch."

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords was expreſſive of the utmoſt Zeal, Gratitude, and Affection to his Majeſty: They thank him for his Royal Firmneſs, in not yielding to any Terms of Accommodation with *France*, that were not reaſonable and honourable, and for exerting his Royal Care ſo powerfully in the Protection of his Colonies. They acknowledge his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in increaſing his naval Armaments, in augmenting his Land Forces, with ſo much regard to the Eaſe of his People, and in generouſly giving Encouragement to that great Body of his brave and faithful Subjects, with which his *American* Provinces happily abound, to exert their Strength on this important Occaſion. They obſerve with Pleaſure the pacific Declarations of his Catholic Majeſty, promiſe their moſt zealous and vigorous Aid and Concurrence in this juſt and national Cauſe, and to aſſiſt him in diſappointing or repelling all ſuch Enterpriſes as may be formed, not only againſt his Kingdoms, but alſo againſt any other of his Dominions, although not belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, in caſe they ſhould be attacked, on account of the Part which his Majeſty has taken, for maintaining the eſſential Intereſts of his Kingdoms.

To this Addreſs his Majeſty made the following moſt gracious Anſwer:

"*My Lords,*

I give you my hearty Thanks for this dutiful and affectionate Addreſs. I ſee with the greateſt Satisfaction the Zeal you expreſs for my Perſon and Government, and for the true Intereſt of your Country; which I am determined to adhere to. The Aſſurance which you give me for the Defence of my Territories abroad, are a ſtrong Proof of your Affection for me, and Regard for my Honour. Nothing ſhall divert me from purſuing thoſe Meaſures which will effectually maintain the Poſſeſſions and Rights of my Kingdoms, and procure reaſonable and honourable Terms of Accommodation."

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons breathed the ſame Spirit of Zeal and Gratitude, and was full of the warmeſt Aſſurances of a ready Support of his Majeſty, and of his foreign Dominions, if attacked in Reſentment of his maintaining the Rights of his Crown and Kingdoms.

His Majeſty made them the following moſt gracious Anſwer:

"*Gentlemen,*

I thank you for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs. You may be aſſured, although I wiſh for nothing more than a ſafe and honourable Accommodation, I am determined to protect and maintain the valuable and undoubted Rights and Poſſeſſions of my Crown. Your Aſſurances that you will aſſiſt me in the Defence of my foreign Dominions, if they ſhould be attacked, on account of the Meaſures I am purſuing for the true Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, are ſuch Proofs of your Affection to me, and of your Regard to my Honour, as give me the greateſt Satisfaction."

About this time the *Eſperance*, a *French* Man of War of 79 Guns, was taken by the *Orford*, Captain *Stevens*, after an Engagement of three Hours. She had but 300 Men on-board, and was going from *Rochfort* to *Breſt* to be compleatly mann'd.

December 23d, his Majeſty appointed Lord Viſcount *Bateman*, and *Richard Edgecumbe*, Eſq; to be Commiſſioners for executing the Office of High-admiral of *Great-Britain*, in the Room of *Welbore Ellis*, and *Charles Townſhend*, Eſqrs.

The Intelligences from abroad about this time alarmed the Nation with a powerful Armament equipping at *Toulon*, and *Marſeilles*, againſt *Gibraltar* or *Mahon*, or both thoſe Fortreſſes. But the Miniſtry did not ſeem to give much Credit to ſuch Advices, or at leaſt were very dilatory in providing for the Safety of the Trade, Navigation, and the *Britiſh* Poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*; which Conduct, on the Part of *Great-Britain*, has been attended with fatal Conſequences to this Nation.

In the Beginning of the Year 1756, there appeared a very extraordinary Correſpondence between the Courts of *Verſailles* and *London*; the *French* Miniſtry ſtill affecting to have nothing more at heart than Peace and good Neighbourhood. M. *Rouillé*, Miniſter and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, wrote the following Letter to Mr. *Fox*, Secretary of State to the King of *England*; dated *Verſailles*, *January* 22.

"*Sir, By Command of the King my Maſter, I have the Honour to ſend your Excellency the following Memorial,* &c.

The King is able to demonſtrate to the whole Univerſe by authentic Proofs, that it is not owing to his Majeſty that the Differences relating to *America* have not been amicably accommodated.

The King, being moſt ſincerely deſirous to maintain the public Peace and a good Underſtanding with his *Britannic* Majeſty, carried on the Negotiation relative to that Subject, with the moſt unreſerved Confidence and good Faith.

The Aſſurances of the King of *Great-Britain*'s Diſpoſition to Peace, which his *Britannic* Majeſty and his Miniſters were conſtantly repeating both by word of Mouth and in Writing, were ſo formal and preciſe, that the King could not, without reproaching himſelf, entertain the leaſt Suſpicion of the Sincerity of the Court of *London*'s Intentions.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how theſe Aſſurances can be reconciled with the Orders for Hoſtilities given in *November* 1754, to General *Braddock*, and in *April* 1755, to Admiral *Boſcawen*.

The Attack and Capture in *July* laſt, of two of the King's Ships in the open Sea, and without a Declaration of War, was a public Inſult to his Majeſty's Flag; and his Majeſty would have immediately manifeſted his juſt Reſentment of ſuch an irregular and violent Proceeding, if he could have imagined that Admiral *Boſcawen* acted by the Orders of his Court.

For the ſame Reaſon the King ſuſpended at firſt his Judgment of the Piracies (*Pirateries*) that have been committed for ſeveral Months, by the *Engliſh* Men of War, on the Navigation and Commerce of his Majeſty's Subjects, in Contempt of the Law of Nations, the Faith of Treaties, the Uſages eſtabliſhed among civilized Nations, and the Regard they reciprocally owe to one another.

The Sentiments of his *Britannic* Majeſty gave the King room to expect, that at his return to *London* he would diſavow the Conduct of his Admiralty and naval Officers, and give his Majeſty a Satisfaction proportioned to the Injury and the Damage.

But ſeeing that the King of *England*, inſtead of puniſhing the Robberies (*Brigandages*) committed by the *Engliſh* Navy, on the contrary encourages them, by demanding from his Subjects freſh Supplies againſt *France*; his Majeſty would fall ſhort in what he owes to his own Glory, the Dignity of his Crown, and the Defence of his People, if he deferred any longer the demanding of a ſignal Reparation for the Outrage done to the *French* Flag, and the Damage done to the King's Subjects.

His Majeſty, therefore, thinks proper to apply directly to his *Britannic* Majeſty, and demand from him immediate and full Reſtitution of all the *French* Ships, as well Men of War as Merchantmen, which, contrary to all Law and all Decorum, have been taken by the *Engliſh* Navy; and of all the Officers, Soldiers, Mariners, Guns, Stores, Merchandizes, and in general of every thing belonging to thoſe Veſſels.

The King will always chuſe to owe to the King of *England*'s Equity, rather than to any thing elſe, that Satisfaction which he hath a Right to demand: And all the Powers in *Europe* will undoubtedly ſee in this Step which he hath determined to take, a new and ſtriking Proof of that invariable Love of Peace which directs all his Counſels and Reſolutions.

If his *Britannic* Majeſty orders Reſtitution of the Veſſels in queſtion, the King will be diſpoſed to enter into a Negotiation for that further Satisfaction which is legally due to him, and will continue deſirous, as he hath always been, to have the Diſcuſſions relating to *America*, determined by an equitable and ſolid Accommodation.

But if, contrary to all Hopes, the King of *England* ſhall refuſe what the King demands, his Majeſty will regard this Denial of Juſtice as the moſt authentic Declaration of War, and as a formed Deſign in the Court of *London* to diſturb the Peace of *Europe*."

Mr. Fox *ſent to Mr.* Rouillé *the following Anſwer, dated at* Whitehall, Jan. 13, 1756.

SIR,

"I received on the 3d Inſtant the Letter dated the 21ſt paſt, with which your Excellency honoured me, together with the Memorial ſubjoined to it. I immediately laid them before the King my Maſter; and by his Command I have the Honour to inform your Excellency, that his Majeſty continues deſirous of preſerving the public Tranquillity: But though the King will readily conſent to an equitable and ſolid Accommodation, his Majeſty cannot grant the Demand that is made of immediate and full Reſtitution of all the *French* Veſſels, and whatever belongs to them, as the preliminary Condition of any Negotiation; his Majeſty having taken no Step but what the Hoſtilities begun by *France* in a time of profound Peace (of which he hath the moſt authentic Proofs) and what his Majeſty owes to his own Honour, to the Defence of the Rights and Poſſeſſions of his Crown, and the Security of his Kingdoms, rendered juſt and indiſpenſable. I have the Honour to be, *&c.*"

In conſequence of this Reſolution and Anſwer, the *French* King's Orders were publiſhed at *Dunkirk*, for all *Britiſh* Subjects to leave his Dominions before the 1ſt of *March*, except ſuch as might obtain his Permiſſion to remain. Another Edict was publiſhed at the ſame time, inviting his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Subjects to fit out Privateers, promiſing a Premium of 40 Livres for every Gun, and as much for every Man they take on-board the Enemy's Ships; with a further Promiſe, that in caſe Peace ſhould be concluded ſoon, the King will purchaſe the ſaid Privateers at their prime Coſt.

Purſuant to the above Orders, the *Engliſh* Veſſels in the ſeveral Ports of *France* were ſeized, and their Crews ſent to Priſon.

On the 30th of *January* 1756, Vice-admiral *Oſborn* ſailed to cruiſe to the Weſtward, with the following Ships:

Guns.		
Of 70	10	13
66	1	
60	1	
50	1	
Sloop	1	

On the 16th of *February* he returned with them to *Spithead*.

On the 12th of *March* 1756, Sir *Edward Hawke* ſailed to cruiſe to the Weſtward from *St. Helen's*, with part of the following Ships, and was joined by the others off *Plymouth*.

Guns.		
Of 90	1	14
74	1	
70	7	
60	3	
50	2	
24	3	
Sloop	1	

On *Tueſday* the 23d of *March*, the King ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes of Parliament, wherein his Majeſty informed them, That he had received repeated Advices, that a Deſign has been formed by the *French* Court to invade *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*; and that the great Preparations of Land Forces, Ships, Artillery, and warlike Stores, now making in the Ports of *France*, together with the Language held by the *French* Miniſters in ſome foreign Courts, leave little room to doubt of the Reality of ſuch a Deſign: That his Majeſty had therefore judged it neceſſary to acquaint them with Intelligence of ſuch high Importance to the Safety of theſe Nations; and to inform them, that he hath taken proper Meaſures for putting his Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence againſt ſo unjuſt and deſperate an Enterprize, projected in Revenge for thoſe juſt and neceſſary Meaſures which have been taken for maintaining his Rights and Poſſeſſions in *North-America*; and that, in order further to ſtrengthen himſelf, his Majeſty had made a Requiſition of a Body of *Heſſian* Troops to be forthwith brought over hither: And that, truſting in the Divine Protection, and in the good Affection, Zeal, and Fidelity of his People, which he has ſo often experienced, his Majeſty was determined to exert all the Force God hath put into his Hands, to repel ſo daring an Attempt; and doubted not of their Support and Concurrence.

The Houſe of Peers, in their Addreſs, returned the King Thanks for his gracious Meſſage; aſſured his Majeſty that they look'd with the utmoſt Indignation upon ſo unjuſt and daring an Attempt, as that of invading theſe Kingdoms in Revenge for his Majeſty's generous and ſteady Conduct in maintaining his juſt Rights and Poſſeſſions in *North-America*; and humbly intreated him not to ſuffer himſelf to be diverted from it by any Appearances whatſoever: They acknowledged, with Gratitude, the prudent Meaſures which his Majeſty had taken for putting his Kingdoms in a Poſture of Defence; beſeeching his Majeſty to purſue his Reſolution of exerting all his Force to repel ſo deſperate an Undertaking; and particularly to augment his Army in *Ireland* in ſuch manner as he ſhould think neceſſary: And aſſure his Majeſty that they will, at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, ſtand by his Majeſty againſt all his Enemies, and ſupport him in all ſuch Meaſures, as he ſhall find requiſite in this critical Conjuncture; not in the leaſt doubting, that even the Menace of ſo injurious and preſumptuous an Enterprize, will create the higheſt Deteſtation in all who call themſelves *Britons* and Proteſtants, and raiſe a becoming Spirit in all his Majeſty's Subjects for the Defence of his ſacred Perſon and Government, the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms.

Theſe were followed zealouſly by Addreſſes from all Parts of the Kingdom: Of which the following from the City of *London* may ſerve as a Specimen.

The Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, *to his Majeſty*, April 6, 1756.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"Your Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint your two Houſes of Parliament, that a Deſign hath been formed by the *French* Court to make an hoſtile Invaſion upon *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*; we, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-council aſſembled, beg leave to expreſs our Abhorrence of ſo unjuſt and deſperate an Enterprize, projected in Revenge for your royal and gracious Protection of the Trade and Commerce of your People, and the neceſſary Defence of the undoubted Rights and Poſſeſſions of your Crown.

"With Gratitude and unfeigned Loyalty, we moſt humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that the Citizens of your faithful City, united in Duty and Affection to your ſacred Perſon and Government, will exert their utmoſt Power, and hazard their Lives and Fortunes, to ſupport and defend your Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your royal Family; not doubting, but by the Zeal and Loyalty of your Majeſty's Subjects, conducted by your known Wiſdom and Courage, with the Aſſurance of the Divine Providence, you will be able to defeat all the Deſigns of your Enemies."

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this moſt gracious Anſwer.

"I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful Addreſs. I have the firmeſt Reliance on the affectionate Aſſurance you give me, of exerting yourſelves to the utmoſt in ſupport of my Government; and the City of *London* may always depend upon my Favour, Countenance, and Protection; and my conſtant Care to defend the Rights and Poſſeſſions of my Crown, and promote the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom."

To the Addreſs of the Merchants of *London* (in which they aſſured his Majeſty, that they would moſt heartily and zealouſly exert themſelves, in every Inſtance, for the ſupport of the publick Credit of this Kingdom; and that no Hazard or Expence ſhould deter them from chearfully contributing to enable his Majeſty to maintain the juſt Cauſe in which he was engaged, and to repel the moſt daring Attempts of his Enemies) his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this moſt gracious Anſwer.

"I thank you for this affectionate and ſeaſonable Addreſs. It is a great Satisfaction to me, that the Meaſures, which I have taken, for the Security of the Rights and Poſſeſſions of my Crown, and for the Support of the Trade and Commerce of my Kingdoms, are ſo agreeable to my trading Subjects; and they may always depend upon my Countenance and Protection. The publick Credit is an Object which I have extremely at Heart; and nothing can be more acceptable to me, than the Zeal you expreſs for the ſupport of it."

The Miniſtry, at laſt, being called upon by the perpetual Advices of the Certainty of the *French* Intentions againſt *Minorca*, ordered Admiral *Byng* to ſail with ten Ships of the Line for the *Mediterranean*.

	Guns.		
Of	90	1	10
	74	1	
	70	3	
	66	1	
	64	2	
	60	2	

This Fleet ſailed from *St. Helens* on the 6th of *April* 1756, and arrived off *Minorca* on the 19th of *May*.

In the mean time the Lords of the Admiralty received Advice from the Hon. *Auguſtus Hervey*, Captain of his Majeſty's Ship the *Phœnix*, dated from *Villa-Franca*, *April* the 18th, that he was ſent from *Mahon* by Commodore *Edgcumbe* to *Leghorn*, to take in Stores, and proceed to *Villa-Franca*, in order to receive any Letters he ſhould find there from *England* for the Commodore; that finding the *French* Fleet had ſailed from *Toulon* on the 13th for the Iſland of *Minorca*, he intended ſailing that Evening, and to endeavour to get into the Harbour of *Mahon*; or if it ſhould be blocked up by the *French*, ſo as to make it impoſſible for his Ship to get in, he ſhould try in ſome other manner to convey to Mr. *Edgcumbe* the News of a Fleet being actually ſailed from *England* for their Aſſiſtance and Relief, and endeavour to get the Commodore's Orders for his further Proceedings: That if he ſhould not be able to receive thoſe Orders, he would then go away for *Gibraltar*, and cruiſe in the Gutt, in Hopes of meeting the *Engliſh* Fleet. He ſends alſo the following Liſt of the *French* Fleet, *viz.*

Line of Battle Ships.

	Guns.		Guns.
Le Foudroyant —	80	*Le Triton* — —	64
La Couronne —	74	*Le Lion* —	64
Le Redoutable —	74	*Le Content* — —	64
L'Hercule —	64	*Le Sage* — — —	64
L'Achille —	64	*L'Alcion* — — —	50

Frigates.

	Guns.		Guns.
La Pomone —	36	*Le Zephir* —	30
La Roſe —	30	*La Nymphe* — —	20
La Gracieuſe —	24		

About 180 Tranſports, 90 of which were Tartans and Settees: They have, ſaid he, a *Majorca* Xebeque, which is ſaid to ſerve as a Pilot for the Craft.

He added that the whole Number of Troops, Labourers, *&c.* ſhut up in the Caſtle of *St. Philip*'s, amounted to 5000 Men; that the *French* Army did not exceed 11,000; ſo that he thought the Attack upon the Caſtle of *St. Philip*'s would ſcarce be effectual before the Fleet, under Admiral *Byng*, would probably arrive; and that all neceſſary Precautions were taking when he left *Mahon*, for the Defence of Fort *St. Philip*'s, and the beſt Diſpoſition made for that of the Harbour.

And by the way of *Holland* there were other Accounts from *Minorca*, dated *April* 21, which ſaid, That the *French* Troops which landed the 18th Inſtant, took Poſſeſſion of *Ciudadella*, upon the *Engliſh* Garriſon's retiring from thence. The Marſhal Duke *de Richlieu* and Count *Galaſſoniere*, accompanied by the principal Officers of the Army, received the Compliments of the Magiſtracy on their Entrance into this City. At the ſame Time the Marſhal told them, "We are not come to attack you. The King my "Maſter has no other Reaſon for ſending me hither, than "to obtain Satisfaction for the Inſults and Injuries done "him by the *Engliſh*. You may depend on my Protec"tion, and be aſſured of my Care, that the Troops under "my Command ſhall behave well, committing no kind "of Violence of any ſort, and pay for what they buy. "But beware of carrying on any Correſpondence with the "Enemy; in caſe of your ſo doing be aſſured of being "treated with the utmoſt Severity." Upon the Marſhal's taking Poſſeſſion of this City, *Te Deum* was ſung in the great Church, and a triple Diſcharge of Cannon on-board the Fleet, and from the Garriſon at the ſame Time; after which the Duke gave a grand Entertainment to the Government, *&c.*

On the 19th, the Marſhal took Poſſeſſion of a ſmall Fort, abandoned by the *Engliſh*, which ſerved to cover *Fornelle*, a ſmall Port, ſituated on the eaſtern Side of the Iſland, at the Point of a ſmall Bay, near a Cape of the ſame Name.

On the 20th, the Marquis *du Meſnil*, and the Marquis *de Monteynard*, two Lieutenant-generals, were detached from the Army with 24 Companies of Grenadiers, and a royal Brigade, to encamp at *Mercadel*, from whence they were to advance towards *Mahon*, in order to block up that Port on the eaſtern Side of the Bay, whilſt the main Body of the Army is to inveſt Fort *St. Philip*, in which General *Blakeney* has gathered the chief Body of his Troops, to the amount of 2500 Men, as ſome ſay, or 3000, according to the Report of others. This Day the heavy Artillery deſtined for the Siege began its March. The Fleet commanded by Count *de la Galaſſoniere* is preparing to block up the Entrance of the Bay of *Port-Mahon*, in Expectation of the Arrival of Admiral *Byng*, and with Orders to fight him.

The Iſlanders ſeem pleaſed with the Arrival of the *French*, and gave them all poſſible Aſſiſtance in landing their Troops and Artillery, and ſupplying them with all manner of Proviſions.

Immediately upon receipt of theſe Advices, his Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to order, that a Commiſſion ſhould be prepared, to authorize and impower the Lords of the Admiralty to grant Letters of Marque or Commiſſions to Privateers. And on *Tueſday* 18th of *May*, War was declared againſt the *French* King, and notice was given at the Poſt-office, that no Mail would go between theſe Kingdoms and *France*[a].

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[a] His Majeſty's Declaration of War againſt the French King. GEORGE R. The unwarrantable Proceedings of the French in the Weſt-Indies, and North-America, ſince the Concluſion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the Uſurpations and Encroachments made by them upon our Territories, and the Settlements of our Subjects in thoſe Parts, particularly in our Province of Nova-Scotia, have been ſo notorious, and ſo frequent, that they cannot but be looked upon as a ſufficient Evidence of a formed Deſign and Reſolution in that Court, to purſue invariably ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould moſt effectually promote their ambitious Views, without any Regard to the moſt ſolemn Treaties and Engagements. We have not been wanting on our Part, to make, from Time to Time, the moſt ſerious Repreſentations to the French King, upon theſe repeated Acts of Violence, and to endeavour to obtain Redreſs and Satiſfaction for the Injuries done to our Subjects, and to prevent the like Cauſes of Complaint for the future: But tho' frequent Aſſurances have been given, that every Thing ſhould be ſettled agreeable to the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, and particularly that the Evacution of the four neutral Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies ſhould be effected (which was expreſly promiſed to our Ambaſſador in France) the Execution of theſe Aſſurances, and of the Treaties on which they were founded, has been evaded under the moſt frivolous Pretences; and the unjuſtifiable Practices of the French Governors, and of the Officers acting under their Authority, were ſtill carried on, till, at length, in the Month of April 1754, they broke out in open Acts of Hoſtility, when, in Time of profound Peace, without any Declaration of War, and without any previous Notice given, or Application made, a Body of French Troops, under the Command of an Officer bearing the French King's Commiſſion, attacked in a hoſtile Manner, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Engliſh Fort on the Ohio in North-America. But notwithſtanding this Act of Hoſtility, which could not but be looked

This was followed by a Declaration of War in *France*[a]. And on the 4th of *June* the Admiralty received Advice of a very bold Action, which was performed on the 17th of laſt Month by Captain *Cockburne*, in the *Hunter-cutter*, a little Thing with only 40 Men, and a few Swivels. He kept loitering about *Breſt* all Day, and at Night went in;

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looked upon as a Commencement of War, yet, from our earneſt Deſire of Peace, and in Hopes the Court of France would diſavow this Violence and Injuſtice, we contented ourſelves with ſending ſuch a Force to America, as was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the immediate Defence and Protection of our Subjects againſt freſh Attacks and Inſults. In the mean time great naval Armaments were preparing in the Ports of France, and a conſiderable Body of French Troops embarked for North-America; and tho' the French Ambaſſador was ſent back to England with ſpecious Profeſſions of a Deſire to accommodate theſe Differences, yet it appeared, that their real Deſign was only to gain Time for the Paſſage of thoſe Troops to America, which they hoped would ſecure the Superiority of the French Forces in thoſe Parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppreſſive Projects into Execution. In theſe Circumſtances we could not but think it incumbent upon us, to endeavour to prevent the Succeſs of ſo dangerous a Deſign, and to oppoſe the landing of the French Troops in America; and in conſequence of the juſt and neceſſary Meaſures we had taken for that Purpoſe, the French Ambaſſador was immediately recalled from our Court, the Fortifications at Dunkirk, which had been repairing for ſome Time, were enlarged; great Bodies of Troops marched down to the Coaſt; and our Kingdoms were threatened with an Invaſion. In order to prevent the Execution of theſe Deſigns, and to provide for the Security of our Kingdoms, which were thus threatened, we could no longer forbear giving Orders for the ſeizing at Sea the Ships of the French King, and his Subjects. Notwithſtanding which, as we were ſtill unwilling to give up all Hopes that an Accommodation might be effected, we have contented ourſelves hitherto with detaining the ſaid Ships, and preſerving them, and (as far as it was poſſible) their Cargoes entire, without proceeding to the Confiſcation of them; but it being now evident, by the hoſtile Invaſion actually made by the French King of our Iſland of Minorca, that it is the determined Reſolution of that Court to hearken to no Terms of Peace, but to carry on the War, which has been long begun on their Part, with the utmoſt Violence, we can no longer remain, conſiſtently with what we owe to our own Honour, and to the Welfare of our Subjects, within thoſe Bounds, which, from a Deſire of Peace, we had hitherto obſerved. We have therefore thought proper to declare War; and we do hereby declare War againſt the French King, who hath ſo unjuſtly begun it, relying on the Help of Almighty God, in our juſt Undertaking, and being aſſured of the hearty Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of our Subjects, in ſupport of ſo good a Cauſe; hereby willing and requiring our Captain-general of our Forces, our Commiſſioners for executing the Office of our High-admiral of Great-Britain, our Lieutenants of our ſeveral Counties, Governors of our Forts and Garriſons, and all other Officers and Soldiers under them, by Sea and Land, to do and execute all Acts of Hoſtility, in the Proſecution of this War againſt the French King, his Vaſſals and Subjects, and to oppoſe their Attempts: Willing and requiring all our Subjects to take notice of the ſame; whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold any Correſpondence or Communication with the ſaid French King, or his Subjects. And we do hereby command our own Subjects, and advertiſe all other Perſons, of what Nation ſoever, not to tranſport or carry any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid French King; declaring, that whatſoever Ship or Veſſel ſhall be met withal, tranſporting or carrying any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or any other contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid French King, the ſame, being taken, ſhall be condemned as good and lawful Prize. And whereas there are remaining in our Kingdom, divers of the Subjects of the French King, we do hereby declare our royal Intention to be, that all the French Subjects who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully towards us, ſhall be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects. Given at our Court at Kenſington, the 17th of May, 1756, in the 29th Year of our Reign.——The following was the Ceremony obſerved at the ſaid Declaration. The Officers of Arms, with the Serjeants at Arms and Trumpeters, mounted their Horſes in the Stable-yard, St. James's, and proceeding thence to the Palace-gate, Garter Principal King of Arms read his Majeſty's Declaration of War, and Norroy King of Arms, proclaimed it aloud; which being done, a Proceſſion was made to Charing-croſs, as follows. A Party of Horſe-guards, or Grenadiers, to clear the Way. Beadles of Weſtminſter bareheaded, with Staves, two and two. Conſtables of Weſtminſter in like Manner. High-Conſtable of Weſtminſter with his Staff. The Officers of the High-bailiff of Weſtminſter on Horſeback, with white Wands. Clerk of the High-bailiff of Weſtminſter. High-bailiff of Weſtminſter, and on his Right-hand the Deputy-Steward. Knight Marſhal's Men. Knight Marſhal. Drums. Drum-major. Trumpets. Serjeant-trumpeter in his Collar, bearing his Mace. Purſuivants, Blue-mantle, Rouge-dragon, Portcullis. Richmond-herald. Windſor-herald. York-herald between two Serjeants at Arms. Somerſet-herald between two Serjeants at Arms. Norroy King at Arms between two Serjeants at Arms. Garter King at Arms between two Serjeants at Arms. A Troop of Horſe-guards. At Charing-croſs, Norroy King at Arms read the Declaration, and Somerſet-herald proclaimed it aloud. In this Method the Proceſſion was made to Temple-bar, where the Officers of the City of Weſtminſter retired, and within the Gate the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Sheriffs in Scarlet attended; and Blue-mantle Purſuivant having preſented to his Lordſhip the Earl-marſhal's Warrant, the City Proceſſion followed the Troops commanded by their Colonel. At the End of Chancery-lane Somerſet-herald read the Declaration, and York-herald proclaimed it aloud. At the End of Wood-ſtreet, where the Croſs formerly ſtood, York-Herald read the Declaration, and Windſor-herald proclaimed it aloud. And, laſtly, at the Royal-Exchange, Windſor-herald read the Declaration, and Richmond-herald proclaimed it aloud. The Spectators, almoſt innumerable, expreſſed their great Satisfaction by loud Acclamations of Joy at each Place.

[a] The French King's Declaration of War.——It is notorious to all Europe that the King of England made an Attack in 1754, on the King's Poſſeſſions in North-America, and that in the Month of June laſt the Engliſh Navy, in Contempt of the Law of Nations, and the Faith of Treaties, began to commit the moſt violent Hoſtilities on his Majeſty's Ships, and the Navigation and Commerce of his Subjects. The King, tho' juſtly incenſed at this Breach of Faith, and the Inſult offered to his Flag, ſuſpended for eight Months the Effects of his Reſentment, and the Diſcharge of what he owed to the Dignity of his Crown, for fear of expoſing Europe to the Calamities of a new War. With this ſalutary View France at firſt only oppoſed to the unwarrantable Proceedings of England, a Conduct full of Moderation. Whilſt the Engliſh Navy by the moſt odious Violences, and at ſome Times by the vileſt Artifices, made Captures of French Veſſels navigating in full Security under the Safe-guard of the Publick Faith; his Majeſty ſent back to England a Frigate taken by the French Navy, and Engliſh Veſſels traded without Moleſtation to the Ports of France. Whilſt the French Soldiers and Sailors were receiving the hardeſt Treatment in the Britiſh Iſles, and thoſe Bounds which the Law of Nature and common Humanity have preſcribed to the moſt rigorous Rights of War were tranſgreſſed with reſpect to them, the Engliſh travelled and reſided at full Liberty in France, under the Protection of that Regard which civilized Nations reciprocally owe to one another. Whilſt the Engliſh Miniſtry were under an Appearance of Sincerity impoſing upon the King's Ambaſſador by falſe Proteſtations, Orders directly contrary to the deceitful Aſſurances given of a ſpeedy Accommodation were carrying into Execution in North-America. Whilſt the Court of London was employing every caballing Art, and the Subſidies of England to inſtigate other Powers againſt the Court of France, the King did not even aſk of theſe Powers the Succours which Guaranties or defenſive Treaties authoriſed him to demand, and recommended to them ſuch Meaſures only as tended to their own Peace and Security. Such hath been the Conduct of the two Nations. The ſtriking Contraſt of their Proceedings ought to convince all Europe that the one is guided by Motives of Jealouſy, Ambition, and Covetouſneſs; and that the Conduct of the other is founded on Principles of Honour, Juſtice, and Moderation. The King hoped that the King of England, conſulting in the End only the Laws of Equity and the Intereſt of his own Glory, would diſavow the ſcandalous Exceſſes into which his naval Officers continued to give. His Majeſty had even furniſhed him with a juſt and decent Method of doing this, by demanding immediate and full Reſtitution of the French Veſſels taken by the Engliſh Navy; and had offered on this preliminary Condition to enter into a Negotiation for that further Satisfaction which he had a Right to expect, and to agree to an amicable Accommodation of the Differences relating to America. The King of England having rejected this Propoſal, the King ſaw, in his Refuſal, an authentick Declaration of War, as his Majeſty had intimated in his Requiſition. The Britiſh Court might therefore have diſpenſed with obſerving a Formality that was become uſeleſs: A more eſſential Motive ought to have hindered them from ſubmitting to the Judgment of Europe the pretended Injuries alledged by the King of England in the Declaration of War he has publiſhed at London. The vague Imputations contained in this Paper have indeed no Reality at Bottom; and the very Manner in which they are ſet forth would prove their Futility, even if their Falſhood had not been already clearly demonſtrated in the Memorial which the King hath cauſed to be delivered to the ſeveral Courts, containing a Summary of thoſe Facts, with their Proofs, that relate to the preſent War and the Negotiations which have preceded it. There is, however, one important Fact which was not mentioned in that Memorial, becauſe it was impoſſible to foreſee that England would attempt to deceive in ſuch a groſs Manner. This regards the Works raiſed at Dunkirk, and the Troops which the King hath cauſed to be aſſembled on the Coaſts of the Ocean. To hear the King of England in his Declaration of War, who would not think he was determined by theſe two Objects, to give Orders for ſeizing at Sea the King's Ships and thoſe of his Subjects? Nevertheleſs it is univerſally known, that the Works at Dunkirk were not begun till after the Attack and Capture of two of his Majeſty's Ships, in Time of profound Peace, by a Squadron of 13 Engliſh Ships. It is equally notorious that the Engliſh Navy had made Captures of French Veſſels ſix Months before the firſt Battalions ordered by the King to repair to the maritime Coaſts began their March in February laſt. Should the King of England ever reflect on the Falſehood of the Reports that have been made to him with regard to theſe two Points, will he forgive thoſe who induced him to advance Facts, the Suppoſition whereof cannot be vaniſhed with even the leaſt plauſible Appearances? What the King owes to himſelf, and what he owes to his Subjects, have at laſt obliged him to repel Force by Force: But unvariably adhering to his natural Sentiments of Juſtice and Moderation, his Majeſty hath directed his military Operations only againſt the King of England his Aggreſſor; and it has been the ſole Object of all his political Negotiations to juſtify that Confidence which the other Nations of Europe place in his Friendſhip and the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. It would be uſeleſs to enter into a Detail of the Motives that have forced the King to ſend a Body of his Forces into the Iſland of Minorca, and which this Day obliges his Majeſty to declare War againſt the King of England, as he hereby doth declare War againſt him both by Sea and Land. By acting on Principles that ſo deſervedly determine his Reſolutions he is ſure of finding in the Juſtice of his Cauſe, the Valour of his Troops, and the Love of his Subjects, thoſe Reſources which he hath always experienced on their Part: And above all he counts upon the Protection of the God of Armies. His Majeſty ordains and enjoins all his Subjects, Vaſſals, and Servants to fall upon the Subjects of the King of England; forbids them in the moſt expreſs Manner from hereafter having any Communication, Commerce, or Intelligence with them on Pain of Death, and his Majeſty hath in Conſequence from henceforward revoked and doth revoke all Permiſſions, Paſſports, Safe-guards, and Safe-conducts, which may have been given by himſelf, or by his Lieutenant-generals and other his Officers, and hath declared them, and doth declare them null, void, and of no effect: forbidding all Perſons to have any Regard thereto. His Majeſty orders and commands the Duke de Penthievre, Admiral of France, the Marſhals of France, his Majeſty's Governors and Lieutenant-generals in his Provinces and Armies, Major-generals, Colonels, Captains, Heads and Conductors of his military People, as well Horſe as Foot, French as Foreigners, and all other his Officers whom it may concern, that they and each of them cauſe the Purport of theſe Preſents to be executed in the Extent of their Powers and Juriſdictions, for ſuch is his Majeſty's Pleaſure. He wills and intends that theſe Preſents ſhall be publiſhed and fixed up in all his Cities, as well maritime as others, and in all the Ports, Harbours, and other Places of his Kingdom, and Territories under his Obedience, where it ſhall be needful, that none may pretend Ignorance thereof. Given at Verſailles, June 9, 1756. Louis. De Voyer D'Argenson.

in his Boat, with only five Men; when, after having rowed round all the Men of War, and taken a particular Account of them, he cut the Cables of a *French* Snow, boarded her, and carried her away from among the Men of War. She was loaded with Wine, which was diſtributed to all the Fleet.

In the mean time the Nation was big with Expectations of Succeſs from the Opinion entertained of the Abilities and Courage of a Son of that Admiral, who had been enobled for his Courage and Conduct by the Title of Lord *Torrington*. But to our great Surprize, Sorrow, and Diſgrace, the Public were informed that Admiral *Byng* had miſbehaved in the Day of Action, and left the beſieged Garriſon of Fort *St. Philip* expoſed to the triumphing Arms of the Enemy both by Sea and Land.

The firſt Advices received of Admiral *Byng*'s Retreat from the *French* Fleet, was by the way of *Paris*; and were little credited: But, behold! on the 26th of *June* the whole Nation was Thunder-ſtruck by the Publication of the following Letter from Admiral *Byng* to Mr. *Cleveland*, Secretary of the Admiralty, dated on-board the *Ramilies* off *Minorca*, *May* 25, 1756.

“ I have the Pleaſure to deſire that you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that having ſailed from *Gibraltar* the 8th, I got off *Mahon* the 19th, having been joined by his Majeſty's Ship *Phœnix* off *Majorca* two Days before, when the Enemy's Fleet appeared to the S. E. falling little Wind, it was Five before I could form my Line, and diſtinguiſh any of the Enemy's Motions, and not at all judge of their Force more than by their Numbers, which were 17, and 13 of thoſe appeared large. They at firſt ſtood towards us in a regular Line, and tacked about Seven, which I judged was to endeavour to gain the Wind of us in the Night, ſo that, being late, I tacked, in order to keep the Weather-gage of them, as well as to make ſure of the Land-wind: In the Morning, being very hazy, and not above five Leagues off *Cape Mola*, we tacked off towards the Enemy at Eleven, and at Day-light had no Sight of them; but two Tartans, with the *French* private Signal, being cloſe in with the Rear of our Fleet, I ſent the *Princeſs Louiſa* to chaſe one, and made the Signal for the Rear-admiral, who was neareſt the other, to ſend Ships to chaſe her. The *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Defiance*, and *Captain*, became at a great Diſtance, but the *Defiance* took her's, which had two Captains, two Lieutenants, and 102 private Soldiers, who were ſent out the Day before with 600 Men, on-board Tartans, to reinforce the *French* Fleet, on our then appearing off the Place. The *Phœnix* (on Captain *Harvey*'s Offer) prepared to ſerve as a Fire-ſhip, but without damaging her as a Frigate till the Signal was made to prime, when ſhe was then to ſcuttle her Decks, every thing elſe being prepared that the Time and Place allowed of. The Enemy now began to appear from the Maſt-head: I called in the Cruiſers, and when they had joined me, I tacked towards the Enemy, and formed the Line a-head; I found the *French* were preparing theirs to Leeward, having unſucceſsfully endeavoured to weather me: They were 12 large Ships of the Line and five Frigates. As ſoon as I judged the Rear of ours was the Length of their Van, we tack'd altogether, and I immediately made the Signal for the Ships that led to lead large, and for the *Deptford* to quit the Line, that ours might become equal in Number with theirs. At Two I made the Signal to engage, as I found it the ſureſt Method of ordering every Ship to cloſe down on the one that fell to their Lot. And here I muſt expreſs my great Satisfaction at the very gallant Manner in which the Rear-admiral ſet the Van the Example, by inſtantly bearing down on the Ships he was to engage, with his Second, and who occaſioned one of the *French* Ships to begin the Engagement, which they did by raking ours as they went down: I bore right down on the Ship that lay oppoſite to me, and began to engage him, after having received their Fire for ſome Time on going down. The *Intrepid*, in the very beginning, had his Foretopmaſt ſhot away, and as that hung on his Foreſail and backed it, he had no Command of his Ship, his Foretack, and all his Braces being cut at the ſame Time, ſo that he drove on the next Ship to him, and obliged that, and the Ships a-head of me, to throw all a-back: This obliged me to do ſo alſo for ſome Minutes, to avoid their falling all on-board me, though not before we had drove our Adverſary out of the Line, who put before the Wind, and had ſeveral Shot fired at him by his own Admiral. This not only cauſed the Enemy's Center to be unattacked, but left the Rear-admiral's Diviſion rather uncovered for ſome very little Time. I ſent and called to the Ships a-head of me, to make ſail on and go down on the Enemy, and ordered the *Cheſterfield* to lay by the *Intrepid*, and the *Deptford* to ſupply the *Intrepid*'s Place. I found the Enemy edged away conſtantly; and as they went three Feet to our one, they would never permit our cloſing with them, but take the Advantage of deſtroying our Rigging; for tho' I cloſed the Rear-admiral laſt, yet I found I could not again cloſe the Enemy, whoſe Van were fairly drove from their Line, but their Admiral was joining them by bearing away. By this Time it was paſt Six, and the Enemy's Van and ours were at too great a Diſtance to engage; I perceived ſome of their Ships ſtretching to the Northward, and I imagined they were going to form a new Line. I made the Signal for the headmoſt Ships to tack, and thoſe that led before with the Larboard-tacks, to lead with the Starboard, that I might, by the firſt, keep (if poſſible) the Wind of the Enemy; and, by the Second, be between the Rear-admiral's Diviſion and the Enemy, as his had ſuffered moſt, as alſo to cover the *Intrepid*, which I perceived to be in a very bad Condition, and whoſe Loſs would give the Balance againſt us, if they attacked us the next Morning, as I expected. I brought too about Eight that Night, to join the *Intrepid*, and to refit our Ships as faſt as poſſible, and continued ſo all Night. The next Morning we ſaw nothing of the Enemy, tho' we were ſtill lying too: *Mahon* was N. N. W. about 10 or 11 Leagues. I ſent Cruiſers out to look for the *Intrepid* and *Cheſterfield*, who joined me next Day; and having, from a State and Condition of the Squadron brought me in, found that the *Captain*, *Intrepid*, and *Defiance* (which latter has loſt her Captain) were very much damaged in their Maſts, I thought it proper, in this Situation, to call a Council of War, before I went again to look for the Enemy. I deſired the Attendance of General *Stuart*, Lord *Effingham*, and Lord *Robert Bertie*, and Colonel *Cornwallis*, that I might collect their Opinions upon the preſent Situation, at which Council not the leaſt Contention or Doubt aroſe. I do not ſend their Lordſhips the Particulars of our Loſſes and Damages by this, as it would take me much Time, and that I am willing none ſhould be loſt in letting them know an Event of ſuch Conſequence. I diſpatch this to Sir *Benjamin Keene*, by way of *Barcelona*, and am making the beſt of my way to *Gibraltar*, from which Place I propoſe ſending their Lordſhips a more particular Account.

“ *P. S.* I muſt deſire you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that I have appointed Captain *Hervey* to the Command of the *Defiance*, in the room of Captain *Andrews*, ſlain in the Action.

“ I have juſt ſent the Defects of the Ships, as I have got it made out whilſt I was cloſing my Letter.”

State of the English *and* French *Fleets in the late Action in the* Mediterranean, *with the Number of Perſons killed and wounded in each Ship.*

ENGLISH.

Ramilies, Admiral *Byng*, Captain *Gardner*, 90 Guns. *Buckingham*, Rear-admiral *Weſt*, Captain *Everit*, 70 Guns, 7 w. 3 k. *Culloden*, Captain *Ward*, 74 Guns. *Captain*, Captain *Catford*, 70 Guns, 30 w. 6 k. *Revenge*, Captain *Cornwall*, 70 Guns. *Lancaſter*, Captain *Edgecumbe*, 66 Guns, 14 w. 1 k. *Trident*, Captain *Durell*, 64 Guns. *Intrepid*, Captain *Young*, 64 Guns, 39 w. 9 k. *Kingſton*, Captain *Parry*, 60 Guns. *Princeſs Louiſa*, Captain *Noel*, 60 Guns, 13 w. 3 k. *Defiance*, Captain *Andrews*, 60 Guns, 45 w. 14 k. *Portland*, Captain *Baird*, 50 Guns, 20 w. 6 k. *Deptford*, Captain *Amburſt*, 50 Guns. *Cheſterfield*, Captain *Lloyd*, 41 Guns. *Experiment*, Captain *Gilebriſt*, 24 Guns. *Dolphin*, ——— 24 Guns. *Phœnix*, Captain *Hervey*, 24 Guns. *Fortune*, Captain *Mapleſden*, 14 Guns.

FRENCH.

Le Foudroyant, *La Galaſſoniere*, Lieutenant-general, 100 Guns, 10 w. 2 k. *Le Redoutable*, *Glandeves*, *Chef d'Eſcadre*, 74 Guns, 3 w. *La Couronne*, *La Clu*, *Chef d'Eſcadre*, 74 Guns, 3 w. *Le Temeraire*, *Beaumont*, 74 Guns, 15 w. *Le Guerrier*, *La Broſſe*, 74 Guns, 43 w. *Le Lion*, *St. Agnan*, 64 Guns, 7 w. 2 k. *Le Sage*, *Duruen*, 64 Guns, 8 w. *L'Orphee*, *Raimondis*, 64 Guns, 9 w. 10 k. *Le Content*, *Sabran*, 64 Guns, 19 w. 5 k. *Le Triton Mercier*, 64 Guns, 14 w. 5 k. *L'Hipotame*, *Rochemaure*, 50 Guns, 10 w. 2 k. *Le Fier*, *D'Herville*, 50 Guns, 4 w. *La Junon*, *Beausſier*, 46 Guns. *La Roſe*, *Coſtebelle*, 26 Guns. *La Gracieuſe*, *Marquizan*, 24 Guns. *La Topaz*, *Carne*, 24 Guns. *La Nimphe*, *Callian*, 24 Guns.

This ſo diſguſted his Majeſty, that Mr. *Byng*, and Mr. *Weſt* his Rear-admiral, were ſuperceded and ordered home. For this Purpoſe Sir *Edward Hawke* was diſpatched to take on him the Command in Chief, and Captain *Saunders*, promoted to a Flag on this Occaſion, was ordered to ſail with him; and Warrants were lodged at the ſeveral Ports of this Kingdom, to put Mr. *Byng* under Arreſt as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in *Britain*; being accuſed of not doing all that was in his Power to do, in the Time of his Engagement with the *French* Fleeet, and of neglecting to relieve the beſieged Garriſon of Fort *St. Philip's*, as more fully appears by the Order of that Gentleman's Trial for the ſame.

At a Court-martial aſſembled on-board his Majeſty's Ship *St. George*, in *Portſmouth* Harbour, the 28th of *December*, 1756.

PRESENT,

Thomas Smith, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red,
Francis Holburne, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red,
Harry Norris, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White,
Thomas Broderick, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue.

Capt. *Charles Holmes*,
William Boys,
John Simcoe,
John Bentley,
Peter Denis,
Capt. *Francis Geary*,
John Moore,
James Douglas,
Hon. *Auguſtus Keppel*.

The Order for the Trial was as follows:

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain *and* Ireland, &c.

"WHEREAS the King's Pleaſure was ſignified to us, by Letter dated the 4th of *June* laſt, from Mr. *Fox* (one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State) that Directions ſhould be given to Sir *Edward Hawke* to repair without Loſs of Time to the *Mediterranean*, to relieve Admiral *Byng* in the Command of his Majeſty's Ships there; and by another Letter of the 29th of the ſame Month from Mr. *Fox*, the King's farther Pleaſure was ſignified, that Admiral *Byng* ſhould be put immediately under Arreſt, in order that he might be brought to his Trial: And whereas upon Mr. *Byng*'s Arrival in *England*, a Warrant was iſſued from us to the Marſhal of the High Court of Admiralty, dated the 27th of *July* laſt, containing as follows, to wit;

"Whereas the honourable *John Byng*, Admiral of the "Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet, ſailed from *England* in *April* laſt, with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships "under his Command, for the *Mediterranean*, under our "Orders to proceed to *Minorca*; and if he ſhould find "any Attack made upon that Iſland by the *French*, to uſe "all poſſible Means in his Power for its Relief; and "whereas the ſaid Admiral *Byng*, by his Letter to our Secretary, dated the 25th of *May* laſt, gave us an Account "of his getting off *Mahon* on the 19th of that Month "with his Squadron, conſiſting of 13 Ships of the Line "beſides Frigates; engaging a *French* Squadron on "the 20th, conſiſting of 12 Ships of the Line, beſides "Frigates; and that he was making the beſt of his way "back to *Gibraltar* on the 25th, leaving the *French* Squadron before *Minorca*; and whereas his Proceeding therein ſeems ſo little agreeable to our Inſtructions, that it "demands the ſtricteſt Examination into his Conduct and "Behaviour by a Court-martial, and that he ſhould be "tried for the ſame: Theſe are therefore in his Majeſty's "Name to will and require you to repair on-board his "Majeſty's Ship the *Antelope* at *Spithead*, and take into "your Cuſtody the Perſon of the ſaid Admiral *Byng*, and "ſafely keep him till delivered by due Courſe of Law."

"And whereas, we did alſo iſſue another Warrant to the ſaid Marſhal, dated the 31ſt of the ſame Month, to the following Purport, to wit;"

"Theſe are in his Majeſty's Name to will and require "you, to detain in your Cuſtody the Perſon of the honourable *John Byng*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet (already committed to your "Cuſtody by a former Warrant under our Hands and the "Seal of the Office of Admiralty) for that he the ſaid "*John Byng* having the Command of his Majeſty's Fleet "in the *Mediterranean*, during the Engagement between "his Majeſty's ſaid Fleet and the Fleet of the *French* King "on the 20th of *May* laſt, did withdraw or keep back, "and did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy "the Ships of the *French* King, which it was his Duty to "have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships "as were engaged in Fight with the *French* Ships, which "it was his Duty to have aſſiſted; and for that he the ſaid "*John Byng* did not do his utmoſt to relieve *St. Philip*'s "Caſtle, in his Majeſty's Iſland of *Minorca*, then beſieged "by the Forces of the *French* King, but acted contrary "to, and in Breach of his Majeſty's Command; and him "the ſaid *John Byng* you are ſafely to keep until he ſhall "be delivered by due Courſe of Law."

"And whereas it appears highly fitting, as well in regard to the Public and the Party accuſed, as to the Officers who have been ſent for home as Witneſſes upon this Occaſion, that a Court-martial ſhould be aſſembled as ſoon as conveniently may be, to enquire into the Conduct and Behaviour of the ſaid Admiral *John Byng*, as before recited from the Warrants of his Commitment and Detainer, and to try him for the ſame; we ſend you herewith a Copy of our Inſtructions to the ſaid Admiral *Byng*, dated the 30th of *March* 1756, for his Proceeding with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships to the *Mediterranean*; and alſo of an Order to him, dated the 31ſt of *March* 1756; and likewiſe two original Letters from Admiral *Byng* to our Secretary, one dated the 4th of *May* laſt, the other the 25th of the ſame Month, containing Accounts of his Proceedings; and alſo the ſeveral Papers tranſmitted with thoſe Letters; and you are hereby required and directed to aſſemble a Court-martial, who are to proceed to an Enquiry into the before-recited Conduct and Behaviour of the ſaid Admiral *John Byng*, and to try him for the ſame. Given under our Hands this 14th Day of *December* 1756.

To *Thomas Smith*, Eſq; Vice-admiral
of the Red, &c. at *Portſmouth*.
By Command of their Lordſhips,
J. Cleveland.

Temple,
Ed. Boſcawen,
Gilb. Elliot,
J. Forbes."

Admiral *Byng*'s Caſe having been repreſented with ſome Degree of Partiality by both his Friends and his Foes, I ſhall endeavour to tranſmit this controverted Affair in the moſt genuine Light, without the leaſt Reſpect to Perſons or Party.

The Intention of his Command and his Duty, will be beſt diſcovered from a Recital of the *Inſtructions*, which are as follow:

INSTRUCTIONS *for the honourable* John Byng, *Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet.*

WHEREAS the King's Pleaſure has been ſignified to us by Mr. *Fox*, one of his Principal Secretaries of State, that, upon Conſideration of the ſeveral Advices which have been received relating to the ſuppoſed Intention of the *French* to attack the Iſland of *Minorca*, a Squadron of 10 Ships of the Line do forthwith ſail for the *Mediterranean*, under your Command; and whereas we have appointed the Ships named in the Margin for this Service[a], you are hereby required and directed immediately to put to Sea with ſuch of them as are ready (leaving Orders for the reſt to follow you as ſoon as poſſible) and proceed with the utmoſt Expedition to *Gibraltar*.

Upon your Arrival there, you are to enquire whether any *French* Squadron is come through the *Straits*; and, if there is, to inform yourſelf as well as poſſible of their Number and Force, and if any Part of them were Tranſports: And as it is probable they may be deſigned for *North-America*, and as his Majeſty's Ships named in the Margin[b], are either at or going to *Halifax*, and are to cruiſe off *Louiſburg* and the Mouth of the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, you are immediately to take the Soldiers out of ſo many Ships of your Squadron as, together with the Ships at and going to *Halifax*, will make a Force ſuperior to the ſaid *French* Squadron (replacing them with Landmen or ordinary Seamen from your other Ships) and then detach them under the Command of Rear-admiral *Weſt*, directing him to make the beſt of his way off *Louiſburg*; and taking the aforementioned Ships, which he may expect to find there, under his Command, to cruiſe off the ſaid Place and the Entrance of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to intercept and ſeize the aforeſaid *French* Ships, or any other Ships belonging to the *French* that may be bound to or returning from that Part of *North-America*.

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[a] 2d, Ramillies. 3d, Buckingham, Culloden, Captain, Revenge, Lancaſter, Trident, Intrepid. 4th, Kingſton, Defiance.

[b] 3d, Grafton, Sterling-Caſtle, Fougueux. 4th, Nottingham, Litchfield, Centurion, Norwich. 6th, Succeſs, Vulture Sloop.

If, upon your Arrival at *Gibraltar*, you ſhall not gain Intelligence of a *French* Squadron having paſſed the *Straits*, you are then to go on, without a Moment's Loſs of Time, to *Minorca*: Or if, in conſequence of ſuch Intelligence, you ſhall detach Rear-admiral *Weſt* as before directed, you are to uſe equal Expedition in repairing thither with the Ships which ſhall remain with you; and if you find any Attack made upon that Iſland by the *French*, you are to uſe all poſſible Means in your Power for its Relief: If you find no ſuch Attack made, you are to proceed off *Toulon*, and ſtation your Squadron in the beſt Manner you ſhall be able, for preventing any *French* Ships getting out of that Port, or for intercepting and ſeizing any that may get out; and you are to exert the utmoſt Vigilance therein, and in protecting *Minorca* and *Gibraltar* from any hoſtile Attempt.

You are alſo to be very vigilant for protecting the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects from being moleſted, either by the *French*, or by Cruiſers from *Morocco*, or any other of the *Barbary* States; and for that Purpoſe to appoint proper Convoys and Cruiſers.

You are likewiſe to be as attentive as poſſible to the intercepting and ſeizing, as well Ships of War and Privateers, as Merchant-ſhips belonging to the *French*, wherever they may be met with within the Limits of your Command: But, in purſuance of the King's Order in Council, you are not to ſuffer any of the Ships of your Squadron to take any *French* Veſſels out of any Port belonging to the *Ottoman* Empire, upon any Pretence; nor to moleſt, detain, or impriſon the Perſons of any of the Subjects of the *Ottoman* Empire; and alſo, not to ſeize and detain any *French* Ship or Veſſel whatſoever which they ſhall meet with in the *Levant* Seas, bound from one Port to another in thoſe Seas, or to or from any Ports of *Egypt*, having any Effects of *Turks* on board.

Upon your Arrival in the *Mediterranean*, you are to take under your Command his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels named in the Margin [*], which are at preſent there.

If any *French* Ships of War ſhould ſail from *Toulon*, and eſcape your Squadron, and proceed out of the *Mediterranean*, you are forthwith to ſend, or repair yourſelf to *England*, with a proportionable Part of the Ships under your Command; obſerving that you are never to keep more Ships in the *Mediterranean* than ſhall be neceſſary for executing the Services recommended to you.

To enable you the better to perform the aforementioned Services, you are to take care to keep the Ships and Veſſels under your Command in conſtant good Condition, and to have them cleaned as often as ſhall be requiſite for that Purpoſe. Given under our Hands the 30th of *March* 1756.

Anſon,
Tho. Villiers,
By Command of their Lordſhips, *Will. Rowley*,
J. Cleveland. *Ed. Boſcawen*,
Bateman,
R. Edgcumbe.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-admiral of Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.*

WHEREAS the King has been pleaſed to direct that the Royal Regiment of Fuzileers, commanded by Lord *Robert Bertie*, ſhould ſerve on-board his Majeſty's Ships in the *Mediterranean*, and that the ſaid Regiment ſhould be landed in *Minorca*, in caſe the Governor or Commander in Chief of that Iſland ſhall think it neceſſary for its Defence; and the Governor of *Gibraltar* having Orders, in caſe a farther Reinforcement ſhall be neceſſary at *Minorca*, to make a Detachment equal to a Battalion, from his Garriſon; which Detachment the Admiral, or Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships in the *Mediterranean*, is to convoy to *Minorca*, on-board the Men of War, or ſuch Tranſport Veſſels, as he ſhall be able to provide for that Purpoſe. We do, in purſuance of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified to us by Mr. *Fox*, one of his Principal Secretaries of State, hereby require and direct you, to pay due Obedience to his Majeſty's aforeſaid Directions, by landing Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment, in caſe the Iſland of *Minorca* ſhall be attacked, and, upon Conſultation with the Governor, the ſame ſhall appear to be neceſſary: And you are not to confine yourſelf to the landing that Regiment only, but alſo to aſſiſt with as many Gunners, and Men from your Squadron, as may be ſerviceable, and the Ships can poſſibly ſpare. You are likewiſe to pay due Regard to his Majeſty's aforeſaid Pleaſure, in relation to tranſporting a Battalion from *Gibraltar* to *Minorca*. Given under our Hands the 31ſt of *March* 1756.

To the Hon. *John Byng*, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty Fleet at *Spithead*.
Anſon,
Tho. Villiers,
Will. Rowley.
By Command of their Lordſhips,
J. Cleveland.

Mr. BYNG being arrived at *Gibraltar*, writes to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir, *Ramillies, Gibraltar Bay, May* 4, 1756.

"THIS comes to you by Expreſs from hence by the way of *Madrid*, recommended to Sir *Benjamin Keene*, his Majeſty's Miniſter at that Place, to be forwarded with the utmoſt Expedition.

I arrived here with the Squadron under my Command the 2d Inſtant, in the Afternoon, after a tedious Paſſage of 27 Days, occaſioned by contrary Winds and Calms, and was extremely concerned to hear from Captain *Edgcumbe*, who I found here with the *Princeſs Louiſa* and *Fortune* Sloop, that he was obliged to retire from *Minorca*, the *French* having landed on that Iſland, by all Accounts, from 13 to 15,000 Men.

They ſailed from *Toulon* the 10th of laſt Month, with about 160, or 200 Sail of Tranſports, eſcorted by 13 Sail of Men of War, how many of the Line I have not been able to learn with any Certainty.

If I had been ſo happy to have arrived at *Mahon* before the *French* had landed, I flatter myſelf I ſhould have been able to have prevented their getting a Footing on that Iſland; but as it has ſo unfortunately turned out, I am firmly of Opinion, from the great Force they have landed, and the Quantity of Proviſions, Stores, and Ammunition of all Kinds they brought with them, that the throwing Men into the Caſtle, will only enable it to hold out but a little time longer, and add to the Numbers that muſt fall into the Enemy's Hands, for the Garriſon in time will be obliged to ſurrender, unleſs a ſufficient Number of Men could be landed to diſlodge the *French*, or raiſe the Siege: However, I am determined to ſail up to *Minorca* with the Squadron, where I ſhall be a better Judge of the Situation of Affairs there, and will give General *Blakeney* all the Aſſiſtance he ſhall require, though I am afraid all Communication will be cut off between us, as is the Opinion of the chief Engineer of this Garriſon (who has ſerved in that Iſland) and that of the other Officers of the Artillery, who are acquainted with the Situation of the Harbour; for if the Enemy have erected Batteries on the two Shores near the Entrance of the Harbour (an Advantage ſcarce to be ſuppoſed they have neglected) it will render it impoſſible for our Boats to have a Paſſage to the Sally Port of the Garriſon.

By the incloſed Liſt, delivered to me by Captain *Edgcumbe*, their Lordſhips will obſerve the Strength of the *French* Ships in *Toulon*; and by the Copy of a Letter from *Marſeilles* to General *Blakeney*, which I herewith tranſmit to you, their Lordſhips will perceive the Equipment the *French* have made on this Occaſion. It is to be apprehended, when they have got all the Ships they poſſibly can ready for Service, that they may think of turning their Thoughts this Way. If I ſhould fail in the Relief of *Port-Mahon*,

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[*] Princeſs Louiſa, Portland, Deptford, Cheſterfield, Dolphin, Phœnix, Experiment, Fortune Sloop.

Mahon, I ſhall look upon the Security and Protection of *Gibraltar* as my next Object, and ſhall repair down here with the Squadron, and hope their Lordſhips will approve of that Meaſure.

I am ſorry to find, upon enquiring of the naval Officer here, that there are few or no Stores in the Magazines to ſupply any of the Squadron that may be in want of them: And it appears by a Letter I have received from the Storekeeper and Maſter Shipwright, that the Careening-wharf, Storehouſes, Pits, *&c.* are entirely decayed, and I am afraid we ſhall find great Difficulty in getting them repaired, there being no Artificers to be got here, and at preſent he can have no Aſſiſtance from the Carpenters of the Fleet on account of our Sailing. It requiring a proper Perſon to inſpect into, and manage thoſe Affairs, I have taken upon me to give Mr. *Milbourn Marſh* (his Majeſty's naval Officer that was at *Mahon*, who came down with Captain *Edgcumbe*) an Order to act as Maſter-ſhipwright, which I hope their Lordſhips will approve; and have given him Orders to uſe his beſt Endeavours to put the Wharf, *&c.* in the beſt Condition he can, for very ſoon they will be wanted, as I apprehend this is the only Place the Ships of the Squadron can come to refit; and many of them are in want of Repairs and Careening, particularly the *Portland*, who has not been cleaned theſe Twelve Months, nor the *Cheſterfield* Ten; beſides many of the Ships that came out with me are foul. I fear from the Inconveniencies we ſhall meet with here, there will be great Difficulty in keeping the Ships clean, as there is but one Wharf for them to prepare and careen at.

By a Council of War held by General *Fowke*, a Copy of which is herewith tranſmitted, it was not thought proper to ſend a Detachment, equal to a Battalion, for the Relief of *Minorca*, as it would evidently weaken the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, and be no way effectual to the Relief of that Iſland for the Reaſons therein given. But as I had repreſented that there was a Deficiency of Men on-board the Ships late under the Command of Captain *Edgcumbe*, on account of his having left a Number of Sailors and Marines at *Minorca* to aſſiſt in the Defence of that Place, that it was neceſſary to ſend a Detachment on-board thoſe Ships to help mann them, which the General complied with; and I ſhall diſtribute ſome Seamen from the Ships that came out with me to compleat their Complements.

The *Cheſterfield*, *Portland*, and *Dolphin*, are on their Paſſage from *Mahon* for this Place; the *Phœnix* is gone to *Leghorn*, by Order of Captain *Edgcumbe*, for Letters and Intelligence; and the *Experiment* is cruiſing off Cape *Pallos*, who I expect in every Hour.

By a Letter from Mr. *Banks*, our Conſul at *Carthagena*, to General *Fowke*, dated the 21ſt of *April*, it appears that 12 Sail of *Spaniſh* Men of War are ordered from *Cadiz* and *Ferrol*, which are expected at that Port, but on what Account he could not tell the Governor.

We are employed in taking in Wine, and compleating our Water, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, and ſhall let no Opportunity ſlip of ſailing from hence.

Herewith I ſend you incloſed a Copy of ſuch Papers as have been delivered me, which I thought neceſſary for their Lordſhips Inſpection. I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

J. BYNG."

In this Letter the Admiral aſſerts that the *French* were ſuperior in Strength to his 10 Ships reinforced by Commodore *Edgcumbe*'s Squadron; and afterwards, under his Confinement, attempted to prove the Aſſertion by the following Tables and Reaſonings.

The honourable Admiral BYNG'*s Squadron when he engaged M.* DE LA GALASSONIERE'*s off* Mola, 20 May, 1756.

Ships Names.	Guns.	Weight of Metal on the			
		low. deck	mid. deck	upp. deck	Men.
		lb.	lb.	lb.	
Ramillies	90	32	18	12	780
Culloden	74	32		18	600
Buckingham	68	32		18	535
Lancaſter	66	32		18	520
Trident	64	24		12	500
Intrepid	64	32		18	480
Captain	64	24		12	480
Revenge	64	24		12	480
Kingſton	60	24		9	400
Defiance	60	24		12	400
Princeſs Louiſa	56	24		12	400
Portland	48	24		12	300
	778				5875
Frigates.					
Deptford	48				280
Cheſterfield	40				250
Phœnix	22				160
Dolphin	22				160
Experiment	22				160
Total	932				6885

M. DE LA GALASSONIERE'*s Squadron, when he landed the Troops at* Minorca, April 18*th, and at the Engagement with Admiral* BYNG'*s Squadron off Cape* Mola, May 20, 1756.

Ships Names.	Guns.	wt. of ml. on the		Number of		Total Men on board each Ship.
		low. deck	upp. deck	Seamen.	Soldiers	
		lb.	lb.			
Foudroyant	84	52	24	700	250	950
La Couronne	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Guerrier	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Temeraire	74	42	24	650	150	800
Le Redoutable	74	42	24	650	150	800
L'Hipopothame	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Fier	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Triton	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Lion	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Contant	64	36	24	500	100	600
Le Sage	64	36	24	500	100	600
L'Orphée	64	36	24	500	100	600
	828			6800	1550	8350
Frigates.						
La Juno	46			300		300
La Roſe	30			250		250
Gracieuſe	30			250		250
La Topaze	24			250		256
La Nymphe	24			200		200
Total	982			8050	1550	9600

The Number of Ships was equal on each ſide; from this then no Advantage was to be drawn by one Party above another.

If Admiral *Byng* left the *Deptford* out of the Line, the ſame thing was done by M. *De la Gallaſſoniere* in not taking the *Juno* into his Line; the firſt being of 48 Guns, and the latter of 46.

The next Conſideration is the Number of Guns, the *French* Fleet exceeded the *Engliſh* by 50 Cannon, the Number of the firſt being 828, and of the ſecond 778, which gives a Majority of 50 on the ſide of the *French*.

The next Article is the Weight of Metal; and in this Place it ſeems neceſſary to remark, that it is the uſual Cuſtom to denominate the Weight of Metal by the Guns which are on the whole Decks only; hence it happens, though three Sizes are only mentioned in the Liſt of the *Ramillies*, and two in that of the *Foudroyant*, that there were 10 of the Number on-board the *Ramillies* on the Quarter-deck and Fore-caſtle, which carried ſix Pounds only, and on-board the *Foudroyant* 24; which placed in the ſame Parts mentioned in the *Ramillies*, carried only Shot of 12 Pounds.

The *Foudroyant* and *Ramillies* then may be thus conſidered with reſpect to the Cannon which each carried.

Foudroyant.		*Ramillies.*	
Guns.	Weight of Shot.	Guns.	Weight of Shot.
30	of 52 Pounds.	26	of 52 Pounds.
30	24	26	18
24	12	28	12
		10	6
84	2268 lb. each Charge.	90	1696 lb. each Charge.

Deducting then the leſſer from the greater Number, the Weight of the Shot fired by the *Foudroyant* in a Diſcharge of all the Cannon, exceeds that of the *Ramillies* by 572 Pounds, almoſt a third of the whole Quantity. The Number of Men on-board the *Engliſh* Ship, was 730; on-board the *French* 950; which gives a Majority of 220 Men to the *French* Ship.

From theſe Computations, it evidently appears, that if this third Part of Superiority was taken from the twelve *French* Ships, leaving each an Equal to the *Engliſh*, there would remain a ſufficient Force to equip four Ships more, then the Number would be ſixteen *French* Ships to twelve *Engliſh*, a Superiority not to be attacked by a prudent Man.

The Admiral alſo in his own Defence complained of the Treatment he met with from thoſe in Power, upon his firſt Appointment to the Command. His Advocates date his Commiſſion on the 17th of *March*, place him at *Portſmouth* on the 20th, with Orders not to meddle with the Men of particular Ships therein mentioned, and to fit the *Stirling-Caſtle* in preference to any other Ship.

On the 21ſt he hoiſted his Flag on-board the *Ramillies*: Six other Ships of his Squadron, *viz.* the *Buckingham*, *Culloden*, *Captain*, *Revenge*, *Kingſton*, and *Deſiance*, were at *Spithead*; two, the *Trident* and *Lancaſter* were in the Harbour fitting for Sea; and the *Intrepid* was not as yet ſailed from the *Nore*.

For theſe nine Ships, 723 Men were wanting, of which 240 were ſhort of Compliment, 291 lent to Ships at Sea, and 192 ſick in the Hoſpital.

In the Evening of this Day he received a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, preſſing the utmoſt Diligence in getting his Squadron into ſailing Order, marking the Neceſſity of his ſo doing from the Neceſſity of the Service, which required him as ſoon as poſſible in the *Mediterranean*, and incloſing the Reaſon, in an Extract of a Letter from the Earl of *Briſtol* at *Turin*, to Mr. *Fox*, dated *March* the 6th, and communicating a Deſign of the *French* to make a Deſcent on *Minorca*.

To this Letter the Admiral the next Day returned the Aſſurances required, that he was uſing all poſſible Diſpatch: Specifying, that in ſeven or eight Days he hoped all the Ships under his Command would be ready in every reſpect, excepting Men; and accompanying this with a State of the Ships both in *Portſmouth*-harbour and at *Spithead*, that their Lordſhips might iſſue their Orders accordingly.

For by the ſaid State it appeared that, over and above the 10 Ships aſſigned to the Admiral, there lay at *Spithead*, at that Inſtant, no leſs than 12 Men of War of the Line; that is to ſay, the *Prince* of 90 Guns, the *Prince George* of 80, the *Invincible* and *Torbay* of 74, the *Monmouth*, *Yarmouth*, *Eſſex*, *Naſſau*, and *Prince Frederic* of 64, and the *Nottingham* and *Princeſs Auguſta* of 60; to which may be added the *Anſon* of 60, which came in three Days after, and the *Fire-brand* Fire-ſhip.

All theſe Ships, it is to be obſerved, were either full manned, or nearly ſo, and four of them were manned above their Complements. And thoſe in the Harbour were the *Royal Ann* and *Duke* of 90 Guns, the *Barfleur* of 80, the *Swiftſure*, *Bedford*, and *Elizabeth* of 64, the *Briſtol* and *Colcheſter* of 50, the *Romney* of 40, and the *Greyhound*, *Gibraltar*, *Nightingale*, and *Unicorn* of 20; all of which, except the four firſt, were alſo full manned, or nearly ſo.

But the ſending this Liſt did not anſwer the Admiral's End; no Orders came for ſupplying the Defect of Men till the 25th, when the Admiral was directed to take them out of the[*] Tenders and Hoſpitals; and then not till the Complement of the *Stirling-Caſtle* had been compleated firſt; which is ſo much the more remarkable, as he received an Expreſs the Day before to diſpatch Mr. *Keppel* in the *Eſſex* and *Gibraltar* to Sea, as ſoon as poſſible, and to ſupply the ſaid Ships with what Number of Men they wanted out of the *Naſſau*.

To ſhew, however, how well their Lordſhips underſtood Buſineſs, and how notably they could conduct it; on the 26th, at Five in the Evening, it was the Admiral's turn to receive an Expreſs, informing him, that the *Ludlow-Caſtle* was ordered to *Spithead* from her Cruiſe, with the Men borrowed from the *Ramillies*, and directing him to take from aboard the *Stirling-Caſtle* the Men by former Orders ſhipped on-board her out of the Tenders, together with 100 Men to be diſcharged out of the *Auguſta*, towards compleating the Complements of his Squadron. He was alſo directed, by the ſame Expreſs, to diſtribute all the Marines he had on-board among the ſeveral Ships at *Spithead* and in *Portſmouth*-harbour, and to receive Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment of royal *Engliſh* Fuziliers in their room. An Operation, which, together with procuring them Bedding, *&c.* found Employment for the Lieutenants, Boats, *&c.* till the 30th incluſive: And the next Day was employed in compleating the Officers, Stores, Proviſions, Water, *&c.*—

And now *April* the firſt at Ten in the Morning, the Admiral received by an Expreſs a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, together with his Inſtructions, dated *March* 30, incloſed, which the ſame Secretary had on the 21ſt of the Month preceding prepared him to expect on the 23d following: The Letter required him, in the Name of the Board, to put to Sea with the firſt fair Wind, and to proceed without Loſs of time to the *Mediterranean*: There was alſo incloſed in it, an Order for receiving on-board his Squadron Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment of royal Fuzilliers, for what Service will be explained in the Sequel: And of the ſaid Inſtructions, it will be ſufficient in this Place to ſay, that of all the Articles they were compoſed of, there is but one (regarding the Operations of the Enemy muſt be underſtood) poſitive; namely, that repeated by the Secretary, which required him to put to Sea as ſoon as poſſible, *&c.* For though it is admitted in the introductory Clauſe, that ſeveral Advices had been received, concerning the ſuppoſed Intentions of the *French* to attack the Iſland of *Minorca*, the next ſuppoſes, that their real Deſign was to ſlip through the *Straits* of *Gibraltar*, and direct their Courſe to *North-America*; and makes a ſuitable Proviſion for ſeparating the Squadron, and ſending off ſuch a Part of it under Rear-admiral *Weſt*, together with ſuch a proportionable Number of the Soldiers on-board, as, added to the Ships he was ſuppoſed to find there, would render him ſuperior to the Enemy (in which caſe it is to be noted, the ſaid Soldiers could not have ſerved in the *Mediterranean* at all, and for this, that a Superiority was judged to be a Requiſite eſſential to the Service.) And all the other Articles hinging in like manner upon Events, were accordingly to be obſerved or not, as Circumſtances agreed or otherwiſe.

However, the Admiral reſolved to put to Sea, and having by various Shifts and in a precarious Manner, proceeded to ſail on the 3d of *April*, he was greatly ſurpriſed by Captain *Young*, who the Day before had received Orders to put himſelf under the Admiral, repreſenting that his Ship was extremely leaky, and had neither Water, Proviſions, nor Stores, for ſuch a Voyage.

This obliged him to try every expedient to aſſiſt the *Intrepid* with Water, *&c.* which was effected on the 4th, and on the 5th they weighed Anchor and ſtood to Sea; but was obliged by the Tide-of-Ebb and Calm to come to anchor again at Three; having been delayed ſome time by ſhipping Officers, Recruits, *&c.* for *Gibraltar*, and diſappointed of a Frigate to repeat Signals in caſe of an Action with the Enemy in his Paſſage out; though he had applied by Letters to the Admiralty for one.

On the 6th, being put to Sea again, he arrived, after a tedious Voyage occaſioned by Calms and contrary Winds, at *Gibraltar* on the 2d of *May*.

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[*] Tenders expected to arrive from Liverpool and Ireland, two only of which arrived before the Fleet ſailed, the greateſt Part of the Men from them put on-board the Stirling-Caſtle; the whole Number 198.

It is here to be obſerved, that as the Admiral's Inſtructions were, in general, founded on a Perſuaſion, that the *French* Armament at *Toulon*, was deſtined to *North-America*, ſo it was declared with the utmoſt Confidence by thoſe, who ought to have known better, and that, for want of Seamen, ſix or eight Ships of the Line at moſt, was the greateſt Number the Enemy could poſſibly put to Sea from that Port.

From hence it is apparent, firſt, That we had either no true Intelligence at home of what was really in Agitation at *Toulon*, or that we gave no Credit to it. Secondly, That Inſtructions unpreciſe in their Nature, becauſe founded on Miſtakes and Uncertainties, accompanied with Orders yet more unpreciſe and embarraſſing, (as having nothing clear in them but the Negligence or Ignorance of the Writers) could not but be productive of Perplexities and Difficulties in every Queſtion they gave riſe to, conſequently of Snares and Dangers in every Reſolution taken upon them. Thirdly, That from the very different Aſpect of Things on the Admiral's Arrival at *Gibraltar*, from that which they had been made to wear in *England*, a Difference of Conduct became abſolutely neceſſary; and thence-forward, he was either to proceed *diſcretionally*, or not to proceed at all.

Inſtead of ſix or eight Men of War of the Line, he was informed the Enemy had put to Sea on the 13th of *April*; *N. B.* (Juſt a Week after the Admiral ſet ſail from *St. Helens*) with a Squadron of 12 Ships from 60 to 80 Guns; five Frigates from 20 to 50; two Xebeques of 18, four Gallies, two Galliots, four Bombs, eſcorting 233 Tranſports, with 18,000 Soldiers on-board, and 50 Veſſels freighted with Cattle, Stores, *&c.* And that inſtead of ſteering for *North-America*, they had not only made a Deſcent on *Minorca*, but were moreover in actual Poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland, *Fort St. Philip* excepted; as he was informed at *Gibraltar* by Commodore *Edgecumbe*, who by great Providence had eſcaped the Enemy with the *Deptford*, *Princeſs Louiſa*, and *Fortune-Sloop*.

Having now, for the firſt time, one poſitive Fact to reaſon upon, *to wit*, that *Fort St. Philip* was actually beſieged, with a great Force compleatly furniſhed with all manner of Ammunition and Proviſion, and the Siege covered with a Squadron abundantly ſtronger and better appointed, than had entered into any of the Suppoſers Heads to ſuppoſe poſſible, who dictated his Orders; it muſt be underſtood his firſt Concern was to conſider, how he was beſt to conduct himſelf in conformity to thoſe Orders.

The *American*, if ſtated in the ſecond Clauſe, as the Point of moſt Probability, with reſpect to the Deſign of the *French* Armament, and yet again recurred to, and implicated in the third, was now out of the Queſtion; as was alſo another in the ſame Clauſe, if the *French* were ſtill inactive in Port, in which caſe he was to ſtation his Squadron, (ſtill ſuppoſed all-ſufficient) in the beſt manner to prevent their getting out: And he was now to uſe all poſſible Means in his Power (the learned and able Secretary is to be anſwerable for this Tautology) for the Relief of the Place, taking proper Care, nevertheleſs, to exert his utmoſt Vigilance to protect *Gibraltar* from any hoſtile Attempt; which is not only underſtood, but expreſſed in his Orders; as alſo to protect the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects, and to annoy the Enemy wherever they might be found within the [*] Limits of his Command; with an Exception, however, to the Ports of the *Ottoman* Empire, which was with the utmoſt Circumſpection guarded againſt.

And now on the Day of his Arrival, he iſſued immediate Orders for all the Ships of his Squadron to compleat their Proviſions and Water with the utmoſt Expedition.

On the third he went on-ſhore to communicate to the Governor of *Gibraltar* his Orders in relation to a Batallion, to be detached from the Garriſon, and to be embarked on-board the Squadron for the Relief of *Fort St. Philip*. And it was thought proper, in the firſt place, to take the Opinion of the Engineers beſt acquainted with the Works of *Fort St. Philip* (the Principal of whom had not only been in Service there, but when at home, had been promoted to the Poſt he then held, on the Merit of bringing home a Model of the Place) concerning the Poſſibility or Probability of relieving the ſame, and they gave it under their Hands the ſame Day, that, all Circumſtances conſidered, it appeared to them extremely dangerous, if not impracticable, to throw Succours into it.

This Opinion of the Engineers was moreover ſubmitted on the Morrow to a Council of War, compoſed of the Governor and all the Field-officers of the Garriſon aſſembled, to take into Conſideration the ſeveral Orders above acceded to.

On the 4th of *May* the Council of War ſat on theſe ſeveral Orders, together with the Written-opinion of the Engineers, and the Situation of his Majeſty's Garriſons and Forces in the *Mediterranean*; on a full Conſideration of which, they were humbly of Opinion, that the ſending the ſaid Detachment would evidently weaken the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, and be no way effectual for the Relief of *Minorca*: Aſſigning for the Grounds and Reaſons of this Opinion, that of the Engineers already mentioned, touching the Impracticability of introducing any Succours into the Place, the Inſufficiency of the Number propoſed, if introduced for the Defence and Preſervation of the Iſland in its preſent Condition; which ſeemed to be the Scope and Meaning of the Letters and Orders before them: And the Imprudence of weakening the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, unneceſſarily riſking the Loſs of an additional Number of his Majeſty's Troops, without any reaſonable Proſpect or Hope of being of any Aſſiſtance to *Minorca*. To which was added the following Reaſon; which it will be expedient to give in their own Words. *To wit*.

"Becauſe the *Toulon* Squadron, by the beſt Accounts the Council have received, is at leaſt equal in Force, if not ſuperior to that under Admiral *Byng*: And ſhould the *Britiſh* Fleet be any ways weakened by an Engagement, or any other Accident, the Garriſon of *Gibraltar* would be expoſed to imminent Danger; and as the Garriſon ſtands at preſent, it is not more than ſufficient to the common Duty of the Garriſon.

But though they were introduced by theſe Conſiderations not to go the Lengths indeterminately required, which would have expoſed one Place, without preſerving the other, they diſcovered a Diſpoſition to do whatever could be prudently done for the Good of the Service. And to remedy the Defect of Captain *Edgecumbe*'s Ships, whoſe Men were greatly thinned, by leaving all the Soldiers and Marines he had on-board at *Fort St. Philip*; and to enable theſe Ships to proceed to Sea, the Admiral applied to General *Fowke* for ſuch a Detachment out of his Garriſon as he could ſpare; and with the Approbation of the ſame Council of War, the General did accordingly furniſh him with one Captain, ſix Subalterns, nine Serjeants, eleven Corporals, five Drums, and 235 private Men: In all 267.

And having alſo done his beſt to ſupply all the Wants of his Squadron, on the 8th in the Morning he ſet ſail, tho' the Wind was eaſterly, and before his Ships were full watered, which was owing not to any Neglect imputable either to Officers or Seamen, but the ſmall Quantity of Water ſupplied by the Springs themſelves.

The Winds proving variable, and often interrupted by Calms, it was the 16th before the Squadron could get up as far as *Palma*, the Capital of *Majorca*; and here the Admiral thought fit to ſend the *Experiment* to that Port, with a Letter to the Conſul for what Intelligence he could ſupply him with; and the next Day in the Afternoon, the *Experiment* rejoined the Squadron, (which was ſtanding to the Eaſtward) with the *Phœnix* in company, which laſt brought the Admiral ſome Intelligence of the Quantity of Cannon, Ammunition, and Proviſion, landed at *Minorca* by the Enemy, as alſo of their manner of Landing, and of treating the Inhabitants.

The 19th at Day-break, the Squadron being off the Coaſt of *Minorca*, about Five o'Clock in the Morning, the Admiral ſent the *Phœnix*, Captain *Hervey*, with the *Cheſterfield* and *Dolphin*, Captain *Lloyd* and Captain *Marlow*, a-head of the Fleet, to reconnoitre as cloſely as poſſible, the Harbour's Mouth, and the Situation both of the Enemy and their Batteries, as alſo to obſerve whether it was practicable, and where, to throw any Succours into the Caſtle, to look out for the *French* Squadron, and to pick up, if poſſible, any of their ſmall Craft, in order to procure Intelligence; in relation to all which Purpoſes, proper Signals were appointed for the Admiral's Information.

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[*] It ſeems his Orders did not impower him to attack the Enemy, even if he met them, without the Limits of his Command, as War was not then declared.

Captain *Hervey* was alſo charged with the following Letter from the Admiral to General *Blakeney*.

Ramillies off *Minorca*, *May* 19, 1756.

SIR,

" I ſend you this by Captain *Hervey*, of his Majeſty's Ship *Phænix*, who has my Orders to convey it to you, if poſſible, together with the incloſed Packet, which he received at *Leghorn*.

I am extremely concerned to find that Captain *Edgecumbe* has been obliged to retire to *Gibraltar* with the Ships under his Command, and that the *French* are landed, and *St. Philip*'s-*Caſtle* is inveſted; as I flatter myſelf had I fortunately been more timely in the *Mediterranean*, that I ſhould have been able to have prevented the Enemy's getting a Footing on the Iſland of *Minorca*.

I am to acquaint you that General *Stuart*, Lord *Effingham*, and Colonel *Cornwallis*, with about 30 Officers and ſome Recruits belonging to the different Regiments now in Garriſon with you, are on-board the Ships of the Squadron, and ſhall be glad to know, by the Return of the Officer, what Place you will think proper to have them landed at.

The royal Regiment of *Engliſh* Fuziliers, commanded by Lord *Robert Bertie*, is likewiſe on-board the Squadron deſtined, agreeable to my Orders, to ſerve on-board the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, unleſs it ſhould be thought neceſſary upon Conſultation with you to land the Regiment for the Defence of *Minorca*; but I muſt alſo inform you, ſhould the Fuziliers be landed, as they are Part of the Ships Compliments; the Marines having been ordered by the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty on-board of other Ships at *Portſmouth*, to make room for them, that it will diſable the Squadron from acting againſt that of the Enemy, which I am informed is cruiſing off the Iſland; however I ſhall gladly embrace every Opportunity of promoting his Majeſty's Service in the moſt effectual Manner, and ſhall aſſiſt you to diſtreſs the Enemy, and defeat their Deſigns to the utmoſt of my Power.

Pleaſe to favour me with Information how I can be moſt effectually of Service to you and the Garriſon; and believe me to be, with great Truth and Eſteem,

SIR,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
J. B."

Captain *Hervey*'s Orders were to deliver this Letter, if poſſible, to the General, and as with a View to ſome ſuch Service as this, a private Signal had been agreed upon between him and Captain *Scroope* of the *Dolphin*, who was in the Caſtle, and had kept his Boat, in order to come off upon occaſion, it was underſtood the ſaid Letter would be delivered accordingly.

The Frigates thus diſpatched with a freſh Gale northerly, got round a ſmall Iſland called the *Laire of Mahon*, about half an Hour before Nine o'Clock, and when under the Land, fell into light Airs of Wind and Calms, but nevertheleſs, continued to make the beſt of their Way for the Harbour's Mouth.

About an Hour after, the Squadron alſo got round the ſaid Iſland, with a freſh Gale; and when within two or three Miles of *St. Philip*'s-*Caſtle*, (which was full in Sight, with the *French* Colours flying before it at a ſmall Diſtance, and both Sides at Intervals exchanging Shots as well as Shells) fell in, as the Frigates had done before, with light Breezes and Calms.

And now it was that Captain *Hervey* in the *Phænix*, ſtill ſtanding on for the Harbour's Mouth, made his private Signals, but without the deſired Succeſs: No Anſwer was made: No Boat came off: And the Enemy's Squadron appearing at the ſame time in the S. E. Quarter, the Admiral called in his Frigates, bore away for the Enemy, and made the general Signal to chaſe.

Both Squadrons made Sail towards each other, and about Two in the Afternoon, the Admiral made the Signal for the Line of Battle a-head, which for want of ſufficient Wind, could not be formed ſo properly as it ought to have been. His next Care was to furniſh ſuch of his Ships as were ſickly, and ill-manned (which was the Caſe of ſeveral) with Seamen from the Frigates.—Thus he ordered 30 Men out of the *Phænix* into the *Revenge*, and 20 into the *Deptford*; 40 out of the *Experiment* into the *Captain*, and 20 into the *Lancaſter*; and out of the *Dolphin* 20 to the *Intrepid*, 20 to the *Defiance*, and 17 to the *Portland*.

Upon Captain *Hervey*'s Repreſentation, that there were proper Materials on-board the *Phænix* (long ago reported at home unfit for Service) to convert her into a Fire-ſhip, he iſſued Orders accordingly.

Night now came on, and the Wind freſhening, the Admiral ſtood in towards the Shore till half an Hour after Eleven, when he made the Signal for tacking, and then taking Advantage of the Wind from the Shore, ſtood off for the Remainder of the Night.

On the 20th, the Morning proving hazy, the Enemy were not to be ſeen; and two of their Tartans, falling in with our Rear by miſtake, one of them (having on board upwards of 100 Soldiers, part of 600, embarked from the Enemy's Camp the Day before to reinforce the Fleet) was taken by the *Defiance*.

About Ten he tacked, and ſtood towards the Enemy; and having by the Dint of Seamanſhip not only kept the Wind againſt all the Efforts of the *French* Commander to weather him, but formed as compleat a Line as could be formed, began the Attack, which the Enemy lay to, to receive.—The Particulars of what followed cannot be expected here. The Admiral has now more dangerous Enemies to combat with, than he had then. And for the ſake of a compleat Narrative, muſt not throw away the Materials of his Defence.—When the proper Time comes, every Man that is open to Conviction will be convinced, that he acted in all Reſpects ſuitably to the great Truſt repoſed in him; that without impairing the Honour, he never once loſt Sight of the real Intereſt, of his Country;—that in every Order he gave, he made the beſt Uſe that he could poſſibly make of his Underſtanding; that even what ſeems to be ſo inexplicable, with regard to his ordering the *Deptford* out of the Line, will receive the moſt clear and ſatisfactory Explanation;—that the odious Imputations thrown on his perſonal Behaviour, are as groundleſs as wicked;—that he had, indeed, the Pleaſure to ſee the Enemy give way to the Impreſſions made upon them;—and that nothing could equal his Mortification in not being in a Condition to follow them [a].

What his Condition really was, and what the Condition of the *Mediterranean* Service in general, he was now ſadly ſenſible. "Inſtead of encountering ſix or ſeven Ships at moſt, he had met with twelve," far ſuperior in Strength, far better manned, and far better Sailers than his own.—Theſe had ſuffered leſs in the Engagement, could be ſupplied perpetually with freſh Men from the Camp on-ſhore, as had already been the Caſe; were near their own Ports; could return to the Charge with theſe Advantages whenever they pleaſed, and if they pleaſed to retreat, could not be overtaken.—His own Ships, on the contrary, ſuch at leaſt as had borne the Brunt of the Action, had ſuſtained more Damage than could eaſily be repaired. The *Intrepid*, from the very Beginning, was not fit for the Service ſhe had been allotted to, on the Evidence of her own Commander [b]; the *Portland* had not been cleaned for upwards of ten Months, nor the *Cheſterfield* for twelve: And as to the Careening-wharfs, Store-houſes, Pits, &c. at *Gibraltar*, they were intirely decayed.—The Wounded were now moreover to be added to the Sick; and no Hoſpital-ſhip had been appointed for the Reception of either.—And as to the Relief of *Minorca*, he had neither the Battallion on-board, which was to have been ſent on that Service; nor could he have ſpared the Fuziliers, if they had been a Number ſufficient for it, which it is notorious they were not, without expoſing the Squadron to utter Perdition, either in the Attempt to land them, if it could have been made, or in venturing on a ſecond Engagement without their Aſſiſtance.

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[a] Thus writes the Author of Admiral Byng's Caſe, publiſhed in the Time of his Confinement: How true it may be, muſt be judged from the Evidence delivered on his Trial, as ſhall be hereafter inſerted.

[b] See the Admiral's firſt Letter to the Admiralty.

That however he might not rely on his own Judgment merely, as ſoon as he had taken the proper Meaſures to cover the crippled Ships, as alſo to repair and refit them, as well as it could then be done, he called a Council of War on-board the *Ramillies*, on *Monday* the 24th of *May* 1756.

Preſent, The Hon. *John Byng*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue.—Major-general *James Stuart*, Captain *Henry Ward*, Hon. *Edward Cornwallis*, Captain *Charles Catford*, Hon. *George Edgecumbe*, *John Amherſt*, Right Hon. Earl of *Effingham*, Captain *Michael Everitt*, *Temple Weſt*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red, *Philip Durell*, Captain *James Young*, *Frederick Cornewall*, *William Parry*, *Arthur Gardiner*, Hon. *Auguſtus John Hervey*, *William Lloyd*, Right Hon. Lord *Robert Bertie*.

Having read to the Council of War the Opinion of the Engineers in regard to throwing in Succours into the Caſtle of *St. Philip*'s, the Reſult of a Council of War held by General *Fowke* at *Gibraltar* with regard to embarking a Detachment on-board the Fleet; likewiſe Admiral *Byng's* Inſtructions for his Proceedings in the *Mediterranean*; likewiſe the Order with regard to the Diſpoſal of the Regiment of Fuziliers commanded by the Right Hon. Lord *Robert Bertie*; and the Defects of the Ships which received Damage in Action with the *French* Squadron the 20th inſtant; as alſo having laid before the Council the State of the ſick and wounded Men on-board the Ships of the Fleet, propoſed to the Council the following Queſtions, *viz.*

I. Whether an Attack upon the *French* Fleet, gives any Proſpect of relieving *Minorca? Unanimouſly reſolve that it would not.*

II. Whether, if there was no *French* Fleet cruiſing off *Minorca*, the *Engliſh* Fleet could raiſe the Siege? *Unanimouſly of opinion that the Fleet could not.*

III. Whether *Gibraltar* would not be in Danger by any Accident that might befall this Fleet? *Unanimouſly agree that it would be in Danger.*

IV. Whether an Attack with our Fleet in the preſent State of it, upon that of the *French*, will not endanger the Safety of *Gibraltar*, and expoſe the Trade of the *Mediterranean* to great Hazard? *Unanimouſly agree that it would.*

V. Whether it is not moſt for his Majeſty's Service, that the Fleet ſhould immediately proceed for *Gibraltar? We are unanimouſly of opinion that the Fleet ſhould immediately proceed for* Gibraltar.

J. Byng, *James Stuart*, *Temple Weſt*, *H. Ward*, *Ph. Durell*, *Ed. Cornwallis*, *Jam. Young*, *Charles Catford*, *Fred. Cornewall*, *George Edgecumbe*, *Will. Parry*, *John Amherſt*, *Arthur Gardiner*, *Effingham*, *A. Hervey*, *Michael Everitt*, *Will. Lloyd*, *Rob. Bertie*.

The fatal Conſequence of this Reſolution was the Loſs of *Minorca*: For Lieutenant-general *Blakeney*, and his Garriſon, deſpairing of Succours after the Departure of the *Britiſh* Fleet from their Coaſt, and threatned with a general Attack, which they were not able to reſiſt, were obliged to yield to the following Capitulation.

Articles of Capitulation propoſed by Lieutenant-general Blakeney, *for his* Britannic *Majeſty's Garriſon of the Caſtle of* St. Philip, *in the Iſland of* Minorca.

"Art. I. That all Acts of Hoſtility ſhall ceaſe, until the Articles of Capitulation are agreed upon and ſigned."

Art. I. Granted.

"Art. II. That all the Honours of War ſhall be granted the Garriſon on their Surrender, ſuch as, to march out with their Firelocks on their Shoulders, Drums beating, Colours flying, 24 Charges for each Man, Match lighted, four Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, with 20 Charges for each Piece, a covered Waggon for the Governor, and four others for the Garriſon, which ſhall not be ſearched on any Pretence."

Art. II. The noble and vigorous Defence which the *Engliſh* have made, having deſerved all the Marks of Eſteem and Veneration, that every military Perſon ought to ſhew to ſuch Actions; and Marſhal *Richlieu* being deſirous alſo to ſhew General *Blakeney* the Regard due to the brave Defence he has made, grants to the Garriſon all the Honours of War that they can enjoy, under the Circumſtance of their going out for an Embarkation, to wit, Firelocks on their Shoulders, Drums beating, Colours flying, 20 Cartouches for each Man, and alſo lighted Match; he conſents likewiſe, that Lieutenant-general *Blakeney*, and his Garriſon, ſhall carry away all the Effects that ſhall belong to them, and that can be put into Trunks. It would be uſeleſs to them to have covered Waggons; there are none in the Iſland, therefore they are refuſed.

"Art. III. That all the Garriſon, including all the Subjects of his *Britannic* Majeſty, as well civil as military, ſhall have all their Baggage and Effects ſecured, with liberty of removing and diſpoſing of them as they ſhall think proper."

Art. III. Granted, except to the Natives of the Iſland, upon Condition that all the lawful Debts of the Garriſon to the *Minorquins*, who are to be conſidered as *French* Subjects, ſhall be paid.

"Art. IV. That the Garriſon, including the Officers, Artificers, Soldiers, and other Subjects of his *Britannic* Majeſty, with their Families, who ſhall be willing to leave the Iſland, ſhall be provided with proper Tranſport-veſſels, and conducted to *Gibraltar* by the ſhorteſt and moſt direct Navigation; that they ſhall be landed there immediately upon their Arrival, at the Expence of the Crown of *France*, and that they ſhall be ſupplied with Proviſions out of thoſe that may be yet remaining in the Place at the time of its Surrender, as long as they ſhall remain in the Iſland, and during their Voyage at Sea, and that in the ſame Proportion that they receive at preſent. But if a greater Quantity ſhould be wanted; that they ſhall be furniſhed with it at the Expence of the Crown of *France*."

Art. IV. Tranſport-veſſels ſhall be furniſhed from among thoſe which are in the Pay of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and proper for the military and civil Garriſon of *Fort St. Philip*, and their Families. Theſe Veſſels ſhall carry them by the ſafeſt Navigation to *Gibraltar*, with the ſhorteſt Delay poſſible, and ſhall land them immediately, upon Condition, that, after their being landed, theſe Ships ſhall be provided with ſufficient Paſs-ports, that they may not be moleſted on their Return to the Port of *France* they ſhall be bound for: And Hoſtages ſhall be given for the Safety of the Tranſport-veſſels and their Crews, who ſhall embark in the firſt neutral Ship that ſhall come to fetch them, after the ſaid Veſſels ſhall be returned, in the Port of *France*.

The Garriſon ſhall alſo be ſupplied with Proviſions, as well during their Stay in the Iſland, as for twelve Days Voyage, which ſhall be taken from thoſe that ſhall be found in the *Fort St. Philip*, and diſtributed on the Footing, that they have been uſually furniſhed to the *Engliſh* Garriſon; and if more be wanted, it ſhall be furniſhed, paying for it as ſhall be agreed by Commiſſaries on both Sides.

"Art. V. That proper Quarters ſhall be provided for the Garriſon, with an Hoſpital fit for the Sick and Wounded, whilſt the Tranſports are getting ready, which ſhall not exceed a Month, to be reckoned from the Day of ſigning this Capitulation; and with regard to thoſe who ſhall not be in a Condition to be tranſported, they ſhall ſtay, and Care ſhall be taken of them till they are in a Condition to be ſent to *Gibraltar* by another Opportunity."

Art. V. The Veſſels being ready for the tranſporting the Garriſon, the providing Quarters, as demanded, becomes unneceſſary; they ſhall go out of the Place with the leaſt Delay, in order to proceed to *Gibraltar*; and with regard to thoſe who cannot be embarked immediately, they ſhall be permitted to remain in the Iſland, and all the Aſſiſtance they ſhall want ſhall be given them for their going to *Gibraltar* when they ſhall be in a Condition to be embarked; a State of them ſhall be drawn up, and the neceſſary Paſs-ports ſhall be left, for a Ship to go and return; and an Hoſpital ſhall alſo be furniſhed for the Sick and Wounded, as ſhall be ſettled by the reſpective Commiſſaries.

"Art. VI. That the Governor ſhall not be accountable for all the Houſes that ſhall have been deſtroyed and burnt during the Siege."

Art. VI. Granted for the Houſes deſtroyed or burnt during the Siege; but ſeveral Effects and Titles of the Admiralty-court, which have been carried into the Fort, ſhall be reſtored, as well as the Papers of the Town-houſe, which have been carried away by the Receiver; and the Papers and Titles relating to the Ladings of the *French* Merchant-ſhips, which have been alſo retained.

"Art. VII. When the Garriſon ſhall come out of the Place, no body ſhall be permitted to debauch the Soldiers, to make them deſert from their Regiments; and their Officers ſhall have acceſs to them at all Times."

Art. VII. No Soldier ſhall be excited to deſert, and the Officers ſhall have an intire Authority over them to the Moment of their Embarkation.

"Art. VIII. An exact Diſcipline ſhall be obſerved on each Side."

Art. VIII. Granted.

"Art. IX. That ſuch of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, as have joined the *Engliſh* for the Defence of the Place, ſhall have leave to remain, and to enjoy their Goods and Effects in the Iſland without being moleſted."

Art. IX. General *Blakeney* and Marſhal *Richlieu* cannot fix or extend the Authority of the Kings their Maſters over their Subjects; it would be ſetting Bounds to it, to oblige them to receive in their Dominions thoſe whom they ſhould not think proper to have ſettled there.

"Art. X. That all Priſoners of War ſhall be reſtored on each Side."

Art. X. All the Priſoneers that have been made during the Siege, ſhall be reſtored on each Side, ſo that when the *French* return thoſe they have, the Piquets, which were taken going to join the *French* Fleet the Day Admiral *Byng* appeared before *Mahon*, ſhall be reſtored.

"Art. XI. That Mr. *Cunningham* the Engineer, who acted as a Volunteer during the Siege, ſhall have a Paſsport, and leave to go wherever his Affairs require."

Art. XI. Granted.

Art. XII. Upon the foregoing Conditions, his Excellency the Lieutenant-general Governor conſents, after the Hoſtages ſhall have been exchanged for the faithful Execution of the above Articles, to deliver up the Place to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with all the Magazines, Ammunition, Cannons, and Mortars, except thoſe mentioned in the ſecond Article; and to point out to the Engineers all the Mines and ſubterraneous Works. Done at the Caſtle of *St. Philip*, the 28th of *June* 1756."

Art. XII. As ſoon as the foregoing Articles ſhall have been ſigned, the *French* ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of one of the Gates of *St. Philip*'s Caſtle, as well as of the Forts *Marlborough* and *St. Charles*, upon the Hoſtages being ſent on both Sides, for the faithful Execution of the foregoing Articles.

The Staccado that is in the Port ſhall be removed, and the going in and coming out ſhall be left open, at the Diſpoſition of the *French*, until the whole Garriſon has marched out: In the mean time, the Commiſſaries on both Sides ſhall be employed; thoſe on the Part of his Excellency General *Blakeney*, in making an Eſtimate of the Effects in the military Magazines, and others; and thoſe on the Part of his Excellency Marſhal *Richlieu*, in receiving them; and to deliver to the *Engliſh* ſuch part thereof, as has been agreed upon. Plans ſhall alſo be delivered of the Galleries, Mines, and other ſubterraneous Works. Done at *St. Philip*, the 29th of *June* 1756.

On this melancholy Occaſion the City of *London* immediately addreſſed his Majeſty in the following Terms.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-council aſſembled, humbly beg leave to approach your ſacred Perſon, and with Hearts full of Gratitude for your Majeſty's paternal Care of the true Intereſts of your People, to expreſs our Sorrow and Apprehenſions for the Diſquietudes which our late Loſſes and Diſappointments muſt create in your Majeſty's royal Mind.

The Loſs of the important Fortreſs of *St. Philip*, and Iſland of *Minorca* (Poſſeſſions of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Commerce and naval Strength of *Great-Britain*) without any Attempt, by timely and effectual Succours, to prevent or defeat an Attack, after ſuch early Notice of the Enemy's Intentions, and when your Majeſty's Navy was ſo evidently ſuperior to theirs, will, we fear, be an indelible Reproach on the Honour of the *Britiſh* Nation.

Nor can we help expreſſing our Apprehenſions for the great Danger of your Majeſty's Poſſeſſions in *America*, by the Miſmanagements and Delays which have attended the Defence of thoſe invaluable Colonies, the Object of the preſent War, and the principal Source of the Wealth and Strength of theſe Kingdoms.

Permit us, at the ſame time, Royal Sir, to lament the Want of a conſtitutional and well-regulated Militia, the moſt natural and certain Defence, under divine Providence, of your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Government againſt all Invaders whatſoever, as thereby your Majeſty's Fleets and Armies may be more ſecurely employed Abroad, to the Annoyance of your Majeſty's Enemies; your faithful and loyal Subjects being ready and willing, whenever called upon by your Majeſty, to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood in your Service.

As your Majeſty's Reign has ever been diſtinguiſhed by a Love of Liberty and Juſtice, we cannot doubt of your Majeſty's directing the Authors of our late Loſſes and Diſappointments to be inquired into and puniſhed, that your Majeſty's known Intentions of protecting and defending your Subjects in their Rights and Poſſeſſions may be faithfully and vigorouſly carried into Execution, and that the large Supplies, ſo neceſſarily called for, and ſo chearfully granted, may be religiouſly applied to the Defence of theſe Kingdoms and Colonies, and their Commerce, and to the diſtreſſing our inveterate and perfidious Enemies, as the only ſure Means of obtaining a laſting and honourable Peace.

And we do, with the utmoſt Sincerity of Heart, aſſure your Majeſty, that your loyal City of *London* will, at all Times, readily and chearfully contribute to whatever may be neceſſary for the Defence of your Majeſty, and your illuſtrious Family, and towards the Attainment of theſe great and deſirable Ends.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this moſt gracious Anſwer.

I Thank you for theſe Profeſſions of your Duty to me. My Concern for the Loſs of my Iſland of *Minorca* is great and ſincere. My utmoſt Care and Vigilance have been, and ſhall be, exerted to maintain the Honour of the Nation, and the Commerce of my Subjects. The Events of War are uncertain; but nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part towards carrying it on with Vigour, in order to a ſafe and honourable Peace, and for recovering and ſecuring, by the Bleſſing of God, the Poſſeſſions and Rights of my Crown.

I will not fail to do Juſtice upon any Perſons who ſhall have been wanting in their Duty to me, and their Country; to enforce Obedience and Diſcipline in my Fleets and Armies; and to *ſupport the Authority and Reſpect due to my Government.*

In which, the Metropolis was followed by the principal Corporations, Counties, *&c.* in *England*; and every Mouth almoſt in the Nation was filled with Invectives againſt the Commander in chief; who, upon his Arrival at *Spithead* on-board the *Antelope* Ship of War, was put under an Arreſt, and ſoon after, eſcorted by a Company of Dragoons, was brought from *Portſmouth*, and confined in the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*, in Cuſtody of the Provoſt-marſhal of the Admiralty, and under a ſufficient Guard, till all the Neceſſaries for his Trial could be provided: many Witneſſes, who were ſtill in the King's Service at *Gibraltar* or in the *Mediterranean*, being ordered home, and muſt arrive before a Court-martial could form juſt and equitable Reſolutions concerning the Facts laid to his Charge.

The Court-martial being appointed for the 28th of *December* 1756, and compoſed, as above, Vice-admiral *Byng* was conducted back under a ſtrong Guard to *Portſmouth*, to take his Trial on-board the *St. George* lying in that Harbour.

The Evidences on this Trial, which began on the 28th of *December*, and was held every Day afterwards, *Sundays* excepted, till the 27th of *January* 1757 incluſive, were,

TEMPLE WEST, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Blue; Lord *Blakeney*; *Robert Boyd*, late Storekeeper of the Ordnance at *Minorca*; Captain *Everitt*, late of the *Buckingham*; and *John Bower* his firſt Lieutenant, and *Richard Higgs* his ſecond Lieutenant, and *George Wood* his third Lieutenant, and *Robert Mann* his fourth Lieutenant; Captain *James Gilchriſt*, late of the *Experiment*; the honourable Captain *Auguſtus John Hervey*, late Commander of the *Phœnix*; Captain *John Amherſt*, late Commander of the *Deptford*;

Lieutenant *Peter Foulkes*, late of the *Phœnix*; Captain *William Lloyd*, late of the *Cheſterfield*; Captain *Henry-John Philips*, late firſt Lieutenant of the *Deptford*; Captain *Thomas Bailie*, late ſecond Lieutenant of the *Deptford*; Captain *Benjamin Marlow*, late of the *Dolphin*; Lieutenant *Thomas Biſhop*, late firſt Lieutenant of the *Defiance*; Lieutenant *Thomas Barker*, late firſt Lieutenant of the *Cheſterfield*; Lieutenant *Charles Brukner*, acting fourth Lieutenant of the *Lancaſter*; Captain *Paul Henry Ourry*, late a Volunteer on-board the *Lancaſter*; Captain *Patrick Baird*, late Commander of the *Portland*; Captain *James Young*, late Commander of the *Intrepid*; the honourable Captain *George Falkoner*, late ſecond Lieutenant of the *Intrepid*; Captain *Frederick Cornwall*, late Commander of the *Revenge*; the honourable Lieutenant *Robert Boyle*, late fourth Lieutenant of the *Revenge*; Captain *Philip Durell*, late Commander of the *Trident*; Captain *Arthur Gardner*, late Captain of the *Ramillies*; the honourable *Robert* Lord *Berlie*; Lieutenant-colonel *Marcus Smith*, of Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment; Captain *James Edgar*, Captain of Grenadiers in Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment; the honourable Colonel *Cornwallis*; Captain *William Gough*, late firſt Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; Captain *Chriſtopher Baſſet*, late ſecond Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; Lieutenant *Daniel Waudby*, late third Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; Lieutenant *Matthew Waterfall*, late fifth Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; Lieut. *George Hamilton*, late ſixth Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; Lieutenant *Edward Clark*, late fourth Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*; *Joſeph Belvaird*, late Maſter of the *Ramillies*; Lieutenant *Joſ. Tatwell*, late Midſhipman on-board the *Ramillies*; Lieutenant *Lancelot Holmes*, late ditto; Lieutenant *James Norman*, late ditto; Lieutenant *Henry Bellew*, late ditto; *Rodney Blithe*, late ditto; *John Richardſon*, late ditto, on-board the *Phœnix*; *Andrew Jefferies*, late Boatſwain of the *Ramillies*; *John Lee*, late Gunner of ditto; *Richard Shaw*, late Carpenter of ditto; *William Foſter*, late Carpenter of the *Intrepide*; Captain *Henry Ward*, late Commander of the *Culloden*; and Lieutenant *James Worth*, late his firſt Lieutenant; Mr. *Richard Lloyd*, late Surgeon of the *Ramillies*; *John Bruce*, late Maſter's Mate of the *Dolphin*.

The moſt material Part of their Evidence may be reduced under the following Names and Dates.

Wedneſday 29. Rear-admiral *Weſt* was ſworn and examined till near five in the Evening: When the Court was adjourning, he begged they would complete his Examination that Night, becauſe he was going out upon an Expedition of great Importance, by the King's ſpecial Order: But as the Court and Mr. *Byng* had many Queſtions to aſk him, the Court informed him they ſhould be glad to go through, but that there was not Time: And the Court adjourned till next Morning.

Thurſday 30. Admiral *Weſt* appeared, and finiſhed his Examination about three in the Afternoon. In the Courſe of his Examination, ſome of the moſt material Queſtions were, Whether any unneceſſary Delay was made at *St. Helen's*, or at *Gibraltar?* Anſwered in the Negative. At what Diſtance the *Ramillies* was from the *Buckingham* at the time of the Engagement? he reply'd, About three Miles. Whether the Admiral and the Rear could have come up to the Aſſiſtance of the Van, and come to as cloſe an Engagement with the Enemy? he anſwered, He knew no Impediment to the contrary, but that he would not be underſtood to mean there was none. How the Wind and Weather was? he reply'd, Very calm and fine. Whether he could keep his lower Ports open? he reply'd, Yes; and that he knew but of one Ship which could not, and that was the *Deptford*, who occaſionally lowered her Ports. How many Men he had killed and wounded? he reply'd, Three killed and ſeven wounded. What Damage he received in his Hull, Maſts, Yards, and Rigging? for an Anſwer to which he referred them to a written Account he had delivered into Court thereof. He was aſked in what Condition the Ship was in, in regard to Men, on the 20th of *May*, the Morning of the Engagement? he reply'd, In very good. Whether he ſaw any Fire from the Admiral's Ship during the Engagement? he ſaid, That when he was looking towards the *Intrepide*, which was in Diſtreſs aſtern of her, he did ſee ſome Smoke, which probably might be from the Admiral's Ship, or ſome of his Diviſion, but he could not diſcover at what Ship it was directed. Whether on the 24th of *May*, the Day of the Council of War, his Ship was repaired fit for a ſecond Engagement? he anſwered, Yes; before that. When? he anſwered, The very next Night after the Engagement. Mr. *Byng* aſked him, Whether it was not in the Power of the Enemy to decline coming to a cloſe Engagement, as the two Fleets were ſituated? he reply'd, Yes; but as they lay to for our Fleet, he apprehended they intended to fight. Whether he was of opinion that the Forces on-board the Fleet could have relieved *Minorca?* he ſaid, He believed not. Whether ſome of the Ships were not deficient in their Complement of Men, ſome of the Ships out of Repair; and whether not deficient in point of Force with the Enemy? To which he anſwered in the Affirmative.

Lord *Blakeney* ſworn. In the Courſe of his Examination he informed the Court of the Time the *Britiſh* Fleet was diſcovered by the Garriſon, and the time of its diſappearing; that upon ſight of them he wrote a Letter to be carried off by Mr. *Boyd*, his Storekeeper, and Aid-de-camp to Colonel *Jeffreys*, to inform the Admiral of his Situation, *&c.* a Copy of which Letter he had in his Hand, and deſired it might be read; but Mr. *Byng* objecting thereto, as it was only a Copy, and not the Original, it was not read, as Mr. *Boyd* was to be examined thereto, and could produce the Original. Mr. *Byng* aſked the General whether he thought the Forces could be landed? he anſwered, Very eaſily. Whether there was not ſome Faſcines thrown in the Way? he ſaid, Yes; but which might have been eaſily deſtroyed. Whether the attempting to land the Men would not have been attended with Danger? the General reply'd, He had been upwards of fifty Years in the Service, and that he never knew any Expedition of Conſequence carried into Execution, but what was attended with ſome Danger; but that of all the Expeditions he ever knew, this was the worſt. Mr. *Byng* aſked, Whether the *French* had not a Caſtle at the Point, which might have prevented their landing? the General anſwer'd, Not on the 20th of *May*; and ſaid, That the Enemy were then in ſuch Diſtreſs for Ammunition, that they fired Stones at the Garriſon. Mr. *Byng* aſked the General, Whether he thought the Officers and few Men he had on-board the Fleet, could have been of any great Service to the Garriſon? he anſwered, Yes; very great Service; for that he was obliged at that time to ſet ſome of his Men to plaſter the Breaches.

Friday 31. Mr. *Boyd* ſworn. In the Courſe of his Examination it appeared, that he was ſent off with a Letter, in a Boat, to the Admiral, but could not be particular to the Time; that he kept out as long as he thought it probable to reach the Admiral; but when he found it impracticable for him to cloſe the Admiral, as he was then going to the ſouthward, he returned without delivering the Letter. Mr. *Byng* aſked him, How long he waited before the Boat was ready to bring him off? he could not recollect, but remembered he waited for it till he was very impatient. Whether he in the Boat did not paſs through ſome Firings of the Enemy? anſwered, There was ſome ſtraggling Fire of ſmall Arms, and about three or four Cannon ſhot. Whether it did not do them ſome Damage? he anſwered, No; he did not know that one of them ſo much as touched the Boat. How long he might be off in the Boat? About an Hour-and-half. Whether there was not a Breeze of Wind? anſwered, When he got from the Land he found a Breeze. Whether he thought the Admiral could ſee the Boat? anſwered, No; he believed not at that Diſtance, and ſo late in the Evening.

Captain *Everitt* appeared, and deſired to hear the Articles of the Charge, he not happening to be in Court when they were formerly read; which was objected to by Mr. *Byng*, as contrary to the Cuſtom of the Court; but the Captain requeſting it, the ſame were read. Captain *Everitt* being ſworn, and having ſome Papers in his Hand, was aſked what they were. He anſwered, They were Minutes he had taken from the Ship's Log-book, and his own Journal, to refreſh his Memory: To the uſing of which Mr. *Byng* objected, the Log-book not being proper Teſtimony; whereupon the Court was cleared to deliberate upon the Point. Upon the Court's being opened again, their Opinion was, That thoſe Minutes might be uſed to refreſh his Memory upon ſuch Points only as fell immediately under his own Obſervation. In the Courſe of his Examination it appeared, that there was all poſſible Diſpatch made, and no unneceſſary Delay in the ſailing of the Fleet from *St. Helen's* to *Gibraltar*, and from thence to *Mahon*; that the *Buckingham*'s Men were healthy, having but two incapable of coming to their Quarters; that they had about 90 or 100 Tons of Water on-board; that they got ſight of the Iſland of *Minorca* about ſix in the Morning of the 19th of *May*; that about Eleven in the Forenoon they were two Leagues diſtant from *St. Philip's* Caſtle, and believed that was the neareſt Diſtance he was to it; that about Two in the Afternoon the *French* Fleet was ſeen diſtinctly ſtanding to the weſtward, but could not ſay at what Diſtance; that our Fleet was ſtanding to the S. E. the Wind at S. S. W. moderate fine Weather; that on the 20th of *May*, about Eight in the Morning, they ſaw the *French* Fleet preparing for Engagement. The like Queſtions were propoſed to him as to Rear-admiral *Weſt*; and, in his Anſwers, was of Opinion that the Admiral's Diviſion might have carried all their Sail, and thereby aſſiſted the Van, and prevented them from receiving ſo much Fire from the Enemy's Rear. Mr. *Byng* was aſked, Whether he choſe to aſk Captain *Everitt* any Queſtions? to which he replied, He had no Queſtions to propoſe then, but ſhould have Occaſion to aſk him ſome hereafter, therefore deſired he might be kept in the way for that Purpoſe. Captain *Everitt* ſaid he ſhould have been very glad if thoſe Queſtions could then be aſked, as he was under ſailing Orders with Admiral *Weſt*. Mr. *Byng* anſwered, He could not propoſe them at that time, but would as ſoon as poſſible; upon which Captain *Everitt* was ordered to attend the Court. Mr. *Byng* then informed the Court that he wanted to aſk Lord *Blakeney* ſome Queſtions; wherefore the General was ordered to attend next Morning at Nine o'Clock, to which time the Court then adjourned.

Saturday, Jan. 1. Lord *Blakeney* appeared in Court, in conſequence of Mr. *Byng*'s Requeſt, when the Admiral propoſed a Queſtion, the Subſtance of which, and the Anſwers, were as follow: Whether if the Admiral had landed the Troops, it could have ſaved *St. Philip's* from falling into the Hands of the Enemy? his Lordſhip ſaid, It was impoſſible for him to anſwer that Queſtion with any Certainty; but was of Opinion that had they been landed, he ſhould have been able to have held out the Siege till Sir *Edward Hawke* had come to his Relief.

Then the four firſt Lieutenants of the *Buckingham*, Captain *Everitt*, Admiral *Weſt*'s own Ship, were examined, and all agreed that they knew of no Impediment to hinder the Admiral and his Diviſion from coming to the Aſſiſtance of the Van, which was cloſely engaged, and raked by the Enemy's Rear as they came up; and that the Admiral was not ſeen by them to go to a cloſe Engagement with the Enemy, agreeable to his own Signals.

Monday, Jan. 3. Captain *Everitt* was croſs-examined by the Court and Mr. *Byng*; and being aſked, How many Guns the Ships in the Van carried? anſwered, That the Sides of thoſe next the *Buckingham* had 14 on the Lower-deck, all the others 13. Of what Rate they were? anſwered, One a 74 Gun Ship, the others 64, and ſix in Number. Whether if Admiral *Byng* had come to a cloſe Engagement, a complete Victory might have been obtained? Anſwer, There was all the reaſon in the World to expect it, it being well known, that Admiral *Weſt* beat off two Ships, tho' he had but five Ships to their ſix, and ours ſmaller Ships than theirs, and their Metal heavier. How the Wind? Anſwer, As fair a Gale as could be wiſhed for. Whether he had too much or too little? Anſwer, Juſt enough, and no more. What Sail had Mr. *Byng*? Anſwer, His lower Courſes, Top and Top-gallant-ſails full; but his Main-ſail, Main-top-ſail, and Top-gallant-ſail aback.

The Court then aſked Mr. *Byng*, if he ſhould have occaſion to aſk Captain *Everitt*, or any of the *Buckingham*'s People, any more Queſtions; and being anſwered in the Negative, the Captain and the reſt of the Officers of the *Buckingham* were diſcharged from any farther Attendance on the Court, and were informed they might repair on-board their Ship.

Captain *Gilchriſt* ſworn. He acquainted the Court, that he was ſituated oppoſite the Rear-admiral on the 20th of *May*, to repeat Signals. In the Courſe of his Examination he ſaid, Every Ship did not bear down at a proper Diſtance to attack the Enemy, according to Signals thrown out for that Purpoſe by the Admiral, about half an Hour paſt Two o'Clock; but that the Rear-admiral and his Diviſion bore down right before the Wind, and hauled up oppoſite to their proper Ships, and attacked the Enemy, except the *Defiance*, which appeared to be rather a-head; that the Ships in the Rear were in a Line of Battle a-head; upon which the *Defiance* threw all a-back, and fell down upon her proper Ship, the headmoſt Ship of the Enemy; that the Admiral did not bear down before the Wind upon the Enemy, nor any of his Diviſion; that the *French* Fleet at the time of the Signal for engaging, were all lying to with their Main-top-ſails to the Maſts; and that our Van was in the ſame Poſition: He could not take upon him to ſay, whether the Admiral ever engaged at a proper Diſtance, on account of the Smoke from the Firings of the *Revenge*, *Princeſs Louiſa*, and *Trident*; agreed that the Wind, Weather, and Situation of the Enemy's Fleet, was ſuch as to enable them to engage at a proper Diſtance; that the Ships in the Rear did not make all the Sail they could to cloſe with the Enemy, from the time the Signal was given for Battle till the Action was over; but, that in the latter Part of the Action, Mr. *Byng* ſet all his Sail, except the Top-gallant-ſails; that the Wind and Weather was ſuch, that he could have carried all the Sail in the Ship that he commanded, and knew of no Reaſon why they could not do the ſame; that the Van of our Fleet was engaged about an Hour and a quarter; that the Admiral did not continue in the ſame Poſition, but kept laſking away, angling upon the Enemy; that he ſaw the *Ramillies* fire; that the Diſtance of ſome of the Rear Diviſion from the Van, ſeemed to be about three Miles; that he made no doubt if the Rear had carried Sail all along, but they might have prevented the Enemy's Rear from pouring ſome of their Fire into our Van; and that the Diſtance between our Rear and Van, was occaſioned by our Rear throwing their Topſails a-back when they began to fire.

Captain *Hervey*, of the *Phœnix*, ſworn. He was ſtationed a-breaſt the Admiral to repeat [*] Signals; that about forty-

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[*] Copy of Signals given by Admiral Byng to Captain Hervey, as delivered into Court by Vice-admiral Weſt, on the 29th of December.

Private Signals to be made from the Phœnix, Cheſterfield, and Dolphin.	Signification.	Signals the Phœnix will make to the Admiral only, if in Sight.
A red Enſign at the Fore-top-gallant-maſt-head.	The moſt clear of all Men of War as far as I can diſcern.	1. Yellow Flag Main-top-gallant-maſt-head.
A Red Enſign, on either of the Main-top-gallant Lifts, and Main-top-gallant Sail, furled,	The Engliſh Colours flying at St. Philip's.	2. Union Flag ditto.
A White Flag at ditto, and Main-top-gallant Sail furled,	The French Colours, or none flying at St. Philip's.	3. French Flag ditto.
A White Flag at the Fore-top-gallant Maſt-head, and the Fore-top-gallant Sail clewed up, and hoiſted up,	If I perceive any Fire at St. Philip's, or thereabouts, to ſuſpect its being attacked.	4. Red and White ſtriped ditto.
A Pendant at the Main and Fore-top-gallant Maſt-head,	If I have reaſon to think there is a Probability of being able to ſend in a Boat, and that I am near enough to diſcover if there were any thing to obſtruct it.	5. Red Flag ditto.
Proper Pendant of the Ship hauled down and let fly from either of the Fore-top-gallant Yard-arm,	If the Reverſe.	6. Half Red and half White ditto.
An Engliſh Jack at the Main and Fore-top-gallant Maſt-head,	If any Boat or Veſſel is coming off to me.	7 Red Flag at the Fore-top-gallant Maſt-head, and Blue Flag Main-top-gallant Maſt-head.

The Admiral to anſwer each Signal by a Blue Pendant at either of the Fore-top-gallant-yard-arms.

forty-three Minutes after Two, Signal was made to the *Deptford* to quit the Line; and about fifty Minutes after Two the *Ramillies* began to fire upon the Enemy, having before that received the Fire of the three ſternmoſt Ships of the Enemy for about ten or twelve Minutes, in which time he obſerved ſome of the Enemy's Shot to fall between the *Ramillies* and his Ship the *Phœnix*; about the ſame Time he obſerved the *Intrepid*'s Foretop to be loſt; he obſerved then, that the quick Motion of the *Intrepid* in bearing down, had occaſioned her to be raked by the Enemy, to loſe her Top-maſt, and run the Riſk of falling on-board the Admiral, who was then engaged, and might not ſee them time enough to prevent it. Some time after the *Ramillies* ceaſed Fire, the 11th Ship in the Enemy's Line bore away from the *Ramillies*'s Fire, as was concluded by the People on-board; that the *Culloden* fired but a few times; and at a greater Diſtance than the *Ramillies*; that the whole Fire ceaſed about Five in the Afternoon; that the Enemy ſeemed to go off from the Fire of our Van, ſome of them not damaged.

Tueſday, Jan. 4. Captain *Hervey* re-examined till near two, with very little Variation from the Narrative he had given the Court the Day before.

Captain *Amburſt* was examined, which laſted a long time; and he and all the Officers that have yet been examined, acquit the Admiral of any unneceſſary Delays; but could not ſpeak poſitively as to the Admiral's Conduct during the Engagement.

Wedneſday, Jan. 5. Mr. *Lloyd*, a Lieutenant, and Mr. *Philips*, a Volunteer on-board the Fleet, but now a Captain, were examined; in whoſe Examination nothing particular appeared further than has been already noted.

Thurſday, Jan. 6. The Lieutenant of the *Lancaſter* was examined, and then a Gentleman who was a Volunteer on-board; their Evidence ſeemed very clear and certain as to ſome particular Facts which fell immediately under their Obſervation, and which ſeem not much to be in favour of the Admiral.

Part of Captain Young's *Croſs-examination.*

Q. Did the Loſs of your Fore-top-maſt put any of the Ships in our Rear in danger of being on-board you? *A.* Not as I could perceive. *Q.* Did it occaſion any Impediment to the Admiral and his Diviſion, from going down and engaging the Enemy cloſely? *A.* Not as I could perceive. *Q.* Did any of the Ships in the Rear tack at that time? *A.* I did not obſerve juſt then; they were to windward of me; and I ſaw ſeveral of the Ships upon my Weather-quarter with their Topſails a-back. *Q.* Did you think at that Time they were in any danger of being on-board you? *A.* No; I was to leeward of them, ſo could not drive athwart them. *Q.* Could they at that time have wore clear of you, and gone down to the Center and Rear of the Enemy? *A.* Yes; becauſe I was a-head and to leeward. *Q.* Did the Admiral and his Diviſion bear down on your Stern, and go to the Center and Rear of the Enemy? *A.* No; not when my Top-maſt went away. *Q.* Did they at any time afterwards? *A.* Yes; near an Hour after, and went to leeward of me, and paſſed me. *Q.* Did they go down to the Center and Rear to engage properly? *A.* The *French* were then gone, and left me a-ſtern. *Q.* What Sail had the *French* Rear ſet when they paſſed you? *A.* I think their Top-ſails and Fore-ſails. *Q.* What Sail had the Admiral and his Diviſion abroad then? *A.* Fore-ſails and Stay-ſails, and the *Culloden* her Top-gallant-ſails. *Q.* How long after you loſt your Topmaſt, was it before the Admiral and his Diviſion paſſed to leeward of you? *A.* About three quarters of an Hour, or an Hour. *Q.* With the Wind as it then was, could the Admiral and his Diviſion, if they had ſet all their Sails, from the Time the Signal for engaging was made and borne away properly, could they have come to a cloſe Engagement with the Enemy? *A.* Yes; the *French* were laying to for us: I went down only under my Topſails, and they might have added Sails in proportion to the Diſtance and Going of their Ships. *Q.* During the three quarters of an Hour, or an Hour, which you mentioned juſt now, did you obſerve what Sail the Admiral and his Diviſion were under? *A.* No, not particularly. *Q.* Did you obſerve any Motions that they made for going down to the Enemy? *A.* No. *Q.* How long, after you loſt your Fore-top-maſt, did the Center and Rear of the *French* Fleet lay to? *A.* Till the *Revenge*'s Boat came on-board me, and deſired I would leave off firing, that they might make ſail, and go between me and the Enemy, which they did directly; the *French* Fleet then run, who were oppoſite to me, and the Rear followed them. *Q.* After the Admiral and his Diviſion had made Sail, did they get up with the Center and Rear of the Enemy, ſo as to come to a cloſe Engagement? *A.* There was very little Action after that Time. *Q.* Did you, before the *French* run, ſee the Admiral and his Diviſion cloſely engaged with the Enemy? *A.* No; they were a-ſtern, and to windward of me. *Q.* Did you ſee the Admiral and his Diviſion engage from firſt to laſt? *A.* Yes, ſome of the Ships; they fired. *Q.* Did you obſerve at what Diſtance they were one from another? *A.* I did not take notice. *Q.* Did you ſee any of their Shot fall? *A.* No, I was too much employed to take notice. *Q.* Was you within point-blank Shot of the Enemy? *A.* I can't judge that exactly. *Q.* What Diſtance do you ſuppoſe you were at that Time? *A.* Within random Muſket-ſhot, I believe, as the Lieutenant was wounded with a Muſket-ball. *Q.* How far were the Rear off at that Time? *A.* I did not take notice. *Q.* When you bore down on the Enemy, did the Admiral and his Diviſion do ſo too? *A.* No. *Q.* Under what Sail were the Admiral and his Diviſion at that Time? *A.* Under their Topſails and Foreſails. *Q.* If they had bore down as the *Intrepid* did, could they have cloſed the Enemy to have engaged properly? *A.* Yes, the *French* were lying to. *Q.* Did they lay to long enough to admit of it, ſuppoſing the Admiral and his Diviſion had ſet all their Sails? *A.* Yes, long enough for me, and I ſuppoſe for the reſt too. *Q.* Were our Ships in a proper Line of Battle a-head of one another when the Signal for engaging was made? and had all our Ships bore away at the ſame time, would it not have prevented the running aboard each other? *A.* Yes, there was a very good Line formed; they were not ſo near together, but every Ship had room to wear.

Monday, Jan. 10. Lieutenant *Boyle* of the *Revenge* was called, who did not attempt to give a Narrative of the whole Action, his Situation, he ſaid, not enabling him ſo to do.

Portſmouth, Jan. 11. Yeſterday about Noon the Croſs-examination of Captain *Cornwall* was finiſhed. In the Courſe of his Examination of *Saturday* Afternoon, he ſaid, that he went to his Windows abaft to take a View of the Fleet when in the Line of Battle; that he was greatly ſurprized to ſee the Admiral and his Diviſion at ſo great a Diſtance, as he was upon the Weather-quarter; that ſeeing the *Intrepid* in Diſtreſs, and no Signal given for removing her out of the Line, he went to her Aſſiſtance; and after getting her out of the Line, fell into her Station, engaged the *Foudroyant*, the *French* Admiral, as the Ship he imagined fell to his Lot, according to the then Line of Battle; ſaid he knew of no Impediment to prevent the Admiral's engaging at a proper Diſtance any more than the reſt of the Fleet; obſerved, that he was upon his Oath to ſwear the whole Truth, and would ſo do, though he knew ſome Things he was going to ſay would affect himſelf. He gave his Teſtimony with great Clearneſs, which in ſome Points affected the Admiral much. The Admiral, after aſking the Captain ſome Queſtions, which ſeemed to impeach him (the Captain) of breaking the Line, *&c.* obſerved to the Court, that his Reputation, which was dearer to him than Life, nay, his Life alſo, were in the Power of the Court-martial, and in better Hands he deſired them not; but ſaid, he believed he ſhould prove, that the *Revenge*, by breaking the Line, was a great Impediment in his way; and that if he could not prove that, or ſomething like it, "The Lord have Mercy upon me."

It is ſaid here that Captain *Cornwall* will be tried by a Court-martial for breaking the Line without a Signal, tho' he did it to aſſiſt the *Intrepid*. This Captain *Cornwall* loſt his Arm in the memorable Engagement in the *Mediterranean*, under the late Admiral *Matthews*, on-board the *Marlborough*, when his Uncle Captain *Cornwall* therein alſo loſt his Life, the preſent Captain *Cornwall* being then firſt Lieutenant.

Captain *Durell*, of the *Trident*, being ſworn, depoſed much the ſame as Captain *Cornwall*; did not accuſe the Admiral of any unneceſſary Delay to *Minorca*; was of opinion, that the Admiral and his Diviſion did not ſet all their Sail to join the Van of the *Britiſh* Fleet; but could not ſay the Admiral had not any Impediment to prevent it.

Tueſday 11. Captain *Gardiner* of the *Ramillies* was under Examination * and Croſs-examination all Day. He could not ſay all their Sails were ſet, or that the Rear-diviſion could not come up to a cloſe Engagement, as well as the Van; but ſaid, that he adviſed the Admiral to bear down, that the Admiral objected thereto, leſt an Accident of a ſimilar Nature with that of Admiral *Matthews*, in the ſame Seas, ſhould be the Conſequence. Captain *Gardiner* had nothing to ſay againſt the Admiral's perſonal Behaviour.

Wedneſday 12. Captain *Gardiner* was again examined, and made it appear, that the Admiral took the whole Command of the Ship from him, and nothing done that Day but what he ordered. Several of the Admiral's Lieutenants were examined, to little Purpoſe; as was the Maſter, who by ſaying and unſaying, is ſaid to have detrimented the Admiral, inſtead of doing him any real Service.

Lord *Robert Bertie* being ſworn, ſaid he was ſtationed upon the Quarter-deck with the Admiral; was of Opinion that the 100 Officers and Recruits deſigned to have been landed at *Minorca*, could not have ſaved *Fort St. Philip*, but were of greater Service on-board the Fleet; that he was on the Quarter-deck with the Admiral in the Engagement, and informing the Admiral that he diſcovered one of our own Ships through the Smoke, upon the Lee-bow of the *Ramillies*, and which Ship he was apprehenſive the *Ramillies* would fire into without ſeeing her, was detached by the Admiral between Decks to ſtop firing; that the Admiral expreſſed Impatience to engage the Enemy, and diſcovered no Signs of Fear or Confuſion whatſoever, and that they were ſo near the Enemy as to be hulled by them, and that many of the Enemy's Shot paſſed over them, and that he never heard by any of the Officers or Men on-board, any Murmuring whatſoever, upon a Suppoſition that the Admiral had not done his Duty.

Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Examination being finiſhed, Colonel *Smith*, who was alſo upon the Quarter-deck with the Admiral, was examined next, who confirmed what Lord *Robert Bertie* had ſaid in every Particular; and he alſo added, that a Shot from the Enemy paſſed between him and Lord *Robert Bertie*, as they were abaft the Mainmaſt, which took off the Head of a Timber upon Deck, and went through the Hammocks in the Main-ſhrouds.

Captain *Edgar*, who was quartered upon the Poop, confirmed ſuch of the above Circumſtances as came immediately under his own Obſervation; but the Court did not aſk him any Queſtions relative to the perſonal Behaviour of the Admiral, becauſe his Situation could not give him an Opportunity of anſwering the ſame.

Colonel *Cornwallis* being ſworn, ſaid, That he was on-board the *Kingſton*, that he could give no Account of the Action; that he was very willing to anſwer any Queſtions the Court or the Admiral would propoſe: But no Queſtions were aſked him.

Captain *Gough*, the firſt Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*, being ſworn, ſaid, That at the Time when the Signal was made for engaging, the Fleet appeared in a cloſe and regular Line: He alſo ſaid, that two Ships, which he believed to be the *Trident* and *Louiſa*, were under the Lee-bow. He could not poſitively ſay at what Diſtance the *Ramillies* might be from the Enemy at the time of the Signal for engaging, being chiefly at his Quarters; but he believed they were near at point-blank with the Enemy when they began to engage.

Captain *Baſſet*, ſecond Lieutenant, was examined next, who ſaid, That being quartered upon the Lower-deck, he could not anſwer to the Diſtance, nor how long they continued firing; but ſaid, that ſeveral of the Enemy's Shot ſtruck the Sides of the *Ramillies*; and one in particular cut one of the Hinges of the Ports cloſe to him, but did not afterwards go through her Sides; but muſt have done ſo if it had been properly loaded. He alſo ſaid, that as the Enemy's Shot reached the *Ramillies*, he doubted not but her Shot reached them alſo.

Captain *Welby*, third Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*, ſaid he was quartered upon the Middle-deck; that the *Ramillies* was bearing down when the Signal was made, and that he was ordered to double-ſhot the Guns, becauſe the Admiral did not intend to fire till he came cloſe up with the Enemy. He alſo confirmed the above Teſtimony of one or two Ships being on the Lee-bow. He admitted that there was a commanding Breeze, and that if all their Sails had been ſet, they ſhould have been cloſer to the Enemy. He alſo ſaid they were within half a Mile of the Enemy.

Then Mr. *Clarke* the fourth Lieutenant was called; but he not being preſent, Mr. *Waterſal*, the fifth Lieutenant, was examined, who ſaid, as he was quartered on the Lower-deck, he knew not the Diſtance of the Enemy, but apprehended they were within proper Diſtance for engaging them. He alſo ſaid that he received Orders from Lord *Robert Bertie* to ceaſe firing, on account of the Ship upon the Lee-bow.

Next Mr. *Hamilton*, ſixth Lieutenant of the *Ramillies*, who was quartered upon the upper Gun-deck by the Mainmaſt forward, chiefly confirmed the preceding Teſtimony; and ſaid, when the *Ramillies* began to bear down, he believed it might be about two Miles Diſtance, and was about the Diſtance of half a Mile when they began to fire. He alſo ſaid, that through the Smoke he diſcovered the *Trident*'s red Stern, and part of her blue Colours; and that ſhe was then upon her Lee-bow very near.

Captain *H. Ward* of the *Culloden*, was examined, who declared that the Shot fell ſhort of him, being to Leeward of the Admiral, and gave it as his Opinion, that had the Admiral bore down, they might have taken every Ship of the Enemy. After him, ſeveral of his Lieutenants were examined, who all depoſed to the very ſame Purpoſe.

Then the Carpenter of the *Intrepid* was aſked the following Queſtion, *viz.* Whether he could juſtify the Defects of the Ship as he had given them in? which anſwering in the Affirmative, the Court diſcharged him.

Then

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* Copy of the Line of Battle given out by Admiral BYNG to Captain Gardiner of the Ramillies; taken from the Original delivered into Court on the 29th of December.——The Line of Battle.——The Kingſton to lead with the Starboard, and the Defiance with the Larboard Tacks on-board.

Frigates.	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Number of Guns.	Number of Men.	Diviſion.
	4	Kingſton,	Captain Parry,	60	400	Admiral of the Bl[illegible]
	4	Deptford,	—— Amhurſt,	50	280	
Cheſterfield,	3	Culloden,	—— Ward,	74	600	
Phœnix to repeat Signals,	2	Ramillies,	Hon. John Byng, Eſq; Captain Gardiner,	90	780	
Fortune Sloop,	3	Trident,	—— Durell,	64	500	
	4	Princeſs Louiſa,	—— Noel,	60	400	
	3	Revenge,	—— Cornwall,	64	480	
	3	Intrepide,	—— Young,	64	480	Rear-admiral of the Red.
Experiment,	3	Captain,	—— Catford,	64	480	
Dolphin to repeat Signals,	3	Buckingham,	Temple Weſt, Eſq; Captain Everitt,	68	535	
	3	Lancaſter,	Hon. George Edgcumbe,	66	520	
	4	Portland,	Captain Baird,	50	300	
	4	Defiance,	—— Andrews,	60	400	

To Captain Arthur Gardiner, of his
Majeſty's Ship Ramillies.
By Command of the Admiral, Geo. Lawrance.

Dated on-board his Majeſty's Ship Ramillies,
in Gibraltar-Bay, 3d May, 1756.
J. BYNG.

Then the Gunner of the *Ramillies* was examined as to the Powder and Shot expended the Day of the Engagement, who ſaid, 20 Barrels of Powder, and 300 double-headed Shot. The Gunner was very much confuſed, and ſaid the *Intrepid* was in their Way, and they could not bear down; but the Court told him he could not judge of that, being quartered on the Lower-gun-deck.

The Boatſwain ſaid he was in his Duty, and minding his Rigging, but could give no account of this Matter. And

The Carpenter ſaid he could not pretend to give any account, being at his Duty in the Wings.

On *Monday* the 17th of *January* the Preſident laid before the Court a Letter from the Priſoner, dated laſt Evening, repreſenting that he hoped to be ready with his Defence on *Tueſday* Morning, and begging the Court's Indulgence until that Time.

In conſequence of which, the Court adjourned till the next Morning, Nine o'Clock.

Tueſday, January 18, 1757. Court met according to Adjournment. Priſoner brought in, and Audience admitted.

Priſoner delivered into Court his Defence in Writing, and deſired the ſame might be read by the Judge-advocate, and the ſame was read accordingly, as follows:

Gentlemen,

WHEN I conſider that the Charge exhibited againſt me is of ſo criminal a Nature, ſo copious in its Circumſtances, and depends on ſuch a Multiplicity of Facts, I cannot but be very ſenſible of the Inconvenience I labour under, in being by the Practice of Courts-martial denied the Aid of Council on this Occaſion, and this, the rather as I am ſo little verſed in the Method of Defence, having, during the Courſe of ſo long a Service, never yet been reduced to the Neceſſity of ſtudying it.—What I ſhall therefore now lay before this Court, will have nothing more than plain Truth to ſupport it—an Advocate altogether ſufficient, where the Candour and Capacity of my Judges, will, I am perſuaded, ſupply any Defects and Omiſſions which may proceed from my Inadvertency or Inexperience.

It is my Misfortune to have laboured under the Diſadvantage of a popular and almoſt national Prejudice—for what Reaſons this Spirit has been raiſed, and by what Means propagated, is not the Buſineſs of this Court to determine; but I have the Satisfaction to find the time arrived, when I have an Opportunity of approving my Innocence before Judges whoſe Integrity is above Corruption, and when my Proſecutors are Perſons (for ſuch indeed are the preſent) who deſire nothing more than equal and impartial Juſtice, and ſtand indifferent to my Condemnation or Acquittal. By this means I am at once ſecured from being borne down by popular Clamour, or cruſhed beneath the Weight of an overbearing Power.

It has been ſaid, and indeed very induſtriouſly echoed through the whole Kingdom—That the Loſs of *St. Philip's* Caſtle was ſolely owing to my Miſconduct, and that *Minorca* might have been relieved, if I had done my Duty—As this national Calamity has been urged in order to excite a national Reproach againſt me, I muſt beg leave, in the firſt place, to refute this Aſperſion; and ſhould this Part of the Accuſation be once clearly anſwered, and the Prejudice removed, certain I am, the Charge of perſonal Cowardice in the Action will ſoon vaniſh; for I am confident had it not been convenient, nay, I may ſay neceſſary, for ſome Perſons to ſhelter themſelves from the former Part of the Charge, no Man living would ever have thought of calling upon me, for a Juſtification with reſpect to the latter.

It may ſeem ſomewhat ſingular, That being accuſed of two Offences, one whereof is Capital, the other not; I ſhould appear more ſolicitous to acquit myſelf of that which is only a Miſdemeanour, than of that which directly affects my Life; but how little Regard ſoever I may be repreſented to have had for my Honour, permit me to ſay, I ſtill retain ſo juſt a Senſe of its Value, as to prefer Death to the Diſgrace that ought to attend the Author of ſo inglorious a Calamity to his Country. If then I can acquit myſelf of this Imputation (which I am confident I can) I ſhall with Spirit proceed to my Defence againſt the Charge of Cowardice, and treat it with the Contempt it deſerves.—One Favour I have to beg of the Court, that the two Charges may be kept diſtinct, and by no Means blended together, as the Fate of *Minorca* did not at all depend upon this Backwardneſs (as it is called) in time of Action.

The firſt, and what I think the principal Part of my Defence, conſiſts in ſatisfying this Court—That I did the utmoſt in my Power to relieve *Minorca*—If in the Courſe of this, I ſhould happen, from the Neceſſity of Self-defence, to glance ſome Blame upon others, I hope to ſtand excuſed, eſpecially as my Innocence in many Reſpects, is ſo intimately connected with their Neglect, that a Vindication of the one, muſt neceſſarily enforce an Expoſition of the other; a hard Neceſſity, I muſt confeſs, and impoſed upon me, much againſt my Inclination, ſince no Man, in my Situation, would wiſh to contend with ſuch potent Adverſaries. I deſire not to become an Accuſer; but if the Loſs of *Minorca* muſt be imputed, either to me, or thoſe who ſent me on the Expedition, they who have ſo falſely fixed the Imputation on me, in order to protect themſelves, can with little Shew of Juſtice complain of my retorting a Charge ſo unjuſtly applied to me.—But to proceed.

In order to determine whether I did my utmoſt on this Occaſion, I apprehend the Conſideration of what I could do, ſhould be previous to any Determination of what I ought to have done; and give me leave to lay it down as an undeniable Fact, and which I ſhall prove, That the *French* Fleet was ſuperior in the Size of their Ships, Weight of Metal, and Number of Men, beſides their Advantage in point of ſailing, which enabled them to fight, or avoid fighting, as beſt ſuited their Purpoſes. Though this Fact is now ſo notorious, yet permit me to obſerve, that the contrary was, with an uncommon Strain of Induſtry and Confidence, aſſerted; nor indeed am I ſurpriſed at its gaining an almoſt univerſal Credit, when the *Gazette*, a Paper ſuppoſed to be publiſhed by Authority, was proſtituted to ſpread a falſe Liſt of the Strength of both the Fleets among the People, not only by undervaluing the Enemy's Force, of which it is poſſible the Writer might be ignorant, but by over-rating mine, in which it is impoſſible he ſhould be innocent.

I do not plead the Superiority of the Enemy as a Reaſon for not attacking them, but only why ſuch an Attempt might not only poſſibly, but moſt probably, be unſucceſsful; ſince it is evident, that notwithſtanding my previous Information of their Strength, I did not heſitate to attack, and do the utmoſt in my Power to defeat them. And I have the rather been induced to particularize this Circumſtance, becauſe you will find, by a Letter to me from the Admiralty—That the only Reaſon pretended for the Diſmiſſion from my Command was, retreating from an inferior Force. Now inſtead of my retreating from an inferior Force, That a ſuperior Force retreated from me, when the Fleet was unable to purſue, I ſhall manifeſt, beyond all Contradiction, and cannot help obſerving, that perhaps I am the firſt Inſtance of a Commander in Chief whoſe Diſgrace proceeded from ſo unfortunate a Miſtake.

I would aſk with what View or Intention I was ſent out on this Expedition?—If it be anſwered to protect or relieve *Minorca*, which is the ſeeming Language of my Inſtructions—I would again aſk, Did thoſe who ſent me apprehend that *Minorca* could be invaded before my Arrival, and the Deſcent covered by a ſuperior Squadron, when they ſent me out with ſo inadequate a Force?—If they did, their Conduct is unjuſtifiable,—if they did not, their Ignorance is inexcuſable.

This, I preſume, is ſufficient to unravel the political Secret—why the Enemy's Force has been ſo induſtriouſly leſſened, and mine ſo extravagantly magnified; when, at the ſame time, it is known to almoſt every Man in the Squadron I commanded, that it conſiſted of ſeveral of the worſt conditioned Ships, and moſtly the worſt manned of any perhaps in his Majeſty's Navy.

I think I may venture to affirm, that it was not foreſeen or expected that the Fleet in the *Mediterranean* would come to Action, ſince it will appear, from my very Inſtructions themſelves, that no ſuch Service was ever ſuppoſed probable, or that the Enemy could have a Force ſufficient to venture an Engagement at Sea.—In theſe you will find, I am ordered—If on my Arrival at *Gibraltar*, the *French* Fleet ſhould have paſſed out of the *Mediterranean*, to ſend a Detachment under the Command of Admiral *Weſt* after them to *North-America*—Can it be meant that I was to detach eight Ships out of the ten, as no leſs would have been neceſſary to inſure Succeſs, and make the ſuperior Force ordered in my Inſtructions?—Again I am ordered—when arrived at *Minorca* to aſſiſt the Garriſon with Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment, and as many Gunners and Men as I could ſpare out of the Fleet.—Does not this ſuppoſe the Sea to be open, and the Fleet unoppoſed, or the Order would be abſurd? For how could it be expected I ſhould diſarm the Squadron, by ſending Part of its proper Complement (which pleaſe to obſerve the Fuſiliers were) on-ſhore, when the whole was too little to ſecure Succeſs at Sea?—I am farther ordered—If *Minorca* was not attacked, to block up *Toulon*.—What block up a ſuperior Fleet, with an inferior!—And all this Service you will pleaſe to obſerve was expected from a Fleet, which when collected, was ſtill inferior to the Enemy's, I ſay collected, becauſe as the Iſland was actually attacked, it is indiſputable the Ships then at *Mahon* might have been blocked up and taken, or deſtroyed by the Enemy; as they did not quit the Harbour until two Days after the *French* had arrived off the Iſland, and Part of their Troops were landed in the Neighbourhood of *Mahon*.

Does not all this evince that fighting was the leaſt intentional Part of my Inſtructions; and if the Admiralty had expected an Engagement, is it not to be ſuppoſed they would have ſent more Ships, as ſo many fine Ships manned, or nearly ſo, then lay at *Spithead*, and would have afforded me the uſual and neceſſary Supply of Fire-ſhips, Tenders, Hoſpital, and Store-ſhips? Inſtead of avoiding any Anſwer to my Requeſt, that a Frigate might be added to my Squadron to repeat Signals in caſe of meeting with the Enemy before I joined the Ships then in the *Mediterranean*. But indeed I was poſitively aſſured, before my Departure, from the higheſt naval Authority, that the Enemy could not fit out more than ſix or ſeven Ships of the Line at moſt.

Under theſe unfavourable Circumſtances, without ſuch Intelligence of the Enemy's Force as could enable me to judge of it, determined to do my Duty, I took the Command of the Squadron, ſuch as it was, many Ships foul, and one in particular, *viz.* the *Intrepid* reported unfit for the Voyage. With theſe I proceeded as expeditiouſly as poſſible; and though it has been maliciouſly given out (yet not even pretended in my Charge) that I loitered at *Portſmouth*, I ſhall produce ſeveral Letters and Orders which will inconteſtably prove, that I departed thence the very firſt Moment I was enabled to ſail—Why the Admiralty poſtponed this Service to others, made me wait, and manned my Ships the laſt, I muſt leave them to account for.

When arrived at *Gibraltar*, I received certain Intelligence that a Deſcent was actually made on the Iſland of *Minorca*, that the Harbour and the whole Iſland was in the Enemy's Poſſeſſion, excepting the Caſtle of *St. Philip*, which was then beſieged by a very conſiderable Force at Land, and the Siege covered by a ſtrong Squadron at Sea ſuperior to mine. Every Perſon there concluded the Place loſt, and all Relief impracticable; and the Engineers were of Opinion, that it was abſolutely impoſſible to land Men, even if the Sea had been open, and the Enemy had erected Batteries on the two Shores near the Entrance of the Harbour.

I muſt own there appeared to me no great Probability of preſerving *Minorca* at this Time; but, however, have the Satisfaction to find, that the Miniſters at home, for once at leaſt, agreed in Opinion with me, ſince the Moment Intelligence came that the *Toulon* Fleet was ſailed, and the Troops landed upon the Iſland, there was not a Man who did not deſpair of *Minorca*.

Hence I diſpatched an Expreſs with this Account, which was at firſt huſhed up in Silence; afterwards repreſented (without producing it) as the deſponding Letter of a Man who would not fight.—What Authority theſe Gentlemen had for this invidious Prophecy, I am yet at a Loſs to account for, unleſs a declared Reſolution in its Contents to meet the *French* Fleet, may be deemed a juſtifiable Foundation for it.—But the Letter has been laid before the Court.

It has alſo been given out, no doubt with the ſame uniform malicious Intention, to defame every Circumſtance of my Conduct, that I made unneceſſary Delays at *Gibraltar*, and this ſuppoſed to be ſolely on the account of Watering.—I preſume the Propriety, and indeed the Neceſſity, will readily appear, of furniſhing the Fleet with a Sufficiency of Water and Proviſions, which was proceeding upon an Expedition, where the only Port capable of ſupplying its Wants, was known to be in the Enemy's Poſſeſſion, and who by Intelligence appeared to be well ſupplied with all Kinds of Neceſſaries; this was not the Cauſe, but Effect of my Stay at this Place, and tranſacted during the Execution of other Affairs directed by my Inſtructions.——I arrived at *Gibraltar* the 2d of *May* Afternoon, and ſailed thence the 8th in the Morning, a Space of five Days only, in which time I communicated my Orders to the Governor relating to a Detachment from the Garriſon, waited the Reſult of a Council of War held the 4th, then ſolicited a Reinforcement to ſupply the Deficiency of Men in Mr. *Edgecumbe*'s Squadron, occaſioned by the Loſs of thoſe who had been diſembarked for the Succour of *St. Philip*'s, a Liſt of this Reinforcement I received the 6th, and ſhipped them the 7th, which Day the *Experiment* arrived, the *Portland* and *Dolphin* two Days before, theſe with the reſt of Mr. *Edgecumbe*'s Squadron were manned and equipped in the beſt manner I was able, and without waiting to fully water the Ships, I ſailed in the Morning of the 8th, though the Wind was eaſterly, and arrived off *Minorca* the 19th.

Thus far, I will preſume upon my Innocence: But why (it may be aſked) was not *Minorca* at this Time relieved? I anſwer, becauſe I was not ſent time enough to prevent the Enemy's landing, and that when I was ſent, I was not ſtrong enough to beat the Enemy's Fleet, and raiſe the Siege. Let others anſwer, why I came ſo late, and why I came ſo weak with a Force not calculated for ſuch an Expedition.—But after the Engagement it may be ſaid, I might have re-attacked the Enemy, and landed the Succours.—I might, indeed, have done the firſt, with a Certainty almoſt of being defeated; I could not have done the laſt, though I had been victorious: Had I been defeated, what Refuge would have been left for the ſhattered Fleet?—what Security for *Gibraltar*, which muſt have been expoſed to the Hazard of a ſudden Siege, without a ſingle Ship to defend it, and which Place was equally recommended to my Protection?—But it ſeems (ſuch is the Fatality attending my Conduct) that I am even held blameable for calling a Council of War in ſo critical a Conjuncture; yet, when is Advice ſo neceſſary as on ſuch an Occaſion? I admit, where Orders are poſitive to fight at all Events or all Hazards whatever, it is criminal to deliberate: But was I under ſuch Orders?—Let my Inſtructions ſpeak for me.—Is a Commander expected to fight in all Situations, and under all Diſadvantages? Surely all Extremes are culpable, and where nothing is to be gained, and all may be loſt, fighting becomes preſumptuous Raſhneſs or Phrenzy.—I therefore beg leave to recommend to your particular Conſideration the different Situation of the two Fleets at this Time, and ſhall refer you to the Minutes of a Council of War held on-board the *Ramillies* the 24th of *May*, already laid before the Court; and when you ſhall have duly weighed the Opinion of this Council, the Unanimity of its Members, and their Characters, what Apprehenſion can I have of my Behaviour, on this Occaſion, falling under your Cenſure, ſince it would neceſſarily imply their Guilt?

What I have now offered, being verified by the Teſtimony of the Witneſſes, will, I flatter myſelf, be abundantly ſufficient to exculpate me from the firſt general Charge, and that the Court will be of Opinion—That I never retreated from the Iſland till it was impracticable to make any further Attempt, and—that the Place was not loſt by me, who was too weak to ſave it, but by thoſe, who might have ſent double the Force two Months earlier, and neglected it.

Yet, permit me to complain, that in order to render me criminal in the Eyes of the People, the ſame authoriſed Paper before-mentioned was likewiſe proſtituted to mangle and curtail my Letter to the Admiralty on this Occaſion, and ſubſcribed my Name to my own Defamation.

I ſhall now proceed to the ſecond Part of the Charge againſt me—that of Cowardice—and though I have already taken up ſo much of your Time, ſhall make no Apology for your farther Patience, as I am convinced, Gentlemen of your Impartiality will think no Indulgence of this kind too much, where the Life, and what is ſtill much more, the Honour of an Officer of my Rank in the Service is at Stake; I ſhall forbear to point out the Conſequence to the Service in general, not to furniſh even my Enemies with an Opportunity of conſtruing it an Endeavour to beſpeak a Partiality.

The 12th Article of War, is that which provides a proper Puniſhment for Cowardice, and runs in the following Words.—"Every Perſon in the Fleet, who through Cowardice, Negligence, or Diſaffection, ſhall in time of Action withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the Fight or Engagement, or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every Ship which it ſhall be his Duty to engage; and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his Majeſty's Ships, or thoſe of his Allies, which it ſhall be his Duty to aſſiſt and relieve, every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the Sentence of a Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer Death."

I would firſt beg leave to obſerve, that in order to bring any Perſon within the Peril of this Article, he muſt be convicted of Cowardice, Negligence, or Diſaffection; for though he ſhould fail to engage or aſſiſt, *&c.* unleſs this Failure apparently proceeds from one of theſe Cauſes, he is not guilty.—Negligence cannot be taken in ſo large a Senſe, as to mean every ſort of Neglect and Omiſſion, but ſuch groſs Negligence only, as evidently indicates Cowardice or Diſaffection; ſuch and ſuch only can be penal, and was intended to be made Capital; any other Conſtruction might expoſe the braveſt Man that ever commanded to the ſevereſt Penalties, ſince a ſingle Error in Judgment might render him liable to the moſt capital Puniſhment.

By this Rule I muſt deſire my Conduct may be judged, and if my Intentions appear to be good, and my Courage clear, I ought to ſtand acquitted by all good Men, even though my Abilities ſhould be deemed deficient.

And I muſt beg Leave to obſerve, that this Article of my Charge can only relate to my perſonal Courage and Conduct during the Action, and therefore any Diſpoſition (admitting it could be corrected) can only be accounted an Error of Judgment.—I do not mention this to avoid entering into that Part of my Conduct, ſince I flatter myſelf that I ſhall be able to ſhew, conſidering the Circumſtances, ſeveral Diſpoſitions of the two Fleets, and unavoidable Accidents, that the whole, as far as could depend upon me, was conducted with that Propriety and Naval-military Skill, which is requiſite in a Commander in Chief.—But the Court will pleaſe to remember, this is no Part of the Charge againſt me.

Before I proceed to an Account of the Action, I muſt beg leave to offer two Obſervations, and deſire the Court never to loſe Sight of them.

1ſt. That Succeſs muſt depend upon Execution as well as Diſpoſition, and that no Commander of a particular Ship has a Right to deviate from the eſtabliſhed Diſcipline and Rules of the Navy, contained in the fighting Inſtructions, and founded on Experience and juſt Obſervation; becauſe, if inferior Officers may judge for themſelves, there is an End of all Diſcipline, and any Deviation from Orders, muſt tend to diſturb and diſconcert the Admiral's Plan, and throw the whole Fleet into Confuſion.

2dly. That as the *French* Fleet, ſuperior in Force, waited the Attack, there was no Reaſon to apprehend they would avoid the Engagement, and therefore no Occaſion to hazard a Diſorder by crouding too much Sail, and making the Attack with Precipitation, contrary to the invariable Practice of every prudent, good, or great Officer, heretofore in ſimilar Caſes.

I ſhall now proceed in as conciſe a Manner as I poſſibly can, to lay before the Court a faithful Narrative of the material Tranſactions of his Majeſty's Fleet, under my Command, off the Iſland of *Minorca*, from the 19th of *May* 1756, to the 24th, both Days incluſive.

In the Morning at Day-light, on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *May*, I arrived with the Fleet off the Iſland of *Minorca*, and was then about three or four Leagues diſtant from the Shore, the Wind freſh northerly.

Several Ships being at that Time conſiderably a-ſtern, in particular the *Defiance*, that had been ſeparated from the Fleet on *Monday* Evening before, by not being able to weather the Iſland of *Cabrera*, when the reſt of the Fleet did, I made the Signals for the Captains of the *Phœnix*, *Cheſterfield*, and *Dolphin*; and ſent theſe three Frigates a-head of the Fleet, under the Direction of Captain *Hervey* of the *Phœnix*, to whom, at the ſame time, I gave a Letter for General *Blakeney*, which Letter, though it could not be delivered, (See this Letter on p. 866) I ſhall beg leave to read, together with a Copy of my Orders to Captain *Hervey*.

By the Hon. John Byng, *Eſq*; *Admiral of the Blue Squadron, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels employed in the* Mediterranean.

YOU are hereby required and directed to proceed with his Majeſty's Ship under your Command, together with the *Cheſterfield* and *Dolphin* (whoſe Captains have my Orders to put themſelves under your Direction) off the Harbour's Mouth of *Mahon*, taking care to make the Signals to me according to thoſe you will receive herewith, and to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to land the Packet for General *Blakeney* that accompanies this, as alſo to bring or ſend me his Anſwer thereto; you are to range the Coaſt along as near as poſſible you can, with Safety to his Majeſty's Ships, from the *Lair of Mahon* to *Cape Mola*, and endeavour to make what Obſervations you can, of any Batteries or Poſts the Enemy may be poſſeſſed of along the Shore, that may intercept the Communication between the Caſtle of *St. Philip*'s and his Majeſty's Fleet: And you are alſo to employ the Ships with you as you ſhall ſee moſt neceſſary to anſwer theſe Purpoſes, as well as to be very diligent in endeavouring to intercept any of the ſmall Craft of the Iſland, which you are immediately to ſend to me, together with all the People that ſhall be taken in them, for my having the earlieſt Intelligence of the Enemy's Situation on the Iſland, for which this ſhall be your Order. Dated on-board his Majeſty's Ship *Ramillies* off *Minorca*, *May* 19, 1756.

J. Byng.

To the Hon. Auguſtus John Hervey, *Commander of his Majeſty's Ship* Phœnix. By Command of the Admiral,

George Lawrance.

For all the Purpoſes contained in this Order, and ſome others, I appointed Signals for the Captains of theſe Frigates to inform me of their Obſervations, without the Trouble and Delay of ſending Boats.

About half an Hour after Nine, the Frigates having failed a-head of the Fleet with a freſh Gale, and doubled the *Lair of Mahon*, fell into light Airs of Wind and Calms under the Land.

About half an Hour after Ten, the Fleet having alſo got round the *Lair of Mahon* with a freſh Gale, fell into light Airs of Wind and Calms; and with the Frigates about a Mile a-head, continued to ſtand on towards *St. Philip*'s Caſtle, and the Harbour's Mouth, with what Airs of Wind offered, until within the Diſtance of about three or four Miles.

At this Time we could ſee there was a frequent Exchange of Shot and Shells, between the Garriſon and the Enemy, who were firing upon the Caſtle, from ſeveral Batteries to the weſtward of the Caſtle, and to the eaſtward towards *Cape Mola*.

While the Fleet was ſtanding on towards the Caſtle, Captain *Hervey*, agreeable to my Directions, made a private Signal to Captain *Scrope* of the *Dolphin*, who was left with the Garriſon, and had kept the *Dolphin*'s Barge with him, in hopes that Captain *Scrope* would come off to the Fleet, if it was poſſible.

It may be proper to explain, that each Ship in Mr. *Edgecumbe*'s Squadron had a diſtinguiſhing Signal to give Notice on her Approach, that it was ſuch a Ship arrived; Captain *Hervey* made the diſtinguiſhing Signal for the *Phœnix*, to give Notice that it was the *Phœnix* approaching; and at the ſame time threw out a white Pendant at his Mizen-top-maſt-head, the Signal to ſpeak with Captain *Scrope*, agreeable to the Signals given out by Mr. *Edgecumbe*.

The Frigates had made the Signal for ſeeing Ships in the South-eaſt Quarter, but between Eleven and Twelve, they were plainly diſcovered to be the Enemy's Fleet, of which we counted ſixteen Sail, at the Diſtance of about four or five Leagues, ſtanding towards us.

The Enemy at this Time were undoubtedly Maſters of the Harbour; the light Airs of Wind off the Land and Calms, made it very uncertain what time any of the Frigates could get near enough to the Caſtle to make proper Obſervations; and I apprehend it needleſs to explain to my Judges the Conſequence of a Frigate's approaching Batteries, or rather as many Guns as the Enemy are pleaſed to bring to bear, without Wind to keep her under Command; a Swell made the *Phœnix*, on this Occaſion, in Danger of being on-ſhore upon the *Laire*, and obliged Captain *Hervey* to get his own and other Ships Boats a-head to tow him off.

No Boat coming off from the Garriſon, made it probable that no Boat could come off.

As the Enemy appeared to have Batteries on both Sides of the Caſtle, it was very improbable, that the Frigates could be able to cover the Paſſage of a Boat with a Letter to the Sally-port, much leſs the Paſſage of Boats carrying Troops.

Yet, ſuppoſing the Frigates had been ſufficient, the nearneſs of the Enemy's Fleet ſtanding towards us, rendered it, as I conceive, improper, upon the Brink of an Action, to deprive the Fleet of the Uſe and Aſſiſtance of any of the Frigates, but more eſpecially of their Men, who were neceſſary to ſtrengthen ſuch Ships of the Line as were moſt ſickly, or badly manned.

Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment, and the Detachment of about 270 Men from the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, made up the Ships Complements, and ſerved in the Room of Marines.

Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment was intended to ſerve as Marines, as evidently appears by the Order to me from the Board of Admiralty, directing the Fuſiliers to ſerve in the Fleet, unleſs, upon Conſultation with the Governor, it ſhould be thought neceſſary to land them; and likewiſe by their Lordſhip's Order to put the Marines on-board other Ships at *Spithead*; therefore landing them at this Juncture, had it been practicable, would, as I apprehend, have rendered the Fleet intirely unfit for Action.

All the Reinforcement then for the Garriſon, that could poſſibly be ſpared from the Fleet, was about 100 Officers and Recruits; which was, as it appeared to me, a very inconſiderable Reinforcement, and an inſufficient Reaſon for loſing time, and delaying to attack the Enemy's Fleet when in Sight; more eſpecially as there was very little, or rather no Probability of Succeſs from the Attempt to land them; and as thoſe very Recruits were, in a great meaſure, neceſſary to a Fleet entering into Action, badly manned in general, and with 371 Men ſick on-board the Line of Battle Ships, as may be ſeen by their Weekly-accounts, dated the 17th of *May*, which has been laid before the Court.

Thus circumſtanced, I conceive, no prudent Officer would have heſitated to conclude, that it was improper, in every reſpect, to weaken his Majeſty's Fleet, by landing Men before the Action, had it been practicable; and that the moſt immediately neceſſary Step was to attack the Enemy's Fleet, and try the Fortune of a Battle.

At half an Hour paſt Eleven, I therefore made the Signal for calling in the Frigates, bore away for the Enemy, and made the general Signal to chace, continuing to ſtand towards the Enemy the remaining Part of that Day, with light Airs of Wind and Calms.

As Boats could eaſily paſs from Ship to Ship, I made a Diſtribution of the Seamen from the Frigates to ſtrengthen the Line of Battle Ships [*], *viz.*

From the *Phœnix* — —	30	Men to the *Revenge*.
	20	to the *Deptford*.
From the *Experiment* — —	40	to the *Captain*.
	20	to the *Lancaſter*.
From the *Dolphin* — — —	20	to the *Intrepid*.
	20	to the *Defiance*.
	17	to the *Portland*.

And Captain *Hervey* acquainting me, that the *Phœnix* long before had been reported home unfit for Service, that he had ſufficient Materials on-board to fit her, as well as the Time and Situation would permit, as a Fire-ſhip; and could do it without prejudicing her as a Frigate afterwards, if not made uſe of, I gave him Orders to do it, and ordered the Schooner to attend, and take out her Men, in caſe of her being ordered on Service as a Fire-ſhip.

About Six in the Afternoon, a Breeze of Wind ſprung up about South-weſt and by South, and both Fleets, then about four Leagues Diſtance, continued to ſtand towards each other in the Order of Battle.

About Seven the two Fleets were diſtant about two Leagues from each other when the Enemy tacked, the *Britiſh* Fleet, at that Time, ſtemming nearly for the Enemy's Van, who of Courſe muſt have weathered us, if both had ſtood on. I alſo haled down the Signal for the Line, made the Signal to tack, and tacked nearly about the ſame time.

The Enemy's Reaſons for tacking, were probably an Endeavour to preſerve the Weather-gage, and as Night was near at hand, to avoid the Confuſion of a Night-action, which no doubt would have enſued, if both Fleets had continued to ſtand on.

It appeared to me alſo proper to avoid a Night-action, as from many Circumſtances there was no Probability that the Enemy would decline coming to Action in the Day; and conſidering the Weather-gage of conſequence, if an Enemy has Fire-ſhips, which may occaſion Diſorder in a Fleet to Leeward, even if they ſhould fail in doing Execution, and having no reaſon to believe that the Enemy had no Fire-ſhips, I judged it moſt proper to ſtand in-ſhore that Night, and take the Advantage of the Wind, uſually off the Land in the Summer-ſeaſon, the latter Part of the Nights and Mornings, to gain the Wind of the Enemy againſt the next Day, and therefore ſtood in-ſhore until about half an Hour after Eleven, or near Twelve, and off the remaining Part of the Night.

Thurſday the 20th in the Morning, the Wind about South-weſt by South, a thick Haze prevented our ſeeing the Enemy's Fleet, and made it uncertain in what Quarter it was; but perceiving two *Tartans*, with each a Blue-flag at his Maſt-head, in appearance endeavouring to join the Fleet, as if they had miſtook us for the Enemy, I made the Signal for the *Princeſs Louiſa* to chace one, in hopes of procuring Intelligence; and made the Signal for the Rear-admiral to ſend Ships to chace the other, who ſent the *Captain* and *Defiance*.

Chacing drew theſe Ships at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Fleet, the *Captain* and *Defiance* two or three Miles to Leeward, and the *Princeſs Louiſa* four or five Miles upon the Lee-quarter, or rather a-ſtern; wherefore I was apprehenſive of their being ſeparated from the Fleet, and to prevent ſuch a Separation, thought it neceſſary to tack about a Quarter after Six, and ſtand towards them under an eaſy Sail. About this Time the *Princeſs Louiſa* made the Signal for ſeeing ten Sail in the North-weſt Quarter, which for ſome time I was inclined to believe was the Enemy's Fleet, that might have tacked to the North-weſtward again, ſome time in the Beginning of the Night.

The *Defiance* took the *Tartan* ſhe chaced, which had upwards of 100 Soldiers on-board with their Officers, part of 600 embarked the Day before from the Enemy's Camp at *St. Philips* to reinforce their Fleet.

At Seven, or near about Seven, a Fleet was diſcovered in the South-eaſt Quarter, which proved to be the Enemy, and I made the Signal for calling in all the Chacing-ſhips, which the *Princeſs Louiſa* did not immediately obſerve, but continued to chace; I fired ſeveral Guns from time to time, until ſhe did obſerve the Signal, and made the *Defiance*'s Signal, who continued to lay by the *Tartan* Prize, taking out the Priſoners.

At Ten, the Chacing-ſhips appearing to be in a fair way to rejoin the Fleet, I made the Signal to tack, and tacked to the South-eaſtward towards the Enemy.

At a quarter after Ten I made the Signal for the Line of Battle a-head, at the Diſtance of two Cables Length aſunder; and about half an Hour paſt Ten, ſquared my Main-top-ſail, that the Ships ſtationed a-head of me, might the ſooner get into their Stations.

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[*] As it appears before in the Caſe publiſhed during the Admiral's Confinement.

About ten Minutes after Eleven, I made the Signal for the Line of Battle a-head, at the Diſtance of half a Cable's Length aſunder; and immediately after, the Ships ſtationed a-head of me, having got into their Stations, I made the Signal to fill, and ſtand on, ſet Top-gallant-ſails, and crowded Sail, to gain the Wind of the Enemy, who, at this Time, were ſtanding to the North-weſtward in a Line of Battle a-head, and alſo crowding Sail.

At half an Hour paſt Twelve, the Wind then favouring us a Point or more, the Enemy took in their Top-gallant-ſails, and their Van bore away, and formed their Line to Leeward; probably becauſe their whole Line, not being able to weather us, they otherwiſe would have run the Riſque of being ſeparated, and their Line cut by our Line.

About Three-quarters after Twelve, our Van headed the Enemy about the Diſtance of two Miles to windward, and as ſoon as I headed them, I kept away the Wind nearly upon the Beam. The Enemy were twelve Ships in a ſtrait Line of Battle a-head, and five Frigates to Leeward, at this Time laying with their Main-top-ſails ſquare from the Wind alſo, and under Steerage-way.

At One, or a little after, the Chacing-ſhips got into their Stations, and our Line appeared to be regularly cloſe, and well formed, the Enemy's Line more extended than ours.

Juſt before tacking, I haled up the Main-ſail, and took in Top-gallant-ſails, apprehending a Crowd of Sail inconvenient and improper to preſerve Order, or to engage with, and unneceſſary becauſe the Enemy appeared to be waiting for us under Top-ſails, their Main-top-ſails ſquare.

At half an Hour after One, our Van then ſtretched a little beyond the Enemy's Rear, to give room for leading down upon them, who having their Main-top-ſails ſquare, could not have freſh Way, I made the Signal for the Fleet to tack altogether; and ſoon after we tacked in that Manner, and kept in a Line on the other Tack.

At Two I made the Signal to lead to Starboard, with one Gun, and ſoon after another Gun, to put the leading Captain in mind of his Inſtructions, who I perceived did not ſteer away with the Enemy's leading Ship, agreeable to the 19th Article of the Fighting-inſtructions, which directs, "If the Admiral and his Fleet have the Wind of " the Enemy, and they have ſtretched themſelves in a Line " of Battle, the Van of the Admiral's Fleet is to ſteer with " the Van of the Enemy's, and there to engage them."

About ten Minutes after Two, obſerving that the leading Ship did not ſteer away ſufficiently, I bore away about two Points more than the Ships a-head of me; the Ships next a-head of me, bore down ſoon after into their Stations a-head.

Captain *Hervey* of the *Phœnix*, appointed to repeat my Signals, obſerving that the *Defiance*, the leading Ship, did not comply properly with the Signal to lead to Starboard, repeated it ſeveral Times, in obedience to an Article in his additional Fighting-inſtructions, *viz.*

"If the Captains of the Frigates, which are appointed " to repeat Signals, find the Signal not obſerved, they are " to fire Guns until it is taken Notice of."

About twenty Minutes after Two, it appeared to me, that the leading Ship did not yet ſteer down ſufficiently, and by that means, was drawing the Van a-breaſt of the Enemy's Van, and altering the Diſpoſition, which I had made for attacking the Enemy, by ſteering down a ſlanting Courſe to avoid being raked; I therefore thought it neceſſary to make the Signal to engage, to bring on the Action, and to empower the Ships to fire reſpectively as they got within a proper Diſtance.

Upon the Signal to engage, the leading Ship bore down more, as did the Van in general; the *Intrepid* appeared to bear right down before the Wind, by which means ſhe was expoſed to be raked, and was diſabled by the time ſhe could begin to fire, or very ſoon after. I alſo ſteered away more, continuing the Signal for the Line of Battle a-head up, and with the Ships next a-head of me, preſerved a Line, and ſteered a proper ſlanting Courſe, as the Circumſtances appeared to me, to fall in with and engage the Enemy, who I obſerved had Head-way.

The whole Van appeared to bear down more than the Rear-diviſion, which I imagine muſt have been owing to ſome Ships in the Van being extended at greater Diſtances from each other, than in the Rear, and of conſequence being farther a-head with regard to the Enemy's Line, which laid them under a Neceſſity of taking that Method to get into Action with the Enemy.

At half an Hour after Two, the Enemy began to fire, all but the two Stern-moſt Ships, who reſerved their Fire ſome little time longer, but their Shot in general fell ſhort throughout their Line.

About this Time I made the Signal for the *Deptford* to quit the Line, apprehending, as ſhe was one of the weakeſt Ships, that ſhe would be of the moſt effectual Service, as directed by that Signal. The firſt Article of the additional Fighting-inſtructions, as given out to the Fleet by me at the Beginning of the Expedition, *viz.*

"In caſe of meeting with a Squadron of the Enemy's " Ships, that may be leſs in Number than the Squadron " under my Command, if I would have any of the ſmalleſt " Ships quit the Line, that thoſe of the greateſt Force may " be oppoſed to the Enemy, I will put abroad the Signal " for ſpeaking with the Captain of any ſuch Ship, or Ships, " as I would have leave the Line, and hoiſt a Flag, ſtriped " yellow and white, on the Flag-ſtaff, at the Fore-top-maſt-" head; then the next Ships are to cloſe up the Line, and " thoſe that have quitted the Line, are to hold themſelves " in readineſs to aſſiſt any Ship that may be diſabled or " hard preſſed, or to take her Station, if ſhe is obliged to " go out of the Line; in which caſe the ſtrongeſt Ship " that is withdrawn from the Line, is ſtrictly enjoined to " ſupply the Place, and fill up the Vacancy."

Soon after the Enemy began to fire, their Shot reached the *Ramillies*, and paſſed through her Sails and Rigging; but I continued going down, and reſerving my Fire until I could get cloſe to the Enemy, and I believe declared such my Intention at that Time.

About ten Minutes before Three, when the Enemy's Shot paſſed over the *Ramillies*, and through her Sails and Rigging, and ſeveral hulled her, ſome of the Seamen, as I have been informed ſince, out of Impatience at receiving the Enemy's Fire without returning it, began to fire without Orders, as the Guns were kept pointed forwards on the Enemy in going down; others followed the Example, on a Suppoſition that Orders were given.

I was diſpleaſed at firing ſo ſoon, contrary to my Intention, and I think expreſſed my Diſſatisfaction; but being then within about half a Mile of the Enemy, with a fine Breeze, and apprehending that a very little time would bring us down, and that it might prevent the Enemy from deliberately taking Aim, and diſabling the Ship before coming to cloſe Action, I permitted the Fire to continue.

In the time of firing, I think it was Lord *Robert Bertie* who firſt obſerved it through the Smoke, and acquainted me, that one of our own Ships was cloſe upon the Lee-bow, and that there was Danger of firing into her. I immediately gave Orders not to fire without ſeeing the Enemy's Colours, and to hale up the Fore-ſail; and finding one Ship upon the Lee-bow, and another right a-head, both ſo cloſe to us with one or both Top-ſails a-back, I was under a Neceſſity, without Heſitation of luffing the Ship up, ſo as to back the Top-ſails, and avoid being immediately on-board of them.

And apprehending the Ships a-ſtern might run on-board of us as we lay in a Cluſter, partly hid by the Smoke, I alſo immediately made the Signal for the Fleet to brace to, the Rear to brace to firſt, and braced the Fore-top-ſail ſharp a-back, to back the *Ramillies* a-ſtern, and caſt her Head to Leeward of the *Princeſs Louiſa* and *Trident*, in order for the more immediately making Sail a-head again.

On account of the Danger of firing upon our own Ships, all Firing ceaſed at this Time on-board the *Ramillies*, after about four or five Broad-ſides.

No ſignal being appointed for the Rear only to brace to, laid me under a Neceſſity, on this Emergency, of making the general Signal to brace to, the Ships in the Rear to brace to firſt; but this Signal was up ſo ſhort a Time, that the Rear-admiral, who, according to the eſtabliſhed Practice of the Navy, repeated all other Siguals, could not, if he ſaw it, have time to repeat this, before it was halled down again; nor had Captain *Hervey* in the *Phœnix*, who was appointed to repeat my Signals, time to repeat it; neither did any Ship a-head of me, not brought to before, bring to in obedience to it; becauſe, apprehenſive that the Ships a-head of me might bring to in conſequence of this Signal, and intending that the Ships might fill, which by bringing to had obliged me to lay a-back, I was very ſolicitous to have the Signal made as ſoon as poſſible for the Fleet to fill and ſtand on, the Ships in the Van to fill firſt: And therefore

About fifteen or twenty Minutes after Three, the Signal to brace to was halled down, while the *Ramillies* Top-ſails were a-back, and the Signal made for the Fleet to fill and ſtand on, the Ships in the Van to fill firſt. This was as ſoon as it could poſſibly be made after the Signal to brace to, and did not exceed ſix or eight Minutes.

And having diſcovered that the Stop was occaſioned by the *Revenge*, and the Ships next a-head of me bringing to or backing, inſtead of paſſing the *Intrepid*, who, at this Time, appeared unable to carry ſail, having loſt her Fore-top-maſt, and her Fore-ſail a back, and that by this means there was a Separation between the Rear-admiral's Diviſion and mine, I made the Signal for the Rear to make more Sail, and cloſe the Line, almoſt at the ſame time with the Signal to fill, that theſe Ships might make Sail again, and paſs the *Intrepid*.

The Smoke, occaſioned by the Fire from the Ships upon the Lee-bow, as well as what had proceeded from the *Ramillies*, obſtructed my ſeeing the Enemy's Conduct and Situation, about the time of laying the Top-ſails a-back: But the Smoke being cleared away, I obſerved that the Enemy were then under Sail, Fore-ſail and Top-ſails edging down from the Wind, three or four Ships of their Van going large, and the ſecond Ship from the Rear, which the Fire from the *Ramillies* was principally directed at, going quartering with her Fore-ſail, Fore-top-ſail and Fore-top-gallant-ſail ſet, and her Main-top-ſail-yard ſhot down upon the Cap.

At half an Hour after Three, when the *Ramillies* was backed a-ſtern, and her Head caſt to Leeward of the *Trident* and *Princeſs Louiſa*, I filled the Top-ſails, and ſet the Fore-ſail; and obſerving that the Stern-moſt Ship of the Enemy was ſeparated from their Line, by the Ship a-head of her having bore away, I ſent Lieutenant *Hamilton* to Captain *Ward* of the *Culloden*, with Orders to make what Sail he could out of the Line, and endeavour to cut her off.

Soon after this, ſhooting a head to Leeward of the *Trident* and *Princeſs Louiſa*, who were under their Top-ſails, I ordered them to be hailed one after the other, as I ſhot up with them to make more ſail, which they did; and I immediately ſet my Main-ſail, Jib and Stay-ſails.

About the ſame time the *Princeſs Louiſa*'s Boat dropped on-board with a Letter from Captain *Noel*, acquainting me, that he had loſt a Leg, and deſiring that an Officer might be ſent to command the Ship. I immediately ſent Captain *Gough*, then my firſt Lieutenant, with Directions, in his way, to carry my Orders to Captain *Amburſt* of the *Deptſord*, who was attending the *Intrepid*, to take her Place in the Line; and I made the *Cheſterfield*'s Signal to attend and aſſiſt the *Intrepid*, then fallen a-ſtern out of her Station in the Line.

About Four, obſerving that the Stern-moſt Ship of the Enemy had ſhot up and joined their Line, the *Culloden* then a-baft the Lee-beam, at the Diſtance of about two Cables Length, with Top-gallant-ſails ſet, I ordered Captain *Ward* to be hailed, to get into his Station again, judging it improper then to continue my Order for him to purſue the Stern-moſt Ship of the Enemy, after ſhe had rejoined.

The Enemy's Center and Rear continued ſtretching a-head in a regular Line, and edging down to rejoin the Ships that had bore away, ſome of which the *French* Admiral fired ſeveral Shot at; and they ſome time afterwards haled up and joined him, and I obſerved that the *French* under Fore-ſail and Top-ſails very much out-ſailed us, who had alſo Main-ſail, Jib and Stay-ſails ſet. On this Occaſion I could not help expreſſing my Concern to Captain *Gardiner*, that I had not a few more Ships to enable me to make the general Signal to chace.

None of the Enemy's Ships appeared unfit for Action, or had any viſible Damage in their Maſts or Yards, but the Ship that had her Main-top-ſail-yard ſhot down by the Fire from the *Ramillies*.

As they ſtretched a-head, and edged down to rejoin the Ships that had bore away, they exchanged Fire with our Van, but at a very conſiderable Diſtance, and their Shot ſeemed to fall ſhort.

The Rear-admiral had loſt his Main-top-ſail-yard, and ſeveral Ships of the Van appeared too much ſhattered to be able to purſue the Enemy, beſides the *Intrepid* totally diſabled, and dropt at a conſiderable Diſtance a-ſtern, and to windward of the Fleet, with the *Cheſterfield* attending her.

After the Enemy bore away and made ſail, as they ſo much out-ſailed us, and a conſiderable Part of the Fleet was unable to purſue, I judged it improper to purſue with Part of the Fleet, an Enemy ſuperior at firſt, and ſtill all of them fit for Action, according to all Appearances.

And there appeared to me no further Poſſibility of bringing the Enemy to Action again, as they declined it, without I had had a ſufficient Force and Superiority to enable me to make the general Signal to chace; therefore I ſtood on with my Diviſion under Courſes, Top-ſails, Jib and Stay-ſails, until we rejoined the Van-diviſion.

And at half an Hour after Five, I made the Signal to bring to, and brought to in order to repair the Damages of ſuch Ships as had ſuffered in the Action.

The Enemy were then upon the Lee-bow, diſtant about ſix or ſeven Miles, continuing to ſtand on to the Northward, the Body of them ſtill preſerving their Order, and being rejoined by the Ships that had bore away, they ſeemed to be new forming their Line.

About Six, apprehending that the Enemy having obſerved the Situation of our diſabled Ships, might take the Advantage, and tacking make an Attack in their Turn, I made the Signal for the Fleet to fill, and ſoon after the Signal to tack, and the Ships appointed to lead on the Larboard-tack, to continue to lead on the Starboard-tack, in order to cover the diſabled Ships, by placing my own Diviſion, that had ſuffered leaſt in the Action, in the Rear, and firſt oppoſed to the Enemy, if they ſhould make ſuch an Attempt, and likewiſe prevent a farther Separation from the *Intrepid* and *Cheſterfield*, at this Time about two Leagues upon the Weather-quarter of the Fleet.

About Seven, obſerving that few of the Headmoſt-ſhips were as yet tacked, and that tacking in the Order of Battle would take up much Time as Night was coming on, and there was no Night-ſignal provided for Ships that led on the Larboard-tack to continue to lead on the Starboard-tack, I ordered the Signal for the Line to be haled down, continuing the Signal to tack up, that the whole Fleet might be able to tack before dark.

At the Cloſe of Day, the Enemy were at the Diſtance of three or four Leagues to the Northward, continuing to ſtand on.

Soon after the Fleet was on the other Tack, I made the Night-ſignal to bring to, and the Fleet continued to lay to all Night in the Place of Action.

The 21ſt, moderate Weather the latter Part, light Airs of Wind and Calms, the Wind in the South-weſt Quarter.—In the Morning the Enemy were ſeen in the North-weſt Quarter, from the Maſt-heads of ſome of the Weathermoſt-ſhips.—The Fleet continued to lay to, the Ships which had received Damages in the Action employed in refitting.—The *Intrepid* and *Cheſterfield* having carried Sail all Night, and being out of Sight, I ordered the *Phœnix*, *Dolphin*, and *Experiment*, to make ſail in different Quarters to look for them.—At Noon *Cape Mola* was, by our Reckoning, North-weſt, half North-diſtance about nine Leagues.

The 22d, light Airs of Wind eaſterly, and hazy Weather, the Fleet continuing to lay to, the Ships that had received Damages employed in refitting.—I appointed Captain *Hervey* to command the *Defiance*, in the Room of Captain *Andrews*, killed in the Action.

About Seven in the Morning, obſerving a Boat to the Windward of the Fleet, I ſent the Schooner to tow her down, which proved to be the *Lancaſter*'s Long-boat, cut drift during the Action.

About the ſame time I gave out a new Line of Battle, having changed the Stations of ſome of the crippled Ships, and put two of them, *viz.* the *Captain* and *Defiance* in my own Diviſion, and the *Revenge* and *Kingſton* in the Rear-admiral's Diviſion, in their Places.

About Nine, the *Dolphin* having made a Stretch to the Southward, to ſtretch into the Fleet, made the Signal for ſeeing the *Intrepid* and *Cheſterfield*, and ſtood towards them in the South-weſt Quarter.

At Eleven I made Sail with the Fleet towards them. In the Afternoon, upon Captain *Hervey*'s Repreſentation that the *Defiance* was very weakly manned, and but few Seamen, I ſent a Mate from on-board the *Ramillies* with 30 Seamen to aſſiſt in refitting her.

At Eight in the Evening, having joined the *Intrepid* and *Cheſterfield*, I brought to with the Fleet, their Heads to the Northward.

The 23d, the firſt Part of the Day freſh Gales from the Eaſtward and hazy, the middle and latter Part moderate, ſometimes little Wind and Calms.

The Fleet lying to, the Ships that had received Damage in the Action, refitting.

In the Morning I ordered the Officer of the Watch to view the Situation of the crippled Ships, as they appeared to him, and minute down the Particulars, and to give me a Copy of it, which he did as follows:

The *Captain* with her Fore-yard and Fore-top-maſt down, no Main-top-gallant-maſt up, and Main-top-ſail-yard unrigged, laying a-croſs upon the Cap, and the Sail unbent. The *Defiance* with her Main-yard and Fore-top-gallant-maſt down, Main-top-ſail furled, and Fore-top-ſail double reefed. The *Portland* with her Fore-yard down, and Fore and Main-top-ſails down upon the Cap. The *Intrepid* with Jury-top-maſts.

I ordered Surveys on the Damages received by the crippled Ships in the late Action, and on their Stores, and gave Captain *Lloyd* an Order to command the *Princeſs Louiſa* during Captain *Noel*'s Illneſs, who had loſt a Leg in the late Action, and Lieutenant *Gough* an Order to command the *Cheſterfield* during Captain *Lloyd*'s Abſence.

About Six in the Evening, eight or nine Sail of the Enemy were ſeen in the North-eaſt Quarter, the Haze prevented our ſeeing the whole, or diſcerning clearly how they ſtood.

I ordered the Officer of the Watch to view the Situation of the lame Ships, and at the ſame time to minute down the Particulars, and give me a Copy of it ſigned, which he did as follows:

"The *Defiance* with her Main and Fore-yards down, her Fore-top-maſt ſtruck, and Main-top-ſail furled. The *Captain* with her Fore-yard and Top-maſt down, and no Main-top-gallant-maſt, her Main-top-ſail-yard unrigged, and lying a-croſs upon the Cap, and the Sail unbent. The *Portland* with her Fore-yard down, and Fore and Main-top-ſails upon the Cap. The *Intrepid* with Jury-top-maſts."

The Ships of the Fleet, in this Situation, did not appear to me as yet in a Condition fit to attack or receive the Enemy; and therefore, after having conſulted with the Rear-admiral upon that Head, about half an Hour after Seven I wore with the Fleet, and ſtood under an eaſy Sail to the Southward for about four or five Miles. The remaining Part of the Night, and next Morning, it was calm.

On the 24th, the Condition of the Fleet, and other Circumſtances, making it appear to me neceſſary, and as it was agreeable to the Rear-admiral's Opinion, I called a Council of War, the Subject of which, together with the Reſolution, have been already laid before the Court.

What I have now laid before you, to the beſt of my Knowledge, Obſervation and Judgment is a true Account of the Diſpoſition and Proceedings of his Majeſty's Fleet during the ſix Days off *Minorca*, without any Exaggeration, falſe Colouring, or Concealment of the ſmalleſt Circumſtance that can tend to give the Court any Information with regard to the Proceedings of his Majeſty's Fleet, or my own perſonal Conduct; nor am I conſcious of having in a ſingle Inſtance ſacrificed Truth to Safety.

The greateſt Part of this Narrative, if not the whole, has been proved, I hope, to the Satisfaction of this Court already, and I preſume will appear conſiſtent with, and a proper Execution of, my Duty, conformable to all the Rules of Prudence, the Art of War, and the eſtabliſhed Diſcipline of the Navy. But I muſt here beg leave to remark again, that ſhould any other Diſpoſition for attacking the Enemy be thought more advantageous than that I made, yet it cannot come within the Limits of my Charge: For ſhould a Charge, depending upon Judgment in making the Diſpoſition, be brought againſt a Commander in Chief—I believe I may venture to affirm that, ſhould ſuch Diſcipline be once eſtabliſhed, no Officer can be ſafe in taking upon him the Command of a Fleet.—It is evident, next to a Demonſtration, there never yet was a Diſpoſition for a Battle, either by Sea or Land, made by any Commanding-officer, whether ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, which being minutely canvaſſed and examined, would not admit of ſome Amendment.

Mr. *Byng* then produced a Copy of ſeveral Letters ſent by him, under Confinement at *Greenwich*, to Mr. *Cleveland*, Secretary to the Admiralty, and the Anſwers, which he thought would ſerve to give the Court a Specimen of the unprecedented Oppreſſions and Reſtriction of Privileges he had had to ſtruggle with.

SIR, *Greenwich-hoſpital, Sept.* 6, 1756.

In my Letter of Date the 4th of *Auguſt* with a Liſt of Evidence, I ſent you the Names of all that occurred to my Memory then: But as I preſume their Lordſhips will think it requiſite that the Evidence ought not to be confined to any particular Number on ſo important an Occaſion, where a ſtrict and impartial Enquiry to come at the Truth is of the utmoſt Conſequence, but ought to include as many Captains and other Officers as, by their Situation on the Day of the late Action in the *Mediterranean*, are able to give the neceſſary Information, as I hear ſome Captains are going out into the *Mediterranean*, by whom I hope their Lordſhips will ſend Orders; I ſend you another Liſt of Evidence, that to me appear extremely neceſſary, preſuming that their Lordſhips do not deſire to reſtrain me in what may appear neceſſary for the Illuſtration of Truth, and for my Juſtification in a Caſe where my Honour, my all, is at Stake. I am ſorry for want of knowing the Names, that I am obliged to diſtinguiſh many by their Offices and the Spheres they acted in, the Day of the late Action; and am ſenſible of the Diſadvantage of ſending for Evidences at random at ſuch a Diſtance, without a Probability of knowing the Depth of their Knowledge, or their Obſervations, owing to my Conſciouſneſs of having duly diſcharged my Duty, and not knowing ſooner what an odious Light my Conduct was placed in here in *England* by the Induſtry of ſome, as yet inviſible Perſons, who are indefatigable in propagating Falſhoods to my Diſhonour. I hope their Lordſhips will think my Requeſt a very reaſonable one; and though ſuch the Inconveniencies and Difficulties I am obliged to ſtruggle with, yet my Conſcience tells me I ſhall do well. I am,

SIR,
Your moſt humble Servant,
J. Byng.

Hon. *John Cleveland.*

A further Liſt of Evidence to be deſired from the *Mediterranean.*

Lieutenant *Taylor* Lieutenant *Peighin* Lieutenant *Cunningham* The Maſter	of the *Captain* at the time of Action.

Lieutenant *Baker*, late of the *Defiance*, now of the *Hampton-Court.*

Captain *Durell* The Lieutenants and Maſter	of the *Trident* at the time of Action.
Captain *Cornwall* The Lieutenants and Maſter	of the *Revenge* at the time of Action.
The Lieutenants and Maſter	of the *Princeſs Louiſa* at the time of Action.
Mr. *John Mercer*, Lieutenant Mr. *John Scott*, Maſter	of the *Deptford.*

Mr.

Mr. *William Hemmings*	Midſhipmen of the *Ramillies*.
Mr. *Daniel Pickering*	
Mr. *William Babb*	
Mr. *William Holland*	
Mr. *James Cummins*	

Mr. *John Irwin*, Maſter of the *Experiment*.

SIR, *Admiralty-office*, *Sept*. 9, 1756.

I have received and communicated to my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, your Letter of the 6th Inſtant, incloſing a farther Liſt of Witneſſes which you deſire may be ſent for from the *Mediterranean*, being Officers in his Majeſty's Fleet there; and in return thereto, am commanded by their Lordſhips to acquaint you, that as you lie under an Imputation of Miſbehaviour, by means whereof the Honour and Intereſt of this Kingdom hath ſuffered in the moſt eſſential manner, and ſtand committed to the Marſhal of the High Court of Admiralty to anſwer for the ſame; their Lordſhips were deſirous, in Juſtice to the Public, as well as Tenderneſs to yourſelf, to give you the earlieſt Opportunity of acquitting yourſelf, if poſſible, from ſo heavy a Charge; and therefore directed me, as appears by my Letter of the 31ſt of *July* laſt, to give you an Intimation of their Intention to bring you to your Trial, their Lordſhips hoped, as there were then in *England* no fewer than 20 Officers who had ſerved on-board the Fleet under your Command, not one of whom had come, or been ſent for, upon the leaſt Intimation or Knowledge of what Evidence he could give upon the Occaſion, and as amongſt them there were ſeveral who muſt be preſumed under a particular Bias (as far as Truth will permit) in your favour; their Lordſhips thought you would have conſidered this Number of Officers of all Ranks from different Parts of the Fleet, who from various Accidents had happened to come over, ſufficient to clear up the Matter according to the Truth and Juſtice of the Caſe, and have deſired an immediate Trial upon the Evidence now in *England*; but by your Letter of the 4th of *Auguſt*, you ſent a Liſt of 37 Witneſſes as neceſſary to your Defence, 23 of whom were then in the *Mediterranean*; their Lordſhips, though greatly ſurprized at the Number required, and well ſatisfied that they could not all be neceſſary, yet notwithſtanding the Detriment which muſt ariſe to the public Service by calling ſo many Perſons home from the Fleet at this time, and the long Delay of your Trial occaſioned thereby, they ordered me to acquaint you, by my Letter of the 12th of *Auguſt*, that all the Sea-officers you had deſired might be ſent for were ordered to be brought home in his Majeſty's Ship *Colcheſter*; and that their Lordſhips had applied to the King for Leave for all the Land Officers you had deſired to come at the ſame time.

Under theſe Circumſtances they cannot help expreſſing their Aſtoniſhment at your Application of the 6th Inſtant, with a new Liſt of no fewer than 31 Officers to be ſent for without the leaſt Fact, Froof, or even Allegation to ſupport this Requeſt, or to excuſe its not being made before; their Lordſhips look upon it merely as a Scheme ſuggeſted to you to delay your being brought to a Trial, which muſt be the neceſſary Conſequence if your Application ſhould be complied with: By the ſame means you may put off your Trial for ever; it is but applying for a new Liſt every Month or ſix Weeks, and at laſt concluding with a Deſire that the whole Fleet may be brought home. Juſtice to a Perſon accuſed who may be innocent, requires that he ſhould have a reaſonable Opportunity of making and proving his Defence: This you have already had, to the utmoſt of your own Deſire, and been indulged to ſo great an Extent as may make an Example very dangerous to the Service and Diſcipline of the Navy: But Juſtice to the Public requires, that a Perſon accuſed who certainly may be guilty, ſhould not, under the bare Pretence of deſiring Means of Defence, make his Trial abſolutely impracticable.

I am therefore commanded by their Lordſhips to acquaint you, that ſo ſoon as the Witneſſes already ſent for, ſhall come over, they intend to bring on your Trial, which they ſee no Reaſon to poſtpone any longer, berely on account of the new Application made by your aforeſaid Letter of the 6th Inſtant; and that you have laid no Grounds before their Lordſhips ſufficient to induce them to give the leaſt Countenance to ſo extraordinary an Attempt. I am,

SIR,

Hon. Adm. Byng. *Your moſt humble Servant*,

J. Cleveland.

SIR, *Greenwich-Hoſpital*, 14 Sept. 1756.

I have received your Letter of the 9th Inſtant, in which your Manner of Reaſoning ſeems very extraordinary. I ſhall not comment upon that prejudging Expreſſion of yours, " an Opportunity of acquitting myſelf, if poſſible." It ſeems ſufficiently to explain itſelf: But I cannot paſs by unnoticed your " preſuming ſeveral of the Witneſſes now " in *England* having a particular Bias, as far as Truth will " permit, in my Favour." Whence ſhould that Bias ariſe? If from the Hopes of Reward, or Fear of Puniſhment, Rewards and Puniſhments are certainly in other Hands than mine.

And how great is my Aſtoniſhment at your mentioning their Lordſhips Tenderneſs to me, and their Indulgence! Phraſes I did not expect to meet with. Can being kept moving backward and forward from one Place of Confinement to another, for near three Weeks after my Arrival in *England*, ſo as to make it impoſſible for me to prepare any thing relating to my Defence, be called by either of thoſe Names? or can my cloſe Confinement at *Greenwich*, without ſuffering even my menial Servants to remain in the Houſe after Dark, be called ſo? And I think I have a Right to complain of that cruel Countenance and Belief which ſeems to be given to a groundleſs Report of my having attempted to make my Eſcape, and the rigid Orders given in conſequence of it, as if intended to confirm it; a Report ſo injurious to me, and ſo abſolutely without Foundation; from which the Marſhal and the Officers who have commanded the Guards here, as well as every private Centinel, can fully vindicate me.—And I cannot here avoid obſerving, that all Charge of keeping me in Cuſtody, ſeems to be taken from the Martial, and committed to the Governor of the Hoſpital by the Orders given in his Name, who ſeems diligent in diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the Service of his Country, by impoſing upon me all the Indignities and Inconveniencies that Power can enable him to do.

Had their Lordſhips, as you are pleaſed to ſay, intended me the earlieſt Opportunity of acquitting myſelf, it is very difficult to conceive why they were not pleaſed to communicate their Intentions of bringing me to a Trial at the ſame time that I received their Order to ſtrike my Flag, and reſign the Command of the Fleet in the *Mediterranean* to Sir *Edward Hawke*; that would have been but doing me Juſtice, in giving me an Opportunity of conſidering my Conduct, and the Proof neceſſary to be given in ſupport of it, at a time when no conſcious Guilt or Miſconduct ſuggeſted to me that I was to be arreſted upon my Arrival in *England*, cloſely confined, and then brought to Trial; for ſurely no Perſon was to ſuppoſe that I was to look upon an Extract of an Enemy's Letter, and that Extract (if from a genuine Letter) a mere Gaſconade and abſolute Falſhood, as ſufficient to ground a Charge againſt me.

I muſt obſerve again, that in my Letter of the 4th of *Auguſt*, I mentioned particularly the Names of all that occurred to me then; nor is it matter of Wonder that I could not at once think of all the Witneſſes neceſſary for my Defence; it would rather be matter of Wonder, reſtrained and diſtreſſed by all the Methods Power can impoſe, and perſonally diſturbed Day and Night, if I had immediately thought of all the Witneſſes, or a ſufficient Number capable of giving Teſtimony in my Behalf. But ſurely it can be no Cauſe of Aſtoniſhment, that, accuſed of Crimes of the higheſt Nature, and conſcious of my own Innocence, I ſhould be deſirous of producing all ſuch Witneſſes as appear to me neceſſary.

I muſt alſo obſerve, that I could not poſſibly know for what Purpoſe any of the Officers now in *England* came home, and therefore could have no Idea that they were conſidered as the Witneſſes neceſſary for my Defence. But if it was known to their Lordſhips that theſe Gentlemen came to *England* in order to prove me guilty of Miſconduct, certainly I ſhould have had the earlieſt Opportunity of bringing home my Witneſſes. And if I had deſired an immediate Trial upon my Arrival in *England*, as your Letter ſeems to intimate, I muſt have deſired it before I knew of any Charge, and without Witneſſes to produce in my Defence.

What Fact, Proof, or Allegation their Lordſhips expected from me in ſupport of my Requeſt, is not eaſy to conceive; can any ſtronger be requiſite, than that they are neceſſary Witneſſes, and a Liſt given within a reaſonable time, all Circumſtances conſidered, and at a time when there is proper Opportunity of ſending for them, and of ſending other Officers to ſupply their Places?—Giving in an additional Liſt of Witneſſes is not unprecedented, and the greater the Number examined, the more conſpicuous muſt Guilt or Innocence appear. The Reaſon of their not being requeſted, or occurring to me as neceſſary ſooner, is eaſily deduced from the unparalleled Treatment, and unprecedented Hardſhips and Inconveniencies that I had to ſtruggle with.

Far from delaying or attempting to render my Trial impracticable, I do aſſure you their Lordſhips cannot be more eager and ſolicitous to have me brought to Trial than I am; but a Trial without the neceſſary Witneſſes, cannot be conſidered as any Trial at all; rather an Act of Power, than an Act of Juſtice; and muſt be a Precedent much more dangerous than that hinted at in your Letter; and I cannot reſign my juſt and legal Claim to call upon Witneſſes that are neceſſary to vindicate my Conduct, and make the Truth evident. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Hon. *John Clevland.* J. BYNG.

Juſtice to myſelf demands, and I hope will be thought a ſufficient Apology for that Freedom and Plainneſs becoming a Man in my Circumſtances.—It is far from my Purpoſe to endeavour fixing any Blame or Imputation even on my greateſt Enemies without Reaſon. But the Indignation and Reſentment of an incenſed Nation, is a Load much too heavy for me to bear, though it has been my Miſfortune to ſtruggle under it ſo long. And I muſt intreat the Court to forgive my taking up ſome part of their Time in proving what may at firſt View ſeem unneceſſary by the Nature of my Charge; that I may vindicate my Conduct to an incenſed and deluded Nation, taught hitherto to look upon me as a principal Cauſe of the public Miſfortunes, and as a Man guilty of the moſt odious of all military, and moſt contemptible of all civil Crimes.

No Symptom of Cowardice, that odious and capital Part of my Charge, has hitherto appeared to the Court; and my Innocence and conſcious Diſcharge of my Duty, makes me confident that none will appear. Yet have I already ſuffered the ſevereſt Penalties that can be inflicted on it, being hung up in Effigy, traduced by Libels, tortured by Miſrepreſentations and Calumny, diſgraced and ſuperſeded, upon no better Authority than the Gaſconade of the *French* Admiral, arreſted and confined beyond the Example of former Times; treated like a Felon with every Indignity, and my Life purſued with the moſt inveterate Malice. But all this I have had Fortitude enough to deſpiſe and treat with the Contempt it deſerves, the Reſult of a Conſcience clear of all Crimes.

I muſt now beg leave to lay before the Court the Orders for diſcharging the Marines, and for embarking Lord *Robert Bertie*'s Regiment, which laſt points out the Deſtination and Service intended for his Lordſhip's Regiment; and alſo ſome Letters of Intelligence relating to the Enemy's Embarkation, Force of their Fleet, Reinforcements expected, and other Particulars.

I ſhall not treſpaſs any longer on the Patience of the Court, having nothing farther to add, beſides ſome Obſervations hereafter on the Evidence, if the remaining Time will admit of it; but I fear it will require a much longer time than I ſhall have to do it in, and a much abler Hand than mine, to diſcuſs and digeſt Minutes of ſuch a Nature and of ſo great Length.—Therefore, relying on the Candour and Ability of my Judges, as my only and proper Council, I muſt beg that they will be pleaſed to allow for my Defects and Omiſſions, and ſupply my want of more proper Talents to explain and ſupport my Innocence.

Then having delivered to the Court the ſeveral Papers referred to in the Cloſe of his Defence, he alſo delivered the Liſt of the *French* Squadron, as printed on Page 863.

After which, Mr. *Byng* being aſked, if he had any thing farther to offer, delivered in a Paper, which was read as follows:

Before I proceed to call my Witneſſes, I ſhall, for the ſake of Method and Diſpatch, beg leave to ſtate to the Court the general Heads under which I ſhall rank their Evidence, and confine them to ſuch only that have appeared to fall within the Compaſs of the preſent Enquiry, *viz.*—Whether any unneceſſary Delay was made to, at, or from *Gibraltar*—Whether it was poſſible or expedient to land the inconſiderable Reinforcement at *St. Philip's*, under the Circumſtances of the Enemy's Precautions taken on Land, and the immediate Approach of their ſuperior Fleet at Sea—Whether I ſhewed any Backwardneſs in coming to Action, or was guilty of any criminal Miſconduct during it; and laſtly—Whether an Attempt to re-attack the Enemy, after the Engagement, would have been prudent, or even practicable, with any Proſpect of Succeſs, conſidering the Condition of the *Britiſh* Fleet at that time—If any of theſe Points have already been cleared to the full Satisfaction of the Court.—I ſhall wave troubling you with any further unneceſſary Proofs concerning them, and confine myſelf to an Exculpation from ſuch part of the Charge only, where any Doubt may ſtill remain with reſpect to the Rectitude of my Conduct.

The Court was again cleared, and then the Court unanimouſly agreed the Priſoner be told, that they are willing to hear what Evidence he ſhall think neceſſary, and has ready to offer; but that they cannot declare whether they are or are not ſatisfied in any Points, till the whole Evidence ſhall be cloſed, and they ſhall have conſidered the ſame.

The Court being then again opened, and their Reſolution read, the Priſoner ſaid, he muſt deſire to examine Captain *Arthur Gardiner*, and Mr. *George Lawrance*, Secretary to Admiral *Byng*; who having ſpoken to the Admiral's perſonal Behaviour and Courage; he declined giving further Trouble, and threw himſelf entirely upon the Candour of the Court; which, in the Courſe of four Days, came to the following Reſolutions:

I. *Unanimouſly.* It does not appear, That any unneceſſary Delay was made by Admiral *Byng*, in the Proceedings of the Squadron under his Command, from the time of their ſailing from *St. Helen's* on the 6th of *April*, to the time of their Arrival off *Minorca* on the 19th of *May*.

II. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That upon the Fleet's getting ſight of *Minorca*, on the Morning of the 19th of *May*, the Admiral detached three Frigates (the *Phœnix*, *Cheſterfield*, and *Dolphin*) a-head, with Orders to Captain *Hervey* of the *Phœnix*, to endeavour to land a Letter from the Admiral to Lieutenant-general *Blakeney*, and to make Obſervations of what Batteries or Forts the Enemy might be poſſeſſed of along the Shore.

III. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That thoſe Frigates were got a-head of the Fleet, and in Shore, and the *Phœnix* cloſe to the Lair of *Mahon*, and were endeavouring to execute thoſe Orders till they were called off between Eleven and Twelve o'Clock, by Signal from the Admiral, upon Diſcovery of the *French* Fleet in the South-eaſt Quarter.

IV. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the Fleet ſtood towards the Enemy the remaining part of the Day, with Calms and little Winds, till they tacked in the Evening.

V. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That the Admiral proceeded properly, upon Diſcovery of the *French* Fleet, to ſtand towards them.

VI. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That Major-general *Stuart*, Lord *Effingham*, and Colonel *Cornwallis*, with about 30 Officers, and ſome Recruits, amounting in the whole to about 100, belonging to the different Regiments in Garriſon at *St. Philip's*, were on-board Ships of the Squadron.

VII. *Twelve Yeas for all the Officers: One for the General and Field Officers only.* The Court are of Opinion, That as ſo great a Number of Officers were on-board the Fleet, belonging to the Garriſon of *St. Philip's*, where they muſt neceſſarily be much wanted, the Admiral ought to have put them on-board one of the Frigates he ſent a-head, in order to have been landed, if found practicable; and if not landed before he ſaw the *French* Fleet, he ought to have left the Frigate to have endeavoured to land them, notwithſtanding he did ſee the Enemy's Fleet.

VIII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That from the Time of firſt ſeeing the *French* Fleet in the Morning of the 19th of *May*, till our Fleet weathered the *French* about Noon of the 20th, the Admiral took proper Meaſures to gain and keep the Wind of the Enemy, and to form and cloſe the Line of Battle.

IX. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the Van of our Fleet upon the Starboard-tack, ſtretched beyond the Rear of the Enemy's Fleet; and that our whole Fleet then tack'd all together by Signal; the Enemy's Fleet lying at the ſame time to leeward, in a Line of Battle-ahead, on the Larboard-tack, under their Topſails, with their Main-top-ſails ſquare.

X. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That immediately after our Fleet was about upon the Larboard-tack, our Rear was conſiderably farther to windward of the Enemy's Rear, than our Van was of their Van.

XI. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That when the *Britiſh* Fleet on the Starboard-tack were ſtretched abreaſt, or about the Beam of the Enemy's Line, the Admiral ſhould have tacked the Fleet all together, and immediately have conducted it on a direct Courſe for the Enemy; the Van ſteering for the Enemy's Van, the Rear for their Rear, each Ship for her oppoſite Ship in the Enemy's Line, and under ſuch a Sail as might have enabled the worſt ſailing Ship, under all her plain Sail, to preſerve her Station.

XII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That ſoon after the Fleet were upon the Larboard tack, the Admiral made Signals for leading two Points to Starboard, which brought the Wind upon or abaft the Beam; and the Ships continued that Courſe, nearly a-head of each other, till the Admiral made the Signal for Battle.

XIII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the Admiral made the Signal for Battle about 20 Minutes after Two o'Clock.

XIV. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That at the Time the Signal was made for Battle, the *French* Fleet were ſtill lying to leeward, with their Main-top-ſails ſquare, as before mentioned, and that our Van was conſiderably nearer to their Van, than our Rear was to their Rear.

XV. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That upon the Signal being made for Battle, the Ships of our Van Diviſion bore down properly for the Ships oppoſed to them in the Enemy's Line, and engaged them, till the five headmoſt Ships of the Enemy went away to leeward out of Gun-ſhot.

XVI. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the ſternmoſt Ship of our Van Diviſion, the *Intrepid*, having hauled up, and engaged about ten Minutes, or a quarter of an Hour, loſt her Fore-top-maſt a little before Three o'Clock.

XVII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the *Revenge*, the headmoſt Ship of the Rear Diviſion, bore down (after the Ships of the Van bore down) for the Ship oppoſed to her in the Enemy's Line; and that ſhe brought up upon the Weather-quarter of the *Intrepid*, upon the *Intrepid*'s Fore-top-maſt going away; and that ſhe quickly afterwards, upon the *Intrepid's* ſetting her Foreſail, bore down under the *Intrepid*'s Lee-quarter, and brought up there.

XVIII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That upon the Signal being made for Battle, and the Van putting before the Wind, the Admiral, in the *Ramillies*, edged away ſome Points, and the *Trident* and *Princeſs Louiſa* thereby becoming to windward of him, the Admiral thereupon hauled up his Foreſail, backed his Mizen-top-ſail, and endeavoured to back his Main-top-ſail, to allow of their getting into their Stations, and continued in that Situation for five, ſix, or ſeven Minutes.

XIX. *Unanimouſly.* It is the Opinion of the Court, That the Admiral, after the Signal was made for Battle, ſeparated the Rear from the Van Diviſion, and retarded the Rear Diviſion of the *Britiſh* Fleet from cloſing with and engaging the Enemy, by his ſhortening Sail, by hauling up his Foreſail, backing his Mizen-top-ſail, and backing, or attempting to back his Main-top-ſail, in order that the *Trident* and *Princeſs Louiſa* might get a-head again of the *Ramillies*.

XX. *Unanimouſly.* It is the Opinion of the Court, That inſtead of ſhortening Sail, the Admiral ought to have made the *Trident*'s and *Princeſs Louiſa*'s Signals to make more Sail; and that he ought alſo to have ſet ſo much Sail himſelf, as would have enabled the *Culloden* (the worſt ſailing Ship in his Diviſion) to have kept her Station with all her Plain Sail ſet, in order to have got down with as much Expedition as poſſible to the Enemy, and thereby have properly ſupported the Van Diviſion.

XXI. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the Admiral, after ſhortening Sail as before-mentioned, again ſet his Foreſail, and filled his Topſails, and ſteered with the Wind abaft the Beam, a ſlanting Courſe towards the Enemy, under that Sail, till about Three o'Clock, when the People in the *Ramillies* began to fire without Orders, at too great a Diſtance for engaging; but the Firing was continued by the Admiral's Directions.

XXII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That ſome little time before this Firing began in the *Ramillies*, the *Princeſs Louiſa* was ſeen from the *Ramillies* flung up in the Wind, with her Topſails ſhaking, and the *Trident* paſſing her to Leeward, the *Trident* being then a little upon the Weather-bow of the *Ramillies*; and that the *Revenge* had been alſo ſeen to bring to under the *Intrepid*'s Lee-quarter.

XXIII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That when the Firing had been continued a little while in the *Ramillies*, an Alarm was given of a Ship being cloſe under her Lee-bow, imagined to be one of our Ships, and which proved to be the *Trident*; that upon this Alarm the Admiral immediately ordered the Helm to be put a Lee, the Foreſail hauled up, and the Topſails to be backed, and Firing to ceaſe till the Men ſhould ſee *French* Colours, and made the Signal for the Fleet to brace to, the Rear to brace to firſt, in order that the Ships a-ſtern might not run on-board him, but to prevent this Signal taking Effect upon the Ships a-head, he ordered it to be hauled down in a very few Minutes, and cauſed the Signal to be hoiſted for the Fleet to fill and ſtand on, the Van to fill firſt.

XXIV. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the *Princeſs Louiſa* was alſo ſeen, about the ſame Time, with her Main-top-ſail ſhivering, or a back, upon the Weather-bow of the *Ramillies*.

XXV. *Unanimouſly.* That the Court are of Opinion, That while the *Ramillies* was firing, in going down, the *Trident*, and Ships immediately or a-head of the *Ramillies*, proved an Impediment to the *Ramillies* continuing to go down.

XXVI. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That the Admiral acted wrong, in directing the Firing of the *Ramillies* to be continued, before he had placed her at a proper Diſtance from the Enemy; as he thereby not only threw away Shot uſeleſsly, but occaſioned a Smoke, which prevented his ſeeing the Motions of the Enemy, and the Poſition of the Ships immediately a-head of the *Ramillies*.

XXVII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That ſhortly after the hauling up of the Foreſail, and backing the Topſails, all Firing ceaſed on-board the *Ramillies*.

XXVIII. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That when the Smoke cleared up, upon the *Ramillies* ceaſing to fire, the Center and Rear of the *French* Fleet had filled their Main-top-ſails, and ſet their Foreſails.

XXIX. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That the *French* Center and Rear ſtood on, and as they came near the three then ſternmoſt Ships of our Van, gave them their Fire; that ſome of their Shot fell ſhort, and ſome did the *Defiance* Damage; and then the *French* edged away to join their own Van to Leeward.

XXX. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That from the time the Admiral firſt hauled up his Foreſail, and backed his Topſails, to get clear of the *Trident*, to the time of his filling his Topſails, and ſetting his Foreſail again, was about 20 Minutes.

XXXI. *Unanimouſly.* It appears, That about the time of the Admiral's filling, he made the Signal for the Rear of the Fleet to make more Sail and cloſe the Line, cauſed the *Princeſs Louiſa* and *Trident* to be hailed to make Sail into their Stations, and then ſetting his Mainſail, Jib, and Stayſails, paſſed to leeward of the *Intrepid*; ordered the *Deptford* to take the *Intrepid*'s Place in the Line, and the *Che-*

ſterfield to take care of the *Intrepid*, and ſtanding on towards our Van, joined them a little after Five o'Clock in the Evening.

XXXII. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That after the Ships, which had received Damage in the Action, were as much refitted as Circumſtances would permit, the Admiral ought to have returned with the Squadron off *St. Philip*'s, and have endeavoured to open a Communication with that Caſtle, and to have uſed every Means in his Power for its Relief, before he returned to *Gibraltar*.

XXXIII. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That Admiral *Byng* did not do his utmoſt to relieve *St. Philip*'s Caſtle, in the Iſland of *Minorca*, then beſieged by the Forces of the *French* King.

XXXIV. *Unanimouſly.* The Court are of Opinion, That Admiral *Byng*, during the Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet under his Command, and the Fleet of the *French* King, on the 20th of *May* laſt, did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the Ships of the *French* King, which it was his Duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as were engaged in Fight with the *French* Ships, which it was his Duty to have aſſiſted.

XXXV. *Unanimouſly.* It appears by the Evidence of Lord *Robert Bertie*, Lieutenant-colonel *Smith*, Captain *Gardiner*, and by other Officers of the Ship who were near the Perſon of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any Backwardneſs in the Admiral during the Action, or any Marks of Fear or Confuſion, either from his Countenance or Behaviour, but that he ſeemed to give his Orders coolly and diſtinctly, and did not ſeem wanting in perſonal Courage.

XXXVI. *Unanimouſly.* Reſolved, That the Admiral appears to fall under the following Part of the 12th Article of the Articles of War, to wit, "or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every Ship which it ſhall be his Duty to engage; and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his Majeſty's Ships which it ſhall be his Duty to aſſiſt and relieve."

Thurſday the 27th of *January*. The Court met according to Adjournment, and came to the following farther Reſolution.

XXXVII. *Unanimouſly.* Reſolved, As that Article poſitively preſcribes Death, without any Alternative left to the Diſcretion of the Court, under any Variation of Circumſtances, that he be adjudged to be ſhot to Death, at ſuch Time and on-board ſuch Ship, as the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty ſhall direct: But as it appears by the Evidence of Lord *Robert Bertie*, Lieutenant-colonel *Smith*, Captain *Gardiner*, and other Officers of the Ship who were near the Perſon of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any Backwardneſs in him during the Action, or any Marks of Fear or Confuſion, either from his Countenance or Behaviour, but that he ſeemed to give his Orders coolly and diſtinctly, and did not ſeem wanting in perſonal Courage, and from other Circumſtances, the Court do not believe that his Miſconduct aroſe either from Cowardice or Diſaffection; and do therefore unanimouſly think it their Duty moſt earneſtly to recommend him as a proper Object of Mercy.

Then the Sentence was drawn up and ſigned, as follows:

At a Court-martial aſſembled on-board his Majeſty's Ship the *St. George* in *Portſmouth* Harbour, upon the 28th of *December* 1756, and held every Day afterwards, *Sundays* excepted, till the 27th of *January* 1757, incluſive.

Preſent, *Thomas Smith*, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red, Preſident; *Francis Holburne*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Red; *Harry Norris*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the White; *Thomas Broderick*, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the Blue. Captain *Charles Holmes*, *William Boys*, *John Simcoe*, *John Bentley*, *Peter Denis*, Captain *Francis Geary*, *John Moore*, *James Douglas*, Hon. *Auguſtus Keppel*.

The Court, purſuant to an Order from the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty to Vice-admiral *Smith*, dated the 14th of *December* 1756, proceeded to inquire into the Conduct of the Honourable *John Byng*, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet, and to try him upon a Charge, that, during the Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet under his Command, and the Fleet of the *French* King on the 20th of *May* laſt, he did withdraw or keep back, and did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the Ships of the *French* King, which was his Duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as were engaged in Fight with the *French* Ships, which it was his Duty to have aſſiſted; and for that he did not do his utmoſt to relieve *St. Philip*'s Caſtle in his Majeſty's Iſland of *Minorca*, then beſieged by the Forces of the *French* King, but acted contrary to and in Breach of his Majeſty's Command; and having heard the Evidence, and the Priſoner's Defence, and very maturely and throughly conſidered the ſame, they are unanimouſly of Opinion, that he did not do his utmoſt to relieve *St. Philip*'s Caſtle; and alſo that during the Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet under his Command, and the Fleet of the *French* King on the 20th of *May* laſt, he did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the Ships of the *French* King, which it was his Duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as were engaged in Fight with the *French* Ships, which it was his Duty to have aſſiſted; and do therefore unanimouſly agree, that he falls under Part of the 12th Article of an Act of Parliament of the 22d Year of his preſent Majeſty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea; and as that Article poſitively preſcribes Death, without any Alternative left to the Diſcretion of the Court under any Variation of Circumſtances, the Court do therefore hereby unanimouſly adjudge the ſaid Admiral *John Byng* to be ſhot to Death, at ſuch Time, and on-board ſuch Ship, as the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty ſhall direct: But as it appears by the Evidence of Lord *Robert Bertie*, Lieutenant-colonel *Smith*, Captain *Gardiner*, and other Officers of the Ship who were near the Perſon of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any Backwardneſs in him during the Action, or any Marks of Fear or Confuſion, either from his Countenance or Behaviour, but that he ſeemed to give his Orders coolly and diſtinctly, and did not ſeem wanting in perſonal Courage, and from other Circumſtances, the Court do not believe that his Miſconduct aroſe either from Cowardice or Diſaffection, and do therefore unanimouſly think it their Duty moſt earneſtly to recommend him as a proper Object of Mercy. *Thomas Smith*, *Francis Holburne*, *H. Norris*, *Thomas Broderick*, *Char. Holmes*, *Francis Geary*, *W. Boys*, *John Moore*, *J. Simcoe*, *James Douglas*, *J. Bentley*, *A. Keppel*, *Peter Dennis*.

Charles Fearne, Judge-advocate.

The Members of the Court drew up a Repreſentation alſo to the Lords of the Admiralty, and ſigned the ſame, as follows:

To the Right Honourable the Lords-commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great-Britain, *&c.*

WE the underwritten, the Preſident and Members of the Court-martial, aſſembled for the Trial of Admiral *Byng*, believe it unneceſſary to inform your Lordſhips, that in the whole Courſe of this long Trial, we have done our utmoſt Endeavours to come at Truths, and to do the ſtricteſt Juſtice to our Country and the Priſoner; but we cannot help laying the Diſtreſſes of our Minds before your Lordſhips, on this Occaſion, in finding ourſelves under a Neceſſity of condemning a Man to Death, from the great Severity of the 12th Article of War, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no Mitigation, even if the Crime ſhould be committed by an Error in Judgment only; and therefore for our own Conſciences Sakes, as well as in Juſtice to the Priſoner, we pray your Lordſhips in the moſt earneſt Manner to recommend him to his Majeſty's Clemency. We are,

My Lords, Your Lordſhips moſt obedient
And moſt humble Servants,

Thomas Smith, Francis Holburne, H. Norris, Thomas Broderick, Charles Holmes, Francis Geary, Will. Boys, John Moore, J. Simcoe, James Douglas, J. Bentley, A. Keppel, Peter Denis.——*St. George*, in *Portſmouth* Harbour, *January* the 27th, 1757.

This Repreſentation wrought ſo effectually upon the Lords of the Admiralty, that their Lordſhips prayed * his

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* Copy of a Memorial from the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty to the King, in relation to the aforegoing Sentence paſſed upon Admiral Byng. May it pleaſe your MAJESTY. By an Act of the 22d Year of your Majeſty's Reign, intitled, an Act for amending, explaining, and reducing

Majeſty that the Opinion of the Judges might be taken, *whether the ſaid Sentence was legal*; to which his Majeſty moſt graciouſly condeſcended [a], who gave their Opinion unimouſly, *that the ſaid Sentence was legal* [b]; and accordingly a Warrant [c] was iſſued out from the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty for carrying the Sentence paſſed upon Admiral *Byng* into Execution.

Before the Day of Execution, appointed in the above Warrant, was arrived, Matters of ſo extraordinary a Nature aroſe in the Great Council of the Nation, that a Report was made to his Majeſty, who, agreeably to his uſual Tenderneſs for the Lives of his Subjects, was induced, on *February* the 26th, to deliver the following moſt gracious Meſſage to Mr. Secretary *Pitt*, to be by him preſented to the Honourable the Houſe of Commons.

GEORGE R.

“ HIS Majeſty, agreeably to his Royal Word, for the ſake of Juſtice, and of Example to the diſciplining of the Navy, and for the Safety and Honour of the Nation, was determined to have let the Law take its Courſe, with relation to Admiral *Byng*, as upon *Monday* next, and reſiſted all Solicitations to the contrary.

“ But being informed, that a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who was a Member of the Court-martial which tried the ſaid Admiral, has, in his Place, applied to the Houſe in behalf of himſelf, and ſeveral other Members of the ſaid Court, praying the Aid of Parliament to be releaſed from the Oath of Secrecy impoſed on Courts-martial, in order to diſcloſe the Grounds whereon Sentence of Death paſſed on the ſaid Admiral, the Reſult of which Diſcovery may ſhew the Sentence to be improper; his Majeſty has thought fit to reſpite the Execution of the ſame, in order that there may be an Opportunity of knowing, by the ſeparate Examination of the Members of the ſaid Court, upon Oath, what Ground there is for the above Suggeſtion.

“ His Majeſty is determined ſtill to let this Sentence be carried into Execution, unleſs it ſhall appear, from the ſaid Examination, that Admiral *Byng* was unjuſtly condemned. G. R.”

In compliance with his Majeſty's royal Pleaſure, a Bill was accordingly brought into the Houſe of Commons, and being paſſed with great Rapidity, was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Proceedings in the Houſe of Lords relating to the Court-martial that paſſed Sentence on Admiral Byng.

On the 1ſt of *March* a Meſſage was brought from the Houſe of Commons by Mr. *Potter* and others, with a Bill, intitled, *An Act to releaſe from the Obligation of the Oath of Secrecy, the Members of the Court-martial appointed for the Trial of Admiral* John Byng, *purſuant to the Exception contained in the ſaid Oath*:—To which they deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.

The ſaid Bill was read the firſt Time, and contained, after reciting the Clauſe obliging Members of a Court-martial to Secrecy, That Application had been made by a Member of the ſaid Court-martial, in behalf of himſelf and ſeveral other Members of the ſaid Court, praying earneſtly to be releaſed by Act of Parliament from the ſaid Part of the ſaid Oath; and alledging, that they had ſomething to diſcloſe relative to the ſaid Sentence, which greatly affected their own Conſciences, and which it was neceſſary ſhould be diſcloſed, in order to do Juſtice to the ſaid Admiral *John Byng*; be it therefore enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for all and every Perſon and Perſons, who conſtituted the ſaid Court-martial appointed to try the ſaid Admiral *Byng*, and they are hereby required, to diſcloſe or diſcover, upon Oath, before his Majeſty in Council, or before a Committee thereof, all and every the Votes or Opinions of any Member or Members of the ſaid Court-martial; any thing in the Oath contained in the Act herein before,

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cing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of your Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea, it is enacted, “ That no Sentence of Death, given by any Court-martial, held within the narrow Seas (except in Caſes of Mutiny) ſhall be put into Execution, till after the Report of the Proceedings of the ſaid Court ſhall have been made to the Lord High Admiral, or to the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, and his or their Directions ſhall have been given therein.” In purſuance of this Act the Proceedings of the Court-martial held upon Admiral Byng, have been reported to us for our Directions therein; which Proceedings we have taken into our moſt ſerious and deliberate Conſideration, and Doubts have ariſen, with regard to the Legality of the Sentence, particularly whether the Crime of Negligence, which is not expreſſed in any Part of the Proceedings, can, in this Caſe, be ſupplied by Implication; we find ourſelves obliged moſt humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, that the Opinion of the Judges may be taken, whether the ſaid Sentence is legal. For this Purpoſe, we beg leave to lay before your Majeſty a Copy of the Charge as delivered to Admiral Byng, and likewiſe a Copy of the Thirty-ſeven Reſolutions of the Court-martial, upon which the Sentence is formed, together with a Copy of the Sentence itſelf, and of a Repreſentation of the ſame Date therewith, ſigned by the Preſident and Court-martial, and likewiſe Copies of two Petitions from George Lord Viſcount Torrington, in behalf of Admiral Byng, moſt humbly ſubmitting the whole to your Majeſty's Royal Wiſdom and Determination. Temple, Geo. Hay, Tho. Orby Hunter, Gilb. Elliot, J. Forbes.—Admiralty-office, Feb. 9, 1757.

[a] Copy of the King's Order in Council for tranſmitting a Copy of the Report of the Twelve Judges, in relation to the Sentence upon Admiral Byng, to the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty; with a Copy of the Judges Report, annexed thereto. (L. S.)—At the Court at St. James's, the 16th Day of February, 1757. Preſent, the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Bedford, Duke of Devonſhire, Duke of Argyll, Duke of Dorſet, Earl of Sandwich, Earl of Holderneſs, Earl of Rochford, Earl of Cholmondeley, Earl of Hyndford, Earl of Halifax, Earl of Buckinghamſhire, Earl Temple, Earl of Harcourt, Earl Cornwallis, Viſcount Falmouth, Viſcount Bateman, Lord Delawarr, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Lord Bathurſt, Lord Edgcumbe, Lord Sandys, Lord Lyttleton, Sir John Willes, Firſt Lord-commiſſioner of the Great Seal, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Sir John Ruſhout, George Doddington, Eſq; Sir Thomas Robinſon.——Whereas his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon a Repreſentation from the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty, to refer the Sentence of the Court-martial of the 27th of January laſt upon the Trial of Admiral Byng, to the twelve Judges, to conſider thereof, and report to his Majeſty at this Board, their Opinion, whether the ſaid Sentence is legal:—And whereas all the ſaid Judges have reported to his Majeſty at this Board, that they have conſidered the ſaid Sentence, together with the 12th Article therein referred to, and are unanimouſly of Opinion, that it is a legal Sentence.—His Majeſty in Council is thereupon pleaſed to order, that a Copy of the ſaid Report of the twelve Judges (which is hereunto annexed) be tranſmitted to the ſaid Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty. W. Sharpe.

[b] To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council. May it pleaſe your Majeſty. In obedience to your Majeſty's Commands, ſignified to us by an Order, bearing Date the 9th of this Inſtant February, whereby it is referred to us to conſider the Sentence of the Court-martial of the 27th of January laſt upon the Trial of Admiral Byng, a Copy whereof is thereunto annexed, and to report to your Majeſty at the Council-board, whether the ſaid Sentence is legal.—We have conſidered the ſaid Sentence, together with the 12th Article therein referred to, and are unanimouſly of Opinion, that it is a legal Sentence. Mansfield, J. Willes, T. Parker, T. Denniſon, M. Foſter, E. Clive, Thomas Birch, H. Legge, S. S. Smythe, Richard Adams, Henry Bathurſt, J. E. Wilmot. Febr. 14, 1757.——A true Copy of the Original, examined by me, W. Sharpe.

[c] WHEREAS at a Court-martial aſſembled on-board his Majeſty's Ship the St. George in Portſmouth Harbour, upon the 28th of December 1756, and held every Day afterwards, Sundays excepted, till the 27th of January 1757, incluſive, Thomas Smith, Eſq; Vice-admiral of the Red, Preſident, a Sentence was given to the Effect following, viz. “ The Court, purſuant to an Order from the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty to Vice-admiral Smith, dated the 14th of December 1756, proceeded to inquire into the Conduct of the Hon. John Byng, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet, and to try him upon a Charge, that during the Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet under his Command, and the Fleet of the French King on the 20th of May laſt, he did withdraw or keep back, and did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the Ships of the French King, which it was his Duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as were engaged in Fight with the French Ships, which it was his Duty to have aſſiſted; and for that he did not do his utmoſt to relieve St. Philip's Caſtle in his Majeſty's Iſland of Minorca, then beſieged by the Forces of the French King, but acted contrary to and in Breach of his Majeſty's Command; and having heard the Evidence, and the Priſoners Defence, and very maturely and thoroughly conſidered the ſame, they are unanimouſly of Opinion, that he did not do his utmoſt to relieve St. Philip's Caſtle; and alſo that during the Engagement between his Majeſty's Fleet under his Command, and the Fleet of the French King on the 20th of May laſt, he did not do his utmoſt to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the Ships of the French King, which it was his Duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's Ships as were engaged in Fight with the French Ships, which it was his Duty to have aſſiſted; and do therefore unanimouſly agree, that he falls under Part of the 12th Article of an Act of Parliament of the 22d Year of his preſent Majeſty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's, Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea; and as that Article poſitively preſcribes Death, without any Alternative left to the Diſcretion of the Court, under any Variation of Circumſtances, the Court do therefore hereby unanimouſly adjudge the ſaid Admiral John Byng to be ſhot to Death, at ſuch Time, and on-board ſuch Ship, as the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty ſhall direct.” And whereas, upon laying the ſaid Sentence before the King, his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to conſent that the ſame ſhall be carried into Execution; we do therefore, in purſuance of his Majeſty's Conſent, hereby require and direct you to carry the Sentence of the ſaid Court-martial into Execution accordingly, on Monday the 28th Inſtant, by cauſing him the ſaid Admiral John Byng to be ſhot to Death, by a Platoon of Marines, on-board ſuch one of his Majeſty's Ships in Portſmouth Harbour as you ſhall think proper. For which this ſhall be your Warrant. Given under our Hands, and the Seal of the Office of Admiralty, the 16th Day of Febr. 1757. Temple, Geo. Hay, Tho. Orby Hunter, Gilb. Elliot.——*To the Hon. Edward Boſcawen, Vice-admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships at Portſmouth; or to the Commander in Chief there for the Time being.* By Command of their Lordſhips, J. Clevland.

before, in part, recited to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend to oblige any of the Members of the ſaid Court-martial to diſcloſe or diſcover any Matter or Thing, other than ſuch as he might voluntarily have diſcloſed or diſcovered, in caſe ſuch Member had not taken the ſaid Oath of Secrecy.

After Debate, it was ordered, That the ſaid Bill be read a ſecond time To-morrow, and that the Lords be ſummoned, and that the Members who compoſed the ſaid Court-martial, ſhould alſo attend the ſaid Houſe To-morrow, in order to be examined upon the ſecond Reading of the ſaid Bill.

Ordered alſo, That ſuch of the Judges as are in Town, do attend this Houſe To-morrow upon the ſecond Reading of the ſaid Bill.

On the 2d of *March* the ſaid Bill was accordingly read a ſecond Time.

And it being agreed, That the ſeveral Perſons to be examined ſhould be called in ſeparately; and that they ſhould be examined upon Oath; and that the Queſtions and Anſwers ſhould be taken down in writing at the Bar by the Clerk; and alſo, that the Oath of Secrecy directed by the Act of Parliament of the 22d Year of his Majeſty's Reign, to be taken by the Members of Courts-martial held by virtue of that Act, ſhould be read to each of them before he ſhould be examined.

Vice-admiral *Thomas Smith* was called in and ſworn at the Bar; and the ſaid Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as follows:

I A. B. do ſwear, That I will duly adminiſter Juſtice, according to the Articles and Orders eſtabliſhed by an Act paſſed in the 22d Year of the Reign of his Majeſty King George *the IId. for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Government of his Majeſty's Ships, Veſſels, and Forces by Sea, without Partiality, Favour, or Affection; and if any Caſe ſhall ariſe, which is not particularly mentioned in the ſaid Articles and Orders, I will duly adminiſter Juſtice according to my Conſcience, the beſt of my Underſtanding, and the Cuſtom of the Navy in the like Caſes; and I do further ſwear, That I will not, upon any account, at any Time whatſoever, diſcloſe or diſcover the Vote or Opinion of any particular Member of this Court-martial, unleſs thereunto required by Act of Parliament.* So help me God.

It was moved, That the 12th Article in the ſaid Act of the 22d Year of his Majeſty's Reign, may be read, and the ſame was read accordingly.

Then it was propoſed that Vice-admiral *Smith* ſhould be aſked, Whether he now thinks, or, as far as he can recollect, ever did think, that he could have applied any Part of that Article, to a Man whoſe Conduct he thought proceeded from Error of Judgment only.

Which being objected to, the Vice-admiral was directed to withdraw.

After Debate, the Quſtion being waved for that Time, the Vice-admiral was called in again, and aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* Indeed, I do not. Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* Indeed, I do not. Q. Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* As for myſelf, I have no Deſire of it; but if it will be a Relief to the Conſciences of any of my Brethren, it will not be diſagreeable to me. Q. Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I have not, indeed, further than as I wrote, what ſeemed to be, at that Time, the Senſe of the whole Court, to a right honourable Member of this Houſe, (Lord *Littleton*) ſignifying, that, if it was neceſſary, the Members would willingly attend, to ſet forth the Reaſons that induced them to recommend him to his Majeſty's Mercy. Q. Whether you think yourſelf reſtrained, by your Oath of Secrecy, from laying before his Majeſty thoſe Matters, for inducing his Majeſty's Mercy, which are mentioned, or referred to, in that Letter to my Lord *Littleton*? *A.* As the Sentence and Application for his Majeſty's Mercy, were the unanimous Reſolutions of the Court, I apprehend that I am at Liberty to give the Reaſons why I requeſted that Mercy.——He was directed to withdraw.

Rear-admiral *Francis Holburne* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my Lords. Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords. Q. Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No, my Lords. Q. Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No, my Lords.—He was directed to withdraw.

Rear-admiral *Harry Norris* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* I beg to be excuſed anſwering to that Queſtion, while I am under the Oath of Secrecy. Then the following Queſtion was propoſed to be put to him, *viz.* Whether you have any Matter to diſcloſe, that would ſhew the Sentence to be unjuſt, if you was releaſed from the Oath of Secrecy? Which being objected to, he was directed to withdraw.——After Debate, he was called in again, and aſked the ſaid Queſtion, *viz.* Q. Whether you have any Matter to diſcloſe, that would ſhew the Sentence to be unjuſt, if you was releaſed from the Oath of Secrecy? *A.* No. Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No. Q. Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* Yes. Q. Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I muſt beg leave not to anſwer to that Queſtion.—He was directed to withdraw.

Rear-admiral *Thomas Broderick* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my my Lords, upon my Honour. Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords. Q. Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No, my Lords. Q. Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No, my Lords.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *Charles Holmes* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked, *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* I know of none. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* I know of none. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* I don't deſire it ſhould. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I know nothing more, but the Sentence and the Letter, which all the Gentlemen ſigned to the Admiralty.—He was directed to withdraw.

The Houſe being informed, that Rear-admiral *Norris* was willing to anſwer to the laſt Queſtion that was aſked him, when he was at the Bar before, and which he then declined anſwering; the ſaid Rear-admiral was called in again, and aſked the ſaid Queſtion, *viz.* *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* At the Time I ſaid I was deſirous the Act ſhould take place, I underſtood that we ſhould have an Opportunity of delivering our particular Reaſons for ſigning the Sentence, and Letter of Recommendation.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *Francis Geary* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No, my Lords; but I have no Objection, if it will be to the Satiſfaction of any Perſon. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No, my Lords; nothing, but what I have ſigned to by the Sentence, and Letter of Recommendation. *Q.* Whether, if the Act was paſſed, you could better explain that Sentence and Letter, than you are now able? *A.* My Oath of Secrecy won't permit me to ſay any more. *Q.* Whether you think, by your Oath of Secrecy, you are reſtrained from diſcloſing any thing, but the Vote and Opinion of the Members? *A.* I am one of the Members, and I humbly beg leave to think it my own Opinion.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *William Boys* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No, my Lords, I have not.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *John Moore* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* I am very deſirous it ſhould, that I might be abſolved from the Oath; I have been under great Concern when I have taken the Oath; I don't mean upon this Trial. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I do not think myſelf at liberty, while I am under this Oath, to anſwer that Queſtion. *Q.* Whether, if this Bill was paſſed, you could better explain the Sentence and Letter of Recommendation, than you are now able? *A.* I could give better Information, what were my Motives for ſigning that Sentence and Letter.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *John Simcoe* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before.—And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* I know of none, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* Not in the leaſt, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* I have no ſuch Deſire, my Lords. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I have not, my Lords. ——— He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *James Douglas* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No, my Lords, I do not. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I have not, my Lords.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *John Bentley* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No, I know of none. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* None at all. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion,

nion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No.—He was directed to withdraw.

The honourable *Auguſtus Keppel* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* No. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* Yes, undoubtedly. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* I think that I cannot anſwer that Queſtion, without particularizing the Reaſons for my Vote and Opinion. *Q.* Do you underſtand that theſe particular Reaſons are aſked now? *A.* No.—He was directed to withdraw.

Captain *Peter Dennis* was called in, and ſworn at the Bar, and the Oath of Secrecy was read to him, as before. And then he was aſked,

Q. Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the Sentence pronounced upon Admiral *Byng*, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been unjuſt? *A.* None at all. *Q.* Whether you know any Matter that paſſed, previous to the ſaid Sentence, which may ſhew that Sentence to have been given through any undue Practice or Motive? *A.* No. *Q.* Whether you are deſirous that the Bill, now under the Conſideration of the Houſe, for diſpenſing with the Oath of Secrecy, ſhould paſs into a Law? *A.* No. *Q.* Whether you are of Opinion, that you have any Particulars to reveal, relative to the Caſe of, and the Sentence paſſed upon, Admiral *Byng*, which you judge neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, and which you think likely to incline his Majeſty to Mercy? *A.* No.—He was directed to withdraw.

Then the ſaid ſeveral Examinations were read by the Clerk; and it being moved to reject the ſaid Bill, Ordered, that the ſaid Bill be rejected.

This unhappy Gentleman was accordingly ordered for Execution on the 15th Day of *March* on-board the *Monarque* in *Portſmouth* Harbour; and, it is ſaid, faced Death with great Intrepidity and Decency, and was ſhot on the Quarter-deck by ſix Marines, five of whoſe Balls lodged in his Body, three in at his Leſt-breaſt, and two in at his Right-breaſt; one Ball miſſed his Body; and he died inſtantaneouſly, without one Groan or Motion [a].

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[a] Great Pains have been taken to repreſent this Execution to be a mere Sacrifice to the late Adminiſtration; on the contrary, the Author of the CONDUCT of the MINISTRY impartially examined, fixes the whole Blame on Mr. Byng, as appears by the Sequel. "The Admiral having delivered to the Governor of Gibraltar ſome Diſpatches containing the King's Orders to him; that Gentleman thought proper thereupon to call a Council of War, May the 4th; and it appears, from the Minutes of this Council, that it met to deliberate—not on paying Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, which were expreſs" 'for ſending to Minorca, from the Garriſon at Gibraltar, a Detachment equal to a Battalion;' "but to conſider" 'the Expediency of ſending any Detachment at all;' "a Caſe never intended here to come under their Conſideration. It was not, therefore, any ſuppoſed Obſcurity, any ſeeming Contradiction in the Letters writ by the Secretary at War, as has been ſince alledged, on which they aſſembled to debate. The Orders contained in thoſe Letters were, and muſt have been, fully underſtood by them: The Queſtions propoſed, and the Reſolutions taken, prove invincibly that they were ſo. Had it been otherwiſe, no ſuch Suppoſitions could have been made, as were made; no ſuch Concluſions drawn from them, as were drawn; and, in a word, there would not have been the Shadow of common Senſe in all that paſſed on the Occaſion. Their Reſolutions were, firſt,' 'that the Relief of Minorca would be hazardous, perhaps impracticable.' "Had our Enemies reaſoned in the ſame manner, Minorca had never been invaded; Fort St. Philip's never beſieged."—'Secondly, if the Britiſh Fleet ſhould be any way weakened by an Engagement, Gibraltar would be in imminent Danger.' "But, though the Britiſh Fleet was afterwards weakened, becauſe only one-half of it had been ſuffered to engage the whole French Squadron, yet it was not beat; and Gibraltar ran no Danger at all. Let us now proceed to ſee how this incredible Event happened, and ſo conclude a Letter, Gentlemen, which has inſenſibly ſwelled into a Treatiſe. The Britiſh Squadron ſailed from Gibraltar May the 8th, and, after a Paſſage of eleven Days, arrived off Minorca on the 19th, at the very time when a Commander of Spirit and Enterprize would have wiſhed it preciſely to arrive; becauſe ſuch a Commander had an Opportunity then of engaging the Enemy's Fleet, probably of ruining their whole Undertaking, with moſt Reputation to himſelf, and moſt Glory to his Country. Could a Greenville, or a Drake, ariſe for a Moment from the Dead, to pronounce upon this Opinion, I am confident, by all they thought and acted upon ſimilar Occaſions, that they would heartily confirm it. They would bluſh, at the ſame time, for a daſtardly half-ſouled Race amongſt us, who treat all ſuch Notions as romantic and viſionary. While this Gallantry of Courage, this Nobleneſs of Purpoſe, prevailed in Britain, every Scheme that had been planned with Spirit at home, was executed with anſwerable Bravery and Succeſs abroad. But ſhould contrary Principles to theſe, ſhould baſe and ſelfiſh Views ever ſpread their Contagion through our Fleets and Armies, we muſt, from that Time, degenerate into a People of Pirates and Free-booters; and our very Commanders, inſtead of ſoliciting Employments for the glorious Dangers attending them, in order to do Honour or procure Safety to their Country, will ſeek to wear the Public-livery from humbler Motives; I mean, the mere Wages and Vails ſuch Employments may procure them. Be this as it will, no ſooner had the French diſcovered our Fleet bearing towards Minorca, than their Admiral, who beſt knew in what a Hurry and with what unequal Hands his Squadron had been manned, ſent to requeſt a Reinforcement from the Duke of Richlieu's Camp before Fort St. Philips. His Requeſt was complied with, and a Reinforcement, to the Number of 600 Men, was immediately ſent off, in ſeveral Tartans, to his Aſſiſtance. Now, can any thing confirm more evidently what I have oftener than once inſinuated, of the Condition in which their Fleet put to Sea? And with this Incident too, Mr. Byng, as appears by his Letter, was fully acquainted ſome Hours before he engaged it. There he tells us, that the Morning proving hazy—he means the Morning of that Day, (the 20th of May) which will be long remembered by the Friends of Britain with Pain, by her Enemies with Triumph—two of thoſe very Veſſels fell in with the Rear of our Fleet, and one of them was actually taken by the Defiance, with two Captains, two Lieutenants, and 102 private Men; all the reſt were obliged to return to their Camp, without having been able to put a ſingle Soldier on-board Galaſſoniere's Fleet. This Capture, you ſee, was particularly encouraging, and might have been interpreted, without much Superſtition, into an Omen of ſtill greater Succeſs: Had I ſaid, into an Aſſurance of Victory, it had not, perhaps, been too much, when I conſider, that every other Circumſtance to confirm the Bold, or animate the Fearful, concurred on our Side; the Sailors all in high Spirits, the Officers determined and eager to ſhew themſelves Engliſhmen, and the Gale blowing full in favour of our Attack, without once changing or failing us for the reſt of the Day. We had time, likewiſe, to form our Line of Battle in good Order, and to ſail in it. As our Fleet was to windward, it muſt tack of courſe, which it did altogether, through the whole Extent of the Line, without one Blunder, or one Ship miſſing. The Signal to engage was made about One o'Clock, and Rear-admiral Weſt put immediately before the Wind with his Diviſion, conſiſting of ſix Ships, each Ship ſelecting, as ſhe ſailed down, one of the Enemy's, that they might all attack regularly, and without Confuſion. On our firſt advancing, the French fired to rake us; but, from an Impatience that oftener indicates Apprehenſion than Intrepidity, making their Diſcharge at too great a Diſtance, they did our Ships little or no Damage. Before they could load again, ours were pretty well in with them, and returned their Fire with greater Execution: But, as only ſix of our Ships, I mean the Red-diviſion, were engaged againſt the whole French Fleet, the Match muſt needs be unequal; and, in effect, all the ſix were conſiderably hurt; the Intrepid more particularly: For, as ſhe had the Misfortune to loſe her Fore-top-maſt early, and, as by that Accident, the French Admiral, with his two Seconds, was upon her at once, who quickly demoliſhed all her Rigging and Main-top-maſt, ſhe lay in the Sea almoſt a Wreck. having receiving fourteen Shot betwixt Wind and Water, and many through both Sides. Thus unequally, though without once intermitting her Fire, was ſhe engaged for more than an Hour and a half; till, at laſt, Captain Cornwall in the Revenge, and Captain Durell in the Trident, broke their Station from Admiral Byng to put themſelves between the Intrepid and her three Antagoniſts. But why the Admiral himſelf lay, all this while, a-ſtern, and ſo prevented his own Diviſion from advancing likewiſe to charge the Enemy, although the ſame Wind that had brought down one-half of his Fleet, continued ſtill in the ſame Quarter full and favourable for bringing down the other half:—Why, or how all this happened, I can give no Account; and I will not indulge a Humour of forming diſadvantageous Conjectures."

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